Introduction

Poverty had and still continues to devastate Africa for a long time. Women in particular have suffered most, and as the term “Feminization of Poverty” suggests, the lives of most African women continually grow worse and worse.

What are the reasons behind this poverty? Placing blame on the corruption of African elite is too simplistic, and is not the only answer. We can find its root-cause in the modern Western domination of Africa that has manifested itself in the long historical sequence of slave trade, colonialism, neo-colonialism, civil wars induced by the Cold War, the Structural Adjustment Programmes of IMF/World Bank, globalization and so on. To varying degrees, as they did in the 1980s, African countries entered the 1990s with multifaceted crises in such major areas as food security, population, housing, public health, education, energy, industrial production, trade, debt, and environment.

Although most countries in Sub-Sahara Africa belong to the poorest group in the world, all Africans are not equally poor. While there are differences of economic power among the states, there are economic gaps among ethnic groups or areas within the state. For example, the Somali people in North-Eastern Kenya believe that they have been marginalized since independence, and even since colonial time. It is true that they have not benefited from development as much as some other areas in Kenya. Among the Somali people, rural women are more discriminated than men. To improve the women’s situation, it is necessary to think of traditional practices which have given women a big burden.

The Somali people closely keep to their own tradition and follow the Islamic faith while searching for their own way of development without giving in completely to westernization. From the results of a pilot survey, we can infer that they want development while keeping to their own tradition. However, tradition, if followed too rigidly, hinders development, and this is an
issue that must be faced squarely as the Somali confronts the problems of early marriage, FGM (Female Genital Mutilation) and HIV/AIDS. Advocacy for women’s rights is opposed by strongly held patriarchal beliefs.

A female director of local NGO in Kenya once catalogued to me the basic priorities for women as follows: health, sanitation, drinking water, food security, education, poverty eradication and infrastructure like roads, lights and local industries. To assist women to enjoy these basic needs, what should we do? In this paper, while thinking of women’s rights, development, and traditional culture in Somali society (in North-Eastern Kenya), I like to point out the importance of 1) the enactment of laws which protect women’s rights, as the duty of the government, and 2) activities of NGOs. The importance of the first factor will be supported by the experience of Japan which is a non-western country.

**Failure of the Western Type of Development: Neglect of Culture**

Why the living conditions of African people do not show any big improvement despite the great amount of money and manpower that had been invested? Thierry Verhelst who is the author of *DES RACINES POUR VIVRE, sud-nord: identities culturelles et developpement* (1987, 1994 in Japanese edition) presented the neglect of cultural aspects as one of the reasons. He argues that because the western world believed that development is equal to westernization, the indigenous culture has been stigmatized and treated unfairly.

UNESCO shares a similar view. UNESCO launched a project called the World Decade for Cultural Development (1988-97), and established the World Commission on Culture and Development headed by Javier Perez de Cuellar “to propose for both urgent and long-term action to meet cultural needs in the context of development”. President de Cuellar says in the President’s Forward in *Our Creative Diversity*, the commission’s report, that “the enlargement of people’s capabilities could be rooted only in a people’s ethics and its patterns of daily behaviour.” “By 1988, it was already clear to us that development was a far more complex undertaking than had been originally thought. It could no longer be seen as a single, uniform, linear path …..”

In the colonial era and even after the Year of Africa in 1960, the tradition and culture of African
people was believed inferior to the Western modernity not only by western people but also by African elites educated in the western world. Such a belief that depreciates cultural diversity was inherent in modernization theories that emphasized the single path for development. In the modernization theories, development was about catching up with the western industrial societies. They tried to transplant the idea and values with capital from the western world to Africa. But the modernization theories did not succeed in Africa. In the development projects carried out in the rural area, villagers just expected the material benefits and did not actively participate in the project because such projects were not rooted in people’s culture.

Modifying the modernization approach, UNDP presented the notion of human development, which is conceived as a process of enlarging people’s choices. Amartya Sen defined development as the enhancement of the ‘capability’ of individuals. Now the new approaches such as the endogenous development, participatory development, and sustainable development have been introduced, and UNESCO declared that sustainable development and the flourishing of culture are interdependent. Economic analysts in the international institutions have found that their development projects do not mobilize grass-roots people and that they need the help of NGOs that work more closely with them.

Let’s see what Sen, the winner of Nobel Prize Economics, has said about culture:

“But culture is very important in our lives. It's very important in my life, and hopefully it's very important in yours. Given that fact, and given the fact that we don't lead lives that are compartmentalized, our culture must have influence on everything else we do. Some of the deprivations we look at in development could be cultural deprivations. Major battles have been fought in the world on cultural grounds -- the Crusades, for example. If one takes the view that just because one cannot measure cultural output in the same way that one would measure the production of tomatoes or the value of the GNP per head, that therefore cultures are uninteresting, I think that is a big mistake.” (An interview with Amartya Sen, December 15, 1999. The Atlantic Monthly Company)

Many of us agree to that, in general, culture is important for human development. Then difficult questions arise when we get into some specific cultural practices. For example, should we support the early marriage and FGM as important indigenous culture? From the next section, I like to think the relation between tradition and women’s rights.
Women’s Participation and GAD Approach

Before starting the discussion, I would like to show the stance for thinking about women and development. Most people will agree that women in Africa should participate in the development projects\(^1\), but there are different approaches when we think of the role of women in development projects.

At the early stage, women were/are expected to join the projects as mothers. Reproductive role of women was focused on, and they were expected to participate in the projects for food supply, nutrition, family plan, and so on. Gradually, people engaged in development projects started to understand that the problem of poverty would not be resolved unless the gender issue was resolved.

When Sen pointed out the gender problems of India, he was criticized by his colleague who seemed to be gender-blind as follows:

“There was also opposition from people who held a very anti-Western view, and who thought that I was trying to sell a kind of pro-Western position. When I was pointing out how dreadfully deprived the Indian women were, one of my colleagues told me in response that many anthropological studies have indicated that when asked whether they feel deprived, rural Indian women said no, they didn't. But the women didn't understand the question. They were talking about family welfare rather than their own individual welfare. The idea of the self-sacrificing woman has been so praised, idealized, and idolized, that out of deprivation has been created a heroism that doesn't serve the interests of the women very much. I felt that that self-sacrifice survived only by what Marx would have called "false consciousness" on the part of the women -- that is, a belief that their interests are already looked after by the family, which is not the case. This is one of those contexts in which being more self-interested may do the world a lot more good. I would call this kind of opposition nativist -- it takes the view that the traditional cultures are basically all right, and one shouldn't criticize them.

It's taken some time to overcome all this opposition, and it's fair to say that the expansion of feminist movements across the world has helped a great deal. Even the Western feminist activism has played a very important part in India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan; and in a lot of other countries in the world it has played or is beginning to play a big part.” (An interview with Amartya Sen, December 15, 1999. The Atlantic Monthly Company)

\(^1\) World Bank report of July 2000 analyzed that if Middle East countries and African countries improved the educational gap between men and women to the level of South-Eastern Asia,
After the Nairobi Congress in 1975, the notion of ‘Women in Development (WID)’ was accepted and adopted in all aspects of the development. Gradually the weakness of the WID appeared. The WID approach focused exclusively on women, and did not pay special attention to the social relations between men and women that generate gender inequalities. In addition, women had to bear more burden added to already heavy workloads, because the WID approach expected women to participate the women-only projects with few compensatory benefits. So, in the mid-1980s, Gender and Development (GAD) approach appeared to respond to these problems. The GAD approach recognizes that improvements in women’s status require both the analysis of relations between men and women, and the participation and commitment of men to change the social and economic status of women. In this paper, while admitting the importance of traditional culture for the development, our stance based on the GAD approach is to distinguish the customs against women’s rights from the useful customs for women’s rights.

Traditional Culture: To Be Or Not To Be

The third and fourth periodic reports of Kenya admit that practices “like forced marriages, early marriages, wife inheritances, polygamy, FGM, payment of dowry, cultural traditions relating to burial, preference for boys among other have for long hampered women’s advancement.” In spite of the efforts made by “the Government, NGO, Religious Organization and civil society” to remove “stereotyping on women and men,” “such efforts meet hindrances impacted by traditional practices, lack of men’s involvement, illiteracy and poverty.”(CEDAW, pp.11-12)

There are many customs and practices that Africans insist are ‘African’ culture. To know the tendency of African people on what they think of tradition, especially African women in the area where people keep to their own tradition, I carried out a pilot survey at the Central Division(961 square kilometers, estimated population:68,601), Garissa District (43,932 square kilometers, estimated population:278,000), North Eastern Province in Kenya. This area is semi-dessert and most people spend a nomadic life and keep camels, cows, goats and sheep. Most people are the Somali and are Muslim. Most people cannot access electricity, gas or water supply. All Somali economic growth would have increased by 0.5-0.9%.
women in this area are expected to have FGM (age between 7 and 13). As I noted, the Somali people there have not benefited from development as much as some other areas in Kenya. Female literacy rate proves it. While the literacy rate of women over 15 years old is estimated at 76% (2000) in the whole of Kenya, in Garissa it is assumed that less than 10% of women can read and write. The whole literacy rate in Garissa District is estimated at 25%.

This time 100 people (male: 63, female: 37) filled out the questionnaire. All respondents, some students and the rest graduated from secondary schools, understand English. Actually it was difficult to find 100 people who understand English in this area.

The questionnaire sheet is as follows:

**Directions:**
Please provide us with your age, sex, occupation, marital status and number of children.

Age: ________________  Sex: ________________

Occupation: ________________

Marital status:  single    married

Number of children: ________________

For Q1 and Q2, select “a,” “b,” or “c” to indicate your answer.

For Q3 and Q4, you can freely tell us your opinion.

Q2, Q3, and Q4 are only for those who have selected “a” for Q1.

**Questionnaire:**

Q1. Do you want to see economic development in Garissa?

   a. Yes   b. No
If you choose “a,” please go ahead to answer the questions below.
If you choose “b,” please stop here.

Q2. Although people in the industrialized countries enjoy material well-being, they tend to sacrifice many things for prosperity: destruction of traditional culture, widening gap between the rich and the poor, environmental disruption, and so on. Also, more and more participation of women in society will bring about a fundamental change in social structure.

Taking these into consideration,

a. I still want to see economic development at any cost.

b. I prefer economic development of the kind that is in keeping with our traditional culture.

c. I think that preservation of traditional culture should have priority over economic development.

If you choose “a,” skip Q3 and go to Q4.

Q3. Please specify what constitutes the traditional culture you want to protect.

Q4. Why do you think African countries are lagging behind in economic development?

### Table 1  Generations of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>late teens</th>
<th>early 20s</th>
<th>late 20s</th>
<th>early 30s</th>
<th>late 30s</th>
<th>early 40s</th>
<th>late 40s</th>
<th>early 50s</th>
<th>null</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2  Occupation of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>students</th>
<th>teachers</th>
<th>staff</th>
<th>engineers</th>
<th>social workers</th>
<th>null</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 3  Marital status of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>null</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the results of this pilot survey, we can infer that people want development while keeping to
their own tradition. For Q1, 95% of male respondents and all female respondents answered that they want to see the economic development in this area. For Q2, while four people (male) did not answer among 63 respondents, 49% of male respondents and 19% of female respondents chose (a) and 45% of male respondents and 81% of female respondents chose (b). This survey is restricted in the small area, but it shows no woman wants the preservation of the status quo. Then, what do 81% of female respondents want to preserve as their traditional culture? They chose the religious faith (44%) and the traditional clothes (38%), and the male respondents also showed the similar answer (religious faith: 50%, traditional clothes: 36%).

The last question of this survey was asking the reason why African countries are lagging behind in the economic development, and I show the answers by female respondents as follows. (36 female respondents answered this question. There was no difference by the generation, occupation, marital status and number of children. Plural answers were accepted.)

The first rank: confrontation between ethnic/religious groups in the country (42)

2<sup>nd</sup>: corruption (28)

3<sup>rd</sup>: delay of infrastructure (14)

4<sup>th</sup>: poverty (12)  failure of the management (12)

5<sup>th</sup>: racism (11)  natural disasters (11)  ignorance (11)  financial dependent on the North (11)

6<sup>th</sup>: instability (10)

7<sup>th</sup>: overpopulation (8)  lack of manpower and technology (8)

The answers of female respondents show that with enough education and information, they understand the internal and external situation around the world.

From the results of this pilot survey, we can infer that people can accept some change of their tradition for the sake of development there. In addition, we can understand the necessity of female education that is sometimes neglected in the traditional custom. When we see the country reports of African countries submitted to the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, each time, most governments say that it is very difficult for them to change the practices and traditions that are the obstacles to protect women’s rights. In the next section I will show how Japan, which is not a western county, has been struggling to change its traditional and patriarchal beliefs, and how the local NGOs in Garissa, North-Eastern Kenya,
have made efforts to change the beliefs and practices for the women’s capacity development there.

**Development for the Rural Women**

(1) The Role of Government to Enact New Laws

In the Somali society, many girls in the rural area are married between 13 and 16 years old (average: 15 years old). Their fathers decide their husbands, and choose, in most cases, elder persons who have enough money or animals\(^3\) to exchange with brides. So many girls are deprived of education. Without education, they cannot read or write. There is a sad story in North-Eastern Kenya. An illiterate mother gave a purgative to her child, who suffered from diarrhea, thinking that a doctor had given her that medicine as a binding medicine previously. The child died, and the mother was told the reason of her child’s death and became insane. If she had been able to read the label of the medicine, she would not have given it to the child. We can easily understand the importance of education. From the views of human rights, the Government of Kenya, the United Nations and NGOs want to get rid of early marriages. How do they do it? To find the way, I show some examples in Japan.

Before Second World War, in Japan, many girls who live in the villages were also married around the same age as the Somali girls. The belief that girls need no education and the poverty in the village let girls drop out from school, work as domestic servants and be married. After the defeat of war, new Constitution of Japan, which came into force in 1947, guaranteed the equality of man and woman, and the individualism. The newly revised Civil Law (enforced in 1948) orders that girls cannot be married until 16 years old; marriage is based on the consent of both sexes; and spouses (wives) have the inheritance rights; women enjoy the full legal ability, and so on. Japanese women have made some gains since implementation of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law in 1986. With economic development and such new laws that protect women’s rights, after more than fifty years, now the life of Japanese women are dramatically changed. No

\(^3\) In the rural area, husband (or husband’s family) pays 10,000-20,000 Kenya shillings (or 1-2 camels/cows, or 5-10 goats/sheep) for his bride’s side.
Japanese girls are forced to drop out from school by their fathers for early marriage. Many girls enjoy higher education\(^4\).

Until 1980s, it was natural for many Japanese that husbands beat their wives. Traditionally we have the thought of ‘Sanju no Oshie,’ which orders women to obey fathers when they are young, to obey husbands after marriage, and to obey children (=eldest son) when she becomes a widow. Husbands had the traditional right to beat their wives to educate them. Many Japanese wives as well as African wives who reject sexual advances are beaten by their husbands, too.

After the fourth Conference on Women, Beijing, China in 1995, suddenly Japanese society was attracted to the word, ‘domestic violence (DV),’ despite the fact that it had neglected the women’s movement in Japan advocating against DV for a long time. A new law against DV took effect in 2001. Police, public prosecutors, judges, lawyers and other related officials have been educated to know what DV is. Advocating activities are increased. Women’s voices against DV have become louder and louder. Within 11 months after the new law took effect, the lowest courts had treated 1023 cases, and admitted the allegation of wives in 777 cases\(^5\).

New laws and international human rights treaties have affected Japanese traditional custom. But still many housewives seem to endure DV, because they depend on their husbands economically. They are afraid of poverty after divorce, and choose to live with autocratic husbands. Recently Japanese government has made plans to change the pension (after retirement payments) system to protect these wives.

One of the most difficult things to be changed in Japan is the belief that after marriage, a wife should belong to the husband’s family. If she is married with the eldest son, she is strongly expected to change her surname to husband’s surname, to take care of husband’s parents (not of her own parents) and to be buried in the husband’s family tomb. Japanese Civil Law does not support such a belief that was the base of the pre-war family system, so the law expects that children take care of their own parents and enacts that the inheritance rights are given to a spouse.

\(^4\) For example, in 1999, the rate of female students receiving higher education was 31.5% (male students: 47.5%).

\(^5\) The lowest courts ordered the accused husbands not to approach their wives for 557 cases and to leave out of their house for 3 cases. The courts ordered them both for 217 cases.
and children. But in most cases, it is the wife of the eldest son that is expected to take care of husband’s parents. If she devotes almost whole her marriage life to serve her parent-in-law who suffers the Alzheimer’s disease, for example, she should not expect enough economic returns, because brothers and sisters of her husband will insist their inheritance rights equally, even though they had not visited their diseased parent.

So there is a contradiction between custom and law. To solve this contradiction, we should change our way of traditional services for ancestors. Most Japanese think it is duty of the eldest son to succeed the tomb(s) and the Buddhist altar of his family. This traditional custom causes the responsibility of the eldest son for family affairs. This responsibility of the eldest son gives a big burden for his wife, because most Japanese men, who are workaholic, ask their wives to do all troublesome chores instead of them. But if his brothers and sisters do not admit their eldest brother’s efforts, parents’ property will be divided equally among children according to the Civil Law. This is unfair. We should change such custom that is against the individualism with the support of human rights laws.

As I noted, African governments have insisted it is too difficult to change the traditional customs. Japanese government and civil society have made efforts to enact new laws and to educate people. The attitudes of older generation and men are gradually changing. People in Africa can expect such a change, if they wish. A woman whom I interviewed in Garissa told me that the ways of FGM had changed from the most severe form, infibulation, also known as pharaonic circumcision, to the Sunna Circumcision around ten years ago, because the Islamic leader ordered it. So we should pay attention to the role of Islamic leaders. It seems that the Islamic leaders have biggest influences on the Somali society. We are at a turning point to decide which custom is maintained as traditional culture and which customs should be abolished as practices against human rights, both in Africa and in Japan.

(2) The Role of NGOs

In the introduction of this paper, I mentioned seven basic priorities for African women (or Basic Human Needs). How do we make a progress for these goals? In this section, I shall introduce the activity of local NGOs, the Mikono International, the WomanKind Kenya and the Mama Hani’s Children’s Home, which works for the rural women and children in North Eastern Province,
Kenya.

Male staffs of the WomanKind Kenya explained to me the reason why the pastoral women decided to establish the NGO as follows. When the North Eastern Province met the natural disaster like drought, many international NGOs went there immediately each time for the emergency aid. After providing food and other means, they soon retreated. They did nothing for the development of people’s living standard in the rural area. People remained in poverty. This is the reason why the pastoral women decided to establish the WomanKind Kenya for the community development. The WomanKind Kenya was started as a welfare association in 1989 and registered as NGO in 1995. With international aid, it works for local pastoral women and children; in education, health, water and sanitation, training, food security, advocacy, campaigns against FGM, HIV/AIDS, domestic violence and early child marriage. It has the orphanage for the Somali girls\(^6\), too.

In 2001, WomanKind Kenya had a seminar for local elites and a gathering of local people on HIV/AIDS. Specialists for public health told me that majority of mothers rejected the HIV tests because they do not want their husband to know the result of the test. A Kenyan doctor and an American who cured AIDS, (however HIV virus remains), were invited at the seminar. They gave local elites very important information, for example, the infection from mother to her baby. At the gathering, all speeches were translated from English to Kiswahili and Somali language. Local people were able to get the right knowledge on HIV/AIDS.

Mama Hani and her late husband established the home for the disabled children caused by polio. A secondary school student, who I sponsor through the Mikono International Bursary Scheme Programme, wrote to me that some people said it was waste of time to speak with a disabled person like him. So he wants to be a Journalist or lawyer to protect the rights of disabled people. (He works very hard in a situation in which 2 or 3 students share one textbook in a class.) Mama Hani seems to fight with the traditional prejudice against the disabled people and against as a woman, that is common in Japan, too. Although the Mikono International continues to help Mama Hani’s Children’s Home, she has been confronted with lack of money.

\(^6\) In Garissa, the NGO, the Young Muslim Association, which established in 1969, has an orphanage for boys.
One of the contributions that the Mikono International has made to people there was building the first girls’ primary school⁷, whose headmistress later became the director of WomanKind Kenya. Although people in Garissa understand the importance of girls’ education, and husbands expect their wives to be literate, the Somali people who are Muslim do not want their daughters to study with boys in the same classroom because of religious faith. This is one of the reasons that girls’ drop-out rate is higher than boys’, which causes high illiteracy of women. After building girls’ primary school, many parents want to send their daughters to this school. Daughters learn how to write, read and calculate, and also undergo vocational training. Some of them go to secondary school and college to become doctors, nurses, secretaries and so on.

The Mikono International managed, without profit, a sewing machine class that gives the pastoral women a chance to earn money for their self-reliance. Now these women manage this class by themselves. Now it manages the Mikono Technical Training Centre that is the only institution providing motor vehicles mechanic training in the whole of North Eastern Province. While the students are trained as mechanics, they are also given an opportunity to learn how to drive motor vehicles. Recently, because many male students cannot find jobs or go on to a higher school after

---

⁷ Although the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against women, adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly, encourages co-education in article 10 (c) as follows, the situation of Somali society, traditionally and religiously, needs the girls’ primary school. We should admit the utility of girls’ primary school there and apply the human rights treaties flexibly.

**Article 10**

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure to them equal rights with men in the field of education and in particular to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women:

(c) The elimination of any stereotyped concept of the roles of men and women at all levels and in all forms of education by encouraging coeducation and other types of education which will help to achieve this aim and, in particular, by the revision of textbooks and school programmes and the adaptation of teaching methods;
graduating the secondary school, many parents are feeling that it is waste of money to send their sons to secondary school. So the Mikono Technical Training Centre contributes both to train their sons to be mechanic after graduating the secondary school and to absorb the dissatisfaction of their parents.

In addition to education and poverty eradication programme, the Mikono International once put its great effort to the mobile clinic. As Dr. Jillo recommends in his thesis (Jiroo, 2000-2001), the traveling clinic is very useful in the pastoral area where the population density is very low. Without enough money, now it stops to do the mobile clinic. Instead the Mikono International has started the Health Centre Project in the remote area.

These local NGOs working for the development have been confronted with the traditional beliefs against human rights, especially women’s rights. It seems that gradually the Somali society is changing, while these NGOs continue to work for local people. New Constitution and laws will support their activities.

**Conclusion**

In this paper, I have indicated two things to protect women’s rights that will help the development in Somali society (in North-Eastern Kenya) : the enactment of laws to change the patriarchal situation bound by the customary law, and the activities of NGOs, which understand the needs of the local people and make efforts to enhance their capability.

Although it is necessary to enact the new laws to spread the spirits of human rights, culture cannot be changed easily by pressure from above and from abroad. It is the local people, not foreigner, who should decide to preserve as a culture their tradition or not. There should be confrontation between men and women, between generations and among women themselves on what women’s roles are. Female education is very important and necessary for women to discuss this issue. The activities of the NGOs, which I mentioned, are not only to give money and food for the emergency aid, but also to contribute to the development that the local people want, especially female education. Such NGOs can establish a relationship of mutual trust. If these activities enlarge people’s capability, especially female ‘capability’ (definition by Sen), local people will have freedom of choice and may change their attitude toward their tradition.
Reference

CEDAW, 2000, Third and fourth periodic reports of State parties, Kenya
http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/


www.theatlantic.com/unbound/interviews/ba991215.htm

