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WEDGE FUNDING REPORT

KINSHIP, MARRIAGE AND LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION IN URBAN KENYA

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WORK UNDERTAKEN

I received funding from the WEDGE project to support the development of qualitative tools to advance our understanding of how kinship support and marriage interact with women's labor force participation in the slum communities in Nairobi, Kenya. Women's labor force participation is an essential foundation of women's economic empowerment and familial support would influence women's labor force participation by allowing women to develop human capital and alleviating domestic work including childcare. This work has been done in conjunction with the new NIH R01-funded project, "Kinship Support, Marriage and Child in a Low Income Urban African Context" (Sangeetha Madhavan, PI), which will be carried out over five years in two low-income communities in Nairobi, Kenya.

I worked closely with the Primary Investigator, Sangeetha Madhavan, and the entire NIH R01 research team in the US and Kenya to develop and implement both the survey instrument and the qualitative tools. In the summer of 2021, I took part in an intensive workshop over ZOOM to develop the in-depth interview guides for women and men, and tested the feasibility of collecting kinship structure and provision maps from men. The in-depth interview topics include the expectation of receiving and providing kinship support, the role of marriage and relationship quality in strengthening or weakening kinship support, and the extent to which kinship and marriage hinder or support women's labor force participation. I also contributed to the initial analyses of the data from the pre-test of the survey with 125 women.

WOMEN'S LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION IN AFRICA – WHAT DO WE KNOW?

A substantial body of scholarship on gender, work, and family has documented a significant impact of motherhood on women's labor force participation (Abendroth, Huffman, and Treas, 2014). Childcare in particular is a major issue in work-family conflict (Bianchi and Milkie, 2010) and performance of the double shift by women (Hochschild and Machung, 2012). Therefore, many studies have made clear that family-related policies are important and have

a positive impact on women's employment. Policies that support childcare are particularly beneficial to women who are less educated, unskilled, single mothers, and belong to ethnic minorities (Ferragina, 2018). The positive impact of childcare support on women's employment, such as giving a free voucher for a day care center, is also relevant in the Kenyan context (Clark et al., 2019). Traditionally, childcare support by extended family members is a common cultural feature in many African countries, while many high-income countries have social policy for childcare support.

However, this kind of family support of childcare has been weakening in the African context (Clark et al., 2017). In addition, socioeconomic stratification depicts different coping strategies for work-family balance. Women's family backgrounds and their current social classes differentiate women's job characteristics and the family support available that helps women to be more active in the labor market (Damaske, 2011). In Nairobi, while most high SES mothers have domestic help to take care of their babies, more than half of the poorer mothers bring their babies to work (Lakati et al., 2002). In many developing countries, the lack of proper childcare supports drives women toward informal employment and constrains their income-generating activity (Cassirer and Addati, 2007). In that sense, women's employment and work-family balance would vary by their social positions. On the one hand, women's labor force participation would symbolize women's economic empowerment, utilization of women's agency, and their being modernized women who pursue their careers. On the other hand, if a woman were pushed to participate in an income-generating activity on top of unpaid domestic work regardless of her willingness, this would add to her burden and might be a less preferred option than for the woman to be a homemaker with a typical male breadwinner.

WHAT WE DON'T KNOW ABOUT WOMEN'S LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

Several studies show that childcare support offered by extended kin members is salient for mothers' employment in many countries but

mostly in the Global North (Fu, 2008: Taiwan; Oh, 2018: Korea; Dimova and Wolff, 2011: 10 European countries; Arpino et al., 2014: Italy; Compton and Pollak, 2014, US); surprisingly, not many studies directly measure how kin support matters to women's employment in the African context.

Several reasons contribute to this research gap in the African setting. Firstly, most studies on women's economic empowerment and employment have focused on girls' education, a more direct and significant factor for women's labor force participation (Lincove, 2008; 2009; Anyanwu, 2016; Totouom et al., 2018). The role of the family is usually examined in terms of how it affects girls' education rather than its importance on women's labor force participation. In addition, informal work and agricultural work are the common types of women's work in Africa, which may constrain childcare less than formal work if childcare were allowed to be done simultaneously with it. Lastly, since childcare support provided by an extended family member has been customary and popular in African culture, scholars of gender, work, and family have given less attention to studying the work-family balance in an African context, because of the implicit assumption that the work-family conflict would be less severe in Africa as compared to that in developed countries.

The importance of the family environment as a moderating factor for women's labor force participation has long been recognized. For example, Youssef (1972) argued that high-status families would discourage women's labor force participation while enacting traditional gender norms and cultural scripts of the women being 'good mothers/wives'. In contrast, poor women have no choice but to work. More recent studies in rural India also indicate that more educated women are relatively more likely to return to home production than market production (Afridi et al., 2017). In a macro-level study by Klasen et al., an increase in household income or having higher educated household heads, which indicate better household circumstances, have a moderately negative effect on women's labor force participation in relatively poor countries like Tanzania, while it has become largely irrelevant in rich countries like South

Africa (Klasen et al., 2021). In addition, the provision of childcare support by other family members is becoming less likely, particularly, in low-income settings (Clark et al., 2017). Also, a rise in urbanization and an increase in the number of service sector jobs for women may change what is available to women in terms of flexibility of their work hours and childcare options.

Only a few studies examine how women and their partners view women's labor force participation and the work-family balance and take into consideration how families moderate women's labor force participation in low-income urban settings; most studies only emphasize the importance of women's labor force participation for women's economic empowerment. With this relatively low interest in work-family relationships in the African context, the measurement for women's economic empowerment has been developed with less attention on the cultural context and family environments in spite of their relevance to many women's lives. Widely used measurements have particularly tried to capture some of the multidimensional characteristics of women's economic empowerment, but these measures are limited to the synthesized view of the work-family balance with gender expectations/gender norms/gender views around women's labor force participation. Therefore, this report addresses the development of a qualitative interview guide and measurement tools for further research on women's economic empowerment with consideration of the family and cultural component in Kenya.

THE KENYA CONTEXT

In recent years, Kenya has shown notable economic growth and significant progress in the indicators of child mortality, primary education enrollment, and the gender gap in education as compared to other African countries (World Bank, 2021). Rapid economic growth fosters rapid urbanization, leading to the development of low-income slum communities. According to a UN report (United Nations, 2014), the population of Nairobi was expected to grow to 5.7 million by 2025 from 3.5 million in 2015, and many young Kenyans are employed in the informal economy with low-paying and unstable

jobs (Munga and Onsomu, 2014). According to World Bank data (2019), women are less likely to work than men. For example, the employment rate of women in the services sector stands at 37.5 percent while that of men stands at 39 percent. The employment rate of women in industry stands at 2 percent while that of men is 12.4 percent. In terms of wage and salaried workers, women constitute only 40.1 percent of the total, while the corresponding figure for men is 56.4 percent. As compared to the services and industrial sectors, agriculture accounts for more women than men. All these features point to the underlying gender inequality in the labor market.

Korogocho and Viwandani, two informal settlements in Nairobi, serve as the study sites for this project. These communities are characterized by lack of access to sanitation, limited health care facilities, congested and low-quality housing, high levels of crime, and widespread unemployment and poverty. The study sites are inhabited by different ethnic groups, including the Kikuyu (30 percent), Kamba (24 percent), Luhya (18 percent), and Luo (12 percent) groups (NUHDSS).

OUTPUTS

The original R01 project focused on collecting both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative data set contains respondent information, union formalization, relationship quality, the Kinship Support Tree, maternal wellbeing, and child wellbeing. The sample comprises women aged 15-30 years and with at least one child under the age of five years. We did the first round of pre-testing quantitative data with 135 sampled women in July 2021, and subsequently, two weeks of training for collecting quantitative data was slated to be held in Kenya during 14-28 January 2022. The Kinship Support Tree, which is an innovative survey instrument, allows us to collect information on the kinship support network that each respondent has, such as basic demographic information like survival status and residential location of the immediate and extended family members, their ages, relationships to the woman concerned, their relative wealth compared to hers, and the type of support provided by them in the form of childcare or financial assistance. We can link this data to the respondent's

general demographic information, including age, education, employment, income, current/former romantic relationship, and the number of kids she has. This quantitative data will be collected at six-month intervals with a total of six waves of data having been collected at the end of the project.

In order to develop a qualitative interview guideline, we first analyzed four Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) (comprising two men and two women) and 18 Individual In-depth Interviews (IDIs) (comprising six men and twelve women) collected in 2017 and 2018. Those interviews included topics about different steps involved in formalizing a marriage, the value placed on different marriage types and processes, the steps that afforded the marriage legitimacy, and the role of kin in marriage and child-rearing. Taken together, these findings demonstrate the value of capturing union formalization processes for understanding kinship support, and the complexities of kinship support in the context of economic uncertainty. Based on these interviews, we identified several key themes around the marriage process and quality of the relationship. In addition to this data, we analyzed 18 in-depth interviews with ten men and eight women, which have similar interview topics. Seven focus group interviews were held with three male focus groups and four female focus groups. From the 2020 interview data, we identified some interesting points around financial issues and relationship quality, giving a baseline for developing further interview guidelines.

Besides this data administration and analysis work for the main project, I created three deliverables last summer: a summer workshop, descriptive work with pretesting data, and a qualitative interview questionnaire.

THE SUMMER WORKSHOPS

The project team and I were deeply involved in training at the workshop, which was dedicated to building the tools for the qualitative sub-study held during 22-28 July, 2021. These include IDIs, with a sub-set of the women included in the quantitative study and their male partners/fathers of the index child. The workshop had two main goals: 1) Developing an individual in-depth interview guide for men and women,

and 2) interviewer training. On the first day of the workshop, we explained why we conducted a qualitative sub-study and how we sampled the interviewees. The workshop was held for with the US-based team of the University of Maryland and the Kenya fieldwork team. The draft version of the IDI guide for women was distributed to the Kenya team after the first meeting and the team conducted the role-play IDI guide before the second meeting. Through role-playing, we expect the interviewers to identify any issues, concerns, and gaps in the guideline. The next day, members of both the teams reviewed the role-play and updated the guide as needed. After the meeting, the US-based team refined the guidelines based on the discussion we had had that day and distributed them to the Kenya team to translate the updated version. We applied these subsequent steps of making guidelines, doing role-play, refining the interview guidelines, and translating the guidelines for developing interview guidelines similarly for men. The only difference was that the provision/kin network components were included in the men's interviews while women were posed more detailed questions around their labor force participation.

PRETEST DATA

My central role in developing a quantitative survey is to test the survey questions, conduct simulation interviews, and check that the skip patterns and conditioning work logically and adequately. This process is critical for minimizing non-random errors and obtaining clearer responses, which will allow for articulate interpretation.

According to the pretesting data with 129 sampled women who responded to the survey, 38.8 percent of the women had any vocational training, 14.7 percent had regular jobs, and 27.1

percent participated in other economic activities that generate income but are more like informal cash work. The 129 sampled women reported a total of 1808 kin members, which is equivalent to 14 kin members, on average, for each woman. Table 1 shows that among the 1808 kin members, 1578 are alive, 1367 are older than 15 years, 798 are male, and 280 live in the same household. Most of them live in other rural areas in Kenya (44.8 percent). The second most live in other areas of Nairobi (21.2 percent). Most of their kin members are richer or much richer than the respondent (38.3 percent), but at the same time, 31.6 percent are poor or much poorer than the respondent. Among the 1367 kin members aged over 15 years, 284 (20.8 percent) provide monetary support to her and 92 of the 284 are the biological fathers of the focal child. Among the 1083 kin members who did not provide financial support, she can ask for financial support from about 281 (25.9) kin members. Among 1578 kin members, 309 (19.6 percent) assisted with childcare and 73 (23.6 percent) over the 309 were the biological fathers, while the maternal aunt was the second most common family member who assisted with childcare, in 56 cases (18.1 percent). Babysitting the focal child is the most common type of support, offered by 286 kin members (92.6 percent) and assisting with the daily needs of focal child is the second most common type of support (48.9 percent).

I calculated the proportion of kin members who can give support over the total number of kin members that the respondent has. Table 2 shows that employed women have a higher proportion of kin members who can be asked for and can give childcare assistance than unemployed women, whereas the latter have a higher proportion of kin members who she can ask for money when needed.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for 1578 Kin Members

	Count (Percent)/Mean(SD)/ Alpha (Alpha if Deleted)	Percent DK
Total N (Denominator)	1808 (average 14.0)	
Alive	1578 (86.6)	2.1
Kin Aged 15+ (n=1578)	1367 (86.6)	17.4
Male (n=1578)	798 (50.6)	
Lives in Household (n=1578)	280 (17.7)	



Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for 1578 Kin Members (continued)

	Count (Percent)/Mean(SD)/ Alpha (Alpha if Deleted)	Percent DK
Where Kin Live (n=1298)		5.2
Korogocho	152 (11.7)	
Viwandani	114 (8.8)	
Other Nairobi	275 (21.2)	
Other Urban Kenya	86 (6.6)	
Other Rural Kenya	582 (44.8)	
Outside Kenya	21 (1.6)	
Don't Know	68 (5.2)	
Relative Wealth Status (N=1225)		
Poorer or Much Poorer	387 (31.6)	153 (12.5)
Same	216 (17.6)	
Richer or Much Richer	469 (38.3)	
Provide Monetary Support (n=1367)	284 (20.8)	0.0
Top Provider Type (N=284)		
Biological Father	92 (32.4)	
Means of Thanking (N=205)		
Thank Them	203 (99.0)	
Could you ask for \$ support (N=1083)	281 (25.9)	
How Would You Thank Them? (N=279)		
Thank them	268 (96.1)	
Provide Non-monetary Support (n=1365)	251 (18.4)	<0.1
Top Support Type (N=251)		
Food	192 (76.5)	
Assist with Childcare (n=1578)	309 (19.6)	<0.1
Top Support Provider (N=309)		
Biological Father	73 (23.6)	
Most Common Type of Support (N=309)		
Babysitting the Focal Child	286 (92.6)	
Assisting with the Daily Needs of the Focal Child	151 (48.9)	
Could You Ask for Childcare Help (N=1268)	331 (26.1)	
How Would You Thank Them? (N=326)		
Thank Them	302 (92.6)	
Any Other Type of Support Provided? (N=1578)		
Advice When Needed	525 (33.3)	
Assurance and Comfort	315 (20.0)	
Companionship/Friendship	178 (11.3)	
No Other Support	981 (62.2)	

Data source: Pretesting data collected for NIH R01 project

Table 2. Women’s Labor Force Participation and Kin Support

	Proportion of Kin Members Who Give Monetary Support (%)	Proportion of Kin Members Whom the Respondent Can Ask for Money (%)	Proportion of Kin Members Who Give Non-monetary Support (%)	Proportion of Kin Members Who Give Childcare Assistance (%)	Proportion of Kin Members Whom the Respondent Can Ask for Childcare Assistance (%)
Employed Women (53)	22.6	23.9	22.0	24.9	25.6
Unemployed Women (76)	23.9	28.3	20.4	20.1	23.3

Data source: Pretesting data collected for NIH R01 project

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRES FOR WOMEN AND MEN

Across the interview data that we analyzed, we found three themes that explore how Kenyan people in urban settings view cultural gender scripts around the male breadwinner, changes due to women’s labor force participation, and the strong but possibly endangered long-standing notion of ‘man as the head of the household and woman as the neck of her husband.’

Most male and female interviewees showed strong gender scripts of the male breadwinner. For instance, many female focus group participants agreed that a man should be a household provider while a woman is a homemaker. Male interviewees also showed the same strong agreement with the male breadwinner idea.

Following are the transcripts of some of the interviews:

[Female FGD]

M: I would like to know, for a marriage to stand, for that marriage to be good, what is the man supposed to do? What is the role of a man, and what is the role of a woman, for that marriage to be good.

R3: All the roles? It’s to feed you, for children to go to school, yes, for food not to lack in the house. Mine is to stay in the house. And to make sure the children are smart, they should not be dirty. Because there are

some people, you could get married to a man and he doesn’t want you to work.

R7: The man should take care of the home, to buy food for the children they don’t go hungry, and the woman should make sure the house to be smart, so that even when you look at her like that, you see that she is also smart she is not laughed at outside just that.

R5: To pay fees for the children, pay rent and give me everything that I need. And also, we should not lack food in that house. To take care of him I clean the children like that.

R2: Me I can say, uum, just a bit, when God created us, He created us to be helpers. And where we were given helpers, yes, I would like him to pay that rent, to bring food, to bring everything. But even me as a helper, I should be ...what can I do, I can pay that rent, I can pay the school, and even that food I can provide.

[Male FGD]

I: So, what are the roles of the couple in keeping the marriage together? What is expected of a man and what is expected of a woman?

R7: R7, man must be a provider, so that your family to be stable you must be the provider, you must pay rent, don’t let the woman pay rent for you even if you are struggling, try and pay rent, let her buy food.

[Male FGD]

I: **So let's start with the husband, this husband what are the responsibilities we expect him to have?**

R: He should provide everything in the house like paying for the rent, buying food, paying for school fees and also providing everything for your wife, the children and also the house.

We can easily identify that this kind of idea of the male breadwinner links to the common notion of recognizing men's authority and women's submissiveness, such as 'man as the head of household, woman as the neck of the household.'

[Male FGD]

I: **Okay. Now let us look at the responsibilities of the men and the women in a marriage, alright? So, let's say, what do you think are the responsibilities of a man to strengthen a marriage? To make sure that the marriage is good?**

R6: To buy his wife clothes, what, food, build her a house. The first one is the foundation of the house. As in they have shelter.

R7: Okay, it's like this, a man's responsibility in the house is like, he is the head of the house. If anything happens, it doesn't mean that being the head you should be harsh in the house. No, everyone in that house is looking at you. Because you are... they say the man is

R: The second God...

R7: He is, let's say he is God the creator, the man. Now, this whole family is looking at you. All the responsibilities of that house it's you, you see. Because a woman cannot pay rent, and you are there, a woman cannot buy food and you are there. If she buys food, you will be fed by another man in that house.

[Female FGD]

R4: ...Once you do that as a woman you've done everything that you need to do. By the way we have not been told to provide, ...And actually that submissiveness is to an authority. You are only submitting to...an authority. And for you to be an authority as a man you have to be....Be

the provider. For you to like gain, as in, you say you are in authority as a man what should you do? Provide, offer security, love, that's when you are entitled to the authority. When those things are like..... That submissiveness is to authority. So there, mark you if there is no authority I don't know you are submitting to what but well-being of the family, make sure people are okay.

Some women argue that women's submissiveness is conditional upon the men fulfilling the role of the provider properly. However, due to the current economic situation in Kenya, it has become hard for men to conform to the male breadwinner idea as compared to the past. In that sense, in the male FGDs, some men emphasize an attitude of hustling together for ensuring a strong marriage.

[Male FGD]

I: **And let's say a marriage being good or strong can they really depend on the steps or how marriages are started? And what can make a marriage last and be good?**

R: It's by starting from scratch together with your partner, you come and find me without anything and we hustle together and purchase the household stuffs together because she knows this is her home and everything was purchased in her presence.

At the same time, some men demand 'women's complete submissiveness' which is different from the view we find in the women's focus group interview, suggesting 'women's conditional submissiveness upon men's breadwinner role'.

[Male FGD]

I: **And what is expected of a woman to keep the relationship together?**

R5: R5, in most cases the woman is taken as the home maker, yeah, so the woman has to put together what the man brings, make sure the man, the children are fed, make sure the man is fed, make sure the children are.... basically manage the affairs of the home

R4: Okay R4, I would say for a woman she should always remain submissive to a man in all ways, yes, (*laughs*), always should remain submissive to a man

I: Yeah, I have seen R2 and R5 laughing (laughter) I think they can share their views

R5: Well, in my case I think that's almost, something that is like almost impossible to find in ladies today so really demanding absolute submissiveness....

R2: (*Interjects*) It's a dictatorship

R5: It's also a dictatorship, yeah, which I don't think with the current crop of ladies would go anywhere.

I: So what do we think, what should be their role instead of being submissive?

R3: Just respect, respect your husband, at least when he speaks you obey, yeah, that.

Women also acknowledge that both men and women can work or women can be breadwinners even though the idea of male breadwinner is preferred. The issue came up when their partner did not actively involve himself in the household work or even if his income was not enough to provide for all needs and the woman was working outside the home.

[Female FGD]

I: ...What is expected of a man to keep the relationship together and what is expected of a woman to keep the relationship together?

R5: I would say that a man needs to provide, the job of a man in a marriage or in a family is to provide, these other issues come under discussion (*laughing*). For example, as a woman I can say I will do the cleanliness, I will look after children, but even this looking after children is joint it is not for me alone that you can come and sit there, that the child can fall in fire and you will not look, you see (*I: laughing*). So, it is joint but the key of a man is to provide. But it comes a time when a man cannot provide and maybe you the woman can, then what happens? That is when most marriages fall because a man will say cooking is the work of the wife. So, I will not cook and yet at that time the wife goes and brings the money, she provides. So, as we have said, communication and also harmony is something very important because if you see you have fallen at that time and I have held you, you are supposed in return you also, if I have held you, you also hold

me. It comes at that time is when you find many marriages break, there is when you find people start fighting because the man is not able to provide

R4: Okay. I was saying the purpose of the man is to be the head. You are the head and then the woman is the... neck. So, the head and the neck have to stay together. So, if I see here you are failing we correct each other. If I see your salary is little and our needs are a lot, you know nowadays life has become difficult, I work and we help each other. But it comes a point the man sees you are doing then he also relaxes or his he starts taking outside. So, there is where problems start because the good thing with a woman, when she gets she brings, she just wants to see the well-being of the family. But then this man when he gets he thinks it is excess. He starts looking for other people outside to sponsor outside there. So, this thing has to work hand in hand, we have to work both of us so that the well-being of the children, so that we can live together in harmony and peace. But if one breaks in-between that we have said is a chain there is where now problems start.

Some women mentioned the idea that women should also financially support the family if they can and should not leave all the financial burden to men. Also, some women outlined practical approaches for gender roles in the household and marital life.

[Female FGD]

R1: To add to R4, she has told us that a man is to provide, and me I will add there and say there is this 'kasumba' (stereotype) that is with women. You find, we are working all of us and my money is mine, I cannot support that family. That is my man is everything, A to Z. Even if salt get finished in that house I cannot provide. Now, that marriage starts having problems because even this man is a man. And he will get tired because you are working and you are not supporting in that family. So, it is good, we ladies we support, not that we leave to the man everything. If we are able it is good, we also support. It should not just be that our money is our money

and his money is for all of us. That thing I normally see, many marriages break because of that thing.

- R3: As for me R3 what I can even say, there is no manual in parenting, there is no manual in marriage you see, (*I laughing*) there is no manual there. It just depends with how you two take each other, how you have planned yourself, you see because the man might be jobless you see and the children are ours and it is parenting. It doesn't mean you will not bath the child because I have not come or I am not available or it doesn't mean you will not chop kales or you will not cook 'ugali' (*cornmeal*) simply because that is work for women, you see. So, here there is no manual, it is you to decide since you are available now and I am not there, you do this and this and I have gone to fend, you see. So, you agree. Or it does not mean that since I am a woman I won't buy a land simply because you are the man in that house so it is you to buy that land, you see and I have that ability. So, to me as I understand it is just how you take each other, you two, you see

Since financial support by women has become important in Kenya's current economic situation and in view of social change, ensuring financial transparency before their partners is frequently discussed as part of making a relationship stronger.

[Male IDI]

- I: **Now, what about maybe your thoughts on generally what can make marriages stronger or relationships stronger.**
- R: ...And then secondly, honesty, honesty; there must be honesty and transparency. And this is where a lot of people get problems coz in most marriages a man doesn't want his wife to know how much he earns and then same, the wife doesn't disclose her earnings to her spouse so it brings a lot of problems coz a marriage is a union, when the two of you come together, you're one. So you must always be honest with each other, honest in all areas, even the finances. Your wife should know how much you earn, it is also better you know how much she earns, it helps you plan and budget for your family and for your kids.

[Male IDI]

- I: **What other things makes you say it is strong?**
- R: Aaah...one thing, before I married (name), my state like the perception on how to handle myself like in future terms, saving was not a subject to think about to me but when I married, (name) has been vocal making sure that I save for tomorrow. She has been there supporting my ideas in finance. Aah she does not buy this idea of my money is her money and her money is for her. We collect everything she has, she brings over here, we bring together, we plan together. So, one thing I love and I may say my relationship is more strong is she is 100% supporting financially and on the idea of planning for tomorrow.

In order to understand this further, we included more specific interview questions about women's labor force participation, who helps women to get the job, how she balances between work and family, how her partner views her labor force participation, whether he wants her to do more outside work or household work, how she deals with his expectations, and how much the issue of money causes her worry and anxiety (Table 3). These questionnaires about women's labor force participation constitute just one part of the final interview guidelines that we developed during the summer. The full version of the interview guidelines for men and women are available upon request.

NEXT STEPS

Next steps include the project team to conduct a survey and an in-depth interview. The enumerator training for survey data will be held in January 2022 and the first round of data collection begins in February 2022. The interviewer training for qualitative data will be held in June 2022, and the first round of data collection will follow after the training. I will go to Kenya for the interviewer training and stay in Kenya to participate in the qualitative data collection. I am planning to use these data for my dissertation work as follows: 1. "Kin Network and Women's Economic Activity in Kenya" with quantitative survey data, and 2. "Women's Economic Stress and Work-Family Balance in Kenya" with qualitative interview data. I was able to participate in the project and submit a paper



about measurement –‘the cultural consensus model (Table 3)’- development at the 2022 PAA session, “511 Culture concepts, measures and influences on demographic outcomes.” (See Appendix 1.)

In the cultural consensus model, Dr Kirsten Stonebenau in the School of Public Health at UMD leads the development of the model. The cultural consensus model aims to identify what is important for the union formalization process and relationship quality. The model asks various statements around union formalization and relationship quality that we have learnt from previous interview data. Respondents can score 1-6 (Not at all agree – Fully agree) on each statement and we can see whether there is a consensus about each idea or variation across gender, age, and SES. For example, men give a lower score for the statement, ‘The husband provides all of the financial needs for the household,’ and ‘The husband is honest about all his earnings with his wife,’ as compared to women, while there is a strong consensus about the statement, ‘The husband and wife both contribute their individual earnings to provide finances for the household’ (Table 4).

According to Giddens (1984), agency is the ability to exert one’s will and act. Many papers about women’s economic empowerment have emphasized the importance of agency and argued how society and community encourage

women to utilize their agency. However, it is also true that there are not many studies asking how people perceive married women’s economic activity, their will, and how they act within the structural context of marriage, family, and motherhood, particularly in low-income settings. In that sense, the cultural consensus model allows us to investigate how individuals perceive the economic activity of married people either differently or similarly by gender, age, and SES. We anticipate that this model provides more nuanced information around cultural barriers and opportunities for women’s economic activity and eventually helps to develop a more attuned social policy for women in low-income settings.

We hope to get a bigger grant to test and implement this model in a more significant sample. With funding from the WEDGE project, I was able to concentrate exclusively on this work and produced a meaningful achievement last summer. I hope my work in developing interview questions and in the cultural consensus modeling contributes to the mission of the WEDGE project and broadens our understanding of the intertwined features of gender, work, and family for women’s economic empowerment. In addition to that, I want to write a paper focused on the development of qualitative tools for further studies on kinship, marriage, and women’s labor force participation research in the Global South context.

Table 3. Qualitative Interview Guideline for Women’s Labor Force Participation

Question	
	First let’s talk briefly about any stress you face in the pursuit of life/livelihood.
a	Can you talk about any paid work you have done in the past week?
b	Is the paid work you did in the past one week different from the one you have been doing in the last few weeks? If so, in what way?
c	Have you been receiving any help to get a job from other people? Can you talk about someone who helped you get a job? How was it?
d	How do you fulfill your professional and domestic responsibilities? Do you get help from other people in this situation?
e	You could talk about your fiancé’s attitude toward the time it takes to get out of the house (Where appropriate).
e-1	Do you think he would like you to work harder or in less time to overcome the time it is taking now? Why do you say that?
e-2	(If your job does not meet its expectations) How do you deal with this?
f	To what extent can you say that money causes your anxiety?
g	How did you deal with or manage your worries about money?

Data source: Qualitative interview guideline for NIH R01 project

Table 4. WEE Part of the Cultural Consensus Model for the Work–Family Relationship

	Score 1- 6	
	1: Not agree at all – 6: Fully agree	
	Male (6) Mean (Stand. DV)	Female (6) Mean (Stand. DV)
The husband provides all the financial needs for the household.	3.5 (2.4)	4.5 (1.4)
No matter how much he earns, the husband works hard to try to provide for the family.	5.7 (0.5)	5.7 (0.5)
The wife earns a living if she has the opportunity to.	5.5 (1.2)	5.5 (0.5)
No matter how much she earns, the wife works hard to try to provide for the family	4.5 (1.0)	4.8 (1.5)
The wife fulfills her obligation to look after the well-being of the family no matter how busy she is.	5.8 (0.4)	5.7 (0.5)
The husband understands that a woman's money is her money.	4.5 (1.5)	3.2 (1.3)
The husband is honest about all his earnings with his wife.	4.2 (1.3)	5.7 (0.5)
The wife is honest about all her earnings with her husband.	4.5 (1.6)	5.0 (0.9)
The husband and wife both contribute their individual earnings to provide finances for the household.	5.8 (0.4)	5.8 (0.4)
The husband and wife build their wealth together from scratch.	5.7 (0.5)	5.0 (1.5)

Data source: Pretesting cognitive interview for CCM model with UMD Catalyst Grant

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