

THE IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMS ON RURAL
HOUSEHOLDS IN K'OMBURA LOCATION KISUMU DISTRICT.

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BY

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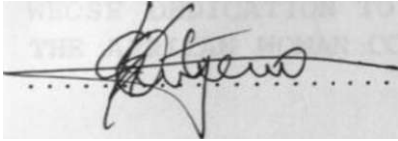
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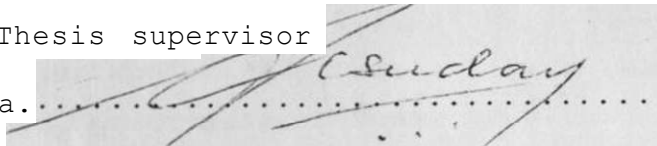
DECLARATION

I, GEORGE OMONDI OTIENO, declare that this thesis is my original work and, to the best of my knowledge, has not been presented to any other University.

Handwritten signature of George Omondi Otieno in cursive script, written over a horizontal line with a dotted line below it.

With my approval as Thesis supervisor

Prof. Colette A. Suda.
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Handwritten signature of Colette A. Suda in cursive script, written over a horizontal line with a dotted line below it.

DEDICATION

THIS THESIS IS DEDICATED TO MY MOTHER CONSOLATA OMOLLO OTIENO WHOSE DEDICATION TO HER CHILDREN EPITOMIZES THE RESILIENCE THAT THE AFRICAN WOMAN CONTINUES TO UPHOLD OUR SOCIETY-UNACKNOWLEDGED.

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To all those I have not mentioned by name, and they are many, my prayer is that you find happiness in all you do.

ABSTRACT

This work investigated and explained the impact of SAPs on the rural households in Kombura location. In the introduction, the problem that has necessitated the implementation of SAPs was put forth. In the wake of the households structural organization and mode of production, it was noted that the implementation of these policies have a negative impact on the household. The theory-informing this discourse is the Modes of Production approach as this approach clearly shows the dialectical relationship between the familial mode of production and the capitalistic mode of production, and allowed for both to exist side by side.

The first chapter serves as an introduction to the problem in question. In this chapter, the problem is outlined and the objectives for conducting the research is posed. Anthropologists involvement in this exercise is also justified.

In chapter two, the crisis that has led to the implementation of SAPs is discussed and the theoretical framework informing the entire work outlined. After an assessment of the objectives in question, the hypothesis which were to be tested during the research were outlined.

The methodology for the exercise included both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection. Though the analysis of the data collected was qualitatively done, quantitative methods of analysis was also used.

In chapter four, the economic activities in the area are discussed and how the SAPs have affected the households economic welfare.

Accessibility to education and the health centres was also investigated in the next chapter as these are areas that the austere SAPs measures have targeted.

The final chapter dealt with issues pertinent to the effect that these policies have had on women.

In all these chapters, the underlying theme is that, since the traditional mode of production has most economic activities segregated along gender lines, then the impact of SAPs would not be the same. The impact of SAPs on women was also addressed and this is shown by explaining the roles of women in the household and the way different activities were affected by the advent of SAPs.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMMES

Since the beginning of 1993 a lot has been said about the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and there seem to be two distinct groups in the study of these programmes. There are those who emphasize the importance of these programmes, and such scholars are normally affiliated to the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in one way or another. The other group of scholars are of the opinion that these programmes are inhuman and leave people worse off than before their implementation. However, whatever ones' leaning, it has now become quite clear that there are sections of the Kenyan community that benefit little, if at all, from SAPs.

SAPs are macro-economic measures or policy reforms recommended by the World Bank and IMF to improve the economy of a country that is facing economic problems such as persistent deficits in its balance of payments and having limited development expenditures.

These programmes are recommended to help push the economy towards sustainable development and poverty reduction and also to help a country in debt crisis. In the past ten or so years, they have served as conditions to help donor countries and agencies to decide whether a country qualifies for further loans or loan extensions. In these programmes, there is often an "austerity package" of cutbacks on public expenditure, liberalization of the foreign exchange, controlling the growth of domestic money supply, privatization of parastatals, reduced imports and increased emphasis on the export of products (Vickeers 1991). At the macro-economic level, the dilemma in most African countries is quite often the mismatch between aggregate supply and aggregate demand. If the demand for goods and services is more than their supply and the domestic money supply is also high inflation sets in and the balance of payments registers deficits.

Nana-sinkam (1989) summarizes the objectives of the adjustment packages as an attempt at reducing aggregate demand (expenditure reduction). This in turn reduces the demand for both tradable and non tradable goods and thus brings about a lower rate of inflation.

Apart from the demand-oriented measures there are medium term, supply-oriented measures such as an increment in efficiency.

(This efficiency is mainly for the owners of the means of production). These are measures that are often associated with parastatals and their management. The removal of controls and regulations that discriminate among industries are basically an attempt to remove trade distortions that create differentials between the world and domestic prices of goods. It is believed that through these measures, competition will ensure efficiency in production and the quality of goods and services will also be improved.

These policies have far reaching consequences on society in that they affect the social, political, economic and cultural aspects of society. These issues will be dealt with in later chapters of this study.

1.2 Problem Statement

Economic change is invariably linked to the other major aspects of culture. There is no way economic change could be instituted without an accompanying change in the prevailing culture. This would either be by a transfer of economic power to a group in

society, thus affecting relationships in society which could end up being worse off than before. This is because control of goods and wealth produced is synonymous with political control (Hammond 1975).

This study aims at showing the impact of structural adjustment programmes on the rural households of K'Ombura location in Kisumu district. The study seeks not only to understand the economic ramifications of the SAPs on the household, but also the role that a people's culture plays in either facilitating these policies or adversely affecting their implementation. Since this study zeroes in on the household unit certain considerations are of great importance. These include the issue of how the SAPs have affected the production and consumption of goods and services in the household. Thus, the question that is being addressed in this thesis is how these programmes have affected the relationships of production and consumption in the household, and the effect these programmes have on the household's general welfare. In assessing the impact of SAPs on the rural household it is possible to see whether the underlying tone of reluctance on the part of the government to implement these policies is

actually in order. This is in view of the fact that the express aim of SAPs is the reduction of poverty, the servicing of debts and assistance to countries facing economic hardships so that they attain a sustainable level of development (Freedman and Tokman 1989) .

The underlying theme in this thesis is that SAPs are a tool that is meant to foster development, and development to the Anthropologist is not only economic but must pervade the social and political aspects of life. Development should thus be an improvement of the quality of the individual's life in society. To some, Africa's debt burden has precipitated the need to adjust. This is because the relative burden of African debt compared to the resources of African countries and the burden to service this debt is great (Campbell 1989). In 1984 the Kenyan total external public and private debt amounted to 53.3% of the Gross National Product (GNP). The GNP was US\$ 5,745 million. It is this general picture of indebtedness that has necessitated the need to adjust. It is when these adjustments are made that it becomes easier for the donors to get back the money owed to them. Therefore, the key issue here is whether one's cultural practices

would affect the way the impact of SAPs is absorbed in the household. This work also tries to show how different groups in the household are affected by the policies.

1.3 Objectives Of The Study

This study identifies the following components of SAPs as crucial in an analysis of their impact on the household:

- i) The cutbacks on public expenditure which has led to cost sharing in hospitals and schools. This is meant to help the government cut down on public expenditure, thus reducing aggregate demand.
- ii) Reduced governmental control of prices on goods and services leaving impersonal market forces of demand and supply to determine the prices of commodities.

1.3.1 The Overall Objective

The overall objective of the study is to identify the impact of structural adjustment programmes on the household.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

i) To examine the impact of the introduction of cost-sharing in hospitals in the rural household.

ii) To assess the impact of cost-sharing in schools on rural households.

iii) To assess how the rising prices of food commodities have affected the rural household.

iv) To find out how the structural adjustment programmes have affected the traditional roles of men and women in production in the household.

1.4 Justification for the Study

As anthropologists, our contribution to the study of the implementation of economic policies would be to ensure that the cultural element is not overlooked or even down played. Thus, this study sought to explore the social and cultural consequences of SAPs. It is also important to note that in the household there are certain roles that are assigned to members and these roles are culturally patterned. The argument posited here is that this fact plays a determining role in the performance of the entire household in the wake of these SAPs.

As far as systematic research and published materials are concerned very little has been done in Kenya to ascertain the impact of these policies in the country. It is because of this, that this study was carried out and a contribution by anthropologists on this important subject assessed.

When SAPs are being implemented it is of great importance that there be a clear picture of the cultural practices that govern production and reproduction. This should be done to ensure that the economy undergoing adjustment does not have a lopsided development emphasis which hurts one sector more than others.

SAPs tend to favour certain sections of society, namely those in such sectors as the export industry and other industries that are being encouraged to expand at the expense of the unpaid sector, those people with fixed salaries and other sectors that are being reduced due to SAPs.

Sometimes increased efficiency is merely a transfer of costs from the paid economy to the unpaid economy. This anomaly should be corrected. These considerations render this study very important in that when planners are aware of the impact of SAPs on society, a comprehensive plan for implementation can be made and this in turn would give it a more humane face. This study also derived

its importance from the fact that it tried to explain what the reality is at the household level and how the household is actually affected by the implementation of these programmes. It also stems from the orientation that whenever a new strategy is adapted in the development process, the impact on the groups experiencing this strategy is never the same. Certain groups are almost always harder hit than others.

It is often realized that women are mostly involved in the unpaid sector and if government expenditure on such essentials like health care (women are health care providers) were reduced then it is the women who will have to struggle and find ways of coping with the sick people who can no longer be adequately cared for in the hospitals. Therefore the sector involved in providing the health needs of society will be worse off. Those involved in dealing with the nutritional requirements of the household will be over-stretched in an attempt to provide quality food for the household with less resources. This section's loss of economic power definitely has greater implications for the overall economic performance and subsequent development of the entire nation and the existing relationships in the household.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter looks at the available literature which deals with the issue of structural adjustment programmes and the forms it has taken. The theoretical framework informing this study has also been discussed here.

2.1.1 CRISIS

A review of most of the literature available on SAPs indicates that a great deal of attention has been focused on the economic performance of the countries in sub-Saharan Africa. This is rightly so because during the 1970's and the early part of the 1980's, many sub-Saharan African countries experienced various social and economic set backs.

According to the World Bank report of 1994, two thirds of the 51 sub-Saharan African countries, and 15 highly indebted middle income countries suffered negative per capita growth rates in both GDP and private consumption during the first half of the

1980's. For the low income countries, GDP growth rates declined from an annual average of **2.5%** in the **1970's** to almost zero in 1983. Agricultural production continued to deteriorate in most countries. The general decline in food production and in the agricultural sector was further enhanced by the devastating drought of **1983** and **1984**. This trend coupled with rapidly increasing population has forced many sub-Saharan African states to resort to massive food importation and reliance on food aid to meet the shortfall in food production. Cereal imports rose from 11 million tonnes in **1975-76** to **23.4** million tonnes in **1980-81** and 31 million tonnes in **1983-84** (Nana --Sinkam **1989**) .

Imports increased at a high rate while earnings from exports diminished due to the combined effects of a declining export volume and the collapse of international commodity prices.

Amidst this frightening scenario, add the fact that most African economies are agriculture-based and have suffered progressive marginalization in international economic relations and the recipe is that of disaster. Some economists have suggested that the food deficits can be covered by imports. This sounds good but this idea ignores the extra economic factors (embargo,

artificial scarcity, etc.) and the multiplicity of decision making centers in international economic relations. Most of the imports are finished products and thus fetch more in the market while the exports from sub-Saharan Africa are mainly raw materials and thus exchange unfavourably with the imports. This has the markings of creating a trend of imbalances in terms of trade and consequently, the balance of payments. Other developments that have infringed on their purchasing power are the introduction of close substitutes to Africa's raw materials e.g. synthetic rubber and fibre replaced rubber and cotton exported from African countries. Artificial sweeteners compete with cane sugar and this has created a situation where there is restricted demand and abundant supply. This has clearly eroded the purchasing power of sub-Saharan countries and thus it is not surprising that our balance of payments far exceed what we earn in a year. The crisis is not only in the economic realm but also in the social realm. People have to live with less and this changes the relationships that were in existence, for example, people who earlier on had considerable economic power are now made powerless and this affects their relationships with those who now have economic power.

Extreme poverty dehumanizes and it is now quite evident that it is during this extreme poverty that a lot of abuse, both on human beings and property, is seen to increase. The men and women undergo a lot of strain and stress in an attempt to survive and a lot of criminal activities are intensified e.g. robbery and prostitution.

African countries have suffered more during the world recession period because the value of their exports has declined drastically while the prices of other essential imports have not declined likewise. The domestic policies of most governments have been geared to try and improve other sectors of the economy at the expense of agriculture and this has also contributed to it's stagnation. The sole reason for this trend is that the market outlets for the products have continued to deteriorate, thus necessitating an attempt to venture into other markets. The Kenyan situation has also been similar to that of other sub-Saharan countries, though Kenya had started the decade of the eighties with economic features that were remarkably more favourable than those in other sub-Saharan countries (Swamy 1994). Swamy points out the fact that the structure and dynamism of the Kenyan economy in the late 1970¹s reflected the

favourable policy environment of the past. He ascribes causality of the Kenyan problem as being based on the deterioration of the management of the economy. He, however, does not show whether Kenya was operating in a different international economic environment from other sub-Saharan African countries. The tendency to blame economic and subsequent social crises on mismanagement of the economy by WB or IMF sponsored scholars or affiliates on the African countries themselves has now become a trademark of their works. The fact is that the North has continued to marginalize the South through international trade agreements that favour them at the expense of the South. Quotas, trade embargoes and other trade barriers are but just examples of the international market machinations that have ensured that Africa is what it is today.

At micro-level the crisis has resulted in the loss of jobs by members of the household. The shrinking income of the household heads in the rural areas has necessitated drastic cutbacks in spending on certain items in the household. Household economic activities might have been intensified to facilitate the same or even a lower level of gratification. This tends to cause stress

to the individual and thus even affect the individual's performance in the production process.

2.1.2 The IMF and World Bank Approaches to Structural Adjustment Programmes.

The available literature on SAPs in Kenya clearly indicates that the two institutions, namely, the IMF and the World Bank have different approaches to the implementation of SAPs. The IMF stabilization programmes typically consist of deflation, devaluation and decontrol. In this package the main thrust is to cut down the government's expenditure on the public, for example cost sharing in social services like health and education, and the minimization of the controls on import and foreign exchange. On the other hand, World Bank SAPs emphasize boosting supply of produce and increasing productivity. This is supposed to be brought about by improving incentives for private sector producers (particularly exports) through changes in prices, tariffs and other taxes, subsidies and interest rates,- and releasing resources for private sector use by reducing the resources allocated to the public sector (Elson 1989).

The common emphasis by both institutions, however, is the reduction of the role of the state in the market and resource allocation. This is because they believe that the reason for the poor economic performance and for the inability of African countries to compete in the international economic environment is supposedly due to the extension of the public sector by the use of direct controls and subsidies. Their remedy, therefore, is that these distortions should be removed and the role of the government in the public sector reduced.

The problem that can be seen with these approaches is that if the government decontrols the import and foreign exchange sectors then the fledgling manufacturing industries in Kenya will be quickly phased out of business. This is because the competition is composed of efficient multi-national corporations which can operate on lower economies of scale but still make profits. These profits will not necessarily be injected back into the economy, as the governmental controls which checked the repatriation of profits will be non-existent. This will create a terrifying state where the economy of the country will not be in the hands of the "nationals" but in the hands of foreigners whose sole motive of operation will be profit maximization, regardless

of the social costs that the locals might have to face. This would greatly increase the control of our country's economy by foreigners. The privatization of strategic parastatals in Kenya also is open to abuse. Since profit maximization is the motive for the owners, we might have essential goods like electricity and water becoming too expensive for the poor to afford.

The cutting down of expenditure in the public sector on services like health and education is expected to have a negative impact on the vulnerable groups in the society. Since development is centred on the development of the human being's social, economic and political well being, it is imperative that economic criterion alone should not be used to determine the merits of SAPs but factors arising from our cultural and political heritage should also be considered.

Therefore, western economic rationale to adjustment should not be applied in this situation alone because the obligations of the individual to society in the light of his ethnic affiliations and the leadership's motives to stay in power should also be realized as important in the manner adjustment policies take.

2.1.3 THE LUO SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Ocholla-Ayayo (1976) describes certain aspects of the Luo social order with the main concern being those principles, relationships and groupings that more or less directly and explicitly guide and organize the processes of production, distribution and consumption of the material necessities of the everyday life of the people. These relationships and groupings are governed by kinship values. The elementary Luo social unit is governed by the two normative principles the Jokawuoro and Jokamiyo units. The Jokawuoro are people of the same father and Jokamiyo are people of the same mother.

The Jokawuoro

This is a combination of father, mother and children. Important things to note in this unit is that the groups share full parental love which makes them unite as one cooperate group in most of the domestic activities. Daughters are included in this group only before their marriage and are not considered when the time of inheritance comes. The eldest son marries first and gets his cattle for marriage from his father and builds his homestead and thus starts a new socio-economic unit. He gets the largest

piece of land as inheritance and on the death of the father he takes over communications with the dead ancestors.

The Jokamiyo Unit.

This is a group united through motherly love and forms a plurality of matrilineal units, formed by a polygynous ideology through the mother's marital relationship with an apical common husband. The relationship between such matrilineal units is in the Luo terminology referred to as "nyiego". The term means "jealousy" when it is between co-wives and "rivalry" when it involves all in a matrilineal unit as a group against another opposite to it.

"Nyiego" is the fundamental primary relationship in the Luo society, which is detrimental to unity or cooperation in the use of land and cattle, as subjects compete economically and socially with the opposite groups. Here the relationship is established for subsistence as well as for competition between the groups.

2.1.3 **THE LUO DOMESTIC ECONOMY**

Wilson (1964) notes that the economy of the tribe was almost entirely a matter of food, for there was little else in the

material sphere that concerned the people which were of more... than pure gastronomic significance. The material culture was simple since clothing was not worn by unmarried people other than ornaments. It is only when married that pieces of skin were tied around the waist or during war. Materials for war were important and it is only these that had iron tips. Implements for farming like hoes had wooden blades.

Fishing was done by the experts and this would be traded for grain in the areas that had abundant grain. Other activities like house building and making implements for the home - pots granaries, threshing mortars, hoes and baskets were done by specialists who were often men.

In the Luo domestic economy, like in most pre-industrial societies, there were articles that could be sold while others would come into the complex of communal rights and obligations. This was a reciprocal system which still exists to be activated from time to time within which anyone with a surplus of time, talent or materials contributes to the well being of the group as a whole.

Though there was a wider system of reciprocity, the homestead was the key economic unit in the society within which it was felt

that none should starve unless all starved. The senior man (wuon pacho) was the arbiter in all matters concerning the economic activities of the home. His power was absolute when he was the father of all other men in the home. He determined how the cattle were to be used for the benefit of the home. He alone had the power to authorize the use, exchange and slaughter of the cattle even if the cattle were not brought in the home by him. His power was supported by the fact that he had in him the ritual power to communicate with the ancestors. Among the women in the home, power was concentrated in the hands of the senior wife of the head. She was responsible for initiating the agricultural cycle and partly responsible for settling disputes between the women of the home. She had more authority in the home than any man in the home apart from her husband. Before she began to cultivate her land, no one in the home could cultivate. She was the first to harvest and the first to make beer from the new crops. The success of the agricultural efforts of the home depended much on the senior wife and if she was too sick to plant at the right time, the whole homestead suffered.

The two main sources of income for the home were from land and cattle. Land was shared out by the man between his wives and

other women in the home. Cattle were herded together and this was done by men. Small stock was herded by small boys. Cattle were considered as capital, to be conserved and not consumed. However, cattle were very important on ritual occasions, times of crises and in the provision of meat, milk and blood. Cattle dominated not only activities in the economic and ritual sphere but also the political sphere. Political power and prestige was closely linked to the number of cattle one had. Cattle were even taken to war because it was felt that one would show more courage if his most precious possession was near him and thus would fight hard to protect it. The sight of the cattle was also meant to tempt the unwilling enemy to fight.

Agriculture was considered sub-ordinate to cattle keeping. There were disputes over land, but these were primarily between lineages over grazing land and damage to the crops rather than on boundaries and inheritance. However, there has been a reduction in the domestic economy of the Luo. This has mainly been due to the establishment of sedentary cultivation as it has increased a greater dependence upon crops than upon cattle. The introduction of cash crops has also contributed to the changes that so characterize the Luo domestic economy today. Western style

education has also contributed to the changes in the domestic economy today.

All in all, the Luo domestic economy did not provide for much economic surplus due to the hoe culture, and any surplus produced would be consumed in the form of beer rather than being saved to release energies for development of more efficient means of production. In this system each person has his/her part to play, a part determined by age and sex and by the season of the year. Duties were enforced on each person by economic need, reinforced by authority of the elders who controlled the economic system and the supernatural which was also partly controlled by the elder. The introduction of the cash nexus has, however, eroded the power of the older men over their homesteads as education and work outside has removed the ritual and economic props to their authority. The domestic economy today illustrates the breakdown of inter dependence, and the development of an individualistic system in a society which is basically poor and which lacks institutionalized social services to replace family obligations. This has serious implications as far as the general well being of the individual in society is concerned.

Though the Luo domestic economy has been affected by the introduction of the cash economy, it is obvious that there are relationships that governed production long time ago and still do. This network of obligations in the household that dictated who gets what and whose decisions stand still holds in most cases. This has the effect of causing stress in the household as the new repose of power is in the economic realm not in the old cultural norms and rituals. There is, thus, a struggle for power in the household, depending on who holds the "purse-strings". Though cultural norms tend to favour men in the household because of the pre-eminent position given to their tasks and ownership of the means of production, the introduction of the market economy and education is slowly changing that. What went hitherto unchallenged is nowadays challenged and the once despotic image of the "Wuon pacho" or household head is slowly being whittled away.

2.1.4 HOW SAPS WORK ON THE HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY

The workings of some of these adjustment measures can be seen in the following manner.

- a) Exchange rate devaluation and liberalization of trade.

Of all the SAP measures these two are the most sensitive and their main objectives are to restore the external balance of payments and promote efficient resource allocation. The main thrust of the argument here is that when a country's exchange rate is overvalued the tendency is that the exportables are depressed because of low producer prices and food imports increased at the expense of domestic production. When this is devalued (Exchange rate) the immediate effect is that there is an increase of prices in domestic currency terms of traded goods and this will redirect domestic resources to import substitution and export promotion. However, it should be realized that the wages of the workers in the unpaid sector would decline relatively to those who are in the paid economy. This reallocation of resources will lead to some gains in sectors that are being expanded while the contracting sectors will bear losses. Though SAPS main focus is on resource allocation they also have overtime, profound implication for income distribution. This is in response to the necessary changes in relative factor rewards associated with the movement towards external balance. The reason for this is because

of the release of such resources usually can come only from reduced factor rewards to labor and capital in the production of non traded goods.

The effect of this on the rural household would be that those members of the household who are involved in the non tradable sector for e.g. domestic food production would suffer losses. Small holders and women who are normally involved in the production of food will have to suffer since the emphasis is on export promotion (Growing of cash crops in this case). As the rural household shifts towards cash crop growing, production of food crops decreases and thus the chances of achieving food self-sufficiency is further diminished. This will definitely have a negative impact on the rural households consumption of food.

Devaluation, as it increases the local currency value of inputs needed by the household to grow their crops, adversely affects the rural poor since agricultural inputs such as fertilizers, pesticides and farm implements are pushed beyond their reach. The fact that the population increase is not adequately addressed means that we are in a situation where household food insecurity

is the rule and not the exception. This will have the impact of creating a people who are struggling to put food on the table and thus have very little time to develop in other areas like educating their children and being actively involved in the changes around them. They thus become passive recipients of policies or strategies being placed on them. On the other hand, SAPs involved increases in producer prices as an incentive to the farmers. (Nana-Sinkam 1989:35) sees the options available to do this, is by raising the prices and/or devaluing the local currency. This is done mainly with the assumption that prices are flexible enough to respond to changes in the domestic currency value of foreign exchange to work their way to producer. However the rigidities in prices and institutions normally mask the impact of devaluation in the prices received by the producer.

Subsidies and Transfer Payments

The elimination and/or reduction of subsidies on food and inputs are also apart of adjustment programs. However, having implemented their removal is often difficult and often takes a political stance. The removal of these subsidies is often construed as not being in the interest of the poor. When this

food subsidies are removed the result is often an increase in food prices and this will definitely affect the rural household which has to buy part of its food.

In K'Ombura location, there has been poor rainfall for the last three years and this has greatly affected the production of food by the household in this area. This forces them to buy food. These foodstuffs prices have already been increased due to the SAPs and the scarcity of the food further increases the prices. This has serious implications on their consumption of foods, cuts in social services such as free or subsidized health care and education are bound to affect the rural household adversely.

The relationship in the household will be such that those who are more adversely affected by these policies will be marginalized by the favoured and made to work even harder in order for members of the household to maintain the former level of gratification enjoyed before the implementation of the policies.

It is also noted that the adjustment programmes include measures which liberalize administered prices by allowing public enterprises to raise prices with the aim of enhancing their burden of their operating deficits on the treasury. This policy poses a serious threat to the household which cannot produce

enough food to cover their consumption needs as they will have to buy goods and services at high prices and at the same time miss the benefit of selling enough at high rates and hence take care of their consumption needs.

Short-term response to price changes is sometimes characterized by a time lag in shifting of the resources from those who benefit from previous policies to those who are favored by the new policies and the actual change in policy. The strengthening of the Kenyan shilling as a result of the floatation of the exchange rate resulted in token reductions of prices of goods and services in the shops but these reductions are not commensurate to the hikes in the price of the same goods as a result of the devaluation of the currency. The gains from devaluation may be eroded by the fact that in SAPs, the government reduces its subsidizing on such inputs as fertilizer, farm machinery and irrigation water. This would thus increase the costs of production. Other issues that would govern the working of devaluation will be whether increased expenses would materialize in the light of various international agreements which limit or control exports and the growing protectionist policies of developed countries.

Another issue that is important in the impact of devaluation assessment is the question of reduced control by women over the household income. Traditionally women were involved in food production and marketing while men engaged in export crop production and its disposal is in their hands. Export promotion basically works to undermine the control that women had over the household income. This would further ensure that their role in the household is marginalized. This is mainly due to the fact their contribution to the household income will be greatly reduced. The social implications of this is that the women who are mainly involved in the process of reproduction and maintenance of human resources are caught in a "trap". Regardless of the market situation, mothers cannot "escape" their duties in the household and shift to other more economically gratifying duties, instead they have to add these duties to the already existing ones. Thus the woman's task is not only increased but her attempt at self actualization is hindered, this will definitely affect the way she looks at her family. She will see them more as the reason for her unhappiness, this is because of the amount of work heaped on her which renders her in-operant in the competitive market economy. This will in turn affect the

marriage institution as one group is seen to be more exploited than the rest.

All in all we see that the objective of devaluation can only be achieved if the degree of trade liberalization undertaken by the government is sufficiently high. This liberalization of trade involves the dismantling of artificial restrictions on international trade such as quotas, taxes and subsidies. Trade liberalization as a measure in itself may in the short run, conflict with stabilization objectives as there is a lag for unprotected sectors.

Recent studies show that though there seems to be consensus that SAPs are hard on the common man, Wohlmuth (1990) and Gladwin (1991), not everybody shares that point of view. As for the IMF and World Bank, the debt problem that faces nearly all the African states in the Sub-Saharan region serves as legitimization for interfering and therefore, the implementation of SAPs, due to the enormous balance of payment deficits and the debt payment arrears. The measures advocated by the two institutions though seen as curative have been greatly contested and even advocates of SAPs, have begun to realize that the cure of the disease might

just have the possibility of being worse than the disease itself. This is because of the suffering these measures bring in the short run periods after implementation.

Swamy (1994) sees the implementation of SAPs in Kenya as being set in several attempts. There is the first phase(19980-84) which he sees as being marked by a total lack of compliance partly because the commitment to the stated policy changes was limited

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to a small clique fee top civil servants. The second period of adjustment was the 1985-91 time. The pace then was incremental but the commitment of the top officials waxed and waned. The reason for this was because of the pressure both from without and within. From without, the donor community insisted on implementation of SAPs, the bringing in of Multi-Party politics, transparency in governance and freedom of basic human right like freedom of association and speech.

From within, was the opposition and the interests of the Kenya government because some of the policies would not have been politically wise if the government was to remain in power.

Overall Swamy (1994) states that despite a fairly stable political climate, commitment was patchy and intermittent throughout. Reforms ostensibly undertaken were often not

implemented. However the tying of Aid to the implementation of adjustment programs has forced the Kenyan government to fulfill these measures if they expect any loans. The implementation of these programs has been gradual and phased. This has largely been dictated by the desire to minimize the adjustment costs.

In 1987, the government began developing and implementing sector reforms in agriculture, 1988 saw reforms in the industrial and trade sector and 1989 saw the start of reforms in the financial sector. The major aims of these reforms were; the enhancement of market and private sector, provide incentives to encourage growth, investments and exports; rationalization of public expenditure, restructure selected parastatals and finally to reduce regulations and control of economic activity. These piecemeal implementation of SAPs has helped to mask their impact, but the current decision to implement these programs wholly has had wide and far reaching effect on the Kenya society. This would explain why there is growing concern among scholars to asses the impact and see who it; actually bearing the burden of adjustment. The issue in most instances is not whether to implement SAPs or not, but in the form that these programs should take in order to minimize the negative effect they have on society.

The notion is that if our economy is not sustainable in one way or another then the implementation of SAP's is inevitable. Loxley (1988) sees the stabilization and adjustment programs pursued by Ghana since 1982 as a qualified success. He ascribes this success only to the programme itself and its application but not to the future situation of Ghana. The emphasis on export promotion has tended to encourage export of cocoa at the expense of food production. This has the effect of enhancing Ghana's lop-sided and deformed export structure. Kenya's exports are predominantly Agricultural and the emphasis on promoting cash crops like coffee and tea leaves Kenya vulnerable when the market for these crops are affected negatively. The attempt to increase exports (cash crops) has led to the decline in food production. An assumption by the World Bank in which the decline of world market prices on agricultural produce was not considered has resulted in further decline of the prices of cocoa because of increased production. Loxley's (1988) study quite clearly raises questions as to whether adjustment policies claim to be the universal solution for Africa's problems. There are a lot of issues apart from "economics" that hav. to be taken into consideration. There are cultural issues or dimensions and the political factor in Kenya

which has to be taken into consideration when one is analyzing the impact of SAP's on our society. In this study, these issues will be adequately covered in the analysis of the data collected. Vickers (1991) see the economic crisis as being caused by the resultant fall of real household income accompanied by the food price increases, the drop in employment opportunities, disappearances of subsidies and the increase in inflation. This makes it hard to say that these curative measures are doing the common man and woman any good. She also notes that reduction in health and child care service would mean that women must assume even greater responsibilities in these areas.

In societies the world over women are both producers and carers. Vickers (1991) further asserts that as long as the jobs are done by women, they are not assigned any economic value and thus are often taken for granted in times of economic adjustments. This point of view is also supported by Elson (1989) who sees the lack of explicit consideration of the process of reproduction and maintenance of human resources as against women. The assumption that female labour is elastic and thus able to stretch so as to make for any shortfall in other resources is erroneous. This is because when certain costs are reduced in the paid economy it is

The woman's labor which is increased i.e. cuts on health costs by reducing the time a patient spends in hospital would actually increase the woman's workloads as she has to take care of the sick in the home. This would thus not constitute a reduction in costs but a transfer of costs from the paid economy to the unpaid economy. Though this does not show immediately but it will show later on in terms of costs for treating the overworked woman when she breaks down due to too much physical and emotional stress and strain.

The lopsided gender approach in Vickers (1991) and Elson (1989) works is however, quite evident. Their focus on women as they look at "gender relations" to the exclusion of men and the problems the two sexes undergo in production does not give a balanced view of issues on the ground.

According to the Khartoum declaration of 1988, the overall assessment of the condition of the human beings is deplorable. The delegates agreed that since the human being is the centre of all development, then the human condition should be the final measure of development. Therefore if one is to implement any form of adjustment policy, then the justification must be the welfare of men and women of Africa. What the delegates were disagreeing

with is the apparent notion of the IMF and the World Bank that the implementation of SAP's fiscal trade and price balances are ends in themselves and therefore complete sets of means of production increase. They further saw that in a number of cases, rather than improve the human condition of living some SAPs have aggravated it because they are incomplete, mechanistic and of too short a time perspective. The programs are said to be mechanistic in being inadequately grounded in or sensitive to specific national economic, human and cultural realities. The emphasis of the delegates in this conference was "The human dimension of SAPs'

This declaration, then affirms and asserts that the human dimension is the *sine qua non* of economic recovery. We the delegates here assembled, will not abide with any economic rationale, will not tolerate economic formulae, will not apply economic indices, will not legitimize economic policies which fail to assert the primacy of the human condition. That means, quite simply, that no structural adjustment programme or economic recovery programme should be formulated or can be implemented without having at its heart, detailed social and human priorities. There can be no

real structural adjustment or economic recovery in the absence of the human perspective. (Wohlmuth 1990:61)

It is quite clear that the delegates to the conference understood that economic rationale alone does not work. In as much as one can easily agree with this declaration, the tendency to blame external forces namely the IMF and the World Bank seems to be the main theme and this is fallacious. In this declaration however there is little mention of the practices that surround the wrong methods of governance and economic mismanagement by the African leadership and this greatly reduces their objectivity.

From the foregoing discussion on the SAP's the effect of SAP's at Macro-level is pretty obvious. The effect on the household is however brought out at the micro-level and this is clearly shown when one addresses how the cut in expenditure on social services affect the individual in the household and his or her response to the policies. This study will show how the cultural issues which are overlooked undermine the implementation of these SAP's and how the traditional roles assigned to members of the household do determine how the adjustment programs will affect them.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is informed by the modes of production approach

2.2.1 MODES OF PRODUCTION APPROACH

The modes of production refers to the combination of material, human and cultural elements in a systematic relation through which the exploitation of the environment is possible for a group of human actors (Long 1975).

Wolfe(1923) sees it in the context of it being an active engagement of human beings with nature and the concomitant reproduction of social ties. In this instance we have people getting together using both their heads and hands in order to cope with the environment. The deployment of this type of labour reproduces both the material and ideational ties of human society. Generally the mode of production approach emphasizes the progressive nature of capitalist development. For the purpose of this study we shall discuss the specific modes of production in the household (social formation) and how they interact and influence one another. In K'ombura location the two modes of production that are prevalent are;

i) The familial mode of production (which is kin ordered) and

ii)The capitalist mode of production

These modes of production exist side by side in the same social formation. Suda (1992) sees this approach as an alternative to Wallesteins' conceptualization of the capitalist world economy as a single unified system that incorporates all forms of production.

2.2.1.1 Familial Mode of Production

In this mode of production the distinction of activities, rights and access to the means of producing wealth is governed by ones closeness to the family group. The main factor that orders the way goods and services are produced is kin determined. In this mode of production the transformation of nature is determined by appeals to filliation and marriage, and consanguinity and affinity. In populations where the resource base is limited as is the case with that of Kombura location, the circles of kinship is drawn tightly round the resource base by means of stringent definition of group membership. The resource base in this instance is land. Since the environment (land) is the main means of production and labour is expended on it. This land is thus transformed by a set of people who are equipped with tools,

organization and ideas so as to produce crops or livestock. Wolfe (1923:92) notes that in such a society, social labor is distributed in social clusters that expend labour cumulatively and trans-generationally upon a particular segment of the environment, accumulating at the same time a trans-generationally corpus of claims and counter claims to social labor.

The children's contribution to the households production activities was determined by the age of children and their respective gender. The households in K'Ombura location are patrilineal and though the land is owned by the men in the community, the women have usufructory rights over the land and even this is determined by their relationship to a male who belongs to the lineage controlling the land. Household production in the familial mode of production is geared at self sufficiency through producing all its' needs for consumption. Everything is geared towards the immediate benefit of the members.

2.2.1.2 The Capitalist Mode of Production

From the Marxist point of view, the capitalist mode of production came into being when monetary wealth could acquire labour power. As long as people can lay hands on the means of production and

provide for their own sustenance, there is no need for them to sell their capacity to work. When this means of production is taken out of their reach we find that people then have to sell their labor. Thus holders of wealth must be able to acquire means of production and deny access, except on their own terms to all who want to operate them. People without access to the means of production must sell their labor in order to receive wages which will then allow them to pay for what they need to sustain themselves. In the capitalist mode of production, the surplus motive is the driving factor. Wolfe (1923:78) sees the capitalist mode as dominating only in areas where wealth has laid conditions of production in away that not only controls the means of production, buy labour power, put it to work, but also, continuously expand surpluses by intensifying productivity through an ever-rising curve of technological inputs. Three important characteristics of this mode of production is that,

- i) the capitalist must detain control of the means of production,
- ii) Labourers cannot get means of production due to restrictions on them by capitalists and thus must sell their labour and finally,

iii) Maximization of surplus produced by the laborers

2.2.2 ARTICULATION OF DIFFERENT MODES OF PRODUCTION

With the advent of colonialism, the familial mode of production has been affected. Men were hired in the colonialist's farms and the traditional male functions were to a greater extent taken over by the women in addition to their traditional tasks. Certain household activities like farming, once a female preserve was commercialized and turned over to men. It is during the transition from hoeing to ploughing with machines that has seen more men take agriculture and thus control the surplus produced. The advent of the capitalist means of production has seriously increased the workload of women and has increasingly marginalized them. This is because with the capitalist mode of production there is an increasing tendency towards individual ownership of land. This plays against women since it is now the legal owner (male) who has the right to use the land and even dispose of it. This makes it harder for the woman to control the surplus of what she produces thus placing her in a disadvantaged position. In the household the man has in his hands not only the wealth but also the ability to control the means of production and buy labour

power. In the familial mode of production, the driving motive for production is consumption for the households immediate needs and not profit maximization which is prevalent in the capitalist mode of production. The roles played by the members of the household are what links them to the market economy. The changes in the market economy will affect the household in that if the man is put out of work in order to reduce the cost of production as a result of SAPs, then the family at home is also bound to experience this setback because there will be no money coming home. The women are also linked to the capitalist mode of production when they go out of the home to sell their labor and the product of their labour.

The children in the household when in school rarely contribute to the household production, instead they are involved in the capitalistic mode of production. This adversely influences the old familial mode of production as the labour of the children is missed since the time they ought to help in the house is spent at school. Though a considerable amount of the households functioning have been affected by the capitalistic mode of production there are some that are relatively autonomous. Some internal structures and processes of production and reproduction

in the household cannot be seen as mere deviations of the larger system of capitalism (Suda 1992). This is clearly manifest in the form of exchange between members of the household or different households. Not all these exchanges have been monetarized and the concomitant commodity relations adhered to. Certain exchanges such as the exchange of sugar between two females to be paid later on in the same form i.e. sugar, would be an exchange that is not monetarized. There is no profit motive whatsoever in this exchange. Other activities like use of land, has been affected. A household head gives pieces of land to his wives who have usufructory rights to the use of land. The mode of exchange is solely determined by ones relationship with the household head. When he dies he passes it on as an inheritance to his sons. There are however increasing cases of people selling their land to get money, but the fact is that this is not all pervasive would support our contention that there are some exchanges that are relatively less affected by the market influence.

The central theme of this theory is that both historically and contemporarily, the progressive nature of capitalism has been limited and not all pervasive (Suda 1992) . Thus despite the penetration of capital and extension of commodity relations into

the household. The mode of production considers the household economy as a relatively autonomous form of production in which some labor is still organized outside the market place (Bernstein 1978) .

The resistance of subsistence production in agriculture especially to change clearly indicates that changes in the larger market economy (implementation of SAPs) would not receive the immediate response which would thus make it effective. This also plays against the development of the necessary commodity relations that are capitalist. The end result is underdevelopment because of the dynamic and dialectical relationship between the various modes of production in the social formation.

Since the household is a heterogeneous unit in which different modes of production are articulated, the various groups involved in the production and consumption of goods and services will not be uniformly affected by SAP's because these policies tend to emphasize the paid economy and the unpaid economy tends to be ignored. Since women in the household are generally involved in the unpaid economy, should any costs be transferred from the paid economy then they will be the ones to bear the brunt.

2.2.3 APPROPRIATENESS OF THE MODES OF PRODUCTION APPROACH TO THIS STUDY

The modes of production approach is best suited for this study because it argues for the existence of various modes of production in a given social formation. This is quite in agreement with this study as it considers the household unit as a concrete and historically created structure which is comprised of different modes of production.

This approach also looks at the relationships between people and their environment and how the capitalist mode of production has affected the household. It however does not see the capitalist mode of production as pervasive and thus leaves room for pre-capitalist forms of production to influence relationships of production. The mere fact that there can exist two or more modes of production in a social formation means that we can look at the relationships between those people in the different modes of production and how changes instituted in the capitalist mode of production but also those in the familial mode of production but also those in the familial mode of production. The underlying principle that informs this study is that the reason for underdevelopment in the household and consequently rural area is

structured through a dynamic and dialectical relationship between the two modes of production in the household. The above considerations render this approach critical to the study as we are able to see how changes in the capitalistic mode of production (i.e. implementation of SAP's) affect the process of production and therefore the relationships that exist in the household. It thus addresses the issues that we consider important in this study, mainly the analysis of the impact of SAPs.

2.3 HYPOTHESES

On the basis of the theoretical framework and the literature reviewed, the following are the hypotheses advanced to guide the study and be tested against the research data.

- i) The implementation of SAP's has contributed to the deterioration of the economic well being of the householders.
- ii) The implementation of cost sharing as a policy of SAP's has adversely affected access to quality education in the area.
- iii) Accessibility to Government health services has substantially decreased due to SAP's.
- iv> The gender division of labor in general leaves women more vulnerable in the SAP era than men.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

It is important to note that every piece of research has some relationship with theory and everyone develops some explicit or implicit strategy or strategies that link day to day activities with broad theoretical framework. The methods of data collection and analysis that are used in this study are undertaken with the theoretical framework in mind and the purpose that this study seeks to achieve.

3.1.1 Research Site

K'Ombura location is situated on the Kano plains which is an alluvial peneplain of quaternary sediments lying on the floor of the rift valley that resulted from faulting between the two parallel faults of Nyando and Nyabondo (Saggerson 1952; Ojany and Ogendo 1973) . The Kano plains is one of the three main topographic regions of Kisumu district, the other two being Nyabondo highland areas and the Nyabondo-Maseno escarpment and highland areas. Kano plains lies 1,144 meters above sea level and the soils in this area are basically dark and loamy. A glance at

the soil and agro-ecological zone maps show that more than 75% of this area is unsuitable for economically successful small scale farming. The extremely heavy soil, combined with a warm climate, relatively low annual rainfall and repeated flooding, makes farming a burden. It is only through large scale investments in drainage and irrigation that farming can be realized in this area. K'Ombura location is one of the four locations in Kadibo division of Kisumu district. The physical features of this area determine, to a great extent, the kind of economic activities possible to the household in this area.

3.1.2 **Economic Activities**

Agriculture, which is at present still considered the main source of livelihood in K'Ombura location, has a limit to which it can be exploited. Most of the crops grown in this area are maize, millet and vegetables (near river valleys), rice and sugar-cane. The black cotton soil in this area which covers the entire location is difficult to work with hand implements without sufficient moisture and it is even harder to work the land under conditions of heavy rain (Ominde 1963). Most of the people in K'Ombura location love fish but not many actually fish. The

formal sector is another important source of employment and income. The informal sector activities, though highly varied, also form another source of income and employment labor. In agriculture, livestock farming is also practiced and it is only indigenous cattle that can be seen in this area. It is also not uncommon to find people, particularly women and young girls selling fruits such as bananas and mangoes by the road sides. In the location there are already obvious government attempts at helping irrigate the area and other incentives to cash-crop farming, mainly rice, instituted.

3.2 SAMPLING

In this study, three different samples were used. The first sample was drawn from the general population of households in the location. In this category the ideal sample used was the household. This sample comprised household heads who had been residents of the area for over 10 years. This was done under the assumption that only those who have been in the area from the onset of these adjustment programmes can adequately tell the difference that these policies have on them. The other sample in this study was drawn from the number of schools in this area and

the heads of the schools were interviewed. This was meant to identify the changes that the schools have undergone under the SAP regime. The third category of sample data was drawn from health facilities sponsored by the government in the area. In the health facilities we interviewed the medical officer in-charge. This was also meant to ascertain the changes that have been introduced in the health sector.

In choosing K'Ombura location as my research area the Purposive Sampling technique was used. The reason for this was because in this technique the researcher can use his or her own judgement to determine which items to choose because of their importance and relevance to the study. In the study, the researcher was interested in those individuals who have headed households for ten or more years. This is because SAPs was implemented in Kenya in 1983. The researcher began this study by asking people who had lived in the area since 1980 and had families then. On finding such a person who met this description and interviewing him/her, the researcher got other respondents from him or her by asking for people who had resided in the area since 1980. This technique of sampling is known as the snowball technique. So the

total sample is gradually accumulated from a very small **beginning.**

Luo homesteads have a certain order in their arrangements. The house that directly faces the main entrance belongs to the homestead's head. This homestead head is always a man. The homestead head or the "Wuon Pacho" is the patriarch of the home and the households in the homestead are either his or his wives' household or his sons' (with their wives) . The researcher chose the "Wuon Pacho's" house and from there he would find out who has headed a household for the last ten or more years so that they can be included in the sample. Through the assistance of the local administration, we were able to determine the sample size from the general population. From the assistant chiefs in the three sub-locations we found that there were at least 1000 households in every sub-location. An arbitrary choice of 3% of 1000, was considered as representative enough for every sub location. This was done considering the fact that time and finances weighed heavily against the researcher. Thus, for every sub-location thirty households appear in the sample. The researcher used non probability methods in the sampling because of the homogeneity of the culture in the region. Since all the

people in the area share the same culture, any of the chosen correspondents who meet the criteria the researcher wanted would adequately represent the general trend in the community.

The researcher by using probability and non probability method was able to have a sample size of 98. The number could not be higher because of the amount of time, finance and personnel available for this study. The total sample size of 98 comprised 90 households, 6 head teachers and the 2 government sponsored health facilities. The 6 head teachers and the government health officers were to ascertain changes in government policies.

For each household head (if male) interviewed, the wife was also interviewed to determine if there has actually been an increase in the participation of women in the market economy due to the advent of these adjustment programmes.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION

Several techniques were used to obtain both qualitative and quantitative.

3.3.1 Data collection techniques

Interviews:

A structured interview questionnaire was administered to the respondents who had been sampled using the snow-ball sampling technique. This structured interview questionnaire had both open and closed-ended questions.

Most responses from the questions were coded after the data collection process was over . The questionnaire, though written in English, was translated by the researcher who had the advantage of knowing the Luo language. Through the questionnaire it was possible to get the people's responses to the changes in their economic situation and relate them to the introduction of adjustment policies. At the same time we were also able to find out their perceptions of these policies of economic adjustments. Besides the structured interview schedule administered on the general population, a questionnaire was also administered on the headmasters of schools in this region. This was meant to confirm whether cost sharing in schools was a reality or not and the form it took. Another questionnaire was administered on the government sponsored health centers in the area. The purpose was to investigate the form of cost sharing in the hospital.

The information from the two sets of questionnaires were used to compare what the general population said and find out if the answers contradicted what the people actually felt.

3.3.1.2 Unstructured Interviews:

Some random in-depth discussions were held with the informants to enrich the data. The reason for this was to allow data to be collected in a free atmosphere. This was meant to get rid of the "Hawthorne" effect.

Having established rapport with the people in the area, coupled with the fact that the researcher had lived in the area for quite sometime, it was easier for the people to relax and just give information needed.

This, however, was more common when the researcher paid them a courtesy call. This helped obtain more information than would have been gathered from the formalized setting of the interview while using a questionnaire.

3.3.1.3 Participant Observation

This technique is widely used in Anthropology inquiry and we were able to put it into practice. The researcher was were able to

make observations of what he saw in the field. Careful consideration was taken as the researcher related the adjustment programmes in the various sectors like education and health and what he was able to see as responses to these changes.

In instances where one was able to participate, we were able to be part of the production activities going on in the region. A considerable amount of information was gathered from these observations and this was of use in comparing what the people were saying and what was actually going on.

3.3.2 Secondary Methods of Data collection

At the onset of the study, careful consideration of the already existing materials on SAP's was made and it was from these written materials that the research proposal for this study was developed. Although literature on the impact of SAPs on households was quite scarce, the researcher was able to obtain information from other impact studies of SAP's on related fields which hold a bearing on the problem we set out to investigate. It is from the secondary data that it was possible to operationalize the study. To find out if the health and education

facilities were well used, the researcher went to these facilities and even perused through the existing records. An example of this occurred at the Hongo-Kosa dispensary where the medical records were examined and the attendance was investigated. This was meant to help us know whether the current changes in the health sector which were instituted by the advent of SAPs had affected the attendance. The schools in the area were also visited and the main reason was to determine whether the cutback on government expenditure had affected attendance. The researcher was also interested in finding out if the students were able to go on studying in school without breaks as this long breaks are sure to affect the performance of the students. These visits proved quite useful as they were able to provide the researcher with a wealth of information. This information was got by perusing through the class attendance records and by asking the teacher in the class reasons why certain students could not be in class.

3.3.3 Field Problems

Although the study was successfully completed the researcher run into several problems. Most of these were resolved but there are

others that the researcher could not do anything about. The most common problem was the fact that women were not very ready to answer our questions. This was because they were scared of reprisals from their husbands. On one occasion the researcher, was almost speared when the irate husband came home and found him administering the questionnaire. There could be several suggestion to this anger,- either the husband saw it as a ploy to take his wife away from him, or he did not want the woman to provide certain information to the stranger. It is only after some villagers who were not far off pleaded with the man to leave the researcher could go on with his work. However, the responses of this woman were not included due to the reluctance of the husband to let us interview him with his wife. Some people were openly fed up with the researcher as they were of the opinion that it was a waste of time. "Many young men have come in this area and asked the same type of questions you are asking but we have not seen any change so far!"

It was quite evident that previous researchers had promised them that on answering their questions they would be able to help bring about certain forms of development in the area. Others

openly asked for money before they answered the questions. However, when the researcher explained that his was purely an academic exercise and as a student did not have money to give, he was quickly welcomed and had his questions answered. Occasionally, it was hard to get the household head in the homestead so the researcher had to go back later when he/she was there or if he/she was in the "shamba" the researcher followed him/her there. I could not get all the information from the schools as most of the school heads did not have records on the number of student who dropped out because of lack of school fees.

3.4 DATA ANALYSIS

Both qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis were used. The researcher used frequencies and percentages to describe the information acquired in the field. The qualitative methods were used in the analysis to help enrich the data that had been gathered during the research.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIAL-DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE HOUSEHOLD WELFARE AND THE ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The main thrust of this chapter is basically the description of the data gathered and the analysis of the relationships between the SAPs, the prize increases and the subsequent effect on the householders welfare.

4.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HOUSEHOLD HEADS

Most of the household heads in our sample were under fifty years of age and the most occurring age group was between thirty one - forty and the constituted 35.6% of the sample. These people are relatively young and quite capable of a number of productive activities in the rural sector. However, the level of education could suggest why this group of people are not attracted to the town in such of jobs. Most of the household heads we had contact with had the basic minimum level of education. Sixty-six point seven per cent had primary level of education and thus could read and write. Those with secondary level of education were 25.6%

and those with no formal education had 6.7% representation in the population. The number of highly educated people in the population who were heading household and still leaving in the area had just a 1.1% representation in the sample. (By highly educated here we mean college/University level). What seems quite clear is that one's level of education influences one's desire to stay in the rural area or not. This is basically due to the notion that is prevalent in the area, namely, that a high level of education is a must for one to acquire a good job. Since it is in the urban areas that these jobs are it follows that most of the educated would seek these jobs in town centres. Chambers (1983:7) states this when he discusses the urban trap. He sees the international system of knowledge and prestige, with its rewards and incentives as factors that help draw professionals away from rural centres. These people are attracted and held fast by the better infrastructure and career prospects in urban centres. Most of the people left behind to facilitate the development of the rural areas are normally the women, children, old men and, finally, young men whose education standard does not give them the confidence to go to town to seek jobs. This affects the

productivity of the area since the cream are drawn to the urban centers.

The families in the area are relatively large the household heads who have more than four dependants were 68.2%, 12.5% had four, 6.8% had three, 10.2% had two, and 2.3% had a dependant each. These dependants were not just the children of the household heads but in some instances they included other relatives. The family with very few people normally were headed by very old men who had lost most of their family to rural-urban migration. This were left alone with their wives or grandchild for one reason or another. Female headed household were not particularly large and were of average size. The conditions that contributed to the female headed were :-

1. The death of the husband
2. In cases where the husband lived far away from the wife and was not easily accessible in the decision making of the family in the area.

The largest families were those which had both the husband and wife alive and staying together.

4.3 ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES PERFORMED BY HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS AND CHANGES IN GENDER ROLES

In the household realize that the kind of activities that members were engaged in was evidently divided along gender lines and age. There are four categories:- the male adult, the female adult, male child and female child. Certain task are mainly male preserves and others were dominated by the female sex. The roles dominated by female adults were farming, trading and domestic chores. The male adults dominated the wage labour employment sector. (This is both in the formal and informal sector). From the evidence gathered in the field, it was realized that most people in this area are not actively engaged in fishing as is manifested by the relatively low representation of those involved in the sample. Most members of the rural household are mainly preoccupied with Farming. Of the households in the sample. The female adult contribution to farming was 96.5% while that of adult males was 78.9%. The percentages of people involved in the activity is quite high thus showing that farming is the main source of income in the region. The people here practice both cash-crop farming and subsistence farming. The type of farming activities men are involved in are mostly the clearing of the

bush and digging (with plough and jembe) . Women on the other hand, weed, hoe, harvest and take the harvest to the market. Work in the domestic sphere is also gender segregated. The clearing of the house and the environs are tasks that the women carry out. The men repair the roofs while the women take care of the children and plaster the walls of the houses with mud. It generally seems that any work that needs physical strength is done by the men while those that are lighter and repetitive are more often than not done by women.

The roles the members of a household assume have not been static, however there have been changes and the reasons that are given for the changes fall into different categories. First and foremost, a total of 51.1% of the respondents agreed to having seen or experienced changes in the roles assumed by the members. While 48.8% are still of the opinion that these roles have not changed, the reasons given were first; the issue of age of children in the household. This is a very important source of labour for household production. When the children are young there is little that they contribute in the household, but once they attain the age of six years and above, they are inculcated in the household production activities. However, in recent

times, this is the age they are meant to start their formal schooling and thus the households production activities have lost this labour since the children now go to school. This labour is thus, only available when the children come back from school. This was seen at a nearby watering point where most of the people getting water in the evening were school children(boys and girls). On their way to school, they would walk with jerrycans which they used to carry the water with on their way home from school. In this case, we see the children as being involved in the two modes of production. In the familial mode of production, they contribute to the process of preparing meals by fetching water and for some, in the actual cooking. They are also involved in the capitalist mode of production as they pursue an education which prepares them for wage sector employment. Of the population of the household heads sampled, 17.2% gave the age of the young ones as reasons for there being changes in the household role differentiation. The roles that the children are meant to take have to be divided between the adults in the household. It is only one household head who could hire somebody from outside, i.e. , a herds boy to look after

livestock since the boys are all in school and thus cannot do that job at all.

Another 11.5% mentioned retirement as being reason for change in roles of the members of the household. This retirement thus freed them from wage labour employment in towns and thus on their return home, they would be absorbed into the household units' economic production. This, we noted, considerably eases the burden on the woman who was left at home and has actually been doing all the work in the household (fulfilling not only her roles but the husbands role in the familial mode of production in the household) .

Changes in jobs which lead to re-allocation of spouse also affected the roles taken by individuals in the household. A good job would mean better remuneration and maybe a transfer from the rural areas to the urban centres, better education facilities for the young ones and better career chances for the husband.

If the job is not good, it simply means that there would be loss of the individual's contribution in the household and thus the people left behind would not only take up their normal roles but also take up the missing member's role in food production.

Those who saw the death of a spouse as resulting in a change of roles in the household and the loss of jobs or losses in business ventures as having a lot to do with the role changes in the household were 3.4%, respectively. Another reason that was given as resulting in role change was when members of the household left the household for one reason or another. Calamities and diseases were also mentioned as factors that could contribute to the role changes in the household by 2.3% of the respondents in the sample. Thus, we realize that most of the people are aware that the roles they used to play ten years ago are changing and are proceeding to take up responsibilities that were inherently not theirs, either by virtue of their gender or age as was mandatory for them in their traditional past. It is important to note that women have found it relatively easier to take hitherto male dominated tasks but very few men will be willing to take hitherto "female tasks". In case this happens, the terms for doing these tasks normally are changed. If the man is to fetch water from the well, the man would only be involved if he is using a wheel barrow or bicycle. If it was farming, which was hitherto a female reserve, we were able to notice that any form of mechanization of this task would result in an increased rate

of male participation. This is not to say that men do not dig using the hoe, but hoe digging is more often associated with women and their children. The men were cattle keepers while agriculture was a female preserve. In this thesis, we are not trying to say that these changes in roles started ten years ago, for these role changes started with the advent of colonization. However, we have reason to believe that when people are in desperate times, the tempo at which these roles are reversed and new ones assumed is much higher than when things are okay. The economic measures taken to try and solve the problems faced by the nation and the economic households have increased the rate at which these roles have changed.

4.4 SAPS - Impact on Household income and Expenditure on Food

The structural adjustment policies that were seen to have a direct influence on the household income were those policies that affected the pricing of commodities that was necessary for household production. The devaluation of the currency and liberalization of the market also tend to have an impact on the household's real income and expenditure.

As far as the income of the people in this area goes, most of the people are from the low income bracket.

Table 4.2 on the preceding page shows the income of the household head and the total income of the household.

Table 4.2 Income of household head and Total earning of the household.

Income category	Household Head	Income	Household Head	Total earning
	Frequency	Valid %	Frequency	Valid %
0 - 1000	21	23.3	10	11.2
1001-2000	23	25.6	19	21.3
2001-3000	16	17.8	15	16.9
3001-4000	15	16.7	13	14.6
4001-5000	6	6.7	7	7.9
Over 5000	5	5.6	19	21.3
Don't Know	4	4.4	6	6.7
Total	90	100	90	100

1

Source;- Data collected in the field

From Table 4.2 the modal income range was between 1001-2000 Kenya shillings. This is quite low considering the rising costs of living. About 67% of the respondents had a net income of less than 3000 Kenyan shillings. This amount is not much when one considers the fact that these people not only have to feed themselves and their families but also pay fees for their children, cater for the health needs of the households and also have some left for recreation or even for investing into business. Due to the decontrolling of prices, the cost of foodstuffs and other commodities had risen steeply. A packet of Unga maize meal was going for as much as seventy Kenya shillings in February while a Kilogramme of meat was going for one hundred and twenty Kenyan Shillings. There was also a scarcity of vegetables and tomatoes; thus the little that made their way into the local market in Korowe was priced quite highly. Thus, the average income earned by the respondents cannot warrant a comfortable living standard. This is due to the fact that their families are not small and also food is not the only basic necessity for the household.

An in-depth study of the relations between the price hikes of March 1992 reveals a great disparity between the current

expenditure and the pre- March expenditure on the food. This expenditure on food doubled in most cases and still the quality of food that was being taken had to be drastically reduced. This not only reflects a deterioration in the nutritional status of the members of the household but also shows that with the same income, one still has to buy less in terms of the quantity of food in order to enjoy a lower quality of food.

A detailed look at the income of households reveal a slight improvement when compared to the household head's income. The reason that the researcher found for the small increment in the total income earned was mainly contributed by the nature of the work or economic activity the other members of the household were involved in. Most of those involved in any economic activity, were petty traders and thus did not bring in much income. It is important to note that though the total income of the household increases slightly when all the household members are involved in income earning activities the duties or responsibilities of the household head to members of the household is not reduced.

A cursory glance at the responsibilities indicate that 74.4% of the household heads were paying their children's fees while only

25.6% did not. The provision of food is so important to the household head as is reflected by the fact that 97.8% cater for the food needs of the household. It is important to note that only 2 or 2.2% did not buy food for the household as this was the wife's work. On the other hand, 93.3% took care of their dependants or household members health needs while 6.7% did not; these represent about six of the total population of the household heads interviewed.

About 32 % of the household heads assumed the responsibility of taking care of the household's transport needs. The rest of the household heads did not cater for this need. This would seem to indicate that most of the things these people wanted either could be obtained from the immediate vicinity or the household simply may not have seen it as a basic need.

Only 11 household heads catered for the household's entertainment. As far as emotional support goes, 92.2% agreed to helping their households through different forms of support, e.g. taking care of them when sick, being there during times of bereavement, and generally being there to help in times of need. In terms of expenditure on food, we discovered that most of the houses recorded an increment. The expenditure actually doubled.

This is due to several factors, there is first and foremost the scarcity of these food items, the decontrol of the pricing system, the devaluation of the shilling and the general inflation that was prevalent in the area. The expenditure of food before the price increases of March 1992 can be seen in table 4.3

TABLE 4.3 Pre- March 1992 Price increases Expenditures on Food

j Amount in Ksh	Frequency	Valid %
<500	24	26.7
501-1000	55	58.9
1001-1500	6	6.7
1501-2000	5	5.6
Don' t know	2	2.2
Total	90	100.0

Source:- Data collected in the field

A comparison of these expenditures of the pre-price increase to the post 1992 March price increases was directly related to the liberalization of the foreign exchange and the devaluation of the

Kenyan currency. It can be seen that only 2.2% claimed to spend less than 500 Kenya shillings, only 23.3% were in the Ksh. 501-1000 category, While 1001-1500 Ksh. were represented by 16.7% of the population. The most occurring range of expenditure was the Ksh. 1501-2000 category and these had 30% representation. Those spending more than 4500 formed only 1.1% of the population. Another 1.1% spent all their money on food while 7.8% were not quite sure of how much money they spend in a month. Most of them just make money and use it, they don't sit down and calculate just how much they spend in a month. One man called this "dondruok" Being unnecessarily strict on details, like being stingy. This is a trait that is looked down upon by the Luo community.

With the data adduced concerning the income and expenditure changes in the household, we were interested in finding out how this has affected the intake of food in the community. We wanted to find out the number of meals one had in a day and of the total population interviewed 68.9% stated that they made three meals a day possible for the household. About 22.2%, that is, twenty out of Ninety householders had only two meals a day and this was

normally in the early morning hours and in the evening; 8.9% had only a meal a day.

On being asked whether the number of meals they have today is the same number of meals they had before the price increases of March 1992, 59% were of the opinion that there had been no changes while 41% accepted that there had actually been changes. Those who claimed that there had been no changes, however, were quick to point out that the quality has gone down. For example there is a decrease in the consumption of meat. One respondent pointed out that meat is nowadays eaten only at funerals for it is very expensive,- chicken and eggs are also quite rare in their diets. There has, however, been an increase in the intake of vegetables and "Omena" (daagas) and sweet potatoes have effectively replaced bread in the morning. So though the change has not been in the number of meals for some households, the content of what is eaten has greatly changed. These changes were attributed to the high costs involved in buying the required food items, other reasons given were the number of people in the household, the standard of living going up and for households with children in secondary school, the high costs incurred in

sending the children to school meant that they had to cut down their expenditure on food in the household.

All in all the reasons given by the household heads all allude to the strain they face in handling the household's budget. The strain in the budget is basically due to the fact that the income has changed very little but the demands on it have not reduced; instead the costs of meeting these demands have gone up. This has affected their ability to take care of their household's economic well-being.

In the field we realized that most of the people believed that savings are very important. However, very few people actually did save any money. Of the surveyed households, 66% did not save anything. The main reason for their lack of saving is because most of them are small scale farmers with no regular income. These normally earn their money at the end of the harvest period when they sell their produce. Those who could have something to save were mainly those who, apart from having their farms, were involved in some other income-generating activities such as wage labour employment or trade.

In terms of investments most household heads in the study area saw themselves as being without investments (36.7%), 38.9% saw

their animals as a major form of investment. Membership in a self help group was also seen as a form of investment as it was able to provide support. However, the kinship network of support shows that the hard economic times has had a negative impact on the network of exchange of labour and even foodstuffs. A very disturbing trend is realized as people become less ready to come and help others as freely as before since the little that is there cannot go around to serve all.

According to the survey findings, it was not just any livestock that was seen as investment, it was cattle that were ranked highest. Money is usually used to buy goats which, in turn, are sold to buy cows.

A lot of importance is given to having cattle as they have a very high value in exchange. It is through cattle that people forge marital relationships and at times of death they are used for the feasts.

The importance of cattle is also noted by Ocholla-Ayayo (1976) who states that cattle are not only economic assets but have social and cultural values in that they link numerous social relationships. He notes that though these people's production was basically oriented to the meeting of their immediate needs,

their paramount desire was to accumulate wealth in the form of cattle. With this basic approach to production, there is a different approach to production, which is different from the capitalist drive to maximize profits and produce more, although there is the prestige factor. One produces to buy cattle and when one has a lot of cattle one is not only respected but also gains social status in society. Such a person would be able to get more wives and children. This is still very important to the Luo in this area.

The failure of rural households to invest in K'Ombura location is not due to improvidence but it actually reflects on the pre-occupation with immediate needs. The poverty in this area is reflected by the inability of the household to meet its basic needs sufficiently, this is because of the hikes in prices while their earnings have not increased commensurately. The household is most often in debt and vulnerable. Contingencies are often met by drawing on the meager resources available in the home or by shifting cash from one front of the household to meet this contingencies.

In one of our in-depth interviews, a female household head was able to discuss with us the conditions that they are currently

facing. Having been separated from her husband in Mombasa, she went to her husband's home where she was able to get a job as a copy-typist in a nearby school and thus started on her road to independence, as she termed it. The husband supports the education of the children by paying their school fees and his support ends there. So this woman, with a salary of 1500 Kenyan shillings not only has to feed her five children but clothe them and deal with their health needs. Her expenditure on food before the price increases of 1992 was a paltry Ksh. 800/= but now this has shot up to Ksh. 2500. This expenditure on food alone is far much more than she earns. When asked how she manages to deal with the shortfall between expenditure on food and her income, she was quick to point out that she does not entirely depend on her salary, she sells sweets, sodas, and simsim during break time in the school where she works. She manages to borrow money from the teaching staff and other friends to augment her income. So after getting her salary, this lady also borrows money and pays other debts incurred during the month with some of the money borrowed. So the vicious circle of indebtedness continues as she borrows money from one debtor to pay another debtor. Needless to say, this lady has no investments or savings and in all senses

lives from hand to mouth. She not only consumes all her money in the now but also spends money she is yet to earn. This case is typical of the Kenyan situation whereby our expenditure far exceeds our income. So in order to offset these deficits, the government borrows money, goods and services from other countries.

The fact that the products we make available in the international market are not highly valued and thus exchange very poorly with goods and services we import, means that the country is always experiencing balance of payment deficits and thus when the country borrows money to pay other debts incurred we end up being in a vicious circle of poverty as a country just like the female household head. The value of goods and services that this woman offers in the market economy are also not highly valued. Not having attained a high level of education, she can only get a low paying job. The amount of money she earns is not commensurate with her responsibilities and cannot effectively cater for the family's needs from its onset and this is the lack of education and other amenities that would help them compete favourably with other children from well to do households.

From the on-going postulation, it is obvious that there is great similarity between the household head in K'Ombura location who eats into his/her future earnings and our country when it gets into heavy debts. In such a situation changes in the capitalistic mode of production will affect the familial mode of production. This is because the relationship between the two modes is dialectical, one influences the other. The underdevelopment of the household will be enhanced because within the household there are different modes of production. When certain costs are cut from the capitalist system quite often the costs are transferred to the familial mode of production. The government can easily cut down its costs and reduce its expenditure. If coffee is not doing well in the world market the trees can be uprooted and other crops planted instead. However, this is not so in the familial mode of production, caring for members of the household cannot be done away with just because prices have gone up (Elson 1989). Generally, since it is mostly women who are involved in the management of the household any increase in prices of goods and services because of changes in the market economy by the government would affect them. The managers of the household will have to try and maintain the same

standards at higher costs since they will be the ones to bear the burden. One cannot kill some children so that the number of children one has is reduced and thus facilitate easier management, but the government can expand some sectors of the economy and reduce other sectors without much ado if economics is the only criterion used to chart the country's development course.

One of the changes that is hurting the household economy is the emphasis on cash-crop production by the government. This emphasis is a direct result of the World Bank approach of SAPs which insists on boosting the supply of goods by the country facing adjustments in the international market. With this emphasis and constant government encouragement we noticed that most people in the area we talked to were pre-occupied with the idea of rice and sugar-cane production. This is because there is renewed emphasis on planting rice and sugar cane and this is manifest in government support in the form of irrigation and provision of seeds for some farmers. This help is, however, not free for the farmers have to pay for it when they have harvested the crop.

One thing worthy of note is that as more and more land falls under cash crop production the area that was formerly used for food crops for household consumption diminishes. This definitely has far-reaching effects on the rural community. The main reason is that if the household is not self sufficient in food production, they are opened up to the larger market economy as they have to buy what they previously used to produce in the market. The problem is that now, they have to do this when the prices are very high. For those who grow rice, some of the rice is consumed in the household. When the rains fail (for the last three years the rural householders pointed out they haven't had sufficient rain for the crops) then the cash crops that people are concentrating on fail. This creates a situation where there is a high demand for food, a short supply for food and thus the prices of the commodities are pushed up. The failure of the cash crops means that there is very little money to buy the household necessities. During the setting in of the SAPs, the government leaves the demand and supply forces to determine prices. This exacerbates the situation as there is no price ceiling which would protect the poor consumer. This makes it easier for the supplier to charge any price he/she wants.

When the household is exposed to the market economy during a time where there is no protection of the small consumer in the market and the household production of food has dwindled, the result could be, a community where the rural population cannot produce enough to eat for themselves because they are producing more for sale yet the commodities being sold are not doing well. Adverse weather conditions would lead to disastrous results in terms of food supply. The removal of price controls would tend to push the prices of these foodstuffs out of reach for the rural household.

In the implementation of SAPs, there is the obvious attempt to ensure that the government's role in the market is diminished. This has its own effects in K'Ombura location. A perfectly competitive market situation only exists in theory and the imperfections of the market are characterized by the existence of monopolies in the area. These few businessmen/women can sell their produces at whatever price they wish and the consumer can do very little about these price changes. To the researcher, this is an extractive situation where the poor rural household pays more for less and has no choice whatsoever since he/she needs the commodities. The monopolist registers high profit

margins while the rural householder who is trying to make do with the little he/she has suffers.

So all in all during the adjustment programmes it is the rural poor who depend on the market economy for their foodstuffs and other needs who suffer the most and thus bear the brunt of adjustment. Whenever there is a food shortage some people have blamed it on the failure of rain. However, we are of the opinion that lack of rain should not necessarily warrant famine or lack of food. This notion finds it's support when Timberlake (1985) asserts that " famine is not necessarily the result of drought, people and policies cause drought. Drought just reveals the misuse of natural resources and the vulnerability of the rural poor". He further points out that drought is just but a lack of water, but not necessarily a disaster, whether or not it becomes a disaster depends on how people have been managing their land before the drought. It is quite clear that drought is not the cause of food scarcity and, consequently, food insecurity but the practices of managing the land before the drought. Drought is more of the triggering event not the cause. During my stay in the area it was evident that there is little or no attempt to give the soil the tree cover it needs, i.e., there is no

afforestation program. The Katho sub-location had more trees in the area than the other two sub-locations and this gave them a greater advantage than the other two zones since they had enough water and thus could plant vegetables. They were relatively better off than the others. Trees in the other two sub-locations are few and seem to have been chopped for firewood, both for use in the household and sale in the market. To add to the poor farming practices, the water resources available are not well utilized. If the people in the area could use the water resources and irrigate the land, carry out water and soil conservation programmes then the issue of rain failing would not result in famine or lack of food.

The management practices that a community applies in an attempt to come to terms with their environment is of paramount importance to their continued existence. It is the relationship between human beings and the events (in this case drought) that causes disaster and determines its magnitude. For there to be disastrous results there has to be in existence certain pre-conditions, a vulnerable agricultural system and misplaced political priorities. The fact that our population growth far exceeds the growth in agricultural production, SAPs will cause

havoc in food production. This is because of the emphasis on cash crop production as more land is being put under cash crop production and less land is made available for the production of food.

The fact that the scarcity of food in Africa and by extension Kenya is not because of drought has been explicitly put forth by Timberlake (1985) when he points out that though this "drought" began in the Sahel in 1983, the Sahelian countries- Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Chad- harvested a record 154 million tonnes of cotton fibre (up from 22.7 million tonnes in 1961-62). Yet this was the same farmers who could not grow enough food to feed themselves. The cause of these food shortages and their subsequent high prices is because there has been a gradual shift from food-crop production to cash crop production courtesy of the implementation of SAPs. Even if the householders were to pool their incomes together we still find that their incomes are still not sufficient to subsist on.

Most of the households have this as their situation and see no end to this sad situation. Some hold to the notion that it is only political change, a government which is sensitive to their needs and well disposed towards them that will rescue them from

hunger. During the field survey, the opposition leader Jaramogi Oginga Odinga had just died. To these people whose support for the opposition was almost unanimous in the 1992 multi-party elections, this was a sign of things to come. An old man believed that it was Odinga's presence in the political equation that made things tolerable for his people but his death now meant that the Luo had no one to protect or speak for their interests.

The political factor is very important in that currently the ongoing theme amongst the top Kenyan leadership is that 'development' would only be made available to those who voted for the party that is currently in power. This thus brings in place a situation that those places that voted for the opposition would be marginalized in the allocation of resources. This coupled with the impact of adjustment programs in this area would definitely make life unbearable for the rural households. This is because the government will not help to build the important infrastructure that would help improve productivity and thus lead to further underdevelopment of the areas in question, namely, K'Ombura location. The changes that were put in place in the political arena in Kenya (multi-party politics) were mainly there because of the conditionality of tying political and

economic reforms as a prerequisite to resumption of Aid which had been stopped by the donor countries.

From the old man's reaction to the death of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and the economically hard times, there is a degree of alienation in the hearts of these people towards their government. So in all sense, the general welfare of the household has deteriorated due to the current economic crisis which has been worsened by the current implementation of SAPs. The men, women and children in this region have had to do with much less than was usual. Yet they have to increasingly work harder to produce and innovate to operate at a lower level than before.

CHAPTER 5

IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMMES ON ACCESSIBILITY TO EDUCATION AND HEALTHCARE FACILITIES IN K'OMBURA LOCATION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses how the cutbacks in expenditure by the government on essential social services like education and health facilities have affected education of the children and the health care facility preference in K¹Ombura location.

5.2 IMPACT ON EDUCATION OF SCHOOL GOING CHILDREN AND ON THE FACILITIES

The types of schools that are available in this area fall under three general categories, namely, government schools, private schools and the communally-owned schools. Since the interest is on the cut back on government expenditure in these schools, our focus will be on the government aided schools. However, there will be mention of the attendance of students in the other, type of schools.

In K'Ombura, most people are poor, and this is manifest not only in their consumption patterns but also in their preference of schools to which they send their children. Ninety-six per cent of the surveyed parents did not have any of their children in private schools. This is because the fees in private schools are quite high as the burden of maintaining school facilities, teachers' salaries and other benefits lie squarely on the parents' shoulders.

The amount of money one has at any given time plays a major role in determining the schools to which one would send their children. Community owned schools were favoured by parents rather than private schools. This is shown by the fact that out of the household heads interviewed, 10.2% had 2 children each in this type of schools, while another 10.2% had 3 children each in this type of schools. However, 66% did not send their children in these schools. In this case the community got together and built the school. The onus of the school's maintenance and teachers' emoluments also lay squarely on the community's shoulders. The fact that the community is not well off in terms of finances is clearly indicated by the fact that the only existing community owned schools are primary schools. The only secondary school in

the area that was owned by the community has now been closed.

This is because a secondary school needs more financial commitment from the local people than the primary school. This is not possible from a community whose members are barely eking out a living from their meager resources.

This leaves only the government aided schools which are more popular because they are relatively inexpensive. The reasons for their popularity are that the government would maintain and build the school structures, provide the necessary personnel to run the school, pay them and also provide teaching facilities like chalk, dusters and books. The table below shows the household preference of Government aided schools.

Table 5.1 Households Preference of Government Aided schools

No of children in Govt schools	Frequency	Valid Percentage
1	8	18
2	16	18
3	11	12.4
>3	27	30.3
None	27	30.3
Missing Cases	1	1.1
Total	90	100

Source:- Data collected in the field

The change in the government policy which has led to the reduction in the support formerly given to these institutions is generally seen as an attempt at cutting down the governments expenditure and increasing public responsibility in these areas. This expense^ has thus been shifted to the householder who not only has to juggle his/her expenses to suit the changing needs on the income but also try to meet the former needs as well.

The table below shows how much the householders spend per year on education. This would help show the strain caused on the households budget.

Table:5.2 Expenditure on Education by respondents per year.

Fees in KSH	Frequency	Percentage
< 500	33	37.1
501 - 1000	12	13.5
1001 - 1500	1	1.1
1501 - 2000	4	4.5
2501 - 3000	1	1.1
3001 - 3500	2	2.2
> 3500	27	30.3
N A	9	10.1
Missing Cases	1	1.1
Total	90	100

Source:- Data collected in the field

The fees paid by these household heads do not appear as being high but when one considers the fact that the households in this area are very poor, then one starts to understand the implications these fees would have on the children's access to education. Most of the household heads who were paying more than 3,500 Kenya shillings had at least a child in secondary school. As regards the ability of the individual householders to meet the fee requirements, 51.7% were unable to meet their school fees requirements and only 39.3% were able. Another 9% of those interviewed could not respond to this question because they either had somebody else helping them pay these fees or they just did not have any child in school.

In order to take care of this monetary requirements from the schools their children were in, the householders had to resort to certain measures. Some of the household heads believed that working harder in their various economic activities would meet their children's school requirements. They would also talk to the headmasters to allow their children to continue learning as they look for the money to pay the fees; 19% resorted to this measure, while 6% sold their animals to raise money to send their children to School. Hitherto the exchange of livestock was solely for the

purpose of establishing kinship relationship like marriage, sacrifices and during funerals, but as the needs of the household increased this exchange has now encompassed even the need to pay fees. This exchange clearly portrays an articulation of the modes of production whereby the commodities of exchange hitherto traditional are being monetarized so that they can operate in the capitalistic mode of production. This shows the advance of the capitalistic mode of production into the familial mode of production.

Other householders would resort to borrowing money (3.4%) and others (4.5%) would actually let the children stay at home until they get the money. Some lucky ones (2.2%) would actually be allowed to pay the fees in installments and so have no interruptions in their children's school attendance. This was mainly because of the good relationship with the headmaster.

(Sometimes it is an issue of there being a kin-relationship between the two.) This also provides a classic example of the familial mode of production holding out against the capitalistic mode of productions encroachment. The driving factor between this form of exchange though money is involved, is the kinship relation between the headmaster and the household head.

It is also worth noting that though the household heads would do their best to get their children to school, the lack of money or rather its insufficiency results in long breaks in the children's education during the year or the term. The children whose parents cannot raise the money often end up being sent home, never to come back unless they have the required money. Most of the Headmasters talked to were of the opinion that this measure, though draconian and unjust was the only way they could get this money and therefore run their schools. The deputy headmistress of Lela secondary school said that after a student has been sent home from school, he/she would lose a considerable amount of tuition. The fees, however, would not be reduced according to the amount of time one has spent in school. So the student loses valuable tuition time but still pays the same amount he/she would have paid had he/she been there throughout. However, she pointed out that when one's child is at home and losing out on important education time, the parents are normally forced to work harder to get the required amount of money and thus send their children back to school.

The fact that these students are always being sent home from school and thus spend considerable spells of time at home has an

adverse effect on their studies. The researcher believes that there is a direct relationship between class attendance during the term or the year and their performances in the school and subsequently the national examinations.

The fact that there were breaks in the children's education, was corroborated by the discovery that out of the household heads interviewed, 45% claimed that their children were occasionally sent away from school because of fees. Another 30% stated that their children were sent away from school most of the time due to the scarcity of fees, 2% felt that their children were often sent home and only 16% of the household heads interviewed could confidently say that their children had never been sent away from school because of unavailability of funds.

In as much as the householders would have problems in meeting their school fees requirements, there is an intense appreciation of the importance of education and this is reflected by their attempts to ensure that these children go to school and at least get the minimum primary education. This is evidenced by the fact that 48% of the household heads interviewed would take up extra jobs to ensure that they meet the fee requirements. Very few of them (2%) called for "harambees". Only 1 percent thought of

borrowing from friends and only 3 percent would resort to asking for money from relatives.

This also suggests an increasing individualization of affairs even in the rural areas as everybody tries to find out how best they can provide for their family. This reflects a gradual but definite departure from the all pervasive kinship support system. This is not to say that individualism has succeeded in destroying the familial mode of production's mutual support system but its attack on this system is slow and steady. Other means of taking care of the fee requirements by the household heads has been more destructive . This is because it entails the channeling of funds from evidently important sectors to cater for education. This is normally evidenced by austere cut-backs on the expenditure on food. This is deemed destructive in that when one does not have sufficient food both in terms of quality and quantity, one is more prone to diseases and thus even the performances of those that these sacrifices are being made for will not be good.

The effectiveness of these methods was, according to the researcher's assessment of the data, evidenced by the fact that 41 percent of the household heads thought them so while another 40 percent were of the opinion that they were not so effective.

Only 1% were quite categorical in their denial of the above methods effectiveness in meeting their fee requirements.

Apart from paying fees, the household heads also had to buy books for their children. Only 5 percent said that these books are still provided in schools while 88 percent attested to the fact that books are no longer provided in schools any more and thus they had to provide for these books.

If one does not have the required books, one would not only have limited access to relevant information for one's education but in most schools this was also reason enough to warrant one being sent home from school. In an attempt to assess the effect the fees problem has on the youth, the researcher observed them at home and casually talked to them about their future. Most of them are very saddened by the fact that while they are at home others are in school. This contributes greatly to their performance in class. Though they do not go to school one cannot say with a lot of confidence that these children would be idle and thus be more prone to involvement in delinquent activities. There are certain activities in the household sphere which keep them from being idle.

Amongst the male children the most common way of keeping busy when not effectively occupied in school is by being involved in the domestic sphere activities. About 71 percent helped in domesticities and 8 percent did nothing; only 1 percent sought employment outside the home environment. Amongst the female children, the contribution to the households activities when not effectively occupied by schoolwork would be in the domestic sphere. Sixty-six percent were involved in helping the household with domestic chores. One percent sought employment outside and 3 percent were reported as actually doing nothing in the household production. Though most of the children who have been sent home are mainly pre-occupied with helping in the household's domestic activities, this help is to a great extent determined by one's gender.

The male children would be involved in helping in the farming and in herding of cattle, if there are any. The female children, on the other hand, would help in the cooking of food, fetching of firewood and water and, finally, taking care of their younger sisters and brothers. However, the demarcations of these duties are not extremely rigid as it is not unusual to see male children helping in the collection of firewood and water. The only time

the researcher was able to notice serious male children involvement in duties considered feminine was in cases where the head of the household was female or when most members of the household were male and thus had no females to do this "women's work". To further assess the number or percentage of household heads with their children at home due to lack of school fees, the respondents were asked about the number of children who were supposed to be in school but are at home due to a lack of school fees. The responses are summarized in table 5.3.

Table: 5.3 Children at home due to school fees.

No of Children	Frequency	Valid Percentage
None	64	72.7
1	7	8.0
2	9	10.2
3	4	4.5
4	2	2.3
>4	2	2.3
missing cases	2	
Total	90	100

Source.-- *Data collected in the field*

From table 5.3 above it was discovered that, though 72.7 percent of the householders claimed that they did not have any children who are supposed to be in school staying at home, even in such households there was a number who had children at home who should have been in school. Probing further we discovered that finishing school is a very relative term. An individual who has graduated from standard 8 is seen as having finished his

schooling if fees are not available to take him/her further. The same applies to even those who cannot make it to standard eight or who can't finish their secondary education.

The researcher also spoke to some of the students and most of them were not content with their situation. They were fully aware that their lack of education will be a major disadvantage to them in their future attempts to get jobs. The ones who actually did nothing would spend most of their time hanging around the Korowe shopping center or they would be in certain parts of the location smoking bhang and drinking chang¹aa. This not only destroys their chances of getting an education but it also contributes to their inability to contribute positively to the development of the area. More enterprising ones would, however, be involved in informal employment like helping to ferry passengers on bicycles from Korowe market into interior Nyamware. The female children would help in the household and their only way to a better future would be if they are lucky enough to marry a rich man. This is their only salvation out of their poverty. The female child is actually at a disadvantage when viewed comparatively to her male counterpart. This is because when a choice is to be made between a boy and girl as to who should

continue education, most invariably the male child would be favoured. The household preference of children to be taken to school is summarized in table 5.4.

Table:5.4 Preference of children to be taken to school

Preference	Frequency	Valid percentage
Boy	56	62.9
Girl	24	27.0
Best of them	2	2.2
None of them will go as all are equal	1	1.1
Take them all regardless	2	2.2
Take the older one	1	1.1
Don't Know	3	3.4
j Missing cases	1	.
Total	90	100

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Source:- Data collected in the field

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The reasons given for preferring the male child to the female child was that the male child is the mainstay of the home.

The female child, it is assumed, would eventually get married and thus not many people are prepared to make such great investments to help another "man's" wife. Those who preferred to take the girl to school argued that the girls have a shorter "shelf life", they get 'spoilt' quickly so one has to take them through the layers of education faster for a delay would mean disaster. This disaster apparently refers to the girls getting pregnant and thus adding more mouths to be fed in the family.

From an interview with the deputy headmaster of Onge'che primary school, it was established that the performance of the boys was much better than that of the girls. However, he said that this was only in the later classes. The girls usually performed better than their male counterparts generally in the earlier classes. In later primary stages, he noted that their performance deteriorated and he blamed this on the increasing amount of work that they have to cope with at home.

Thus, the expectation from these girls by society is biased in that their contribution to the domestic activities is ranked higher than their access to education. This, consequently, affects the time available for them to pursue their education.

So in such hard times when people have to make hard choices it is the girl who invariably suffers as far as education is concerned when adjustments on education in the household are made. Thus, marginalization in access to education ensures that the girl, when fully grown, will be marginalized as she lacks the required skills to compete effectively in the labour market. The preference of boys to girls in education does not speak much in terms of it being an advantage due to the poverty of the area. The fact that he is always being sent away from school also affects the boy's performance. This disadvantage, coupled with the lack of books to read, will ensure that even though he might get further than his sister, he would not stand a chance against people from other areas which are better off.

It is also not common for these boys to go far in their education. The changes in government expenditure on education has definitely affected the attendance of students in the schools and to a certain extent contributed to the increase in school drop-outs due to increment in fees. The female students have been generally left worse off. The education facilities have also been affected, there is a general lack of teaching

facilities and most of the buildings in which the teaching is supposed to be going on are often run down. These are but just some of the effects of the implementation of cost-sharing in our education system for the poor rural areas.

5.2 IMPACT OF SAPS ON HEALTH CARE DELIVERY SYSTEM AND THE PEOPLES ACCESS TO IT

Several factors came to the foreground when trying to assess the impact of structural adjustment programmes on the household's access to the health facilities. The reduction of governmental support in the provision of these health facilities is the SAP measure that is of importance to this study. The important question that this study sought to answer in this area is; how this policy has affected the general preference of householders in terms of the health facility they use and its accessibility to the individual household.

The researcher noted that preference in use of health facilities was determined by the disease one was suffering from. There are two general categories of these problems, there are diseases which the rural household heads believe can only be adequately treated by traditional medicine and there are others which the "white man's " medicine can cure. This medicine is normally

found in hospitals and Pharmacies. The traditional medicine can be acquired from the local experts or from available flora. In this section of the analysis of the findings, the focus is on finding patterns which tend to explain the preference of the rural householders to other forms of health facilities other than the once popular government aided hospitals . The study has shown that there is only one dispensary in the location, namely Hongo Kosa dispensary. This dispensary was built by the government to cater for health needs of the rural population. The government also hired personnel to run the dispensary and also provided the medicine.

However, in the on-going SAPs era, the government has drastically reduced its expenditure on this facility. The only form of help the government provides nowadays is the medical personnel to run this facility. There is one public health officer and a community nurse. The subordinate staff are paid by the community and these are a cleaner and a watchman. As far as the provision of medicine is concerned, this is no longer a priority for the government. The reason for this, according to the officer in charge of the dispensary at that time, was the cut backs in the flow of foreign aid in the form of medicine by the donor community. The officer mentioned Denmark as one major donor for this medicine. This coincides with the time period in which the

Danish government had cut aid to the Kenyan government due to non compliance with the aid conditions. The reason for this cut-back by the donor community is also SAP related in the sense that the implementation of SAPs had to be accompanied by political reforms. These reforms included the implementation of multi-party politics, freedom of speech and association and other human rights issues addressed. These had to be instituted before further aid disbursements could be done.

The officer in charge pointed out that there were no charges at all in the dispensary. However, the researcher found that these charges were not direct since one had to buy an exercise book so that doctors could write their diagnosis on it. The fact that this dispensary had no medicine forced the patients to go and buy medicine in Kisumu town or the nearest shopping center which in this case is Ahero. This further increased the costs of being sick.

The preferences of the household head were gauged and it was found out that 46 percent of the household heads would prefer to go to the "nyamrewas". The reason for this was quite obvious - the expenses were much lower than the cost in other health facilities. These "nyamrewas" were not only the traditional birth attendants but they had also been trained to manage minor ailments that troubled the community. They thus doubled as

community health workers. These "nyamrewas" are sponsored by UNICEF through the ministry of health. The aim was not only the creation of awareness about these diseases but also their management. They also provided medicine at subsidized rates and this would explain the preference of local residents for this facility. The low costs of this facility and the fact that these health workers were there in the community promoted greater access to the facility. The success of any primary health care program would depend on its ability to satisfy individual preferences and overcome the economic constraints that affect household decision making. About 20 percent of those interviewed preferred to go to the shop first and buy the medicine they thought necessary. These people were of the opinion that only serious illnesses merited going to the hospital for. Another 23% would go to the hospital first and only 6% admitted that their first stop would be at the traditional medicine man's shop. On probing further it was evident that the reason most people were wont to accept that they go to the traditional medicine man is because of the generally held view that some of the medicine men would cause people's death through bad magic. One's standing as a good Christian would also be questioned. So, very few would admit to visiting Traditional healers.

The researcher was able to visit one traditional healer who

agreed with these sentiments. Most of the people who visit him do so at night and he was able to state that he had treated quite a number of people in the location though few would agree with this. The apparent proscription of this kind of treatment can be attributed to the strong Christian influence in the area. The table on the preceeding page shows the costs incurred during visits to the nearby health centre.

Table 5.5: Costs incurred during visits to dispensary.

Amount in Kshs	Frequency	Valid Percentage
10/=	1	1.1
> 50/=	13	14.4
Don't go	12	13.3
Cant tell	4	4.4
Depend on type of disease	60	66.7
Total	90	100.0

Source.-- Data collected in the field

Host of the household heads were of the opinion that the costs incurred during their visits to the hospitals were determined ,by not only the type of disease one was suffering from but also the medicine one required to treat it with. From the Data presented above a considerable percentage of respondents - 13% just do not go to the dispensaries any more. Their main reason was that if one already knows the disease one is suffering from, one just ought to buy the medicine required. After all they argued, one's attendance of the hospital would not ensure that one would get the necessary medicine. This would act as a pointer as to why

people are shifting from the use of government sponsored health facilities. The lack of drugs is one of the main factors that has forced people to look for treatment elsewhere.

When the respondents were asked if they were aware of what they actually pay for when they are being treated in the hospitals, 49% mentioned the cost of medicine as the main reason for expenditure in their attempts to get health care. Another 37% saw the costs of medicine and the doctors expertise as being the major reason for their expenses. However, 14% did not go to the dispensary and so spent nothing in the dispensary. They believed it was a sheer waste of time. The drop in the number of people using this facility is shown by the attendance records. The drop in patients is characterized by the fall from an average number of twenty patients per day in 1992-93 to an average of two per day in February and March of 1994 when the researcher was in the field.

This reduction in patients, in no way shows that the diseases are currently well managed and the number of people who are getting sick in this area have diminished. It just shows that most people have lost faith in their getting good treatment from these facilities and have opted for other kinds which are more accessible to people of their income level.

The issue of one's income level determining one's attendance of

the local government sponsored hospital is shown by the fact that 21% of the respondents have actually been sent away from the dispensary because they did not have money to settle the bills. This, in most cases, was the three shillings needed to buy the exercise book. Another 13% just kept away from the hospitals because of the costs and the belief that the treatment is not as good as it used to be some time back. Only 66% said that they had never been sent away from the hospital for lack of money. It is important to note that before the introduction of cost-sharing in health centres the number of people attending the dispensary would have been much larger than they are today. This is because most people who were sick would find it relatively easier to seek and get treatment.

About 88% of the household heads agreed to this notion, only 1.1% thought there was no difference in the attendance and 10% never used to go to these hospitals even before the introduction of cost-sharing. The preference on the utilization of the hospital facilities at this time was due to the fact the services were given by the government free of charge. Fourteen percent of the respondents believed that this preference was due to the fact that medicine was available in the hospitals. Another 22% thought this preference was due to the fact that there was good treatment in the dispensary and it is only 2% who thought that

people do not go to the hospital as often as before because the doctors are lazy. Eight per cent did not have any opinion as far as this question was concerned.

It was also learned that the person in the household who was directly concerned with the health care of the household was more often the female adult. This is because 76% of the respondents (who were 90% male) said that it was their spouses who took care of them in times of sickness. However, the health care of the household seems to be a concern of the whole household. Though the household heads indicated that both wife and husband (41%) would take care of the sick in the household, it was observed that the males would only be concerned when the sickness was considered serious. In this case they would contribute to the health care by carrying or transportation of the sick to the hospital or by contributing to the payment of the expenses incurred by the sick person.

Tasks like the actual supervision of how the individual takes the drugs and when, washing the sick and the general hygiene of the sick individual's room are normally done by the females in the household. It is not a very common sight to see a man with a sick child in the hospital without the child's mother or another lady. This is mainly because the health care of the young ones is predominantly a female preserve.

The introduction of the cost sharing and other changes in the economy have affected the health facilities by contributing to the deterioration of the standards of health care in hospitals and the availability of medicines. This has also led people to seek other substitutes and these are the traditional health care facilities and the community health workers programmes.

The size of the household and its income which has shrunk due to implementation of SAPs plays a major role in determining the allocation of the household income to health needs and the other competing needs of the household.

CHAPTER 6

THE EFFECT OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMS ON THE ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN

6.1 INTRODUCTION

From the onset of this study, emphasis has been on the effects that these adjustment programs have had on the household.

However the aspects of adjustment programmes that this work has chosen to dwell on has direct effects on the role of women and their position in society.

This is because the adjustment programmes have tended to contribute to the deterioration of the nutritional status of the household, the accessibility to health facilities and education of the household members. Most of these fall under the roles women were traditionally assigned. Women are not only producers but they are also the home managers, child bearers and care givers in the household. Thus, when the government reduces its expenditure on health care and education, it would be the people concerned with giving these services in the household who would be hard hit.

It is, however, evident that when prices of food commodities are raised and the general wages or income of the household falls, it

is the woman who tends to spend more time finding ways to satisfy her family's needs. She not only has to travel long distances in search of food at lower prices but also has to budget how to make this food available to the household. She is also the one to determine the quantities to be taken by the household.

The fact is that women in developing countries work longer hours than men, in housekeeping, taking care of the children, fetching firewood and water and in the fields corroborates findings by Birdsall and McGreevy (1983) and FAO (1985) .

From the findings it was discovered that it was during times of economic adversities that women's income earning activities increased. It was discovered that 84 percent of all the women interviewed were involved in income generating activities while only 16 percent said they were not. For those who were involved in these activities the table 6.1 shows when they ventured into such activities.

Table 6.1: Time period the women ventured into an income generating activity

Time periods	Frequency	Valid Percentage
0 - 5	14	18.7
6 - 10	26	34.7
11 - 15	20	26.7
15 and over	15	20.0
Missing cases	15	.
j Total	90	100

Source:- Data collected in the field

From Table 6.1, the number of women who entered the market economy in search of money to help augment their household incomes increased in the SAP era. In times of crisis in meeting the household's food needs, participation of women also increased. Ten years ago, there was the devastating drought that hit Sub-Saharan Africa and it is during this time that Kenya was implementing it's first phase of adjustment programmes. The rate of women getting into the informal labor^u market to generate

income for the household was 34.7 percent, the highest at any period in time in K'Ombura location. The policies that were being implemented in Kenya at that particular time centjg^ mainly on reforms in the agricultural sector, namely, liberalization of the fertilizer prices and reduction in subsidies. This was done between 1980-84 (Swammy 1994), and was Kenya's attempt at implementation of SAP's. The number of women who have been involved in income generating activities between 1989 and 1994 was 18.7%. This increase in involvement in income generating activities coincided with the implementation of certain SAP policies. It was in 1992 that the prices of milk and milk products were liberalized. The liberalization of the foreign exchange market was put in place in October 1991. These measures helped to push food prices up and the inflation that the country was facing then; 26.7% of the women interviewed got into the market economy between 11-15 years ago. This also marks a critical period in terms of food availability in Kenya. Food availability was diminished due to the rise in prices and the scarcity of the necessary food items; 20 percent had been involved in the market economy for over 15 years.

The activities that these women are involved in to generate income for the household are generally the types that do not need much skill and are not priced highly in the market economy. Most of the women were involved in the sale of foodstuffs. These were about 37 percent, and 19 percent were involved in artistic things like weaving baskets and selling them in the market. Some women (11%) were involved in "Damba" . This is the local term that refers to the harvesting of rice in people's fields for a fee. Any other form of wage employment, apart from this, was formal employment in the town of Kisumu. These jobs were clustered in the lower wage brackets. Many of the women who were involved in this kind of activity were often employed as primary school teachers, secretaries or copy typists and office messengers; Seven percent of the women interviewed were in this category. The women who did these jobs either lost their husbands through death or are separated from their husbands for one reason or another. The jobs that most of these women get are low paying. One of the factors that make for this is the disadvantage they have when competing for education this disadvantage relegates them to low paying jobs. They are disadvantaged in that most people (63%) in this area would rather take their sons than

their daughters to school. The reason for this lopsided approach to giving education to children in the area stems from the importance that the culture gives to the male child. This attitude ensures that the female child when fully grown is disadvantaged in her attempts to provide for the household. This is because her knowledge of the best methods of improving the yields in her garden would be limited and so will the possibility of her getting a good job. In an economy that is increasingly being monetarized, they not only have to earn this money but they have to do it with the most disadvantages and also bear most of the responsibilities.

In the field, discussions with the women who were busy cultivating the land and working in the market place revealed that their main concern was how to get food for their children. This was closely followed by the desire to give their children better facilities as far as their education was concerned. Very few of them would actually talk about their own private needs but were mainly concerned for their children. Most of the money that these women earned was used to improve the general welfare of their children and not themselves.

6.2 EARNINGS BY THE WOMEN IN THE HOUSEHOLD

It is important to note that women contribute greatly to the net earnings of the household. The table 6.2 below shows the number and percentages of women in the household who contribute financially to the households income and the income range.

Table: **6.2 Earnings by women householders.**

Amount (ksh) per month	Frequency	Valid Percentage
< 500	7	9.5
500 - 1000	29	39.2
1001 - 1500	9	12.2
1501 - 2000	11	14.9
2001 - 2500	2	2.7
2501 - 3000	4	5.4
> 3500	5	6.8
Cant tell or don't know	7	9.5
Missing	16	missing
Total	90	100

Source:- *Data collected in the field*

From Table 6.2, the women's contribution to the households budget monetarily is portrayed. Though the increase is not great, it is very significant to the household welfare. This is because most of it is geared towards meeting the nutritious needs of the household. Most of the women interviewed (88%) used this money for the provision of food in the house. Only 1.3% of the women used their income on paying school fees.

This is because the provision of food ranked top in their list of priorities. The second priority was education and as second priority of their children and as a second priority, 28% of the women contributed to the education of their children.

In as much as most of these needs are ranked, food and education rank top most. We realized that there are other needs which come in and affect these rankings. These needs could come in depending on the prevailing economic conditions and the need to deal with emergencies in the household; another condition that would affect the priorities given to food and education can be associated with the responsibilities that one has by virtue of being a member of the community. Other reasons would be the need to invest and the responsibility of the household head to other members in the household.

It was discovered that though the provision of food ranks highest in the list of priorities, there are times when women have had to sell what was hitherto consumed in the home to get cash money and thus deal with any contingency. Around 43% found themselves in this situation while 57% had never been in a position that would force them to take such actions. Thus, they have not had to take the drastic step of having to reduce the food intake of the household to meet these other needs. Some of these other needs include contributions in funerals and the householders had to contribute in terms of either cash or kind. So these people would be forced to make such contributions because if they did not, no one would help them when the need arose. These occasions were so important that one could actually be branded anti-social if one did not participate in them.

These responsibilities that one had to meet as a member of the community increased the needs on the householders income. Thus, women not only have to deal with the maintenance of life but also prepare people during funerals.

From the preceding descriptions, there is a relationship between the increase in women's involvement in the economy and times of economic crisis. Seventy-two percent of the women got into the

market economy because of the adverse economic conditions that they were facing. These conditions could be precipitated by the death of the husband or through transfers, thus forcing them to take care of their family's financial needs. Sometimes the loss of this important support was due to the husband's marriage to another wife. Four percent of the women interviewed ventured into income generating projects because they felt a need to buy their own things without having to ask for money from their husbands. Another 5% wanted to earn a living and take care of the children. From the reasons given by the women for engaging in income generating activities, the effect that adversities in the economic sphere comes out strongly as the main reason. Very few actually set out to make money to invest for themselves or purely for profit. Their lack of education acts both as a cause and hindrance to these women's advancement. The cuts that have been carried out in health and education by the government has clearly retarded their development and ability to provide for their families.

One of the results of SAPs is that it forces women to look for means to get money, thereby forcing them to spend less time with their children in terms of trying to feed them and care for them.

Their responsibilities to the children have not decreased but have increased instead. This increase in responsibilities is coupled with reduction or absence of adequate social services. This situation is more likely to ensure that the role they play in the society will be reduced. This is because most of them will be too busy trying to survive to consider important issues like the form of governance they would like and involvement in making decisions that affect them. This will greatly contribute to decrease in the involvement of women in community affairs and by extension their presence in national affairs.

The limitations that these adjustment programmes have caused on society has brought heavier demands on women, both within the home and outside. This is because they not only have to meet their responsibilities in the household production but also have to go out more to try and earn extra money. The men, on the other hand, are more concerned to make money in activities without the household. In the preceding discussions, we have noted that there has been a shift from food production as most of the rural householders are trying to produce crops for sale. With the marginalization of food crop production in favour of cash crop production, the income controlled by the women (who mainly

deal with food crop production) has decreased. This has greatly affected them in their attempts at contributing to the household decision-making process. This is because , having no money they cannot decide which need in the household requires to be addressed first.

According to the survey data and from the researcher's own observations, it is quite evident that women dominate the subsistence farming, petty trade and domestic work sectors. This trend is even reflected in the income generating activities they are involved in. These sectors, we note, are more vulnerable to the changing economic trends. Thus, when costs are transferred to these sectors, they have to work harder with lower returns than before. At the same time due to the measures of adjustment which attempt to stabilize the economy, the prices of commodities are normally raised. These causes problems in the nutritional levels of the household.

The roles that our cultural heritage gives to women, namely, those of being the primary health care providers and the primary educators are also affected by the lack of support in the form of social services by the governments. It is thus the poor woman who is hard hit for she has to continue shouldering these

responsibilities in the wake of decreasing government support. This is because her responsibilities have not been reduced, she still has to meet the health needs of her children and also mould their characters in the early stages of their growth.

The decrease in household incomes is evidenced by the fact that the increase in the prices of foodstuffs and other important commodities in the household far exceeds the inflow of money earned by the householders. This has led to more time being spent on trying to survive. Most of the womenfolk deliberately reduced their consumption to protect their children and partners from the effects of poverty. This has its own ramifications.

When the women have to operate from lower nutritional levels, they are not only prone to diseases which will affect their productivity but the children got from these mothers will also be equally prone to diseases. This provides even more reason for providing free health care for them. However this important area is one that has been hit by drastic cut-backs.

In conclusion, there seems to be a general oversight of the role of women in society when implementing adjustment programmes. The reductions in costs in the "productive" sector normally means a

shift of these costs to the "reproductive" sector, a sector which as we have noted before is a preserve of women. The implementation of these programmes ensures that the paid economy rides on the shoulders of the unpaid economy. This ensures that those involved in the unpaid economy end up having to do more during times of structural adjustment programmes in order to survive.

6.3 SUMMARY

The main aim of the study was to examine the impact of structural adjustment programmes in the rural households of K'Ombura location Kisumu district. The desire to carry out such a study stemmed from the fact that no such study had been conducted in this area to assess the effect of adjustment programmes on the rural households. There were three categories of subjects in the sample. These were the household heads from the general population and these were 90, there was school heads and these were 6, and from the two health facilities we got the two officers in charge.

A lot of emphasis was put on observations from the field. Some narratives have also been include in the study from the field to

show just what the people think about SAPs. In order to validate some of the ideas in this study certain measures of dispersal have been used.

From the study, several issues come out. The first issue of importance is that there has been a general deterioration in the conditions of living of the surveyed households. The price of food commodities has more than doubled the expenditure of the household on food. These people have had to spend more on food in terms of cash while enjoying less quantities of food and lower quality too. The general price increases have ensured that the rural household is more concerned with consumption. The rate of those investing or saving has greatly declined. This is because the most pressing needs of the household are geared to immediate consumption.

Some of the adjustment programmes policies which encourage cash crop production have led to a decreased in the amount of land for subsistence cropping. This has in effect reduced food production for the household and exposed the people to the high market prices of food without the option of falling back on their produce for food. This, coupled with the drastic austerity measures on expenditure on social services expenditure by the government has ensured that the rural householder is doomed to be in a perpetual state of poverty and, consequently, they will

always be vulnerable to whatever contingencies nature might bring their way.

The issue of cost - sharing has affected their attendance of the local government sponsored clinic. Their poor nutritional status makes them prone to getting diseases and this coupled with inherent lack of money by the householders, means that their ability to meet their needs will be severely curtailed.

The increasing shifting of costs in the Rducation sector even in stages when these costs were borne by the government: - These are stages like primary school education and has greatly affected the attendance of students in these schools. This is because most of them come from relatively impoverished families whose ability to meet the increasing monetary requirements by the schools has been greatly affected by the adjustments the government has made on it's social services spending.

6.4 CONCLUSIONS

From the preceding discussions the general impact of the structural adjustment programs has been the diminishing of the real income of the households in the rural area. The prices of goods and services have gone up while the needs have not decreased. Hitherto free services have to be paid for and these further enhances the poverty in this region.

The implementation of structural adjustment programs as it is now ^A will not benefit the poor rural householder in KOMBURA location. To begin with, the difficulty in meeting the basic primary education requirements will ensure that these people are locked in a vicious circle of poverty. Their level of education will not enable them to compete effectively for the better paying skilled jobs. Thus these people will always go for the unskilled labor employment with low pays. Their ability to meet their household needs would be low and in turn they will not be able to provide a good education for their children. The vicious circle therefore goes on as the children will not be able to offer anything different from their parents. The fact that they are not educated would make it harder for them to accept and

implement new innovations in agriculture which would thus improve their output and consequently their income.

From the data collected, it was noted that in the household production process there is an articulation of the capitalist mode of production and the familial or kin ordered mode of production. Though we have the capitalistic mode of production in the household, the driving form of production in it is predominantly structured by forces that are not inherently capitalist. This is because the traditional form of labor division in the family still determines production. In this mode of production the women were involved in giving care to the households health needs, the acquisition of food and its preparation while the men were more concerned with provision for the household through wage employment or other ways of production for an income.

Farming is dominated by the women and so are the domestic chores and petty trade. The male adults were mainly involved in the

A

wage labor sector. These biases in the production processes ensure that when costs in the country's health care are shared then the people bearing the brunt of this change in policy will be the primary health carers who are the women. Increases in

food prices would also directly affect them. As far as sending children to school is concerned the males are predominantly in charge of the need. So when one's children are not in school then it only shows badly on the man as he is seen as one who is failing in his duties. However when the fees or funds are not available and choices have to be made the society's view on the girl child is aptly demonstrated. Most of them prefer to send the male child to school. This stems from the cultural perception that the girl child is less important to the clan than a boy. This is because the female child will get married and leave the clan to join another clan. Thus investing in her at the expense of the male child who is part of the clan for as long as he lives is risky. For those who preferred to send the girl child to school their reasons for doing this as because they saw the girl child's staying at home as risky business. This is because she could get pregnant. The main reason why this was feared as perceived by the researcher was that it would increase the number of mouths in the household that have to be fed. It also makes it very hard for the lady to get married and this is a state that is very worrying for the parents. The notion is that if she is well educated even if she doesn't get a man to marry

her she can still take care of herself and her child. Here the belief that marriage is a sort of security for the woman is manifest.

Though the roles that are culturally assigned in the households production are currently changing , it is evident that women adopt faster to these changes unlike the men when it comes to taking roles that were hitherto seen as feminine. Only mechanization of these roles encourages men to get involved.

The people in K'Ombura do not wholly attribute the adverse economic conditions on economics alone. They believe that the political leadership of the country has also played a large part in their condition. This is clearly indicated by the way they noted in the 1992 multi-party elections. The belief that the adverse economic condition they are currently facing is due to their political leanings (They voted for the opposition in the elections) is prevalent. Thus the political factor is also important as the fear of being marginalized has been vocalized by government leaders from the ruling party.

The effect of adjustment on women and men is similar in that, they both have had to increase their activities in production and reproduction yet they have had to do with less. The men have had

-o work hard to try and provide a living for the people in the household. The fact that they have had to go further from their households have forced their women to take their roles in the households and at the same time take their normal duties in the domestic sphere. This fact thus increases their responsibilities in the household. So in instances of adjustment we have women bearing a greater share of the costs.

6.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

Human beings should be the most important resource in development. Development should be for the people thus any measure that stagnates man and woman in their quest for development cannot be construed as a measure for development. Thus the implementation of these adjustments must ensure that the conditions of the people is considered paramount when adjusting. From the research findings it is obvious that the adjustment programs leave the people worse off than before. To tackle these problems one has to try and improve the following:-

i) Access to health facilities.

ii) Access to a better quality Education.

and iii) Boost the income earning capacity of the community.

This therefore calls for a participatory approach to development in the area. Further research should be conducted to find out the needs of the people and how they think these needs should be met. The locals should then be used to run these programs.

i) Access to health facilities.

Prevention of diseases should be emphasized other than trying to cure them. The people should be taught how to manage their environment well and thus be able to control water-borne diseases

and the Malaria infesting mosquitoes which is endemic to the area.

Members of the communities should be taught how to detect symptoms of diseases and even treat them. The use of traditional or herbal medicines should not be looked down upon, but should be encouraged thus cutting down possible expenditure on Western-style medicine while the local herbs can do the same job at a lower cost.

ii) Access to a better quality Education:-

The Government should continue spending money on the teachers salary and those running the schools i.e. the caretaker, watchman, etc.

Though the onus of buying books should still rest on the parents it should not be made a reason to send students away from school. Vocational training schools should be set up to help train the school drop-outs in basic skills i.e. Masonry, Carpentry, Brick-building, welding and farming. These schools would be self-sustaining as they would be able to sell their own produce.

iii) Boosting the income of the Community.

This can only be done if a holistic approach to development is taken.

Training the people on how to grow better producing strains of Agricultural crops would be of great importance. A development center should be instituted to manage the development needs of the area. The composition of members of the committee dealing with this needs should have an equal representation of both men and women and experts from outside.

The marketing of the products should also be seen as important. The committee dealing with promoting development in the region should be concerned with setting up and controlling funds that are to be channeled to specific target projects. The government on one hand can help in such programs by providing technical expertise and help in identifying places where soft loans can be acquired. This is to be done only at the on-set of such programs.

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APPENDIX I

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Stabilization: - an extreme variation of adjustment in which the emphasis is on stabilizing the external and internal deficits in the short term often by sharp reductions in the level of economic activity. Relatively little weight is given to maintaining or resolving economic growth, which in stabilization is treated as a long term issue.

Conditionality: - Obligations accepted in relation to developing countries policies or institution as part of an aid transaction.

Inflation: - When the quantity of money is increasing more rapidly than output.

Protection: - Imposing duties, quantities and other restrictions on imports in order to protect home producers of those products by making foreign goods dearer.

Terms of Trade: - Ratio of export prices to import prices.

An improvement in T.O.T means that export prices have increased to a greater extent than import prices. Or import prices have fallen to a greater extent than export prices.

Balance of Payments: - This is a set of accounts which shows all the economic transactions which take place between the residents of one country and all other countries during a given time period usually one year.

Household: Smallest unit of production and consumption. It is generally constituted of individuals (males and females) adults and children who unite with the sole purpose of producing and consuming **goods** and services together. In most cases they have relationships which are affinal or consanguinal.

APPENDIX II

QUESTIONNAIRE

TO THE HOUSEHOLD HEAD:

NAME AGE SEX M F

Level of formal Education: No education ... Primary ...

Secondary College Level and above_

How many dependents do you have in the household?

Can you please tell me the roles assigned to members of
your household?

ACTIVITY	MALE		FEMALE	
	ADULT	CHILD	ADULT	CHILD
Fishing				
Farming				
Trading				
Wage labor Employment				
Domestic chores				
Any other				

Do these tasks reflect a change, say 10 - 15 years ago? ...

If so, what do you associate these changes in duties or roles to?

What is your income per month? (KSH)

Kshs	Tick
0 - 1000	
1001 - 2000	
2001 - 3000	
3001 - 4000	
4001 - 5000	
Over 5001	

How much is the total earnings of the household (KSH)

Kshs	Tick
0 - 1000	
1001 - 2000	
2001 - 3000	
3001 - 4000	
4001 - 5000	
Over 5001	

In what ways do you support the dependents in your household?

	Tick
Pays school fees	
Food requirements	
Take care of their health needs	
Transport requirements	
Entertainment	
Emotional support	

How much of your income was spent on average, per month on the household food requirements before the price increases of 1992?

How much do you spend on food nowadays?

- a. How many meals do you have per day?_
- b. Has this changed from, say, the number of meals per day 10 years ago?
- c. If so, what do you attribute these changes to?

How much, in Kenya shillings, are you able to save per month?

What major investments have you been able to make in the last 10 years?

HOUSEHOLD HEAD

1. How many children do you have in
 - a. Government aided schools?_
 - b. Private schools?_
 - c. Community owned schools?_

How much do you pas as fees per year for all your children?

Amount in Ksh	Amount in Ksh
Under 500	2001 - 2500
510 - 1000	2501 - 3000
1001 - 1500	3001 - 3500
1501 - 2000	Over 3500

Are you able to pay your children's school fees on time? ...

If not, what do you do to take care of the child's need to be in school?

How many times have your children been sent away from school due to non-payment of fees?

i) Never been sent away. ii) Most of the time...

iii) Often_

What do you do to meet the school fees needed?

Activity	Tick
Take extra jobs	
Call for Harambee	
Cut down food expenditure	
Borrow from friends	
Ask for help from relatives	✓
Other	

b. How effective are these methods in getting the fees needed?

Are books provided in the school or do you have to buy your children books? Yes. . . . No....

How does the child who is not able to go to school occupy himself or herself?

If male

If female

How many children of school going age do you have who are not going to school?_

If you have a boy and a girl who need fees to go to school and because of limited resources you have to choose, who will you send to school?

HEALTH

When a member of the household is unwell, what is the first thing you do?

How much do you pay on average at the local health centre per visit?

What do you pay for:

Doctors' diagnosis	
Medicine	
Both	

Have you ever been sent away from the health centre because you did not have money?

Before the introduction of cost-sharing in health centres, were the lines longer than they are today?_

If no, why do you think the lines are longer?_

When you are sick, who takes care of you?_

Who normally takes care of the sick in the household?

REDUCED GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE IN SCHOOLS

When was your school set up?

What role has the Government played in your school as far as support is concerned?

How much money did the Government put in your school in the years preceding 1983 on a yearly basis?

Have there been any reductions?_

If yes, by how much has the Government's help to your school been reduced?

o, ^{Lr****y}

If Government support has been reduced, who takes care of the difference in Government support?

Who pays the teachers' salaries in the school?_

The subordinate staff?

School books and facilities?

REDUCED GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE IN HOSPITALS

When was this hospital set up?

Did you have any Government support, say 10 years ago?

If yes, what form did this support take?

Has this changed?

Please explain? .

If there has been a reduction in Government support, who takes care of this difference?

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