GENDER LABOUR RELATIONS IN SELECTED INDUSTRIES IN THIKA,
KIAMBU COUNTY, KENYA, 1945 - 2010

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of Master of Arts Degree in the Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Kenyatta University

June, 2019
DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University

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ABSTRACT

This study examined gender labour relations in some manufacturing industries in Thika, Kiambu County. It mainly focused on the formal industries, covering the period between 1945 and 2010. The study was guided by three objectives with first one examining the historical development of industries within Thika Town Constituency between 1945 and 1963. The second objective focused the effect of those industries on gender relations from 1963 to 1985 whereas the third objective examined the impact of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) on gender relations from 1985 up to 2010. The data collection methods entailed descriptive research design with an interview guide, which was designed to collect qualitative information on gender labour relations. Purposive sampling technique was used targeting 33 respondents mainly males and females aged between 20 to 80 years. The sample population included the former and current workers of the existing and collapsed industries, officials from labour office, development officer, social services officer and local administrators within Thika Town Constituency. In addition, data was collected from primary and secondary sources. Primary data included oral interviews and archival sources from Kenya National Archives and government papers. Secondary information was obtained from the Post-Modern Library (Kenyatta University) and Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library (University of Nairobi), Kenya National Libraries (Thika branch) and department of labour in Thika Town Constituency. The information gathered was organized into historical themes and analysed using gender analysis theory. This is because gender-based analysis deviates from women issues to consider structures that are affected by both men and women. The study revealed that although education could be necessary, it is not a sufficient condition to explain the inequality and discrimination existing for the employment of women within the manufacturing industries. In addition, it revealed that gender differences provide a mechanism, which provides a limited range of occupation options for women and consequently hindering their job opportunities.
DEDICATION

To Compassion International Kenya: for the inspiration, motivation and support throughout my academic journey and to dear mother, Ann Kanana M’Marete for taking me to school and treasuring education.
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Finally, but not least, I acknowledge Mr. Ian Hamilton and his family for funding this study, my husband, Dr. Harun Gitari for moral and material support, and Sister Alice Naitore and Cousin Cynthia Makena for taking care of our children, Abigael and Caleb as I was concentrating on the study.

Above all, I thank the Almighty Father for the gift of life, provision and protection during the study.
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>BAT</td>
<td>British American Tobacco</td>
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<tr>
<td>DFCK</td>
<td>Development Finance Company of Kenya</td>
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<td>DFCK</td>
<td>Development Finance Company of Kenya</td>
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<td>EAS</td>
<td>East Africa Standard</td>
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<td>ECA</td>
<td>Economic Commission for Africa</td>
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<td>GAD</td>
<td>Gender and Development</td>
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<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<td>ICDC</td>
<td>Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation</td>
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<td>IDB</td>
<td>Industrial Development Bank</td>
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<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<td>KEM</td>
<td>Kikuyu, Embu and Meru</td>
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<td>Kg</td>
<td>Kilogram</td>
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<td>KIE</td>
<td>Kenya Industrial Estates</td>
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<td>KNBS</td>
<td>Kenya National Bureau of Statistics</td>
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<td>Ksh</td>
<td>Kenyan Shilling</td>
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<td>KVM</td>
<td>Kenya Vehicle Manufacturers</td>
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<td>PRSP</td>
<td>Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers</td>
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<td>RNLO</td>
<td>Resident Native Labourers Ordinance</td>
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<td>SAPs</td>
<td>Structural Adjustment Programmes</td>
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<td>SDGs</td>
<td>Sustainable Development Goals</td>
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<td>K.sh</td>
<td>Kenyan shilling</td>
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<tr>
<td>TLDAR</td>
<td>Thika Labour Department Annual Report</td>
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<td>TMC</td>
<td>Thika Municipal Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations International Children’s Fund</td>
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<td>VOC</td>
<td>Visa Oshwal Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>WFTU</td>
<td>World Federation of Trade Unions</td>
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<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organization</td>
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<td>WLD</td>
<td>Women, Law and Development</td>
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GLOSSARY

Ahoi: Kikuyu word referring to the landless people

Chama: Swahili word referring to a self-help group

Chang’aa: Traditionally home-brewed spirit

Debe: A metallic tin used to weigh harvested coffee berries equivalent to 20 Kg

Githaka: Kikuyu word for land

Guthika: Kikuyu word meaning to bury

Kipande: Swahili word referring to an identity card

Mabati: Swahili word referring to Iron sheets

Matatu: Swahili word referring to a public vehicle

Mbari: Kikuyu term denoting a clan

Mitumba: Swahili word referring to second-hand clothes

Mzee: Swahili word for an old man

Mzungu: Refers to visitors of European descent who made contact with African people
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OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Formal Sector: Refers to an enterprise in which normal hours and regular wages are recognized as income sources on which income taxes must be paid.

Gender equality: Refers to accepting and appreciating equally the differences between women and men and the diverse roles they play in society. The term is used to mean the absence of discrimination based on sex in opportunities, the allocation of resources or benefits, or in access to services same opportunities in wage labour provision between men and women.

Gender Equity: Refers to fairness and justice in the distribution of responsibilities and benefits between men and women.

Gender labour relations: Social relations between working men and women.

Gender Mainstreaming: A strategy for making the concerns and experiences of women and men an integral part of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres. This makes women and men to benefit equally, hence, achieving gender equality.

Gender roles: The tasks and type of activities socially assigned to women and men. They are not fixed. Their flexibility is dependent on changes brought about by economic development, especially as nations seek to industrialize.

Gender: Refers to socially constructed roles and responsibilities of women and men, and includes expectations held about characteristics, and likely behaviours of both men and women; the roles that are learnt from childhood onward. Culturally determined cognitions, attitudes and belief systems about females and males. It is used to describe the relations between men and women.
Industry: Productive enterprise that produce goods and services.

Informal sector: The semi-organized and unregulated activities undertaken by self-employed persons in the open markets, in market stalls, in undeveloped plots or on street pavements. They may or may not have licenses from local authorities.

Manufacturing industries: Producing of goods and services through transforming raw materials either organic or inorganic into products that are usable by the society.

Social Structure: Group of people that interact together on a consistent basis.

Status: It refers to the relative position of an individual in a group, or of a group within a society.

It also describes the level, a social position or condition to which varying degrees of responsibility, privilege and esteem are attached.
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The productive resources of a society are land, labour and capital with which it produces goods and services (Hatt, 1997). The labour resources of the economy are the men and women of working age who are capable of producing goods and services for consumption. On the other hand, Snyder (2000) argues that, though labour is a critical variable in affecting women’s productivity, most of the labour they access is their own.

Szirmai (2012) noted that industrial sector emerged as an important sector in both developed and developing countries. He also observed that this is due to its role in generating employment and more so attracting foreign investment. In the nineteenth Century, manufacturing technologies became a global race leading to structural change in the society and among individuals. This transfer of labour from agriculture to industry interfered with gender labour relations.

Szirmai (2012) observed that before industrial period, seasons regulated people’s lives and most work occurred at home and it was as a unit where everyone participated. However, Economic Commission for Africa - ECA (2005) noted that society produces the gendered categories of men and women. Even though men and women live in the same environment, their experiences of that environment may differ based on their fundamental gender differences, which shape relations of males and females in all aspects of life.

Arbache et al. (2010), in their work on gender disparities in Africa’s labour markets, indicated that earnings are important indicators of economic well-being and personal success. In addition to the lack of job opportunities, low-paying work is a concern in Africa, where effective social security systems for workers do not exist and where workers may have no choice but to take whatever job is available. Secondly, paid work is a key determinant of women’s economic autonomy and an important foundation for their empowerment. It is, therefore, essential to monitor the relative position of women in the region and call attention to places where women may be more
at risk of poor labour market outcomes. This work is crucial to the current study as it could give a guideline in investigating relations in the labour market.

UNICEF (1999) indicates that lack of decent employment for both men and women is at the heart of the poverty battle in Africa with women experiencing greater difficulties in the labour market. Moreover, women’s employment and earnings are essential in the fight against poverty, not only because of the direct contribution they make to household welfare, but also because such employment provides personal power for women in making family decisions and redirecting household spending on essential needs, especially in favour of children’s health and education.

Schuler (1986) in the Women Law and Development (WLD) Report argue that women are engaged in occupations that usually offer little protection in terms of Labour rights. These occupations are also devalued and located at the lowest level of the wage structure. Secondly, women workers are often not organized and, therefore, are subject to greater exploitation. The productive value of the labour of unprotected women workers is underestimated or ignored. This research set to investigate such issues focusing on plantations and industries within the study area.

Jalang’o-Ndeda (1991) studied the impact of male labour migration on rural women in Siaya District. She argues that under colonialism, women were denied many modern tools of production, they worked considerably long hours leading to increasing of drudgery and decline in their economic and social dependence. Many of them lost traditional means of earning income because of the decline in the indigenous cottage industry. Despite increased involvement in subsistence, colonialism made women seem invisible and, therefore, unproductive. Though the setting of the study is in the rural area, it indicates how colonialism interfered with gender labour relations, which African societies valued greatly.

The colonial land and labour system restructured Kikuyu gender labour relations of production (Wangari, 2010). Due to land alienation, most Kikuyu people were forced into wage labour. They began to rely on the market to meet their subsistence needs. In addition, the imposition
of tax first on men and then women disengaged more people from their production. Taxation of women forced many from Kiambu to work as wage labourers in coffee plantations. All these changes affected both men and women differently. The location of Wangari’s research was in Kiambu, the same place where the current study was carried out. Therefore, it was very useful in examining gender labour in the region.

Karanja (2012) studied gender dimensions in child labour with respect to Thika. She observed that gender socialization and stereotyping have greatly influenced how boys and girls choose the type of work. Due to gender roles existing in the society, boys and girls have been forced to engage in different works with different experiences and expectations. It was necessary to investigate the phenomena to establish if gender socialization and stereotyping are replicated in the current gender labour relations in the industries.

In a study by Kinyanjui (1987a) on the location and structure of manufacturing industries in Thika, it was discovered that several factors motivated entrepreneurs in putting up industries in Thika. These included cheap non-skilled labour and internal raw materials. She also indicated that government support and good transport system greatly contributed to spacing and allocation of industries within the area. Her work provides an important base for this study by discussing the establishment of industries, which are the main target of the current study.

Kinyanjui (2007) studied causes of persistent poverty in Thika District. She noted that mainly agricultural plantations and industries triggered the economic growth of Thika. She further noted that the government of Kenyatta highly invested in the establishment of industries in Thika. This opened employment opportunities for many people from all over the country. However, she observed that the economy marginalized women in terms of lack of land control and more so, being side lined in terms of formal employment. Her study was essential to the current study since it generally unearthed gender labour related issues in Thika, which formed the bases of the current study.
Studies by Stichter (1982), Zeleza (1988) and Macharia (1997) revealed that, in order to deal with the challenges of poverty and realize a positive economic, political and social development in our societies, there is an urgent need to address the issue of gender labour relations. The productive role played by women is very vital to the development of the nation and the family unit, though largely unrecognized, poorly rewarded and overlooked. Research indicated how women subsistence production helped in maintaining the colonial migrant labour by ensuring it was cheap through rural ties.

Arguably, gender relations with respect to labour, has continually generated issues globally, more specifically in the production relations. Relations between male and female are said to have undergone transformation over time. These changes are attributes of both political ideologies and modern economic changes, especially in Third World countries.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The participation of women in the labour market in Kenya, as in much of the world tends to be low as compared to that of men due to various limiting factors. During the colonial rule, women were marginally incorporated especially in the manufacturing industries. However, with the attainment of independence in 1963, the number of women seeking the wage labour increased specifically in the urban centres. This was accelerated by factors like changes in land tenure system and household structure hence there was a need to search for income away from the agricultural sector.

Several studies have documented on the informal sector, mainly focusing on men with a little emphasis on women (Ngethe and Ndau, 1992; King, 1996; Macharia, 1997; Kiruthu, 2006). Nevertheless, closely related to this study was works by scholars such as Kinyanjui (1987a), Kinyanjui (2007) and Karanja (2012) among others. All of them were carried out in Thika and partly they were based on industries.
Gender labour relations in the manufacturing industries remains splendidly isolated despite the role they play in urban employment. This study analysed factors that affected the growth of industries in Thika and how this affected gender labour relations in the selected period.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

This study was guided by the following objectives, to:

1. Examine the historical factors that led to industrialization in Thika and their effects on gender labour relations between 1945 and 1963.
2. Investigate how the development of the industries within Thika affected gender labour relations between 1963 and 1980.
3. Analyse the effects of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) on gender labour relations in Thika between the 1980s and 2010.

1.4 Research Questions

The study aimed at answering the following question:

1. What were the historical factors that led to the development of industries in Thika in the period 1945-1963?
2. How has the development of these industries in Thika affected gender labour relations from 1963 to 1980?
3. What were the effects of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) on gender labour relations in Thika industries from the 1980s to 2010?

1.5 Research Premises

This study was based on the following premises:

1. The development of plantations in Thika contributed highly to the development of industries.
2. The establishment of industries in Thika had a negative effect on gender labour relations.
3. The introduction of the Structural Adjustments Programmes had a negative effect on gender labour relations in Thika.

1.6 Justification and Significance of the Study

A historical survey of literature on Thika (Kinyanjui, 1987a; Kinyanjui, 2007) has shown that there exists little documentation on gender labour relations in the manufacturing sub-sector despite the role played by industries in urban employment. Therefore, the significance of the study was in its ability to determine gender labour relations in Thika industrial sector.

Although the first industry was established during the 1930s, the year 1945 when the study commenced is important because greater height of industrialization purposely for post-war economic reconstruction was reached. Secondly, this expanded women labour force since men had deserted work to go and fight. Therefore, women moved in increasing numbers as they had found more employment opportunities in industries.

The study did not go beyond 2010, prior to the promulgation of the new constitution. This is because, 2010 constitutions reveals gaps that had existed along gender lines in all aspects of life as opposed to independent constitution, which focused on economic development only. Its promulgation redefined and reshaped gender, by allowing women to challenge dominant patriarchal systems through rights. This period also provided detailed information on the impact of SAPs on industries and their effect on gender labour relations.

Thika was chosen because of its proximity to Nairobi, which has contributed to its rapid growth. Secondly, it was viewed as an upcoming ‘Birmingham’ in Kenya due to its massive industrial establishments and its metropolitan nature. Moreover, its industrial establishment relied heavily on Agriculture. The manufacturing sector was chosen out of its ability to provide reliable data and statistics on employment of both men and women hence able to analyse gender labour transformation historically.
The suggestions from the study could lead to the formulation and implementation of new affirmative action policies that could enhance gender mainstreaming. Policy makers and public agents needed information on SAPs and its impact on gender to be guided in making the right policies for combating the negative impact of Structural Adjustment Programmes on women in Kenya. The findings of the study were fundamental in evaluating the extent to which SDGs goals of gender equality have been achieved. More so, it could be used for planning and implementing social pillar of vision 2030 hence reducing extreme poverty through empowering women.

1.7 Scope and Limitations

The research was conducted in Thika Town Constituency of Kiambu County, Kenya located along the superhighway, 40 kilometres Northeast of Nairobi. The study covered the period between 1945 due to the enormous establishment of industries and extended to 2010 to cover the period prior to new constitution. This helped in giving an in-depth background on gender labour relations in the manufacturing sector. Secondly, in examining the effect of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) on gender labour relations it showed how the country’s economy could have been improved by reducing poverty among citizens.

The study had limitations such as; men and or women tendency to dominate the discussion, giving no chance for either to contribute, the researcher countered that by interviewing them separately to avoid interference. In addition, to prove oral data provided by respondents posed a challenge due to lack of recorded facts. The researcher overcame that by corroborating data from the field with the documented sources. Access to the targeted premises was a challenge; the researcher counteracted that by meeting the respondents outside the premises either during the lunch hour or in the evening. Acquiring data for the industries established after independence was a challenge due to its fragmentation. To overcome this, the data on the industries was integrated from various different data sources.
1.8 Literature Review

1.8.1 Overview

The review of literature aimed at analysing how gender labour relations within the industrial sector are experienced, and how they affect gender inequality. The review began by examining international studies on gender labour relations. Generally, the relevant literature available on European, Asian and African countries was reviewed. Finally, the section focused on literature existing in Kenya as a country and narrowed down to the Kiambu County and Thika Town Constituency where the study was carried out.

Accordingly, wage labour in our modern society has resulted in a big economic gap between men and women. Due to this reason, women have been disadvantaged by this kind of development where it has resulted in their vulnerability due to marginalization (Reskin and Padavic, 1994). These are general statements and needs investigation in our own context to confirm the issue and show how they have affected labour relations.

1.8.2 Gender Labour Relation in European Countries

Katrina and Jordan (1991) in the study of Women's work, gender conflict, and labour markets in Europe, 1500-1900, indicate that the transformation of women's work began in the towns where women became excluded from crafts and skilled work and were relegated to the lowly paid and unproductive employment. Employed women operated within a narrow occupational structure, which was more prone to long periods of underemployment and unemployment. With little or no compensation, women workers were particularly vulnerable to the vagaries of the early modern economy. This reinforced the irregular rhythm of work.

Nevertheless, Katrina and Jordan (1991) blamed patriarchal orders, which have always been a threat not only to participation of women in industrial labour in African but also in the European countries. Secondly, the exclusion of women from high-status positions, in turn, served to reinforce patriarchy within changed economic circumstances. Patriarchal forces underpinned women's
subordinate position in the labour market, and they were manifested particularly by the actions of the state. Patriarchy operates in many societies in African including Kenya; hence, her work was insightful to the current study in investigating to what extent culture determined the participation of women in wage employment in Thika.

Boxer (1986) in the study of protective legislation and home industry in France observed that women were employed in less skilled and lower paid occupations compared to men, irrespective of the nature and place of their work. Women's position in the labour market remained subordinate in the context of economic and industrial change, which was automatic. This was because of interacting forces that emphasized women's domestic role and men's position as family breadwinners. Since this study focused on labour, Boxer’s work was of great value since the law has been world used over as a determining tool for the participation of men and women in labour market, which the current study also analysed.

Banerjee (1985) studied Modernization and Marginalization in Britain. He observed that the rise of industrial capitalism created the condition for the increasing oppression of women. Accordingly, men were regarded fortunate since the bulk of employment went to them. Well, this permanently shifted women to the periphery of the economy. Kenya was a British colony; therefore, this observation was crucial in determining the effect of colonialism on gender labour relations within the industrial sector in Thika.

1.8.3 Gender Labour Relations in Asian Countries

Lee (1991) examined the issue of prostitution in South-East Asia. She indicates that the causes of the female prostitution lie in the economic position of women together with the psychological damage inflicted on them by the system of sex-role conditioning in a patriarchal society. Prostitution in this context signifies not a rejection of traditional customs or an attempt to escape family ties, but an alternative means for women to fulfil their obligations as breadwinners. Lee’s
work disclosed a new form of working relations between males and unemployed female in the urban centers.

It was noted that women participation varies across developing countries. The variation may be attributed to interaction economic developments and social factors. There was a need to examine if the same was experienced in the current study area.

1.8.4 African Labour and Gender Relations

Mama (1996) in a study on the African woman during the 1990s observed that colonial capitalism interacted with native systems generating new forms of labour division. This altered gender labour relations without removing the exploitation of women in the community and in the labour market. Due to colonial transformations of both African labour and gender relations, women have greatly suffered from under-representation in the formal sector in all African countries. This had led many African women to remain in the vulnerable and less organized realms of informal and self-employment, with a few breaking the colonial patterns through attaining education and training. This provoked the current study towards investigating the same phenomena in the industry and how it affected the industrial workforce in Kenya.

Jeanne (1984) studied women in the rural economy in the South of Sahara and notes that colonial rule forced changes that shifted the balance of power within the traditional African households. As males were drawn away from the village into forced labour, extended family household began to break up into man-wife-children units. Wives of migrant workers were often obliged to manage the family farm and livestock because few jobs were open to women in the colonial period. European sometimes employed women on a temporal basis, especially, for crop processing. These changes not only interfered with power relations but also introduced new forms of gender labour relations, which this study investigated.

In the study ‘Women in the Urban Economy’ by Robertson (1984), in Congo and Southern Africa countries, it was observed that colonial governments placed restrictions on women coming to
towns. Only male labour was needed for the mines and industries. The argument was that Africans were by nature, rural dwellers and African men were expected to go back to their rural homes after completing their work contracts. The provision of urban employment for men, but not to women even in places where restrictions were not imposed on female urban migration led to a severe unbalanced sexual ratio in some cities, especially in the period between the two World Wars.

Despite the restrictions on women mobility, Robertson noted that women were also migrating into towns to escape the hard labour that was their usual lot. This posed threats to African agricultural production and changed the gender labour division whereby women did most of the work. However, in other cases, the differential employment opportunities for men and women still left an imbalance and in turn encouraged the employment of women in services such as the provision of prepared food and prostitution. Robertson’s study focused on the continental context, therefore, there was a need to investigate the same phenomenon in Kenya and compare with the cases of South Africa and Congo.

In East Africa, Feierman (1995) studied a Century of Ironies. He points to the colonial habit of relying on influential African men in administration and how its impacts on gender mainly on empowerment of men at the expense of women. Through this, men’s opinions carried weight and not the opinions of women. In societies where the position of authority was divided between men and women, administrators tended to ignore women’s authority and, therefore, to undermine it. Therefore, this indicates that the colonial masters empowered male dominance while ignoring women positions. This pattern is replicated in the economic arena and had a profound impact on gender labour relations, which this study aimed at investigating within the study locale.

1.8.5 Gender Labour Relations, Kenya

Focusing on Kenya, Stichter (1977) pointed out that Kenyan women have remained concentrated in the lowest paying and least skilled occupations. During the colonial period, women played a vital, but largely unrecognized and poorly rewarded role in their national development. This study was
guided by such findings in investigating the status of men and women in the formal sector of the economy.

Stichter (1982) on the other hand observed that after World War II, the World’s economy began to shift towards the increased production of industrial goods rather than raw materials. The impacts of such changes on Kenya were immense. For instance, there was an uneven migration of men since the labour market in the urban areas favoured and preferred them as women were supposed to be the guardians of the household in the rural areas. The effect of this move was that women were left with the burden of sustaining the family alone while the men were paid too little to afford to bring their families to the urban centers. Her study was helpful in investigating sex ratio imbalance in the study area by pointing out how it disadvantaged women participation in the formal sector up to date.

Kanogo (1987) observes that the establishment of colonial rule in Kenya had a profound impact on the local African population. First, alienation of African land disinherited and dislocated many Africans. Secondly, the later development of settler plantations and mixed farms created a demand for many wage labourers. Tax imposition, creating reserves, disrupting local economies and denying Africans the right to grow the major commercial crops were put in place. Kanogo’s argument lays a background on the extent to which colonial government interfered with the existing gender labour relations by changing the status of Africans from producers to a working class.

Zeleza (1988) studied Labour unionization and Women’s participation in Kenya. He observed that women’s participation in the labour market has been very low in comparison to that of men. This could be attributed to historical, economic social cultural and institutional factors. Historically, women were marginally incorporated into formal wage employment during colonial rule under the migrant labour system. This was because women’s primary obligation was to cultivate the family’s farm and produce food for the family consumption. Women’s household and subsistence production
could only sustain the payment of low wages to men, which underpinned the migrant labour systems.

He also added that women’s labour enabled the continuation and the reproduction of the cheap migrant labour system, but officially, its importance was hardly recognized. The colonial and pre-colonial patriarchal ideologies converged and women’s activities were viewed as marginal when they were central to the development of the economy. It became socially accepted that the place of women was in the private domain of the home while men rightly belonged to the public sphere of social production, which included wage employment (Ibid, 55). Based on the above statements, this study sought to find out how gender labour relations among the industrial workers was interfered with, and their effects on the social lives of working men and women in the Thika Constituency.

Jalang’o-Ndeda (1991), studied the impact of male labour migration on rural women in Siaya. She pointed out that, women labour migration was exploitative and selective. Moreover, women’s labour as wives and mothers drawing no wage at all yet that free labour helped to support the economic system and its profit levels. Although their role was subordinate, it was regarded as essential to the colonial order. Their participation in subsistence production freed the men from family responsibilities and allowed them to act as a cheap mobile source of labour for plantations, mines, and urban economies. Jalang’o-Ndeda’s work is critical to this study because it indicates that gender labour relations transformed earlier in the rural homes than in the urban centers as women were left alone in the absence of male figures.

Musalia (2010) in the study ‘Gender relations and food crop production in Kiambu District, 1920-1985’, noted that gender relations had been transformed since pre-colonial period. The transformation was linked to the social-political and economic organization that the Kikuyu of Kiambu had gone through since pre-colonial period. She observes that changes in land tenure and labour organization affected gender relations. Taxation forced Africans to join wage employment,
affecting crop production since Africans lacked labour, especially during the peak agricultural periods. Since Wangari’s work focused on gender relations in socioeconomic perspective, the current study relied on it while analysing gender labour relations within the industries.

In the study on ‘Persistent rural poverty in Thika, 1953-2000, Kinyanjui (2007) reveals that Thika was both an industrial and agricultural District and centrally located. Further, she noted that Thika’s vibrant industrial sector since the 1920s continually attracted a huge pool of migrant workers from the neighbouring Districts up to the Mid-1980s. Despite the economic endorsement, Kinyanjui notes that women remained in positions of economic subordination. She observes that gender relations to land owning placed women in a subservient position. Kinyanjui’s work was insightful to the current study since it revealed gender-related issues narrowly which the current study built on while expounding on gender labour relations within the industries.

Following the closure of most of the local textile industries, many women lost jobs. Most of them did not return to their rural homes but instead turned to petty commodity and sex trades. Due to economic marginalization, there was increased dependence on earnings from sex to support the household. This increased their chances of contracting STIs and HIV/AIDS. The high incidence of HIV/AIDS among women than in men shows exactly how vulnerable women are (Ibid, 308).

Kinyanjui (1987a) in the study on the location and structure of manufacturing industries in Thika pointed out that the availability of skilled labour is very crucial in the allocation of industries. In addition, she found out that industries used sophisticated machinery and only needed unskilled labourers. The variable of labour, although considered important by classical theories of industries, was not significant in Thika. This can be attributed to the government legislation on minimum wages and the centralization of Trade Unions. Moreover, the small-scale entrepreneurs prefer to employ unskilled labourers and train them on the job than employ the expensive skilled one.

Kinyanjui’s work laid the foundation for the current study because it targeted industries in Thika, where her research concentrated on. In light of the above literature, this study seeks to
investigate the gender labour relations in the context of changing social, economic and political activities within Thika Town Constituency and their effects on social relations.

1.8.6 Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and Gender Labour Relations

Zeleza (2010) and Mama (1996) have pointed out that, IMF and World Bank pursued and imposed Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) on the developing countries that were experiencing difficulties in paying their debts. Since the commencement of SAPs during the 1980s, cutbacks in civil and public service have undermined the status of government as the major formal sector employer. This indicates that there is a significant and unexplored impact of SAPs on the formal sector; this study investigated this phenomenon and its impact on gender relations in Kenya and specifically in Thika.

Kiruthu (2006) examined the history of the informal enterprises in Kenya from 1899 to 1998. He pointed out that, due to the liberalization of the economy under SAPs, traders from all over the world got access to Kenyan markets. He added that due to high competition from outside most firms experienced downturn resulting in retrenchment of workers. Some of the retrenched workers ended up in the informal sector. The formal sector was shrinking due to measures instituted by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank forcing the government to cut the size of public servants. These arguments are fundamental to this study. Though his study was based in Nairobi with a focus on the informal sector, the current study sheds more light on the argument above with respect to Thika town.

In the opinion of Nzomo (1995), women were forced to make a larger economic contribution to the survival of their families as the SAPs had eroded the wages of the family’s breadwinner, which ideally should have freed them from backbreaking and time-consuming labour. Social-economic ills brought out by her survey were differential incomes, gender-based disparities in access to agricultural services and inputs; low participation in co-operative society matters, people forced to labour as plantation workers, the use of child labour, increased workload for women and
male migration. These allegations lay a foundation in investigating the impact of SAPs on gender relations in the formal sector.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

The study focused on gender labour relations in the manufacturing sector, mainly industries; addressing the structures that keep men and women in separate economic spheres, making sure that the spheres of men dominant over those of women using gender as a tool of analysis. According to Bullock (1994), gender structures, social, political and economic relations, which shape values and attitudes throughout society. An important aspect of the gender-based analysis is that it moves away from women’s issues to consider structures that affect both men and women.

The gender-sensitive approach enables equal access to resources and services. It is about recognizing that we live in a system that creates competition between women and men and that the majority are socialized to support that system through domination and aggression. Gender analysis helped in tracing the relationship between men and women.

Wangari (2010) indicates that gender analysis incorporates various aspects that uniquely unravel gender relations. She argues that the approach of gendered analysis acknowledges that women and men in social groups are differentiated in terms of right and opportunities in society. Hence, the core of gender analysis is the relationship of gender groups and not absolute categories of men or women. On the other hand, Onsongo (2009) argued that gender analyses in the past have unveiled the critical issues in the subordination of women as well as sources of women’s authority.

UNDP (2001) pointed out that we live in societies that are permeated by gender differences and inequalities. Gender analysis reveals these differences and the fact that any gender intervention that professes gender neutrality will show and reinforce the imbalances that exist. Gender analysis is required to bring out these inequalities to the surface and to the attention of people who can make a difference so that their decision is taken in a way that is sensitive to and reflects the outcome of gender.
Feminist theories aims at producing actions and renewable knowledge contributing to the elimination of androcentric perception and defining new relationships between men and women (Faye, 2011). They concentrate on what women are going through in all spheres of life. In other words, it covers a wide range of areas where women exploitation exists in the society. In the opinion of Nyokabi (2009), feminism deals with gender inequalities in education, political representation health, motherhood, legal rights, property ownership and working conditions.

This study preferred gender analysis theory to feminism for several reasons. First, women cannot be studied alone. As stated by Sullerot (1971), it is only by reference to man’s position in each social set up that one can speak of the position of women. With the emphasis on this, Wangari (2010) points out that feminist perspectives concentrate on women without incorporating men, yet they need to understand the disadvantaged position of women in the society. Secondly, Onsongo (2009) highlighted that due to the diversity of women’s place, but not experiences, feminist should develop different strategies to address different issues of oppression because feminism is not limited to a specific culture, country or time.

This study employed the gender analysis tool to unravel gender labour relations in Thika manufacturing sector. This is because the gender approach unties the relationship between men and women. More so, in the economic field, it enables women to be taken out of their isolation and away from the relationships, which they face, that are always defined by men (Faye 2011).

1.10 Methodology

1.10.1 Research Design

The study adopted a descriptive research design based on historical explanations to give a precise descriptive analysis. It involved classification, comparison and the interpretation of data gathered. The qualitative procedure was useful in corroborating the secondary and primary data.
1.10.2 Study Locale

The study was carried out in Thika Town Constituency located 40 km from Nairobi, near the confluence of the Thika and Chania Rivers. Thika area covers an area of 1,960.2 Km². It borders Nairobi City to the South, Kiambu town to the West, Maragua town to the North and Machakos town to the East. The town lies approximately 1.05° S and 37.08° E at an altitude of 1,631m above sea level.

The town is currently the headquarters for Thika sub-county with a dense population of 139,853 in accordance with 2009 census (KNBS, 2014). Thika town has long been known for its high concentration of manufacturing industries effectively functioning as a satellite industrial node of Nairobi.

1.10.3 Target Population and Sampling

The target population included ex-workers and current workers in the industries, Thika Town Constituency in Kiambu County. The oral respondents were identified using purposive sampling technique. The sample size comprised of 34 respondents, males and females aged between 20 and 80 years to historicize gender relations over time. The sample size of 34 was chosen guided by industries selected. The sample was to be casual workers from the selected industries. Besides the former and current workers in the industries, respondents also included; human resource officers, head of the Labour Department in Thika, Thika sub-county development officer and social service officer, Thika labour exchange and local administrators. Industries within the constituency were listed down and five selected randomly from each ward in Thika.

1.10.4 Data Collection Methods

Both primary and secondary sources were used to acquire the needed data. Primary sources included oral interviews, archival data and government reports. The Kenya National Archives in Nairobi was used to obtain archival data. The Kenya National Archives provided an opportunity to
access documents such as; reports from the labour department, District development plans, and reports, handing over reports, letters and integrated development reports related to the study. These documents provided information mainly on the labour in the industries prior and after independence.

Oral interviews were conducted to probe for the responses hence an opportunity to view issues from the participant and establish the truth of the data provided. An interview guide was used to interview both female and male workers in the line with the objectives of the research. The interview guides had open-ended questions. By using the open-ended questions, it allowed the respondents to express themselves freely.

Secondary data were obtained from the Post-modern library (Kenyatta University), ILRI library (International Livestock and Research Institute) and Kenya National Library (Thika branch). Materials such as; documented literature like journals, articles, books, published and unpublished theses, seminar and conference papers as well as magazines and newspapers relevant to the study were consulted.

1.11 Data Analysis

The study undertook a qualitative data analysis through historical explanation and thematic analysis. This involved historical criticism, data contextualization and evaluation in a descriptive and systematic manner. First, the raw data were manually organized into themes and objectives. Oral data were compared with other sources to verify their authenticity then corroborated chronologically. The gender analysis theory was useful in analysing data and corroborating sources, internal criticism, detachment and objectivity in writing. Since archival documents may have weaknesses due to their bias and subjectivity of the producer, the researcher corroborated them with other primary and secondary data.
1.12 Challenges Experienced During the Fieldwork

When conducting the study, the main challenge and limitation were in data collection. This included challenge in accessing reliable data on firms, due to confidentiality particularly during interviews. Secondly, self-reported and exaggeration of the data was experienced during the field process. However, to overcome such limitations and gather reliable information for the study, official reports from these industries available in government records were useful together with other published information.

1.13 Ethical Considerations

A permission letter from the graduate school of Kenyatta University was obtained indicating that the researcher is a student and her study. Using that letter, the researcher was cleared to conduct research by the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). To ensure confidentiality and privacy of the information obtained from some respondents, their identity was protected for job security purposes. The research was carried out on a voluntary basis whereby, only the willing informants were interviewed. In addition, the interviewees were well informed of the research being undertaken and its purpose.

1.14 Thesis Structure

This study is divided into six chapters with the first covering the background of the study, problem statement, research premises, objectives, justification and significance of the study, literature review, theoretical framework and methodology. In chapter two, the historical development of industries within Thika District from 1920 to 1945 is discussed. The third chapter presents gender and labour relation from 1945 to 1963 in the Thika while the fourth chapter focuses on industrial gender labour relations from 1963 to 1985. The impacts of SAPs on industries and the gender relations from 1985 to 2010 are examined in chapter five. Finally, in chapter six, a summary of the main finding on gender labour relations and recommendation are presented.
CHAPTER TWO: THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIES IN
THIKA, 1920 - 1945

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a brief description of the advent of colonialism in Thika. It proceeds with the impact of World War 1 on African labour prior to 1945. It also presents gender relations before 1945 briefly and finally, the effects of the growth of Asians and European population on gender relations among Africans.

2.2 Advent of Colonialism

Prior to colonialism, Kenyan communities adjusted to their ecological niches (Sheriff, 1985). Generally, Ndege (2009) indicates that pre-colonial production was for collective subsistence as opposed to individual accumulation. The kinship system was the basis of ownership of the factors of production, such as land and labour. Labour was manual and largely cooperative within the family and the larger kinship group.

The Berlin Congress (1884-1885) split the African continent among the European countries for colonization (McConell, 2005; Okoth 2006; Ndege, 2009). Moreover, Wayumba (2015) indicates that in 1888 (after the Berlin Congress) Queen Victoria granted a charter to Imperial British East African Company (IBEACo.) to operate and administer East African Territory from the coast. Further, Okoth (2006) notes that inter-European territorial arrangements such as the 1886 Anglo-German Agreement erected artificial boundaries around Kenya.

Uganda and Kenya were declared protectorates in 1894 and 1895, respectively (Okoth, 2006). However, Wayumba (2015) and Rashid (2014) affirm that IBEA Company ruled East Africa up to 1895. This was due to economic constraints, forcing them to surrender their charter (Rashid, 2014). Because of this, Kenya was declared British protectorate on June 15, 1895, with its administrative headquarters in Zanzibar (Sorrenson, 1968).
Robinson and Gallagher (1953) noted that Britain occupied Egypt in 1882 due to its strategic position in relation to India. Apart from control over Suez Canal, they were targeting the strong military base in Egypt due to the growing number of rivals at that time. Further, they indicate that Uganda was annexed to protect Egypt through the control over Upper Nile. However, Kenya was mainly to control the coastal city of Mombasa connecting it to the inland commercial areas mainly based on Lake Victoria.

Jedwab et al. (2014) and Hrituleac (2011) observe that the Ugandan colony was more advanced in terms of wealth and trade potentials compared to Kenya; hence, Britain was determined to link Uganda to the coast. Further, these authors indicate that Kenya was simply used as a gateway to Uganda. In addition, linking Lake Victoria to the coast would open up Uganda and reduce trading costs. Bowden (2002) and Sorrenson (1968) noted that the railway line construction started from Mombasa in 1896 through Nairobi in 1899 and by 1901, it reached Kisumu on the shores of Lake Victoria.

Wayumba (2015) indicates that apart from linking Uganda to the coast, the railway solved the communication problem into the hinterland. On the same note, he points out that it enhanced business from the East African coast to India. More so, Wolff (1970) observed that the railway from the Coast to Lake Victoria mainly served to establish Britain’s presence in the region.

Jedwab et al. (2014), further indicate that the main railway branched to Magadi, Taveta, Eldoret, Kitale, Solai, Taveta, Thomson Falls and Butere by 1915, 1918, 1926, 1926, 1926, 1928, 1929 and 1930 respectively. Through the lines branch, the colonial government sought to connect areas of high economic potential. On the same, Ogonda (1992b) noted that Nairobi –Thika railway line was opened in 1913 and extended to Murang’a, Nyeri and Nanyuki by 1930. Thus, railway lines were essential to the economic colonisation of the hinterland.

The mainline established the general urban pattern of Kenya (Jedwab et al., 2014). Moreover, Macharia (1997) observed, the major urban centres in Kenya; Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru, Eldoret,
Kisumu, Kitale, Thika, Nyeri and Nanyuki are all located by the railway line. Additionally, roadwork followed and connected those newly founded urban centres, which later acted as colonial administrative centres and collection points of raw materials, taxes and control of the labour market, which was a primary concern of the colonial system in Kenya.

Apart from the urban centres which acted as administrative centres, Soja (1968) and Maloba (1993) show that Uganda railway instigated settler settlement and this transformed Kenya into an important British colony and a centre for large-scale European developments. Further, Soja (1968) indicated that it was the main force behind the spread of Asian population inland. Due to the shortage of local work force, over 32,000 Indian coolies were imported as labourers. By 1913, Asians population was around 25,000.

Apart from the development of the railway, Ndege (2009) indicates that British colonial economic policy can be viewed through other themes. They included land alienation, African taxation, African migrant/forced labour and development of settler-dominated agricultural production among others. Further, he pointed out that these policies were formulated and implemented during specific stages of colonialism: the pre-1920 period, which was interrupted by the outbreak of the First World War; the interwar period, which also saw the great depression between 1929 and 1934; the Second World War 1939-45 and the post-World War II era.

As indicated by Maloba (1993) it started with the acquisition Act of 1896 that allowed settlers to acquire land compulsorily for the railway construction. Maxon (1992) shows that in 1902, another land ordinance was adopted. This was the main legislative vehicle for the initial alienation of land to settlers. It gave a right to sell or lease land for ninety-nine years to settlers in Kenya. Following that, most Africans lost their ancestral lands with the Maasai community being the most affected.

Soja (1968) noted that the 1902 Crown Land Ordinance enabled settlers to obtain grants of 640 acres in specified areas. He continues to argue that through the encouragement of Sir Elliot,
settlements such as Delamere began to grow. He also indicates that from 1902 up to 1908, land alienation mainly occurred around the railway towns and at other points along the line. Moreover, the 1902 Crown Land Ordinance provided for sales and lease of land to settlers.

Due to the dissatisfaction and claims from the settlers, the 1915 Crown Land Ordinance was enacted mainly to accommodate settlers’ demands. Kanyinga (2000) shows that this ordinance declared waste and unoccupied land in the protectorate a Crown Land and subject to alienation. Further, he noted that this resulted in increased demand for more land suitable for settlement and large farming regardless of whether occupied by natives or not. Maloba (1993) indicate that it increased lease years from 99 to 999 years at the same time responsible for the creation of native reserves.

Communities living close to the newly built railway line were among the first Africans to experience the colonial land alienation. Any fertile land, which was considered productive and profitable for the colonial economy, was reserved only for white settlers. Consequently, this region received a huge number of settlers who were encouraged by Sir Elliot. At first, the settlers were mainly from South Africa and later from Britain (Sorrenson, 1968; Maxon, 1986).

Land alienation effectively stopped the southward expansion of the Kikuyu and therefore leaving no possibility for Githaka occupation (Maloba, 1993). Further, Soja (1968) noted that European settlement in the hinterland of Nairobi enclosed the densely populated agricultural land of Kikuyu on nearly all sides. He also pointed out that the expansion of settlement through Thika, Fort Hall and along the railway to Southwest, was encouraged to form buffers between Kikuyu, Maasai and Kamba communities.

The alienation of African land was followed by the enactment of policies to support the settler economy such as the tax enforcement. As indicated by Maxon (1986), tax served to support the colonial administration and at the same time, ensuring continued supply of labour to settler farms by the natives. Further, Shanguhyia (2008) pointed out that with the reduction of land and introduction
of taxes, Africans had no other option other than to seek wage employment on settler farms whereby some were accommodated as resident labourers. These policies had far-reaching implications on gender relations in both the agricultural and pastoral communities in these areas.

Berman and Lonsdale (1979) observed that the early colonial state restructured local production to meet the metropolitan demand. A wage labour force had to be created to serve the agricultural production in the white settler’s farms. Thus, by 1902, the protectorate had already devised an alternative means to develop production and in 1903, the first Hut tax was collected. The poll tax in addition to hut tax encouraged domestic production as much as wage employment.

Maloba (1993) observed that the taxation policy was aimed at encouraging the flow of labour from the rural areas to European farms although this was not the case. Therefore, there was the use of direct and indirect coercion. Clayton and Savage (1979) showed that compulsory labour levies and direct pressure through the chiefs and headmen were the most widely used ways to produce wage labour for government and settlers. As reported by Berman and Lonsdale (1979) in some instances, labour supply did not involve coercion, the cheap land resources were a sufficient attraction in the hand of the employer. They add that this was particularly for the Kikuyu who experienced the growing form of social differentiation. Kikuyu peasant families were literally seeking ‘land and freedom’ in the highlands.

Stichter (1985), at the beginning of 1903 railway administrators only required African labour, which consisted of about 3,000 males. She also pointed out that the subsequent years generated a great increase in labour demands because of the influx of settlers and at the same time the development of infrastructure. To meet the increasing labour demands, Jalang’o-Ndeda (1991) showed that in 1901 hut tax was one rupee but increased to three, five and eight rupees by 1903, 1915 and 1921, respectively. In addition, the poll tax for unmarried men was introduced in 1910.

In the opinion of Berman and Lonsdale (1979), the unexploited parcels of land provided the means to attract a permanent labour force for the settlers by letting land to Africans under various
forms of tenancy. Maasai pastoral plains were invaded by agricultural communities, mainly the Kikuyu, under the protection of Settlers. On the same, Berman (1990) observed that the agricultural communities enjoyed the increase in access to the exploitable land that settlers had opened up earlier. These communities continued to use the land until when settlers required it.

Although Africans were compelled to work due to taxation, land alienation and administrative coercion, acquiring sufficient labour for the migrants remained a challenge. As shown by Jalong’o-Ndeda (1991), this was attributed to the post-World War 1 economic expansion and the increased settlement among the Europeans and Asians, which called for large numbers of African workers. Maloba (1993) noted that the whites and the Asian urban residents relied on African manual labour, although it was generally perceived that urban areas were not meant for Africans.

As noted by Jalang’o-Ndeda (1991), increasing pressure of labour demands called for not only men but also women and children labour. She adds that although it was against their wish, children particularly were forced to go out and work. For instance, in 1925, there was a notably increasing number of Nyanza Juveniles in the sisal estates in Thika, Ol Donyo Sabuk and Fort Hall Districts.

To counter the labour challenge, Berman (1990) observes that the colonial state used the native chiefs and elders to advise and encourage all young men to enrol and work in the plantations. Moreover, he indicates that in the early 1920s, the Native Authority Amendment Ordinance was introduced. This empowered chiefs and headmen to order compulsory labour up to 60 days a year at wages below that of ‘voluntary’ workers. It was only after the wage employment that one was exempted from the compulsory labour.

Apart from obtaining labour, Berman (1990) also noted that keeping labourers on the job remained another major challenge, even when the difficulties of supply had lessened. The cruelty among the Asians and European employers, poor housing and diet and struggle among the workers always led to the departure of African labourers from their work. The movements were curbed
under the Master and Servant Ordinances of 1906, 1910 and 1916. Under the command of the Provincial administration, the Kenya police enforced these labour laws, hence, restricting African movements outside the reserves and reduced the freedom of entering or leaving employment through punitive sanctions.

In order to enforce punitive sanctions, Berman (1990), argues that it required registration of all male African aged above 15 years before an administrative officer. Fingerprints were taken and everyone was issued with a registration certificate, the *Kipande*, which contained personal information, employment record outside the reserve, type of work, wage and ration received. *Kipande* was to be carried all the time when moving or living outside the reserves. Whenever an African entered or left employment, he had to sign in on or off on the certificate. By the end of 1920, 194,750 certificates had been issued.

The immediate effects of the *Kipande* system as observed by Ludeki (2006) was to enforce native labour on settler estates that were characterized by low wages, poor living conditions, inadequate food rations, and cruelty. Apart from the above, Berman (1990) shows that *Kipande* was effective in maintaining cheap labour by restricting man’s freedom to leave his work and to bargain with an employer for a wage not necessarily related to that of his previous employment.

Colonial measure affected gender relations in varied ways. As noted from the earlier discussion it invaded the customary modes of land acquisition, ownership and usage. Lonsdale (1989) points out that the Land alienations among the Nandi and Kipsigis people turned them into agricultural peasants. Tanui (2015) further observes that, Nandi people were forced to squat on European farms in return for a certain amount of labour each year. African land alienation not only led to land shortages but also affected pre-colonial agricultural practices. Therefore, land alienation is central to the understanding of changes in gender labour relations.

Tanui (2015) indicates that women retained control over the land they used and its products. Wangari (2010) also identifies women in Kiambu as the main food producer within the household.
However, Tanui (2015) blames the colonial policies of land alienation, which greatly altered gender labour relations and consequently agricultural production, women’s preserve. It is important to note women controlled land and its production but with commercialisation of agriculture, colonial masters targeted men leaving out women. This highly altered the pre-colonial gender labour relations.

Karanja (1991) observes that the displacement of Africans from ancestral land to reserves resulted in the cultivation of fewer and smaller parcels of land. Consequently, this affected food production by women, which was the basis for their social economic status earlier before the settler days. Davison (1988) has commented on the situation as follows:

With the increased concentration of arable land in settler's hands in the 1930s, Gikuyu women in the 'Native reserves' found themselves with poorer quality land and smaller plots on which to grow food. Moreover, with the high concentration of people in the reserves, the soil quickly became depleted from overuse. With soil depletion, also came erosion.

The creation of wage labour resulting from colonial capitalism was that money became an alternative result forcing men to go and work on European farms. Women remained behind to cater for children and cultivate the available limited piece of land (Karanja, 1991). Berry (1989) observed that, low wages given to male workers were not adequate to sustain himself and the family. This little pay was sustained by the unpaid labour of women in the reserves.

2.3. Colonial Developments in Thika, 1920-1945

Pre-colonial Thika was sparsely populated and at the same time had large areas of good land that was uncultivated. It offered ample room for extensive settlement without encroaching on native rights or native occupation (Huxley, 1959; Soja, 1968). Further, Huxley (1959) observes that it had many wild animals. However, Kiereni (2015) noted that Thika’s population was mainly composed of Maasai, Kikuyu and Kamba people before settlers relocated to the area.
Two rivers, Thika and Chania, had formed a natural boundary among the three communities. The Kikuyu, Kamba and Maasai lived to the North, East and South respectively. Additionally, the author reported that the Maasai outnumbered the other two communities and were more aggressive (Kiereni, 2015).

Traditionally, Maasai were nomadic pastoralists while the Kikuyu and Kamba practised mixed farming. Because of the Maasai raids, the Kikuyu and the Kamba were always forced to retreat to the forest and surrounding hills. Many of the Kikuyu who died during the skirmishes were buried in a mass grave near the confluence of the two rivers, hence, the name “Guthika” (Kikuyu word meaning to bury) later shortened to Thika, giving the town its name (Kiereini, 2015).

As reported by Kinyanjui (1987a), at first, Thika was a stopover for settlers travelling between Nairobi, Nyeri and Fort Hall (Murang’a). Further, she noted that after closing the Chania River, the settlers used to camp there before proceeding to cross Thika River. This resulted in a small settlement. Asians set up a few shops to offer consumer goods to the latter as Africans moved into the settlement in search of jobs as porters.

The Blue Post Hotel stands out in analysing the settlement and economic developments of the settlers, North of Nairobi. According to Kiereini (2015), the hotel was built by Captain Ward in 1908. Apart from being a stopover for the white settlers in Central Kenya, he further noted that the hotel served as a post office for farmers on the surrounding plantations. According to Huxley’s (1959) description, ‘It consisted of a low-roofed, thatched grass hut whose posts on the verandah were painted blue thus giving the place its name’.

Although Huxley (1959) ascribed the growth of Thika to the movement and settlement of Europeans and Asians, scholars such as Kinyanjui (2007) attributed it to its central location, a stopover from both Garrisa and Murang’a (transit town). On the same, Salvadori (1983) notes that by 1900, Thika was emerging as a stopover for colonial officials, which also facilitated its growth. All these contributed to its development.
As mentioned above, Indians were great pioneers in the historical development of Thika. However, it is important to identify the role of Indians in the historical development of Thika. Indians started migrating from India to Kenya by 1820s (Zarwan, 1977). Apart from Kisumu and Nairobi, Thika was also an important ‘up country’ centre for Indians (Ibid., p.36). As Salvadori (1983) observes, by 1900 Jains were trading on the newly founded government station.

Visa Oshwal Community report (VOC, 2015) indicates that the Oshwal community in Thika grew at a faster rate from 1910 to 1935 as the young Oshwals were bringing up their families. Further, it indicates that as the Oshwal numbers were increasing, they came together and decided to form a community. Following this, the Shree Visa Oshwal Jain Gnati Mandal was established in 1934. Most of the Oshwals were in small retail businesses, but others were more enterprising and ventured into the industry.

During this period, Thika town was expanding because of the many businesses that were established in the new town. They ranged from the wholesale produce to retail shops dealing in household goods, textiles, hardware, restaurants, cinema halls, foodstuff and groceries owned by Oshwals (VOC, 2015; Salvadori, 1983). The Asians concentrated on entrepreneurship in towns and trading centres since they were denied entry into the agricultural sector, hence filling the gap between the European farmers and the African masses (Soja, 1968).

The colonial state provided railways, roads and agricultural extension services for the settlers. These facilitated the penetration of commercial capitalism as well as European settlement. Africans lost large tracts of land to settlers through heavy direct taxation (Maxon, 1992). As Gachino (2009) observed, Thika benefited from the early development of infrastructure by the colonial state. Ogonda (1992a) on the other hand, observed that this was a strategy used by the colonial state to reserve land for either agriculture estates or industrial developments by the settlers.

Despite the development of infrastructure and settlement of Europeans, Asians and a few African, administrative changes also played a great role in the development. At first, urban areas
were the colonial administrative centres and collection points of raw materials, taxes and controlled labour for settlers (Ogonda, 1992b). With the emphasis on the above, Kinyanjui (1987a) observes that Thika became a sub-district in 1927 and gained a full District status in 1934. Later, it was gazetted as an urban centre with an advisory committee to run its affairs. This provided Thika with a physical planning and development machinery. It was connected to electricity in 1924 and Thika water company was started afterwards.

Campbell (1993) argues that in the period prior to colonialism, the Maasai community lost their military and economic power. As observed in the case of Thika by Kiereini (2015), this was due to serious outbreaks of rinderpest and smallpox affecting cattle and people respectively. Following the outbreak, the Maasai left the areas South of Chania for Kikuyu occupancy. The Maasai lost most of their best grazing land valuable in times of drought to European settlement (Campbell, 1993). The immediate effect was the restriction of the Maasai to native reserves in Kajiado and Narok District.

Prior to the eviction of the Maasai community, Huxley (1959) recounts life in Thika in the bush where she spent most of the time with the Kikuyu and Maasai who lived near them or worked for them. This shows that although Thika was part of Central Province of Kenya, it belonged mainly to the Kikuyu people, although there were also Maasai and Kamba in the area.

Although the Maasai community was known to be fierce, Waller (1976) observes that British and Maasai alliances of between 1895 and 1905 had a profound impact. According to him, the Maasai were forced to reconstitute their herds as the British established dominion over the central highlands of Kenya. The Maasai reserves were secured under the treaties of 1904 and 1911 (Campbell, 1993). Tignor (1976) observes that unlike the Kikuyu, the Maasai were moved from lands alienated to Europeans; hence, they did not become squatter labourers. On the other hand, most Kambas also retreated from the lost lands.
Agriculture was the hallmark of the first stage of colonial economic development. As observed by Tignor (1976), the early settlers to Thika cultivated coffee and sisal. Further, Thurston (1987) and Kenyanchui (1992) showed that sisal was introduced to Kenya in 1904 from Tanganyika (Tanzania). Kenyanchui (1992) indicates that Messrs Rutherford firm planted it in Kiambu near Nairobi and since 1920, it spread to other areas, Thika inclusive.

Thurston (1987) points out that pineapple were grown in the lower areas of Kiambu and Fort Hall and in the Mau Hills of Machakos for sale to Kenya Canners at Thika. Wattle trees were considered of great benefits during this time. According to Kenyanchui (1992), wattle tree mainly provided energy for trains in the Kenya –Uganda railway. He further pointed out that since this was not very efficient, tanning of their bark was encouraged, hence the establishment of the Tanning and Extract company by British Multinational East Africa in Thika.

2.4 Colonial Economy and Gender Labour Relations in Thika, 1920 -1945

Prior to colonialism, women were playing vital roles both in agricultural practices and reproduction. Nevertheless, Ludeki (2006) pointed out, capitalistic economy greatly interfered with the pre-existing African social, political and economic organization. He further argues that the demands of the newly introduced commercial and later agrarian capitalism compelled a reorganization of the pre-existing social, economic and political structures of the indigenous African society. This was prompted by commercial capitalism involving new economic activities that were different from cultivation and livestock keeping.

According to Opio (2003), traditionally in most parts of Africa, women were responsible for producing food crops for the family on the land, which they gained access to after getting married. However, they did not have control over it. Their fundamental role was securing food for the family. Whereas men were generally responsible for bush clearing and land preparation.

It is important to note that the role and the place of women in the production process throughout Africa were largely influenced by the social structure of the society in which they lived.
Mostly, communities depended mainly on agricultural production and indigenous industries for their livelihood and survival. Mary Wanjiru (O. I., 2015) reported that, before they settled on the Kenya Tanning extract company premises, her late parents owned land in which they cultivated traditional crops and kept domestic animals.

The denial of land brought to natives a transformed social organisation and gender relations in general. On the contrary, the KNA/DC/TKA/1/2 1904-1920, justifies the alienation of African land in Thika. This report indicates that the population was very low and most of the land was empty or unoccupied.

According to Tanui (2015), the alienation of land among the Nandi community enabled European settlers to acquire labour successfully. Additionally, Cashmore (1965) also observes that the congestion of the Maasai into the reserve was mainly to convert the ‘idle warrior’ into agriculturalist or a labourer. Tanui (2015) notes that the main drive behind congestion of African into reserves was to force them into the labour market. Therefore, the above arguments relate to the case of Thika, which was an upcoming centre for not only agriculture plantations but also as an industrial centre.

Additionally, Tanui (2015) added that what compelled Africans to seek employment was loss of land to settlers, creation of African reserves and squatting among African. Further, the created reserves were reduced in sized and Africans congested in them. This was an effective tool towards acquisition of African labour by European. Squatting was an agreement made between the Europeans and African residing inside, cultivating and grazing inside their land. This agreement was in terms of amount of labour each year. This too was effective especially in agriculture plantations. Every family member was involved in providing labour even children.

Pamella (2001) pointed out that colonialism reworked gender relations in African societies largely to the disadvantage of women. Initially, women were farmers, traders, mothers, elders, members of secret societies and religious figures in the pre-colonial era. However, Colonialists and
agents of the colonial state largely misunderstood the complexity of gender labour relations in the societies they met. These colonial interpretations and misinterpretations ultimately led to disorganisation between men and women labour patterns creating more tension in the society.

Kikuyu were a patriarchal community (Wangari, 2010) with men heading the socio-political and religious institutions. They lived in dispersed homesteads. At the household level, a man was the head of his family, which may have been made of his wife or wives and their children. Muraya and Muriungi (2014) indicate that the Agikuyu people relied heavily on land for subsistence agriculture and therefore, land alienation crippled community’s economic sustainability and maintenance of cultural practices such as female circumcision.

Land among the Kikuyu operated under the Githaka system in which each clan established its ownership over specified part of the land. However, Ahoi from another clan could acquire the right to cultivate a portion of the Githaka in return for gifts to the clan elders. It was through prior cultivation, breaking up virgin land or purchasing that the Kikuyu acquired land (Kanogo, 1987). A Kikuyu man owned land after marriage, although they were entitled to inherit their respective father’s piece of the land. Customarily, Women had no land except the small part given to their families before marriage (Mary Wanjiru, O. I., 2015).

Karanja (1991) further observes that after the death of their mothers, the unmarried and separated women could be denied access to their mothers’ part of the land. On the other hand, in a case where a father had allocated an unmarried woman land and if her brothers did not chase her off the land, then her male children could inherit that piece of land through her.

Consequently, land among the Kikuyu was a major means of production since they were an agricultural community. It was only through the Mbari (clan) that the land was acquired (Karanja, 1991; Wangari, 2010). The clan through the first occupation acquired the Githaka (land). Once the Mbari founder dies, ownership of the land was passed jointly and exclusively through the male line (Karanja, 1991).
Tarayia (2004) observes that the notion of ‘waste and unoccupied’ land was a slogan that enabled the taking away of pastoral community land such as that of the Maasai. Traditionally, Maasai community is well-known for leaving land fallow for some time after exhausting pastures until there is rain for grass to grow. He also noted after the British grabbed the land that formerly was under the Maasai’s control, they were rendered very poor and greatly disadvantaged.

Before the advent of colonialism, the Maasai were among the wealthiest community in Kenya (Onyango, 2016). However, because of the 1904 and 1911 agreements, Hughes (2006) indicates that a relationship was developed between white settlers and Maasai who started to work on some European farms in the highlands. However, this relationship was complex since it was between two different societies motivated by greed for land.

The transformation of gender labour relations in Thika can be traced after the establishment of the colonial economy. The alienation of land resulted in squatter system and later the congestion of the African majority into the created reserves. This study concurs with Ludeki (2006) who observed that the introduction of the large scale-settler farming had the most far-reaching impact on society. The method involved the alienation of the native land and dislocation of families and communities. Similarly, Memmi (1991) saw the colonial state as being an instrument for serving colonial interests and weakening Africans wealth, self-respect, and identities.

Access to labour for settler was more complicated as compared to securing large pieces of uncultivated and unoccupied ‘empty land’. Apart from taxation, land control was an effective tool towards forcing Africans to enter wage labour. Ndalilah (2012) observed that land alienation thinned the economic activities of the local African, which was the major drive towards seeking wage labour. He also noted that the creation of African reserves in Kenya in 1904 and their legalization in 1926 necessitated the creation of labour reservoirs.

According to Zwanenberg (1977), from the 1920s several regions in Kenya started experiencing pressure on resources due to land commercialization. In connection to this, Ndalilah
(2012) noted that loss of land forced men to seek wage employment as squatters as an alternative to their agricultural production. More so, in accordance to Osamba (2016), this was a colonial government strategy for settlers to obtain enough workers, retain them in employment and ensure productivity in their work.

Following the land alienations in Thika, Kinyanjui (1987a) pointed out that the South-eastern part of the District contained large coffee estates while labour was obtained from the North-western parts which had been turned into Kikuyu native reserves. She further adds that Gatundu, Gatanga and Kamwangi divisions acted as the labour reserve for settlers in Thika since it formed the most important and expansive unit of European farming.

It is important to note that Kikuyu just as most of the communities in Kenya were mainly agriculturalists. Tignor (1976) observes that they grew a variety of crops such as maize and millet. Further, they used livestock as a source of wealth and prestige and exchanged different agricultural and artisan products among themselves. They also organized caravans with the Maasai who were pastoralist. Loss of land and transformation into the agricultural proletariat among the Kikuyu, Kamba and Maasai residing in Thika or round Thika came with much bitterness (Mary Wanjiru Veronica and Ng’ang’a, O. I., 2015).

Zeleza (1992) blamed capitalist enterprises for the change in the organization of work within the household into; a commodity producing, labour exporting, squatter and working-class household. In addition, he argued that through the act of land alienation, Africans were deprived of their means of production, hence, forcing them to enrol in wage labour force. More so, Mary Wanjiru (O. I., 2015) narrated that those who moved from reserves into the settler farms suffered more since the piece of land there was tiny (vegetable garden) and the number of livestock kept were controlled. Therefore, settlers took advantage since they forced them to work for long hours with little wage. These movements from ancestral land, to reserves and then inside the settler’s farms led to disconnection between families of whom they initially lived together.
Kinyanjui (2007) indicates that the Kikuyu were transformed into tenants or squatters in the land that was not immediately put under plantation agriculture and providing labour to white settlers. Moreover, the appropriation of land by white settlers denied the Kikuyu in Thika their main source of livelihood. On the other hand, they were deprived of pastures, salt licks and the cultivation rights that had existed under the customary land tenure system. Whenever the Kikuyu attempted to get access to any of those plantations, they were charged with trespass. Deprived of livelihood, some of them migrated to the Rift Valley.

Berman (1990) observed that up to 1918, squatting was an attractive proposition for many Africans, especially those from densely populated Kikuyu reserves. In addition, it gave them an opportunity to escape from the oppressive hand of the chief, gain access to land, and a chance to develop own crops and herds of livestock as they work for settlers at a low wage.

Having lost both access and control over land, depending on men was the only option left. For instance, among the Kikuyu who resided in Thika as seen in other parts of Kiambu, women were the major food producers because they had access to land. However, with the advent of British colonialism and introduction of settler economy, women shifted their production ability into sisal and coffee plantations established in Thika. Hence, it was not hard for women to seek jobs in processing industries (Mary Wanjiru O. I., 2015).

It is of importance to note the negative role of colonialism towards gender relation through the creation of wage labour. The colonial state, through the administrators, ensured that men, women and to some extent children participated in the provision of labour under little pay. This is clearly illustrated in the Thika Monthly Report of August 1938, ordering women to supply compulsory labour to the European settler farms and industries. In other cases, during peak labour requirements women and children were the sources of casual labour (KNA/AF/I/8). That enforcement was through the District Officers and the appointed native chiefs.
Further, Ndalilah (2012) indicates that with the loss of land, men had no other option rather than to seek for wage employment on the settler farms. Moreover, Zwanenberg (1977) noted that this pressure of land commercialization began to be felt in Kenya as early as the mid-1920s. However, before the First World War, there was a poor response by African to wage labour due to self-sufficiency following their traditional economies (Osamba, 2016). Therefore, the idea of land alienation, the creation of reserves and taxation was aimed at creating a stable labour force for the European settlers.

According to Clayton and Savage (1974), before colonialism men together with their family preferred to work on farms near their own Districts. They indicate that as men worked to complete their contract of 180 days, their wives with the babies under a shade and tendered by an older child worked on their plots. This is because, in almost all farms, women and children were employed only in times of harvesting, picking coffee, tea and pyrethrum with very little earnings. As alleged by Mary Wanjiru (O. I., 2015) in Thika women were only involved in times of weeding and picking coffee and Sisal.

Through such orders, women were completely detached from their usual economic activities. Veronica Ng’ang’a (O. I., 2015) narrated how the alterations produced conflict as women were forced to leave their routine duties and work for European. She added that the Conflict was even worse in cases where the African men forced women to work together with their children. Forced labour in the settler plantations for women and girls was a reality. It sometimes resulted in sexual harassment and even sexual abuses either in the hand of African or white men. Therefore, working in the plantations and industries compromised and complicated African gender relations since women well-being and productive ability had undermined. This is also evident from the work of Stichter (1977), where Harry Thuku’s organization protested the forced labour for women and girls and more so, citing many rape cases.
Wangari (2010) noted that in Kiambu, gender, age and seniority defined the roles, rights, and responsibilities within the household. She added that men and women were entitled to different obligations, which determined decision-making and division of labour. Unlike other societies where men only participated in clearing bushes and land tilling, the Kikuyu men actively participated in the agricultural production. While women cared for the annual crops, men were responsible for the perennial ones.

Due to unequal development in Kenya, Africans were forced to move from their rural homes to seek employment in the urban centres. For instance, Nakuru town, which was the headquarters of settler agriculture, attracted not only the settlers but also in their near vicinity, large squatter settlements of the African labourers who were recruited to work in the farms (Kanogo, 1987). Peter Wainaina (O. I., 2016) narrated that landless, drought and famine led to decline in food production. Therefore, Thika enticed many visitors as workers not only from Kikuyu Districts but also from Machakos and Kitui among other Districts.

The role and the place of both women and men in the production process in Thika were largely influenced by the social structure of the community. The wake of the twentieth century witnessed the development of the capitalist economy, which turned out to be a threat to African economic practices. Due to competition and restrictions from the settler economy, the indigenous economic activities died, thus Africans population were transformed into a wage labour force.

Although Parsons (1999) justifies that Maasai retained enough land to preserve their precolonial pastoral economy, Cashmore (1965) and Tarayia (2004) shows that the Maasai were transformed into agriculturalists in European farms. On the other hand, Kamba community was largely recognized since they supplied colonial labour in form of KAR (King’s African Rifles). However, Parsons (1999) observes that it was only because of colonial economy limitation that Kambas considered military service as sufficiently lucrative and appealing.
Further, Maxon (1992) indicates that the capitalist penetration in Kenya involved building upon Kenya’s traditional economies and introducing new elements in the economy. The basic unit of production and consumption was the household or extended family. Cooperation was essential for the performance of agricultural and pastoral duties. Such cooperation was normally accomplished and regulated through kinship ties. Therefore, this study concurs with the above findings, which helps in the deep understanding of the basis towards change in gender relations.

According to Macharia (1997), colonial labour practices and recruitment system produced disproportionate migration of males and females contributing further to uneven development leading to a gender imbalance in cities that persisted even after independence. The direct negative effect it had on the African worker who was “lucky” to be employed in the urban areas was that the man (usually the urban employee) was paid too little to afford to bring his wife or family in the urban areas.

Wolff (1974) noted that in the 1920s, many African workers sought employment at a lower wage rate. During that time, the Kikuyu families that were being enlisted as squatters increased. The growth of population in the reserves, whose boundaries were fixed, resulted in the much pressure on land. Secondly, soil erosion within the reserves reduced the return from the land, hence the attractiveness of virgin land offered as part of the squatter contract increased. Finally, increased population growth in the reserves was matched by rapid growth in the number of livestock kept by the Africans.

Although the creation of the reserves for African had started as early as 1904 (Kanogo, 1987; KNA/MGM/1/17/16) further indicates that more reserves were created in 1932 whereby the Kenya Land Commission demarcated reserves by fixing the boundaries. More so, Ochieng’ (1986) confirmed that through the Native Land Trust Ordinance of 1930, it was declared that Africans belonged to the reserves forever. As this was not enough blow for most Africans, the Kenya land
commission of 1932, fixed the boundaries of white highlands and instructed all Africans to be evacuated from the white highlands.

European settlers usually preferred squatters to monthly contract workers, because squatters offered the most certain form of labour. The economic condition in which the squatter population lived, together with its size made it represent the general social contribution to the labour problem. The use of women and children for European farm labour became increasingly widespread and important throughout the 1920s. They were mostly used at the peak of coffee picking. British authorities preferred to have women and children recruited privately by European employers (Wolff, 1974).

Apart from the Agikuyu, employment in the emerging industries and plantations was also sought by the Aembu, Ameru and Akamba among other communities. Veronica Ng’ang’a (O. I., 2015) indicated that because of the high labour demands, people from Meru, Embu, Kamba land, among others moved on to look for wage employment. She described how that period experienced high population growth. Hyde (2000) put more emphasis on that by indicating that the development of the industry and plantations largely relied on migrant labour. Women found that they had to fulfil their duties as well as take up the duties previously carried out by men. This resulted in both social and economic repercussions for women.

The manufacturing and service industry in Thika since the 1920s employed both skilled and unskilled workers. Kinyanjui (2013) observed that the workers were mainly from as far as Nyanza, Western and Eastern Provinces of Kenya. She also noted that textile industries and food processing plants mainly employed women. On the other hand, male labour dominated in the Metal Box and automobile industries, which were many in the town. However, because of the shortage of housing in Thika, these workers lived in dormitory-type of housing hence forcing them to leave their families in their rural homes (Ngesa, 1996; Kinyanjui, 2013).
Maxon (1992) recounted that the African labour could be obtained with state assistance only when needed most. Those involved in the migrant labour system were never permanently employed as such people normally returned to the African rural areas when not in employment. The colonial state involved itself in deeply recruiting and set up an extensive system for labour control. Measures put in place to control labour by the state included; registration, carrying of the pass by the African men and providing criminal penalties for deserting work.

Unlike the Luo, Luhya and Abagusii contract workers, the Kikuyu labour force brought their women and children to the settler farms, as well as certain items such as livestock, and beehives, which was an indication of permanent migration (Kanogo, 1987). In Thika, for instance, Mary Wanjiru (O. I., 2015) narrated how they were born and brought up in the estate within the Kenya Tanning Extract Company. On the same note, KNA/AF/I/7 indicates that women were not encouraged to leave the reserve if they could not return home for the weekend because they had to leave their children behind.

Colonialism redefined the household and its relationship to production in ways that were highly disadvantageous to African women. As portrayed by White (1990), in urban communities, mainly women defended their own capacities for accumulation through prostitution or entrepreneurship against an alliance of African men and township administrators. This made men workers comfortable while away from their rural homes.

Ludeki (2006) noted the mode of colonial economic domination and exploitation of the Africans excluded those from the mainstream economic progress and pushed the native population to the periphery of the emergent capitalist production. It is worthwhile to note that women lost access and control of land; they became more economically dependent on men. This reinforced domestic patriarchy, strengthened by colonial social institutions.

The male elders controlled the household labour in African tradition. It included the labour of juniors and women and access to the major means of production. In general, the management and
the organization of agricultural production were under women (Sticher, 1985). However, largely the colonial economy disrupted labour relations within the household. As Berman (1990) observed it created land shortages, increasing cash needs and the pressure of the chiefs and Githaka holders on Ahoi and the poorer members of the society.

Thousands of men periodically migrated to early urban centres in search of wage labour and by the early 1930s, 110,000 Kikuyu had migrated (Berman 1990). A fifth of the population was living permanently outside the reserve with the majority being squatter labourers on settler’s estates. Others drifted into Districts inhabited by people with more land resources. Others, including educated young men, found their way into the urban employment (Ibid, 229). Following the massive movement of Kikuyu, as well as other African communities from the reserves, women bore the burden of taking care of the family in the absence of the male figure. That denied the women a chance to go out and seek wage employment.

Denying Africans access to crops such as coffee, tea and pyrethrum, forced most men to migrate to seek the wage employment. However, few Africans worked in the factories as attendants with few job opportunities due to lack of skills (Kinyanjui, 1987a). With industrialization, some tasks were mechanized hence leaving men with no other alternatives than to take over the women roles (Opio, 2003). On the other hand, women took over the headship of households at home, as men moved to urban areas to seek jobs.

At this point, it is pertinent to note that before the 1940s industries disregarded women for employment. Mary Wanjiru and Veronica Ng’ang’a (O. I., 2015) revealed this by reporting that women were not allowed to work in the industries. The nature of work within the industries was very hard and only required men, so women could not be employed. Thus, the establishment of industries in Thika benefited men, hence, left urban women as dependent on them.

More so, Mary Wanjiru (O. I., 2015) confessed that in Kenya Tanning Extract Company, there were only two women, one worked in the office as a secretary and the other was a cook. She
recalls that Bulley’s and Kenya Extract industries allowed men to carry their families and stay with them because men stayed for a long time without visiting their homes. As seen above, one can argue that the impetus behind this was to create labour permanency for the industries, as there was stiff competition by settlers for the limited workers.

Although women suffered marginalization by industries in terms of employment, they continued with their work of growing food crops for their family’s consumption while men earned wages by working in the established industries and factories. In most cases, not only in Thika but also in almost all urban centres, colonial settlers only turned exclusively to men workforce when a need for labour arose. As compared to settler plantations, early industries had no chance for women.

Labour was a critical factor of production in the colonial economy (Ludeki 2006). The goal of capitalist accumulation together with the condition of under-capitalized settlers necessitated the use of plentiful and above all, cheap native wage labour. Karanja (1991) observed that capitalist competition, the colonial legacy of sexist laws and social stratification of society have served to elaborate on the pre-existing gender inequalities to create substantial legal, socio-economic and political inequalities between the sexes, which have manifested themselves in inequitable land tenure relations.

In Thika, coffee and sisal plantations were important as far as colonial settler agriculture was concerned. Hyde (2009) observes that African coffee production had been expanded before First World War. Because of this, the indigenous population was expected to provide labour for the settler estates, hence the growth of African wage labourers (Hyde, 2009). To ensure a steady supply of labour, Cashmore (1965) indicates that native reserves were established. He adds that this limited Africans from both access to land and free movements. More so, the natives in the reserves combined both wage labour and subsistence production to ensure supply of food for their families and even workers (Peter Wainaina, O. I., 2016; Hyde, 2009)
As observed by Stamp (1980), Thika industrial potential was recognized by 1920s and in the early 1930s manufacturing enterprises followed naturally from the original commercial and farming base. Hence, African population in Thika was growing day after day creating more need for housing. Housing determined the supply of labour not only to plantation estates but also to the industries. For instance, Serah Wamucii (O. I., 2016) reported that;

Due to landlessness, Kikuyu workers were willing to take any kind of work even with as low as Ksh. 3 per day if housing and food were provided. Even though, payment from pineapple estates was higher (Ksh. 4), it was still not enough because there was no house for workers. Coffee estates offered no houses for workers too, they paid Ksh. 1 per debe but only people who came from around Thika could seek employment there. Working in sisal plantation was hard but was the best; workers were paid Ksh. 3 per day with housing.

Due to the problem of housing and low wages, experienced not only in Nairobi but also in other small towns such as Thika, Nyeri and Nanyuki, the whole family could not afford to stay in urban centres. This brought about social instability in both towns and reserves due to family separation (Gachihi, 1986). Clayton and Savage (1974) observe that in Nairobi, some houses were built for workers but still they could not meet the high demand. On the other hand, they indicate that some employers only allowed a brief visit by the wives of the servants in the city because they were blamed for creating a semi-stabilized labouring class.

Initially, the majority of the migrant were males. Jalongo-Ndeda (1991) indicated that these migrants were aged between sixteen and thirty. She further indicates that migration and wage-earning employment were the features of the social life for African. However, between 1939 and 1945, able-bodied men were forced to join British troops both locally and abroad (Gachihi, 1986; Mary Wanjiru, O. I., 2015). Women strongly felt the effect of urbanization and colonial economy. The immediate effect was that women joined wage labourer in European plantations but also as ayahs in the European or Asian household. It was in this way that women were forced to move into men role of subsidizing for the family.
2.5 Summary

Loss of land through colonial consolidation meant women were restricted to small tracks of land for cultivation. This eroded the value of women labour in producing and processing food. It also meant the reduction of the economic independence enjoyed by women by compromising their economic productivity. The importance of women production in agricultural contribution was fading away and their vital role in production was overshadowed by the lucrative male-dominated cash crop production, thus forcing women to try colonial wage labour.

Migration and wage earnings for employment were remarkable features of African social life since the establishment of the colonial economy. In some instances, men migrated with their families while in other cases only women did, leaving the old men and children in the villages. This defined and transformed African gender relations not only in the villages but also in the urban areas.
CHAPTER THREE: GENDER LABOUR RELATIONS THIKA INDUSTRIES, 1945 - 1963

3.1 Introduction

This chapter mainly focuses on gender relations in the manufacturing industries in Thika from 1945 all through to independence. The post-war period that is 1945 to 1963 is marked by improved effort to promote manufacturing industry not only in Kenya but also generally in all British colonies. Concerning Thika, a great transformation was experienced resulting from the industrial developments at that period. This section examines the effects of both Emergency and Mau Mau period on gender labour relations. Gender tool of analysis is used to reveal the mechanisms, which underpinned women active participation in wage labour, shaping women work experiences in the industry at the same time making this sector male-dominated up to 1963.

3.2 The Development of Industries 1945-1963

In order to understand Kenya’s industrial development after 1945, it is important, first to analyse colonial economy developments prior to this period. As earlier mentioned, Kenya was a British Protectorate from 1895 to 1920 when it was converted into a crown colony. Brett (1973) observes that Kenya was turned into raw material production colony that was exported to Britain. This was possible through the settler plantations such as coffee and sisal estates established in Thika. Moreso, the author argues that although the Colonial Development Advisory Committee placed no limits on colonial economic activities, they largely ignored the industrial sector.

The period between 1939 and 1945 was characterised by development of manufacturing industries within the colonies. This was mainly to boost British industrial sector, which was declining at home due to the effect of the World War. Berman (1990) noted that before 1939, development of industries in Kenya was limited and lacked government support and protection. It was a venture for a few Asian and European investors, all with limited capital in the small and
highly competitive local market. The outbreak of the war prompted the establishment of local industrial development. This trend is noted in the development of manufacturing industries in Thika, where the earlier industries belonged to Asians.

According to Ogonda (1992a), the attack of the ships during the Second World War meant that only essential war supplies could be sent from Europe under heavy military escort, hence need for consumer and capital goods accelerated. The result was encouragement and support of local manufacturing within the colonies. Therefore, World War II became a vital catalyst for boosting the development of industries. Although Asians had ventured into manufacturing before 1945, Swainson (1978) indicates that they were only a few due to the constraints of capital and lack of credit facilities from European banks.

Before the Second World War, industries such as Bulleys Tanneries Limited were established. However, Ogonda (1992a) notes that the impetus towards industrialization increased after the end of the Second World War. Well, these industries were more diversified consumer and market-oriented, relying on imported materials either in raw or semi-processed forms (Kinyanjui, 1987a). Amsden (1971) observes that unlike the pre-war industries, the post-war ones increasingly targeted African consumers.

The shortage of the imported goods during the Second World War made it necessary for the government to encourage the development of domestic industries. Therefore, this period experienced diversification in manufacturing since capital from multinational corporations began to flow into manufacturing sector (Swainson 1980; Ogonda, 1992b). This development increased demand for wage labour.

In the previous chapter on the colonial development in Thika, it is clearly shown that from 1920 to 1945, only a few industries were established. The policy towards colonial industrialization changed in favour of investment in manufacturing by 1940. Private industrial enterprises were established during 1939-1945. The rationale behind the development was the duty remissions and
refunds, industrial licensing, industrial research, allocation of industrial land and financial assistance (Ogonda, 1992b).

Mainly the early industrialization was centred on the use of natural resources and agricultural production not only in Kenya but also in most parts of Africa. Kinyanjui (2013) refers to them as extractive processing industries in which enterprises use a low level of technology to process natural products before exports. For instance, in the case of Thika, Kinyanjui (1987a) noted that the East African Tanning Extract, Kenya Tanning Extract, Bulleys Tanneries and Thika Rice Factory used wood fuel as the source of power for driving machines.

Since the establishment of Bulleys Tanneries in 1943 (KNA/GP 338.4016 KEN), Thika was awakened to the move of industrialization in 1948 with the establishment of Kenya Canners. It was mainly to process pineapples for export, targeting Europe and North America (KNA/Gp 338.4016 KEN; Swainson, 1980; Louise and Robert, 2006). Apart from supplies from European settler farms, Kinyanjui (1987a) and Swainson (1980) notes that it created a market for the local small-scale pineapples growers and more so, preserved fruits and vegetables for export. Moreover, its location created markets for tins produced by Metal Box Company, which had been earlier established (Swainson, 1980; Gerald Kanja, O. I., 2015). Just like Portland Cement Company, Allsopps Breweries and Bata Shoe Company, Metal Box Company was supported or run by International Corporation, hence operated on a worldwide scale (Ogonda, 1992b). As observed by Dinham and Hines (1984), it availed cans locally to Kenya Canners, which was a local consumer.

Kenya Canners is associated with the managing director of Pickering and west, an English fruit farmer who visited Kenya with the intention of setting up a fruit processing plant. The governor directed him to a settler fruit farmer in Thika named Harries. Therefore, Kenya Canners ended up forming a partnership between the British firm and a group of settler farmers (Swainson, 1980). It is worthwhile noting that settler agriculture played a great role in the successful establishment of industries by availing raw materials, particularly in Thika.
Initially, Kenya Canners had both pineapples and some coffee trees, but as time went by, they neglected coffee farming and focused on pineapple farming for the processing purposes since that was their main target. Currently, there is just a very small section under the coffee (Enock Emasi; Josephat Kimeu, O. I., 2015). This can be attributed to the need to create space for the new industry, which called for clearing of sisal and part of coffee estates.

Maiyo and Imo (2012) indicate that clothing and textile factories are vital as far as the process of industrialization in Thika is concerned. They further observed that textile and clothing industries in Kenya began during the colonial period and by 1945, there were seventy-four of such establishments. Moreover, they were the most developed sectors of the economy, mostly owned by private investors mainly Kenyans of Asian origin. Thika benefited greatly due to its huge numbers of Asians residence accredited with technical expertise from India.

During the 1950s, Bhagwanji and Company purchased Nath Brothers (a textile mill) in Thika and in 1959, the name Nath Brothers changed to Thika Cloth Mills Limited (VOC, 2015). KNA/GP/338.4016 KEN, Kenya directory of manufacturing industry indicates that its products included; bed sheets, mattress, clothes, and calico among others. According to Kinyanjui (1987b), the two clothing factories relied on imported cotton and nylon. The United Textile Factory started in 1963 and focused on the production of clothes (Ogonda, 1992b).

A few small-scale industries that engaged in the production of sweets and bread were also established (Kinyanjui, 1987a). For instance, Virani Confectionery Works in 1949 and its products were sweets and toffees. Broadways Bakery specializing in bread baking was established in 1958. The raw materials were; wheat flour, sugar, salt, yeast and bread improvers (KNA/GP/338.4016 KEN).

Thika also housed Maxim Printing Works and Kenya Paper Mills. The former was established in 1952 and printed commercial stationery while the latter was planted in 1957 along factory road. Their raw materials were waste papers and the product was paper (KNA/GP/338.4016 KEN). In
addition, the Kenya Paper Mills used imported softwood for the manufacture of papers (Kinyanjui, 1987b).

One of the consequences of industrial developments was high population growth. By 1950s, the population had increased from approximately 5000 to over 12,000. As a result, the second phase of development was the provision of basic human amenities to serve the people who were mainly industrial workers. For instance, in the 1950s, a housing estate for the factory workers was started due to the rapid growth of population in the town following establishments of industries (Stamp, 1980).

Thika had mainly plantations where most African worked on seasonal basis. Nevertheless, post-Second World War to the decolonisation period, Thika experienced a massive investment in the industrial sector (Peter Gathingira, O. I., 2016). Accordingly, Amsden (1971) notes that industries that mushroomed tended to be large sized firms. Further, he adds that majority of the labour force found employment in factories. Hence, the increase of secondary industries in urban centres had the effect of increasing population congestion leading to severe African housing shortage.

Andreasen (1989) indicates that by 1948, the inhabitants of Thika Municipality were approximately 4,435 and by 1962, the number had gone up to around 13,952. This indicates that there was a high demand for houses to cater for the increasing population. In some few cases, workers obtained houses within the factory but had to pay rent, which was the case for Mary Wanjiru. On the other hand, others had to commute from as far as Gatundu, Gatanga and Kamwangi division (Kinyanjui, 1987a).

Kinuthia (1982) observed that in 1948, Thika was still a small centre housing few shops and hotels. He adds that housing consisted of Asian residential area and ‘Majengo’ for Africans. However, as Thika industrialized, more people migrated to settle in the town. This called for the enlargement of residential areas. To solve the issue of housing, site and service schemes were
introduced by the government. Alongside government housing, Thika also experienced the
development of marginalized residential areas such as Kiandutu, Kiang’ombe and Gachagi where
the majority of workers lived as it will be seen later in the discussion.

Due to industrialisation, Thika offered employment opportunities. Most of its workers came
from the surrounding towns as noted above. By this time, Thika had developed mainly heavy
industries, which offered employment opportunities as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Industries in Thika District by 1963

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Year of establishment</th>
<th>Products</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kenya Tanning Extract LTD</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Wattle extract, solid chopped powder and solid pressed back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulleys Tanneries LTD.</td>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Hides, skins and finished leather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dragon (1970) Limited</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Semi-finished and fully tanned leather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal Box Company</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Metal containers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya Canners</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Fruit processing and packaging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virani confectionery works</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Sweets and toffee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maxim printing works</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>Commercial stationery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya paper mills LTD</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thika cloth mills</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Shirts, bed sheets, mattress, cloth and calico</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kenya Directory of Manufacturing Industry

According to Kinuthia (1982), the number of males is more than females in towns mainly with
heavy industries while light industries in town attract more women than men. Therefore, in the case
of Thika, more male as compared to females had migrated to work in the industries since they had
higher chances of securing employment. The sex ratio difference is automatically associated with
the establishment of more heavy industries relative to light ones.

The increase in the number of women in the industries in Thika can be accredited to the
establishment of light industries such as textile industries and the Kenya Canners now Cirio
Delmonte. Though the number of women was not as huge as compared to their counterpart men (Table 1), at least these industries opened up opportunities for women.

Erastus Mwangangi (O. I., 2015) indicated that women were also preferred in heavy industries for cleaning and in the packaging departments. Men were involved in the technical department and operating the machinery. Women were paid less because the kind of work they did required little skills and energy. The KNA/DC/TKA/3/26/1957-1959 reveals more on this by indicating that the men were offered Ksh. 30 while women got only Ksh. 22 per month.

In the case of Nairobi, Clayton and Savage (1974) observed that workers living in employer’s premises had to share rooms with three to four men per room. They argue that Pumwani and Pangani had tiny houses without water or electricity facilities. As reported by Andreasen (1989), up to eight families had to share one pit latrine and bathroom. Moreover, there was one communal tap to supply water to all the families. In such situation, workers rarely allowed their wives to visit them due to embarrassment.

Similarly, Thika population grew at an alarming rate due to the expansion of the industrial sector and settler plantations. This created a huge demand for shelter. Gomez et al. (2008) observed that in both Accra and Nairobi the migrant workers resulted to self-help measures of constructing makeshift homes out of any material in some informal pieces of land due to the emerging housing problem. To avoid eviction, they indicate that the informal settlements were mainly erected on public land or land that was unsuitable for development.

The development of the informal settlement in urban centres was because of imbalance in development, which has continually sustained the rural to urban migration. According to Gomez et al. (2008), the informal settlement in Nairobi could be traced back to 1902 when the Europeans first arrived. The continued displacement of the indigenous population caused them to settle adjacent to the settler farms where they worked as labourers. This resulted in housing problem due to the increasing population. Several ways were devised to curb this menace. Among them was the
council housing of 1955 (Andreasen, 1989). Further, he points out that as time moved on, Thika developed unauthorized settlements such as Kiandutu slums. Others built on government land with temporary occupation permit.

3.3 Post War Gender Labour Relations, 1945-1963

After the Second World War, colonial administrators were eager to promote economies in the colonies. They focused mainly on the processing and manufacturing industrial sector. This created more opportunities for both men and women for wage employment, though women were mainly in the agriculture sector (Stichter, 1977). This was the trend in Thika town, which housed both industries and settler plantations. For instance, ‘Makongeni’ is situated in a former sisal estate.

Most of the Africans had a strong attachment to their rural areas (Kinuthia, 1982; Andreasen, 1989). On the other hand, settler labour for women was mainly seasonal that is weeding and harvesting. Due to this fact, Andreasen (1989) and Peter Wainaina (O. I., 2016) noted that mostly women and children were either left in the reserves attending to the small plots nearby their homestead or were in the rural areas to take care of the rural home. During the research interviews in Thika, few cases were noted where men lived with their families.

Mary Wanjiru (O. I., 2015) an elderly woman interviewed at Majengo estate, had this to say;

My brothers, sisters and I were brought up in Kenya Tanning Extract Company some years back since our father used to work there. The industry belonged to the Indians and most of the workers were allocated company houses free of charge. The company was engaged in processing barks of wattle trees were sourced from as far as Murang’aa and Meru.

According to Zeleza (1992), industrial capital required skilled and stable workforce while a growing number of workers were increasingly dependent on their wages for the survival of their households. However, Jalang’o-Ndeda (2006) observed that extreme domesticity continued to confine women in the household. Moreover, this gendered mobility affected women access to services that were mainly available in urban centres including education, work and health.
However, it marginalized women in terms of employment opportunities and at the same time remuneration since their pay was far below that of men. According to KNA/ABK/12/45, members of an association in Kiambu had agreed that the starting wage rate for a female worker was Ksh. 24. On the contrary, the same report indicates that even if a woman worked for six days per week she received only a total pay of Ksh.19. This indicates that women were also discouraged from joining the labour force due to poor remuneration and exploitation.

Despite the beauty of Thika, as portrayed by Huxley and the national praise of it as an industrial centre, worker viewed it as a base of exploitation of their labour since they were underpaid (Kinuthia, 1982). Further, this is echoed by the worker’s utterance, “… oh, it is time to go and sell my blood or to go and have my blood sacked…. ” This is a clear indication that apart from providing jobs, industries in Thika were viewed as tools for exploitation under colonial capitalist.

It is important to note that in most cases, women were restricted to migrate into urban centres by colonial administrators (Robertson, 1984). This is because industries were few and mainly required only male labour. Anunobi (2002) points out that, European officials placed many restrictions towards the movement of women in towns. Moreover, she noted that Zambia (then Northern Rhodesia) portrays a good example where these restrictions were applied to prevent women from moving to towns. More so, authorities were empowered to send them back to the villages.

However, Parpart (1986) observed that by 1943, women mostly prostitutes owned 41% of the houses in Nairobi suburb of Pumwani. In addition, Ngesa (1996) observed that despite the colonial control, women population in the urban centres increased and had a significant impact on the economy. Similarly, in Thika, women moved to work in the sisal and coffee plantation and provide domestic services to men living in the town (Alice, O. I., 2016). These services included selling sex,
food and local brew. These domestic and sex trade services left many women vulnerable to exploitation.

Murang’a (Fort Hall), Nyeri, Embu, Meru and Ukambani acted as a source of cheap labour for the industries and plantations which were increasing in Thika by 1945. For instance, according to Thika February monthly report 1958, at Donyo Sabouk the employer requests the Fort Hall administration for 20 women as permanent labour, though the request was turned down (KNA/AF/1/7. 1958). This is a clear sign that Thika labour force was obtained from the hinterland.

Gender discrimination and occupation segregation were common in the manufacturing industries. Hay and Stichter (1995) pointed out that industrial urban wage jobs were almost entirely restricted to men. However, European plantations sometimes employed women only on a seasonal basis, especially for crop processing. Nevertheless, KNA/AF/1/7 indicated that though women were employed only during the peak seasons when there was labour shortage. Their number was reduced immediately after the crop harvest. Mostly, women were involved in weeding, harvesting time and in the processing of pineapples.

As discussed above, only male labour was considered important in the urban centres, as women were discouraged from moving to those centres. This created gender imbalances as women were encouraged to stay in their rural areas. Hence, women’s participation in the wage labour tended to be low as compared to that of men.

According to Hay and Stichter (1995), African employment in the factories was lowly paid. Therefore, men’s wages had to be supplemented with food and other goods and services from the peasant household. The above argument can explain why women were mostly discouraged to move to urban centres. It was to ensure the continuity of rural economy, hence the survival of the capitalist enterprises in the urban centres.

Rural-urban linkages were a feature of labour relations during this period of industrial development and were clear in most of the cities in Kenya. The urban population was sustained by
the agricultural, rural productivity. For example, in Thika, some traders from Ruiru and Murang’a among other places, were involved in farming and selling of food crops to the urban dwellers employed in the industries and plantations. Some were also receiving food items from relatives in rural areas such as beans, maize, groundnuts and peas in return for financial support (Mary Wanjiru and Veronica Ng’ang’a, O. I., 2015).

Tabitha Manyara (O. I., 2015) also reported that around the 1950s women mostly participated in agricultural activities in the rural homes to supply food to relatives working in urban centres. As indicated on the KNA/AF/I/7 report the Fort Hall administration turned down the request by Donyo Sabouk for women workers, simply because by that time women were either harvesting or preparing land for the following planting season. Although colonial labour practices ignored women in urban centres, those reports indicate that women labour was confined to rural vicinities to support the male workers in the urban centres.

Amanda (2007) noted that throughout, the colonial government and European settlers relied on cheap labour from the African workers. Under the 1918 Resident Native Labourers Ordinance (RNLO), settlers acquired cheap labour from the Kikuyu squatters. There was a remarkable increase of settlers in Central Province of Kenya engaging a huge number of workers. Kinyanjui (2007) indicates that the Northwest parts of Thika formed the bulk of the Kikuyu native reserves, which was an important labour reserve.

Labour mobility within the country reinforced the colonial economy. Migrations took place as workers were in search of more favourable working conditions and better wages. By 1945, the government created a stable workforce to deal with the pattern of male migrant workers. The shortage of labour during the, drove up money wages, but not higher rate of price increase. Thus, real wages remained constant, but due to the Mau Mau crisis posed to the colonial state, they probably failed to deal with that challenge (Swainson, 1980).
Ludeki (2006) observed that through the supply of labour, tax revenue, and peasant production of grains for local consumption, Africans enabled the successful establishment of the colonial economy. Although, Africans suffered greatly following the loss of land, production of profitable cash crops, and social-economic services that the colonial state provided. Nevertheless, the colonial economic order had adverse effects on the conditions of living for the Africans, although they complied with the colonial order up to the post-war period.

The most important and significant change after the World War II was the steady increase in the number of women not only in the urban centres but also in the industrial worker force. This followed the establishment of textile factories and agro-food processing industries. Although the dominated these industries, mostly they were employed lower levels of performance. However, men operated the technical and sophisticated machines regarded as unsuitable for women (Isaiah Mwangi, O. I., 2015). This clearly implied that gender inequality persisted. Men and women were oriented towards sex-stereotyped jobs and occupations, and they occupied different positions within the same industry.

From 1945, Thika industries increased the employment of women, though the number was still small as compared to that of men. According to Thika monthly reports of December 1958, the Metal Box Company of East Africa Limited was reported to have employed women for a number of years. For instance, a young Kikuyu woman was in charge of other women working on a metal pressing machine. Moreover, the September 1958 monthly report on Kenya Canners, states that about 200 women were working on a daily rate wage bases (KNA/AF/I/7). The other mention of women engaging in colonial labour in Thika included the Kikuyus who were employed on the sisal estate as cutters. That was organized on a family basis to ease the work (Hyde, 2000).

Echoing the above observation, Zeleza (1992) indicates that it was after the war that several women began to enter wage employment in Kenya. He noted that their numbers increased from 35,000 in 1946 to about 40,000 in 1952 and almost 67,000 in 1963. However, most the women were
employed in the agricultural sector. However, the number of women in the non-agricultural sector also increased gradually. Between 1948 and 1952, it rose from about 6,700 to 16,000. African women were concentrated in the unskilled and low paying jobs. Though there are no official records in Thika indicating the exact number of women enrolment in all the industries by that time, Elizabeth Nyambura (O. I., 2015) confirmed that women increased steadily in within the industries in Thika as wage-earners.

The loss of male labour to war as warriors (Parson, 1999) and diminishing access to land by women due to alienation made them look for more alternatives to sustain their households. Although White (1990) indicates that the early female migrant to Nairobi formed the informal sector through the selling of cooked food, brewing beer and sexual and domestic services, however, it is important to note that, there are other women who migrated specifically to secure wage employment in industries. Although the exact number of women was not indicated, Dinham and Hines (1984) noted that Kenya Canners had employed approximately 6000, both men and women. On the same note, KNA/AF/1/8 report confirms this by arguing that in Kenya Canners, female-dominated as compared to other industries in Thika. This could be attributed to the high demand for its processed goods.

However, Azumah (2003) observed that women dominate agro-food processing industries. This concurs with Kinuthia (1982) findings where migration of women to urban centres is associated with the establishment of light industries. According to Azumah (2003), this is due to the nature of activities, which are mostly associated with female domestic skills, requiring dexterity and nimble fingers. Nevertheless, men were employed but mainly dominated in technical related activities. From the above argument, it is undisputed fact that Kenya Canners were a female labour-intensive industry.

Dinham and Hines (1984), while men were involved in machinery works in Kenya Canners, women were mostly involved in weeding when hormonal chemicals were applied onto pineapple
plants to enhance uniform flowering. Their labour was also critical in during harvesting where they run behind a tractor driven conveyor harvesters. Here workers moved cutting the ripe fruits and loading them to the waiting tippers (Dinham and Hines, 1984).

3.4 Mau Mau and Gender Labour Relations in Thika Industry (1952-1963)

Zeleza (2010) noted that Mau Mau was a nationalist movement in Kenya from 1952 to 1960. Moreover, it was concentrated in Central Kenya where the exploitive and oppressive acts of settler colonialism were imperative. Just as Central and Rift valley parts of Kenya, in Thika District, the struggle was mainly by dispossessed squatters and poor peasants who had lost power and control over land (Mary Wanjiru, O. I., 2015). More so, Furedi (1989) indicates that the forced labour of women was among the main reasons why squatters organized themselves politically and joined the Mau Mau in large numbers.

Elsewhere, Zeleza (1992) observed that the emergency period of 1952 was marked by the great eviction of Kikuyu, Embu and Meru communities. Anderson (2005) noted that these communities were driven off their own ancestral land and restricted to native reserves. Moreover, these reserves were characterised by poor land, often rocky and subject to erosion. This not only acted as a way of punishing Mau Mau sympathizers but also enabled the government to easily survey and set out new plots. As a result, loyalists were the principal beneficiaries of this process as the convicted Mau Mau rebels were usually excluded from the land re-allocation (Ibid, 294).

Further, Zeleza (1992) noted that the evictions reorganised the composition of the labour force. Anderson (2005) noted that some men who had initially gone to fight in the forest could return to work in European estates unnoticed. For instance, in Thika, there was Kang’ethe Kang’au (O. I., 2016). More so, in order to replace a large number of evicted workers, intense labour recruitment programmes were undertaken in other parts of the country, particularly in Nyanza and Southern Provinces. The employment of women and juveniles was also accelerated. For example,
between 1953 and 1963, the employment of African women increased by 62.4% as compared to 19.2% for men (KNA/AF/1/8).

Following the Villagization of 1952, Zeleza (2010) noted that thousands of workers and squatters were deported from the European farms to concentration camps and compulsory villages. Further, he added that violence and forced labour were inescapable which led to many deaths, maiming, rape, castration and even insanity among Africans. To emphasize on this, the colonial Annual Report of 1954 indicated that the war council decree of June 1954 forced massive population movements with houses being burned.

Sorrenson (1967) showed that by October 1955, 1,077,500 Kikuyu and Embu had been moved into 184 villages. Even so, Rahab Waithera (O. I., 2015) narrated that under the strict supervision of home guards, women were forced to labour for longer hours than before since men had quitted the jobs and gone to the forest. To expound more on this trend, KNA/PC/CP/6/4/16/1957 indicates that most of the Africans in the reserves were women, children and a few old men.

Sorrenson (1967) also noted that in most cases men were in detention camps and others in the forests. More to this, he indicates that there were about 1,700 convicts and about 50,000 detained in various detention camps all over the country. Although after the Second World War few women were employed in the formal sector, Stichter (1977) observed that the employment of women outside agriculture particularly increased during the emergency period.

Prior to Second World II, as shown by Stichter (1977), women in the town worked largely in agriculture, as children’s nurses, prostitute and beer brewers. On the same, women could only access wage employment when an exceptional need occurred (Kang’ethe Kang’au, O. I., 2016). A good example is the emergency period, which created opportunities for them in the manufacturing industries in Thika as reported by Rahab waithera (O. I., 2015) in an oral interview.
It is important to note that women greatly participated in the Mau Mau struggle. Rosberg and Nottingham (1966) remarked that the Kikuyu women had a political power that was underestimated by the authorities. They also commented on the belief by the government that rehabilitation was more important for women because they had such influence over their families and were often the main Mau Mau force in the homes.

According to Berman and Lonsdale (1992), colonial officials were shocked by the active role played by women on behalf of Mau resulting to the detention of thousands of them. Mau Mau offered women full membership of the political movement. Apart from being spies and supplying food and medicine, they were warriors together with men. Within the household, they controlled the means of production in the absence of men. Further, they engaged in the communal labour of building guard post and strategic trenches along the forest edge.

According to Hyde (2000), because of restrictions and detention placed on K.E.M males by the colonial government, women were pushed into wage-earning jobs to support their family. Accordingly, this was a double burden to women and therefore, they had to bring their children to work with them, hence the widespread incidence of child labour.

According to Amanda (2007), it is indisputable that women stood in the gap of fulfilling the opportunities in the wage labour as well as monitored the colonial government moves to alert men or to take appropriate action. In Thika, during this period, the factory managers realized that there were many operations where women performed skillfully as compared to men. More so, women showed greater diligence and were more cooperative to factory discipline than their male counterpart was (TLDAR, 1954).

The new occupation that emerged for women to engage in were mainly in the textile and agro-food processing industries. They participated in the wool winding, dressmaking, the canning of fruits, vegetables, and the assembly of wooden crates. It is worthwhile noting that the percentage of women increased in the industry due to the absence of men. However, TLDAR 1957 and
TLDAR 1958 noted that by 1955 the industrial number of women was increasing rapidly. In 1957, the percentage of women employed in non-agricultural occupations such as in industries had declined because of the plenty supply of male labour.

Amanda (2007) observes that in the first place this social change removed women from their traditional role of growing and making food for the household. Secondly, it increased their burden since some carried their children to work on their back while others worked even when they were pregnant. On the same, Silberschmidt (1999) observes that women labour time became over utilized resulting to exploitation.

Though African wages in urban centres generally rose, women’s wages continued to be lower than that of men. For instance, Stichter (1977) observed that in the 1950s women’s earnings were less compared to those of men in all branches of industry and in domestic service. The KNA/AF/1/7 report also indicates the high participation of women in the industries in Thika despite low wages.

In early 60s, the labour force working in the industries within Thika was constituted 8.5% of women (Table 2). In fact, the number of women had increased in the industrial labour force since males from the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru communities were out of the way due to the regulation of movement and employment in the late fifties. As indicated in the KNA/AF/1/1 annual reports for 1959, reliance on female residents labour from Ukambani on contracts had increased by the time.

Most of the industries in Thika were male-dominated on the eve of Mau Mau. The growth of industries had begun to create demand for skilled and semi-skilled factory workers rather than large numbers of unskilled workers (Silberschmidt, 1999). Well, Azumah (2003) notes that large proportions of the women are involved mainly in the unskilled work within those industries. This is because the nature of work demanded mostly for men. This explains the rationale for Thika industries and factories having employed fewer women compared to men as seen in Table 2.
Table 2: The number of men and women employed in various industries in Thika District as at August 1959.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of factory</th>
<th>No. of men</th>
<th>No. of Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bulley’s Tanneries Ltd</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya Canners Ltd</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya Paper Mill</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya Chemicals</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East African Bag and Cordage Co. Ltd</td>
<td>1644</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya Tanning Extract Co. Ltd</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal Box Co. of East Africa Ltd</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya Electrical and Mechanical Engineers Ltd</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,488</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


A significant number of women were employed in Kenya Canners as seen above. In fact, labour-intensive firms preferred women to men due to their comparative cost advantage that accompanies them. This is because women are cheaper than men are, that is; they can be paid less than the value of their labour as observed by Beller (1982). On the same, Isaiah Mwangi (O. I., 2015) reported that men were always recruited based on educational qualification and experience, whereas for women experience and education were not necessary.

The force behind the above argument is that most women lacked technical skills even for the ‘feminized’ industries such as Textile industries. Due to this, only few could qualify for labour in the industries. Given that employment failed to keep pace with the population growth, Stichter (1977) notes that in most cases women remained self-employed in either small-scale agriculture or in other enterprises outside the growing industrial sector. However, other women migrants returned to their rural areas (Alice Wambui O. I., 2016).
However, a survey completed by the labour department in Thika revealed that in 1960, KEM male workers were reinstated to the workforce on a massive scale. Further, the report showed that men were regaining their dominance, replacing both women and children who had been employed not only in the industries but also in the plantations (KNA/AF/1/9/1960). Although from 1952 to independence female labour became important, in the case of Thika no great advance in the female participation had been achieved.

The era of Mau Mau saw the replacement of male labour by female labour. Despite the improved technology in the industries, women were intensively recruited to replace men. This expanded women’s labour domain wherein the absence of males, they were the sole supporter of the household (Silberschmidt, 1999). However, with the return of men to the industries and factories, women were pushed to labour peripheries in the industries than ever.

3.5 Summary

Gender labour relations that emerged during the colonial period were not only confusing and but also contradicting. The social values that emerged crushed with the traditional ones affecting the role-based identities of men and women. The migration of men in towns to work in industries forced women to respond to the new situations of absence of in the household head.

It is evident from the discussion that the position of men and women during the post-World War II industries remained unequal. As discussed, it was largely influenced by factors that emanated from either economic, socio-cultural, and the structures of the society. These structures affected the allocation and distribution of work by gender.

Wage employment is viewed as an important key to women’s social-economic empowerment. Nevertheless, despite the increasing number of women in towns during the colonial period for wage employment, gender discrimination in employment was widespread. The cheap labour practices of the settlers attracted many workers through disproportionate migration of male and females in urban
cities leading to the gender imbalance. The transition involved a colonial military expedition, African resistance and eventual conquest.

Colonial economy reshaped women’s role in the production, their labour power and even transformed the gender relations. Its construct and codification of gender roles had a significant impact on gender relations. The manufacturing sub-sector was more masculine because women were viewed as men’s dependents. This served as a detriment in the labour market for women.

In Thika, throughout the colonial period, migrant worker to industries was largely unskilled and only allowed to remain at work for a prescribed period. It is important to note that although women had migrated to the cities, the man was the lucky urban employee. However, he was paid too little to be able to sustain his family in the urban areas. This shaped and influenced the gender labour relations in the later years of independence.

The participation of women and men in the manufacturing industry as wage earners were explored using gender analysis. It was noted that in most instances, Women workers always were victims of unemployment and more so, job lay-off at a certain period. The study revealed that education had less influence on employment in almost all industries because, at that time, they required unskilled workers.

It was noted that employment opportunities for women in the manufacturing industries were constrained by the colonial labour market, which was characterized by gender segregation. It was further noted that issues of gender segregation and segmentation in industrial labour were linked to wider and deeper structures of gender ideology. This explains why there were few job opportunities for women than men within the manufacturing industries.

In the manufacturing sector, gender positioning played a central role in shaping work realities among men and women. Generally, women work illustrated the gender order through their participation in the industrial workforce. This is because roles assigned to them were often based on an assumption about their gender.
CHAPTER FOUR: GENDER LABOUR RELATIONS IN THIKA TOWNSHIP, 1963 - 1980

4.1 Introduction

Decolonization was a great achievement not only in Kenya but also in most of the African countries. The Political independence in Kenya ushered in the pursuit of the nationalist agenda for development. The industrial sector, particularly the manufacturing sub-sector was believed to be the solution that would transform lives of citizens and cut underdevelopment (Darkoh, 1996; Azumah, 2003). These developments generated more demand for new sources of labour.

The chapter discusses a series of economic development plans after independence with a key focus on industrialization in Thika. Since industrialization was aimed at fighting poverty in most of the African independent government by the provision of employment opportunities, it also reveals the relationship between men and women working in the industries. Finally, it focuses on the government policies and programmes related to labour market; and how they affected participation of female and male in the industries. These helped in providing a clear picture of gender labour relations within Thika manufacturing sector.

Gender tool was useful in analysing the level of male and female participation and access to the labour market after independence. It also aided in understanding gender disparities, constraints and priority areas in the industries. More so, it assessed the impact of gender-formulated policies and programmes toward gender mainstreaming and how they addressed specific needs of men and women in Thika industrial sector.


4.2.1 The Kenyatta Regime, 1963-1978

By 1963, the industrial sector was focusing on its expansion to generate more employment opportunities for citizens. As Bennell (1998) observed, this was not only the case in Kenya but also
many African governments who viewed the manufacturing sector as the key to structural transformation and reduction of dependence on primary exports.

In order to promote the development of industries, the government formed Industrial Development Bank (IDB) in 1963. In 1967, Kenya Industrial Estates (KIE) was established to provide small indigenous entrepreneurs with the opportunity to enter the manufacturing sector. Moreover, it encouraged the establishment of commercial banks, insurance companies and non-banking financial institutions (Ikiara, 1988). Others included the Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation (ICDC) that was entrusted with the promotion of African industrial and commercial enterprises and the Development Finance Company of Kenya (DFCK) to encourage large-scale private investments (Kinyanjui, 1987b; Ikiara, 1988).

To expand employment opportunities for the citizen, the government undertook what was known as ‘Kenyanization’ (Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965). Further, Swamy (1994) noted that ‘Kenyanization’ of industries and the desire to industrialize rapidly had created massive public sector ownership, not only in such traditional activities as utilities and transport but in distribution and manufacturing. Skropekeva (2012) argues that this was aimed at ‘localization of capitalism’. It targeted creating an active and growing of Kenyan citizen in management and ownership of industries.

The outcome of the Kenyanization was an increase in the employment of the labour productivity of the employees increased by an estimated rate of 2.9% per annum (Omolo, 2010). It was noted that Kenyanization policy targeted the replacement of whites and Asians with Africans (Kenyans) to increase employment for the citizens.

Nevertheless, the policy brought a lot of contradiction. Ironically, as indicated by Leys (1975), there were only a few Africans who were capable and ready to run numerous Asians premises, which the government wanted to Africanize. For instance, in 1971, the minister of commerce and industry had given a quit notice to 262 foreign-owned shops in Nairobi and
Mombasa, but only 63 Africans applied to take over their management (EAS, 1971). The same case applied to Thika where both Europeans and Asians dominated the industrial sector only to leave at their own pleasure.

According to Omolo (2010), high wages were expected to stabilize the labour force, enhance industrial competitiveness and employment creation. Through Kenyanization, the government aimed at increasing employment opportunities for Kenyans through replacement of non-citizens. It included the exclusion of foreigners in rural trade, use of work permits to control the employment of expatriates, redistribution of large agricultural farms and increased investments in human capital formation.

Himbara (1994) noted that industrial development prior to independence was largely dominated by local capitalist of Indian descent. He argued that after independence the Kenyatta government attempted to create space for Africans in industries through legislative measures such as the Trade Licensing Act of 1967. Kirimi (2003) added that this was aimed at empowering black Kenyan in both commerce and industry. Nonetheless, due to lack of manegerial skills and financial resources, they ended up selling them back to their former owners while others collapsed in the process.

On the other hand, Leys (1975) observed that the Kikuyu community benefited more from the ICDC’s loan programme as they were already in the trading and manufacturing sectors. In fact, they were the leading recipients among other Kenyan communities in the first development plan. Although DFCK and ICDC credit schemes targeted urban centre development, they were mainly dominated by Kikuyus. This is justified by the fact that the Kikuyu community had taken advantage of the colonial form of education and by this time of independence a big number was learned as compared to other Kenyan communities (James Njoroge, O. I., 2015).

Both Garrido et al. (2010) and Owino and Njuguna (2010) indicate that 1960 – 1974 was Kenya’s period of economic growth and performance. This period was characterized by
improvement in economic performance based on import substitution through industrial strategy and supported by agriculture growth. For instance, Stamp (1980) observed that mid-1960s witnessed partnership with local Asians interests, the synthetic textile factory and the takeover of the Kenya Canners by Del Monte of California. With these developments, thousands of workers flooded Thika during the 1960s.

Zeleza (2010) observed that Kenya in 1978 had totally changed in comparison to the year 1963. Growth and development were being manifested though it continued to vary between and within regions. However, Central province maintained its economic dominance. Manufacturing had also increased and so had unemployment. This increasing unemployment can be attributed to the uneven regional economic development witnessed during the reign of Kenyatta government hence, continued the migration of people into the few upcoming urban centres for employment.

According to Maiyo and Imo (2012), textile and clothing industries in Kenya offered employment opportunities to both skilled and unskilled worker. For instance, Kinyanjui et al. (2004) observed that in 1954, the textile sector had 74 enterprises employing 2477 workers. In addition, Otieno (2006) noted that the cotton textile sub-sector was well established and grew tremendously in the era of import substitution of the 1960s and 70s. More so, during the same period, cotton and lint production were at their peak. Kenyan Textile industries were largely accredited for employing over 70% of women workers.

Few industries in Thika developed after 1963 while those that had been established earlier were expanded. Mostly, they were the agro-processing firms, reflecting the importance of the agricultural sector in the Kenyan economy. Despite the challenges commonly shared by other industrial towns, so far Thika had managed to grow its economy through industrialization. The rapid increase in commercial and residential estates is the most recent change in Thika resulting from industrial developments.
‘Kenyanization’ effort in Thika by the government entailed leasing and selling out the targeted agriculture plantations and manufacturing industries to the African elite. Mary Wanjiru and Veronica Ng’ang’a (O. I., 2015), the residents of Thika clearly stated that development of Thika that was witnessed after independence only benefited the few citizens who were learned. Further, they upheld that the fruits of independence remain a dream up to date.

Kinyanjui (2007) observed that by 1976, most of the commercial enterprises in Thika town belonged to Africans mainly of Kikuyu origin. To emphasize more on this, she noted that industries such as Munene and Waka and Polysack belonged to Africans. Further, she added that African-owned businesses in Thika had risen from 80 to 90% during the period between 1973 and 1980. This decreased the number of Asians since many of the Kikuyu had joined the commerce and manufacturing sector. She also indicated that other parts of Thika that benefited from the establishment of the industries included Gatundu, Ruiru and Juja. This, in turn, raised District’s economic status in general.

Although there was increased political pressure to Africanize the economy in Kenya, the case of Thika turned out to be unsuccessful. Several sources clearly indicate that even after ‘Kenyanization’, almost all industries continued to operate under foreigners, who were mainly Asians and Europeans (KNA/GP/338.4016 KEN; TMC, 1982; Regina Kiiru, O. I., 2015). The only transformation was that they operated under an independent government.

Yieke (2010) points out that ethnicity was a national concern during the colonial period. Further, she notes that after independence, ethnicity accelerated, especially around the structure of access to economic opportunities. More so, Kinyanjui (2007) noted that during the Kenyatta government, ethnicity determined the allocation and distribution of the resources. She further adds that this was an effective tool towards resource allocation. To reinforce this, she observed that Kiambu District, in which Thika town was housed, had approximately 500 miles of the tarmac road
by 1984. Road developments were initiated by the colonial government for economic development and later expanded by the independent government.

It is worth noting that Kenyatta government also encouraged the expansion of industries, which had already been established without changing their ownership. In fact, industries like Delmonte benefited through acquiring more land, which was under sisal and coffee plantations; the company cleared them for expansion of pineapple plantations (Mwangi Ndung’u, O. I., 2015). On the other hand, Kinyanjui (2007) observed that during 1970 and the 1980s, more textile, automobiles and chemical industries were established in Thika town. They included; Kenya Vehicle Manufacturers, British American Tobacco (a threshing plant), Kensara, Bhupco Limited and Kenblest. Further, she noted that Textile industries were numerous, most developed and a major source of employment for Thika town residents.

The Kenyatta government also took other direct measures to ensure development and an increase in employment opportunities. Thika industrial sector benefited greatly from the construction of roads, which involved the use of labour-intensive techniques (Regina Kiiru, O. I., 2015). Further, the residents of the Majengo Estate in Thika indicate that the tarmacked roads around that area were constructed during the time of President Jomo Kenyatta (Isaiah Mwangi, Mary Wanjiru and Joseph Kamau, O. I., 2015). The Garrisa main road also opened up Thika for huge industry establishment. This concurs with Kinyanjui (1987b) study, which observed that most of the industries in Thika were established along the Garrisa main road. For instance, Broadways, Bidco, BAT, Polysack, KVM among others are along this road.

Due to landlessness, which had persisted in Kenya since the colonial times, Kenyatta government took some measure to deal with the issue. For instance, Thika District was expanded up to Ngoliba Hills, which were initially part of Ukambani. According to Kanyinga (2000), this was done using the Million Acre Settlement Schemes. Here the Kenyatta administration bought some European farms for settling the landless. Further, he noted that the Land Development and
Settlement Board was responsible for organizing land distribution and resettlement schemes. Apart from resettling the squatters, it created more space for economic development, mainly establishments of more industries (Josephat Kimeu, Mary Wanjiru, Veronica Ng’aNg’a, O. I., 2015).

Squatters who lived in the reserves were encouraged to form cooperative societies to contribute money and buy land. For instance, Tabitha Manyara (O. I., 2015) was one of the beneficiaries of the society’s land, which was bought from a Mzungu (white man) at ‘Ngoigwa’ settlement scheme. Nevertheless, she eventually sold it out to cater for her children’s education.

Economic development was accompanied by employment opportunities in both private and public sectors. However, women did not benefit much given that the colonial gender discrimination in employment persisted. Isaiah Mwangi and James Njoroge (O. I., 2015) who have lived in Thika since independence indicated that very few industries employed women. Mostly, they preferred men due to their technical know-how. By that time, only Delmonte and Textile industries preferred women, though not many and mostly under short contracts. Further, Isaiah Mwangi (O. I., 2015) reported that in Thika textile industries, mostly women were involved in packing, sewing and finishing activities while, men were based on technical operations, which required skills.

Stamp (1980) observed that independence brought a number of changes in Thika. In 1964, the town gained a municipality status. It also gained the status of a town under Kiambu District instead of Murang’a. With these changes, it qualified as President Kenyatta’s parliamentary constituency. This placed a lot of strain on municipal’s facilities due to rapid population growth within the newly founded town with the main challenge being housing.

Kinuthia (1982) noted even though Thika residents arrived in the region before the establishment of the town, there was a need for residential houses to accommodate them. However, Stamp (1980) observed that majority lived in the crowded slums and housing estates and the
population was increasing steadily. In addition, she pointed out that many commuted to their nearby homes.

Due to continued population growth, site and service scheme was established to provide low-cost housing in Thika (Stamp, 1980; Kinuthia, 1982). Nonetheless, Stamp (1980) noted that before 1969, a number of houses had been built under rental and tenant purchase schemes. Further, she argued that three phases were built between 1954 and 1959 providing 900 low-cost units. In addition, between 1963 and 1971 five phases with 1000 units were constructed in Thika. Rented rooms represented a hardship or impossibility for the majority of workers in Thika since they earned Ksh 30 or less a month (ibid, 214).

President Kenyatta blamed site and service scheme because it encouraged rural-urban migration. Despite this, African population was growing day by day creating more housing problems in urban centres (Clayton and Savage, 1974; Stamp, 1980; Kinuthia, 1982). Like in the case of Nairobi, Clayton and Savage (1974) observed that small new houses were built but the number was far short of the need. Moreover, Workers who lived on their employer’s premises, two or three servants shared a room. This was much different from the case of Thika where Tabitha Manyara (O. I., 2015) reported that seven to eight male workers slept in a small windowless house, and only allowed their wives to visit briefly.

During the Kenyatta period, there was economic development throughout the country, though not at the same magnitude. Ikiara, *et al.* (2004) observed that between 1963 and 1973, the manufacturing sector recorded an average annual growth rate of about 7% due to good management of the economy. However, they also noted that due to commodity and oil shocks of the 1970s, economic performance started to decline.

### 4.2.2 The Moi Regime, 1978-2002

The Moi’s government was built on the already established Kenyatta platforms. It focused on expanding industrial development and agricultural production while maintaining its links with the
colonial master, Britain. The new regime had vowed to continue with the policies pursued by the previous government. On the contrary, Ikiara et al. (2004) noted that president’s power and authority in most social-economic spheres were unquestionable. Moreover, they observed that parliament and the judiciary played a minor role in determining country’s social-economic and political development policies and strategies.

Kenya’s economy had blossomed for nearly fifteen years after independence. However, Garrido et al. (2010) indicated that 1975 to 1984 was marked by poor performance, especially when the economy was hit by the oil shocks in 1979. This shaped the actions which government took to save the economy of the country. According to Ikiara et al. (2004), this regime was characterized by both multilateral and bilateral donor institutions in its economic policy formulation. Further, they noted that the economic crisis of the 1990s-enhanced heavy dependence of the country on external donors.

Otieno (2006) observed that import liberalization in the 1980s and 1990s saw an influx of imported textiles and garments. These led to a low demand for locally produced cotton products. The immediate effect of this was a reduction in the activities of local textiles in garments manufacturing, and more so closure of several key industries in the sub-sector. It is estimated that about 70,000 jobs were lost by the year 1999.

Zeleza (1992) observes that due to high wage expenditures at around 1980, the government indicated signs of withdrawing from the labour market. This can be associated with the critical period of severe economic crisis that Kenya has undergone since mid-1970s. This economic crisis laid hard on women workers who were relatively undervalued and underpaid because of gender stereotypes based on sectors, which they are employed.

To summarize on the post-colonial wage employment in Kenya, Chege (1988) indicated that, 1958 and 1963 were characterized by a decline in wage employment due to economic and political uncertainties. Further, from 1963 to 1983 labour force in employment doubled. However, the
growth of wage labour, employment in Kenya has been characterized by little structural change, falling real wages and increase inequality among wage earners.

4.3 Gender labour relations, 1963-2002

Creation of sustainable and productive employment opportunities was the highest priority of the independent government. Kinyanjui (1987b) indicates that the growth in the industrial sector was experienced during the first decade of independence. Garrido et al. (2010) noted that 1960-1974 was a historical period of improving economic performance based on import substitution.

The government engaged in the direct employment creation, regulated wages and to re-oriented education and training systems for vocational and technical training areas as a means of promoting employment creation (Omolo, 2010). Industries maintained low wages to absorb a high number of employees at the same time making a profit for their production (Samuel Thuo, O. I., 2015).

The tripartite agreements of 1964, 1970 and 1971 were the government attempts to deal with the urban unemployment. This was because of the serious unemployment challenge that Kenya faced in 1964. For instance, Leys (1975) indicates that during the 1970 agreement, 211 000 citizens registered as unemployed and many were women seeking to enter the urban labour market. The agreements were signed between the government, the trade unions (organized labour) and the private employers (Zeleza 1992; Omolo 2010).

It was noted that as the economy expanded in Thika, job opportunities increased for both men and women. According to Samuel Thuo and Regina Kiiru (O. I., 2015), within the industries, the number of women started to increase, though most of them were employed under seasonal and part-time terms. Women remained concentrated in the industries offering ‘appropriate’ opportunities for them such as clothing and bakery industries. Their wages continued to trail behind those of men due to their nature of work. In most cases, women remuneration in the industries has been based on
piece rate. This increased the pressure on female workers within Thika to involve in the informal economy.

According to Regina Kiiru (O. I., 2015), between 1969 and 1979, Thika witnessed an increase in population, which was estimated to be almost five times as much as did the number of jobs available in the manufacturing industries. This is a clear indication that import substitution industries were limited to job creation. While it is important to remember that one of the main reasons for promoting the import substitution industrialization by the government was to provide employment. However, labour shortage remained a fact where it lied hard on women.

Jalang’o-Ndeda (2006) observes that the independence government played a significant role in all other projects including infrastructure forgetting the role of women. Moreover, Nzomo (1989) observed that up to 1975 the government was not aware of the overt discrimination against women in the country. In fact, they always defended this by maintaining the point that Kenyan women were employed in important government positions as well as in the private sector. This indicates the importance of the declaration of women’s decade towards challenging agents of women marginalization.

The Kenya constitution provided for the equal protection of rights and freedoms for both men and women. In 1977, it was amended to include the prohibition of discrimination on a gender basis. Further, the Employment Act (chapter 226 of the Kenyan Law) was the one governing employment matters and covered labour issues. The act contained a major provision of working women but did not address the gender inequality in the workplace.

The Statistical Abstract of 1983 indicated that in Thika, industry employment constituted 63% of wage earners. However, gender inequalities persisted since women work was mainly on short-term basis, casual in nature and unpredictable. Jairus Njue (O. I., 2016), a retired worker from one of the main industries had this to say:
During the late 1960s and through the 1970s, work was segregated by gender. Mechanical jobs were for men and seasonal production for women. As a result, men earned more than women did. The industry did not allow seasonal workers to vote or become union workers and union representative hence locking most women out of the collective bargaining process, which could otherwise have challenged the gender labour inequities.

Further, Jairus Njue (O. I., 2016) reports that there was inadequate training for women since most of them were seasonal production workers. The exception was for women, who were due for promotion, but they were very few and the training was inadequate. This exposed them to challenges while working because of inadequate skills. However, some industries in the early 1980s were required by court order to redress the barriers to advancement in position and pay for seasonal workers who were mainly women. This reflects gender inequality within the industries.

It was noted that significant numbers of women were and are currently employed in Textile and food processing factories. In the case of Thika, most women were found to work in Del Monte, Broadways or in Kenblest bakery. Nevertheless, according to Azumah (2003), employment in such labour-intensive industries enhances the comparative cost advantage of the firms, as this cost is reflected in low wages paid to women.

In general, Lee-Smith (1995) observes that women living in urban centres faced a challenge in securing houses. Therefore, they mainly ended up in employers housing which tied them to demanding and low paying jobs. An in-depth interview in Thika revealed that the larger population of those living in the company line housing was composed of single women. More so, Kinuthia (1982) noted that women working in the industries lived in the marginalized areas like Kiandutu and Kiang’ombe. These places were characterized by the lack of water, medical facilities, inhabited by criminals, insecurity, alcoholism and prostitution.

Andreasen (1989) observes that Kiandutu houses were small rooms built of mud barrack, lined up with little space between them. Further, he notes that by 1985, Kiandutu had more than 8,000 inhabitants. In addition, Makongeni by 1976 accommodated many of the Thika residents who
were mainly working in the industries. Despite of challenges in housing women settled in these areas drawn by labour offered by the manufacturing industries.

Trade unions were critical during colonial period because they helped in presenting African demands to the colonial government. They were also instrumental towards the achievement of political independence. Fighting gender disparities in wage employment have always been part of the trade unions’ agenda. However, Alice Wambui (O. I., 2016) reported that despite women having a membership and being the majority, gender inequalities in wage employment had existed. In addition, she pointed out that this was because it was not covering workers in non-permanent job categories of which majority were women.

It is important to note that even after independence, strong linkages to rural home for town dweller continued. This was accelerated by the fact that urban living conditions including housing and economic security were poor. Therefore, families continued to live geographically separated since wives were left in rural areas. Tabitha Manyara (O. I., 2015) and Alice Wambui (O. I., 2016) recounted how this bred to so many social problems such as HIV/AIDS. They noted that due to financial constrains associated with labour migration most men were unable to bring their wives and children to location of work, left their families in rural home. This resulted into having casual sex partners for men because they missed their wives and they faced loneliness. On the other hand, women in rural areas exhibited risky sexual behaviours.

In general, women are reported to account for approximately 80% of the labour force in most of the countries. They work in the lower wage brackets and always experience massive layoffs. James Njoroge (O. I., 2015) testified that textile and garments industries employed more women than men, unskilled and from rural agriculture household. Therefore, recession and economic restructuring in these industries mainly affected women as compared to men.

Gender-based colonial construction and codification of gender roles significantly influenced gender relation in the industries even after independence. Although the government showed
renewed efforts toward expansion of existing industries, the introduction of new types of manufacturing and emphasizing on import substitution, they did very little to crush gender inequalities in the labour market which persisted since the colonial era.

4.4 Summary

After independence, economic advancement was one of the priorities of the government. Favourable conditions were established to attract multinational corporations. The policies were successful in both attracting foreign investments and creating employment opportunities. Employment grew in the public sector’s service industry faster after independence mostly, labour force comprised of males.

The late 1970s and early 1980s were difficult moments for many developing countries following the slow rate of economic growth. To improve the performance of the economy in these countries, structural packages were introduced during the 1980s. Bretton Wood’s institutions, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) designed to cut the imbalance in the developing countries’ economies. The adjustment reforms, especially in Kenya and most other African countries were inevitable since the overall concern was to stabilize the economy after the oil shocks, which led to the destruction of the economy.

Working in industries was largely segmented by gender, even after independence. Due to gender ideology, there were few opportunities for women in the industries as compared to men. As illustrated by ILO (1996), Women are often regarded as temporary workers and secondary income earners who can readily return to the unpaid household economy in times of unemployment.

In contrast, industrialization served to limit women’s productive ability. Many employers had preconceived ideas about the types of jobs suited to women. They considered only a very few ranges and in this way, women opportunities in the industries turned out to be more restricted than those of men. Hence, the limited employment opportunities and the quest for survival caused most women to seek alternative employment or source of income due to the lower number of
employment opportunities as from the 1980s. The informal sector, beer brewing practices and prostitution remained the only options for women in Thika.

In most cases, women were employed in service industries. This is because a few of them had skills required by some industries. However, women who could not secure employment ended up working in hotels, restaurants and bars. It was also noted that in Thika industrial sector men used to stay in one industry for a long time as compared to women who moved from one industry to another seeking better wages and working conditions.
CHAPTER FIVE: THE IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMMES ON INDUSTRIES IN THIKA AND GENDER LABOUR RELATIONS, 1980 – 2010

5.1 Introduction
As we have seen in the previous chapter, 1980 was characterised by major economic reforms. This chapter starts by highlighting some structural transformation in the manufacturing sector because of privatisation and trade liberalisation policies. Further, it also shows the impact of SAPs on industries and how they affected gender labour relations. Gender social relations resulting from labour are also discussed. It also examines social issues under gender labour relations such as HIV/AIDS and prostitution in Thika. Finally, it discusses industries and women empowerment in Thika.

5.2 Structural Adjustment Programmes and privatization in Thika Town Constituency
Kenya development plan of the 1980s focused on the management of the economy. In order to do this, Kenya adopted a programme of economic structural adjustment prompted by IMF and World Bank (Zeleza, 1992; Theobald and Tolhurst 2003; Zeleza, 2010). All the lending was designed under policies of privatization, liberalization, deregulation and reduction in the role of the state. Health and education shifted to profit-making sectors such as export-oriented agriculture or industry (Theobald and Tolhurst, 2003).

According to Were et al. (2010), the government began embracing trade reforms under Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the early 1980s. Rono (2002) indicates that Structural Adjustments Programmes were introduced during the 1980/1981 fiscal year and in 1986, they were published in the Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1986. However, although few reforms were achieved in the 1980s, the adjustments transformed many aspects of the daily life of Kenyans.
Hecox (1988) indicates that the government spending was controlled through the increase in taxes and cut on expenditures. Further, there was industrial restructuring and reorientation, currency devaluations, liberalization of trade, interest and exchange rate deregulation. This was followed by privatization of state enterprise, retrenchment of public service and withdraws of the public subsidies. To emphasise on this, Boeh-Ocansey (1995) observed that the massive retrenchment in the public sector left thousands of urban households with one working parent and this reduced their purchasing power.

GoK (2005) asserts that Privatization in Kenya resulted from the poor performance of the public enterprises. In addition, Kariuki (2006) stated that it was imposed under stabilization and Structural Adjustments Programmes advocated by donor agencies such as World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Kariuki (2006) further argued that its purpose was to increase private sector participation in the economy. This was mainly to achieve reductions in unemployment and poverty among citizens. Although privatization was an element of broader modernization of Structural Adjustments Programmes, Kariuki (2006) pointed out that it led to massive loss of employment.

5.3 Impact of Structural Adjustment Programmes on Industries in Thika Town Constituency

Kiruthu (2014) observed that the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) aligned the social, political and economic power in favour of a minority group of capital owners. This led to the marginalization of millions of men and women. The strings attached to SAPs loans worsened citizen’s social well-being through the weakening of social condition involving food, health care, education, and employment, among others.

Trade liberalization resulted in de-industrialization, due to stiff competition from foreign firms (Azumah, 2003; Kiruthu, 2014). Garment firms in Kenya were unable to survive during the liberalization period, therefore, either closed or changed their products (Kinyanjui, 2003). In Thika, during the 1990s textile industries almost collapsed, though it was performing well since
independence. A good example is the United Textile Industry, which leased out a bigger part of its premises to the Safaricom Company operations (James Njoroge, O. I., 2015). The decline in these industries ultimately reduced employment levels.

According to Omolo (2006), the textile and garment industries had developed into a leading manufacturing activity in the first decade of independence in terms of size and employment. Further, he points out that the sub-sector employed over 30% of the labour force in the national manufacturing sector. However, in the mid-1980s the textile and garment industries started to wane. He attributed this to massive dumping of the second-hand clothes referred to as Mitumba undermining the growth prospects and competitiveness of the subsector.

According to Azumah (2003), the concentration of women in textile and garment industries was mostly influenced by the lack of education and the need for economic survival. She further noted that despite having some experiences, more women than men were recruited in textile industries. This explains why more women suffered job losses with the decline of factories such as Thika mills industry. The retrenchments and reconstruction process under adjustment policies had significant impact on women due to their concentration in the unskilled occupations and economic sectors, as they were the most vulnerable to cuts in public spending (UNIDO, 1995).

Equally, men suffered, though not as women. Omolo (2006) showed that up to 12,000 jobs were lost due to factory closure and reduced operations. Most of the women left for their rural homes, while few secured jobs offered in other industries, though it was not easy because they were also reducing their workers in great numbers (James Njoroge, O. I., 2015).

The effects of liberalization were not only felt in textile and garment industries, but in the leather industry (Kiruthu, 2014). Bulleys Company in Thika collapsed, leaving behind jobless men (Ibid, 103; Mary Wanjiru, O. I., 2015). In addition, Regina Kiiru (O. I., 2015) reported that other industries relocated from Thika for instance, the Kenya tanning Extract Company that relocated to
Tanzania. The premises were sold out to an Asian who used part of it for Toilet paper manufacturing while the rest was turned into residential areas.

SAPs were designed to generate a rapid and sustainable economy. On the contrary, they failed to deliver the promised economic development. Indeed, they crippled the economies leaving the majority unemployed and rotting in extreme poverty. Prior to 1980, people flocked to Thika because of the availability of employment resulting from the expansion of the industries during the Kenyatta presidency period (Regina Kiiru, O. I., 2015).

Apart from the loss of employment, Rono (2002) observed that the Structural Adjustment Programme encompassed reduced government expenditures on basic needs and social services. He also adds that local products have been subjected to serious competition from imported ones and often from subsidized commodities. In this process, the poor have been exposed to severe socioeconomic risks such as unemployment and retrenchment.

For a long period, Thika relied heavily on the industrial sector as the base for economic growth and employment creation. Throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s, employment for both men and women had declined at a very high rate. However, this increased the participation of women in the informal sector and cultivation of crops on small agricultural plots along the road or on the free land in order to survive (Samuel Thuo, O. I., 2015).

Since the adoption of the structural programs, industries in Thika presented limited opportunities for women despite their increase in number. This limited their access to income earning opportunities forcing them to spend a disproportionate amount of their time on unpaid work. The majority of women were found to be unskilled. This further hindered their opportunity for paid employment even within the ‘feminized’ industries.

Rono (2002) indicates that marginalization of the poor in terms of education and the decline in education quality is associated with the adjustments. The reduction of government funding for
the health sector and education meant the shift to depending on women unpaid labour (Theobald and Tolhurst, 2003; Kiruthu, 2014).

The consequences of SAPs affected citizens greatly. For poor workers, as Kiruthu (2014) observed in Kiambu District, they started shifting towards the informal sector. Moreover, Macharia (2003) pointed out that they were also blamed for by urban communities for low wages and reduction of employment in both public and private sector. There was stiff competition for the few available jobs and the unemployment rate increased tremendously in the 1980s and 1990s. Therefore, the only alternative for making a living in urban areas in Thika was turning into the informal sector.

According to Regina Kiiru (O. I., 2015), industries in Thika had not fully developed when free trade policies were introduced in the Kenyan market. Therefore, any competition from outside interfered with their operation, making it hard for them to survive. The collapse and relocating of industries and companies raised both poverty and unemployment levels, which the independent government was determined to fight. On the same, Owino and Njuguna (2010) noted that by the 1990s, the economy was contracting, and gross domestic product (GDP) was declining so fast, a situation that prevailed up to the year 2002. As a result, the proportion of people living in poverty was estimated to have increased from about 48.8% in 1990 to about 56% at the end of 2002.

Job losses due to layoffs and closing of industries in Thika anticipated a growth of the informal sector. Men and women working in the industries suffered much due to the closure of some industries and change of products by companies to fit in the international market. For instance, James Njoroge (O. I., 2015) Thika residents secured a job in 1967 as a machine operator with the United Textile industry. However, following its collapse, he established a bicycle and motorbike garage at Makongeni, phase 5 since he had acquired skills from his previous job in the industry. The informal sector accommodated the majority who suffered retrenchments and loss of jobs in most of the urban centres.
Although Rono (2002) shows that the participation rates of urban women in employment rose from 30% in the early 1980s to 56% in 1995, it was mainly characterized by low productivity, low pay and long hours of work as noted in Thika. It is important to note that in most of the industries in Thika, men rather than women were employed to carry out both skilled and unskilled jobs (Regina Kiiru O. I., 2015). Even though women have lower levels of skills, the reality is that in the labour market, they are constrained by factors beyond their control. These structural constraints placed on women need to be addressed (Samuel Thuo, O. I., 2015).

Several other aspects of SAPS contributed to the strain on citizens and ultimately created more vulnerability (Kiruthu, 2014). For instance, Joseph Kamau (O. I., 2015) a resident of Thika in Majengo area indicates that due to the irregular kind of jobs offered by the industries, he decided to set up a kiosk for selling charcoal. He reports;

I have been brought up in Thika and I have witnessed collapse of several industries, while others changing into private ownership. Most of the people have no source of income. The majority of the people around here have either turned to Chang’aa, prostitution or robbery.

Nevertheless, Fatuma Abdul (O. I., 2015) works in one of the industries under a contract basis. She pointed out that due to the low payment; they work in shifts with her husband in different industries. Although shift work is viewed as another financial source since, it gives an opportunity to hold another job especially for evening or night shifts. Besides the employment in the industry, she also owns a tea kiosk in Makongeni, which she operates when not working in the industries. Wane (2014) observed that SAPs reduced women’s access to formal employment lowering household income, forcing women to work harder on top of the household chores.

The impact of Structural Adjustment Programmes in the economy has forced men and women to venture into other opportunities challenging the patriarchal structures in the society (Kiruthu, 2014). This is clear in Thika, where Janet Mwangangi (O. I., 2015) and Wambui Kanake (O. I., 2015) among other women who had earlier secured employment in industry, are now working in a
Jua Kali sector opposite the Nampak industries. Here they cut *Mabati* and make tins, boxes among other apparatus. For them to survive, they decided to venture into this informal sector that was traditionally reserved for men since chances for women employment in the industries turned out to be slim (O.I. 2015).

To emphasize this point, Elizabeth Nyambura (O. I., 2015) reported that due to the prevailing economic pressures, women were forced to make use of any option available to them because of lack of employment opportunities and the need to survive. Further, ILO (1996) indicates that women are victims of job layoff at certain periods and they are the first to be hired and fired as they serve as a form of cheap labour.

Similarly, women participation in *Matatu* industry is an increasing trend due to shrinking of jobs in the industries. For instance, the New Kenya Mpya Bus Company operating from Thika (Kiwanja stage) or Makongeni (Posta stage) to Nairobi (commercial) has employed more than fifteen women. Stanley Njiru (O. I., 2015), one of its male drivers reported that women are actually doing better in that industry. He reported that most men have indulged in Chang'aa and drug abuse hence forgetting their job prompting the company to consider women to serve as conductors and drivers.

As Kiruthu (2014) indicates, SAPs have changed the community’s order of gender relations, interfered with labour relations and transformed male status in the household. It is widely observed that SAPs have not only failed to meet their goals but has created severe social problems for human beings. Despite the flow of loans, economic restructuring has failed to establish a sustained growth in employment for both men and women. On the other hand, employment patterns have been accompanied by a trend that shows forms of gender inequality to get access to the labour opportunities. For women, it has turned out almost impossible to secure employment, hence have ended up creating their own employment in the informal sector.
However, Ali (2003) in the analyses of the Structural Adjustment Programmes impact of gender in Chile and Philippines indicates that trade adjustment policies have provided the opportunity for employers to seek out the cheapest labour to compete in the global market. This process has been made possible by substituting men with and by converting many forms of work into jobs traditionally performed by men. Moreover, the supply response of large female labour reserves, which was ready to work at low wage, played an important role in the feminization of labour.

The trade liberalization presented by the SAPs policies had a great impact on the development of industries. Kiruthu (2014) observed that domestic companies were adversely affected, since the opening of the economy, leading to their collapse, hence mass unemployment. It increased competition among the domestic producers. Further, some industries were forced to close due to competition from outside, leaving the majority of workers unemployed. For instance, industries such as Thika cloth mills and the United Textile Industries closed down due to the second-hand clothes (*Mitumba*) which were cheap and filled the Kenyan market.

In response to criticism of the SAPs’ impact of the economy, many countries turned to a new strategy, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP). The PRSP was launched in 1999 in the World Bank and the IMF annual meetings. However, just like that Structural Adjustment Programmes, policy makers and planners did not take into account the impact of government policies on gender equality.

The impact of economic crises and restructuring have created further pressures on women more than men in terms of livelihood resources, living standards and conditions, and access to alternative labour or employment opportunities (Ofreneo and Acosta, 2001). In addition, several studies have shown that macroeconomic factors such as economic recession, globalization, Structural Adjustment Programmes, and stabilization policies have impinged on the lives of the
poor, seriously affecting women who earn less, own less, control less, and work hardest (Beneria, 1992; Elson, 1995; Floro, 1995).

According to Mbilinyi (2001), feminist organizations have pointed out that the PRSPs are gender-blind just like the SAPS. They promote gender inequality because no specific measures have been taken to challenge male dominant systems in production. Most of the poverty reduction measures have not taken into account many of the key priorities of women, hence assisting in eradicating gender discriminatory practices within the social services and economic realms. Most importantly, women have remained marginalized within the decision-making process of PRSPs at government and civil society level.

5.4 Gender and Social Labour Relations

During the colonial period, women moved from their rural homes to the newly developed urban communities in search of new opportunities. According to Macharia (2003), the colonial labour market in the urban centres preferred men to women. Unlike men who left their rural home to urban centres for work, the few women who joined the city communities could not automatically secure any form of employment (Macharia, 2003; Teresia Wairimu, O. I., 2015).

Oucho and Oucho (2010) argue that after colonialism there were labour movements from rural to urban or to rural areas with modern sector enterprises. Although women were restricted by the colonial policies from migrating to urban centres, they made their way in small number to either seek employment or join their household heads.

Due to the unequal economic development pattern associated with colonialism, it was found that Thika economy developed more than its surrounding area. Because of this, it sourced its workers from the hinterlands Districts such as Ruiru, Murang’a, Nyeri and Machakos. During Jomo Kenyatta’s presidency, Thika being his home District it was favoured and allocated for more resources for development, which further spurred its growth as compared to its neighbouring districts (Kinyanjui 2007).
Urban centre or market towns are characterized by the inflow of migrants from rural areas (Dyson, 2003). Thika migrants aimed at supplying labour to the newly established agricultural sector and industries since the under-developed rural areas offered very little support for them. This made Thika qualify as an urban centre as was defined by the colonial government in 1948, an urban centre constituted a settlement of more than 2,000 persons. Nonetheless, not all urban migrants were able to secure jobs. This created a class of unemployed and poor citizens (Oucho and Oucho, 2010)

Given that the migration in Kenyan urban centre had reached its highest point, beyond national capacities, after independence, President Kenyatta launched the ‘back to the land policy’. This policy together with the land settlement initiative bore no fruit instead citizen flocked to the urban centres more than before. As indicated by Macharia (2003) the failure of these policies was due to the ‘region’ economic development, which was witnessed throughout the Kenyatta and Moi’s regime.

5.5 Gender Labour and HIV/AIDS Pandemic

HIV/AIDS continues to spread rapidly. One of the underlying causes may be the lack economic power and vulnerability among individuals (Matlin and Spence, 2000). Further, Kinyanjui (2007) observed that the economic imbalances and social relations played a great role in the spread of HIV/AIDS. Theobald and Tolhurst (2003) point out that HIV prevalence rates are increasing in all the World’s major regions. In Kenya, the Country’s 2014 profiles indicate that about 1.6 million people were living with HIV/AIDS by 2013. More so, they indicate that women in Kenya are more vulnerable to HIV infection as compared to men.

Dyson (2003) indicates that HIV/AIDS prevalence tends to be associated with population density. Moreover, urban centres have high risks of the infection due to high population, increased social interactions and high-risk behaviours (commercial sex activities) which are more prevalent in towns. The above observation can help understand the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in Thika.
The first case of HIV and AIDS in Kenya was diagnosed in 1984 (Kinyanjui, 2013; Kathuri-Ogola et al., 2014). Kinyanjui (2013) indicated that in Thika it was diagnosed in 1986. It was declared a national disaster in the late 1990s (Kathuri-Ogola et al., 2014). According to the National AIDS Control Council (2000), Thika District has been a region of high HIV prevalence with rates of 20-29% for age between 15 and 49 years (Kathuri-Ogola et al., 2014). It is estimated that 55,335 had been infected in the District by 200 (MoH, 2001). However, the District experienced a decline of HIV incidents from 39% in 1994 to 31.11% and 8% in 1998, 2001 and 2004, respectively (MoH, 2005).

Kathuri-Ogola et al. (2014) noted that in 2006, Thika District had the highest number of HIV-infected people and AIDS deaths as compared to the seven Districts in Central Province. Further, Kinyanjui (2007) pointed out that increase and spread of HIV/AIDS was faster due to a number of factors. There was vibrant industrial sector, high mobile population seeking employment, geographical location through Mombasa to Busia and stop over to Central Province (Kinyanjui, 2007; Kathuri-Ogola et al. 2014).

Kathuri-Ogola et al. (2014) noted that the unaccompanied spouses created patterns of sexual behaviour and mixing which are perfect for the spread of STDs. In addition, the low economic status due to the collapse of the coffee industry affected a significant number of migrant workers. Additionally, being a stopover for truck drivers, consumption of illicit brews and increased number of young women in the District not only heightened the spread of HIV/AIDS within Thika town but also as far as Kamwangi and Ruiru.

According to Kinyanjui (2013), Thika registers high rates of the mobile population of migrant workers and daily commuters who work in town and back to their homes after work. Grant and De Cock (1998) observed that Cote d'Ivoire in Congo, the main destination for migrant workers in West Africa, has the highest HIV prevalence in the region. Kinyanjui (2013) pointed out that this is because migrant workers have multiple sexual relations and it applies to their partners back at
home. More so, Hayes (2007) observed that the unprotected intercourse and multiple sex partners are common behaviours associated with migrant workers. This not only increases their vulnerability to HIV but also the vulnerability of their ‘sexual partners’ or ‘wives’.

Kinyanjui (2013) observed that among migrant workers in Thika, feeling of isolation, a high cost of living, the pressure to get married and granting sexual favour to employers increased the livelihood of women becoming infected. Men who were isolated from their spouses were at a higher risk of engaging in casual sex or having sexual relations with commercial sex workers. Thika was a home to many sex workers who operated in different ways.

Generally, Thika District attracts many unskilled and casual labourers and those who do not find employment end up offering sexual services (RoK, 1994). More so, Mercy Kananu (O.I., 2015) reported that the employment rates of women in the industries are lower compared to that of men. Further, she reported that they are more likely to lose employment. This gender inequality renders women more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS.

Assessment of HIV/AIDS among the industrial workforce in Thika established that it is mainly associated with the visitors who seek employment in the industries and plantations from other parts of the country (Emasi, Fatuma, Elizabeth, O. I., 2015). Stillwaggon (2002) who found that economic growth leads to labour mobility and social dislocation, which has continually increased HIV transmission especially among the industrialized countries, has indicated this.

Grant and De Cock (1998), migrant populations are particularly vulnerable to HIV infection. In West Africa, the migration of agricultural workers to all-male camps, where many men share the services of a few female prostitutes, resulting in a pattern of sexual partner sharing which promotes the spread of HIV infection. On the same note, Hayes (2007) pointed out that rural to urban migration is disruptive to families and marriages and commonly result in the formation of sexual networks in urban areas where there is an unequal ratio of men to women. The above arguments
unfold the misery of HIV/AIDS spread among the migrant workers as in the case of Thika labour force.

The above statement reveals women’s vulnerability due to their labour pattern. This has; on the other hand, heighten HIV transmission because it separates women from the family protection or social support networks, which could otherwise protect them from unwanted sexual advances. As men migrate for employment, leaving their families in rural areas, some women migrate for the same but as prostitutes, where the female sex workers are found to have many clients.

There are always multiple sexual partners among the industrial workers in Thika (Kielmann, 1993; Mercy Kananu, O. I., 2015). Therefore, due to the high risk of contracting HIV/AIDS among workers, a number of strategies have been put in place by the firms to minimize HIV infections. Victor Mureithi (O. I., 2015) a clinical officer working in Del Monte farm in Thika reported that there were some efforts made by industries to control the spread of HIV. The company has embarked on the campaign on the use of condoms. They also supply free condoms in all centres to the workers.

Despite the difficulties in sorting and identifying specific cases for industry worker within the medical records on HIV/AIDS, David Muigai a clinical officer in Thika indicated that in spite of government efforts to fight the tragedy, HIV/AIDS remains a challenge to Thika due to its economic importance (O. I., 2015). This was also confirmed through an interview with two private medical laboratory technicians in Makongeni. Thus, HIV/AIDS is more than a health issue.

HIV is a growing epidemic affecting more women than men and eroding workforce in industries. In order to reduce HIV/AIDS transmission, seminar forums and voluntary counselling and testing services have been put in place. It was also noted that other industries organize for special screening sessions for their worker. These screenings or medical check-ups involve HIV/AIDS testing. Those found infected are encouraged to take ARVs mostly provided in the government hospital and at the same time are allocated lesser duties.
Mercy Kananu and Victor Mureithi (O. I., 2015) reported that industries fight against sexual harassments. However, the greatest challenge is that most of the cases are not reported or else they are not followed up after reporting. For instance, where it involves a senior or managerial person against their juniors, the junior could be demoted, fired, sent away on slightest mistake. Other instances involve one demanding a favour, such as employment, promotion, change of duties to lighter ones among others. Mostly, this was found to be common among women workers. This indicates that women vulnerability to HIV/AIDS greatly fuelled by the economic factors.

It is widely noted that the impact of HIV/AIDS has increased women economic hardship. Women have been expected to carry more of the burden of coping with the social and economic impact of HIV/AIDS than men do. Household work, childcare and caring for the sick have all become a necessity for women (Hayes, 2007). Further, the author noted that while economic factors contribute to the enabling environment for HIV/AIDS, it has been the cause of economic insecurity and poverty. For the majority living with HIV, it has forced them to have time off work or stop working completely.

According to Matlin and Spence (2000), the inequality that women suffer in terms of general status in the society and discrimination makes HIV/AIDS a gender-based issue and needs to be seen in this light if it is to be addressed effectively. Moreover, most women are forced to provide for their family with no source of income due to lack of employment. Thus, they are forced into a hazardous occupation, including sex work, which further increases their vulnerability. According to David Muigai (O. I., 2015), women prioritize the well-being of other family members at the expense of their own health.

Gender analysis forms the basis for understanding HIV/AIDS transmission. From the above discussion, it can be understood that under the socially constructed aspects of male to the female relationships in reference to the gender-based ideologies. Gender analysis reveals changes to be adopted in order to create an environment in which women and men can protect themselves.
5.6 Industries and Women Empowerment

Azuma (2003) observed that Women Empowerment entails social recognition through improvement of their condition, and one of the most effective means to achieve this goal is by offering them better options in wage employment. This is necessary for women to attain socio-economic independence and gain self-reliance.

Women are economically empowered hence enabling them to develop their skills, find jobs and earn income. Industries not only in Kenya but also in the entire Africa play a great role in the development or the empowerment of women. Although women participation in the industries is determined by the cultural, gender ideology, there are many women engaged in industries performing different tasks at different levels.

KNA/1/7/1958 indicates that Metal Box Company of East Africa Limited had employed women for a number of years. For instance, a Kikuyu girl is reported to have been a supervisor of six other girls working on a metal pressing machine. Her monthly salary, according to this report was approximately Ksh. 12. Further, KNA/AF/1/8 shows that there were 68 women working by 1959. In addition, Kenya Canners Limited had employed 189 women while East African Bag Cordage had 67.

While analysing the Kenyan worker, Louise and Robert (2006) indicate that an estimated 70 to 80% of workers in the packhouse were women. They served as table operators, cleaners and packers of produce. However, Priscilla Nyaboke and Fatuma Abdul (O. I., 2015) working in the packhouse sector indicated that such opportunities had reduced women dependency on men. They added that although they are not paid well, they were still encouraging women to resist the inequality in gender relation.

Major policies covering labour were gender-sensitive enough to ensure a conducive working environment for women even in sectors dominated by men. In return, this has enabled women to
make a significant economic contribution. Industries engage the most learned women, and the least learned for the purpose of their development.

There are many facilities provided by the industries to make women employees more comfortable in their work. Industries such as Delmonte have a residential estate where its workers are allocated residential houses to live with their families. Some houses have a big compound, which is turned into agricultural gardens. Alice Mbugua (O. I., 2015) resides with her family within the compound. She had planted vegetables and some bananas and indicated that the kitchen garden was relieving her burden of going to the market to buy vegetables.

In most instances, the household burden is left to women. Being employed, they were empowered hence their household livelihood was improved. With the introduction of the user, fees in education and health sector through the Structural Adjustment Programmes have inflicted women as compared to their counterpart men. However, during the research period, it was noted that some industries had established schools and had health centres for their workers. Other industries have greatly contributed to the education of the children of their workers by offering full study scholarships.

According to Josphat Kimeu, Enock Emasi and Danlas Makori (O. I., 2015), Delmonte Company has greatly invested in the education of the children. They have established nursery, primary and secondary schools with enough teachers and good libraries. These facilities are within the residential estates and they even enrol children for non-workers. On the other hand, Alice Mbugua indicates that since her children have not enrolled in any of those schools, she receives some allowances to cater for their school education per term.

Francis Githinji (O. I., 2015) a student in form three indicates that since his parents work in one of the industries, he enjoys full scholarship for his studies together with other students. From the above cases, it is true to argue that industries have tried to relieve women the education burden, which has turned out to be very expensive to afford especially for children under single parenthood.
Access to quality healthcare is a challenge to many. Some industries in Thika established health facilities for their workers. Del Monte has five dispensaries with qualified clinical officers. Victor Mureithi (O. I., 2015) one of the health workers indicated that in those dispensaries mainly deal with the outpatient cases. In the case of illnesses requiring serious attention, they refer the patients to Thika Level 5 Hospital and other private hospitals within Thika town. Like schools, dispensaries are located in the residential areas.

Employers are required to provide medical assistance to all workers. However, Kirimi (2003) and Alfred Thotho (O.I., 2016) reveals that Del Monte’s dispensaries do not provide services to employees outside their working hour. Additionally, Kirimi (2003) noted, that the company paid Ksh. 320 as medical cover for its seasonal and permanent employees. On the other hand, permanent employees were entitled to sick leave holidays.

Women go through financial literacy training organized by industries. This enabled them to save through Sacco’s and women self-help groups (Chama). Through Sacco’s they were able to get access to loan depending on their savings. Self-help groups have brought women together not only for financial support but also have created avenues for them to interact and share ideas. This has enabled most women to overcome financial challenges, especially at such a time of economic pressure.

5.7 Summary
The privatization and trade liberalization policies affected women more than men. Most women lost jobs either through retrenchment or through closure of collapse of women labour-intensive industries such as textile industries. It has also been noted that women who lost jobs found few employment opportunities. Most of the women who lost jobs were mostly the unskilled. In order to survive, as Mercy Kananu (O. I., 2015) noted women resulted in seeking employment in the informal sector, which offers reduced wages.
Due to unemployment and the consequent fall in real income, women had to make up for the shortfall in household income. They have thus been forced to seek employment and to engage in other income generating activities, in addition to the unpaid domestic and community work they are already engaged in. This has increased their workload.

Like poverty, gender relations in labour markets greatly enhance vulnerability to HIV infections. In order to contain and reduce the spread of HIV/AIDS, empowering women through access to economic independence and the transformation of inequitable relationships between male and female workers is inevitable.
CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The study focused on gender labour relations in Thika, Kiambu County. The study used gender as a tool of analysis to uncover some important patterns and trends in gender labour within the industrial sector in Thika. Gender differences in access and its impact on the lives of men and women were analysed with the use of theory. The study aimed at examining historical factors towards the development of industries and gender relations from 1945 up to 1963. It also looked at gender relations within the industrial sector from independence to 2010. Finally, it analysed economic policies of the 1980s related to the SAPs from World Bank and International Monetary Fund and how they affected gender relations in the industries. The study was based on the assumption that economic growth is gender blind and therefore both men and women benefit equally from it.

6.2 Summary

Globally, gender gaps in labour are among the most pressing challenges. Despite the considerable progress that has been made towards achieving gender equality in the world of work, a number of factors seem to be preventing it from accelerating. Gender labour relations were found to be reinforced by cultural and ideological systems within the society.

Industrialisation was and continues to be one of the important sectors in development for its role in generating employment attracting foreign investors. Modern industrialisation in Kenya as in most of the African countries resulted from the colonial era. Both Traditional and Colonial industries, human labour was crucial. One of the principal factors for development of industries even after independence was abundant supply of labour.

Although the colonial developments were beneficial to some African economies, they greatly undermined women status and strengthened male dominance especially in wage labour. The
transfer of labour from agriculture to industry interfered with gender labour relations. This gender labour transformation was reflected in the manufacturing industries.

The colonial production, which excluded women from the cash economy, influenced the post-colonial government. Although national developments were launched to accelerate economic development, they failed to consider women who were the majority. It was noted that before 1975, Kenya development policies were gender insensitive. The assumption was that economic developments benefited both men and women equally. Because of political interference, women groups, which had been established, did totally nothing to change women economically.

Structural Adjustments Programmes were viewed as a good package to boost the deteriorating economy as from the 1980s. However, they resulted in complete loss of their means of survival. For instance, the collapse of textile industries in Thika, leaving women with no source of income and unable to secure employment in other industries.

6.3 Conclusion
Women participation in the labour force has greatly expanded since the end of the Second World War. The findings of this study showed that women participated in great numbers especially after the Second World War. At first women seemed to benefit more from the increased labour demand. However, their labour was preferred because it was cheap. In addition, women are seen to be docile and submissive in nature.

Due to migrations, female labour force in urban centres increased. On the contrary, their employment became minimal due to lack of required skills and the new technologies, which were gender blind. Lack of economic power through wage earning in urban centres forced women to join the competitive informal sector. The state of economic insecurity that women faced further forced them into social evils such as prostitution. Selling sex was found to be common business in the study area as revealed by several informants.
Prostitution in Thika was an economic factor to women immigrants having lost or lacked job. They loitered around the bars, hotels and corridors in search of clients. It was also noted that due to slim job chances some women offered to enter into ‘come we stay’ relationships with the employed males. This was escalated with the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programmes, which led to collapse of some industries leaving very few chances for women to be employed.

It was found that a huge number of women participating in the wage labour are either the ones who have no children or those past childbearing age. The ones with children left paid work to look after the children. On the other hand, family men participate more in labour supply as compared to unmarried men who are selective in terms of industry and kind of work. For most of the women, being pregnant meant losing the job, therefore many of them carry out abortion for fear of losing a job.

Field data confirmed that occupation segregation along gender lines was common within the manufacturing sector. Industries have been classified as ‘feminine’ and ‘masculine’ in which either is concentrated, depending on work. Women are confined to a limited range of industries in Thika due to the collapse of textile industries. However, within these industries, 95% of women are found in low paying jobs that are competitive.

Women mobility into and out of the town seeking jobs has made it difficult to curb the spread of HIV/AIDS in Thika industries. Social and economic factors are associated with these migrations. Women were found to be more vulnerable compared to men due to their economic marginalization. Cuts in Health care expenditures by the government and declining of health care with introduction of user fees has worsened women situation due to the household burden. The high risks to HIV/AIDS could be linked to women vulnerability due to gender labour inequalities exhibited by the economic systems.

The study noted that apart from predominance in lower levels of production, gender segregation and segmentation in labour still exists. This is because women lack skills required in the
industry, leading to lower levels of productivity. The kind of jobs taken up by women are unprotected, sub-contracted and offers few opportunities for them to improve their economic and social situations. Some production processes also have hindered women from participating in labour. For example shift work and long hours on account of childcare and household responsibilities.

The clothing and textile industries provided an important source of employment for women in Thika. The impact of trade liberalization on garment industries was stagnancy and later collapse. Informal sector like selling of second-hand clothes ‘mitumba’ gained roots out of the collapse of these industries. This has caused more harm since intensive women labour shifted to the informal sector, which has been unsecure due to men competition. Generally, other industries offer few chances for women to enrol since opportunities for unskilled workers have been declining. Therefore, women workers especially in the industries seem to be squeezed out of labour.

SAPs not only contributed to the decline of job opportunities but also increased gender labour inequality, stagnation of wage employment, removal of subsidies and wage freezes. This has increased suffering on women. Yet entrance into wage labour has become next to impossible for women. Men are found to dominate in the industrial labour force, leaving limited opportunities for women. The economic pressure lies more on women putting into consideration that, there are many single mothers than fathers.

Thika industrial sector is mainly under multinationals. A number of women participate in these industries as workforce. However, there is a need to examine the quality of their employment since their practises have frequently been exploitative to women workers. From the findings of this study, it is clear that women employment in industries remains slim to that of men. More so, they are at high risk of facing unemployment if not underemployment. This is attributed to women’s low skills and the advanced of technologies being embraced in the industries for efficiency in processing or production.
Structural Adjustment policies impacts on industries are profound. Shrinking of the manufacturing sector, market liberalization and privatization. Their assumption that men and women have equal opportunities in the labour market created social issues such as selling sex and prostitution. This was done mainly to supplement their daily needs or boost their little earning. Women were found to be more vulnerable even to HIV/AIDS because they were unable to secure jobs and the pressure from the household burden.

Individual women have demonstrated their ability to perform successfully almost in any type of work, which has been traditionally reserved for men. The proper placement of both men and women depend on discovering the personal capabilities of each person and marching these capabilities to the requirement of a given job.

After independence, there was an increase in a number of women employed as casuals, contracts and piece-rate workers in both private and public industries. However, it was noted that these categories were often excluded from labour union coverage since they do not meet the requirement for eligibility. Some industries had been summoned by the trade union concerning the issue but little or nothing was done especially for women workers. This is because men work was considered more technical and involving skills as compared to areas that women work. In the industries, men areas of work were found to be under trade union.

6.4 Recommendations

In reference to the findings of the study, it was found that women economic capability has been greatly hampered. Therefore, it is important to ensure equal participation of men and women in wage employment. This will help in sustaining livelihood at the household, community and national levels. Since women more than men, valuing their work is critical to country’s economic growth given that they are poorer.

Government economic development policies should be reviewed to be more gender sensitive. It should increase market demand and economic opportunities through increased investments
targeted at labour-intensive industries. Support trade policies that protect service industries as well as better linkages between formal and informal sectors. To achieve higher levels of employment, the government should also relocate some industries to rural areas to minimize urban immigrants.

Low economic and social status leaves women vulnerable to HIV/AIDS. Apart from strengthening HIV/AIDS education and training, the government has to increase economic opportunities for women. Stakeholders ought to help in addressing economic and social inequalities affecting women. The government should pursue social and cultural beliefs that challenge gender inequality as well as introduce legislation that supports and protects the emancipation of women.
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List of the interviewed informants

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Key: * and ** represent labour department and gender department respectively in Thika Town Constituency.


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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Question Guideline

KENYATTA UNIVERSITY

Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies

Dear Sir/ Madam,

My name is Doris Kanorio Gituma, Reg No. C50/254/2013, a Master’s Degree student at Kenyatta University carrying out research on the topic: Labour and Gender Relations in Thika Town Constituency, Kiambu County, Kenya, 1945-2010. As an important stakeholder, you have been selected to take part in the study by answering a few questions. All information, which you offer, will be kept strictly confidential and used for academic purposes only.

Part A: Individuals

Personal details

(Tick where applicable)

1. Name: ____________________________________________

2. Your gender: Male □ Female □

3. Age bracket: 21-30 □ 31-40 □ 41-50 □ Above 50 □

4. Location: ____________________________________________

5. Marital status: Single □ Married □ Divorced □

6. Level of education: None □ Primary □ Secondary □

Post-Secondary □

7. For how many years have you lived in Thika? Below 10 □

11-30 □ 31-40 □ Above 50 □

8. Are you employed? Yes □ No □

9. If employed; where? Informal □ Formal sector □

10. What is the nature of your employment? Permanent □ Casual □
Labour and Gender relations

➢ Explain when and why women were allowed to work in the industries during the colonial period.
➢ To what extent as the idea of domesticity undermined the economic participation of women in the industries?
➢ Did women participate in the labour struggles to improve their conditions during the colonial period (strikes and go-slow)? Explain.
➢ What is the achievement by the self-government in enhancing gender labour relations in the industries since 1963?
➢ In your own opinion, what steps did Mzee Jomo Kenyatta; first president of Kenya took to increase employment opportunities in the industries?
➢ Did both Men and women benefit equally from this initiative? Explain.
➢ How can you rate the performance of the first president, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta about industrial development in Thika?
➢ What other developments were achieved in the industries during president Moi’s term of leadership?
➢ What steps has the independence government taken to fight labour gender inequalities in the industries established?
➢ According to you, has the increased numbers of women in the industrial labour challenged the gender disparities that characterised the colonial period? Explain.
➢ What are the effects on employment of men and women since the government established Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the mid-1980s?
➢ Did the cutback cause either women or men lose employment?
➢ If yes of either gender, what have they done to counter the loss of employment?
➢ Did poor wage levels make men quit for more profitable private sector jobs, hence leaving spaces to be filled by women who were seeking greater job security?
➢ What are the effects of SAPS on health and education sector and how have this affected labour and gender relations in Thika?
➢ Between men and women who are the most vulnerable?
➢ What do you think is HIV/AIDS?
➢ When did you hear about it at the first?
➢ How is it different from STDs?
➢ How is it transmitted?
➢ Who is at risk of contracting the disease?
- How can the disease be prevented or how can you protect yourself?
- What role do the industries play in creating awareness about HIV/AIDS to both workers and the public?
- What can you say about prostitution in this region?
- Does this have a relationship with the lack of a job?
- According to your opinion, who fall easily into this trap, men or women? Why?
- What can you say are the factors leading to the high rate of prostitution in this region?
- What can be done to check the continued trend of prostitution?

**Part B: Government Officials**

- Which position do you hold in this office?
- For how many years have you been here?
- How familiar are you with gender labour relations in TTC?
- What are the levels of labour participation of women and men in industries within Thika? Any difference, explain.
- In your own opinion, how would you rate the participation of women compared to that of men as far as working in the industries is concerned? Low/high.
- What do you think are the underlying causes of such gender differences in employment patterns?
- Do these gender differences in terms of working affect either men or women in any way within Thika?
- Identify key employment challenges, in particular on gender dimensions; list 3-4 issues.
- Identify the underlying causes of the challenges/ issues/ problems.
- What can be done to increase women participation as workers in industries within Thika?
- Are there legislative initiatives taken to motivate women or men to participate in the industries as workers?
- Are there any cases of sexual harassment reported to you by the workers (undesired physical touch or gestures)?
- If yes, who are the most vulnerable group, men or women?
- What steps have been taken to discipline the culprits involved in sexual harassment?
- Are there formal policies for the industries that protect workers?
- If yes, how are they gender sensitive?
- According to you what is the impact of labour in the formal sector on gender equality?
- What has been the role of the trade unions in Kenya in addressing the issue of:
 Pay the gap in labour provision.
 Sexual harassment at work.
 Any programme offered by the industries about HIV/AIDS awareness?
 Propose policy measures to meet employment and income opportunities equally for women and men and to deal with the key employment challenges in the industrial sector in our country.

Part C: Industry personnel/ Managers
 Which position do you hold in this industry/ company?
 For how long have you served in this industry/ company?
 Are there differences in regard to where women and men work with your firm? If yes, explain in terms of sectors and occupations of men and women.
 What do you think are the underlying causes of such gender differences in employment patterns?
 Do women receive equal wages and income as men in your industry/ plantation?
 Are there gender differences in wages even for the same occupation?
 Are women as equally informed as men about the wage employment opportunities provided under this industry/ farm?
 Are women equally trained in skills upgrading as men?
 If yes, explain.
 What is the attitude of male workers towards their female counterparts in this industry/plantation?
 What are the challenges experienced by female workers as compared to men?
 Do women have fair access to productive resources?
 Have the productive and reproductive roles of women and men been considered, for instance, maternity and parental leave?
 Does the firm provide for maternity protection and equal wages for work of equal value?
 If no, why?
 Does the firm provide breastfeeding facilities for working mothers?
 Are there formal policies for the industries and plantations that protect workers?
 If yes, how are they gender sensitive?
 Does the company offer the HIV/AIDS awareness programmes listed below? Tick the ones offered.
  • HIV/AIDS prevention measures
  • Counselling for HIV/AIDS
• Free condom distribution
• Financial support for dependants
• HIV testing service
• Others, specify

Propose policy measures to meet the challenge of promoting employment and income opportunities equally for women and men and to enhance gender mainstreaming into our country.

THANK YOU
Appendix II: Map of Thika Town Constituency in Kiambu County-Kenya showing the location of the study area

Source: Kenyatta University Global Information Systems Laboratories
Appendix III: A map showing the distribution of industries in Thika District at independence in 1963

Source: Kenyatta University Global Information Systems Laboratories
Appendix IV: Research Permit

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

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When replying please quote Ref: No. NACOSTI/P/16/85620/9031

Date: 19th February, 2016

Doris Kanorio Gituma
Kenyatta University
P.O. Box 43844-01000
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on “Labour and gender relations in some industries in Thika, Kiambu County, Kenya, 1945-2010” I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in Kiambu County for a period ending 17th February, 2017.

You are advised to report to the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Kiambu County before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf of the research report/thesis to our office.

DR. S. K. LANGAT, OGW
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:
The County Commissioner
Kiambu County.
The County Director of Education
Kiambu County.