TRANSFORMATION IN THE INSTITUTION OF THE FIRST LADY IN KENYA; 1963 – 2015

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C82/32033/2015

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JULY 2018
DECLARATION

I confirm that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented in any other university/institution for consideration for the award of degree or any other award. The thesis has been complemented by referenced sources duly acknowledged. Where text, data (including spoken words), graphics, pictures or tables have been borrowed from other sources, including the internet, these are specifically accredited and references cited in accordance with anti-plagiarism regulations.

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DEDICATION
This work is dedicated to the Kenyan First Ladies; Mama Ngina Kenyatta, the late Lena Tungo Moi, the late Mama Lucy Kibaki and Margret Kenyatta. Thank you for the lessons, your legacies leave behind a lot to be emulated by future women leaders. You have been a testament of your time and demonstrated an everlasting influence in our country. The support you provided your husbands is to be commended and it shows what women around the world do each and every day for their families.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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To my parents (Mr. and Mrs. Kariuki), you instilled in me the importance of education, resilience and exemplified leadership in the family. Even now, your wisdom and words give so much power and influence to everyone around you. I am so grateful that you raised me and you were such a monumental part of my life.

I am also grateful to Hon. Francis Kimemia who assisted me during the period of data collection. He specifically helped to locate other dignitaries especially those who were and had worked with the First Families. May our good God bless your immense contribution to the study.
To my sisters and brothers, your support and encouragement has helped me to push myself further and beyond any expectations. This doctorate is not only for me but also for each one of you. I could not have done it without your support and encouragement. I will be eternally grateful to you.

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<td>A.U</td>
<td>African Union</td>
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<td>B.L.P.R.W.</td>
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<td>K.A.D.U</td>
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<td>K.A.N.U</td>
<td>Kenya African National Union</td>
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<td>M.D.G.</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
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<td>M.Y.W.O</td>
<td>Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organisation</td>
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<td>N.A.L.S.A</td>
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<td>Acronym</td>
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<td>N.C.W.D</td>
<td>National Council of Women and Development.</td>
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<td>O.D.M</td>
<td>Orange Democratic Movement</td>
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<td>O.G.H</td>
<td>Official Government Hostess</td>
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<td>P.C.E.A</td>
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<td>W.A.M.A</td>
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OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

First lady : The wife of a president or a leader of a state, and those ladies who act to fill the void in the absence of wife.

Femocracy : Is a feminine autocracy running parallel to the patriarchal oligarchy upon which it relies for its authority and which it supports completely.

Gender : It is the social construction of men’s and women’s identities, behaviours in relation to each other and context specific and change over time.

Institution of the First Lady: This is an important organization with particular interest of the wife of a president or a leader of a state.

Nation building : It is constructing or structuring a nation economically, socially and politically using the power of the state.

Transformation : This is the change that the office of the First Lady has underwent especially in its image and service delivery to the public.
ABSTRACT

This work examined the transformation of the role of Kenyan First Ladies since independence. Although the First Ladies’ roles have not been codified or officially defined, First Ladies have played significant roles in the socio-economic and political history of Kenya. They have been actively involved in governance since independence in 1964. Besides, they have contributed in the liberation of women from the manacles of male dominance by ensuring that they are integrated in the social, political and economic development of their societies. In spite of these significant roles played by the institution of first lady, scholars have not given them adequate attention. This study examined the origin and development of the institution of First Lady not only in Kenya but also across the globe and the extent of their influence on their husbands’ administration. The study was guided by the following objectives: to analyse the emergence of the First Lady office in Kenya from 1963-1978, to examine the extent to which the existence of the First Lady office had changed during the Moi regime from 1978-2002, to investigate how the Kibaki regime had re-invigorated the participation and presence of the First Lady institution in the public domain from 2002-2013 and how the Uhuru government had transformed the role of the First Lady in Kenya from 2013-2015. The significance of this study was embedded in the fact that First Ladies play a critical role in the society by transforming it socially, economically and politically. The research identified and examined various pet projects initiated by the First Ladies. It also examined the level of Kenyan First Ladies in the promotion of peace and the fight against deadly diseases such as HIV/AIDS, rehabilitation of children suffering from malnutrition and prevention of maternal and child mortality. The study was guided by the femocratic theory. Femocracy is a democratic female power structure, which claims to exist for the advancement of ordinary women. To achieve this, the study used a historical design because data was obtained by employing the basic techniques in the historical method. The research was conducted mainly in Nairobi County but where necessary the researcher-contacted respondents in other parts of the country, especially those who were close or worked closely with the First Ladies. The data was analysed qualitatively and presented historically. This research departs from others of its kind for it focused mainly on the transformative roles of the First Ladies since independence paying attention on their contribution to the social, economic and political development in the society. It further established that the institution of First Lady has undergone transformation over time since (1963-2015), ranging from that of ceremonial role, transcending to the boundary of influence into the realm of power, thus affecting how government functions and controlling different power points. The study recommends that there be a more structured institution of the First Lady with clear legal framework in the constitution that would help in handling the dynamic challenges affecting our society. The work is also a contribution to women’s history in the post-colonial period.
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, research premises, justification and significance of study, scope and limitations of the study.

1.1 Background to the Study

‘I hope that someday, someone will take time to evaluate the true role of a President’s wife, and to assess the many burdens she has to bear and the contributions she makes’ (Watson, 2003, p. 423). Therefore, there cannot be a successful nation in isolation of its leadership (Shiphokazi, 2011). Similarly, we cannot talk of the Kenyan Presidency without the First Lady. In the past, First Ladies stayed in the background and did very little in the public eye; however, the likes of Hillary Clinton, Michelle Obama and Kenya’s African First Ladies like Margret Kenyatta assumed a different role and changed the dynamism of First Ladyship. These women went an extra mile in shaping the role of the First Lady by educating, inspiring, empowering women, giving hope to the seemingly hopeless among others (Mayo & Graddy, 2004:6).

Ibrahim (1992) in his article on Nigerian and Ghanaian First Ladies explores the dynamics of marginalizing women from political power and the ways in which “First Ladies” have sought to intervene through their special position as spouses of
men in power. He argues that in many African countries, the First Lady phenomenon has opened doors that had previously been closed for women. At the same time, it has created a dynamic political space that has been appropriated and used by the wives and friends of men in power for purposes of personal aggrandizement.

Mama (1997: 81) concurs by noting that in many African countries, the First Lady institution has led to development besides creating a dynamic political space, which has been used by the wives and friends of men in power for purposes of personal aggrandizement, rather than for furthering the interests of women. Nonetheless, by placing the development question on the public agenda, new opportunities for gender equality struggles are being created. First Ladies have played significant roles in the national and international politics of their time, and Africa has been no exception. For instance, as the author notes in the 1960s, Aisha Hamani Diouri, the wife of the President of Niger, was reputed to be even more powerful than her spouse, the president. Her domineering role and legendary powers in manipulating the country's elite and dictating the pace and content of cultural and social trends are recorded in the songs and poetry of the country.

Watson (2000:71), states that due to lack of legal or constitutional guidance, it is hard to identify the formal or official roles of the president’s spouse. It is however possible to conceptualize a ‘core set of duties assumed by First Ladies’. Based
upon lists offered by other scholars, Watson makes out eleven fundamental duties of the modern office, including those the public expects First Ladies to perform and those commonly undertaken by the twentieth century First Ladies. He notes that traditional first ladies functioned as their husband’s trusted confidante, key supporter, and counsellor in times of national crisis as well as the nation’s primary hostess. Others have transgressed this traditional role by actively taking part in the election campaign for their husbands, editing their speeches, lobbying for their legislation, championing particular causes and travelling internationally as part of the presidential envoys.

Shiphokazi (2011) articulates the precarious role played by South African first ladies. She notes that due to its “extra-constitutional” nature, the role of the spouse of the president is not mentioned in the constitution and the position is neither elected nor appointed; it is technically not an office. However, many of the first ladies in the modern era enjoy office space, a budget and staff of considerable size. She argues that the office of the First Lady can therefore, be regarded as an office without portfolio, it lacks statutory legitimacy, electoral mandate, or clearly defined roles and responsibilities, making it unaccountable to the public and difficult to study. Her studies were based on South African first ladies who played an important role in the transitional period and in the process led to the consolidation of the country’s democracy. For example, Marike de Klerk was the leader of the National Party’s women’s league during president de Klerk’s presidency. In 1993,
she was awarded the ‘Women for Peace award’ in Geneva for her role in promoting the wellbeing and development of rural women. During this period, de Klerk expressed pride in her husband’s role in bringing to an end the Apartheid rule. In addition, Shiphokazi (2011) refers to Graca Machel, the widow of Mozambican president Samora Machel, and currently the widow of South African liberation icon, the late Nelson Mandela, as a renowned humanitarian who notably produced the landmark UN Report on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Children.

Wanjiku and Kimani (2012) outline the achievements of Mama Ngina as the first, First Lady of Kenya who is feted as one of the Living Legends to have contributed to the emancipation of Africa from colonial rule. As a proud matriarch of Kenyan history, she was not only available when her country needed her most but also witnessed her country moving from its vulnerable stage to a mature, modern and politically stable nation.

Neumann (2013) notes that growing visibility on the global stage on the role of first lady is an intriguing position that has no job description, yet has enormous potential to champion important causes and motivate change. She for instance, refers the First Ladies of Africa often called the “Mamas” of their country who occupy a unique position in their society. These first ladies recognize the opportunities they have and the challenges they face; hence, they use their platforms to help improve
the lives of people in their countries. She further explains that, the role of first lady is often misunderstood and underestimated.

From the foregoing analysis, it is clear that there exist few in depth studies on the institution of First Lady in the world and Kenya in particular. It is this gap the current study sought to fill.

1.2 Statement of the Problem
Since antiquity, the wives of certain princes, monarchs and presidents have played significant roles in national and international politics of their time; Kenya’s First Ladies have been no exception. Over the years, first ladies have been tasked to perform a variety of public and private roles, from that of hostess, escort, and noblesse oblige to advisor and policymaker. Nevertheless, the position has been shaped by the discourse and actions of each first lady and the multiple interpretations of the position throughout the years. Those in this role have never had complete control over the construction of the position because of historical, social, and political constraints. The fact that there are no clearly defined roles or responsibilities for the First Lady office makes it an extra constitutional development.

Their contribution in socio-political and economic development should therefore be underscored. However, despite their pivotal roles in leadership and development
there is scanty interest by scholars in the institution of the First Lady thus public’s knowledge of these women and their roles are limited. Information and documentation on Kenyan First Ladies is not readily available. Part of the problem can be attributed to lack of scholarly interest on the wives of Presidents and also due to the omission of women in the pages of history. It is a clear fact that the wives of Heads of States have no or limited constitutional role assigned to them, but they form an essential part of a national history. There is indeed no doubt in the fact that the First Lady phenomenon has contributed in liberating women by ensuring they are integrated in the social, political and economic development of their societies. In Kenya, the First Ladies have played significant roles in shaping the political, economic and social history. No doubt, they are an influential force in any Presidency thus worthy studying. This thesis, therefore, went beneath the surface and delved into the institution and the roles of Kenyan First Ladies in order to assess the extent to which they added value to the leadership of their husbands specifically on the political, social and economic life of the country.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The aim of this research was to study the transformation of the institution and roles of the Kenyan First Ladies in socio-economic and political spheres from 1963-2015. The specific objectives were to:

i. To analyse the emergence and engagement of the First Lady office during the Kenyatta regime from 1963 to 1978
ii. To examine the extent to which the existence of the First Lady changed during the Moi regime from 1978 to 2002

iii. To investigate how the Kibaki regime attempted to re-invigorate the participation and presence of the First Lady institution in the public domain from 2002 to 2013.

iv. To examine how the Uhuru government had transformed the role of the First Lady in Kenya from 2013 to 2015.

1.4 Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following questions:

i. How did the office of the First Lady emerge and what role did it play during the Kenyatta regime from 1963-1978?

ii. How did the institution of the First Lady change during the Moi regime in the period 1978-2002?

iii. To what extent did the reinvigorated institution and office of the First Lady in the period 2002-2013 enhance development and women empowerment?

iv. To what extent has the Uhuru government transformed the institution of the First Lady from 2013-2015?

1.5 Research Premises

The study was guided by the following research premises:
i. The establishment and engagement of the First Lady office during the Kenyatta regime played an important role in nation building.

ii. The absence of the First Lady office during the Moi regime in the public limelight had diverse effects on development and women empowerment.

iii. The reinvigoration of office of the First Lady during Kibaki regime played an important role in development and women empowerment.

iv. Uhuru government had transformed the role of the First Lady in socio-economic and political spheres in Kenya.

1.6 Justification and Significance of the Study

Globally, issues concerning women have attracted scholarly attention. This study contributed to the study of women in socio-economic and politics particularly Kenyan First Ladies who had not been given adequate attention, thus providing an indepth study of this institution. The fact that there are no clearly defined roles or responsibilities for the First Lady office makes it an extra constitutional development. A study of this nature provides a critical understanding of the role of First Ladies in the transformation of the society; socially, economically and politically in Kenya and beyond.

The year 1963 was a good starting point because Kenya attained its independence and as such, there was the first prime minister and the first lady. To foreground the study on the first lady, the researcher revisited the previous years before 1963. On
the other hand, the year 2015 was a good ending point for it marked the Uhuru regime, which has redefined this institution thus receiving a lot of visibility.

This research also provides useful information to the international organizations, human rights organizations and other bodies that support the struggle for gender equality, to recognize and appreciate the roles Kenyan First Ladies play in fighting for the advancement of women’s rights in Kenya and influencing certain policies such as poverty, health, education and helping women compete more effectively in struggles to access positions of power.

The research outcome provides information for government on policy formulation especially on First Lady Institution. It may also help review gender roles so that they are modified and integrated to fit into the nation’s development plan. Finally, the work also provides a rich resource for further research on the First Ladies and for future First Ladies; they can have a reference on how to champion for social change devoid of corruption and controversies.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study was confined to the geographical location of Kenya but to strengthen it, references were drawn from various states to help establish the role of the First Lady between 1963 -2015 in Kenya. Though the year 1963 was selected as the starting point, the researcher explored the period prior to 1963 to help build on the
available information on the institution of First Lady in Africa generally and Kenya in particular. The year 1963 was a good starting point because Kenya attained its independence and as such, there was the first prime minister and the first lady. On the other hand, the year 2015 formed a good ending point for it marked the Uhuru regime, which had redefined this institution.

Moreover, the researcher interrogated the activities of Margret Kenyatta beyond 2015 to understand her role in transforming the institution of the First Lady. The study covered the four regimes of the presidency in Kenya, which includes Kenyatta, Moi, Kibaki and Uhuru governments. The study focused on all the four first ladies in order to bring out the transformative nature of the institution since the country attained its independence.

A research on the institution of the First Lady is a sensitive one. This is because it is not instituted constitutionally yet the taxpayers fund it. In the beginning, the researcher found it hard to access the relevant information, but eventually he was able to draw responses from a cohort of businesspersons, parastatal heads, women in government offices and academicians. To mitigate against the issue of sensitivity, the researcher informed his respondents of confidentiality and anonymity. In addition, and of importance, the researcher interviewed family members of the First Ladies and people who had worked with the First Ladies or had benefitted from their activities and initiatives.
1.8 Literature review

1.8.1 Introduction

Over the last few decades, scholars have increasingly recognized the importance of the institution of the First Lady and their significance in the state. Such works were critical to this study since they presented various aspects of the institution of the First Lady. This sub-section reviews the origin and roles of the institution of the First Lady and the impact of this institution on social, economic and political development. In addition, the theoretical underpinnings of the subject of the First Lady were presented with a view of using some of the parameters in the interpretations of the study.

1.8.2 Emergence and Origin of the Institution of the First Lady

The term First Lady is not an official title. It is not comparable, for example with any of the royal designations used in Europe, Asia, Africa or the Middle East. However, the genesis of the title remains a point of contention with competing themes and arguments around its development. The fact is that, there is no place in any constitution where the role or function of the wife of the chief executive has been mentioned (Sani, 2009:19).

From a historical approach, the term First Lady originated from the United States of America (USA) in 1789. By then, the United States of America had just won its independence from Great Britain following the American Revolution of 1775-
1783. The wife of the first American President George Washington (1789-1797), Martha Washington was unofficially nicknamed “Lady Washington,” (Caroli, 1995:148). She was treated by the elite of the first capital cities of New York and Philadelphia as if she were a “lady” of the British royal court. The wives of the Presidents who succeeded George Washington like Abigail Adams and Dolley Madison were also called “Lady Adams” and “Lady Madison” respectively. The term First Lady was then used by United States of America President Zachary Taylor (1849-1850) to Dolley Madison whose husband James Madison had been Secretary of State during the eight years of Jefferson’s Presidency. Dolley Madison had served as James Madison hostess when his daughter was not in Washington. However, she later spent another eight years as her husband’s First Lady. Therefore, in total, Dolley Madison spent 16 years in the White House and the public continued to give her a lot of respect. It was during her funeral in 1848 that President Zachary Taylor informally eulogized her as the “First Lady of our land,” (Gould, 1986:528). Since, she was not his wife, people were not sure how to characterize her and so they used the expression “First Lady of the White House”. The phrase slowly came into public use. The term was used almost in reference to the first college of educated First Lady Lucy Hayes. Lucy Webb Hayes wife of American President Rutherford B. Hayes (1877-1881) was a tremendously popular First Lady and the frequent reporting of her activities helped spread the use of the term outside Washington.
Although the title “First Lady” started in the United States, it did not come into general use until much later, towards the end of the 19th century. By the end of the 20th century, the title had been incorporated into other languages and was often used, without translation, to refer to the wife of a country’s leader – even in countries where the leader’s consent received far less attention and exerted much less influence than did her counterpart in the United States (Caroli, 1995: 637). For instance in the Philippines, the title was used to refer to the hostess of the Malacanang Palace. However, because it later became a position traditionally filled by the wife of the President the title is sometimes taken to apply only to the wife of a sitting President. In France, the First Lady title (Frenchi l’ë pause du president de la Republique Francais), often plays a protocol role at the Elysee Palace and during official visits.

In a non-political situation, the term “First Lady” is bestowed as a term of endearment to women who have proven to be of exceptional talent even if that talent is non-political. For example, the term has been used in the field of entertainment for Ella Fitzgerald as “First Lady” of song; Aretha Franklin as the ‘First Lady of American soul’, and Helen Hayes as the ‘First Lady of American stage. The term is also used for a woman who occupies the foremost position within a particular social locality (Caroli, 1995:638). The current study identified the use of the term First Lady within Kenya.
Inevitably, to become a First Lady is to step into a role that is subject to public scrutiny; whether that role is formal or informal. Some First Ladies have found themselves in the news for all the wrong reasons, which include lavish holidays, and shopping sprees abroad, corruption and/or doing everything possible to ensure their husbands remain in power.

1.8.3 Roles and Duties of First Ladies Globally, in Africa and in Kenya

Research on First Ladies is diverse and rich to the extent that it becomes impossible to review all or even most of them. However, a lot of it deals with American First Ladies, with few covering Kenyan First Ladies and much less evaluation on their transformative roles in socio-economic and political spheres of life.

There is no doubt that globally, women have played an important role in supporting their husbands (Margaret, 1998). Notwithstanding their role in society, such roles have generally been ignored and many times projected fictional works (Ogola 1994). For instance in the drama of Lady Macbeth by Williams Shakespeare; Lady Macbeth is displayed as the most evil character in the play through her ambitious, cruelty and manipulation. She appears to be mentally stronger than Macbeth and her conscience does not seem troubled by the murders that she takes part in. Her determined ambition is what keeps Macbeth focused on committing murders so that he takes over political power from the king of his time (Shakespeare, 1965:23). Another famous work on women in relation to power is that of Chinweizu (1990),
who tries to show that Women power does exist. The author shows that female power exists and it hangs over every man like an ubiquitous shadow. According to him, marriage is the central institution of female power - not political parties, parliaments, armies, business enterprises, bureaucracies among others. The nest or family home, where a woman is both mother and wife, is the seat of female power - not barracks, factories, offices or other such places where large number of persons gather (Chinweizu, 1990).

In making marriage a central institution, female power has chosen the organizational form most suited to its nature and its needs. The author further stresses that as part of the intricate system of checks and balances in some traditional African societies, women exercise the most effective sanction against misrule (Ibid). Achebe, (1994) also notes that among the Igbo of Nigeria when a king becomes unbearable to his subjects; a procession of grandmothers will march naked to his palace. In Egypt, no ruler survives this final and dramatic reputation by the mothers of his subjects. Usually, the threat of this march is enough to bring erring and dictatorial rulers to heel. It is a fact that most people consider unwanted display of nudity by wives, mothers and grandmothers as an extremely damaging protest measure that can inspire a collective source of shame to those the action is directed to. For example in Kenya in 1922, a woman exposed her body to galvanize youth to free Harry Thuku (Kanogo, 2005). Maathai, (2004) is another example. She joined some elderly women who were on hunger strike to pressure the
government of President Moi to release their sons, who were held as political prisoners. The author has clearly demonstrated the power women exercise as wives, mothers and daughters which was central to this study (Maathai, 2004).

_Mama_, (1991) articulates that the world over First Ladies are neither elected nor paid. She has no official duties though there are duties she has to fulfil that are shaped by all women who held the title before her. The office of First Lady develops gradually, with every woman who occupies the position adding something to it. It is not an election that confers this title but rather the fact that this woman is married to a president (_Mama_, 1991). In some cases, female relatives other than the wife have also performed the role if the president was widowed or single.

Westermann (2004:10–18), identifies two distinct types of duties; social and political ones while Robert Watson talks about eleven fundamental roles. In both cases, the traditional duties are those widely accepted by the public while the modern and politically oriented ones are subject to heavy criticism and scrutiny.

It has to be borne in mind that each woman models her role according to her personal likes and dislikes and this results to cases whereby first ladies do not always fulfill their roles in the same way (Kanogo, 2005).
1.8.3.1 Social Duties

Most duties in this category are as old as the office itself and the public views them as fundamental to the role first ladies assume. As traditional as serving as the nation’s hostess is a First Lady’s promotion of social concerns (Mayo & Graddy, 2004: 6). It has become customary for every first lady to adopt a so called ‘pet project’. The office holders have in most cases been involved in social causes in their nations, which in most cases involve taking care of the plight of children, women, drug abuse and poverty.

The role of the First Lady is not defined in the constitution and its nature has always been contextual. There is no objective framework that can evaluate the individual performance of the First Ladies. Many of the First Ladies spend their years almost unnoticed by the public, but a lot of them carry out fundamental duties as First Ladies therefore leaving a significant mark in history.

1.8.3.2 Political Duties

Political partaking is doubtlessly the most critical role a first lady can assume. Not all first ladies have an active interest in politics and legislation but those who do so, serve as informal advisors to their spouses, thus politically influencing the presidential administration (Anthony, 2000). Nancy Reagan, for example, allegedly encouraged the dialogue between her husband Ronald Reagan and Soviet Union President Mikhail Gorbachev. Quite known is also Hillary Clinton’s involvement in
policy as she was appointed to chair the President’s Task Force on National Health Care Reform (Logue, 2009).

Political activism will depend with individuals’ political affiliations. A First Lady will pursue causes that are mostly related to the husbands’ party of sponsorship. Marton (2001) describes private matters of presidential couples as being vital in trying to fully understand the particular presidency. Nonetheless, Marton’s assumption is proven wrong because there are a majority of presidential marriages whose nature did not affect any of the administrations in past. Particularly, private matters of the 18th and the 19th century presidents’ wives were often not covered by historians, this is probably because they were perceived not to be playing a significant role in their professional lives. With the exception of Abigail Adams or Dolley Madison, we can hardly find any noticeable First Lady even though it was a time when several remarkable leaders assumed the presidency of the United States. Thus, research avoids judging the First Ladies on the assertion that they possess the ability to substantially shape their husband’s legacies.

First Ladies have contributed to major initiatives of their time for example Eleanor Roosevelt, they have often inspired the world as in the case of Jacqueline Kennedy, they have changed the nation’s attitude to controversial topics as for instance Betty Ford, when she de-stigmatized breast cancer and alcohol addiction, (Gould 2003 & Marton, 2001). Although they worked hard, they can be cherished, loved and
admired, but they cannot rewrite their husband’s legacies. Even though some of them proved to be far stronger players than their husbands as was the case of Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter or Ronald and Nancy Reagan (Marton, 2001:215-273) or had tendencies to outperform them, the outcomes of this imbalance were, unfortunately, always perceived more negatively than positively. However, this study sought to study the role of the First Ladies in socio-economic activity rather than the physical attribution of the ladyship.

Marton (2003) asserts that during the World War 2, Eleanor Roosevelt was not afraid of opposing her husband or facing open criticism on her convictions. In fact, when the first news about the danger to Jews in Nazi-controlled Europe was received in the United States in 1940; the First Lady began to lobby for an immediate rescue operation. Aware of the security problems connected to immigration, FDR considered this naive and very idealistic and he refused to undertake any action. In this case, it is possible to see the outlines of Eleanor Roosevelt’s impulse, which could have theoretically changed the course of the Holocaust. This episode illustrates limits of her power. Franklin Delano Roosevelt never allowed his spouse to interfere with the presidential policy in spheres in which they disagreed. Lack of skill in this area caused numerous problems in presidential partnerships later (in marriages of Fords, Carters, Reagans or Clintons, which will be discussed later). In a similar manner, Eleanor Roosevelt’s statements, in which she compared American racism with fascism, stirred a lot of attention
(Gould, 1986). No matter how controversial this was almost eighty years after the end of the civil war and in the light of recently revealed Nazi atrocities; at the time Eleanor Roosevelt’s role was to focus on U.S problems as the agenda. Marton’s study does not evaluate the economic contribution of these First Ladies, which this study did.

Besides, Marton (2001) argues that the importance of presidential marriage grows with time. Power inserted into the hands of the Modern First Lady is unprecedented compared to power possessed by the presidential spouses of the 18th and the 19th centuries. Therefore, the task is to find out what is the most effective grasp of this newly gained opportunity to be active in public issues. Eleanor Roosevelt gained the respect of her nation soon after becoming First Lady in 1933 and this was true even after her death. She redefined the role of the president’s wife just as her husband redefined the role of the chief executive. It is important to note that they both accomplished this independently of one another. Even though it is impossible to consider their marriage as conventional or happy in the traditional sense, Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt were nevertheless indispensable to each other. Despite the personal details given by this author, this study focused on the contribution of the First Ladies in Kenya towards their role in the development of the nation.
Another relevant resource is Gould (1987) who asserts that Eleanor Roosevelt remained publicly active even after the death of her husband. President Harry Truman appointed her to the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations, where she oversaw the creation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Besides, Eleanor Roosevelt was a proud member of the Labour Union. The influence of this organization is reflected in her words calling for welfare state. “We can’t just talk. We have got to act… And we must see improvement for the masses of people, not for the little group on top” (O’Farrell, 1998). This act, among many other things, indeed crowned her lifetime effort to promote the fundamental American values of democracy, equality and justice. Eleanor Roosevelt legacy as a First Lady is remarkable thanks to the numerous successful initiatives she supported throughout her life. She tirelessly defended the rights of discriminated groups including Afro-Americans, women and blue-collar workers. Well-balanced marital alliance of Eleanor and Franklin Roosevelt contributed to the creation of the United States, as it is in the 21st century. This work is important to this study for it helped to understand the working of First Ladies, though it did not evaluate the socio-economic and political contributions of this First Lady, which the current study has done.

Harding (2002) describes how Jacqueline Kennedy’s fluency in French and Spanish proved to be one of JFK’s greatest assets when gaining the votes of minorities on the home front or when negotiating with politicians around the world.
However, this was only one of the many means by which she was able to support her husband’s endeavours. In the early months of 1961, the Kennedys were to visit France and more importantly Austria where the president was supposed to meet his Soviet counterpart Nikita Khrushchev. Before leaving Paris, John F. Kennedy memorably paid tribute to his wife when saying “I’m the man who accompanied Jacqueline Kennedy to Paris”. It is worth taking a closer look at what stood behind the mentioned famous quote. Harding’s study does not focus on the contribution of the First Lady at the international level, which this study evaluated.

Aginaude (2003) examines the case of Simone Gbagbo, wife of the former Ivorian president Laurent Gbagbo. The International Criminal Court (I.C.C) indicted her for four counts of crimes against humanity (murder, rape and other sexual violence, persecution and other inhuman acts) committed in Côte d’Ivoire between 2010 and 2011, in the violence that followed a disputed election that pitted her husband Laurent Gbagbo against Alassane Ouattara, who eventually emerged victorious. Nevertheless, this author does not evaluate the positive contributions of Simone Gbagbo to Ivory Coast, though for the current study it examined the positive contribution of the First Ladies in Kenya.

Toyo (2003) notes that the role of the First Lady has been evolving over the years, from “Mama Wa Taifa” (mother of the nation), the silent matronly type by the Big Man’s side, essentially reinforcing her role as the ultimate embodiment of the
patriarchal establishment to a more forward-looking one; a microcosm of shifting dynamics of the modern-day African society. Mama Ngina Kenyatta, the widow of Kenya’s first president, in particular, wore the tag. This study was important to the present study because it shed light on the changing roles of First Ladies from independence time to the present; however, it did not pay attention to their specific contributions and roles during their reign, which this study did by evaluating their socio-economic and political roles as well as achievements.

Tsikata (1997) describes the former Ugandan First Lady Miria Kalule Obote as “low-key with barely a career to talk about.” She assisted Obote get the Baganda votes in 1962 and this was important for him because he was able to establish links with the Bagandans. She, however, surprised many when in 2005, she returned to Uganda after 20 years in exile, to bury her husband and announced she would vie for the presidency during the 2006 General Election. This study on Miria Kalule Obote has only evaluated the political roles of the First Lady leaving out their socio-economic roles and contributions, which the current study did evaluate.

Borrelli (2002) article treats the role played by First Ladies as formal advisers to the President. Surveying the administration from that of George Washington to Bill Clinton, Borrelli argues that at least 31 First Ladies discussed politics with the President, 26 were confidants or advisers (screening correspondences’, highlighting news article and editing speeches) and 14 influenced the appointment process. This
article is important to the current study though it has not evaluated the specific roles of individual First Ladies, which the current study did.

Simonton (1996) ascertains in his work that the woman’s reputation is independently determined by two factors; (a) her performance as the president’s political colleague and (b) Her success in establishing her own distinct personality. He further points out that First Ladies have undergone some transformation since the days of Martha Washington. These changes reflect a fundamental improvement in the status of women in the United States- from the days when they could neither vote nor own property to the days of the women’s liberation movement. Simonton work is on US First Ladies, which was good reference for this study however, the current study looked at the socio-economic and political roles that Kenyan First Ladies have played.

East African magazine (Saturday, March 29, 2014) notes that today’s East African First Lady is not the unassuming and the silent type. She is educated, vocal and often powerful in her own right. She is championing the 21st century causes such as early childhood education, the fight against elephant poaching and even confidence building for the youth by promoting debating contests and toastmaster clubs. This work is important to the current study for it provided a scholarly understanding of the 21st century First Lady.
Okeke (1998), states that Janet Museveni is perhaps the best illustration of this evolution of the role of the First Lady in the region. She is East Africa’s longest-serving First Lady. When she came into office 28 years ago, Uganda faced two major challenges, it was just emerging from years of civil war and many children had lost their parents or had been child soldiers. The country was also coming to terms with HIV/AIDS, which was leaving thousands of children as orphans. It was thus natural that she started her career as First Lady by founding Uganda Women’s Effort to Save Orphans (Uweso), a relief agency, which she notes was shaped by her experience as a refugee. Fighting HIV/AIDS was a core mandate of the agency. As a result, new HIV infections in Uganda plummeted from 31 per cent in 1992 to 6 per cent in 2002, and the country was lauded for setting the standard in the continent’s fight against HIV/AIDS. By 2005, the threat that HIV/AIDS posed to Uganda was diminishing. The First Lady then repositioned herself as the guardian of Ugandan family values and moral leader for the country’s youth heading a campaign for prayer and abstention from sex as a new approach to dealing with the lingering threat of AIDS. However, this hamstrung with the image of a hectoring matron, so she shifted gears. Her next move is a lesson in reinvention. She announced that she would vie for the Ruhaama parliamentary seat, in Western Uganda in the 2006 elections, a radical move considering that Ruhaama was where she was born, not where she is married. African culture expects that a married woman “belongs” to her husband and his people, and she should “eat” where her husband is. The easier route would have been to have her husband nominate her to
parliament. Nevertheless, she ran, and won, and was even re-elected in 2011, becoming a political powerhouse in her own right.

1.8.4 Impact of the Institution of First Ladies in Africa

In 2009, Mrs. Museveni was appointed State Minister for Karamojong Affairs and in 2011; she was elevated to Minister for Karamojong Affairs, and was now not just a First Lady, but an appointed member of parliament and a government minister. She capped it with a remarkably frank autobiography, My Life’s Journey, further setting out her stall as an independent First Lady. Janet Museveni’s rise to power coincides with President Museveni expanding of women in high-level positions. His 1986 Cabinet had just one woman, Gertrude Njuba, one of the few founding members of the National Resistance Movement (NRM). Today, women make up to 36 per cent of the Cabinet. This work has outlined the contribution of Janet Museveni in empowering the Ugandan women politically though it has not described her contribution in socio-economic spheres of life, which this study sought to find out.

Habiba (2004) discusses Jeannette Kagame as one who has had to deal with the additional challenge of her husband’s international profile. Mrs. Kagame’s initiatives thus reflect a sharp, progressive forward-looking and future focused thinking, while sidestepping the international and regional battles her husband seems to relish. Paul Kagame is unique in the region in that he is more than the
president of a small African country; he is in many ways a global icon. His international fan club is as fanatic as is its Hate-Kagame global industry. He is the only African leader who gets invited to Fortune 500 meetings. Although her Imbuto Foundation covers health and other socio-economic programmes, some of its biggest initiatives are focused on empowering the youth and not through just the conventional means. Imbuto Foundation hosts Reading Day campaigns, scholarships for secondary education, Celebrating Young Rwandan Achievers (CYRWA) and Rwanda Speaks!, a public speaking initiative done through toastmasters clubs and debate contests. However, it is not clear how the institution of the First Lady has been in the forefront promoting peace and reconciliation, which this study sought to carry out.

Imam (1993) describes Burundi’s Denise Nkurunziza as a conservative type, having being ordained as a reverend in 2011. She perhaps gets the least mention of the East African First Ladies, reflecting the reality that Burundi is still a country coming out of the shadows after years of a bitter civil war. Her sports-loving husband Pierre Nkurunziza is also deeply religious and both the president and First Lady preach at crusades and in church. Her Buntu Foundation works to support refugees, widows and orphans, and in 2012, she opened the Professional Training Centre, Buye, at Ngozi, in Northern Burundi where students are trained in various practical skills. However, this study does not reflect on how the institution of the First Lady safeguards the constitution, which this study sought to find out.
Jega (1997) notes that Salma Kikwete, Tanzania’s First Lady, who regularly wore ‘vitenges’ in public and projected a “motherly” image to her counterparts in the region proves that there is stillroom for tradition in East Africa. Her WAMA Foundation (Wana Wakena Maendeleo) had four major programmes; girl child education, which drew from Mrs Kikwete’s 20 years’ experience as a teacher, women empowerment, orphans and vulnerable children and health promotion. East African magazine stated that Salma Kikwete, in her approach to health care was decidedly modern in 2010. Although, this work did not look at her political and economic impacts and contributions, the current study evaluated them among the Kenyan First Ladies.

Afshar (1996) notes that Mama Ngina Kenyatta was the quiet, unassuming, typical “Mama Wa Taifa.” Then for 24 years under President Daniel arap Moi, Mama Ngina retained the official status as First Lady as President Moi was estranged with his wife (now the late) Lena. When Mwai Kibaki came into power in 2002, his wife Lucy strode boldly besides him into the public arena. Lucy had her fair share of achievements. She spearheaded programmes to fight HIV/AIDS and breast cancer. She is also credited as a founder member and initiator of the Starehe Girls Centre, a leading girl’s high school in Nairobi. Then came Margaret Kenyatta, the current First Lady, who is a complete embodiment of the 21st century woman. Even though Lena Moi, Mama Ngina Kenyatta and Lucy Kibaki did some work for the state as the first ladies, their contributions have not been given much emphasis
compared to other first ladies in East Africa and as such this study evaluated their work socially, economically and politically.

According to Okeke (1998), Kenya’s current First Lady, Margaret Kenyatta is a complete embodiment of the 21st century woman. Wellborn, articulate, composed and photogenic; she lends much-needed class and glamour to President Uhuru Kenyatta’s image. Her first major initiative as First Lady was on wildlife conservation, launching the anti-poaching campaign ‘Hands off Our Elephants’ in 2013. In a country where wildlife conservation is largely seen as a “mzungu” thing (Western concept), the First Lady’s endorsement is a testament to her connection with 21st century sensibilities. Recently, she launched another initiative, “Beyond Zero” focusing on maternal and child health, that saw her raise money by running a half marathon in March, 2014. Marathons are a decidedly urbane and chic way of raising money, a departure from ‘harambees’ (fundraiser events) or the ordinary conferences or talk-shops. Despite her work in Kenya, Okeke’s article has not given a clear picture as to how she relates with the global bodies for support in her work in Kenya.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

Women studies can be approached through various theories such as Feminist Theory or Femocracy Theory. The liberal feminist theory supports equality for women and men. It aims at working to increase equality, expanding human
choice, eliminating gender stratification and ending sexual violence as well as promoting sexual freedom. However, this theory does not focus on women close to power or the first ladies and how they have used their positions to fight for the empowerment and transformation of their fellow women (Mama, 1995). This therefore made it unsuitable for the current study on transformation in the institution of the first lady and as such, we used femocracy theory.

Femocracy is a feminine autocracy running parallel to the patriarchal oligarchy upon which it relies for its authority and which it supports completely. The basic institutional framework for femocracy is usually the office of the First Lady. After all, the basic assumption of the femocrats is that they should have power because their husbands are in power (Tsikata, 1998).

The proponent of this theory is Susan Faludi. In her book, *The Undeclared War against American Women* (1980), she argues that charting women rights in America resembles something like a corkscrew. She posits that women movement advances have been met with contentious outbursts of resistance, resentment and counterassault. She asserts that anti-femocracy crusaders, who envision the fight for gender equality as a zero-sum game in which gains for one sex entail concessions from another, emerge periodically to retract liberties granted during times of great societal turmoil.
In Africa, femocracy was widely used by *Mama* (1997). According to *Mama*, femocracy is a democratic female power structure which claims to exist for the advancement of ordinary women, it is able to do so because it is dominated by a clique of women whose authority derives from their being married to powerful men, rather than from any actions or ideas of their own. The basic institutional framework for femocracy is usually the role that women play in a state. Femocracy exploits the commitment of the international movement towards greater gender equality in the interests of the small female elite. Through the institutional framework of femocracy, women are normally guaranteed of their security. The African continent has had a hostile, war-like environment since independence but through the advocacy and lobbying by the first ladies, the security of the ordinary women has been restored and guaranteed.

In this study on the transformation of the institution of the First Lady, the researcher used femocracy theory to demonstrate how the institution of the First Lady has helped uplift the lives of ordinary women and indeed the less privileged in the society socially, economically and politically. Due to her closeness and association to power, the First Lady is able to mobilize finances for the ordinary Kenyans. She creates networks both locally and internationally which help raise funds, which are used to transform the society socially, economically and politically. Not only do First Ladies as public women walk a
fine line between public and private worlds, but they also find themselves caught between femininity and feminism, advocacy and aggression, patriarchy and patriotism (Dow & Tonn, 1993). Hence, from these unwieldy contradictions, the First Lady can become a symbolic, ceremonial and sometimes civic icon. Similarly, from a patriarchal femocrats, she can fashion a form of discourse that can become both a site of resistance and a new public sphere – one that is woman-centred, but inclusive, interconnected – a “femocracy counter-public sphere”(Dow & Tonn, 1993).

This theory, therefore, helped in understanding the transformation in the institution of the first lady in Africa since the study investigated the four regimes of the presidency in Kenya.

1.10 Research Methodology

1.10.1 Introduction

This section covers the research design, area of study and target population, sampling techniques, methods of data collection, presentation, data analysis as well as logistical and ethical considerations.

1.10.2 Research Design

The researcher used a historical design because it provides an in-depth description of the state of affairs as they exist and developed over time. It was used to collect
information about people’s attitudes, opinions, habits or any other of the variety of social issues. Moreover, the historical method was used to collect information during interviews and administration of questionnaires to sampled individuals.

1.10.3 Location of the Study

The study was conducted mainly in Nairobi County. This because it is home to Kenya’s headquarters and this is where the State House is located. It is also the county that has housed current and previous First Ladies. However, in some instances the research locale was extended to other counties so as to reach other leaders and women leaders who were not within Nairobi County.

1.10.4 The Target Population

The respondents of the study were selected based on their knowledge of the first lady institution, their roles in the society and to a limited extent organizational representation such as government officials. The respondents were distributed as follows: the former and present First Ladies of the republic of Kenya, local leaders, politicians, civil servants and women leaders.

1.10.5 Sampling Procedures

The study employed purposive sampling to identify the offices of the First Ladies and also those involved in the day to day running of the offices. From the sampled offices, information was sourced from the First Ladies, local administrators and
leaders, politicians, civil servants, family members and women leaders. This class of informants were consulted and they formed the primary source data. They were further used to identify other respondents from the large population who were knowledgeable on issues of the First Ladies.

1.10.6 Sample Technique and Sample Size

The researcher used purposive and snowballing sampling techniques. Purposive sampling was used to ensure that specific key informants were reached for the relevant information for example the government officials or members of organisations that have worked with First Lady. Snowballing was used to identify the key informants and to get the knowledge of the insiders or those who worked closely with the First Lady considering that the institution of first lady to some extent is clouded with secrecy. The respondents were distributed as follows: from academic institutions (students, teachers and lecturers), government officials (government bureaucrats and civil servants), politicians, women leaders, businesspersons and journalists among others. Snowballing sampling was appropriate for the study since it required the knowledge of the insiders. Through these sampling techniques, the research was able to interview one hundred and fifty respondents and held two focused group discussions.
1.10.7 Data Collection

During data collection, two research assistants were recruited and trained on how to use the research instruments and then deployed in the field. Letters of introduction from Kenyatta University and National Council for Research and Technology were made available and presented to informants and other relevant organizations. The informant’ views and answers were documented through note-taking. An interview schedule together with a checklist highlighting important areas was also used by both the researcher and research assistants. The qualitative method was used during data collection. Further, in an attempt to carry out this study quite a number of sources were carefully examined and analyzed. The sources are broadly grouped into primary and secondary sources.

Primary data was gathered through oral interviews and focus group discussions. Oral interviews became an integral part of the primary sources used in this study. The oral data was collected from interviews conducted with the respondents who included; members of the public, government workers and Kenyan First Ladies who are alive and the close associates of those who are late. The interviews also covered a wide range of individuals that included local women leaders who are the focus of the Programmes the First Ladies initiated, members of the former provincial administration such as the Provincial Commissioners, District Commissioners and Divisional Officers. There were also members of the public service, such as the former head of public service and secretary to the cabinet.
Moreover, interviews were conducted with some women politicians both in the Counties and at the national level. In addition, present and former members of Maendeleo Ya Wanawake were interviewed. Besides, two focus group discussions were carried out with each consisting of five to seven participants. These participants were obtained depending on their availability and knowledge on the subject matter. The first focus group discussion comprised of members of the civil service that worked in the Office of the President and the institution of the First Lady. The second group included members and officials of the Maendeleo ya Wanawake.

Primary data was also obtained from the Kenya National Archive on information regarding First Ladies in the country especially on their early life’s and their roles. Specifically, the documents that were consulted included official letters detailing activities of Mama Ngina and Lena Moi, annual and intelligence reports. These documents were chosen because they contained first-hand information from the colonial administrators.

The primary data was supplemented and corroborated with secondary data that deals with issues on Women and in particular First Ladies as it relates to their roles in the socio-economic and political transformation in the society. These sources were obtained from the libraries of Kenyatta University, University of Nairobi, Moi University and United States International University (USIU)-Africa. The study
also utilised information from documents in the Office of the President (Harambee House).

1.10.8 Data Analysis and Presentation

The data collected in this study was qualitatively analysed. It was categorised according to the objectives of the study. Using qualitative approaches, the researcher analyzed the data inductively from the respondent’s perspective. Primary data from interviews was transcribed immediately after collection for accuracy, validity and uniformity. All collected information was carefully scrutinized, collaborated and analyzed in relation to respective historical period. The data was then presented as chapters of the study in a prose form with first hand quotation from the primary data.

1.10.9 Data Management and Ethical Considerations

The researcher obtained an introductory letter from Kenyatta University and a research permit from National Council for Science and Research (NACOSTI). The researcher arranged with the respondents to schedule interviews and also have their consent so as to carry out the research. As such, collection of data only commenced after the researcher had secured a research permit from relevant authorities. Cultural sensitivity and observance of research protocol on the part of the researcher was vital. Data provided by informants was treated with the confidentiality it deserved. Respondents’ right to privacy was respected too. The
researcher also respected the views of respondents who did not want their names
and personal details appended on the interview guides. Any information given off
the curve by respondents was captured during data cleaning and then discarded,
for analysis. Any of the sampled respondents who declined to offer information were neither forced nor tricked to talk. The researcher
did not reduce the respondents into objects but at all times made them equal
participants in the research. The purpose of the study was explained to the
respondents to allay any fears that might have arisen from the exercise. Anonymity
of the respondents was assured as a way of enhancing honesty while answering
questions, which helped in the acquisition of the genuine opinions of the
respondents, thus strengthening the reliability of data, and names used here are
pseudo-names.
CHAPTER TWO: GLOBAL SEMANTICS OF FIRST LADYSHIP

2.0 Introduction

The previous chapter delved into the gap of the study and how the study was carried out. This chapter presents an overview of the institution of the First Ladyship and the role First Ladies from different nations have been playing or have played. This is done in order to demonstrate the significance of the institution and the changes it has encountered over time. First, we examine the various roles played by First Ladies globally, followed by Africa and lastly Kenya.

2.1 The Concept of the First Lady

The First Ladyship institution has always existed in as much as majority of the Presidents served with their wives beside them. Presidential spouses have become well-known public figures and the First Ladyship has become an office albeit one of extra constitutional design complete with office space, staff and budget (Watson, 1999). This is because the President’s spouse is not mentioned in the constitution and the position is neither elected nor appointed. Thus, it is technically not even an office. However, the changing nature of society and political culture, especially concerning women’s roles and issues in the twentieth century, followed by UN efforts to increase the role of women since the adoption of “Women’s Year in 1975” that declared 1975-1985 as Decade for Women, has led to the changes in the traditional roles of the occupants of the office (Hummer, 2009).
These changes have encouraged quite a number of First Ladies in several nations to become active political partners to their husbands. Consequently, they have enjoyed office space, a budget and staff larger than those of most Presidential aides and advisers (Ibid: 424). We can therefore conclude that, it is an office without statutory legitimacy and lacks electoral mandate on clearly defined roles and responsibilities. Backed by the fact that citizens support them, they can exert as much influence as they want to get things done. Forthwith, they have become the centre of attraction and assumed the status of power brokers, influencing policies and decisions (Sani, 1997).

Carol (1995) indicates clearly that the term ‘First Lady’ is neither an official title nor comparable to any of the designations used in parts of the world. This notwithstanding its origin has had contentions made worse by the fact that it is not anchored in the constitutions of most of the countries in the World. However, there is a general agreement that historically ‘First Ladyship’ may have originated from the United States of America in the year 1789. During this time, the United States of America had just won its independence from Great Britain. The wife of the first American President George Washington (1789-1797), Martha Washington was unofficially referred to as “Lady Washington” (Carol, 1995:148). Thereafter, the wives of the presidents who succeeded George Washington were generally referred to as ‘Lady Adams’ and ‘Lady Madison’ respectively.
Dolly Madison specifically brought the term to its current usage ‘First Lady’. It was during her funeral in 1848 that President Zachary Taylor informally eulogized her as the “First Lady of our land” (Gould, 1986:528) since she was not his wife. Nonetheless, she had served for many years in the white house hence, people were not sure how to characterize her and so they used the expression “First Lady of the White House”. The phrase slowly came into public use. The term was used almost in reference to the first college – educated First Lady Lucy Hayes. Lucy Webb Hayes wife of American President Rutherford B. Hayes (1877-1881) was a tremendously popular First Lady and the frequent reporting of her activities helped spread the use of the term outside Washington (Borrelli, 2002:26).

Although the title “First Lady” started in the United States, it did not come into general use until much later, towards the end of the 19th century. By the end of the 20th century, the title had been absorbed into other languages and was often used without translation, for the wife of a country’s leader (Carolí, 1995:637).

For instance in the Philippines the title refered to the hostess of the Malacanang Palace. However, because it later became a position traditionally filled by the wife of the President the title is sometimes taken to apply only to the wife of a sitting President. In France the First Lady title (Frenchi l’€ pause du president de la Republique Francais), often plays a protocol role at the Elysee Palace and during official visits (Carolí, 1995:637).
Equally, the term First Lady in English language media is often used to the wives of Heads of State of other countries irrespective of whether or not there is such role or whether that role is differently described.

In the United States where the term was first used to the spouse of a President, there were instances when the position of First Lady was not occupied by the spouse of the President. The four American Presidents; Thomas Jefferson (1801-1809), Andrew Johnson (1865-1869) Martin Van Buren (1837-1841) and Chelter Arthur (1881-1885) whose wives had died before they became President, in corresponding cases, the president’s daughter (Martha Jefferson Rondolph), a niece to President Johnson (Emily Donelson and daughter in-law (Sarah Jackson), another daughter in-law (Angelica Van Buren) and a sister (Mary Arthur McElroy) served as hostess at White House’ social events respectively (Caroli, 1995:655).

In a non-political situation, the term “First Lady” is bestowed as a term of endearment to women who have proven to be of exceptional talent even if that talent is non-political. For example, the term has been used in the field of entertainment for Ella Fitzgerald as “First Lady” of song; Aretha Franklin as the ‘First Lady of American soul’, and Helen Hayes as the ‘First Lady of American stage. The term is also used for a woman, who occupies the foremost position within a particular social locality (Gould, 1990:677).
2.3 A Role without a Rulebook

The first and most obvious challenge of being a First Lady involves stepping into a role which is poorly defined, or in some cases not defined at all. In most of the cases, expectations for how a first lady will occupy her time while ‘in office’ are defined by custom rather than law. While this flexibility may present an opportunity for women to mould the role to fit their personalities and interests, it also poses a unique set of challenges, and as such in order for the first ladies to be successful, they must actively craft and defend their leadership platform (Iheanacho, 2016).

2.4 Selected Roles of First Ladies Globally

The wife of the President of the United States commonly referred to as ‘the First Lady,’ has evolved and developed certain boundaries over the years. It is a role shaped by each woman who holds the title and those taking after her. The First Lady does not have assigned duties or responsibilities, so she models her role as she wishes and chooses. The earliest and oldest remaining role of the First Lady is that of a hostess. Nevertheless, there is more to it than simply hosting guests. The role of the First Lady is not just providing a dinner party but she is also expected to understand the politics of Washington and ensure that people at the table accomplish whatever the dinner was meant for (Gould, 1990:677).
Political scientists and historians have long acknowledged the evolutionary character of the First Lady’s position. Rather than being created or even established by a single actor or process, the post of the First Lady is a cultural tradition. In addition to her informal role, the First Lady was a formal member of the White House office particularly during the late twentieth century, when there was legislative and judicial concern to define this post and the office.

Contemporary First Ladies have been very active in the affairs of their States. There are instances where some First Ladies discuss politics with the president, others act as confidantes or advisers while some influence the appointment process. Given these roles, perhaps it is not surprising that there has been an on-going concern about the accountability of these presidential advisers (Borrelli, 2002:26).

The First Ladies marital relationship with presidents gives them undue influence (Mama, 1991). Some First Ladies have wielded political influence, some have assisted in building their husband’s public image and some maintained roles well out of the public eye. However, the position offers the President’s spouse a platform to address important issues. She becomes a representative of her husband while on official and ceremonial occasions both at home and abroad. The First Lady is closely watched for some hints on her husband’s thoughts and for a clue to his future actions.
Some First Ladies have presided over State dinners and a variety of social affairs held at the executive mansion and also participated in maintaining and preserving the White House. In other instances, they edit presidential speeches, hit the campaign trail, testify before congress, lobbied on behalf of legislation and chaired task forces (Borrelli, 2002).

2.4.1 Eleanor Roosevelt Wife of Franklin Roosevelt; 1933-1945

Most records show that Eleanor Roosevelt was credited for changing the role of First Ladies. She, more than any other occupant of the position, defined the role of the modern, First Lady. During her time as the First Lady, the East Wing of the White House became the focal point for National Conventions. She featured prominently in the press as the butt of jokes and anecdotes. The more kindly humour focused on her soft hearted and sometimes deep involvement in any case, which supported the improvement of conditions for the underprivileged. She often used her private funds to alleviate people’s financial problems (Erikson, 1964:268). She also succeeded in writing a monthly magazine column and a daily newspaper column, lectured, hosted a weekly radio show and authored several books (Carl, 1991:689).

Lady Roosevelt became the first Presidential spouse to speak at a National Convention. She hired a personal secretary, Malvina Thompson and social secretary, Edith Helm. Both occupied offices on the second floor of the White
House in a bedroom suite, then moved to the East Wing following its construction in 1942. Her social Bureau also borrowed staff from various departments to respond to the unprecedented volume of mails that Mrs Roosevelt received. In addition, her press conferences provided her with a defacto press office to promote her issues (Sani, 2001: 24). Mrs Roosevelt was also involved in a plethora of issues such as miners’ rights, the plight of the unemployed, women’s rights, youth issues, civil rights and war relief.

2.4.2 Hillary Rodham Clinton Wife of President Bill Clinton; 1993-2001

Hillary shared a deep commitment to activism and social issues reminiscent to Eleanor Roosevelt. Like the First Lady Carter, Mrs Clinton served as her husband’s closest adviser. This close relationship had an impact on policy in Arkansas State when Governor Clinton asked Mrs Clinton to chair the Education Standards Committee. Similarly, in Washington, President Clinton asked her to head a panel formulating a National Health Care Plan. Further, Mrs Clinton worked on campaigns, testified before Congress and worked solely with Congressional staff on many issues (Anthony, 2000). In terms of status, Mrs Clinton achieved a certain measure of independence and autonomy. Her education, activism, political proclivities and marital partnership served to impact her office. She was the first Presidential spouse to have an office in the West Wing of the White House.
Indeed, due to Mrs Clinton’s influence her staff earned more respect and money than any previous First Lady’s staff. She contributed to the increasing professionalization of the office and several members of her staff received Presidential Commissions aiding the integration with the White House staff. For example, Mrs Clinton’s work as Chair of the President’s Task Force on Health Care was integrated with the White House staff. While this work did not represent a separate project from the office of the First Lady, the involvement of First Lady Clinton in this issue led to a Federal Court of Appeal’s decision in the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons versus Hillary Rodham Clinton that had ramifications on her office (Ibid, p.56). The court sided with the Justice Department’s argument suggesting that Mrs Clinton was a government employee. This was the first ruling on the position of the First Lady and it served to advance the office of the First Lady as an institution (Gould, 1990).

No wonder then, during President Clinton’s tenure, there was a heated debate on the role of the First Lady by the American media. In an article by Haynes, he describes the role of First Lady as, first as a hostess. He further argues that she should be a hostess, charming and lovely and first wife and that is all. According to him, a First Lady should not get too much involved in policy matters and should never cross the line between professional activity, the law and legislation (Sani, 2009:27).
The debate rose because of Hillary Clinton’s role in the formation of the health policy during the early days of President Clinton’s tenure in office. In 2001, Hillary Clinton became the only former First Lady to be elected to public office – the US Senate. In 2008, Hillary Clinton ran for Presidency of the United States though she was defeated at the party’s nomination (Ibid:28).

2.5 First Ladyship in Selected African Countries

The often-opined cliché that, ‘behind every successful man there is a woman,’ has been used to celebrate the unsung yet powerful influence and contribution that many women have made towards the accomplishments by their male partners. In the African traditional governance structures, women played pivotal roles in the administration of empires, nations and tribes. Queen mothers amongst the Asante and Benin cultures would often determine who became king. We also have women who have served as great leaders such as the Empress of Ethiopia; Makeda, Queen of Sheba, Queen Amina of Zaria in Northern Nigeria who helped her people to get more land to cultivate kola nuts thus improving trade, Ketu (1886). Another is Queen Nefertiti of ancient Kemet and Yaa Asantewaa who with her husband Akhenaten were known for religious revolution in Egypt and they reigned at what was arguably the wealthiest period of Ancient Egyptian history. Queen-mother of Ejisu in the Asante Kingdom is also another notable figure who in 1900 led the Ashanti community in a war against the British imperial powers in Ghana even though they were defeated.
In Dahomey Kingdom, there was the king’s reign-mate, Queen Mother called “kpojito” who helped to cement the power of the king. Additionally, she was responsible for guiding kings to power. Therefore, “No one could reach the king without securing the approval of the powerful palace women. It was they who spoke directly to him. And only they knew when a king died, which gave them time to position themselves so as to influence the one to be chosen king next”(Berger & White 1999:75 as quoted in Segueda, 2015:6). Nonetheless, the kingdom also had elite troops of women soldiers. They were recruited as teenagers and devoted most of their lives “to weapon training, fighting wars of conquest and protecting the King” (UNESCO, 2014:7). In Kenya, a case in point is Wangu wa Makeri, a junior colonial administrator who was feted like a queen and put a spirited fight against the British imperialism (Wanyoike, 2002:23).

In light of the above, it can be noted that women have been involved in formal structures of governance through their roles as spouses of chiefs and kings in Africa. However, this role of women was re-defined during the colonial period. Thus, during the colonial period the well-structured African society experienced cultural shock (Bawa, 2014). Colonialism and the policies that it embodied destroyed the traditional power of the African woman therefore leading to the redefinition of African womanhood in the pretext of ‘civilization’. These placed women at a disadvantaged position despite the fact that in African traditional set up the roles of both women and men were complementary. The complementary nature
of gender roles in Africa pre-colonial communities is well elaborate in the economic sphere (Sudarkasa, 1986). Sudarkasa (1986) explains that:

Where women and men were engaged in the same productive activity (Such as farming or weaving), they produced different items. Among the Igbo, females and males grew different crops; among the Yoruba, the female and male wore different types of cloth on different types of loom. Where both females and males traded, they usually handled different commodity lines (p. 100).

In some cases, women rose to become the political figureheads in their community. For example, in pre-colonial Bornu, women occupied the highly respected offices of Magira (Mai’s mother), Magara (Mai’s senior sister) and Gumsu (Mai’s first wife) (Bawa, 2014). Additionally, Queen Aminat of Zaria and Madam Tinubu of Abeokuta of Nigeria excelled in politics (Afisi, 2010). This means women not only contributed to politics, but also excelled in commerce indicating the remarkable contribution of the African women in the pre-colonial period.

2.5.1 Janet Museveni Wife of Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, 1986- to Date
Uganda became independent in 1962 with Milton Obote as prime minister and Buganda’s King Mutesa as president. Since then, Uganda has had several First Ladies namely, Lady Damalie Catherine Nabagereka, Miria Kalule Obote, Madina Amin, Sarah Amin, Sarah Kyolaba Amin, Hannah Lule, Irene Marjorie Kabamoli Binaisa, Esther Okello and Janet Kataaha Museveni. Each of them played an
important role in building the Uganda nation. Their roles have however not been given adequate attention. One such First Lady is Janet Kataaha Museveni.

Janet founded the Uganda Women’s Effort to Save Orphans (UWESCO), a private relief agency in the late 1986, which she said was influenced by her experience as a refugee. She became involved in the HIV/AIDS campaigns in Uganda in the 1990s. In the 2006 Ugandan general elections, she vied for the Ruhama seat and won by a landslide. She was re-elected in March 2011 for another five-year term. On 16 February 2009, she was appointed, State Minister for Karamoja affairs, by her husband, President Yoweri Museveni.

Just like other First Ladies across Africa, Janet Museveni has been accused of personifying power for her own benefit and not advancing the interest of women as a national leader. During elections, she has always acted as his chief of staff for the campaign. To achieve her husband’s bid for stay on power she even resigned her seat in parliament to focus on his re-election. In this context, she has been accused of the personification of power, which has led to presumed fact that they are more powerful and she is using the office of presidency for her self-interest. Thus, she has been considered to be a personification of illegitimate power which is of no interest to other women.
2.5.2 Winnie Madikizela Former Wife of the Late President Nelson Mandela, 1994-1999

South Africa has had a number of prominent and vocal First Ladies. While they played and continue to play important roles, former president Nelson Mandelas’ wives Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and Graca Machel have become important symbols of peace. For instance, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela is an icon of black feminine suffering and a symbol for strength and courage that played a key role in advocating for resistance to racism in South Africa. She is a political activist who contributed to the building of South African first full democracy, a Member of Parliament and head of the African National Congress (ANC) Women League. Winnie fought South African’s rigid segregation policy known as the apartheid system while her husband Nelson Mandela was in prison for political activities (Son, 2016).

She won international recognition for her defiance against the government and also earned the adoration of black youths, who called her “the mother of the nation”. Winnie Mandela led a demonstration against “Pass” Legislation to African Women that led to her subsequent arrest and incarceration. In May 10, 1994, Mandela was sworn in as the South Africa’s first black President. With the victory of Mandela, Winnie was elected to the Presidency of the African National Congress (ANC) women’s league. She was later appointed the Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture and Technology in South Africa’s first multiracial government, headed by her husband.
Nelson Mandela stood by his wife even though he had heard all kinds of rumours about her atrocities while he was in prison (Siphokazi et al., 2011).

He supported her and defended her at all times. Her legal troubles continued, she was ordered to stand a trial for the death of Moeketsi. She was convicted on the charge of accessory and sentenced to six months in prison. In 1996, Nelson and Winnie divorced after 33 years of marriage. Following their divorce Nelson Mandela married Graca Machel the wife to the late Mozambican first president Samora Machel (Siphokazi et al., 2011).

2.5.3 Nana Konadu Wife of President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana (1981-1993, 1993-2001)

Ghana gained its independence in 1957 from Britain with Kwame Nkrumah as the first president. Since then, Ghana has had several First Ladies namely, Fathia Nkrumah, Mildred Ankrah, Christine Afrifa, Nana Afua Frema, Nana Yeboakua Ofori-Atta, Faustina Acheampong, Emily Akuffo, Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings, Fulera Limann, Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings, Theresa Kufuor, Ernestina Naadu Mills and Lordina Mahama. Their roles however, have not been given adequate attention and one such lady is Nana Konadu (Gonnella-Platts and Fritz, 2017).

Nana used the office of the First Lady to create a political opportunity for women during her husband’s tenure as the President of Ghana. Even though she had no
official position in government, she played a major role in formulating and even implementing policies relating to women successfully creating a powerful and autonomous space for herself within the country’s politics. Nana Rawlings established the 31 December Women’s Movement (DWM) as her main organizational structure named it after her husband’s second ascension to power in 1981. The DWM was officially launched in 15th May, 1982. It was a huge organization, with about 30 affiliate organizations and it claimed a rural membership of over two million. Overtime, the identity of the DWM shifted from a woman’s political organization, to a revolutionary organ, and later to a non-governmental organization. Much of its work was involved in mobilizing women around small-scale village-level economic projects, financed by external grants (ibid).

Nana Rawlings led the Ghanaian delegation to Beijing and presided over the implementation of the post-Beijing decisions. Her approach towards implementing gender policies was entirely autocratic. For example, she appointed a committee to draw up affirmative action policies and instructed the National Council of Women and Development (NCWD) on how to implement government policies.

Nana Rawlings’ influence grew to such an extent that she bid to challenge incumbent John Atta Mills for the National Democratic Congress (NDC) nomination ahead of the 2012 elections. After collecting her nomination papers on
3rd May 2011, Nana Rawlings declared that, “It was the beginning of taking the country Ghana back where it belongs”. However, during the Convention of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) Nana Konadu Rawlings won only 3.1% of the votes while, the party reconfirmed President John Atta Mills who won the majority vote as its flag bearer.

2.5.4 United Nations World Conferences on Women

The United Nations has organized four-world conference on women since 1975. The first was the UN World Conferences on Women of 1975 in Mexico that coincided with the international women’s year (IWY). IWY as expounded by Pietilä and Peoc’h (2007) was just one in a series of UN theme years that provided a framework through which women issues would become the object of global attention and at the same time highlighting the previously ignored aspects of many issues, in a way that they could not be forgotten or denied. The IWY according to Pietilä et al., (2007) provided the UN with a framework within which women’s needs and views could be promoted. Therefore, the 1975 conference culminated in the World Plan for Action for the Implementation of the objectives of International Women’s Year. The World Plan for Action called upon governments to develop strategies that would bring gender equality, eliminate gender discrimination and integrate women in development and peace-building (Pietilä et al., 2007). Thus, this set the overall theme of UN women decade (1975-1985).
The second UN women’s conference was held in Denmark in 1980. This conference reviewed the progress in implementing the goals of the first conference and further defined the objectives of the second half of the decade. Therefore, in 1985 the World Conference to review and appraise the achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace were held in Nairobi. The third conference celebrated and assessed the accomplishments of the Decade for Women; experiences gained and identified the obstacles (Pietilä et al., 2007: UN, 1986; Roberts, 1996). One of the achievements was that the situations of women across the globe were clearly ‘mapped out’ through collection of information, data on problems and conditions of women in different countries (Pietilä et al., 2007). The conferences adopted the Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women (FLS) agreement, which committed the governments, to achieve the objectives of the Decade by the year 2000 (Roberts, 1996). The conference also established an agenda that would guide future efforts to promote worldwide equality for women (Roberts, 1996).

Nonetheless, these action plans for decade of women are also supported by international pact; The Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) which is the United Nations’ treaty on women’s rights. Adopted by the General Assembly in 1979, it was the first international treaty to address the fundamental rights of women in politics, health-care, education, economics, employment, law, property and marriage and family relations filling a
major gap in international human rights law. It entered into force as an international treaty on 3rd September 1981 after the twentieth country had ratified it (Roberts, 1996). While earlier declarations and treaties obligated states to ensure that men and women were treated equally, CEDAW was the first to actually define acts of discrimination against women and is often described as an international bill of rights for women. At present, 187 states are party to CEDAW, including the majority of African states (notable exceptions are Somalia and Sudan).

The fourth conference on women took place in Beijing in September 1995. This conference came at a time when there was increased attention on gender equality (Roberts, 1996). Just like the 1980, the Beijing conference was to assess the progress of the FLS and explore ways by which the progress could be accelerated (Roberts, 1996). The conference adopted the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action for Equality, Development and Peace (PFA). This conference emphasized on empowerment of women, marking a shift from achieving equality and eradication of discrimination (Pietilä et al., 2017). The PFA highlighted twelve areas of concern that actions were to be geared towards such as the persistent and increasing burden of poverty on women; inequalities, inadequacies in unequal access to education and training; violence against women just to mention a few (UN, 1996:16-17).
The Beijing conference further amplified women issues at the global level. Therefore, since 1995 governments have taken steps to promote gender equality and empowerment of women through adoption of different policies. Some countries have even adopted affirmative action’s to increase women involvement at different levels of policymaking and implementation. Hence, increased number of women’s representation in national parliaments. Therefore, all the international conferences stressed the importance of women assuming position of power and influence not only because of their views and talents but also as a matter of their human right and an important principle of fair democratic representation. The reality is that women and their policy interest have been marginalized because of men monopolization of political decision-making structures and men’s voices dominating these structures. The adequate representation of women in these structures is regarded as essential for their interest to be taken into account. Furthermore, such presence becomes a powerful tool in challenging and tackling the societal stereotypes, thus creating role models, which provide a pivotal point for transformation of the society (Young, 2011).

It is from such platform that some former First Ladies have vied for political offices, for example the First Lady of Zambia, Maureen Mwanawasa vied for presidency in 2014 following her husband’s death. In the US, the spouses from the 1996 race would eventually go on to prove that the first ladyship was not the conclusion of their political service but rather a launching pad for other political
careers such as senatorial seats (Watson, 2003). Women have rights and obligations to active participation in political leadership and through this; they are able to bring a different perspective into political leadership. Therefore, having women in leadership would not only build nations, but also helps to balance the decision-making processes.

The wave of democratization in African countries in the 1990s ushered in political space and governance processes. Samuel Huntington refers to this development as ‘the third wave of democratization’ (Huntington, 1991). This was characterized by the resurgence of multi-partism in Africa, which resulted to the proliferation of many political parties across African countries. Nonetheless, the new wave of democratization did not only usher multi-partism but also women participation in the national politics. Thus in the 1990s, African women claimed national leadership visibility in noticeable numbers. Liberia’s Ruth Perry served on the six-member collective presidency, chairing the Council of State between 1996 and 1997. Uganda’s Wandera Specioza Kazibwe became the first female Vice President in 1994. From 1993 to 1994, women served as Prime Ministers in Burundi and Rwanda.

Additionally, some women even began to form political parties of their own, to promote agendas that favoured their interest and geared toward development because the existing different political parties were not or partially addressing their
concerns. A factor one draws from these political parties is the fact that they tended to be more broadly based in terms of multi-ethnic. In Kenya, Charity Ngilu vied for a presidential seat on a Social Democratic Party (SDP) ticket. In Angola Ruth Rolland-Jeanne-Marie led the party in Central African Republic while Margaret Dongo of Zimbabwe started Zimbabwe Union of Democrats. Some African women even declared their candidature for presidential seats for instance the late Wangari Maathai and Charity Kaluki Ngilu. Across the borders in Tanzania, rose Rugendo in 1995 who sought presidential nomination of Tanzanian party ‘Chama Cha Mapinduzi’ (CCM). Sierra Leone and more recently Guinea and Cote d’Ivoire have seen women compete. Dr. Sarah Jibril of Nigeria, for the fifth time, has thrown her hat into the race for the presidential elections the latest being 2011. Despite their unsuccessful bids, these women, undaunted, set important precedents and several have assumed other important leadership roles. They have set a good precedent, which the later generations of women are to follow (Maathai, 2004).

The political parties have become a platform for women development agenda and call for constitutional review in order to ensure gender equity in social, economic and political life. It is this new political space that various African women have seized so as to get into politics (Van-wyk 2015:3).

Similarly, African States in adopting Western-style constitutional government have carried on the tradition of referring to the wife of the President, Prime Minister or
Head of State as the ‘First Lady’. Describing the evolution of African First Ladies, Van-Wyk (2015) writes as follows:

_No longer simply trophy wives, First Ladies in Africa are an increasingly influential political force in the inner circle of African presidents and politics. Recent examples of the growing political influence of First ladies include Graça Machel, Grace Mugabe, Janet Museveni, and Patience Jonathan.... From peace missions to summits, African First Ladies attempt to play a leadership role in the sustainable development of the continent._

Thus from the perception that they are either covert or overt beneficiaries of presidential largess, embarking on expensive shopping trips and vacations; African First Ladies are making great strides in asserting their influence as key partners in advancing the economic, social, cultural and political goals associated with democratic governance (Van-wyk 2015:3). The existence of the Organisation of African First Ladies (OAFLA) and its recognition by the African Union (AU) demonstrates the heights to which African First Ladies have soared because of the concrete contributions they are making to develop the continent.

The numerous foundations and charitable causes established and run by First Ladies towards achieving global objectives such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) bears testimony to their growing influence at the national and global levels. Some of the notable causes worth mention are the Lordina Foundation of Her Excellency Lordina Mahama of Ghana, the Bantu Foundation by Her Excellency Denise Nkurunziza of Burundi, the Wanawake Na Maendeleo
(WAMA) Foundation by Her Excellency Salma Kikwete of Tanzania and Her Excellency Marie Olive Lembé Kabila of the Democratic Republic of Congo’s involvement in the initiative ‘Rolling Back Malaria and Eliminating Mother-to-Child Transmission of HIV as well as Her Excellency Margret Kenyatta of Kenya-Beyond Zero Campaign (Nana, 2015:5).

Thus in Africa, the First Ladies have not been left behind in these new roles more so in the late 20th and the 21st century. Service to the citizens has been part of their roles. They have redefined the roles of the First Lady to include running charitable organizations for the benefit of women, children and the society. For instance, Protection and Care of Families against HIV/AIDS (PACFA) was established by Mrs. Kagame in Rwanda. Other African First Ladies such as Mrs Sylvia Bongo of Gabon runs centres and other groups that provide counselling and legal services for widows and the poor in the society.

Many such African First Ladies are impacting positively on the lives of their people. As Mrs Sylvia Bongo put it, “my husband is in politics, and as a woman who has married a politician, I have to expect, at some point to team up with him in his functions.” This is a clear indication that the place of the First Lady in Africa is increasingly becoming important and prominent. Thus, these awakening on the roles of women and in particular First Ladies is a complete departure from the
colonial subjugation of women and no doubt has influenced the transformation of the roles of the First Ladies not just in African countries but also in Kenya.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter delved on the global semantics of the First Ladyship. It established that the term First Lady was first coined in the United States to refer to the spouses of the American presidents. However, the changing nature of society and political culture, especially concerning women’s roles and issues in the twentieth century, followed by UN efforts to increase the role of women since the adoption of “Women’s Year in 1975” that proclaimed 1975-1985 as Decade for Women has led to the changes in the traditional roles of the occupants of the office.

As a result, a number of First Ladies in several nations have become active political partners to their husbands; consequently, they have enjoyed office space, a budget and staff. To this end, this has been criticized since first ladies are seen as using their position to advance their own political agenda and that of their spouses rather than the plight of women. This has been attributed to the fact that the First Ladyship institution lacks statutory legitimacy and electoral mandate on clearly defined roles and responsibilities. Even with such challenges and dilemmas, in some African countries, the office of the First Lady has often been formally recognized thus housed in the office of the President. Such nations are Sierra Leone, Namibia and South Africa with Namibia being the only African state with a
clearly spelt out roles and functions of the office of the First Lady. However, the position offers the First Lady a platform to address important issues in the society and as a result; they have undertaken different crusade and pet-projects. This often provides them with a platform and springboard for which they participate in national, regional and international efforts towards quality life.
CHAPTER THREE: THE EMERGENCE AND ENGAGEMENT OF MARGRET NGINA KENYATTA; 1963-1978

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter probed on the semantic of the First Ladyship by examining the place of women in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial period. It also examined the debates on the First Lady institution by scrutinizing selected former first ladies in developed and developing countries. This chapter will look at the emergence and engagements of the first, First Lady in independent Kenya from 1963 to 1978. To understand the life and times of Mama Ngina, the study will have to revisit the years just before independence. It is in this chapter that the duties of Margaret Ngina are examined; economically, socially and politically.

3.1 The Birth of Kenya’s Independence, 1884-1963

Kenya is a former British colony. The history of colonialism dates back to the Berlin conference of 1884-1885. Through this conference, Kenya became part of the British East African Protectorate in 1895. This conference was called by German Chancellor Bismarck to settle how European countries would claim colonial land in Africa and avoid a war among European nations over African territory. The British East African Protectorate was placed under the administration of Imperial British East Africa Company. The colonial rule over the country was characterised by intrusive and punitive economic, social and political policies (Hornsby, 2012). These factors ranged from land alienation, lack of political participation and representation of the African, forced labour, taxes and racial
discrimination among others. The revolt against this led to formation of political associations such as the Young Kikuyu Association, East African Association, Young Kavirondo Association, North Kavirondo Central Association and Taita Hills Association. The Kikuyu Central Association, for example, advocated for the return of Kikuyu land, an end to the ban on Africans growing cash crops and the repeal of the hut tax (Hornsby, 2012). Therefore, in 1929 Jomo Kenyatta went to London to testify against the attempt by the colonial government to form a union of the three East African countries (Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania) (Ibid).

The clamour for independence and the fight for the return of African land by various political organisations became heightened after the Second World War (1939-1945). The African pressure for political representation grew during this period and as a result, Eliud Mathu was appointed as the first African to the Legislative Council in 1944 (Hornby, 2012). Therefore, to support Eliud Mathu in his new position, the Kenya African Study Union was later transformed to the Kenya African Union (KAU) in 1946 (Ajulu, 2002; Hornby, 2012). Jomo Kenyatta was appointed as the KAU’s president in 1947 following his return from London in 1946.

The increasing dissatisfaction with the slow political and economic change by the colonial government led to the emergence of a militant group Mau Mau in 1952. Following the outbreak of Mau Mau rebellion, the colonial Governor Sir Everlyn
Baring declared a state of emergency. Therefore, Mau Mau rebellion of 1952-1955 according to Hornsby (2012) was a key event in Kenya’s history since it shaped the country’s future political, economic and social structure. The rebellion intensified political resolve for Kenya’s independence. This forced the colonial government come up with constitutional proposals, as militaristic solution was not a realistic option, considering that the underlying issues were politically, economically and socially ingrained (Meyer, 2015:33).

The Lyttelton constitution in 1954 increased the number of Africans in the Legislative Council from four in 1948 to eight. However, this was rejected by the appointed members thus prompting the Lennox-Boyd Constitution of 1957. The Lennox-Boyd Constitution replaced the Legislative Council with a Council of Ministers. It also increased the number of African representatives from eight to fourteen, equal to the number of European representatives (Kaguongo, 2012; Hornsby, 2012). Nonetheless, this still fell short of African interest resulting to boycotts, which finally led to Lancaster House Conference of 1960.

Following the Lancaster House Conference of 1960 that the country’s independence was mooted, the African elected members agreed to unite under the banner of a new party. Therefore, Kenya African National Union (KANU) was founded in May 1960 at Kiambu Town to mobilise people against colonialism. KANU was majorly dominated by the dominant ethnic groups Kikuyu, Luo, Embu,
Meru and Kamba, therefore, fearing domination by large ethnic groups, the small ethnic groups formed the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) the same year (Hornsby, 2012).

In the 1961 elections KANU won the election with 19 seats, KADU 11 seats and other small parties and independent candidate took the three remaining seats (Hornsby, 2012). What followed was the second Lancaster Conference of 1962, which was to finally grant the country’s independence. In May 1963, a second election was held for the national and regional assemblies under the *majimbo* constitution following the second Lancaster Conference. KANU won 64 seats, KADU 32, the APP 8 and other small parties and independents 8 in the House of Representatives (Hornsby, 2012:82). Thus, KANU formed the government with Jomo Kenyatta as the Prime Minister following his release in 1962. As the Prime Minister, he hastened the process for the independence of Kenya, which was finally attained in December 12, 1963. The country finally became a republic in 1964 with Jomo Kenyatta as the first president.

Though the country achieved its independence in 1963, the colonial legacy has remained reminiscent in defining the country’s history in the post-independence period. Ogot and Ochieng (1995) point out that the achievement of independence was a blessing in disguise as it presented other problems, which extended beyond political change, to include economic and social changes. Kenya as any other
African country after independence wanted to shackle off the colonial legacy and promote the indigenous culture.

Ogot and Ochieng (1995) argue that the idea of nation-building in Kenya required visionary men and women of public affairs to take the leading role in the drawing and drafting the desired ends of the nation-building and at the same time chattering the way forward to their achievements. However, the proceeding years of Jomo Kenyatta were to witness entrenchment of ethnicity as a factor which determined who got the share of the national cake. In 1963, Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta officially launched the political philosophy of 'Harambee' (Swahili word meaning pulling together or self-help). In subsequent years, this would become a galvanizing motive force for development, which many women have used to pull their resources and support each other. In particular, Kenyatta’s fourth wife was instrumental in assisting women achieve this. She constantly organised and supported women groups to pull their resources (Ogot et al., 1995).

Jomo Kenyatta had four wives. His first wife was Grace Wahu whom he married in 1918. However, she passed on in 2007 (Kamau, 2016). The second marriage was to a British Lady called Edna Clarke in 1942, who later passed on in 1995. The third wife was Grace Wanjiku, who died during childbirth in 1950. The fourth wife was Margret Ngina whose role and place in nation building is discussed in subsequent sections.
3.2 The Introduction of Jeanes School in Kenya, 1924-1925

The Jeanes School in Kenya was established in 1925 at Kabete following Phelps-Stokes Commission report of 1924. The School draws its name from an American philanthropist Ann Jeanes who had done much work in helping African-Americans in the US. The school was to promote an education that was more practical centred than literacy. At the Jeanes schools, the courses that were taught were agriculture, vocational training and community development. The main idea behind the Jeanes School was that formal education be accessible to a small segment of the African society, therefore, the large population that resided in villages was unreached (Amatsimbi, 2013). The school-trained teachers who were supposed to be agents of social change in the villages, where in turn would also train others. Archetypally, the training focused on married teachers (Davis, 2012).

Amatsimbi, (2013), Sheffield (1970) and Davis (2012) note that the wives of Jeanes teachers were trained on childcare, health, sanitation, midwifery, nursing, housecraft and domestic subjects (such as cooking, laundering, sewing and handcrafts). The objective of this training was “twofold; that the wife may maintain a home which is a model to the surrounding people; and that she may be a fit partner to her husband towards helping these people” (Davis, 2012:11). This is indicative of the discriminatory nature of the colonial education system. This system of education redefined the role of the African women by introducing the western concept of womanhood through education. This form of colonial education
“was education for subordination, exploitation, creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment” (Nwanosike & Onyije, 2011:629). Therefore, it was merely a technical training to create women subordination to men even though in pre-colonial African society women’s roles and activities were complementary to those of men. This redefined the roles of the African women by pushing them to private spheres, despite the fact that in pre-colonial African setting the women were both involved in public and private realms as already discussed.

The erosion of the African traditional education system through the introduction of Jeanes School greatly impacted on the complementary nature of the African community gender roles. Nwanosike and Onyije (2011:627) acknowledge that the pre-colonial African education was based on the realities of pre-colonial African society. In addition, the introduction of the western form of education created a sense that Africans education system was inferior. Yet, African traditional education emphasised and promoted the complementary nature of gender roles. Thus, the western form of education initiated gender discrimination against women something, which has continued to reverberate up to date.

This form of education merely trained Africans for provision of cheap semi-skilled labour for the colonialisit and did not advance their literacy. Therefore, this diluted the indigenous education as the Jeanes system of education, focussed on cheap labour (KNA, PC/NZA/3/10/114, 1929:4). The abolition and erosion of the African
culture that granted women opportunity to rise into position of power following the
colonial intrusion into the continent brought a shift in power sharing and the
general relationship between men and women. Amadiume (1987) in regards to this
notes that:

…whereas indigenous concept linked to flexible
gender construction in terms of access to power and
authority mediated dual sex divisions, new western
concepts carried strong sex and class inequalities
supported by rigid gender ideology and constructions
(p. 119).

The outcome of the long history of colonialism was that women’s traditional
contributions to political, economic and social facets of the community were
undermined in favour of the colonial masters’ models. The colonial authority
destroyed African culture of dual-sex system of power sharing, replacing it with
uni-linear, male centred power that engendered women marginalization and gender
conflicts. Therefore, colonialism eroded the aspects of Africa gender equality
through law, custom, religion and attitudes relegating women to second-class
citizens (Afisi, 2010). Consequently, the disruption of the traditional system that
gave women the chance to have a say in matters that affected their lives,
particularly in the political domain became the basis of women’s practical actions
during the colonial and post-colonial periods (Bawa, 2014:5). For example, in
1929, women of Aba (Eastern Nigeria) revolted in what is historically known as
Aba Women Riot against colonial imperialist taxation policy (Ibid). Thus, such
colonial policies further marginalized African women far from their experience in their traditional setting (Amadiume, 1987).

In the post-colonial period, the women continued to demand for political space and through this; there has been great campaigns to empower women. The drive to achieve gender-fair politics and policies have received many commitments by governments to various international and regional declarations in the past few decades and this has led to the increased level of women political participation in Africa, thanks to advancement in general rate of literacy and political awareness. The gains in women’s political participation in Africa did not happen overnight; they have been earned over decades. However, it is on the onset of 1990 that a great number of African women begun to participate in the political leadership at the national level and this was a sign that high levels of women participation in politics could be witnessed in the 21st century.

It is this political transition of African women in politics that the institution of the First Lady should be the key to understanding the evolution of the institution in the African context. Therefore, following independence, African First Ladies were characterised by barely being visible or vocal as their roles were majorly defined by the patriarchal nature of the society, which had been redefined during the colonial period. Patriarchy is a system in which women are subordinate to men in terms of power and status and is based on the belief that “it is right and proper for men to
command and women to obey” (Code, 2002). The colonial regime, therefore, introduced the Victorian concept of womanhood, which pushed the African women to the periphery unlike during the pre-colonial period when their roles complemented those of men and they took active roles on matters that affected their lives. As a matter of fact, at independence most African Ladies were an embodiment of the patriarchal establishment marked by inactiveness of the First Lady institution. For example, Mama Ngina Kenyatta, the widow of Kenya’s first president Kenyatta is an epithet of this. During her husband’s regime between 1964 and 1978, she was barely in the public limelight, even though she engaged in pet projects (Kamau, 2016).

Nonetheless, in the evolution of the institution of the First Lady in Africa, the modern day First Lady has broken away from the patriarchal shackles even though it still defines her roles and public expectations. According to Barnes (2013), traditionally the First Lady served as hostess, and she was out of the public eye. However, the modern day First Lady is educated, vocal and often powerful in her own right. They are championing different courses that affect humanity such as maternal and child deaths. Therefore, in the redefinition of their roles, they have focussed on service to the public by running organizations or charitable organizations for the benefit of women, children and the society (Bawa, 2014). This according to Ajayi (2010) has provided a platform for the First Ladies to use their
offices and pet projects for gender mainstreaming and to negotiate for women in the corridor of power.

Hastedt and Eksterowicz (2006:57) with regards to American First Ladies argue that the modern-day first ladies operate within a complicated political environment composed of many variables that affect their power, influence and ultimately, their activism. The same is also reflected in the African context where many African First Ladies’ roles, which are power, activism and influence, are shaped by the political history of the country. These variables are not only limited to the personal nature of the First Lady but also involve the administrative environment within the state house and the office of the First Lady (Ibid). However, Wyk (2015) while studying the African First Lady institutions notes that, there is an assortment of glitches that hinders the study.

The challenges include the definition of who is a First Lady and this has been made complex by the fact that some of the African Presidents are polygamous such as Jacob Zuma of South Africa who has three wives (Sizakele Khumalo, Nompumelelo Ntuli and Tobeka Madiba). In some cases, the presidential mistress or concubines have complicated the issue of First Ladyship. A case in point is the former president of Kenya Mwai Kibaki, who despite being officially married to the Late Lucy Kibaki the issue of second wife Mary Wambui has remained unresolved to date (Kamau, 2016).
The other factor that complicates the study on First Ladyship in Africa is the status of First Ladyship. Watson (2003) though discussing America First Ladyship, makes observations that are relevant to the African First Lady institution:

*The first ladyship as an office is an extra-constitutional development. The president’s spouse is not mentioned in the Constitution and the position is neither elected nor appointed; as such, it is technically not even an office. However, the first ladies of the modern era have enjoyed office space, a budget, and staff of considerable size, larger than those of most presidential aides and advisers. It is therefore an office but one without portfolio, statutory legitimacy, electoral mandate, or clearly defined roles and responsibilities, making it difficult to study* (p. 434).

The above excerpt highlights some of the legal frameworks that the institution of the First Lady faces as an institution in dispensing their perceived roles towards nation building. Despite this, the issue of women participation in all spheres of life has become a major developmental concern worldwide. This has even integrated the elements of the institution of the First Lady. Many debates on the issue have highlighted women’s marginalization in all aspects of social, economic and political life. According to Nzomo (1994), women’s equal participation in political life is pivotal to social development. This has gained momentum globally since the Beijing Conference on women in the 1990’s. This conference and the preceding ones like the first world conference on women in Mexico in 1975, the second world conference on women in Denmark in 1980, among others brought forward the issue of gender equality and rights.
3.3 The Birth and Marriage of Ngina Kenyatta, 1933-1950

Margret Ngina Kenyatta was born in 1933 in Gatundu, Central Kenya. She was the daughter of Chief Muhoho Gatheca of Gatundu, Central Kenya, who had more than 10 wives. The 11th wife (Nyokabi Muhoho) first two children; Ngina Muhoho and George Kamau Muhoho, became part of Kenya’s body politics - and the enduring face of the Muhohos’ (Daily Nation, 12/5/2008).

Photo 1: On top is Mama Ngina Kenyatta, below left is her father Chief Muhoho and below right is her mother Nyokabi Muhoho.
Source: KNA/NRB/DC/1/2.
Mama Ngina’s father, Chief Gathecha Muhoho allowed all of his children to forfeit paying 25 cents or three eggs per child as fees after he donated land where Gatitu Primary and Muhoho High School - named in his honour – stands (KNA /DC/41). However, the colonialists were not amused that he was Kenyatta’s father-in-law and thus demoted him during the State of Emergency in 1952. He died aged of 84 years in 1966 (Daily Nation, 25/5/2008).

Mama Ngina’s only known brothers are Gathecha Muhoho and George Kamau Muhoho who was ordained as a Catholic priest in 1963, but vacated 13 years later because he was not serving the church at parish level (KNA/NRB/DC/1/2). He joined politics and served as the Juja MP and as a cabinet minister and director general of Kenya Airports Authority (Kabengu M., a politician O.I., 6/4/2015).

Mama Ngina Kenyatta was married to Jomo Kenyatta in 1951 at the age of 18 (KNA/NRB/DC/1/2). She was married off by her father as a gift to the Burning Spear, as Jomo Kenyatta was known. Mama Ngina’s father understanding the power dynamic preferred his daughter to be married off to one of the great sons of Agikuyu; Jomo Kenyatta. She was Jomo Kenyatta’s fourth wife. Her co-wives were Grace Wahu who died in April 2007 and Edna Clarke who died in 1995. She had married Kenyatta in 1942 when he was an agricultural labourer in England. The third wife was Grace Wanjiku who was married in 1946 and died in 1950 during childbirth (The Standard, 6/42007).

Mama Ngina Kenyatta had not received formal education or even any professional training (KNA/NRB/DC/1/2). A similar study carried out in United States of America also noted that most of the American First Ladies had less formal education than the men who they married (O'Connor, Nye & Assendelft, 1996). Mama Ngina therefore, relied on aides especially when it came to running her social affairs (Madoka, 2016). Elizabeth Mumbi Madoka was President Kenyatta’s Social Secretary from the time he became Kenya’s first Prime Minister in 1963 to his death in 1978. Her job did not involve politics. Her work was to mind the family affairs of Kenya’s first Chief Executive. Her boss was not the President, but the First Lady, Mama Ngina Kenyatta (Daily Nation, 8/4/2013).

Mama Ngina had literally gone from the village to State House and the onus of grooming the First Lady initially fell in the hands of Nyiva Mwendwa, wife of the first African chief justice and later woman cabinet minister,” (Ndegwa, 2006:67).
3.4 The Institution of First Ladyship between 1963 and 1978

This section focused on the roles and activities of Mama Ngina as the First Lady and her contribution to nation building.

3.4.1 Social Welfare and Pet Projects

Despite the demise of the first president, Mama Ngina as a former First Lady has continued to engage in different social activities, such as fighting jiggers and illicit brew among others.

As aforementioned, disease was highlighted as one of the challenges to prosperity of the country at independence (Sessional Paper No. 10, 1965). Good health enhances labour productivity leading to income generation and at the same time promotion of the country’s economy therefore reducing poverty. Hence, to President Jomo Kenyatta’s government, poverty was a big impediment to development and it was to be addressed as a national challenge. His government would empower Kenyans by giving them land and facilitating credit facilities to enable them farm. Mama Ngina was not to be left behind either, as the First Lady in these activities. Besides, she joined hands with locals and even social organizations like Ahadi Kenya Trust group in supporting the eradication of jiggers in the country, which impeded people’s productivity (Ms Watiri M., O.I., women leader 4/3/2015).
She mobilized her family members, friends and well-wishers in this fight. She participated in cleaning the hands, feet and the homes of jigger infested families. In some cases, she offered them shoes, food and other household items (Daily Nation, 5/7/2014). However, this fight to eradicate poverty was not witnessed in the entire nation especially where President Jomo Kenyatta government faced opposition like parts of Nyanza where he had sharply differed with the then Vice President H.E. Jaramogi Ajuma Oginga Odinga (Kariuki G.N., businessman O.I., 3/3/2015). The two were the frontier politicians of their communities and their differences could have been the foundation of political animosity between the Luo and Agikuyu (Oondo, 2014).

Illicit brews are connected to the health of the population, therefore, drug and substance abuse has a direct impact on the health of people, which affects the labour productivity. Nonetheless, drug abuse does not only affect the persons that abuse them but also the members of their family and those dependent on them. Hence, the slogan "Harambee" was given to Kenyan workers for the purposes of national development. Kenyatta likened the task ahead of the new nation to that of workers with a burden which would only be overcome by working together to successfully heave up or lift together their heavy load (Daily Nation, 13/7/2013). In line with this slogan, the President called upon Kenyans to shun behaviours that would affect service delivery like illicit beer consumption and abuse of drugs. Mama Ngina as the First Lady embarked on this by advocating for the fight against
illicit brews within Kiambu and outside (Jane W., nurse O.I., 6/5/2015). She severally called on the Kenyans especially the youth to keep off drugs especially those impairing the brains and instead turn to income generating activities. She would address the youth and their parents in churches and other gatherings urging them to abstain from such behaviours (Ojowk G., a youth leader O.I., 17/4/2015: Obendi J., a farmer I.O., 20/4/2015). This fight has however not yielded much especially in Central Kenya where there has been widespread proliferation of drug abuse and consumption of illicit brews leading to loss of lives.

3.4.2 Educational Empowerment

Education empowers individuals through enhancement of their skills. Nonetheless, it is central to economic growth of any country in both short and long-term goals. According to Iheanacho (2016), education empowerment takes different forms such as the formal and informal and vocational training. At independence, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta administration identified major challenges that had been affecting Kenyans like illiteracy, poverty and diseases (Sessional Paper No. 10, 1965). As such, he embarked on establishing schools all over the nation. He would participate in fundraisers and the First Lady, Mama Ngina was not left behind noted Jane W., a retired chief, (Jane W, O.I., 5/4/2015). She was and continues to be in the forefront establishing schools since independence up to date. The President and the First Lady in their quest to fight illiteracy would donate land and even have the government setting aside public land for learning institutions (Daily Nation,
7/5/1965). There are notable institutions that have been named after the First Lady such as Mama Ngina Girls School in Kisauni constituency in Ganjoni and Mama Ngina Kenyatta Girls in Rongai, Nakuru County. As part of her continued support and love for education, Mama Ngina University College was established in Gatundu South, with the main campus at Mutomo town (The Standard, 16/1/2015). Gatundu South is home to Mama Ngina Kenyatta and this perhaps was a gift to the people of Gatundu who have all along supported the Kenyatta family. Kiambu County is a host to more than two universities namely Jomo Kenyatta University of Science and Technology and Kenyatta University as well as part of University of Nairobi Campus with some counties having not had even a single campus (Mary W., a church elder O.I.,19/4/2015).

3.4.3 Health, Social Welfare and Social Justice

Taking care of the less fortunate has remained one way of giving back to the society. Therefore, as a way of showing their compassion the First Ladies have always engaged in activities that help the less fortunate in the society such as starting homes for the homeless according to, (Waweru W., a politician, O.I.,3/5/2015). For example, First Lady Mercy Udochi Orji the wife to Abia State governor, Chief Theodore Ahamuefula Orji, through her foundation Hannah-May Foundation, the vulnerable are screened for cancer, eye ailments, houses are constructed for the widows among others (Iheanacho, 2016). Mama Ngina participated in the establishment of homes for the less fortunate in the society. Such
homes include *Mama* Ngina Kenyatta Children’s Home in Nairobi South C. She has been in the forefront in ensuring that the less privileged children in these homes are provided for materially by either buying them foodstuffs, paying the employees working for these children and also contributing money to expand such facilities (Daily Nation, 4/6/1999: Ojwang B., a retired driver., O.I., 9/3/2015).

As *Mzee* Jomo Kenyatta served a jail term at Lokitaung in Turkana alongside *Mama* Ngina Kenyatta, they adopted one Peter Namuria Opeto who was only ten years by then. He came from a less privileged family and by the time of his adoption, he could not even afford food, clothing and shelter (Waweru W., a politician, O.I., 3/5/2015). She was the first person to buy Opete clothes, though at first he declined because he thought the excessive heat at Lodwar would affect him (Daily Nation, Thursday, 8/1/2015). When they were released, they moved to their Gatundu home with Peter Opete where he would later be initiated to manhood and even went ahead and married under the Kikuyu customary laws. Opete joined the General Service Unit (G.S.U) in 1965 and went on to rise the ranks retiring in 1999 at the rank of Senior Sergeant. In January 2015, he passed on and was laid to rest at his farm at Lariak Scheme in Karandi, Laikipia County (Daily Nation, Thursday, 8/1/2015). To extend her care, she was at hand to attend Opete’s burial at Laikipia accompanied by her two daughters Janie and Christine.
Mama Ngina adopted Opete as one of her sons, however; there existed a wide disparity between her own biological children and the adopted one. Her own children lived in affluence while Opete and his family led a standard life in the village at Laikipia County where cases of bandits are very common (Waweru W., a politician, O.I., 3/5/ 2015).

First ladies have always founded their pet projects to engage in or even to associate with. In this reference, Mama Ngina was the first patron of Kenya Girl Guides Association in 1963 (KNA/DC/1/1/1965). As a First Lady, she was emulated and envied by the young girls and as such, they wanted her to lead them in their movement. She would mobilize the recruitment of new members, provide resources in form of donations and participate in the opening and closing of their workshops and seminars.

During every festive season, Mama Ngina would lead the nation in visiting the less fortunate in the society and would donate clothing, foodstuff and offer moral support. As the First Lady, she would lead the nation in ushering in the New Year every year by participating in an open dance whereby she and the president would be the first on the floor. This tradition of participating in ushering the New Year disappeared during Moi’s tenure only to resurface during president Kibaki’s tenure.
Wyk (2015) opines that the political influence of the past should not be underestimated in analysing the institution of First Lady. He argues that several African First Ladies are or have been married to liberation leaders-turned-Presidents who bestow upon them this title ‘Mother of the Nation’ (p.4). This has presumably given them the symbol of the nation; cases in point are Winnie Mandela (South Africa), Kovambo Theopoldine Katjimune, wife of Sam Nujoma (Namibia), Sally Mugabe (Zimbabwe) and Mama Ngina (Kenya) among others. Therefore, Mama Ngina, as the Mother of the Nation would always appeal to Mzee’s forgiving nature by occasionally requesting him to reduce jail sentences under the constitutional provision of the Prerogative of Mercy, something he would do as part of National Day celebrations.” As the mother of the nation, her influence will result in several jailbirds finding their freedom (Ndegwa, 2006:65: Kago W., a retired teacher O.I., 3/4/ 2015: Warui M., a retired nurse O.I., 5/4/ 2015).

As a true Pan-Africanist, President Kenyatta in 1969, during his tour of Western Province to familiarize himself with the development in the province, upon reaching Nyanza and was shown Broderick Falls as a major key attraction became angry that after Kenya’s independence prominent tourist spots continued to bear names of foreigners. He told people of Western Kenya:

* I want to tell people of Western Province that I felt ashamed trying to pronounce….Bro...bro...bro...derick falls. These are names reflecting servitude...Why can’t you look for better local names with local content, names we know of their origin? (Jomo Kenyatta, 1969).
The President issued a directive that both the leaders and locals look for a substitute name for the tourist feature. He caused laughter when he asked: “Which Luhya man was called Broderick? Broderick was whose relative? A name is very important for identity. Which foreigner adopts your African names? If you want to domineer someone, conquer his intellect first and you will suppress him wholly. Following this directive, many roads bearing colonial names were changed. Plaques bearing names of colonial masters were similarly removed and the names replaced (Wamaitha A., a lecturer O.I., 5/5/2015: Wangari K., a church elder O.I., 7/5/2015: Kavita G., a retired extension officer O.I., 17/4/2015).

Thus, Mama Ngina whose name is not complete without the title “Mama” earned during independence in 1963, denoting “Mother of the Nation,” has had several institutions named after her. She has kept this title and the attendant respect that comes with it to this day (Terry B., a tutor O.I., 15/4/2015: Kutunyi T., a sales clerk O.I., 13/4/2015). High-end streets in both Mombasa and Nairobi bear her name. We also have schools such as Mama Ngina Primary School Msambweni and more recently, Mama Ngina University College all named after her (Martin O., a clerk O.I., 7/5/2015).

3.5 Political Duties

Political partaking is doubtlessly the most critical role a first lady can assume. Not all First Ladies have had an active interest in politics and legislation but those who
did served as informal advisors to their spouses, thus politically influencing the presidential administration (Sferrazza, 2009:134). Nancy Reagan, for example, allegedly encouraged the dialogue between her husband Ronald Reagan and Soviet Union President Mikhail Gorbachev. Quite known is also Hillary Clinton’s involvement in policy as she was appointed to chair the President’s Task Force on National Health Care Reform (Logue, 2009). Nonetheless, political activism will depend on individuals’ political affiliations. The political partaking of the first lady may be manifested through acting as a presidential advisor, campaigner and personification of power.

3.5.1 Presidential Advisor and Public Partner

The presidency has often been viewed as a political partnership in which the first lady serves as the president’s most trusted confidante. In most cases, the two partners are a pair long before the election and the First Lady, therefore, is the person emotionally closest to the president. As presidential advisors, this can be formal or informal. For example, the first Lady of Zambia, Maureen Mwanawasa in an interview with The Telegraph in 2015 admitted that “when I travel and come across something that I strongly feel that the president should know about, I put it in writing and later tell give it to him. As the closest person to him, it became part of my job” (The Telegraph 3/3/2015).
Whereas in Kenya, long before the country attained independence, Mama Ngina had joined the founding president of Kenya, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta who was incarcerated at Loktang (Francis M, a civil servant O.I, 5/4/2015). She was there to support him and accompany him in this foreign land. As Mama Ngina put, ‘It was not an easy walk to freedom for me because separating a mother from her children is like depriving her off her soul.’ She however braved the pain and humiliation of imprisonment because like the proverbial giraffe she could see far and looked forward to a brighter future (Francis M, a civil servant O.I., 5/4/2015). Mama Ngina Kenyatta, a proud Matriarch of Kenyan history, was not only available when her country needed her most but also witnessed a country moving from its most vulnerable stage to a mature, modern and politically stable nation (Daily Nation, 3/7/1997).

When Mzee Jomo Kenyatta was ailing, Mama Ngina was always by his side. She would use her traditional skills to massage Mzee especially when it was hard for him to sleep. Mama Ngina would also accompany the president during state functions and dinners (Ndegwa, 2006:78).

Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania have cooperated with each other since the 20th century. Inter-territorial co-operation between the Kenya Colony, the Uganda Protectorate and the Tanganyika Territory was first formalized in 1948 by the East Africa High Commission (Reuters, 1/07/2010). This provided a customs union, a
common external tariff, currency and postage. It also dealt with common services in transport and communications, research and education. The East African region’s founding fathers, *Mzee* Jomo Kenyatta (Kenya), Julius Nyerere (Tanzania) and Milton Obote (Uganda), steered the first East African regional bloc. *Mama* Ngina alongside other East Africa First Ladies that is *Mama* Miriam Obote (Uganda) and *Mama* Maria Nyerere (Tanzania) participated in the establishment of E.A.C. (East Africa Community) immediately after independence (The Star, 30/5/2016). This was especially important in strengthening the ties of the three new nations, which shared similar challenges. The East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) honoured *Mama* Ngina alongside other first ladies at the time of East Africa's independence (The Star, 30/5/2016). This however, did not last long because by 1977, the EAC had collapsed because of ideological differences whereby Kenyans were capitalists and Tanzanians embraced socialism (Reuters, 1/07/2010).

To date, the East Africa Community has grown to even accommodate other nations such as Rwanda, South Sudan and Burundi. However, questions have been raised with regards to the involvement of the First Ladies in the advancement of the political policies for their husbands. Hence, some First Ladies have been accused of supporting brutal and undemocratic regimes of their husbands, for example, Denise Nkurunziza (Burundi) and Grace Mugabe (Zimbabwe). In some other cases, they have been prosecuted; a case in point is Simone Gbagbo, the wife of Laurent
Gbagbo the former president of Ivory Coast. She is known for her fiery speeches as the “Iron Lady”, in the year 2015, she was sentenced to 20 years in jail over the role she played in the 2011 post-election crisis (Cody, Eric, Mychelle & Alexa, 2015). This has raised the debate on the neutrality of the First Ladies as advisors to their husbands. Therefore, their involvement as political advisors to their spouses in such cases did not advance the common interest of women but only fostered their own interest at the expense of all women as propounded by femocratic theorists.

3.5.2 Campaigner and Spokesperson

Political activism among First Ladies prior entry to State House and following it has remained indicative of the influence wielded by individuals; even though, this remains unknown in the literature that exists on African leadership (Wyk, 2015: 5). When female voters come into the picture of presidential campaigning, First Ladies are used to attract women’s votes. Many first ladies have supported their husbands and contributed to their spouses’ careers even before campaigning became an issue according to (Wamucii D., a farmer O.I., 6/4/2015: Gitu S., a lecturer O.I., 12/4/2015). According to Veronicah W., a retired teacher O.I., 3/3/2015, often Mama Ngina would rally women together calling for the release of Jomo Kenyatta and other political prisoners and indeed for the freedom of the nation. In Ghana, Nana Agyeman Rawlings the wife of Ghanaian President, Jerry Rawlings, through her organization 31st December Women’s Movement (DWM) campaigned for her husband's party, the National Democratic Congress (NDC), during the 1992,
1996 and 2000 elections (Ibrahim, 2004). Nana’s case is indicative of the fact that a First Lady can appropriate the open space of women organisation pretending to be representing the interest of all women but on the sides, using the organization to promote her husband’s interest of re-election (Ibrahim, 2004). This leads to the question as to what extent should the institution of First Lady be involved in political leadership such as campaigning for the re-election of their spouses.

The proximity of a First Lady to the Executive contributes to her political power and influence; however, this is dependent on a country’s government organisation structure. O’Connor et al., (1996) postulate that even though in most cases, the first lady has no constitutional office, she always performs many formal duties which are reliant on the interests of the executive branch and specifically the president himself. Reflecting on her tenure as Zambian First Lady, Maureen Mwanawasa stated that ‘much’ of her time was dominated by ‘acting as a go-between’ for those wanting to lobby her husband (Wyk, 2010). However, was this in the interest of all women or some individuals or was it for her interest.

Francis T., a retired civil servant (O.I., 6/4/2015) noted that Mama Ngina, has remained a soft power and although she rarely takes part in active politics, she remains very influential in the political arena. This is according to Francis T., a civil servant (O.I., 6/4/2015) who noted that some people believe that she is the power behind the ascendancy to power of President Uhuru Kenyatta, who is her
son. Nonetheless, because of her proximity to power and also having lived under different regimes has made some to allude that she understands the political intrigues of the country and that she has a lot of influence in the politics of the country. However, the question, which arises, is whether she used her proximity to power to benefit all women or she used it to advance her own interests and those who surrounded her.

### 3.5.3 Personification of Kenyan Political Power

First Ladies are known to be the embodiment of power whenever their husbands develop health problems or in the event of any crisis. In the US during the Woodrow Wilson presidency, his wife did not only support him morally and physically but also carried out many of the tasks of the presidency during his long, slow process of recovery when he suffered a stroke on October 2, 1919. According to Watson (2014), the First Lady during this time performed an array of duties such as “screening her husband’s visitors, served as an intermediary between the president and his cabinet and consulted with Wilson’s advisers and cabinet secretaries about policy matters” (p.3). Similarly, during her husband’s illness, the First Lady *Mama* Ngina became the embodiment of presidency (Mary W, a legal officer O.I., 8/4/2015).

The last years of President Kenyatta’s rule especially from 1976 were full of pain because of his sickly nature. His memory loss was at times so severe that he could
not recall his signature until a copy of the same was shown to him to jog his memory (Ndegwa, 2006:89). At other times, the ailing president would be forced to go through painful torture during national days, which resulted from gout making him end his speech sweating profusely (Ibid). The First Lady was therefore at hand to step in on behalf of the president (Melly I., a student O.I., 5/4/2015). She would therefore attend fund-raisers on behalf of the president, represent the president on various occasions and as such, she would receive the respect and attention of a president. This was so, especially when she was accompanied by police chiefs, heads of provincial administration such as provincial commissioners and district commissioners and other high-ranking government officials (Mbuto K., an assistant county commissioner O.I., 9/4/2015). In this context, the first lady functioned as a co-president and associate commander-in-chief during the president’s infirmity.

In the United States, Mrs Edith Wilson the wife to American President Woodrow Wilson engaged in a unique political partnership. Due to her husband’s incapacitation by a serious stroke, she began to monitor all matters of state and she would report that information to her ailing husband. Thus, she coordinated the operations of the executive branch of the government for the rest of the president’s second term, until March 1921. Nonetheless, she also served as a liaison between the president and the congressional leaders (Gonnella-Platts and Fritz, 2017:11). In her memoir, she wrote:
I studied every paper sent from the different Secretaries or Senators, and tried to digest and present in tabloid form the things that, despite my vigilance, had to go to the President. I, myself, never made a single decision regarding the disposition of public affairs. The only decision that was mine was what was important and what was not, and the very important decision of when to present matters to my husband (Edith, 1939 as quoted in Gonnella-Platts and Fritz, 2017: 11)

In the context of Mrs Wilson, she always consulted her ailing husband, however, in some cases the personification of power by the First Lady has led to their death due to presumed fact that they are more powerful and they are using the office of presidency for their self-interest. Aisha Hamani Diouri, the wife of the President of Niger, was reputed to be more powerful than her spouse (Ibrahim, 2004). Consequently, when her husband’s government was overthrown in 1966, she was assassinated but the husband was spared. This is because she was considered a personification of illegitimate power (Ibrahim, 2004).

3.5.4 Economic Duties and Roles

The economic engagements of any First Lady are mostly at a personal level without it appearing to be part of their expectations from the public. However, the citizens still expect to be empowered economically by the initiatives of the First Ladies. In Nigeria, Maryam Babangida who was the wife of General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, who was Nigeria's head of state from 1985 to 1993, started Better Life Programme for Rural Women (BLPRW). This programme by November 1993 had established 9,492 co-operative societies for women to have access to finance
and sundry re-sources (Iheancho, 2016). Therefore, the programmes of BLPRW were of benefit to the life of the Nigerian populace who were facing different crisis in the wake of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) drawn by the Bretton Wood institutions (Iheancho, 2016).

*Mama* Ngina was and is still in the forefront empowering Kenyans, particularly through her private businesses. She has employed thousands of Kenyans in her industries thus providing them with livelihoods sources (Wanjeri A., a businessperson O.I., 26/4/2015). However, Wanjeri A., O.I., 26/4/2015) points out that these ventures are undertaken by *Mama* Ngina rather as an ordinary citizen than as a first lady. She has also donated land especially from parts of the Coast to help fight issues of landlessness. Further, she has continued to conduct fundraisers to start schools, equip them and even sometimes to help educate children. Her efforts are geared towards empowering the community economically.

**3.6 Conclusion**

The chapter delved into a brief history of Kenya to provide a milieu of how the country attained its self-determination. Upon attainment of independence, Kenyatta became the First President with *Mama* Ngina as the First Lady. Therefore, the analysis focussed on the institution of first lady in terms of her roles and activities that she engaged in. She became the first, First Lady of Kenya at a time when the nation was in the process of Africanizing most of its operations. Nevertheless, she
participated in the liberation of the new nation from the hands of colonialists. She was Kenya’s first lady since 1963-1978 when the Kenyatta passed away. As the first lady, she curved and defined her roles and indeed, she earned her own position through the various social causes she initiated, hence earned her reference as the mother of the nation. Between 1963 and 1978, she acted as presidential advisor, confidante, campaigner and spokesperson. She also became the personification of power during the last years of President Kenyatta’s rule, when the president was ailing. In addition, she has continued to be involved and participates in array of activities that promote nation-building such as establishing homes for the less fortunate, fighting jiggers just to mention a few. Her roles and activities have helped define the roles of Kenya’s subsequent First Ladies.
CHAPTER FOUR: THE FIRST LADY THAT KENYA NEVER HAD; 1978-2002

4.0 Introduction

In chapter three, the study examined a brief history of Kenya and the institution of First Ladyship under Mama Ngina Kenyatta; 1963-1978. As the first, First Lady she helped in defining the roles and activities of the first lady institution. Therefore, the chapter demonstrated the importance of the First Lady figure in the life of not only the president but also to a nation. However, the period of 1978-2002 appears to have been a ‘dark’ period characterised by authoritarian rule perhaps because of the absence of a First Lady. Therefore, this chapter looked at the biographical profile of Lena Tungo Moi. It also discusses her marriage, family and the eventual separation and divorce as well as her contribution to President Moi’s leadership as the wife of the second president of the Republic of Kenya. Naturally, she was expected to be the next tenant of State House following the ascendency of President Moi to power. This however did not occur since they had separated and even divorced by the time President Moi became the second president of the republic of Kenya (Andrew, 1999:143). Notably, most of president Moi’s reign was dominated by powerful women who in one way or the other were at hand to compliment the office of the First Lady. Therefore, this chapter also analysed the roles of Dr Sally Kosgei and Zipporah Kittony during the regime.
4.1 Life and Times of Lena Moi, 1926-1955

Hellena Tungo Moi was born in 1926 to the Bommett family who were pioneer Christians in Eldama Ravine. She attended African Inland Mission (AIM) School at Kabartonjo. She joined Tenwek Girls Boarding School in Kericho and later she went to the U.S.A where she interacted with Christian families. On return, she became a primary school teacher and during her free time, she would preach. It is during this time that she started dating Moi who would be housed by the Bommett family especially when the schools would close.

This union blossomed to a marriage and in 1952; they got married after Moi had returned from Kagumo Teachers Training College. Moi had to pay dowry in form of two heifers, one ox and four sheep to the Bommett family. His long-time friend Francis Cherogony was the best man. The wedding was officiated by Erik who would host Moi when the schools had closed (Daily Nation, 17/13/2013).

After the marriage, Lena Moi abandoned her career as a teacher and immersed herself in bringing up her family and she settled down with Moi at Tambach Government School. She bore Moi seven children and they adopted one. They are: Jonathan, Jeniffer, Raymond, John Mark, Doris Elizabeth and her twin Philip and Gideon Moi. The adopted daughter was June (Daily Nation, 17/13/2013).
In 1955, Moi was appointed to the Legislative Council to replace the inefficient John Ole Tameno. He bought a Land Rover and opened a posh mill at Baringo town. He would use the Land Rover to traverse the fast Rift Valley region as he met the people he represented at the Legco. This however, affected his young family negatively. After this, Moi relocated his family to Nairobi (Andrew 1999, 56).
In 1967, Moi was appointed by Kenyatta as the second vice president of independent Kenya. This was after President Jomo Kenyatta had convinced Moi and the K.A.D.U. (Kenya African Democratic Union) officials to dissolve the party and join K.A.N.U (Kenya African National Union) to help complete the decolonization process in the country. Thus, Moi moved his family to Nairobi and Lena continued to be a housewife (Ibid).

By 1967, when Moi was appointed the Vice president, most of his children had grown up, with the last born having been born in 1964. This gave Lena time to engage in community services. She joined women groups as well as church members for fundraisers and other communal services. Her impact would be felt in the entire of Rift Valley an issue her neighbours attested at Nakuru Delamere (Moi flats) Milimani. They noted that, she was humble, lovely, and easily made friends regardless of their status (Ibid).

Lena was very committed and dedicated to community services and as such on 1st January, 1968, she was bestowed with the Order of Golden Heart medal by the then Head of State, President Jomo Kenyatta. Later in the second week of January 1968 when the wife of the US vice-president, Hubert Humphrey, arrived in Nairobi as part of her husband’s “listen-and-learn” Africa tour, Lena led the government delegation that received Mrs Muriel Buck Humphrey at the Embakasi Airport although she held no government position. Moi would later arrive at the airport as
well to receive Mr Humprey together with then US ambassador to Kenya, Glenn Ferguson (Ibid).

By 1969, President Kenyatta’s health had started affecting his delivery of duties, consequently, he chose to have most of the state functions handled by the Vice president, Hon Moi. This meant that Moi would traverse all the corners of the nation, which in turn meant he did not have enough time for his family (Karimi & Ochieng, 1996: 54). This was however not what Lena had anticipated especially being an ardent Christian. She looked forward to a family where she would prepare meals for her husband and enjoy them together. Thus by 1974, Moi’s place in Kenya’s politics was under severe threat from the mandarins surrounding Kenyatta. It is alleged that as he was fighting for survival and being harassed in the Rift Valley by the then provincial commissioner Isaiah Mathenge and roads engineer Kim Gatende on behalf of the Kiambu mafia, his marriage to Lena took a nosedive (Ibid).

This constrained their marriage, pushing Lena to make a hard decision of separating with her husband and even leaving their home in Nairobi to settle at their Kabimoi farm, thus their marriage of 25 years came to an end for the better of the two (Andrew 1999, p.49). Her active roles in the nation faded. She would only join the village women for local activities without much attention from the media and the entire nation.
On 22\textsuperscript{nd} July, 2004, Lena Moi passed on after a long battle with illness. It was expected she would have been buried at Sacho, though the former President ordered that she be buried at his Kabarak home. He also declared that when his time comes, he would be buried next to Lena. Thus, Lena was re-united with the husband, though this time around, she was no more (Andrew, 1999:57).

In the absence of an active First Lady, it was observed that there were women who emerged into the limelight with more pronounced roles and who welded immense power. The researcher used the case of Lady Cecilia Tamanda Kadzamira who was the official hostess for Malawi during the reign of President Kamuzu Banda to illustrate the Kenyan case.

4.2 The Role of MYWO in the Absence of First Ladyship Institution 1978-2002

The demise of President Jomo Kenyatta in 1978, propelled president Daniel Moi into power. However, following their divorce with Lena Moi, the country did not have a first lady, but MYWO presumably usurped this position as it became roped in government activities. MYWO had started as apolitical organization, but following independence it aligned itself with President Jomo Kenyatta’s Harambee philosophy. Actually, the MYWO’s own mandate fitted very neatly with the President’s vision of communities working together for the collective good (Owuor, 2016: 19). Nonetheless, most of the organization funding and technical support came from the government; therefore, this placed the organization under the
patronage of the state (Mbugua, 2017). This marked the genesis for co-option of the organization by the state. Therefore, in the 1980s KANU regime under the leadership of President Moi strengthened its hold over MYWO and made it a virtual party wing (Owuor, 2016). During this period, the organization was perceived as a strategy for women's support by the government, a role that the organisation fulfilled perfectly (Mbugua, 2017).

To ensure that the organization became more tightly roped to the government, the Moi government elevated the MYWO as the sole representative of all the Kenyan women (Kamau, 2010). This was carried out despite the existence of the National Council of Women of Kenya (NCWK), which was formed in 1964 to “co-ordinate and strengthen the women’s movement”, (Mbugua, 2017). Through this KANU hoped that the move would gain it votes, since party Leader Moi was struggling to hold on to power and with the MYWO that had thousands of members throughout the country, he would mitigate the challenge (Mbugua, 2017, Owuor, 2016).

During this time, Jane Kiano was the leader of the organization. She was succeeded by Zipporah Kittony whom during her leadership, the MYWO completely surrendered itself to KANU’s patronage. As Mbugua (2017) puts it, under her leadership the organisation “visibility, fame, power and influence hit its highest note in terms of prosperity and influence peddling” (p. 8). Nonetheless, the MYWO leadership were co-opted into the KANU structures, some were even appointed to
school boards and district based government structures (Mbugua, 2017). The co-option of the MYWO leadership into the structures of KANU and their placement into different positions was perceived as an attempt by the president to fill the void of First Ladyship institution. This is evident with the case of Cecelia Kadzamira and Zipporah Kittony, who will form discussion in the following sub-chapter.

4.3 Cecilia Kadzamira, 1964-1978

In Malawi, we had Cecilia Tamanda Kadzamira who was the official hostess of Malawi during the reign of Kamuzu Banda. Whilst she and Dr Banda were not officially married, she served as the First Lady and official hostess for several years. She was the most powerful woman in Malawi. Ms Kadzamira, is fondly referred to as "Mama", or "Mother of the Nation," (The Nation, 28/3/2013).

She was born in Rhodesia and lived in Old Highfield, Salisbury (now Harare where she attended school at Mbizi Primary. After her GCE, she enrolled at Salisbury Central Hospital as a cadet nurse where she qualified and was briefly posted to Old Highfields Clinic. When her father, John Kadzamira, returned home with his family, including David Zimani Kadzamira, she joined Dr. Banda at his Limbe medical practice as a staff nurse (BBC News, 5/4/2015).

There was a Cabinet Crisis in Malawi which occurred in August and September 1964 shortly after independence when, after an unresolved confrontation between
the Prime Minister, Hastings Banda and the cabinet ministers present on 26th August 1964, three ministers and a parliamentary secretary were dismissed on 7th September, 1964. These dismissals were followed by the resignations of three more cabinet ministers and another parliamentary secretary, in solidarity with those dismissed. Initially, this only left the President and one other minister, although one of those who had resigned rescinded his resignation within a few hours. The reasons that the ex-ministers put forward for the confrontation and subsequent resignations were the autocratic attitude of Banda, who failed to consult other ministers and kept power in his own hands, his insistence on maintaining diplomatic relations with South Africa and Portugal and a number of domestic austerity measures.

After the cabinet crisis in 1964, the Prime Minister Hastings Banda consolidated his political power and Cecilia Tamanda Kadzamira was appointed the Official Government Hostess (OGH). This was suggested by the Hon. Ismael Surtee, Banda's utmost closest associate, making her one of the most important figures in the government just below Banda at that time. As President Banda was preparing to be hosted by his friend, President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and the Kenyan First Lady Mama Ngina, Dr. Banda accepted to have Cecilia Kadzamira's name and title changed from OGH to Mama Tamanda C. Kadzamira, 'Mama' of the nation (Daily Nation, 5/7/1970).
In quick succession and in line with her new First Lady duties, Dr Banda announced that Mama Tamanda Kadzamira would run an organization called Chitukuko Cha Amayimu Malawi (CCAM), giving her more influence in Malawian politics and greater control over who had access to Banda. In 1974, (Englund, 2002:182), when John Tembo, as chairman of the National Celebrations Council, transferred the venue of the Youth Week Inauguration to Lilongwe without Banda's authority, Kadzamira pleaded with Dr Banda and saved Tembo from express expulsion from the MCP. Instead, Tembo was relegated to the post of
governor of the Reserve Bank of Malawi, while Gwanda Chakuamba, then deputy commander-in-chief of the Malawi Young Pioneers, rose in rank (Englund, 2002: 183).

She was a confidante and a friend of Kamuzu Banda. Her influence over his political and personal decisions played a significant role in the development of Banda and Malawi. The two friends were inseparable and she influenced many aspects of his life such as who he had access to, reading materials, knowledge that was passed to him and policies he signed. When she and Banda were going through a difficult time, Banda banned the song "Cecilia" by Simon and Garfunkel because of its lyrics that indirectly indicted him such as "Cecilia, I'm down on my knees, I'm begging' you please to come home (Englund, 2002: 182).

Through her position, her relatives were also politically well placed. Her sister Mary Kadzamira was President Banda’s secretary, her uncle John Tembo, was a very powerful politician throughout Banda’s presidency, her brother Zimani D. Kadzamira was a senior administrator in the University of Malawi and in 1991, became Malawi’s first ambassador to Japan and her other sister Esnat J. Kalyati was the first woman to become principal secretary in a government ministry (Kalinga, 2012: 85).
The case of President Hastings Kamuzu Banda was very important in understanding other women who played important roles and commanded a lot of influence during President Moi’s era as outlined below.

### 4.4 Ziporrah Kittony, 1992-2002

In the absence of Lena Moi as the First Lady, the country had active women who articulated women issues and their presence and impact was felt all over Kenya. One such woman was Ziporrah Kittony who was the daughter of Isaiah Chesire. It was at the Chesire’s that Moi sought shelter during school holidays, unable to return home, 160 kilometres away, like the older boys (Daily Nation, 17/3/2013). She was a teacher and taught at Kapropita, Baringo and Kasisit and this served to propel her leadership skills (Kenyan Woman, July 3, 2014). Kittony joined Maendeleo ya Wanawake in the early 1980s where she served as the chair of Trans Nzoia branch for 13 years from where she continued to champion for the rights of women in the grassroots. In 1996, she became the chair of Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO) a position she held for 9 years. It is during her era that the organization worked more closely with the ruling party, KANU. It is alleged that she would advocate for the advancement of the KANU policies at the expense of the welfare of the Kenyan women. This was widely witnessed in 2002 when she declared that women would heed President Moi's advice on who to succeed him. The nominated MP said women would play an active role in the
succession game by ensuring a landslide victory for the new KANU outfit (Daily Nation, 3/8/2002).

It is worth noting that due to the close working of KANU and MYWO during the reign of Zipporah Kittony, women empowerment remained a theoretical notion therefore reinforcing femocratic theory argument that women, who are married to men or are associated with men in power, use this proximity to get favours or even advance their spouses interest. This is because MYWO became a virtual women’s wing of the ruling party KANU (Kamau, 2010). At one point, the Chair Kittony stated that ‘women should leave senior political positions such as the presidency to their fathers and husbands as a sign of respect’ (Kamau, 2010:17). Thus, most women continued to struggle as much as MYWO claimed to have empowered them. Despite MYWO having been formed to advance the interest of women, the organisation became a personal property of Mrs Kittony, which she used to advance the interest of the ruling party at the expense of women interests and even encouraging women subordination in the society.

On a positive note, MYWO encouraged women to join active and passive politics, but the number was negligible. The negligibility of women who managed to join parliament since independence actually reinforced the argument that the organization may not have achieved much but could have helped men get elected and if not advance the interests of few women of which was barely visible (Kamau,
2010:17). There was also the fight against Female Genital Mutilation, which was widespread in some parts of the country. During her stint at Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organisation, she championed for the eradication of Female Genital Mutilation and urged communities that practised the rite to abandon the retrogressive practice. This was a big achievement especially to the ruling party KANU whose policies were geared towards eradicating such retrogressive acts in the society (Daily Nation, 3/5/2003). According to Maina Wakaranu (O.I., 2016) in light of this context of the proximity of MYWO leadership to the ruling KANU regime and their common shared ideology of eradicating female genital mutilation, at least there was the advancement of the interests of young women. This was achieved by trying to find alternative ways of approaching FGM in the country.

Finally, during 1978 to 1991 when it was an era of one party system, under the presidency of Hon. Daniel Arap Moi, women’s participation in the development process was through women groups closely associated with the government like MYWO and the NCWK. The women’s bureau, established earlier continued to supervise and control the women groups (Nzomo, 1994:55). There was a lot of manipulation within the leadership of MYWO, which led to lack of transparency in the conduct of its business and activities making most of its members to demand for change having lost their faith and trust with MYWO (Ibid). This was demonstrated by the patron-client relationship that existed between the ruling KANU regime and MYWO leaders.
The then National Chairperson of MYWO, Mrs Zipporah Kittony, a close relative of the president, openly supported the ruling regime and used the organization’s members and assets to campaign for the party. Mrs. Kittony would openly demand that the members of MYWO support the president’s preferred candidate during the 2002 general elections (Saturday the Standard, 28/7/2002). From the foregoing, it is clear that MYWO was an outgrowth of the then ruling party KANU and as such it was not women movement to steer women empowerment but a conduit to perpetuate and rally support for the ruling KANU regime. To this end, the organisation did not only fail to promote the interest of women but also perpetuated the authoritarian tendencies of the Moi regime, which saw detention without trial for government critics. Therefore, this raises the question, was the MYWO acting in the interest of the public or it just became rent seeking opportunity for the few women who held position at the organisation such as Kittony. According a respondent (Maina W., a village elder O.I.,27/4/2015) the proximity of Kittony to the KANU regime coupled with the fact that she was close to the president explains why the organisation hardly elevated the challenges that the women were going through at the time. He also elaborates that the current intrigues that the organisation is facing can be traced to the symbiotic relationship the organisation had with the Moi regime, which roped the organisation to the ruling elites at the expense of the local women interests.
Another notable woman was Dr Sally Kosgei who was educated at Alliance High School, University of Nairobi, then preceded to Stanford University for her M.A and Ph.D. studies (Who’s who in Kenya). She taught at the University of Nairobi before she was appointed as an ambassador. Later Dr Kosgei’s was appointed as foreign affairs Permanent Secretary making her the second woman to be appointed a P.S in independent Kenya. The first to hold such a position was Mrs. Margaret Githinji who served as PS in the Ministry of trade and industry in the late 80s and early 90s (Daily Nation, 3/3/2001). Her last public appointment was in March 2001 when president Moi made her the first woman to hold the powerful post of head of public service and secretary to the cabinet. During Moi’s presidency, Dr Kosgey helped to have more women appointed to the public service having additional six women as PSs, (Thundu et al. 2008).

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter examined the institution of the First lady during the Moi regime since 1978-2002. Close to 24 years, Kenyans did not have an opportunity of having an active First Lady. This made the office to be almost forgotten by the Kenyans. As a First Lady, Lena would have been expected to accompany the President to various parts of the nation either initiating or inspecting development projects, however, they had divorced with Moi in early 1970s before Moi became the president in 1978. Hence, in the absence of an official first lady, the entire reign of president Moi was dominated by powerful women who in one way or the other were at hand
to compliment the office of the First Lady. Therefore, this chapter analysed the roles of Dr Sally Kosgei and Zipporah Kittony during the regime. Their contribution to the first lady institution was limited as compared to if it could have been Lena Moi taking the office. In the 1990’s Kenya faced many challenges ranging from social, economic and political issues. Kenyans would have wished to have her take on such challenges and in particular, how she would have stood by her husbands’ side when facing all these issues.
CHAPTER FIVE: RE-INVIGORATED OFFICE OF THE FIRST LADY IN KENYA; 2003-2013

5.0 Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted Lena Moi, the First Lady that the country never had and also the powerful women who in one way or the other were at hand to compliment the office of the First Lady during President Moi’s regime. Therefore, this chapter analysed the roles of Dr Sally Kosgei and Zipporah Kittony during the regime. The death of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta would have seen Kenya get Lena Tungo Moi as its next First Lady. Nevertheless, by 1978, President Moi’s marriage had almost collapsed and he was more or less divorced though officially it happened in 1979. Therefore, for the period of 1978-2002, Kenya did not have a First Lady. Following the 2002 election, Mwai Kibaki became the new president with the late Lucy Mwai Kibaki as the First lady. This ended the 24 years of the country not having first lady. This chapter therefore traces the biographical profile of the Late Mama Lucy Muthoni Kibaki. It highlights her times as a teacher, wife, mother, political partner, role model and as the presidential partner or First Lady. For the period beginning 2008 to 2013, Kenya had two first ladies following the bungled 2007 election that resulted to the formation of the coalition government comprising President Mwai Kibaki and Prime Minister Raila Odinga. Therefore, the study also discusses Ida Odinga the wife to the Prime Minister.
5.1 A Brief History of Kenya before Ascendancy of President Kibaki to Power, 1978-2002

The death of Kenyatta in 1978 opened the way for Moi to take over as the President of Kenya. Exploiting his experience as a long-term serving vice-president for Kenyatta, he was elected unopposed as the President in the 1979 one-party elections. From then onwards, Moi took all measures possible to entrench his regime, in the process transforming Kenya into what many referred to as an authoritarian state (Hornsby, 2012: Amutabi, 2009). He adopted the nyayoism (following footsteps) philosophy as a rallying for continued development. He wanted to carry on with the legacy and development projects of late President Kenyatta.

During his tenure, and following the attempted failed coup of 1982, he made Kenya a ‘de jure’ one party state. However, due to both domestic and international pressure, section 2A of the constitution was repealed in 1991. This reintroduced multi-party politics and by early 1992, a number of new parties were formed such as FORD and Democratic Party (DP) among others. Nonetheless, the divisions in the opposition led to Moi's re-election and his KANU party retained a majority of the legislature (Amutabi, 2009). However, in October 2002, a coalition of opposition parties joined forces with a faction that broke away from KANU to form NARC (National Rainbow Coalition). In December 2002, the NARC candidate, Mwai Kibaki, was elected President. He garnered 62% of the vote and NARC won
130 out of 222 parliamentary seats (Amutabi, 2009). Following this election Lucy Kibaki became the First Lady of the republic.

5.2 Mama Lucy Muthoni Kibaki; Early Life, 1934-1965

This sections look at the early life of the first lady such as her birth, schooling and marriage and in retrospect and how these influenced her life. Lucy Muthoni Kagai was born on 26th October 1934 at Tumu Tumu Mission Hospital, Nyeri County. She was one of the ten children born to the late Reverend John Kagai, a pioneer minister of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa (PCEA) and the late Rose Nyachomba Kagai. Tumutumu, just like Gikondi (of the recently beatified Sister Nyaatha fame) in Mukurweni is one of the bastions of far-reaching Christian influence in a largely traditional society. She enrolled at Mihuti Primary School and later joined Tumutumu Missionary School. From there, Mama Lucy proceeded to Alliance Girls High School in Kiambu County (Daily Nation, Thursday, 5/4/2016). After high school, Mama Lucy trained as a teacher at Kambui Teachers Training College, in Kiambu County. Thereafter, she was posted to teach at Kangaru Girls School before going back to Kambui Teachers Training College, this time as a tutor and later a principal (Kabengu M., a former M.P. O.I., 28/4/2015). Therefore, unlike Mama Ngina who was the first, First Lady Mama Lucy was educated and had a professional career as a teacher that later would play a great role in her life as the First Lady.
*Mama* Lucy Muthoni met His Excellency Hon Mwai Kibaki in 1960, then a lecturer at Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda. The two got married on 16th December, 1961. They were blessed with four children: Judith Wanjiku, Jimi Kibaki, David Kibaki and Antony Kibaki. By this time, Hon Kibaki had already given up his job at Makerere to become the KANU Executive Officer. According to Kabengu M., a former M.P. (O.I., 28/4/2015) this was a very momentous period in Kenya’s history. It is the period during which the founding fathers of modern-day Kenya were busy building the pillars of an imminent independent state. After her marriage, *Mama* Lucy gave up work to be a full time mother and devoted most of those early days bringing up her family of four children. She also initiated various retail business ventures, besides undertaking farming in Nyeri and Nakuru.

Having taken up the KANU Executive Officer in 1961, President Kibaki was plunged into politics. *Mama* Lucy joined him to almost every event as his beloved wife (Kabengu M., a former M.P. O.I., 28/4/2015). Kabengu M., (O.I., 28/4/ 2015) further notes that Lucy had not only quit her teaching career to take care of the children and family businesses but also to allow Kibaki to have time for his political endeavours. Notably, in most cases, First Ladies stop practising their careers in the event their husbands become the presidents even though there are no laws barring them from working. Immediately President Kibaki assumed power, First Lady, Lucy Kibaki would accompany him both in State House and when attending state and private matters.
*Mama* Lucy was a strong defender of her family ever since she was married. She would go to any length just to do it as one of her son, Antony Kibaki said during her burial (Daily Nation, 3/5/2016). Not once or twice did her husband issue press statements to make it known the composition of his family members and who the intruders were. She was also the bedrock of her family as her husband was immersed in the straddle to set Kenya free from colonial domination, after which it would stand on its feet.

Family was Lucy Kibaki’s foremost priority. With her own strong Christian parentage, she taught her children strong Christian values. She dissuaded Jimmy Kibaki one of her sons from vying for the Othaya parliamentary seat even after he had launched an initiative dubbed *Si Mama* Kenya which he claimed was to encourage the youth to join leadership (Daily Nation, 28/4/2016).

As the Deputy President, H.E. William Ruto said during the burial of *Mama* Lucy, ‘during a garden party at State House, she waited for me and gave me a piece of her mind, but obviously in a motherly tone’ (The Standard 29/4/2016). She was also the mother of the Jubilee Coalition, having confronted the Deputy President and advised him to team up with the President Uhuru Kenyatta (Daily Nation, 3/5/2016).
As a mother, she stood strong with President Uhuru Kenyatta, when he was faced with criminal charges at the International Criminal Court. As the President would confess when all the other people including close friends walked away, *Mama* Lucy took upon herself to encourage and inspire him (Daily Nation, 8/5/2016).

As a mother, she came to the rescue of one, Ms Stella Wanjiku who was absorbed into her family when the Daily Nation highlighted her plight in 2011. She could not manage to join high school after her primary school education owing to her disabled mother’s inability to afford school fees. *Mama* Lucy offered to pay her school fees up to university. She ordered the then Central Provincial Commissioner, Japhter Rugut to take Ms Wanjiku to Bishop Gatimu Ngandu Girls High School in his Mercedes after providing her with shopping (Daily Nation, 5/8/2011).

5.3 The Institution of First Ladyship between 2003 and 2013

It is presumably understood that each First Lady always models the institution of First Lady according to her tastes and preferences. Thus, each will fulfil her duties in her unique way.

5.4 Political Duties and Role

During her time as the First Lady, the late Lucy Wambui Kibaki performed different political roles and duties.
5.4.1 State House Manager and Hostess

In recent report by the George W. Bush Institute, titled *A Role without a Rulebook: The Influence and Leadership of Global First Ladies*, the report highlights that the role of the first lady has been associated with that of the hostess. In this regard, the roles the first ladies are expected to fulfil include ceremonial responsibilities such as the coordination of the social gathering, greetings of guests, and attending events with their spouses (Gonnella-Platts and Fritz, 2017). The report highlights that, this precedence was set by Mrs Martha Washington, the wife to George Washington; the American first president. Therefore, it has become a common practice across the globe as a result of borrowing,. Similarly, Mrs Sonia Gandhi, the widow to the former India Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi used to accompany him in both domestic and international travels (Gonnella-Platts and Fritz, 2017). As a First Lady, Lucy Kibaki of Kenya fulfilled her role as a hostess and State House manager to varying degrees. She was always at hand to receive visiting Heads of State, diplomats and even delegations that came to meet the President.

President Kibaki embarked on developing the nation as soon as he ascended to power. To achieve this, he sought the assistance of the international community and the private sector within the nation. He would therefore hold bilateral talks with foreign dignitaries and even the local CEOs of industries. Thus, *Mama* Lucy would host state dinners for the visitors to the President including joining the President during State house garden parties (Kabengu M., O.I., 2015).
invite schoolchildren and students to State House from schools such as Alliance Girls High School and she would entertain and serve them with meals.

During the first years of President Kibaki’s presidency, he was faced with health complications following an accident during the election period, which had left him nursing a leg injury. *Mama* Lucy thus had to control and take charge of State House operations. As a State House Manager, she ordered the closure of a mini-bar where the friends of the President would frequent to have fun (Kabengu M., a former M.P. O.I., 28/4/2015; Mbuto K. an assistant county commissioner O.I., 15/4/2015). She also arranged the formation of the State House choir that unified all the departments in State House including the presidential escort team, General Service Unit and administrators. In the photo below, I have shown Mama Lucy Kibaki hosting students at State House lawns.
Photo 4: *Mama* Lucy joins students from Alliance Girls High School at State House Lawns for a jig.


5.4.2 Curator of the State House

As President Kibaki ascended to power, he was out to make Kenya a business hub, fight poverty and create employment thus improving the image of the civil service as he had declared during his inaugural speech (B.B.C. News, Monday, 30/12/2002). Thus, *Mama* Lucy as the custodian of the State House came up with a model sitting arrangement that is used up to date. This replaced the old model during President Moi’s time whereby there was no proper sitting arrangement. In the new arrangement, the military top brass would be sitting on the right hand side of the President. On his immediate left would be the Vice-president, the Speaker of the National Assembly and the Chief Justice. The head of public service, the police
commissioner and government spokesperson would be immediately behind (The Standard, 28/4/2016).

*Mama* Lucy also shut the State House bar, thus breaking up a cartel she believed misled her husband. This was a watering hole for a cabal of powerful men who had ring-fenced the new President. According to Lucy, the President would have been unable to serve all Kenyans yet they had overwhelmingly voted for him (Daily Nation, 2/5/2016).

The repeal of section 2A of the Kenyan constitution ushered in the multiparty democracy in 1992. Following the introduction of multi-partism, Lucy Kibaki became visible in the political realm. Her husband Mwai Kibaki formed the Democratic Party (DP) in 1991. This provided a platform for Lucy to campaign for her husband for the presidential seat (Muthambia J., a retired banker O.I., 3/5/2015). She always appeared during Kibaki’s presidential campaigns, clenching the DP fist salute - perhaps with more vigour than the presidential candidate himself (Kamau, 2016). This does not deny the fact before the 1990s she was involved in grassroots campaigns. Nonetheless, she was also the patron of several women groups in Othaya, where she also earned respect as a tea farmer (Kamau, 2016).

The salient feature of Lucy Kibaki’s participation in politics is that she was only active during the elections periods of which she could be seen alongside her
husband (Muchiri N., a police officer O.I., 12/3/2015). Following the defeat of Kibaki in the 1992 election, she disappeared from the glare of publicity, and reappeared again during the campaigns for the 1997 election (Kamau, 2016). The 2002 elections were however historic in that Mwai Kibaki won the presidential seat and Lucy became the country’s First Lady. Now she became more visible because she was the Mother of Nation. Further, her visibility was boosted by the various duties that she undertook as the First Lady. During her time as First Lady, she personalised the office of presidency by appearing to be more powerful than the president himself (Joyce W., a woman leader O.I., 12/3/2015). For example, because of her differences with State House controller Matere Keriri, he had to leave.

Therefore, Lucy Kibaki during her tenure created a powerful and autonomous space for herself in politics of the state by being confrontational with those who differed with her ideologies. Analogous to this case is also Mrs Maryam Babangida who after becoming First Lady of Nigeria established the Better Life for Rural Women (BLPRW) that became Rural Women. Though the programme was for the advancement of women, it entrenched femocracy since it was dominated by a few women whose their authority was derived from their being married to powerful men. The leadership of the organization was the wives of all senior state officials such as military governors’ wives in the various states and the wives of local government chairpersons (Ibrahim, 2004). However, not all First Ladies have had
an active interest in politics and legislation, but those who did served as informal advisors to their spouses, thus politically influencing the presidential administration (Anthony, 2009:32).

5.4.3 Campaigner and Spokesperson

Many First Ladies have supported their husbands and contributed to their spouses’ careers even before co-campaigning became an issue. Often First Ladies are used to attract women’s votes especially during presidential campaigns. The First Lady can be an important asset during election season as well as during the term. Since she is the person closest to the president, the public and media turn to her for any hint of her husband’s ideologies and ideas.

In the United State, Mrs Lyndon Johnson the wife of Johnson was actively involved in the campaign activities of her husband. She often campaigned for her husband in the company of Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall. It is through these campaigns that she found a common interest in conservation issues (Gould, 1985). In the photo below, I have shown Mama Lucy Kibaki campaigning for the president.
5.4.4 Presidential Advisor and Public Partner

The way this role is played by the First Lady is often influenced by the individual relationships between wives and husbands, and of course it is shaped by historical context (Ibrahim, 2004). For example, in the United Kingdom, where no formal role for a First Lady exists even today, Mrs Clementine Churchill carved out a platform of considerable influence. Her active involvement in political affairs as a first lady was a continuation of her involvement in Sir Winston Churchill’s career throughout their marriage as a partnership whereby Mrs Churchill would step in when her husband needed help engaging the public or when political affairs went wrong (Gonnella-Platts and Fritz, 2017:11-12). A similar case manifests itself in
the case of the late Lucy Mwai Kibaki, who was a strong partner of the former president Mwai Kibaki.

Early 1961, Mwai Kibaki left academia for active politics, giving up his job at Makerere University and returning to Kenya to become an executive officer of KANU at the request of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga (Daily Nation, 30/4/2016).

In 1963, Kibaki was elected as Member of Parliament for former Donholm Constituency (subsequently called Bahati constituency and now Makadara constituency) in the County of Nairobi. His election was the start of a long political career. In 1974, Kibaki, facing serious competition for his Donholm Constituency seat from a Mrs. Jael Mbogo, whom he had only narrowly and controversially beaten for the seat in the 1969 elections, moved his political base from the city of Nairobi to his rural home, Othaya, where he was subsequently elected as Member of Parliament until 2013 when he retired from politics (Daily Nation, 3/5/2016).

On 25th December 1991, Kibaki resigned from government and left KANU, just days after the repeal of Section 2A of the constitution, which restored multi-party system of government. Soon after his resignation, Kibaki founded the D.P. and entered the presidential race in the upcoming multi-party elections of 1992 (Fredrick M., a researcher O.I., 13/4/2015). Lucy was little known by the public by
then, though with the formation of D.P. she was actively involved in Kibaki’s presidential campaigns (Mukiri N., a clinician O.I., 19/4/2015).

During the NARC party campaigns in 2002, Lucy played a pivotal role of rallying women and youthful voters in supporting Kibaki to be the president of Kenya. Again, during the 2007 general elections, *Mama* Lucy traversed the country, marshalling support for Kibaki’s re-election. She would tell the electorates that Kibaki was still young and ready to serve through a slogan dubbed as ‘kazi iendelee,’ (Daily Nation, 8/8/2007). As earlier discussed, it is not unusual for the African incumbent First Ladies to campaign for their husbands. Therefore, Lucy Kibaki appropriated the negligible change that her husband introduced to drum up support for the re-election of her husband. In the photo below, I have shown Mama Lucy Kibaki participating in a public political rally.

*Photo 6: President Kibaki and *Mama* Lucy Kibaki at Maralal Stadium during the 2007 campaigns.*
President Mwai Kibaki and First Lady Mrs. Lucy Kibaki join Samburu and Maasai traditional dancers during a public rally at the Maralal Stadium, Samburu District.

During the 2007 general election campaigns, she stood out for her sharp epithets delivered against the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) candidate Raila Odinga whom he christened “domo domo.” She criticized the opposition, saying they had nothing to offer the Kenyans and as such, they should allow the president to continue with the projects he had initiated (The Standard, 8/10/2007).

During the referendum and the inauguration of the Constitution of Kenya (2010), Mama Lucy was actively involved in the campaigns for the YES team that was supported by the government and the president (Anyango K., a teacher O.I., 21/4/2016). Thus, she could not hide her joy during the promulgation day, when she sang and danced for this great achievement. In the photo below, I have shown Mama Lucy Kibaki in a political public rally.
President Kibaki, *Mama* Lucy Kibaki and other Head of States at Uhuru Park releasing doves to usher in the new constitution after it was promulgated. 

**Source:** *(The Standard, 15/8/2010)*

It is safe to say that the presidency has often been viewed as a political partnership in which the first lady serves as the president’s most trusted confidante *(Anyango K., O.I., 2015)*. In most cases, the two are partners long before the election and the first lady therefore is the person emotionally very close to the president.

The presidency of Kibaki encountered turbulent times that looked very difficult to bear and handle especially immediately after the 2007 general election. Following the disputed results there followed violence that saw loss of lives and destruction of property. What followed was the brokered peace by the eminent persons that led to
the formation of the coalition government. *Mama* Lucy as the leaders of then would say, was the pillar of the coalition government (Maina Wakaba C., a retired chief O.I., 23/4/2015). She would support the President in making key decisions and also ensured the shared government was intact.

### 5.5 Diplomat

A diplomat or an ambassador is the President’s highest-ranking representative to a specific nation or international organization abroad. As such, *Mama* Lucy represented the President and indeed the nation at the national, regional and international forums (Francis T., a retired civil servant O.I., 6/4/2015). On 3rd-6th October 2003, President Kibaki accompanied by the First Lady, Lucy Kibaki visited U.S.A. following an invitation by President Bush administration.

As the President held bilateral talks with President Bush, the First Lady *Mama* Lucy also held discussions with the U.S. First Lady Laura Welch Bush on issues of HIV/AIDS which was a big problem in Kenya and Africa as a whole. In the photo below, I have shown Mama Lucy Kibaki in the U.S.A. been hosted by the government of president George Bush.
5.6 Health and Social Welfare

Apart from serving as the nation’s hostess, the First Lady was involved in promotion of social affairs. Again, due to her influence and position, the First Lady could extensively lobby for social promotions (Gonnella-Platts and Fritz, 2017:11-12). Since it is customary for every First Lady to adopt a ‘pet project’ and promote it; Mama Lucy Kibaki was involved in a range of issues. These included children welfare, assisting the landless and the fight against HIV/AIDS pandemic in Kenya and beyond.
According to Ashford (2006), HIV and AIDs is one of the most destructive health crises of modern times, affecting both families and communities throughout the world. As a result, in March 2003 after President Kibaki had been sworn-in, he appointed Professor William Khamadi Were as the chairperson of National Aids Control Council (NACC). Soon afterwards, a cabinet committee on HIV/Aids was established with the president as the chairperson. This was indicative that HIV/Aids had been given the emphasis it deserves and the first lady, Mrs Lucy Kibaki, worked most closely with the Aids council (Omolla R., a researcher O.I., 29/4/2015: Tabitha. A., a heath worker O.I., 20/4/2015). Within months of being in State House, on 22 July 2003, Mrs Kibaki launched the Kenya chapter of the Organisation of African First Ladies against HIV/Aids and gave a very clear message: that Kenyans must go for testing to find out their HIV status and those found positive must be supported and not shunned. She declared that her focus would be the rural areas (Daily Nation, 4/5/2016).

Mama Lucy made clear her enthusiasm to work closely with National Aids Council, specifically requesting to meet people who were open about their HIV-positive status and interacting with them publicly. Nonetheless, being a member of the Organization of African First Ladies against HIV/AIDS (OAFLA) provided an impetus for her efforts towards sensitization on HIV/AIDs. The OAFLA was established in 2002 by 37 African First Ladies to tackle issues related to HIV/AIDS
like maternal and child mortality and to promote empowerment of women and children throughout Africa.

In her efforts to curb the spread of HIV/AIDS pandemic, in May 2003, she asked the government to come up with legislation against doctors who do not reveal patient’s HIV status to their spouses (Victory W., a consultant O.I., 3/5/2015: Anyang’a J., a lawyer O.I., 2/5/2015). She said the anomaly had contributed to the spread of the killer disease. She also advocated for abstinence to curb the further spread of the scourge. She stood strong against the issuance of condoms to school students as a way of curbing the spread of the disease. To her, it was not their business; it was their time to be in school (Victor M., a doctor O.I., 2/5/2015).

She also encouraged employers not to victimize any of their employees who were HIV positive but to instead accommodate them and even encourage them to take the Anti-Retroviral (ARV) drugs. Moreover, she called upon the government as an employer and other employers against making it public an individual’s status, so that such victims would not be stigmatized (Lumunza K., a legal officer O.I., 3/4/2015).

In September 2003, she began a countrywide tour to assess first-hand, the impact of the pandemic in the country. This came at a time, when the country had been without first lady for 24 years, therefore, as the First Lady, she had to reinvigorate
the institution. She would visit hospitals and orphanage homes where she would be at hand to witness the plight of such individuals (Daily Nation, 4/5/2016). Indeed, it is can be stated that Mama Lucy’s most important contribution was towards the fight against the HIV/Aids pandemic. When the cabinet HIV/Aids committee was formed, one of its core mandates was that the war against HIV/Aids must be intensified in the constituencies (Murimi N., a lecturer O.I., 5/5/2015). Thus Constituency Aids Control Committees were formed. There were also the Provincial Aids control officers who monitored the Constituency Aids Control Committees (Daily Nation, 23/4/2003). However, with all these efforts by the First Lady, little follow-up of her progress especially now that she is no longer in office and she passed on has been made.

The centrality of health in development remained reminiscent of Kibaki’s regime. President Kibaki’s government was keen to promote health and as such, he embarked on improving health services and facilities. His government would re-equip and reconstruct health facilities thus making it affordable and accessible to Kenyans (Yator B., a health officer O.I., 10/4/2015: Otollo Y., a social worker O.I., 11/4/2015). The Embakasi District Hospital was upgraded to augment Kenyatta National Hospital (KNH). The 120-bed facility located at Nasra Gardens near Umoja in Embakasi constituency was upgraded to decongest KNH and offer specialized treatment services at the national level. In a Gazette notice No 8009 published on Friday, Medical Services Minister Prof Anyang Nyong’o announced
the change of names from Embakasi District Hospital to *Mama* Lucy Kibaki Hospital Embakasi. The Notice was dated June 20 (Daily Nation, 15/7/2011).

It was hoped that by re-naming the institution the First Lady’s names would also give it a boost in terms of prominence (Ferdinand M., a medical officer O.I., 2/5/2015). She participated in the official opening of the hospital and during its expansion; she would solicit for funds for its construction and equipping. She would also visit the hospital occasionally to console the sick (Daily Nation, 15/7/2011).

### 5.6.1 Role Model

Westermann (2004:13) suggests that, due to the popularity a First Lady enjoys, her influence as a role model might be one of the strongest powers she has. This is because every move she makes is closely watched even symbolic acts serve as expressions of support or criticism. The American public has also been fascinated with the First Ladies as trendsetters in style, fashion, entertaining and home design. After Frances Folsom Cleveland married President Cleveland in June 1886, women imitated her hairstyle and advertisers used her image to sell products. Mamie Eisenhower was named by the Dress Institute as one of the 12 Best Dressed Women in America in 1952 and was lauded for her use of colour coordination and matching accessories, which then began to be imitated across the country. Thus exploiting on this influence, first ladies are role models.
During the reign of President Moi, Kenya did not have an active First Lady. However, things took a new twist in 2002, when President Kibaki was elected to office. He occupied the house on the hill accompanied by Lucy Kibaki. Hence, for a second time in the history of the country, we had an active First Lady who was the envy of the nation.

She became the patron of Kenya Girl Guides Association. As a pacesetter, she encouraged the young guides to work hard and abstain from premature sex. She also founded and patronized Starehe Girls Centre. As the patron, she would find time to give hope and encourage these students who came from disadvantaged backgrounds to work hard and remain focused in their lives (Veronica Wangechi, O.I., 2015).

Hastedt and Eksterowicz (2006) argues that there are array of attributes that fundamentally shape the performance of the First Lady of which are rooted in her background, ambition, vision and ideology. The first lady’s background encompasses but not limited to her personal, professional and educational background as well as employment history while ideology is shaped by the elements of her background (ibid). To this end, it is believed that the First Lady Mama Lucy as role model and her love for education was possibly shaped by her background. Being a teacher by profession continued to influence her life, therefore she still practised it, but in a different form whereby she interacted with students.
5.7 Social Justice

Watson (2000:71), it is a moral obligation to take care of the less fortunate in the society. Therefore, as First Lady taking care of the less fortunate is one instance of fulfilling the conceptualization of the concept ‘mother of nation’. Mama Lucy Kibaki’s compassion towards the plight of children was evident. She often expressed concern over millions of children who languished in poverty. Perhaps touched by the reality of what she saw having been a teacher in her earlier life, Lucy asked those in charge to take issues concerning children seriously (Daily Nation, 3/5/2006).

As a result, she created enough time for the orphans at Wema Centre where she was one of their key sponsors. The former First Lady Lucy Kibaki and members of her family frequented the orphanage and would give donations and take time to play with the children (The Standard, 4/3/2009). In the photo below, Mama Lucy Kibaki is holding a kid from Kids Alive Centre, Narumoro, as part of the social responsibilities work.
She loved the songs the children sang and on one occasion, she brought the First Lady State House choir to sing for the children as a way of encouraging them. She would always love to join the children as they entertained her and would hug and hold their hands to express her love and concern (The Standard, 6/6/2006).

The question of squatters and issues of land have always bedevilled the country since independence. Thus, President Kibaki’s government worked to settle the landless Kenyans especially those who had suffered from post-election related
problems thus leaving them displaced. In 2006, *Mama* Lucy Kibaki visited Hombe Forest in Mathira and saw how the Nyeri squatters lived. When she entered one of the ram shackles that they called home, she was touched by the plight of these squatters (Daily Nation, 5/7/2006).

Consequently, two years later in 2008, the more than 3,000 squatters were settled in Solio Ranch due to efforts spearheaded by her, Central Province provincial administrators and the local leaders. Most of these families had lived in squalid conditions for more than 20 years before Mrs Kibaki came to their rescue (Nganga M., a farmer O.I., 4/5/2015). Through the Settlement Trustees Fund, the government purchased 15,000 acres at Solio Ranch and settled the squatters who had lived in informal settlements in Nyeri town, Mukurweini and Othaya town. Each of them got four acres for farming and a separate half an acre for building, (The Standard, 3/5/2008). These acts by the First Lady Lucy Kibaki, contradicts the femocratic theory, which propounds that women close to power often use it to their advantage (*Mama*, 1997). In this case, the First Lady addressed the plight of the poor and she used her proximity to the president to lobby for the settlement and provision of better housing to the displaced people. This was also manifested whenever there were national disasters.

As a mother of the nation, First Lady showed her compassionate nature to the victims of different disasters at the same time calling for preventive mechanisms
against disasters. On 31\textsuperscript{st} January 2009, a petroleum oil tanker rolled and overturned along the Nairobi-Eldoret highway at Schangwan, Molo District, Nakuru County. There was petroleum spill and the villagers from this area rushed with empty containers to scoop the split fuel. At around 6:30 P.M., there was an explosion while people were still scrambling for the fuel. The ensuing fire engulfed all the people who had gathered around the spilt fuel killing a hundred instantly (Daily Nation, 1/2/2009).

Mama Lucy mobilized the then provincial administrators and other government departments to evacuate the fire victims. Through her efforts, some of the fire victims who had suffered high percentage of burns were transferred to Kenyatta National Hospital. She took time to meet these fire victims to comfort them (Daily Nation, 4/2/2009).

The First Lady was at hand to condemn the government departments that had been sleeping on their jobs such as the Ministry of Internal Security (Karinga G., a forester O.I., 7/5/2015: Rangumo G., a health officer O.I., 2/4/2015). To the First Lady, these departments ought to have conducted civil education especially on the dangers of such fuels. She did not spare the parents who sent their children to scoop the spilt fuel.
Mama Lucy through her office organized for the mass burial of these fire victims. For those who were in hospitals, through her office their medical bills were waived or paid for (Mbuthia E., a farmer O.I., 7/4/2015). To Mama Lucy, the young were being exploited by the wealthy especially noting that most of the victims were school going children (Daily Nation, 5/2/2009).

This incidence led to Mama Lucy differing sharply with the then Minister for Provincial Administration and Internal Security, the late Professor George Saitoti (Peter Tirop, a retired police officer O.I., 3/5/2015). To the First Lady, the minister was underperforming. He ought to have conducted civil education on the dangers of such crude oil (The Standard, 6/2/2009). However, due to the controversies that stalked her, like the night raid at the Nation Centre in 2005, overshadowed her profile as the mother of the nation (Daily Nation, 3/8/2005). This followed a confrontation between her and World Bank’s country outgoing director Makhtar Diop. She stormed the home of the World Bank country director and demanded that he turn down the music at a private party he was hosting to mark the end of his posting in Kenya. The confrontation was reported in the local dailies, something that compelled the First Lady to storm the Nation Media Group offices to demand that the reporter who had written about the confrontation be arrested (Nyamori, 2007). Of course, this generated public debate on the powers and obligations of the First Lady. Should she have confronted the World Bank Director or should she have alerted the security agencies to take action instead of her? Was
she acting on public interest or for her own benefit even if the music was loud? This rejuvenated the debate on the roles of the First Lady of which as a public figure and as a Mother of the Nation, she should have restrained and carried herself with decorum. This is driven by the fact that “the First Lady is portrayed as a national symbol of family and traditional values and a role model” (Wyk, 2015; 2).

To this end, it is also clear that the public has an impact upon first lady performance (Hastedt and Eksterowicz, 2006). According to Hastedt and Eksterowicz (2006) through media interpretation of events, reflection of public expectation of the First Lady Institution and public criticism and approval, all have implications on the political climate within which a first lady operates. For example, following the Schangwan and the Nakumatt supermarket fire disasters of 2009, the First Lady publicly scolded Internal Security minister, George Saitoti and demanded an explanation on the possible causes of the disasters. As a result, President Kibaki publicly issued a press statement conveying his confidence in the minister. In this case, the events affected the political climate in which the First Lady operated as it generated an array of reactions from different quarters in response to the First Lady’s actions following the disasters.

Female genital mutilation has been part of the culture in some of Kenya’s communities. This has had profound effects on the victims with some bleeding to death or even having their body parts mutilated in the process. To those who have
resisted the act, they have been isolated or even at times heavily punished by their
community members (Tanui 2006, 20). President Kibaki’s government embarked
on the fight against this practice by establishing Anti-Female Genital Mutilation
Board through act 32 of 2011 (KLR, and No.32 of 2011).

*Mama* Lucy, therefore, fought against Female Genital Mutilation especially within
the marginalized communities. She lobbied the National Assembly members into
enacting laws that would help deter and discourage the thriving of such an act. She
went out of her to discourage young girls from early marriages (Peter Kinyanjui,
O.I., 2016). She would encourage them to prioritize their education and consider
empowering themselves first. This she did by moving from school to school-
encouraging girls to work hard and abstain from premature sex, insisting that
school-going children should not be exposed to the use of condoms as a way of
controlling the spread of HIV/AIDS.

### 5.8 Educational Empowerment

Education empowers individual making them self-sufficient and able to contribute
positively to the state’s productivity (Gonnella-Platts and Fritz, 2017:11-12).
Immediately President Kibaki assumed power, he embarked on providing Free,
Compulsory Primary Education. President Kibaki had said that at the time of the
introduction of (FPE) back in 2003, it was clear in his mind the fact that education
is the foundation for a prosperous nation. Education was to give children a strong
foundation and prepare them for the role of building the nation (Mordecai W., a civil servant O.I., 2/5/2015: Githinji B., a lecturer O.I., 17/4/2015). It is only through education that we can develop the human capital needed to propel the country (The Standard, 19/2/2013). Thus, Mama Lucy embarked in helping the less fortunate access education by either paying their school fees or having them get government scholarships.

Mama Lucy will be remembered for her numerous contributions in the education of Kenyans. First, she was a tutor at Kambui Teachers Training College, where she mentored many young Kenyans who are today contributors in the building of the country’s economy (Kalembio N., a trader O.I., 18/4/2015).

She came to the rescue of one, Ms Stella Wanjiku from Ngangarathi slums in Nyeri County. The young woman came from a less privileged background with the mother being handicapped. Immediately, after she sat for her KCPE, where she scored 413 marks, she was admitted at Mahiga Girls Secondary School. However, the mother could not raise the required school fees. The media highlighted her plight; hence, Mrs Kibaki offered to pay her school fees up to university level. Ms. Stella through the assistance of the First Lady was admitted at the prestigious Bishop Gatimu Ngandu Girls High School. True to the First Lady’s word, Ms. Stella today is a student at the University of Nairobi. She is also part of the former First Lady family.
This bares similarities to Mrs Babangida’s projects, which were initiated to support the less fortunate, but academically bright or disabled children in the society. To achieve this she launched a Children’s Trust Fund on 17th March 1989. She also initiated the first ever children youth assembly in which primary school children had first-hand information on government affairs and a dialogue with the First Lady (Bawa, 2014: 102).

5.9 Economic Duties

In 2003 when President Kibaki ascended to power, he made it clear that Kenyans had been denied economic prosperity by the previous governments. This had indeed caused widespread unemployment leading to poor standards of living amongst Kenyans. His government thus embarked on reviving the malfunctioning economy of the country (Wanaruona T., an artist O.I., 5/4/2015). Some of the local industries that had collapsed were revived and he encouraged both local and foreign investors to invest in the country (G.N. Kariuki, a businessman O.I., 3/3/2015).

In 2007, under the Ministry of Public Service, Gender and Social Services; the Women Enterprise Fund (WEF) was established through Legal Notice No. 147: Government Financial Management (Women Enterprise Fund) Regulations, 2007 and began its operations in December 2007 (Government Financial Management, 6/5/2007).
Mama Lucy then embarked in empowering women and the youth do business with the government. She would encourage women to form social welfare groups that would help them access funding from the government (Mary W., a village elder O.I., 4/4/2015). The First Lady through Constituency-Women Enterprise Fund (C-WEF) system, which was found in all the districts in the country and managed by the District Gender and Social Development Officer lobbied for women to be funded to improve their living standards as a way of fighting poverty (The Standard, 5/7/2007).

5.10 Ida Odinga, 1950-2012

Ida Betty Odinga (born Ida Anyango Oyoo) was born in 1950 and has been defined as “a woman of style, grace and intellect and a female leader in every sphere” (Mochama, 2010). She is a teacher by profession; taught Geography at Kenya High School Nairobi and later became the head of Geography Department. She graduated from Nairobi University in 1974 with a Bachelor of Arts. She got married to Raila Odinga in 1973 while Odinga was a lecturer at the University of Nairobi and together they have four children: the late Fidel, Rosemary, Raila Jr and Winnie (Gibendi, 2016).

She became First Lady in 2008 following a bungled 2007 election that led to the creation of Coalition Government. The Coalition Government ushered in a new form of governance in the country that involved power sharing between the two
principals; the president and the prime minister. Therefore, under the new form of government there were two First Ladies; Lucy Kibaki and Ida Odinga. As the first lady, she performed a number of duties but this does not surpass the duties that she performed as a wife to a politician and as a private citizen. Therefore, she has remained a great champion for girls’ education, women’s health issues and nutrition and array of other issues as discussed below.

She was a great advocate for the second liberation and this often placed her at precarious position within the ruling government. According to Raila Odinga’s website, she is defined “as the face of defiance to injustices and the intolerance that was witnessed during the one party state regime and came to be known as the longest political widow.” Following the failed 1982 coup, Raila Odinga was jailed for six years for allegedly being part of the plotters (Hornsby, 2012). Thereafter, for the better part of the 1980s, Ida became her family caretaker and at the same time fighting for her husband’s release just like Winnie Mandela of South Africa (Mochama, 2010). Nonetheless, she was regularly harassed and occasionally arrested for short periods by the security police during the fight for multi-party politics (Amnesty International, 1991). Because of her husband’s pro-democracy and human rights agitation in the late 1980s and early 1990s, she was dismissed from her teaching job after her husband's detention in 1990, and later re-employed by the Ministry of Education in Nairobi (Amnesty International, 1991).
She has been championing for women rights for close to three decades. To achieve this, she established a women's voting league in 1992 to facilitate women’s access to political power through voter education. As the chairperson of the women-voting league (1992-2012), she encourages women to seek political leadership. She is also a member of the MYWO. Nonetheless, according to Raila Odinga’s website she sits on the board for paraplegics, she is the Ambassador for ‘Freedom from Fistula’ and advocate for the cause of breast cancer. She is also a champion for Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition (GAIN) and UNICEF Nutrition Initiatives. According to the organization’s website, it was launched to tackle the human suffering caused by malnutrition through food fortification and other sustainable strategies aimed at improving the health and nutrition of populations at risk. Their key focus is mainly on children, girls and women which are the key areas of concern to Ida Odinga.

5.11 Conclusion

It was the objective of this chapter to underscore the re-invigorated nature of the First Lady institution under the late First Lady, Lucy Kibaki following 24 years of absence of a first lady. During her tenure as a State House tenant, she often cut the image of an abrasive woman who was easily angered and quite unpredictable, while other times, she was the mother figure, easy with children and at ease with the public. This at times conformed to the femocratic theory and at times contradicted its views. She reintroduced the institution of first ladyship, thus giving
women much-needed representation within the corridors of power. As a teacher, wife and a First Lady she contributed immensely to the support of women, the girl child and the poor in general. She was a true patriot and philanthropist who supported the weak and vulnerable members of the society. She contributed immensely to the fight against the HIV/AIDS pandemic. She was a bold and courageous woman who never shied away from standing for justice and equality for the families and the marginalized. Her working demonstrated that Kenyans could work together selflessly for a better purposes, regardless of our political opinions.

The chapter also examined the contribution of First Lady, Ida Odinga. Ida Odinga as the wife of the Prime Minister contributed immensely to the advancement of social welfare of Kenyans. These ranges from encouraging women to seek political leadership, advocate for the cause of breast cancer. She is also a champion for Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition (GAIN) and UNICEF Nutrition Initiatives among others. Therefore, for the period between 2008 and 2013 Kenya had two first ladies, who contributed to the enhancement of social welfares of Kenyans, thus further reinvigorating the institution of First Lady.

6.0 Introduction

The previous chapter looked at the reinvigorated nature of First Ladyship during First Lady Lucy Kibaki’s time; 2003-2013. She performed the duties expected of First Lady although she did not have a reference to look to. This chapter discusses the redefined roles of the First Lady in Kenya. From 9th April 2013, Kenya had its fourth President, H.E. Hon Uhuru Kenyatta and as such, H.E. Hon Margret Kenyatta became the fourth First Lady of the Republic of Kenya (considering that between 2008-2012 Kenya had two First Ladies). First, the chapter explores the biographical profile of Margret Kenyatta from her days in school, marriage and eventually as the fourth First Lady of the Republic of Kenya. She has created a robust office of the First Lady, something that has aroused interest to everyone.

6.1 A Brief History of Kenya Prelude to Uhuru Kenyatta Presidency, 2002-2013

The triumphant NARC government did not last long before wrangles emerged. After the election, the coalition government was engaged in altercation on the ownership of the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU). Some members felt that it had not been honoured as most of the cabinet appointees were from the GEMA (Amutabi, 2009; Hornsby, 2012). With the referendum just miles away, it became a testing ground on the capability of the coalition. This saw the splitting of the government into two; those supporting the adoption of the constitution and those against.
The rejection of the Proposed Constitution in 2005 engendered a tense political environment that contributed to the disputed Presidential elections of 2007 and the resultant post-election crisis. The crisis was resolved through the National Accord and Reconciliation Agreement mediated by the African Union, which appointed a Panel of Eminent Persons led by H.E. Kofi Anan, the former UN Secretary General. A tribunal headed by Justice Philip Waki was set up to investigate the 2007-2008 election violence. Following the government failure to establish a special tribunal to prosecute the perpetrators, the matter was transferred to the International Criminal Court, in The Hague. Therefore, in 2010 the International Criminal Court Prosecutor Luis Moreno-Ocampo summoned to the Hague William Ruto, Henry Kosgey, Joshua arap Sang Uhuru Kenyatta (then Deputy Prime Minister), Police Chief Hussein Ali and Francis Muthaura (Hornsby, 2012) as key perpetrators. In the run up to March, 2013 election; the incumbent President Uhuru Kenyatta and his Deputy William Ruto teamed up to run for the country’s top jobs and both were facing trials at the international criminal court. Despite the criminal charges facing them at The Hague, they won the election in 2013 and since then, they have been cleared of the charges. The election of President Uhuru ushered in Margaret Gakuo Kenyatta as the fifth, First Lady of the country.

6.2 Biographical Profile of Margret Kenyatta, 1964-1990
Margret Wanjiru Gakuo was born on 8th April 1964 to Dr Ephantus Njuguna Gakuo and Magdallena Gakuo who is of German origin. Her late father graduated from a
German University (Freiberg University) in 1960 with a doctor of philosophy. He taught in Germany for one year before returning to Kenya. He also taught African studies for three years at Delhi University after earning his Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts degrees in Commerce from the Delhi School of Business in 1955. On returning to Kenya, Dr Njuguna Gakuo, became the first African managing director of Kenya Railways taking over from GPG Mackay in 1964. Her known brother is Maina Gakuo. Dr Gakuo passed on, in August 2005.

Margret went to St. Andrews Turi Molo. After that, she joined Kianda School for her high school education. On completion, she joined Kenyatta University and pursued a bachelor of education degree, training as a teacher. She met her best friend and later husband, Uhuru Kenyatta in Mombasa. Later in 1989, they tied the knot at Holy Family Basilica in Nairobi. She is a mother of two sons namely, Jaba and Jomo and one daughter, Ngina. Her mother-in-law is Mama Ngina Kenyatta, who was the first, First Lady of the Republic of Kenya from 1964-1978.

6.3 Duties of H.E. Hon Margret Kenyatta as a First Lady, 2013-2015
Margret Kenyatta has her offices and staff at State House unlike the late First Lady Lucy Kibaki who had her office at National Social Security Fund (NSSF). According to public service officials (Francis M, O.I., 2015) and Francis Thuita, (O.I., 2015), Lucy hardly operated from there. In the Office of the First Lady, we
have Ms Connie Gakonyo as the chief of staff and Ms Viviane Ngugi as the head of First Lady Press.

Unpaid and unelected, every First Lady although without any official duties, has to fulfil the role that is shaped by all women who held the title before her (Gladys W., a women leader O.I., 15/4/2015). This office of First Lady develops gradually, with every woman occupant adding something to it (ibid). As a First Lady, she has carried out duties ranging from social, economic and political ones. She has modelled the office in her own ways.

6.4 Voices of the Voiceless

By using their platforms as ‘voices of the voiceless,’ first ladies have at times found opportunities to push against deeply engrained biases by opposing stigmatization of vulnerable groups and offering a more inclusive and equitable vision of society that predates later political and legal advances (Iheanacho, 2016).

In India, Mrs. Ghani made it clear that she wanted to use her bully pulpit as first lady to make space for Afghan women to vocalize their problems and find solutions. She did not want her position as the country’s first public first lady to overshadow any of the work that Afghan women activists had done; she instead wanted to help them find the resources they needed and the right audience (ibid).
6.5 Health and Social Welfare

Most duties in this category are as old as the office itself and the public views them as fundamental to the role First Ladies assume. As a mother of the nation, she has been by the President’s side in extending her hand beyond her nuclear family.

In 2013, during the Kenya Schools, Colleges and Universities Drama Festivals finals held at Mombasa, Daniel Owira recited a hilarious poem entitled ‘Otonglo’, which left the Head of State in stitches. Thereafter the President hosted Owira at State House and pledged to pay for his secondary and college education fees. As the First family, they have since adopted him as one of their sons (Denis K., an artist O.I., 25/4/2015). In fact, as a way of showing concern, the First Lady and her family bailed the mother; Rose Awino Owira who had been hospitalized at Nairobi West Hospital, after a wall had collapsed and injured her (The Standard, 20/6/2015).

On Saturday, 26\(^{th}\) March 2016, H.E. Margret accompanied the Head of State to Joytown Secondary School for the physically challenged. As a mother, she took time to be with the students and would pose for photos with them. Later on, together with the President, they donated two school buses to school. In the photo below, H.E. Margret Kenyatta is with students from Joytown School for the disabled as part of her social responsibilities.
As a social advocate, First Lady, Margret Kenyatta, has not been left behind in establishing a pet project. She has been involved in social and economic issues cutting across the entire nation. When President Uhuru Kenyatta ascended to power in March 2013, he promised Kenyans that within a hundred days he would ensure maternity fees were abolished and that all citizens of Kenya were able to access government dispensaries and health centres free of charge. Therefore, in line with the government policy and promise, the First Lady could not stand the pain of losing a child, hence her determination to continue doing her best to ensure every county has maternal health services, fully equipped and with skilled care providers (Onsarigo P., a news reporter O.I., 29/4/2015). (Iheanacho, 2016), therefore, just
like Penehupifo Pohamba Wife of President Hifikepunye Pohamba of Namibia who was the patron of maternal health in Namibia, the first lady continues to work hard in order to improve maternal and the child health programme.

In order to fight maternal and child deaths, First Lady Margret Kenyatta launched ‘Beyond Zero Campaign.’ This campaign is part of the initiatives outlined in the Strategic Framework for the engagement of the First Lady in HIV control and promotion of maternal, new-born and child health in Kenya that was unveiled on World AIDS Day, 2013. The 2013 framework aims at galvanizing the support of the First Lady in fighting HIV and AIDS among the children and pregnant women. Therefore, the engagement with the First Lady office is to catalyse and sustain the on-going efforts in HIV, maternal and child health (Office of the First Lady, 2013: p. 2). The First Lady’s office thus focuses on accelerating the implementation of relevant policies, advocating for allocation of resources and strategic investment, mobilization of men as clients, partners and agents of change in promoting uptake of HIV, maternal and child health services, mobilization of communities to address barriers to accessing maternal and child health services and provision of leadership for attainment of the goals (Office of the First Lady, 2013: 2).
Beyond Zero Campaign is thus an initiative by the First Lady, Mrs Margaret Kenyatta to aid in the health problems of mothers and children around the country (Kamau F., a legal officer O.I., 3/3/2015). Despite its commitment to maternal health care, Kenya continues to make slow progress with this regard. With a maternal mortality rate of 488 deaths per 100,000 live births, the country was off track in achieving the UN Millennium Development Goal numbers four and five by 2015. Kenya had committed to reduce these deaths to 147 per 100,000 live births by 2015.

In an attempt to remedy this, Beyond Zero Foundation was formed in 2014 in partnership with the government. The campaign is also supported by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) (Deloitte, 2016). Led by the First Lady, Mrs. Margret Kenyatta, the campaign aims to promote maternal, newborn and child health in Kenya, at the same time to control the prevalence of HIV. This campaign is carried out under the umbrella of “No Woman should die while giving life.” To do this, mobile clinics have been delivered throughout the country. Besides, the programme also calls for the abolishment of harmful practices against the female sex for example female genital mutilation, early marriage and sexual and gender based violence (Deloitte, 2016).

In her attempts to enable the mothers and their children survive, the First Lady through her office, has organized, the First Lady’s Half Marathon. Participants
normally register right from the village level to the national level bringing together members from all walks of life. Every year from 2014, in the month of March, the marathon is usually held. The marathon includes 42km, 21km, 10km and 5km races. The drive raises funds to make health services accessible by providing mobile clinics with skilled staff to every county (Yator B., an athlete O.I., 23/4/2015). In a focused group discussion with members of civil service that worked in the Office of the President and the institution of the First Lady, it was revealed that, the first lady hopes to put up a state-of-the-art hospital for women and children. However, in another focus group discussion with members and officials of the MYWO, some participants were sceptical that, the half marathon could be a political ploy to endear her husband and even act as conduit for securing support for the president’s re-election in the pretext that the presidency promoted women and children social welfare. Actually, one of the participant even noted that in some counties the beyond zero van were grounded and not functioning. In the photo below is a beyond zero clinic van which is part of the beyond zero campaign.
Maternal and child health promotion is also a major area of operation of the First Ladyship Institution. This initiative often targeted at mobilization and health education, particularly on antenatal care, and the provision of free immunization facilities for pregnant women (Iheanacho, 2016). In Akwa Ibom State in Nigeria, the First Lady’s Family Life Empowerment Initiative, contributed to the reduction in maternal mortality in the state and also, as part of the FL’s crusade, to reduce infant mortality FLEI procured infant incubator facilities for some public hospitals in the state (Iheancho, 2016). President Uhuru Kenyatta government embarked on supporting devolution and even enabled county leadership carry out its mandate and even fulfil the pledges they made to Kenyans. Thus, H. E. Margret Kenyatta on several occasions hosted the county governments’ first ladies at State House for
state dinners (Amason T., an administrator O.I., 22/4/2015; Tanui T., an educationist O.I., 3/4/2015). She would urge them to use their strategic positions in their respective counties to raise awareness of preventable diseases that threaten the survival of women and children. To support this awareness, the county first ladies do organize and lead in county half marathons before eventually joining the nation’s First Lady for the final race. In a focus group discussion with members and officials of MYWO, it emerged that though the Beyond Zero Campaign was a noble cause it was yet to reach the targeted persons and considering the vastness of some counties this programme only became accessible to only a few.

The involvement of the county First Ladies bears similarity to Mrs. Maryam Babangida case who through her Better Life for Rural Women (BLPRW) programme only promoted the interest of a few women. Therefore, First Lady Margret by involving the county First Ladies in the beyond zero project is majorly driven by the fact that they are married to powerful men of which has reinforced the femocratic theory. This could possibly explain the reasons for ineffectiveness of the programme even though it remains a viable mechanism for reducing child mortality.

Again, as the First Lady presents the fully kitted mobile clinics at the county levels, these county first ladies are on hand to receive the facility on behalf of their respective counties. The county first ladies do mobilize participants from the
counties to join the First Lady’s Beyond Zero campaign’ half marathon to raise awareness on preventable diseases that threaten the survival of women and children (Mwangi S., a lecturer O.I., 5/3/2015). There are some notable successes of the Beyond Zero Campaign as was noted by respondents of the study.

Women across the nation do not walk for long distances before and after birth. In hardship areas, such as North Eastern parts of Kenya, women and men had to walk for thousands of kilometres in search of medical facilities (Agumbo O., a farmer O.I., 4/3/2015). Sometimes wild animals would attack them or the harsh weathers would make it almost impossible to access the hospitals. With a fully kitted mobile clinic, these mothers can now relax (Joseph K., a preacher O.I., 22/4/2015). Again, with a well-equipped laboratory, it is now possible to diagnose any ailment at an early stage.

It has created employment. One of the drivers noted that he is employed to drive the mobile clinic to the remote areas where there are no health facilities (Regina K., a water officer, O.I., 20/4/2015). Moreover, as they conduct their outreach programmes, they employ the lab technicians thus creating employment.

It has also improved the living standards of the Kenyans since they can now access health services more so those from inaccessible areas. Our children can now live beyond their fifth birthday and mothers and fathers can now celebrate as their
children grow healthy and even go to school (Njoki M., a secretary O.I., 19/4/2015: Rehema W., a banker O.I., 1/4/2015).

It has created national unity through the annual First Ladies Half Marathon (FLHM). Every year in the month of March, Kenyans from all walks unite under one fold to run to save life. The First Lady, cabinet secretaries, diplomats, heads of cooperate bodies, school children, parents do come together for the race. As they run, they interact with each other thus enhancing togetherness and cohesion, which are very critical in fostering national unity (Kamau K., a driver, O.I., 3/5/2015).

Despite all these efforts, health facilities and more so maternity services are yet to be accessible to majority of Kenyans. County hospitals are unable to pay the health workers and even provide drugs and other essentially services to Kenyans. Therefore, in spite of the First Ladies commitment, the quality of health care and related services has remained less accessible to many people.

There are also cases where the Beyond Zero Campaign mobile clinics have been vandalized making them unable to benefit Kenyans. Therefore, many questions have been raised concerning the sustainability of the programme. What will happen to the program in the event that the First Lady’s term ends? Moreover, why should the First Lady initiate an alternative programme instead of ensuring that the already existing hospitals or health facilities are well equipped and in cases where there is
none, the government should construct one. For example, Mrs. Abacha as First Lady, she initiated the idea of the National Women and Children Hospital which now is called the National Hospital, Abuja. The hospital has since remained one of the best hospitals in the nation in terms of quality health care provision (Bawa, 2014). First Lady Mrs. Maryam Sani Abacha also through the Family Support Programme in collaboration with the federal government, the United Nations, donor organisations and international agencies initiated an array of health programmes. Through this initiative, clinics were set up at Amachara, Umuahia, Okpuala Ngwa, Isiala Ngwa, Eloma and Isiala Obozo (Ikwano local government): dispensaries at Bauchi and Dass Local Government Areas and maternity wards at Daraja, Katagun and Bauchi specialist hospital (Bawa, 2014).

Additionally, as First Lady Margret is a close confidante of the President, therefore, she can help influence his policies to achieve better health care by coming up with policies that are centred on addressing the health issues. Many a times the programmes that have been initiated by the First Ladies have had, limited impact on the population and some have even turned to treasure trovers of the First Ladies and their cronies.
The figure below shows the HIV estimates and projection in 2013 and modes of transmission in 2009:

Figure 1: Support and fight against HIV/AIDS and Rotavirus


The figure above shows that most (59%) women are living with HIV as compared to men. Margret Kenyatta has been in the forefront in supporting and the fight against the spread of HIV/AIDS especially between mothers and children and also among the youth (Grace W., a pharmacist, O.I., 4/5/2016). As a First Lady, she has chaired workshops and seminars where she has encouraged peer-to-peer education, which would be the most effective way of empowering young people in making the right choices. Through her Beyond Zero Campaign initiative, the First Lady has
supported women to deliver in hospitals where they get the best medical services and are also attended by professionals (Victory W., a researcher, O.I., 30/4/2015).

Margret has also supported the HIV/AIDS patients by spending time listening to their predicaments as she encourages them. In Vihiga County, she spent time listening to one, Francisca Achieng’ who had lived with the virus for over eighteen years (Monicah M., a church elder, O.I., 26/4/2015).

She has also spearheaded campaigns against the spread of rotavirus, which causes gastroenteritis and severe diarrhoea among children though the Rotavirus Vaccine Campaign (R.V.C.). This virus has caused many young children to be hospitalized and in some cases occasioning death. The First Lady has participated in enlightening, campaigning and supporting mothers and their families into having their young ones receiving the jab at an early age of life to avoid contracting the virus (Thuita Mwangi., a civil servant, O.I., 4/3/2015). In the photo below, I have shown H.E Margret Kenyatta at Machakos County in a drive to promote rotavirus vaccine as part of her social justice duties.
In line with President Uhuru Kenyatta’s government commitment to provide health services to Kenyans, the First Lady has urged Kenyans emphasizing on the need for good health especially to the young ones (Njoroge Philip, a medical doctor O.I., 3/5/2015). She has advocated for exclusive breastfeeding of infants, promotion of immunization of children against preventable diseases, promoted the use of treated nets, sanitation and hygiene in schools and homes. Besides, she has campaigned for protection of children from child labour; sexual abuse, support to orphans and girl child education and all these are geared towards promoting child survival and development (Thuita Mwangi., a civil servant O.I., 23/4/2015).
Photo 8: H.E The First Lady Margaret Kenyatta participating in the launch of National Polio Campaign 2013.
Source: Daily Nation 14/5/2015.

6.6 Conservation of the Wildlife and Environment

During the swearing-in of President Uhuru Kenyatta, on 9/4/2013, he promised Kenyans that poaching and the destruction of our environment would not have a future in the country (Daily Nation, 9/4/2013). Thus, the First Lady embarked on fighting the poaching of the elephants by calling upon Kenyans to keep off their hands from elephants. Margret Kenyatta is therefore the patron of the Hands off Our Elephants, a campaign that was launched in the year 2013 by conservationists to save the species from extinction. This campaign raises public awareness and mobilizes support for the protection of our elephants (The Standard, 5/6/2013). She
has broken ranks to become the first African First Lady to champion for the welfare of wildlife. Her advocacy for wildlife conservancy bore resemblance of the Lady Bird Johnson beautification programmes. Mrs Johnson gained notoriety and success with her beautification and conservation initiatives and, as an active partner; she is the exception to this period (Watson, 1997). Although this project is socially oriented and purposely selected to be safe politically, it is nevertheless important and influences national crusades.

In a focus group discussion with members of civil service of the office of the President and the institution of the First Lady, it was noted that, the First Lady through her office empowered the Imbirikani Women Group from Kajiado County. The aim was to help the group plan and implement programmes that would diversify their livelihoods from the traditional agricultural and pastoralism to sustainable management of natural resources and other conservation related activities. She noted that these community members share the same habitat with the wildlife and as such, they should be allowed and empowered to conserve them by being made aware of their economic values.

During the late Wangari Muta Maathai commemorations, Margret Kenyatta encouraged Kenyans to plant trees and to conserve them. She noted that trees were seeds of hope and peace. If the environment is not conserved, the world would not be at peace. The First Lady encouraged all Kenyans to be responsible to their
environment (Daily Nation, 5/6/2014). In the photo below, I have shown H.E. Margret Kenyatta feeding a young elephant as part of her wildlife and environment conservation.

![Photo 9: H.E. Margret Kenyatta feeding a young rescued elephant at DSWT. Source: Daily Nation, 10/4/2014.](image)

6.7 State House Manager and Hostess

The administration of President Kenyatta has been committed to regional trade and cooperation thus engaging various nations regionally and globally in bilateral talks. The nation has therefore hosted, international leaders such as the United States of America President Barrack Obama, the Pope and Prime Minister Netanyahu from Israel. Thus, as the First Lady of the nation, Margret has been hosting State dinners and even meeting State visitors at State House. In addition, the First Lady and the President launched a unique mentorship project known as Pupils Reward Scheme (PURS) to motivate students to work hard in their studies and also to instil in them a sense of discipline, direction and patriotism (Wesley K., a librarian O.I.,
2/4/2015). The programme is meant to allow children from all over the country to visit State House to meet H.E. the President and H.E. the First Lady. Therefore, First Lady just like former First Lady Lucy Kibaki, her professional background as a teacher contributed to this endeavour (Maureen W., a policewoman, O.I., 5/4/2015). She has also been the curator of the State House. She together with the Head of State, organized for the refurbishment and decoration of the State House gazebo.

According to James T., a banker (O.I., 2015) and John M., a news reporter (O.I, 5/5/2015) as a hostess, Margret has hosted several Heads of State including heads of religious bodies. In 2015, July, she together with the President, hosted the U.S.A. President Barrack Obama. Later in the year, October 2015, she hosted Pope Francis of the Catholic Church. As had been noted in the earlier chapters as hostess, the first ladies are expected to fulfil ceremonial responsibilities such as coordinating social gatherings, greeting guests, and attending events with their husbands (Gonnella-Platts and Fritz, 2017). However, this role has been criticised of being reminiscent of patriarchal society. This role has persisted despite the fact that the roles of the first lady have expanded and evolved over time (Ibid). According to Gonnella-Platts and Fritz, (2017) many first ladies today find their leadership capabilities undermined by the expectation that they will take an active role in planning and hosting social events, something explored later in the report.
(pp. 10). In the photo below, I have shown H.E. Margret Kenyatta hosting the president of Turkey as a Statehouse manager and hostess.

Photo 10: A bilateral meeting between President Uhuru Kenyatta and President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey at State House, Nairobi. Source: Daily Nation, 2/6/2016.

6.8 Role Model

Westermann (2014:13) suggests that, due to the popularity a First Lady enjoys, her influence as role model can be great. The First Lady has played a significant role in transporting the ideals of Kenyan womanhood and people have projected their ideas about family and home on the members as the most transparent family of the
nation. Every individual or organization will always want to be part of the First Lady and as such, she patronizes various bodies.

Unlike the previous First Ladies, Margret attended prestigious schools and was even lucky to have come from a privileged family (Wamaitha A., a lecturer, O.I., 22/4/2015). This exposure and upbringing has had a significant difference in the way she has picked her pet projects. She engages in conservation activities where she lobbies and advocates for the saving of the elephants from extinction. This is contrary to her mother-in-law who was the first, First Lady, whom it had been alleged that she was involved in poaching the early 1970s.

Her dressing has also been different from the previous tenants of State House. She dresses sharply avoiding traditional garbs like those popular with most African First Ladies (Adhiambo G., a librarian O.I., 24/4/2015). She for example, she wore a white dress with an Ankara cape. She also settled for minimal jewellery, opting to embellish her look with a set of pearls and a wristwatch. She completed her look with age appropriate heels stealing the show at a forum attended by first ladies from all over Africa while attending the Africa Conference on Reproductive Health and Rights (ACSHR) in Accra, Ghana (Daily Nation, 8/8/2015). She therefore emerged as envy to many especially noting that most of those attending were dressed in traditional Ghana garbs (Adhiambo G., a librarian, O.I., 24/4/2015).
Margret as a role model is a patron of the SOS Children’s Village. This is home for the orphaned with centres in various towns in Kenya. The First Lady visits SOS Children’s Village, to offer love to this young ones who in most cases do not have their families to offer this much required care and support.

She has been the patron of the National Assembly Lady Spouses Association (Nalsa) (Thuita Mwangi, a civil servant O.I., 27/4/2015). This is usually a
mentorship programme that empowers the youth to confidently reject all retrogressive practices, behaviours and ideas that are obstacles that hinder them from realizing their full potentials. As a patron, she has challenged the youth to shun behaviours such as substance abuse, sexual promiscuity, vulgarity, aggression and violence. The ideals of the mentorship programme are dubbed ‘It is cool to say no’ (Betty K., a legal researcher O.I., 30/4/2015).

Margret is also the patron of Kenya Girl Guide Association (KGGA). The association moulds the character of girls, in personal discipline, communal service and self-improvement. As the patron, Margret has encouraged the young girls to register in their many numbers noting that successful women in public life are products of the guiding movement (Betty K., a legal researcher, O.I., 30/4/2015). Under her patronage, the girl guides environmental conservation project has increased the country’s forest cover by planting over two million trees every year.

In the photo below, I have shown H.E. Margret Kenyatta with young girls who are members of Kenya Girls Guide Association as she mentors them as a role model.
6.9 Political Duties

Not all first ladies have had an active interest in politics and legislation but those who did served as informal advisors to their spouses and in one way or the other politically influenced the presidential administration (Sferrazza, 2009).

6.9.1 Presidential Advisor and Public Partner

Globally many First Ladies have served as advisors and confidante of their husbands, for example, Madame Chiang Wife of Chinese President Chiang Kai-Shek, served as her husband’s interpreter and adviser in dealing with the West.
Even after the Chinese Communist Party exiled them in 1949, she continued to serve her husband (Bawa, 2014).

On 8th April 2013, President Uhuru Kenyatta was sworn in as the fourth president of Kenya. During the swearing-in ceremony, the President and the First Lady held the Bible together. This was to remind the President of the family values and thus upholding them and also to ensure that family obligations would not interfere with his execution of duties to the nation (Jaoko M., a event organizer O.I., 21/4/2015). The First Lady showed openly that she would support and be a partner to the President as he served his people.

While the institution of First Lady has certainly not achieved what could be seen as co-equal status as a partner at least in the public's eye she often functions much as an "associate president" (Watson 1997). For example, the period of Rosalynn Carter and Hillary Clinton, they attended cabinet meetings, headed policy task forces, and had offices near the action of government. As a result, the modern first ladies are expected to have an interest in politics and the presidency. They are expected to campaign and to advocate or champion social causes and adopt their own pet project. It is becoming the rule and not the exception that the first lady has surpassed the vice president and even the most senior advisers and cabinet secretaries in terms of visibility and perhaps even power and influences, both in and out of the state house (Watson, 1997).
The First Lady has always accompanied the President since he assumed office to national and international forums. During national days such as Jamhuri Day and Madaraka Day, the First Lady has always accompanied the President as he leads the nation in these celebrations.

6.9.2 Campaigner and Spokesperson

Many first ladies have supported their husbands and contributed to their spouses’ careers as well as campaigning with them. First Ladies are widely used to attract women’s votes. The First Lady has always been an important asset during election season as well as during the term. People look closely at the First Lady for a hint at the President’s ideologies and ideas (Kabengu M., a former M.P. O.I., 23/4/2015). However, some First Ladies have used their positions to secure political seats. A case in point is Elena Ceausescu, Wife of President Nicoloe Romania, following their visit to the People Republic of China in June 1971, was inspired by Chairperson Mao Zedong’s wife, Jiang Qing position of real power in the State. As a result, she rose to become first Deputy Prime Minister in March, 1980 (Bawa, 2014).

The First Lady has been supporting the president in his campaigns long before he was elected to be the president. In 1997, during the general elections, when Uhuru vied for the Gatundu North parliamentary seat, Margret would accompany him to the campaigns. Again, during the 2013, presidential elections, Margret stood by the
President’s side, as they waited for the Supreme Court ruling after the results had been challenged (Ruto Kirui, a police officer, O.I., 25/4/2015). She acted as a First Lady in waiting to the President elect until he was sworn-in (Daily Nation, 3/12/1997). However, Just like Lucy Kibaki who was only visible during election period so is the First Lady Margret. She is described as a private person and very little is known about her, even after becoming the First Lady. She is rarely spotted in public domain unless when undertaking specific duties. Otherwise, the First Lady has steered off politics. In the photo below, I have shown H.E. Margret Kenyatta campaigning for H.E. Uhuru Kenyatta.

Photo 13: Uhuru Kenyatta, wife Margaret Kenyatta with supporters during a 1997 campaign for the Gatundu South parliamentary seat; he lost to Moses Muihia.
The First Lady has been involved in various social causes in the country, especially the Beyond Zero Campaign that has seen her tour almost every part of the country. In this process, she is able to interact with the Kenyans and popularize the President in her activities. Again, she has contributed to the fulfilment of the pledges that the President made during his campaigns and also as contained in his manifesto.

6.9.3 Diplomat

A diplomat or an ambassador is a representative to a foreign country or a promoter of a specified activity. Wives of Presidents have always represented their counties in foreign nations or even led delegations to such foreign nations or international forums. They have also been at the forefront of promoting specified activities in the nation. Mrs Victoria Gowon, Wife of General Yakubu Gowon played a key role in promoting international bilateral relationship between Nigeria and Niger through her friendship with Aisa Hammani Diori wife of Niger President (Bawa, 2014:94). Bawa (2014) also notes that because of the relationship between the two countries, when the Nigerian Civil War (1967-70) broke out, the then President of Niger Dior Hammani became an active mediator in the conflict and even supported the government instead of the Biafra insurgencies. The relationship was expressed by musicians in the 1960s.
On 24th September 2015, the First Lady, Margaret Kenyatta upon the invitation of the UN secretary-general, attended the 70th Session of the United Nation General Assembly in New York to address maternal health, HIV and Aids and widening access to healthcare for the marginalized; a campaign the First Lady has successfully spearheaded through her Beyond Zero initiative in Kenya (Daily Nation, 25/9/2014).

She has also been an ambassador of good and accessible health facilities by the Kenyan mothers and children through her Beyond Zero Campaign (Annie T., a consul O.I., 30/4/2015: James M., an investor, O.I., 23/4/2015). As a way of upholding family values, she has ensured that mothers are able to give birth in health facilities by providing the fully kitted mobile clinics to almost every county.

As First Lady, she also promoted cultural diplomacy through her dressing codes, which has been admired across the continent. A close examination of this present a similar case where Mrs. Sonia Gandhi, widow of the former Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi, regularly accompanied her husband on domestic and international travel. Through this travels she raised India’s prestige on the international scene, so it was reasonably well- received and to a certain extent she was seen as an asset (Gonnella-Platts and Fritz, 2017).
As the Kenyan First Lady, Margaret Kenyatta is envied by every Kenyan woman because of the way she dresses, walks and takes care of her family. In a focus group discussion with members of civil service, working in the office of the President and the institution of the First Lady, most of them noted that she is admired across the nation. In addition, as the icon of the Kenyan woman, she has been invited to every part of the country to grace occasions and other times for fundraisings. She has also been to various schools, such as Alliance Girls High School mentoring the young girls thus inculcating in them the seeds of true leadership.

6.10 Conclusion

This chapter looked at the redefined role of the first lady institution since 2013. Just like the predecessors, she engaged in an array of activities as the First Lady. She launched Beyond Zero Campaign in January 2014, to help reduce maternal and child death, thus putting Kenya on the global map as a nation committed to the realization of United Nations Sustainable Development Goals. This has changed the lives of many women and children. To achieve this, yearly First Ladies Half Marathon has been held during the month of March to raise funds for the beyond zero campaign. Nonetheless, she has campaigned for wildlife conservation through a campaign dubbed ‘hands off our elephants’. Despite the achievement, the overall impact of the programmes can only be assessed at the end of the First Lady’s spouse term in 2017.
CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

7.0 Introduction

Fundamentally, this study analysed the transformation of the institution of the First Lady from 1963-2015. It has brought to the fore the emergence of the First Ladies in the world and in Kenya during the Kenyatta regime between 1963 and 1978. Besides, in the analysing, the study examined the place and transformation of gender relations from pre-colonial, colonial and post independent Kenya. The study also examined the transformation of the office of the First Lady during Moi regime from 1978-2002. In addition, it investigated why and how the Kibaki regime re-invigorated the participation and presence of the First Lady institution in the public domain from 2002-2013. Finally, an examination of how the Uhuru government transformed the role of the First Lady in Kenya from 2013-2015 was assessed.

7.1 Summary of the Findings

The first objective sought to investigate the establishment of the office of the First Lady in Kenya. The study found out that the office has a long history in many societies. Kenyan’s first lady’s office had its foundation in the practices of western European countries. Its conceptualization in both practice and theory borrowed from United States of America, France and partly from Philippine. It should also be noted that African societies had prominent women who played leadership roles some of which are close to what the first ladies’ offices do. The office of the queen
mother and other related titles played similar roles for example, Empress of Ethiopia; Makeda, Queen of Sheba; Queen Amina of Zaria in Northern Nigeria who helped her people to get more land to cultivate kola nuts thus improving trade; Queen Nefertiti of ancient Kemet and Yaa Asantewaa who with her husband Akhenaten were known for religious revolution in Egypt and they reigned at what was arguably the wealthiest period of Ancient Egyptian history. Queen-mother of Ejisu in the Asante Kingdom, who in 1900 led the Ashanti community in a war against the British imperial powers in Ghana even though they were defeated. Nevertheless, the advent of colonialism in the continent eroded the complementariness of African women by introduction of Victorian concept of women, therefore relegating the participation of African women in public life to private spheres. This has helped define the roles of the first lady in post independent Africa and Kenya specifically.

The first, First Lady of Kenya was *Mama* Ngina Kenyatta. Since she was not well educated her main roles and duties encompassed accompanying the president as his wife, was the mother of the nation and supported vulnerable children like those from *Mama* Ngina Children’s Home. The Femocratic theory was important in explaining how the various activities she carried out as the First Lady benefitted other women or advanced her husband’s political power. She personified power during her husband’s long illness until death.
The second objective examined the office of the First Lady during Moi regime. Lena Moi was more educated having attended African Inland Mission School at Kabaratojo, Tenwek Girls School and later in the U.S.A and on return became a teacher. She could have played roles that could have been visible only that her marriage had challenges, which eventually led to their divorce in the mid 1970’s. Nevertheless, when Moi was the Vice-president she accompanied the Vice-president to high-level meetings like when they went to receive the wife of the US vice-president, Hubert Humphrey at the Embakasi Airport. She was also involved in charitable works like educating the less fortunate in the society. This chapter also highlighted the contribution of powerful women who in one way or the other were at hand to compliment the office of the First Lady and this included Dr Sally Kosgei and Zipporah Kittony. Femocratic theory helped to explain how despite the position that Zipporah Kittony held as Chairlady for the MYWO there was not much to show off. Nonetheless, during her time instead of promoting welfare of the women through her close proximity to the president she instead let the organisation be co-opted by the KANU regime as KANU women political wing. Therefore, her closeness to the president only benefited her and other few elite women in the society and not all women as the organisation she headed stood for. On the other hand, Dr. Sally Kosgei would accompany the Head of State to state functions. Equally, she may have influenced more women holding senior government positions when she was the head of public service. Zipherah Kittony was the chair Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organization where she articulated women issues and
even had MWYO merging with KANU, which was the ruling party thus supporting the presidency of president Moi. This was not just restricted to Kenya alone. In Malawi for example, the bachelor president, H.E. Hon Hustings Kamuzu Banda had a prominent woman, ‘First Lady’ by the name Lady Cecilia Tamanda Kadzamira who performed the following various duties including running an organization called Chitukuko Cha Amayimu Malawi (CCAM), which gave her more influence in Malawian politics and greater control over who had access to Banda.

The third objective delved to the office of the First Lady from 2003 to 2013 when H.E. Hon Mwai Kibaki became the third president of Kenya and *Mama* Lucy Kibaki became the third First Lady of the republic of Kenya. Lucy Kibaki had come from a relatively well to do family where the father was a Presbyterian Church minister. She had received her early education in the mission schools and later joining Alliance Girls High School, which was and is still a prestigious secondary school in Kenya. She later became a teacher climbing the ladder to be a principal at Kambui Teachers Training College. As the third First Lady she made the office more visible and with profound effects within and beyond the country. With her high education and exposure, she re-invigorated the office of the First Lady with an office based at Nairobi NSSF building. She performed many roles among them advocating for increased awareness and mobilization of resources to fight HIV/Aids, she helped educate the less fortunate in the society, she assisted in
the settlement of squatters as well as during emergency of disaster incidences and she mobilized relevant government departments in assisting the victims. She also helped in launching Organization of African First Ladies against HIV/Aids in Kenya and Africa.

However, she had her own challenges, which would make Kenyans question this office and its duties. She stormed a neighbour’s compound for playing loud music at night thrice even after he had clearance from State House. This was the home of Makhtar Diop the then World Bank Kenya director. The First Lady did not care about Makhtar Diop’s contribution and worthiness especially at a time when the country required donors for its development. In 2005, in the month of May, the First Lady was involved in another unpleasant incidence where she stormed Nation Media Group offices demanding for the arrest of two journalists, who had penned a story about her storming the residence of World Bank Director and even ended up physically assaulting one of them. She openly refused to shake hands with the then powerful State House comptroller, Matere Keriri when they were returning from a holiday in the Coast and eventually she had him dropped from his position. It is alleged that Matere was entertaining the much-rumoured second wife of the President. There were also incidences when she would force the President to call for press conferences to declare who his family members are. This followed rumours that one Mary Wambui was closely associated with the First family. She was therefore a First Lady who earned friends and enemies in equal measures. This
objective also established the role of Ida Odinga as first lady having ascended to the position as a result of the bungled 2007 election, which saw her husband appointed as prime minister.

The fourth objective was to examine the redefined office of the First Lady from 2013 to 2015. H.E. Hon Margret Gakuo Kenyatta was more educated and exposed having come from a well-privileged family. She attended top schools in the country that is Saint Andrews Turi, Kianda School and Kenyatta University. Once in office she had her office with complete members of staff and even a strategic plan that would run for five years. She outlined her pet project thus adopting the Beyond Zero Campaign, which was to address maternal and children health. Through this project, she has provided fully fitted mobile clinic to all the 47 counties in the country. She has participated in marathons within the nation and beyond to raise funds for her projects. In her duties, she has helped create awareness about conservation of the endangered species like elephants.

Margret also patronizes the Kenya Girl Guide Association, and through her office, she has continued to lobby for the empowerment of the girl child. Thus, she has been an ambassador of good and accessible health facilities to our mothers and children through her Beyond Zero Campaign.
7.2 Conclusions

The first objective of the study was to investigate the establishment of the office of the First Lady in Kenya. It has therefore been demonstrated in this study that the institution of the First Lady has undergone great transformation from 1963 to 2015. By 1963, when Kenya attained independence there were little activities from this institution. This was partly because previously, there was no such an institution. As was noted earlier, the First Lady would only accompany the Head of State and at the same time be present in State House to receive state guests with the President. Also noted is the fact that due to lack of formal education and perhaps exposure for the first, First Lady, there were few activities she was able to engage in as her pet projects.

The second objective examined the office of the First Lady during Moi’s regime. It was noted that Lena Moi was more active having been educated and even exposed after she had attended training in the U.S.A. and this was evident when Moi was the vice-president. Perhaps had it not been for their marriage challenges, which eventually led to a divorce, there would have been more visible projects and activities from her. The third objective assessed the reinvigorated office of the First Lady during Kibaki era. It was observed that Lucy was more educated and thus she was very active as a First Lady with social, economic and political activities within and beyond the country. The researcher concluded that due to her activeness, the office was widely involved in various activities, which would attract friends and
enemies in equal measures. The fourth objective examined the redefined office of the First Lady during Uhuru Kenyatta’s regime. It was observed that the First Lady has been able to reach out to all Kenyans through her Beyond Zero Campaign. She has also fought to conserve wildlife by urging the world to spare elephants. The researcher concludes that her pet projects have made the office of the First Lady accepted from all corners of the country. It has been able to foster national cohesion in spite of Kenyans holding different political ideologies.

The study demonstrated that the institution of First Lady has been involved in social developments since independence. With subsequent office holders, each has engaged in social causes that went a long way in uplifting the lives of Kenyans, starting with attending fundraisers to build schools, hospitals, to chairing the office of African First Ladies against HIV/AIDS and initiating Beyond Zero Campaign. Such activities have continued to give hope to our children and mothers and even the entire nation. The researcher concludes that with an absent First Lady, the office of the First Lady had become weak though there were women who played some significant roles during the presidency of Moi.

The study also observed that the institution of the First Lady made political contributions especially when they had interests in politics for they would act as informal advisors to their spouses, therefore politically influencing the presidential administration. Further, it is noted that, there were government officials who would
either be transferred from one office to another either because of their inefficiency or fired like the case of Matere Keriri, the former State House Comptroller who had differed with Mama Lucy Kibaki. The First Lady’s behaviour confirmed femocratic theory’s views that the first ladies often do not act in the interest of the public but for their personal or spousal gain even if it conflicts with the public interest.

Though the institution of the office of the First Lady is not recognized in the Kenyan constitution, it has become machinery through which issues concerning children, women and the less fortunate are addressed. It has not only served as a vehicle through which women and children issues are channelled but has also provided an opportunity for women to become closer to corridors of power. Moreover, the office of the First Lady has been used as a vehicle for the realization of the United Nations goals in the fight against deadly diseases such as HIV/Aids, maternal and child mortality.

No doubt, the First Ladies have set a standard in the changing role of women and in recognizing their roles in social-economic and political development in Kenya. Their roles were not only limited to Kenya alone, but they were able to reach out to other First Ladies of other African countries to emphasize the effective role they could play in improving the lives of their people. As such, it is important to have a constitutional framework to back or guide the activities of the office of the First Lady. Most of the First ladies’ projects lack focus, there is need therefore for
training and re-training of the First Ladies on the way to understand the significance of initiating programmes that are of immeasurable importance to the society. It is also important for the First Ladies’ pet projects to have a legal framework so that whatever project is initiated sustainability can be guaranteed and avoidance of duplication of projects.

It has been noted that sometimes there is duplication of the work First Ladies and some government departments carry out. The work being done by ministries agencies and departments of state are guided by clear policies and action plans but for the First Ladies their interventions are informed often informed by personal choice, interest, stature of the First Lady, political expediency and sometimes funds available to their office. This has resulted to double spending on the same activity and even delays in implementation.

Also in some cases, First Ladies hold political office or positions in government, giving them an opportunity to pursue their own political goals with the advantage of their privileged positions. Her Excellency Janet Museveni, First Lady of Uganda, was elected Member of Parliament and later appointed as a Minister of State for Karamajong in 2009. Meanwhile, Winnie Madikazela-Mandela was an elected member of parliament while still serving as the First Lady of South Africa. Thus, there is need to lay clear rules on the level of political involvement.
In conclusion, education is the key to any meaningful development. For our women to be able to participate effectively in the social, economic and political development in our society there is need for them to be educated.

7.3 Recommendations

In view of the foregoing discussions and conclusions, this study recommends the following,

- There is need to institutionalise the office of the First Lady. This can be achieved through enacting a legislation and operational framework to recognize the office of the First Lady and define its roles, functions, resource allocation, accountability as well as monitoring and evaluation. This would help in the continuity of projects of the first lady institution following vacation of the office. Thus, streamlining the activities of the institution will be vital and it will make it more accountable to the public since the office often operates using taxpayer’s money.

- Have more advocacy to have the office of the First Lady recognized by bodies such as AU and other regional bodies which will help the First Ladies share achievements, experiences and challenges in their pet projects.
7.4 Areas of Further Research

- There is need to study the diplomatic relationship between nations as far as the office of the First Lady is concerned.

- To have a study on the role men play in nations where we have women as Heads of State like in Liberia, South Korea and Britain.

- This study mainly focused on first lady at the national level with focus on the wives of the presidents; however, with the introduction of the devolved system of government, the study therefore, recommends a further study on the institution of the First Lady at the county levels. For instance, evaluating their socio-economic and political roles and achievements.
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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Oral Sources: List of informants

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<tr>
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<td>Brian n.</td>
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<td>28</td>
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</table>
Appendix II: Questionnaire for the first lady

Dear respondent, please, this is a questionnaire on a study titled," Transformation in the institution of the first lady in Kenya 1963-2015." The questionnaire requires you to respond the following questions the way you feel about them. There are no correct or wrong answers. We hereby assure you that your responses will be used for the purposes of this research, only and consequently, will not be disclosed to any one, group(s) or organization(s).

SECTION A. BIO–DATA

1. Name (Optional)

………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

2. Level of education

   a) Diploma
   b) Undergraduate degree
   c) Masters
   d) Ph.D.

3. Age

………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

SECTION B Research Questionnaire

1. How would you assess your transformative contribution of your office of first lady during your tenure?
Excellent ☐  Good ☐  Average ☐  Fair ☐

2. Have the first ladies’ programmes improved the status of women in Kenya since independence?

(a) Yes  (b) No

3. In your own opinion, what impacts do you think the first ladies’ programmes have had on the following in Kenya?

Women........................................................................................................................................

Children....................................................................................................................................

........................................................................................................................................

4. Do you believe the office of first lady is important as an institution in Kenya?

Yes ☐  No ☐

5. If Yes, why do you think it is important?

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........................................................................................................................................

........................................................................................................................................

6. If No to the question above why

........................................................................................................................................

........................................................................................................................................
7. Having been in this office would you say that its role has been recognized in Kenya?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

8. To what level would you describe the extent to which this office as an institution has been recognized for its transformative role?

Excellent [ ] Good [ ] Average [ ] Fair [ ]

9. Explain…………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………..

IN YOUR TENURE AS FIRST LADY IN KENYA HOW WOULD YOU RATE YOUR OFFICE TRANSFORMATIVE ROLE TO THE COUNTRY, IN TERMS OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, PROMOTION OF GENDER INCLUSIVENESS AS WELL AS POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION?

Using a scale of 1-5 how can you rate your contribution during your tenure.

1=Extremely Effective, 2=Very Effective, 3=Somewhat Effective, 4=Mild Effective, 5= Not effective at all
9. Transformation in Health

<table>
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<th>Provision of leadership in the fight against preventable diseases amongst mothers and children</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mobilising stakeholders for funding towards preventable diseases</td>
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<td>A strategic framework for engagement of the promotion of maternal, newborn and child health in Kenya.”</td>
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<td>Comprehensive medical services to residents, complementing care received at other facilities</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobilizing sanitation amongst mothers and children</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocacy for strategic investment and allocation of resources to strengthen health services</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobilization of men to promote services and maternal and child health services</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involvement of communities and offering leadership to promote the health facilities</td>
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10. Economic and Social Role

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<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alleviating poverty among women</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Improving gender mainstreaming in Kenya</td>
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<tr>
<td>Improving literacy among women</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving girl child education</td>
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</table>
Advocating for the end of FGM
Encouraging and mobilization of women to form women groups
Mobilization and capacity building among women
Promotion of education for all programmes across the Country

11. Political Transformative Role

<table>
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<th>The transformative role of office of first lady</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acting like president's informal adviser</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Influential advocacy of her chosen cause</td>
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<tr>
<td>Improving women electoral positions</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chief campaigner for president</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acting as a campaigner for her husband and drawing up support for his policies</td>
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<tr>
<td>Improving access of women political power</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Complementing husband informally</td>
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<tr>
<td>Promoting gender role of the Country</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning ceremonies and social events.</td>
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12. Community Welfare

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<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>To promote education in regions affected by conflict, crisis and poverty</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mobilize more resources so as to reach the new sustainable development goals for inclusive and quality education</td>
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<tr>
<td>Environmental advocacy</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Eradication of child labour, elimination and improving the primary school attendance</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving education for marginalized communities</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion of rights of disabled and society excluded groups</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. In what ways do you think the Kenyan Women can be made to participate more actively in decision-making and political leadership?

............................................................................................................................................................
............................................................................................................................................................
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14. Finally, do you believe that Kenyan men should give women more opportunities to assume elective posts in Kenya politics?

Yes [ ] No [ ]
15. Give reasons for your answer to Question 14.

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16. Other comments (please, feel free to say your mind).

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17 Do you think the office of first lady should be abolished? [ ] Yes [ ] No

18. Do you think the office of first lady needs funding by tax payers? [ ] Yes [ ] No

19. Kindly would you have wanted to achieve more in your role as the first lady in the Republic of Kenya

............................................................................................................................................................
............................................................................................................................................................
............................................................................................................................................................

20. What are the major challenges that may impede your achievement in Kenya?

............................................................................................................................................................
............................................................................................................................................................

THANK YOU VERY MUCH
Appendix III: Questionnaire for other respondents

Dear respondent, please, this is a questionnaire on a study titled, “Transformation in the institution of the first lady in Kenya 1963-2015.” The questionnaire requires you to respond to the following questions the way you feel about them. There are no correct or wrong answers. We hereby assure you that your responses will be used for the purposes of this research, only and consequently, will not be disclosed to any one, group(s) or organization(s).

SECTION A. BIO–DATA

1. Name (Optional)

2. Level of education
   a) Diploma
   b) Undergraduate degree
   c) Masters
   d) Ph.D.

3. Age

SECTION B. Research Questionnaire

1. How would you rate the office of the first lady in terms of transformation of the nation?

   Excellent □    Good □    Average □    Fair □
2. Have the first ladies’ programmes improved the status of women in Kenya since independence

(a) Yes (b) No

3. In your own opinion, what impacts do you think the first ladies’ programmes have had on the following in Kenya?

Women

Children

4. Do you believe the office of first lady is important as an institution in Kenya?

Yes □ No □

5. If Yes, why do you think it is important?

.................................................................

.................................................................

.................................................................

6. If No to above question, why

.................................................................

.................................................................

.................................................................
7. To what level would you describe the extent to which this office as an institution has been recognized for its transformative role?

Excellent [ ]  Good [ ]  Average [ ]  Fair [ ]

8. Explain

.................................................................
.................................................................
.................................................................

AS SOMEONE WHO HAS WORKED WITH THE FIRST LADY OR BENEFITED FROM THEIR PROJECTS HOW WOULD YOU RATE THIS OFFICE IN TRANSFORMATIVE ROLE OF THE COUNTRY, IN TERMS OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, PROMOTION OF GENDER INCLUSIVENESS AS WELL AS POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION?

Using a scale of 1-5 how can you rate your contribution during your tenure.

1=Extremely Effective, 2=Very Effective, 3=Somewhat Effective, 4=Mild Effective, 5= Not effective at all

9. Transformation in Health

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provision of leadership in the fight against preventable diseases amongst mothers and children</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mobilising stakeholders for funding towards preventable diseases</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A strategic framework for engagement of the promotion of maternal, newborn and child health in Kenya.”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comprehensive medical services to residents, complementing care received at other facilities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobilizing sanitation amongst mothers and children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Advocacy for strategic investment and allocation of resources to strengthen health services
Mobilization of men to promote services and maternal and child health services
Involvement of communities and offering leadership to promote the health facilities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>10. Economic and Social Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The transformative role of office of first lady</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleviating poverty among women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving gender mainstreaming in Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving literacy among women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving girl child education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocating for the end of FGM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encouraging and mobilization of women to form women groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobilization and capacity building among women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion of education for all programmes across the Country</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
11. Political Transformative Role

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The transformative role of the office of first lady</th>
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<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acting like president's informal adviser</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influential advocacy of her chosen cause</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving women electoral positions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief campaigner for president</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acting as a campaigner for her husband and drawing up support for his policies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving access of women political power</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complementing husband informally</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promoting gender role of the Country</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning ceremonies and social events.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12. Community Welfare

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The transformative role of the office of first lady</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To promote education in regions affected by conflict, crisis and poverty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobilise more resources so as to reach the new sustainable development goals for inclusive and quality education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental advocacy</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eradication of child labour, elimination and improving the primary school attendance</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Improving education for marginalized communities</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Promotion of rights of disabled and society excluded groups</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. In what ways do you think the Kenyan women can be made to participate more actively in decision-making and political leadership?

...............................................................................................................................
...............................................................................................................................
...............................................................................................................................
...............................................................................................................................

14. Finally, do you believe that Kenyan men should give women more opportunities to assume elective posts in Kenyan politics?

Yes [ ]  No [ ]

15. Give reasons for your answer to Question 14.

...............................................................................................................................
...............................................................................................................................
...............................................................................................................................
...............................................................................................................................

..............................
16. Other comments (please, feel free to say your mind).
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

17. Do you think the office of first lady should be abolished? [ ] Yes [ ] No

18. Do you think the office of first lady needs funding by tax payers? [ ] Yes [ ] No

19. Kindly would you have wanted the office of the first lady to achieve more as
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

20. What are the major challenges that may impede the achievements of the first lady in Kenya?
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

THANK YOU VERY MUCH
## Appendix IV: List of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kabengu M.</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Nakuru</td>
<td>A politician</td>
<td>6/4/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ms Watiri M.</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>Women leader</td>
<td>4/3/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kariuki G.N.</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Muranga</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>3/3/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Jane W.</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Nyeri</td>
<td>Nurse</td>
<td>6/5/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ojowk G.</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Kisumu</td>
<td>A youth leader</td>
<td>17/4/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Obendi J.</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Kiambu</td>
<td>A farmer</td>
<td>20/4/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Jane W.</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Muranga</td>
<td>A retired chief</td>
<td>5/4/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mary W.</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Mombasa</td>
<td>A church elder</td>
<td>19/4/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Waweru W.</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Nakuru</td>
<td>A politician</td>
<td>3/5/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ojwang B.</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>A retired driver.</td>
<td>9/3/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Waweru W.</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Kiambu</td>
<td>A politician</td>
<td>3/5/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Kago W.</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Isiolo</td>
<td>A retired teacher</td>
<td>3/4/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Warui M.</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Nyeri</td>
<td>A retired nurse</td>
<td>5/4/2015</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Wamaitha A.</td>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>A lecturer</td>
<td>5/5/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Wangari K.</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Kisii</td>
<td>A church elder</td>
<td>7/5/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
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<td>Male</td>
<td>Machakos</td>
<td>A retired extension officer</td>
<td>17/4/2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Martin O.</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Embu</td>
<td>A clerk</td>
<td>7/5/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Terry B.</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Meru</td>
<td>A tutor</td>
<td>15/4/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Kutunyi T.,</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Kakamega</td>
<td>A sales clerk</td>
<td>13/4/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
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<td>Male</td>
<td>Narok</td>
<td>A civil servant</td>
<td>5/4/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
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<td>Male</td>
<td>Uasin Gishu</td>
<td>A civil servant</td>
<td>5/4/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Wamucii D.</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Kitui</td>
<td>A farmer</td>
<td>6/4/2015</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Gitu S.</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Makueni</td>
<td>A lecturer</td>
<td>12/4/2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Veronica W.</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Mombasa</td>
<td>A retired teacher</td>
<td>3/3/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Francis T.</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Kisumu</td>
<td>A civil servant</td>
<td>6/4/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Mary W.</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Kiambu</td>
<td>A legal officer</td>
<td>8/4/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Melly I.</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Kisii</td>
<td>A student</td>
<td>5/4/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Mbuto K.</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Bungoma</td>
<td>An assistant county commissioner</td>
<td>9/4/2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>29</td>
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<td>Female</td>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>A business person</td>
<td>26/4/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>County</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Date</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>James M.</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Muranga</td>
<td>An investor</td>
<td>23/4/2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>31</td>
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<td>Female</td>
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<td>A consultant</td>
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<td>Betty K.</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Kitui</td>
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<td>30/4/2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>38</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Female</td>
<td>Garissa</td>
<td>A village elder</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Date</td>
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<td>A civil servant</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Kitui</td>
<td>A retired police officer</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Muranga</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Kalembo N.</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Garissa</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Male</td>
<td>Nakuru</td>
<td>A lecturer</td>
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<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Murimi N.</td>
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<td>Meru</td>
<td>A lecturer</td>
<td>5/5/2015</td>
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<td>71</td>
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<td>Bungoma</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Nairobi</td>
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<td>A woman leader</td>
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Appendix V: Map of Kenya Showing Nairobi County and the State House

Source: Kenya Development Plan, 2015