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Narrating the nation in retrospect: A reading of Wambui Waiyaki Otieno's *Mau Mau's*Daughter (1998): A life history

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This article examines nation narration in retrospect in Wambui Waiyaki Otieno's Mau Mau's Daughter: A Life History. It explores how Otieno's life story is weaved within the realm of social and political experiences that span from the precolonial to postcolonial eras in Kenya. The study thesis is that as the Kenyan woman autobiographer tells her personal story, she also narrates that of the nation. The primary text was read through an integration of autobiographical, nation and gender theoretical framework. Data was collected through a close reading of the autobiography and analysed critically in relation to the theoretical framework and related studies. The study found that women played a great role in the making of the Kenyan nation. On one hand, Otieno highlights the injustices or forms of oppression that have been normalized by patriarchal systems within the social, economic and political spheres of Kenya as a nation. These oppressive systems have been entrenched and sustained by both cultural and foreign ideologies. On the other hand, Otieno appreciates the contribution of the different genders to the development of the Kenyan nation. As such, she advocates for the strengthening of the place of gender and African-Kenyan cultures in reinventing the Kenyan nation.

Keywords: autobiography, mau mau, nation, narration, retrospect



Public Interest Statement

Gender is a crucial subject of contemporary literature. Yet, often discussions of the evolution of the nation often ignores the role of gender. Guided by theories of autobiography and nation narration, this paper discusses how Wambui Waiyaki Otieno, in her autobiography *Mau Mau's Daughter: A Life History*, narrates the contribution of the woman to the evolution of the Kenyan nation. This article argues that in order to fully appreciate the nation of Kenya, all those who played a role in its making must be acknowledged.

1.0 Introduction

Autobiography is a literary genre that explores personal experiences and connects them to broader social, cultural and political contexts. Its writing entails the reconstruction of the movement of life, or part of life in the actual circumstances and environment in which it was lived. Hence, there is the interplay between the past and the present. Through autobiographical narratives, writers are able to reflect on their individual lives and experiences and construct their own versions of their personal histories and that of their society. Therefore, the genre of autobiography, the autobiographer (narrator) and her society are key in the exploration of the narration of the Kenyan nation. The focus of this article is on the genre of autobiography, specifically that of the Kenyan woman, which has comparatively enjoyed minimal critical attention. This particular article examines the narration of the nation in retrospect in Wambui Waiyaki Otieno's Mau Mau's Daughter: A Life History (1998).

As observed by Alessi and Jossa (2019), there exists a gendered dialectical relationship between the female nation, who nurtures those who fight for her, and the male patriot, who both adores and possesses her (nation). More often than not, the heroic act is accorded to the male patriot who is perceived as the superior person to influence a nation's being and change the course of history. However, it can also be argued that heroines are as productive as heroes when it comes to generating alternative views on the nation. The Kenyan woman autobiographer utilizes the genre to supply defining images, drawn from her life experiences, through which we understand the nation's emergence into subjecthood while justifying her selfhood in the construction of the nation. It is with this in mind that this article reads into Wambui Otieno's *Mau Mau's Daughter* to explore her narration in retrospect and construction of the Kenyan nation.

Wambui Waiyaki Otieno

Virginia Edith Wambui Waiyaki Otieno Mbugua (1946-2011) was born into a prominent Kikuyu family and had two marriages in her life time: the first to a Luo Silvano Melea Otieno and the second to a kikuyu Peter Mbugua. She was an activist, politician and writer. She was a former Mau Mau freedom fighter, an anti-colonial movement in Kenya, and a key figure in the women's movement in Kenya. In politics, she unsuccessfully contested the Kamukunji Constituency parliamentary seat as a member of the opposition party in 1997. She was also a leader of the National People's Convention Party (NPCP) choir and executive member of the ruling party's women's wing, the Kenya African National Union (KANU). She authored her life story *Mau Mau's Daughter* (1998).

In recruiting nation builders, women became active participants in nation building as teachers, nurses, missionaries and magistrates (Vickers, 2013). In this way women have been able to influence the growth of state-led nationalism. Nevertheless, in Kenya, the contribution of women to nationalism has been sidelined because of patriarchal structures that continue to permeate the social, economic and political milieu. Women are considered as participants in the private realm of the home while

nationalism is public. However, as evident in the selected text, many women who have forged their way into the public sphere through various means. As they tell their story in the self-writings, these women narrate their role and contribution to the construction of nationalism. Therefore, reading the narration of the Kenyan nation in Otieno's work resonates well with Vickers' ideas as far as it points out the challenges that lead to isolation and the avenues that lead to the inclusion of women in nation building. Otieno, through recollecting the historical happenings, takes us to acknowledge her role and that of other women in the construction of the nation.

Kabira and Burkeywo (2013,2016) notes that African women have travelled with men for hundreds of years fighting slavery, racism, colonialism and other forms of oppression. Together with men, these African women have struggled to redefine themselves as nations and communities. Kabira and Burkeywo reflect on stories by the African woman and about African women. They base their reflections on the character of Doreen in the novel *Parched Earth* by Elieshi Lema, the story of Akinyi, which is a testimony of a young "old" woman of 24 years, the story of an 80-year-old Maasai woman, and the story of 70-year-old Wanjiru wa Kaguru. Building on this argument, we explore the Kenyan woman autobiographer's participation in the struggles against colonialism and other forms of oppression while in the midst of the 'other' in the reinvention and narration of the nation. It is on this basis that this article, therefore, examines how the narrator becomes the subject and object of narration and how she reflects on her story and that of the nation.

2.0 Methodology

The study employed a qualitative method, which involved a close critical textual analysis. This was so because the study critically analysed documented literary materials in which personal and socio-historical content is contextualized. The investigations involved an intrinsic reading of the selected autobiography to identify the woman autobiographer's narration of the Kenyan nation through her personal story. These readings were analysed and findings fused within the framework of theories of autobiography, nation and gender. Cognizant of the complex nature of the autobiographical genre, as well as Smith and Watson's (2010) argument that for the marginalized woman, autobiographical language may serve as a coinage that purchases entry into the social and discursive economy, the study analysed the woman autobiographer's presentation of her awareness of the historical and cultural subordinate position to which she is subjected by the male dominant Kenyan cultures and how this bears on her narration of the Kenyan nation. Bhabha (2013) and Anderson's (2019) ideas on nation and nationhood lay ground for the story of the nation as told by the Kenyan woman autobiographer. Butler (1990) and McClintok's (1995) gender perspectives helped in understanding how the woman affirms her role in nation narration and formation through her socio-political and professional involvement in her society/nation. McClintok (1995) observes that nations are gendered and women have an active cultural and political participatory role in national formation.

3.0 Results and Discussion

Wambui Waiyaki Otieno's Mau Mau's Daughter: The making of a Nation

The emergence of the Kenyan nation is one based on borders and hierarchies drawn up in colonial times as well as rooted in the traditions of the people. To understand the construction of a nation, Boehmer (2005) argues that the leader's life-story, starting with his/her birth that signals the origin, plays the important role of supplying the nation with a self-determining modern history. Nationalist values are enacted in the life-story of the leader, who is in most cases featured in that story as the pre-eminent, most trusty, typical or notable member of the nation. The arguments in this article are anchored on

Smith and Watson's (2010) idea of the techniques and practices of remembering, in which case, how people remember, what they remember and who does the remembering, which are historically specific. It is also grounded on Gusdorf's (1980) observation of the autobiography as the "...mirror in which the individual reflects his own image" (p. 33). The study explores how Otieno reflects her selfhood in her life story as the image of the Kenyan nation. Otieno, through her writing, looks at herself through "a mirror" to see who she has been, who she is now, and who she may (has) become in future. She reflects vividly on and recollects her past while engaging closely with the history and present of her society. As she does this, she narrates the history of the Kenyan nation. Drawing from Bhabha's (1990) argument that "the nation is a culmination of a long past of endeavours, sacrifice and devotion of all cults most importantly that of the ancestors that make us what we are" (p. 19), Otieno foregrounds herself as a leader by placing a lot of importance on her ancestry as having descended from a family of leaders and history makers:

...Now known as Hinga, Ole Kumale returned to his father Gatheca with whom they continued to live. Eventually, he married six wives; among them was Ngina...who gave birth to Waiyaki wa Hinga... Waiyaki was my great grandfather...The Europeans gave Waiyaki the title 'paramount chief'...It was after this fight that Waiyaki was elected the people's ruler (muthamaki)...Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya's first president... was raised by my grandmother, who was his aunt, a member of the Ambui family. (pp.13-18).

Otieno traces her family lineage back to a renowned Kenyan legendary figure, Waiyaki wa Hinga, and subsequently notes her relation to Kenya's first president Mzee Jomo Kenyatta. By associating herself with Waiyaki who symbolized the early struggle against the British and whose ancestry is traced back to the Maasai, Otieno secures her position as the daughter of the Kikuyu and Maasai nations, and later as a daughter of the Kenyan nation. It is this same title, *Daughter of Mau Mau*, that foregrounds Otieno's awareness of the importance of her participation (as a woman) in Kenya's liberation struggle. Metaphorically, she debunks the Mau Mau ideology as the father and mother of nation builders. She does this through vivid description of her heroic acts in the liberation movement. She ascribes her heroic deeds to her great-grandfather's heroism and shrewd leadership. Otieno writes fondly of her great grandfather's apparent admonition to the Kikuyu: "You must not surrender one inch of our soil to foreigners, for if you do so, future children will die of starvation" (p.16). Thus, the collective responsibility of the Agikuyu nation is clearly spelt out. This is further emphasized by the use of the plural possessive pronouns "our, we, us" throughout the text. She acknowledges that Waiyaki's words have given impetus to the fight for and protection of the values of the Kikuyu nation – one of the micronations of the Kenyan nation – as echoed in the song:

"Waiyaki s/o Hinga died He left us a curse That we do not sell our lands And now we are giving it away"

Otieno adds that Waiyaki "died a hero" (p. 17). In this, Otieno seems to imply that her contempt towards European "foreigners" stemmed from the example of courageous resistance from Waiyaki and that she was compelled to join the liberation struggle by a desire to take vengeance upon those who buried her great-grandfather alive in Kibwezi. She confesses "...my intense resentment of the brutal treatment of

my great-grandfather..., for I had openly said that I was prepared to do anything to avenge him" (p. 33). Therefore, despite her roots, Otieno's initial motivation to participate in the freedom struggle is instigated by commitment to a personal cause of revenge and the collective cause of Kikuyu nationalism as spelt out in the Mau Mau oath of allegiance: "Fight for the soil of Gikuyu and Mumbi's children, which had been stolen from them by the whites" (p. 34). It is this motivation that finally leads her to heroic deeds in the making of a nation as she represents her selfhood as a product of freedom struggle. The leader's dedication and possible suffering for a national cause connects with the people's struggle. From an experiential point of view, Otieno gives an account of the horrors of detention in colonial Kenya from a woman's perspective. For instance, she talks vividly of the torture and suffering she went through while in detention in Lamu. Her story captures the suffering of the Kenyan people in the struggle for freedom from colonial masters. This resonates well with the argument that active participation in national struggles is one of the five major ways in which women have been implicated in nationalism as observed by McClintok (1995) in her reading of Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias. In her selfnarration, Otieno weaves the various ingredients of the nation: history, symbols, myths and languages. For instance, she agrees with Kanogo (1987) that the oath practice, traditionally used as a tool of unity, was radicalized to include and unite Kikuyu, regardless of sex or age, against colonialism. Otieno's participation in the freedom struggle, just like any other freedom fighter, is indicated by the various oaths that she took. The oaths and the songs sang symbolized unity for the Kenyan people in their liberation struggle. Their secrecy, commitment and protection of one another was assured by this unity. Historically, Otieno's rendition of Kenya as a nation begins at the family level with the story of Hinga. While foregrounding the importance of the woman in the being of a family and emphasizing the role played by women in the narrative of the nation, she deconstructs the patriarchal order as the means to identity and existence of her people. She narrates the silenced history of Nyina wa Hinga (mother of Hinga) as the heroine of her family: "...my family had no idea of the life of our courageous ancestress who walked from South Kinangop with her son to Kikuyuland..." (p. 11). We read Otieno's digging up of her female ancestresses as her attempt to gender the history of the nation. Despite her consciousness of the male-dominated accounts, she reverts to the oral archive to successfully incorporate the names of women in her genealogy. She is cognizant of the othering of the woman by patriarchy that has ignored or avoided the role of women as contributors to history, whether of family or nation. It is this narrative of otherization that she demystifies by establishing a counter narrative to the patriarchal narrative on the being of a nation. She reiterates:

We can only recount our family history beginning with her young son, whose life she was saving... Had her origins been preserved and her history handed down, we would today be referred to as the Kaputiei lineage rather than the Waiyaki line. I find it very discriminatory that a person is referred to as "son of Mr. so-and-so." I prefer that people be referred to as "son or daughter of Mr. and Mrs so-and-so," except in cases of single parenthood. Because of this belief, I will show both sides of my family as I write about my genealogy. (p. 11).

From the above excerpt, it is clear that the male-dominant narrative is obviously being contested through the search for identity. One reads Otieno's reiteration into Butler's (1990) ideas that identity is enacted daily through socially enforced norms that surround us and that individuals fail to conform fully because of the multiplicity of norms we are called on to re-enact in our everyday lives. Therefore, Otieno's challenge of the patriarchal order through personal and collective memories signals subversive

strategies to dominant discourses of patriarchy that oppress women and silence their voices. Hence, she gives them a voice as she illuminates their heroic deeds. The being of a nation is therefore a collective responsibility of both men and women.

Growing up as a woman, she prides in her participation in the liberation struggle. She links her initial knowledge of the liberation struggle to her readings of newspapers and books as well as her interaction with freedom fighters like Jomo Kenyatta and Mbiyu Koinange. We read her association with these great persons of Mau Mau movement as her assertion of the greatness of women that goes unrecognized. The perception by the patriarchal society of women being innocent and harmless is what empowers the woman into great deeds. For instance, she tells of how her being in the Girl Guides movement made it easier for her to be initiated into the Mau Mau movement without much suspicion. She tells of the various assignments that were allocated to her. Her roles ranged from getting documents from government house, enrolling house servants into the movement to smuggling firearms that were needed for operations by the Mau Mau members. On several occasions, she managed all these by disguising herself as either an innocent woman in love with a man or through change of dress code. Her light complexion also favoured her. This resonates well with Kanogo's (1987) argument:

The women who did not go to the forest comprised the vial civilian wing of the struggle... The women also took up new roles, modified the old ones and grappled with the extensive social organization to accommodate their new dual politico-domestic identity... (pp. 78-79).

Otieno's planning for the various attacks that were done against the colonialists as well as her fearless and daring nature bore fruit. She recalls the success of her spy activities that humiliated the British forces:

I had an opportunity to spy around ...Later I learned that our fighters attacked the places I had spied on and that they killed eight policemen... than in Kandara, where ninety-three white soldiers were killed. They were part of a battalion sent by the queen to fight us. The British forces were so humiliated by the defeat that they painted the dead bodies black, then reversed the victory, claiming they had killed ninety-three terrorists. And that became the "official version" of the incident (p. 41).

This negating nature of the colonialists clearly undergirds the liberation struggle discourse between the Africans and the colonialists. Appreciatively, Otieno also tells of the role played by other women in the liberation struggle. For instance, some women accepted to be used by the white soldiers for their pleasure. As these women did this, they took the chance to learn more about the planned activities of the colonialist and smuggle guns and ammunitions (p. 39). This echoes with Kanogo's (1987) sentiments: "... Women were allowed to (and might have been asked) to flirt with 'enemies' to gather vital information, weapons and other resources" (p. 93). As such, Otieno redeems the woman when she subverts the silencing of women within the narrative of anticolonial armed struggle. Through embracing her image as a female militant as well as recognizing the role played by other women, she is re-inventing herself and other women (and men) as militants. Thus, by voicing the women's role in the struggle, she debunks the portrayal of the militant struggle as a male-only affair.

Alessi and Jossa (2019) argue that heroines were customarily identified with the idea of sacrifice for their homeland. Throughout her self-narration, Otieno tells of her sacrifice for her people from a

very tender age. She prides in her embrace of multiple cultures. As a young girl, born and raised in a Christian family, she embraced both Christianity and Kikuyu traditional way of life. She also assisted her mother in taking care of her younger siblings after attending Sunday school and carrying out other household chores as was expected of a Kikuyu girl. She outlines the multitude of roles for women, as evident in her tone, that make the woman a heroine. However, she echoes her rejection of many of the restrictions imposed by either of the cultures – an aspect that shows her early nature of resistance. She vividly tells of the unjust deeds of both cultures. For instance, she detests the patriarchal order within her Kikuyu cultural life, as she notes:

What would make me mad was that my dear father, without even asking, would pick a goat he liked and herd the animal into the bush where he and his friends would slaughter and roast the goat and feast on it... One time he did that to my black-and-white goat, Ngotho, and I cried the whole day. To this day, I do not think I have forgiven my father for this. Men generally looked down upon women and children... (p. 26).

From this, it is evident that despite the influence of her father's patriarchal worldview on her young consciousness, Otieno is able to recognize, even as a child, the gender biases in her society. Thus, she begins to inculcate a militancy against misogyny. Her bitterness and inability to forgive her father shows her determination to liberate herself from the oppressive patriarchal culture. These gender power relations are basically played out throughout her rendition as she asserts the role of the woman in nation construction.

She contemptuously talks of her parents' Christian attitude that denied them the freedom of association and interaction with their relatives who were supposedly not Christians: "we were kept from visiting relatives who were not Christians lest we learn from them our Kikuyu culture and folklore. I strongly resented this parental attitude and almost rebelled..." (p. 25). She strongly felt that the missionaries, through their foreign religion (Christianity), had created a great rift amongst the Kikuyu people. For instance, because of the Christian teachings against female circumcision, they "expelled any girls in their schools who were circumcised or Kikuyu Christians barred their children from associating with the circumcised ones" (p. 27). This is reminiscent of Ngugi wa Thiong'o's portrayal of the alienated African, Joshua, in the novel The River Between (1965). This conflict can be perceived to have given great impetus to the determination and resilience of the liberation struggle for the Kenyan people, as it evoked the spirit of rebellion against foreign teachings. In her resentment of the foreign teachings as opposed to her admiration of the African culture, Otieno acknowledges the importance of circumcision for both boys and girls in Kikuyu culture: "...it was during circumcision ceremonies that the young boys and girls were taught proper Kikuyu behaviour and culture (kirira)" (p. 27). Just like Muthoni (wa Thiongo, 1965), it is lack of this sense of belonging that led to Otieno's many conflicts with her agemates as her mother had denied her the right to be circumcised. Nevertheless, her zealous nature enabled her to go through the torture inflicted on her by her agemates. Ironically, later on, she appreciates that she was spared this cultural practice, which she later perceived as detrimental to the woman and a means of depriving the woman of her right. This realization of the spare is read as a voice of precaution towards condemning cultural practices that would be harmful to the citizens of a nation.

Her love for her Africanness and her hatred for the deeds of the white man strongly contributed to her continuous defence of her culture and her people. She protested against biases against her culture. She questioned the white man's ways as they were just different cultural practices from hers, "...however, nothing could convince me that the Kikuyu dance was inferior to the Scottish one. In

defiance, I rebelliously learned all the tribal songs and dances..." (pp. 29-32). Otieno feels that her people's mind has been imprisoned by the colonial mentality of denigration to a point that they have lost insight to the value of their being. This calls for urgency to 'decolonize' them. Drawing on Smith and Watson's (2010) argument that autobiographers remember events from their past to negotiate their personality in relation to questions of representation of the ordinary aspects (p. 145), the argument in this article is that, writing in retrospect, Otieno envisions herself as fulfilling the promise she had made to herself (revenge for her great grandfather Waiyaki). She therefore portrays her militancy through her encounters with the white man in the anticolonial struggle as an activist, prisoner and detainee. This way, she believes she can then set her people free from the colonial regime.

As noted earlier, the Mau Mau movement was the vehicle for the liberation struggle. The course and activities of the movement attracted other ethnic groups to join and take the oath. New strategies, which included union movements, demonstrations and legislative councils in which Otieno and other women fully participated, were launched to enhance the freedom struggle. The Kenyan people ignored their ethnic cocoons for a common cause. Otieno became a member of The Nairobi People's Convention Party led by Tom Mboya, and actively participated in recruiting members and organizing activities of the party. This, she notes, many a times landed her in trouble with the colonizer. Later on, she became the chair of KANU Women Wing, Nairobi Branch, whose other officials were Gichuru, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and Tom Mboya. At one point she was arrested for activities carried out by the group that annoyed the colonial officials (p. 71). Other parties like Kenya Democratic Party (KADU) and Kiama Kia Muingi (KKM) (Kenya Land Freedom Army) were formed all with the same agenda of ensuring Kenya becomes a free state.

Besides the oneness witnessed among the various ethnic groups in Kenya in their pursuit of freedom, Otieno acknowledges the importance of having international support in the construction of a nation. She appreciates the support given by the international freedom fighters. She notes: "they gave me a spy camera, one of the many donated to us by President Joseph Tito of Yugoslavia, who was a staunch supporter of Mau Mau" (p. 41). Therefore, it is this oneness in the liberation struggle, collaboration and support from the international society, as well as the presentation of Otieno as an African woman with multiple, conflictual and contending identities that gives her narrative the credentials of being the representation of a Kenyan nation born of multiple ethnic compositions and multiple races. This bears Otieno's enthusiasm for a unitary nation, especially when she expresses her participation in the construction of Kenya as a unitary nation.

On the other hand, Otieno voices the challenges faced by a nation in its search for unity and a common voice to its cause. This she tells through a recollection of her experiences in marriage to her Luo husband, S.M Otieno, a renowned criminal lawyer whose death in 1986 triggered controversial tensions and conversations about ethnicity in Kenya's inheritance law. Her marriage outside her Kikuyu community as well as tracing of her lineage to the Maasai can be perceived as an acknowledgement of the diversity of the Kenyan nation. It signals the boundarilessness of a nation despite the micronations therein. Through this, Otieno advocates for the co-existence of the Kenyan people despite their ethnic affiliations. However, the challenges, coupled with the betrayal she faces when her husband dies, symbolize the challenges of a nation considering the divergent cultural beliefs and practices of its people.

Representing the Kenyan nation, Otieno notes that suspicion and betrayal are some of the biggest obstacles to the achievement of a unitary state. However, she cautions that one ought to stay on course. During the freedom struggle, despite the betrayal by fellow Africans, Otieno still remained devoted to serving the movement. Together with other freedom fighters, they stayed the course and sought their inspiration from God through prayer and singing. Belief in oneself and avoiding guilty conscience as

well as self-determination is what Otieno perceives as the additional sources of success for a national course. While in detention in Lamu, she learns that she was betrayed by her colleague and friend: "...Do you know who betrayed you? ...it is your colleague and greatest friend" (p. 83). It is this same betrayal that she faces in the cause of duty in various organizations as well as after the death of her husband. The relatives, friends and politicians aligned to her husband, S.M Otieno, failed to give her support as she sought the right to bury him. Cognizant of the effects of betrayal in nation development, Otieno argues that it is only when people shun ethnicity, political hypocrisy, egocentricity, gender inequality and embrace oneness that Kenya shall be a great nation.

It is then clear that Otieno narrates her contestation against a background of patriarchy over institutions such as girlhood, womanhood, motherhood, widowhood, ethnicity and marriage all of which render women vulnerable. In so doing, she foregrounds patriarchy as an evil against nation development and advocates for inclusion and recognition of women in the making/being of a nation. Therefore, her autobiography becomes a public site that graft women's stories into public histories, which then become a way of conducting a womanist historical version of the nation.

4.0 Conclusion

In her autobiography, Otieno the coming into being of a nation in retrospect, and subsequently raises awareness against injustices/forms of oppression that have been normalized by patriarchal systems. She notes that the normalization of these upheavals has impacted on the social, economic and political wellbeing of the Kenyan nation. These oppressive systems have greatly been enhanced by both cultural and foreign ideologies. However, Otieno also presents an appreciation of the contribution of the cultures on gender roles in national development. It is for this reason that she recognizes and advocates for the embracing of the African-Kenyan cultures as a way of reinventing the Kenyan nation.

As already argued, the woman autobiographer niches her selfhood through relation with the consciousness of the other. It is for this reason that Otieno narrates herself by invoking her relation with male figures in her life like her grandfather, the first president of Kenya, her father and her husband. Through this, she negotiates her own identity and that of the Kenyan nation. More so, she does not show any initiative to divorce her public images from these men. For instance, Wambui Waiyaki-Otieno retains her husband's surname by hyphenating hers with his despite the rejection and betrayal she faced from his people. She also retains her retains her maiden father's name despite being married. This can be argued as her perception of what a nation should be; one that embraces its past and present; one that is inclusive in terms of gender.

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