THE ROLES OF WOMEN IN LIVESTOCK DECISION MAKING IN AN AGRO-PASTORAL SYSTEM IN KATHEKANI LOCATION, MAKUENI DISTRICT, KENYA

BY

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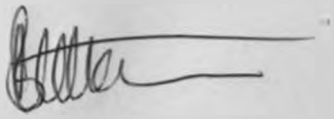
A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE MASTER OF ARTS IN ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

October 2002

DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for award of a degree in any other university.



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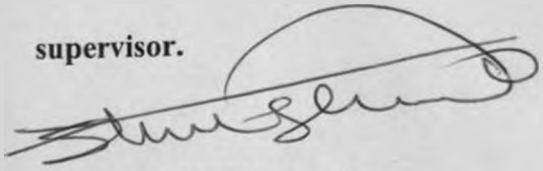

Dr. Stevie M. Nangendo

DEDICATION

To my husband and our two sons

Who had such patience with me as I pursued my education.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to register my appreciation for the scholarship offered to me by the British Council through the Kenya Agricultural Research Institute (KARI) to pursue a Master of Arts degree in Anthropology. My sincere thanks go to my supervisor, Dr. Stevie M. Nangendo, for his critical and illustrious supervision that enabled me to complete this work. Special thanks also go to Dr. R. Kibiti of the Institute of African Studies whose input was very much appreciated in the course of this work. Dr. J. Curry and A. McLeod of Oversees Development Authority (O.D.A.) deserve many thanks for their guidance and assistance throughout my entire Masters programme.

I am immensely grateful to the staff of Integrated Technology Development Group (I.T.D.G) who are based in Kethekani for making my field work easy by introducing me to the communities in this area and assisting in data collection. Sammy Keter also of I.T.D.G. deserves many thanks for his intellectual support throughout this work and especially for his assistance during data analyses.

Iam deeply indebted to my husband, Samuel Ndung'u and our two boys, Dennis and Elvis, for their emotional, moral and spiritual support. My parents, Daniel Waithaka and Dorcas Wangui, deserve a lot of praises for having delivered me safely to face the challenges of this

rld and teaching me in the ways I should go which I never departed from even as I w up. Kindly accept my sincere gratitude for making sure that I received the best ucation.

vish also to thank the entire teaching and non-teaching staff of the Institute of African udies whose co-operation and encouragement instilled in me a sense of commitment to deavor and complete this task. Similarly, my fellow colleagues merit mention in this ece of work for their intellectual and moral support. These are: A. Oduor-Kombo, C. degwa-Ogoye, N.O.O. Aluoka, Sally Ouko, F. hayundi, D. Onjala, E. Swanya, J. mare and D. Mosoti.

inally, I wish to thank all the respondents who volunteered, sacrificed their time and ovided the valuable information that facilitated the fulfillment of the needs of this udy. Worth mentioning in this regard is the Assistant Chief and the village elders of ihekani Sub-location.

nce I cannot individually, thank everyone who offered me assistance especially, those ot mentioned here by name, please kindly accept my sincere gratitude for your co-erations. To all the contributors: May God bless you in a Mighty way!

ABSTRACT

This study was a survey consisting of individual male and female household heads in Kathekani Sub-location of Makueni District. Wealth ranking was used to select both the focus group discussion members and those involved in the formal survey and the data analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively using descriptive statistics.

Interest in gender roles and responsibilities assigned to women and men in a specific society has been growing for more than ten years. This is due to the realization that women often do not benefit from development activities and in some cases become even poorer and more marginalized.

In this regard the study examined how the increase in women's labour contribution in livestock production have affected their control over decisions regarding livestock management and marketing. The transactional approach was used to examine gender relations in livestock production in a rural agro- pastoral area in Kenya.

According to the study, the structure of the division of labour in the livestock sector has changed with an expansion of women's role as women takes up many of the tasks meant for men. Some of the causes of these changes include: male labour out migration, school participation of children and off farm employment. The results of the study further revealed that despite their increased labour, women do not enjoy a corresponding increase in their decision-making ability in the livestock sphere. Women of high status as

depicted by their education, occupation, and economic levels were, however, shown to participate more in decisions regarding livestock.

On the basis of the implications of the findings, this study recommended that since high education and economic status was seen to affect the decision making ability of women in the Akamba community positively, any efforts aimed at empowering women in livestock decision making to first improve women's status through increased education opportunities and participation in formal employment in order to give them independent incomes.

The changes that have occurred in the structure of the division of labour have resulted in higher female participation in livestock tasks that does not correspond to their decision-making ability. This is attributed to patriarchal structure in which power control and property ownership basically resides with men. The study recommended an intensification of public awareness campaigns to educate men to change their attitude and behavior to the changing circumstances. Researchers, extentionists and any other key players in the livestock sphere should be sensitized in order for them to target the right client in livestock.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0. INTRODUCTION

The participation of women in agriculture began when Mesopotamians first domesticated animals and planted food near their homes. Today, women represent half of the world's population and one third of the official labour force, but they receive only one percent of the total global income and own less than one percent of the world property (Niamir, M 1990). They, therefore, represent a major part of the rural poor, especially, when emigration, marital instability, and economic stress have left them as heads of households. However, they still remain very much on the margins of the access to and participation in public and private services required to meet their own needs. This shows that women have less income and less control of resources than men although the household is also dependent on the products and income generated by women's labour. It is the women who create the economic base of rural settlements by providing farm labour as well as transporting and marketing of farm produce. Women do this also by organising mutual assistance groups, by manufacturing household goods, clothing and food for their families, and often by developing these into trade goods and therefore, generating income for house based activities (Akonga, J 1982).

Women's involvement in raising livestock is a long standing tradition in Africa and other countries of the world. Changes in the economic and socio-political conditions have led to increasing participation of women in this industry, although their contributions continue to be unnoticed and the database on their involvement remains limited. This raises problems in knowing where inputs to help women increase their productivity or

reduce their labour bottlenecks should be directed. This study aims at establishing how changes in socio-economic conditions affect women's participation in livestock management and marketing in terms of their labour inputs, control and allocation over other productive resources.

1.1. PROBLEM STATEMENT

This study investigates community norms, values, attitudes and behaviors of women of varying social status in an agro-pastoral area of Makueni District, Kenya with the aim of understanding the changing roles of women in livestock management and marketing in semi-arid mixed farming systems. Economic and political changes in the global and regional economies have produced profound changes in local economies and smallholder farming and particularly in sub-Saharan Africa.

These changes include a decline in the subsistence base and food security of many households, signaling a "food crisis" for African production systems (Huss-Ashmore 1989). Agricultural decline, a growing population and increased cash needs have placed pressure on many African households and their subsistence systems to either increase food production or seek alternate sources of income for survival. This has led to an increase in migration to urban areas, particularly by adult males whose higher potential earning power in wage labour vis-à-vis other household members creates a high opportunity cost to their remaining at home in subsistence agricultural production (Low 1986). The absence of male labour from the household in addition to other continuing changes such as more enrolment of children in schools and privatization of land has

resulted in additional demands on women to assume more of the responsibility for agricultural production for both crops and livestock.

With women providing increased amounts of labour to household-based agriculture, changes in traditional gender-based relations of production and control over resources and resource allocation in these systems can be expected. Several studies of agrarian change indicate that as women assume increasing responsibility for contributing labour to crop production, they do not enjoy a similar increase in control over other necessary factors of production (that is, land, inputs), over decisions regarding disposal of the products or over income resulting from crop sales. This is especially true with regard to cash crop production (Guyer 1986).

By comparison, there has been rather less attention devoted to examining changes in women's labour inputs and control over resources and resource allocation with respect to the livestock component of the farming system. Many development planners have instead used some cultural models for the division of labour in agricultural production. Animal husbandry is an important part of many African farming systems, particularly in semi-arid areas where it diversifies production and reduces the risk of economic loses through crop production. If well integrated into the household economy, it allows more efficient use of family labour and a secure cash income spread over the entire year.

Livestock supply households with many important products for consumption and/or sale, they supply draught power and manure and also provide protein and other dietary supplements for children. In addition, livestock have important functions in the social

life of many African societies, serving as indicators of wealth and status as well as elements of bride-wealth and other forms of social exchange.

Given the increase in women's contribution of labour to livestock as well as crop production, questions regarding the nature of women's control over decisions regarding livestock management and marketing become important research issues since such control will affect not only production outcome and food security but also the social organization and social dynamics of many rural households. In view of the above, this study sought to answer the following questions:

a) How do changes in socio-economic factors affect women's participation in livestock management and marketing?

b) Does the level of formal education achieved by women influence their participation in decisions regarding livestock production and marketing?

c) Do women of high status as reflected in their occupational roles participate more in decisions regarding livestock production and marketing than do women of lower status?

d) Do women of high status as reflected in their economic levels participate more in decisions regarding livestock production and marketing than do women of lower economic status?

1.2. OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

The primary objective of this research was to establish how changes in socio-economic factors affect the participation of women of different economic and educational statuses in livestock management and marketing, particularly in terms of their labour inputs and allocation of productive resources. Specifically the study sought to:

a) Document variation in patterns of ownership and control of livestock and livestock related resources.

b) Establish the relationship between women's educational levels and their participation in livestock production.

c) Establish the relationship between women's occupational roles and their participation in livestock production.

d) Establish the relationship between women's economic status and their participation in livestock production.

1.3 JUSTIFICATION OF THE RESEARCH

Given the importance of livestock both to the household as well as the country's economy, it is important not only to recognize but also to assist women whose contribution to this industry is invaluable. As earlier indicated, little work has been done on the role of women in livestock production and the results of this study has provided the information necessary for bridging this knowledge gap by adding to the body of knowledge on women's roles in livestock production in mixed farming systems. It has also added to the body of ethnographic literature, particularly on Akamba traditional culture and cultural change. In addition this study has also added to the literature on rural

development, particularly on farmers' decision-making processes (especially on livestock) and on technology delivery and uptake.

The results of this study have contributed to the literature on the anthropology of women and gender studies by examining variations in the roles of women in livestock production and resource allocation in various social contexts in the same society. These results have also contributed to studies of the African household by focusing on the strategies which women as social actors fashion in order to gain access to resources (especially livestock) and to meet social obligations within the domestic unit.

By adopting a social actor perspective, the study sought to avoid deterministic models of gender hierarchy in examining the relationship of women to livestock as productive resources and as catalysts for social interaction.

The information on who does what in livestock production in this area and its farming systems will guide planners, researchers and development workers in targeting appropriate technology development and extension to women and other client groups and avoid the male bias found in much of the agricultural research and extension.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0. Introduction

Despite their contributions and considerable involvement, women's role in livestock production has been under-estimated or worse ignored. Gender blindness may be due to a paternalistic bias, but also to the attitudes of women themselves who may have been conditioned by their culture and society to undervalue the worth of the work they do. Most studies of gender and livestock have focused on women's roles in pastoral societies (Curry 1996). This focus of women's contribution in pastoral societies is ironical because the majority of livestock projects have been aimed at crop farmers. Also, in pastoral communities, livestock are to a large extent managed by men (Kanji 1995).

One type of subsistence system where livestock play a key role is agro-pastoralism. Agro-pastoralism is "any system of mixed crop and livestock production in which herd animals derive a portion of their diet, whether directly or indirectly from plant crops, crop residues or by-products". Agro-pastoralists derive their income from both livestock and crop production. They differ from intensive crop and livestock systems by the fact that their herds are larger than sedentary farmers and often rely on some kind of communal pasture or rangelands (Dahl 1987). In semi arid-areas, most agro-pastoralists also keep few large stock but more sheep and goats.

2.1 Traditional Roles of Women in Agro-pastoral Production Systems

It is important to make a distinction between the type of responsibilities that women have over livestock: ownership, control over decision-making, use rights and/or provision of labour. Such information will guide projects and programmers on how to allocate the limited resources. Women mostly provide labour for the various tasks related to livestock, but they may or not control the process of decision-making, particularly over the disposal of animals and animal products. Similarly, women may be involved in production but may or may not own the means of production, for example, livestock and land (Niamir-Fuller 1994:8). In a household, husbands and the wife or wives usually have a say over the use of resources, although there may be "unequal", often conflicting claims on resources for the satisfaction of basic needs (Shumaker 1991:22). One of the reasons for this is that men have de jure ownership rights over animals and these are guaranteed by a set of inheritance rules that are gender based and rooted in patriarchal kinship systems (Dahl 1987:5-7).

In general women have less access to the means of production in comparison to the extent of their labour contribution. The division of labour as dictated by the tradition in a given society is not always necessarily followed and women often perform tasks reserved for men because of labour shortages or other socio-political and socio-cultural factors. This makes the roles played by women in livestock production as diverse as their ethnicity. Among the agro-pastoral communities, the dominant pattern is the one where women are responsible for the livestock kept at the homestead, for raising small animals for instance poultry and pigs, and for the processing and marketing of milk and other livestock products (Niamir M 1990). This pattern differs significantly from what is considered

"ideal". In reality, however, the actual division of labour is more flexible, and the actual pattern of labour allocation for the household depends upon labour shortages, development phase of the family as well as the number and type of livestock. The irony, however, is that although it is common for women to perform men's tasks, very rarely will men do women's work (Niamir et al. 1993).

Oboler's study in Nandi District focused on the roles played by both men and women in this changing pastoral community as well as their ownership and control rights. She also discussed the complex rights to cattle and livestock products that women have, thus, showing that livestock "ownership" in a former pastoral society such as Nandi is not as simple as previously thought. Men have a right to inherit and hold predominant control of most important forms of property for example, livestock. By contrast women have a right to household property, with residual rights to control it and transmit it to their male heirs (Oboler 1982).

2.1.1 Changing Roles of Women in Livestock Production

Changing conditions produce different effects on women's role in livestock management and marketing. In most developing countries, Western-style land tenure systems have replaced the traditional communally based systems. As a result, women's traditional access to private and communal land is curtailed and replaced by title deeds systems that give ownership only to men. Traditional rural societies had developed different reciprocal rules and labour exchange systems that allow labour shortages to be alleviated. In recent years there have been major changes in the social-cultural structure, which have increased poverty and reduced viability of households and broken the exchange systems.

As a result there has been a major reorientation of labour allocation strategies towards off-farm employment, education for the young, and wage employment all of which in various ways have increased women's workload (Suda 1986). Even the switch to intensive, improved livestock systems has often resulted in an increase in women's workload (Niamir et al 1993).

The effect of male migration on women's control over property and decision-making varies from one society to another. Women's status and power increase in cases where the traditional systems have already accorded relatively high status and economic independence to women. Otherwise women may be severely hampered by the absence of a spouse especially in the disposal of livestock and in obtaining credit and other inputs. Another common result of increased women's workload is that women may be constrained to take short cuts in animal and range management strategies. Even though they know what normally should be done, anything that requires a lot of labour, such as taking animals to distant pastures, will be cut back (McCrokle 1992).

2.1.2 Women Status and Decision Making in Livestock Production

According to Gwako (1990), education spreads western ideas and values, which powerfully undermine the traditional norms and female domination by male. There is also a growing agreement that the benefit of education, measured as increases in productivity and the overall quality of life, multiply with the increased participation of women and girls. rding to Gwako (1990) stresses that education makes women to have more autonomy and be more conscious of their needs. It creates aspirations for upward mobility and accumulation of wealth among women. Similarly it enhances the likelihood of women's employment outside the home, which may also increase their earning ability.

Education attainment increases communication between a husband and wife and positively affects the wife's decision-making power (Rwembagira, 1996).

It is, therefore, evident in the literature that women's education may, indeed, be very powerful in influencing their status and participation in decision making. Part of this study will, therefore, seek to explore and understand the full range of the impacts that women's education may have on their status and also indicate the extent to which the already suggested interaction between education, high status and decision making and control affect women in an agro-pastoral community.

Studies have also shown that a woman's decision-making ability increases if she is economically independent (Nzomo 1993). Women who work have a high sense of mastery, a high esteem and competence. Women who control their incomes can make independent decisions even in various livestock related issues. The wage-earning sector has, however, continued to give women only limited representation even if there are no legal barriers to their employment. The pattern of women's participation in wage earning is heavily affected by their lack of training and formal education. When they engage in wage labour, women tend to be channeled into fields identified as feminine through the extension of sex role definitions. These fields are in most cases lower paying than those of men (Dahl 1987). Customs also deny women to inherit or hold control of most important forms of property such as livestock. This study will attempt to establish the extent to which the income levels of women in the area under study influence their participation in decisions regarding livestock production.

2.2 Theoretical framework

2.2.1 Transactional Approach

In the spirit of Guyer's (1986) insights on gender relations and African households, this study adopts a transactional approach to examine gender relations and livestock production. By focusing on participation patterns and the diverse interests of women and men, the study obtained a more realistic picture and since the allocation of inputs and responsibilities among men and women have implications for their relationship to one another and the society, such an approach has helped to improve our understanding of the topic under study. This approach avoided the more deterministic models of gender relations.

The various patterns of control women and men exercise in different spheres of activity do not always translate into concepts of dominance and subordination (Schlegel 1977). While dominance remains an important focus of the proposed research, there are many other important questions we can ask about the relationship between men and women in their society. The transactional approach considers men and women as social actors who utilise social relations and systems to achieve ends. Taking this broad view of the complexity of gender relations allows for a more dynamic view of social systems and as Potash (1989:191) points out "can serve as a corrective to... the normative, socio-centric... and andro-centric orientation of classic literature" (Potash 1989:191).

Guyer (1986) took a similarly broad view of the complexity of gender relations. She points out that men and women and often children "separately control productive resources, make partly independent decisions, manage personal incomes, assume different responsibilities and favor different investments" (Guyer 1986:96). Their

dependence on each other's resources, labour and income is so complex that the outcome of a household's decisions is difficult to predict and even to describe systematically. There is, therefore, a need to understand the causes of change in the division of labour, the terms of exchange between men and women and the size and internal structure of the social grouping within which these are organised.

Guyer, therefore, indicates that taking the household as a unit of analysis in decision-making is a complex issue and she argues for an individual approach as an alternative to a household approach. She suggests the importance of finding out how individuals draw on resources and lay claim to incomes. This can be used, for example, to bring out the constraints under which different categories of the population (divided by age, sex, socio-economic status etceteras) function. This study, therefore, adopted this individual approach to determine how women as well as men individually make various decisions in the household especially as concerns livestock and also to establish how these shape the decision-making patterns in the community under investigation. According to Guyer, this approach should not be used exclusively as it clearly lacks the means of tracing network of interdependence and distribution, both within and beyond domestic units.

Sociologists have identified three different modes of decisions making in the household. The syncretic mode of decision making is where the husband and wife have discussions on the same issue; the autonomous mode is whereby each makes decisions separately about different issues and the autocratic mode is where one party dictates decisions to the other (Kayongo-Male et al1984). Each of these three levels of decision-making affects different households in different ways because these households have multiple objectives, which are most often specific to different members according to their structural position

within the household. Decision-making is closely related to the degree of sharing of tasks in the division of labour in the family. The resources of the husband and wife largely determine their relative power in decision-making and their influence over domestic organization.

Bearing in mind the complexity of gender relations, the approach used in this study will help deal with these dynamic view of social systems as well as the internal contradictions that emerges in livestock production systems.

2.2.2 Relevance of the theory to the study

The transactional approach theory was used to analyse gender roles and introduce household dynamics in livestock production systems. This analysis is also applicable to decisions about agricultural research and development activities. Gender is the point of entry into understanding intra-household relations and decision-making and to recognizing where intra-household relations have an important bearing on farmer decisions and activities.

A detailed inquiry into patterns of decision-making or intra-household dynamics is rarely possible as part of an agricultural research. The purpose of this theory is to provide categories for enquiry and analyses that help agricultural research identify relevant information on who does what and the factors underlying farmers' decisions.

There are many ways of looking at intra-household characteristics such as: roles, resources and incentives of individuals within a household. The members belong to a category of individuals defined by gender, age, position or seniority for example, women and men, adults and children, relatives and non-relatives. Such categories frequently

carry with them combinations of rights and responsibilities which govern their farming activities more than their membership in a household unit: for example men prepare land, women weed, men raises cattle and women look after sick animals. The transactional approach focuses on differences in activities, resources, and benefits of different members within the household.

Within a community there may be also different kinds of household structures, which emerge as responses to stages in the life cycle, population movements or cultural traditions. Different household structures may have different resources and face different incentives, for example, households with older children at home and more labour upon which to draw may take on more labour demanding activities. Temporary or permanent migration may leave a high proportion of female-headed households with less available labour and more limited access to resources for production.

This framework, therefore, provided alternative ways in which one looks further than the household to understand how resources and incentives are organized and might be mobilized in livestock production.

The application of this framework helped protect research from gross errors of inefficiency and inequality in outcomes. It offsets the bias towards concepts of a household and male heads of household as sole decision makers and information sources. It also provided the rationale and means for understanding gender roles and decision-making as it affects livestock management and production and it will contribute to improved planning of livestock research and extension.

2.3 Assumptions of the study

1. Women's labour contribution to the household in livestock industry has increased but with no corresponding increase in their decision making power. This was measured by:

a) The range of livestock production activities in which women engage;

b) The types and frequencies of decisions concerning livestock production and Marketing in which women participate.

2) Women of high educational status are likely to participate more in decisions regarding livestock production than do women of low status.

The highest level that a woman achieved in school measured the level of education. The level of participation was measured as in 1b above.

3) Women of high status in regard to their occupational roles are likely to participate more in livestock decisions than women of low status.

Women's occupational role was measured by the occupation held by the women at the time of the interview

4) Women of high economic status are likely to participate more in decisions regarding livestock production than do women of low economic status.

Wealth rankings and family's' monthly income was used to measure women's economic status.

2.4 Definition of terms

Empowerment

Strengthening a person's ability to make decisions and take action based on acquired knowledge through information and provision of skills to exercise control over one's life and not to the detriment of others.

Gender

A social-cultural construct that refers to roles, responsibilities, characteristics, attitudes and beliefs about/towards men and women. These roles are defined, supported and reinforced by societal structures and institutions. The roles are learned and change over time and vary within and between cultures.

Gender division of labor

The work roles, responsibilities, and activities assigned to women and men based on gender.

Gender Analysis

An organized approach to understand how men and women relate to each other in terms of roles, responsibilities, access and control.

Status

The circumstances in which men and women live in the society

Access

Being in a position to utilize.

Control

Having the ultimate authority to make decisions.

Resources

What is available to individuals to perform their activities

Benefits

What individuals derive from performing their activities

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0. Research Site

The Akamba people are Eastern Bantu. Originally they were hunters and gatherers who cultivated a little sorghum and millet as well as keeping a few livestock herds. Their land of Ukambani is mostly a flat, dry and desolate area. The long rain season is from March to May and the short rains fall from October to December. The area has a relative humidity that varies from 87%-45%. The natural vegetation cover ranges from dry bush with some trees and open grassland. There are two National game parks, namely, Tsavo East (7,832 sq.km) and Tsavo West (12,950 sq.km), which lie on each side of the main road to Mombasa. These two form Kenya's largest parks and they are the ones holding the big game.

Charcoal burning was a common way of earning a living, together with poaching. Men would band together at night in groups of about twenty and kill wild animals out of which they would remove the ivory and skin. Buyers who usually came from Nairobi would meet with the local people at some agreed points and sometimes they would buy ivory as well as skins and hides worth about ksh.100, 000 (women of Kibwezi, 1990). These meeting points later on became market places along the Nairobi-Mombasa road, for example, Mtito Andei, Kambu, and machinery among others.

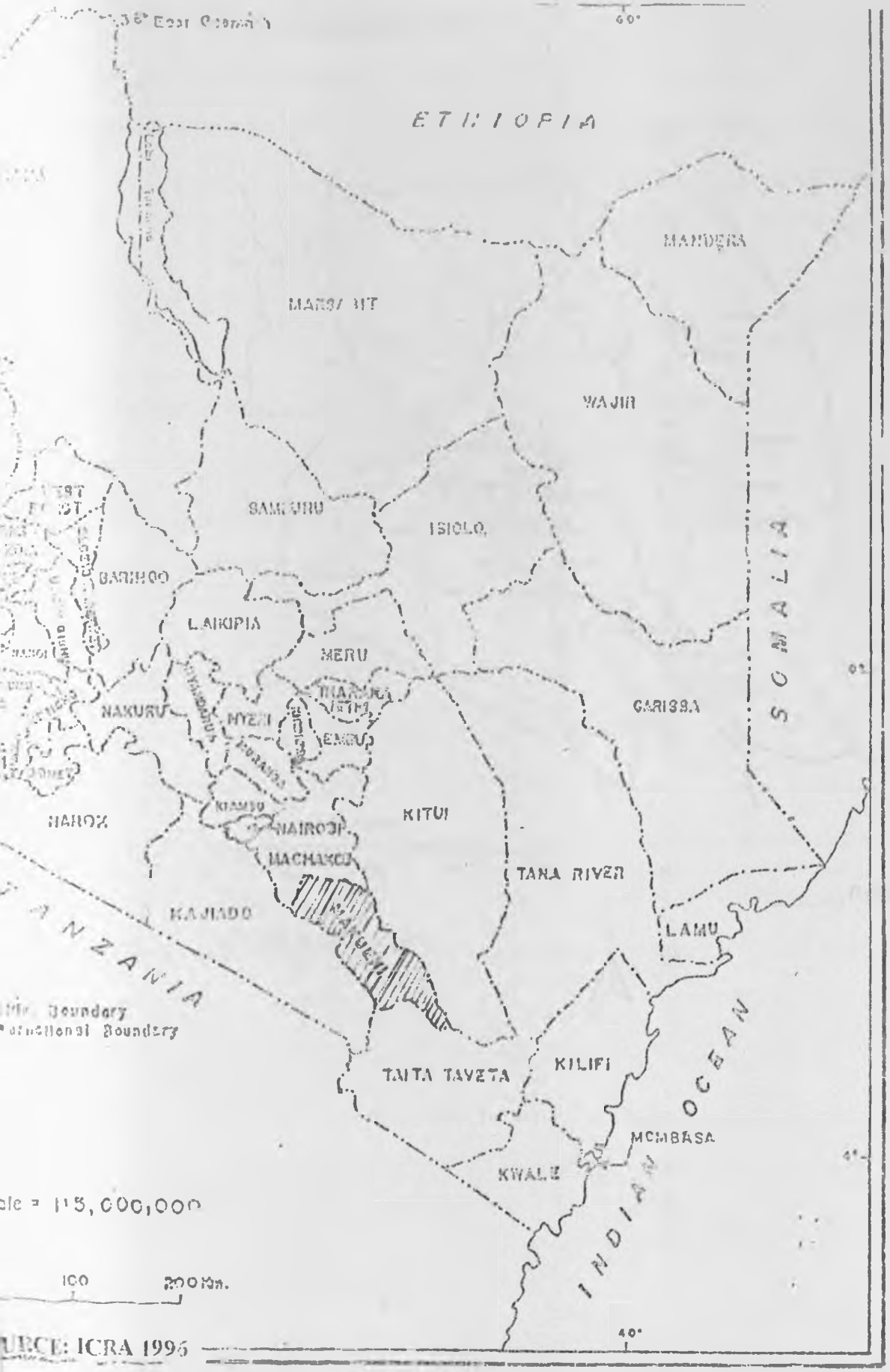
The fieldwork for this study was conducted between January and June 1997 among the Akamba who live in Kathekani sub-location and which is one among the four sub-locations of Mtito Andei location. Mtito Andei is in Kibwezi division of Makueni District, which was recently curved out of Machakos District and it is in the Eastern Province of Kenya. The sub-location has 25 villages spread over an area of approximately 800 km square and has a population of 16,000 people and a total of 3,200 households.

The earliest settlements in the area took place around the 1960's as a result of over population in the good areas of Machakos District. The inhabitants later went back to their areas of origin due to harsh conditions prevalent in the area at that time but migrated back in the early seventies after basic infrastructures started to be put in place. The people who came first got the best land around rivers Kambu and Athi. The ones who came later settled near water holes or springs and the last people to come settled in the interior between rivers Athi and Kambu. The amount paid for the land varied, for example, one could pay one or two goats or Ksh. 40 for a piece of land which extended as far as one's eyes could see.

Kathekani sub-location is by all counts a very marginal area. The ravages of persistent droughts, diseases and wildlife menace continue to undermine the capacity of the people to undertake any long term investments on their farms or even to trade as sources of cash income in the village are fairly limited. As a result, most of the males have migrated to the urban areas in search of wage employment leaving behind the women, children and the old. The women are in this case supposed to act as household "heads".

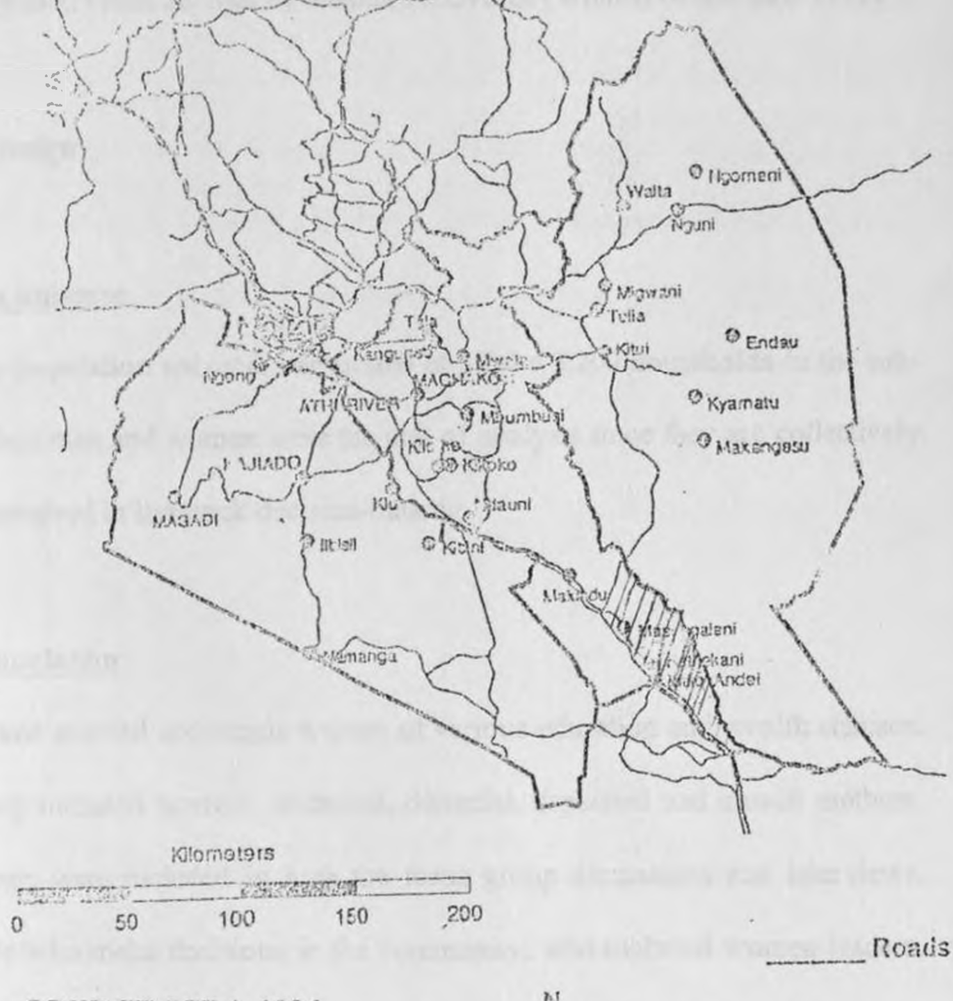
MAP 1

LOCATION OF THE DISTRICT



MAP 2

THE RESEARCH SITE



SOURCE:ICRA 1996

Livestock production is the leading primary activity in the area with goats and sheep being the major livestock animals. A few cows are also kept in the areas that are not very much infested by tsetse flies. Women contribute most of the labour to farming and about 80% of the family food needs are met by women's activities (Women of Kibwezi 1982).

3.1. Sampling Design

3.1.1 Population universe

In this study, the population universe constituted of all the 3,200 households in the sub-location. Individual men and women were the unit of analysis since they are collectively or individually involved in livestock decision-making.

3.1.2 Study population

The study involved married and single women of various education and wealth statuses. The first category included married, widowed, divorced, separated and unwed mothers. Only married men were included in both the focus group discussions and interviews. Important people who make decisions in the community, who included women leaders, community workers, extension officers, administrators and any other key decision makers in the village, were also interviewed.

3.2. Sample selection

Qualitative data collection techniques were the ones that were mainly used in this study in order to present descriptive findings while the use of the formal survey was used to generate quantitative information. Because of time and financial constraints, a sample of two out of the twenty-five villages comprising Kathekani sub-location was purposively selected with the assistance of the Assistant Chief. These were selected in such a way that one was close to Mtito Andei which is on the Nairobi Mombasa road while the other one was in the far and remote area bordering Tsavo National Park. Wealth ranking criteria were then used to select both the focus group discussion members and those people who were involved in the formal survey.

3.3. Data collection methods

A combination of qualitative and quantitative methods was used to investigate the central theme of this paper. Qualitative methods of social research were chosen as the primary means of data collection since this study focused on social processes and contexts from a social actor or transactional perspective. Preliminary discussions with community development workers and others intimately familiar with the research setting indicated that the use of quantitative methods to address the objectives and assumptions of this research in this setting might well be inadequate. Consequently a qualitative approach to data collection and analysis was chosen. Such research designs were found to be flexible allowing for modification to fit the changing reality of the field situation. The qualitative data collection techniques enabled the researcher to develop a relationship with the informants, which enabled her to penetrate their thoughts and discover the sentiments that

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may not be expressed in response to a standardised questionnaire. Ranges of these techniques were used among them: Focus groups discussion, case studies and key informant interviews.

The use of formal survey methods was undertaken to generate quantitative information. Information that was collected by means of a questionnaire was administered to a selected sample of people and helped to obtain the hard data.

3.4. Data Analysis

Qualitative data collected through the above techniques were systematically stored and coded while in the field using conventional methods of handling qualitative data to ensure accuracy of information collection. According to standard practice in qualitative research design, analysis of these data commenced while in the field and continued as an iterative process. This plus quantitative data was analysed using descriptive statistics. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) programme was used for this analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the presentation of the research findings with regard to the association between women's status and their labour input and contributions to decision making in livestock production in the households of Kathekani Sub-location, Makueni District. The chapter starts with a description of the social-demographic characteristics of the respondents, such as age, sex, marital status, educational level, occupation and income. This is followed by a description of the characteristics of the households in the study area. An outline of the traditional gender division of livestock roles and decision-making is given and this is compared to the present division of labour and decision-making. Women's roles and decision-making in livestock production and marketing are influenced by the women's level of education and their economic and occupational levels and these are all outlined in this chapter

4.1 Social demographic characteristics of the respondents

4.1.1. Age of the respondents

Table 4.1.1. Distribution of the respondents by age

Age bracket (years)	Frequency Distribution	Percentage	Cumulative %
15 – 25	15	19	19
26 - 35	28	35	54
36 - 45	22	28	82
46 - 55	9	11	93
56 - 65	4	5	98
Over 66	2	3	101
Total	80	101	101

NB: Percentage totals do not add up to one hundred due to rounding error.

Source: survey interview: 1997

According to the table above, a majority of the respondents (82%) were less than 45 years old. Eleven percent were between 46-55 years old, 5% were between 56-65 years while only 2% were over 66 years.

4.1.2 Sex of the respondents

Table 4.1.2 Sex of the respondents per village

Site	Male		Female		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Mikomani	17	21	19	24	36	45
Nthunguni	20	25	24	30	44	55
Total	37	46	43	54	80	100

Source: survey interview: 1997

Table 4.1.2 shows that the study covered 80 respondents spread over two sites. In Mikomani sub-location, out of the 36 respondents interviewed, 17 (21%) were male while 19 (24%) were female. Nthunguni sub-location had a total of 44 respondents out of which 20 (25%) were males and 24 (30%) were females. The total number of males who were interviewed was, therefore, 37 (46%) whereas the females were 43 (54%).

4.1.3 Marital status of the respondents

Table 4.1.3 Marital status of the respondents

Site	Married		Single		Widowed		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Mikomani	27	34	4	5	5	6	36	45
Nthunguni	36	45	5	6	3	4	44	55
Total	63	79	9	11	8	10	80	100

Source: survey interview: 1997

Out of the eighty respondents interviewed from the two sub-locations, 63 (79%) were married men and women. When a household was visited, preference was given to the woman for interview if she was available at that time, so that she could describe her own contribution in livestock production. The number of respondents who were single in this study was 9 (11%). These were women who were all victims of sexual intimacy which had resulted into their getting a child or children out of wedlock, and the man involved refused to take responsibility of the child or children born. A majority of these respondents had a boy- child as the first born which made it almost impossible for them to be accepted for marriage within the Akamba cultural belief system as opposed to those with a girl-child. The widowed category was comprised of 8 (10%) respondents. There was no respondent who was a widower. The reason for this, according to the key informants, was that it was easy for a man to remarry after the wife dies, which was not the case with a woman if her husband died, as this was not culturally acceptable.

4.1.4 Educational Level of respondents

Six categories of educational levels were used as a measure of educational attainment: those with no access to formal schooling; those who have received up to lower primary education (Std. 1-4); those who have upper primary education (Std. 5-7 or 8); those with secondary education (forms 1-4 or 5-6) and those who have received post secondary (college) education.

Low educational level characterized the population in the study area. Focus group discussion members who were asked why this was the case responded that this was due to the fact that education was not valued in this place some years back. They, however, said that the parents have now known the value of education and are determined to take

their children to school. The problem is that some of these parents are unable to raise the required school fees while a few preferred to have their children remain at home so that they can provide labour both for agriculture and livestock production. This was especially the case where the man was employed outside the farm and was not earning enough money to employ a labourer as it is illustrated by the following case study.

> *Muthini Mubia was one of the members of my case study. He is employed as a day watchman in the nearby Mtito Andei town. He is married to one wife and they have 8 children. They live on an 8-acre plot of land out of which 5 acres are under cultivation. Crops such as maize, sorghum, millet, and cowpeas are planted on this farm. They have 10 sheep and 2 goats. The ages of their 8 children ranges between 5 to 18 years of age. The first child, who is a married man and has his own family went to school only up to class two and then discontinued so that he can help the mother in herding. The second and third born who are also married women only went up to class four and class two respectively and discontinued as the parents could not afford the required school fees. The forth born boy went up to class 8 but did not pass in order to go to secondary school. The fifth and sixth born who are both boys are in classes eight and six respectively. The sixth born, a girl, got expectant in class 6 and stopped schooling while the last-born girl is in class three.*
>
> *One of the informants, however, said that this situation where parents rarely encouraged their children to go to school was more pronounced a few years back when working on the farms or herding cattle was considered more highly than schooling.*

Table 4.1.4 Respondents education levels by sex.

Level of education	Men		Women	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
No Education	10	27	21	51
Lower Primary	7	19	12	25
Upper Primary	9	24	6	14
Secondary	7	19	2	5
College	4	11	2	5
Total	37	100	43	100

Source: survey interview: 1997

According to the table above, only 27% of the men interviewed never went to school at all as compared to 59% of the women. About 19% of the men and 28% women had only lower primary education. The percentage of the men with secondary and post-secondary education is 19 while that one of the women is only 5. A greater percentage of the men in the sample are, therefore, in the higher educational categories than women.

The above situation can be explained by the fact that the community considers it to be of greater benefit to educate boys than girls as one of the respondents retorted:

> *"It is a worthwhile investment to educate a boy because if he is among the first born he will educate the rest of the children and take care of me in old age. If I educate a girl, she will later on get married and will take everything to the husband and his family".*

4.1.5 Occupation of respondents

Table 4.1.5 Occupations of respondents by sex

OCCUPATION	Women		Men	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Professional	3	7	4	11
Skilled worker	4	9	5	14
Business	4	9	6	16
Casual laborer	7	16	12	32
Agricultural activities	25	58	10	27
Total	43	99	37	100

Source: Survey interview 1997

Table 4.1.5 shows 'the occupation of the respondents by sex. Women were mainly involved in agricultural activities (58%) while men were mainly employed as casual laborers (32%). There are more men employed as professionals and skilled workers (25%) than women (16%). Men were also more involved in small-scale business (16%) than women (9%). In general, however, more men were in economic gainful occupations than women.

4.1.6 Monthly income of the respondents

Gradations of wealth and poverty are characteristics of every community however homogenous it may superficially seem and the studied community is no exception. Everybody seemed to be in the low-income earning group but close interaction with the people and observation revealed that there were families that were in the high economic status as well.

Table 4.1.6 Monthly income of the respondents

Annual Income (KES)	Frequency	%
0 - 2,000	48	60
2,100 - 4,000	16	20
4,100 - 6,000	8	10
6,100 - 8,000	4	5
8,100 - 10,000	2	2.5
10,000 - 12,000	2	2.5
Total	80	100

Source: survey interview: 1997

Table 4.1.6 shows the total income per month of the interviewed respondents. About 80% of the respondents had a monthly income of KES.4, 000 and below. These were mainly involved in the agricultural labour force while a few were casual laborers. According to the standards of this rural area, this group of people was categorized as belonging to the low income-earning bracket. Those whose income were Ksh. 6,000 and above were mainly professionals who were in formal employment, for example, teachers, nurses and also some big traders and 10% of the respondents were in this category. The remaining 10% had a monthly income of between Ksh.4, 100 - Ksh. 6,000 and these were mainly involved in some small-scale businesses. These two groups were classified as belonging to the upper income category.

4.2 Household characteristics

In Kathekani sub-location, there were a total number of 384 households out of which only 38 were female headed. A household was considered to be female headed only if the husband was dead otherwise even where the husband was a migrant and only came home occasionally he was still referred to as the head of the household. The households were found to be large having an average of 8 members (Table 4.2.1.)

Table 4.2.1 Distribution of household members in the study sample in Kathekani sub-location

Distribution of household members	Mikomani		Nthunguni		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
0 - 3	3	8	2	5	5	6
4 - 6	6	17	6	14	12	15
7 - 9	19	53	26	59	45	56
10 - 12	6	17	7	16	13	16
Over 12	2	6	3	7	5	6
Total	36	101	44	100	80	99

Source: survey interview: 1997

Household members are the main source of labour both in livestock and crop production activities. Crops are cultivated under rain-fed conditions and intercropping is used as a labour saving system. Crops such as maize, cowpeas, and millet are inter-cropped because of insufficient labour to weed different plots. The land tenure system in Kathekani is an individual freehold tenure according to which private individual owners control use rights to land. Most farm households have holdings of between six to ten (6-10) acres (Table 4.2.2) and the land is mainly registered in the husband's name except in cases where the husband is dead and the land is in the wife's name. The most common method of land ownership is land inheritance from father to son.

Table 4.2.2 Average land holdings in Kathekani

Farm size (acres)	Mikomani	Nthunguni	Total
1 – 5	3	7	10
6 – 10	13	19	32
11 - 20	14	14	28
21 - 25	6	4	10
Total	36	44	80

Source: survey interview: 1997

Livestock production is the major enterprise in Kathekani sub-location while crop production, though important, is considered a secondary component. The livestock herds are relatively large consisting of an average of 23 animals per household, most of which are sheep and goats (Table 4.2.3).

Table 4.2.3 Average livestock holding per household

Livestock type	Mikomani	Nthunguni
Cattle	3	4
Sheep	6	5
Goat	7	9
Poultry	4	7
Total	20	25

Source: survey interview: 1997

4.3. Division of labour in livestock activities

4.3.1 Traditional gender division of labour in livestock activities

One of the tasks of this study was to document the variation in patterns of labour allocation and decision-making in livestock management and marketing. In order to achieve this, a comparison was made between the traditional and present roles and decision-making in the livestock sphere.

Members of the Focus Groups Discussion were disaggregated according to gender. There were a total of 8 groups out of which 4 were composed of men and the rest comprised of women. Members in each of the groups were asked to indicate the kind of livestock activities that men as well as women were traditionally involved in and the findings are presented in the table below.

Table 4.3.1.1 Traditional Labour input patterns in Livestock Management tasks

Responsibilities	Men groups		Women groups		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Grazing Livestock	4	0	4	0	8	0
Caring for sick livestock	1	3	1	3	2	6
Milking	0	4	0	4	0	8
Taking Livestock to the river	4	0	4	0	8	0
Watering young animals	0	4	0	4	0	8
Feeding young animals	0	4	0	4	0	8
Slaughtering	4	0	4	0	8	0
Bleeding	4	0	4	0	8	0

Source: Focus Groups Discussions: 1997

It is clear from the table that livestock management tasks were traditionally clearly defined with men performing most of the activities. All members from the 8 focus groups agreed that herding which was, and still is, a major activity in animal husbandry in the area was traditionally a men's task as well as boys of 8 years old and above. Other tasks which were traditionally solely performed by men included: taking animals to the watering points, slaughtering the animals for food or ritual and bleeding the animals whose blood was then used as food when no other food was available. Milking and processing of the milk was traditionally a women's responsibility as was agreed by all the Focus Groups members. Women also had the responsibility of feeding and watering the young animals. Animal health care was a domain of both men and women. One of the Focus Group composed of males said that this was a male domain while members of the other three male groups stated that this was a female domain. Three of the women's

groups were for the idea that women's roles as "nurturers" and "healers" gave them the primary traditional responsibility in this area. The above trend of the division of roles supports what Akonga (1982) said concerning the cultural definition of roles according to the Akamba community. According to Akonga, livestock production was mainly the domain of the men who were the livestock owners and they are the ones who were more regularly involved in performing livestock tasks. Women labour contribution was especially vital in the agricultural and domestic sectors.

Table 4.3.1.2 Traditional decision making patterns by gender

Activity	Men		Women		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Sell livestock	4	0	4	0	8	0
Sell milk	4	0	3	1	7	1
Sell eggs	0	4	0	4	0	8
Where to graze livestock	4	0	4	0	8	0
Livestock type selection	4	0	4	0	8	0
Whether to feed poultry	0	4	0	4	0	8

Source: F. G .D: 1997

Focus Group Discussion members were asked about the kinds of decisions in livestock management and marketing that men as well as women traditionally made and the information is presented in Table 4.2.2. Women were only involved in decisions

regarding the disposal of eggs and feeding of poultry as was agreed by all the eight focus group discussion members. One out of the four groups comprising women said that women traditionally were also the ones who made decisions regarding the sale of milk. Men, as is evident from the above table, however, solely made key decisions concerning livestock production. All the 8 focus group discussions members were in agreement that the man is the one who decided whether a certain animal should be sold or not, where the animals should be grazed, and the type of animal that the family should keep.

This, therefore, shows that in the traditional Kamba community, men played key roles in livestock production and marketing and controlled the decision making process particularly over the disposal of animals. Women, on the other hand, traditionally only provided some labour for some tasks related to livestock, but they did not make key decisions in this sphere.

This is in agreement with Stephens (1990) who states that traditionally women were involved in the production but since they did not own the means of production, for example, livestock and land, they did not control the decision making process and their return was limited to a" reflex glory" in the enhanced status of their husbands.

4.3.2 Changes in gender roles and decision-making in livestock production and marketing

Table 4.3.2.1 below shows the current division of labour between men, women, children and hired labour in livestock management tasks in Kathekani sub-location.

Table 4.3.2.1 Frequency (%) of participation in livestock management tasks for household members and hired labour (N=80)

Activity (How often one works)	Husband	Wife	Children	Hired labour
Herding Regularly	39	61	8	92
Occasionally	46	18	61	8
Never	15	21	31	0
Milking Regularly	5	93	18	4
Occasionally	16	7	42	21
Never	79	0	40	75
Watering Regularly	34	62	18	94
Occasionally	41	22	35	6
Never	25	16	47	0
Treat sick animal Regularly	12	18	0	4
Occasionally	28	31	0	7
Never	60	51	100	89
Feeding calves Regularly	9	66	11	28
Occasionally	19	22	35	31
Never	72	12	54	41
Slaughtering Regularly	58	6	9	4
Occasionally	34	18	25	18
Never	8	76	66	78
Bleeding Regularly	0	0	0	0
Occasionally	8	0	0	0
Never	92	100	100	100
Counting livestock	2	61	7	0
from grazing Regularly	22	22	17	15
Occasionally	66	17	76	75
Never				

Source: Survey interview

According to the table, women are more regularly involved in herding than men. About 61% of the women in the sample are reported to herd on a regular basis as compared to only 39% of the men. Men mostly herd occasionally. Almost all of the employed labourers herd on a regular basis while a majority of the children only herd occasionally. Milking is the primary responsibility of women and about 93% of the women milked on a regular basis while the remaining 7% milked occasionally.

Other people responsible for daily milking include the children and employed labourers. Only 5% of the men in the sample milked regularly while 79% never milk at all. About 62% of the females water the livestock regularly while half that number of the males waters the animals on a regular basis. All the hired labourers take the livestock to the river.

Feeding the calves and counting the animals as they came in from grazing is the primary responsibility of the women and 66% and 61% of the women were regularly involved in these tasks, respectively. Only 9% and 12% of the men participated in these roles on a regular basis while only a few of the hired workers are employed in feeding calves or counting livestock.

The role of slaughtering was primarily for men. About 58% of the men in the sample are reported to slaughter on a regular basis while only a few women are involved in this task. Concerning the role of treating sick animals there was little involvement for either of the groups both on a regular as well as on occasional basis. Only 12% of the men and 18% of the women were reported to attend to sick livestock on a daily basis while more than half the number of both men and women said that they do not participate in the area of animal treatment at all.

This may be explained by the fact that modern medical technology has been introduced in the area and some local people locally known by the Kiswahili term as wasaidisi have been trained on how to identify and treat the common livestock diseases.

According to the table above, females have taken over most of the activities that were traditionally meant for males. Men have taken very few if any of the traditional women's roles, for example, milking.

This was confirmed in the focus group discussions where there was a general agreement in both women's and men's groups that females had assumed much more responsibilities than males. The irony is that as women share more and more in these men's responsibilities, they do not seem to enjoy an equal share in decision making as is indicated in the table below.

Table 4.3.2.2 Current decision-making pattern by gender

Activity	Men		Women		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Sell livestock	4	0	4	0	8	0
Sell milk	3	1	2	2	5	3
Sell eggs	0	4	0	4	0	8
Where to graze livestock	2	2	3	1	5	3
Livestock type selection	4	0	4	0	8	0
Whether to feed poultry	0	4	0	4	0	8

Source: F. G. D: 1997

Members of the 8 focus group discussions were given the task of indicating the current decision making process between men and women in matters relating to livestock production and marketing.

As is evident from the above table, men still dominate key decisions in this sphere. Decisions associated with livestock sale and cash management are still solely made by men as was agreed by all the 8 focus groups and so are decisions to do with the selection of the kind of livestock to keep.

Women only seem to have got a higher decision making power in matters relating to the sale of milk and where to graze the livestock. Majority of the women said that they were free to utilize the milk money without necessarily consulting their husbands.

4.4 Women status and decision-making in livestock production and marketing

4.4.1 Women's Educational Level and their Participation in Decisions Regarding Livestock

Table 4.4.1.1 Frequency (%) of participation in livestock management tasks for uneducated women

Activity	Husband	Wife	Children	Hired labour
Herding	56	33	8	5
Milking	0	93	5	2
Watering	59	25	11	5
Caring for sick animals	16	35	3	5
Feeding calves	22	69	10	7
Slaughtering	93	0	4	3
Counting livestock from grazing	19	76	2	3

Source: survey interview: 1997

Table 4.4.1.1 shows the frequency of participation in livestock management tasks by various household members and hired labour in households where the woman was educated. For purpose of analysis, those women who never went beyond lower primary were considered to be uneducated while those who went up to upper primary and above were put in the category of the educated.

About half the number of men in these households were involved in herding and watering livestock while 93% of the same men slaughtered the animals. Men were involved in other livestock activities only on small-scale basis.

A majority of the uneducated women were involved in milking (93%), counting livestock from grazing and feeding the calves (69%). The percentage of women involved in watering the animals is much less than that of men because even those men who watered the animals occasionally still claimed to water animals. Children had little participation in livestock activities due to the fact that most of them were enrolled in schools. Very few of the uneducated women had hired labour as they claimed that they did not have money to hire such labour.

Table 4.4.1.2 Frequency (%) participation in livestock management tasks for educated women

Activity	Husband	Wife	Children	Hired labour
Herding	42	22	2	34
Milking	0	66	3	31
Watering	45	27	8	20
Caring for sick animals	11	59	2	28
Feeding calves	16	41	5	38
Slaughtering	76	0	6	18
Counting livestock from grazing	11	73	3	13

Source: survey interview: 1997

The table above shows the division of labour in livestock activities in households where the woman was educated. Forty two percent of the men interviewed herded the animals,

45% were involved in watering and another 76% slaughtered livestock. Men were involved in the rest of the activities only on a small-scale basis.

The percentage of the women who claimed to be involved in milking the animals was 66. Fifty nine percent of the interviewed women said that it was their duty to care for sick livestock while another 41% fed the calves. Only 22% and 27% of these women were involved in herding and watering the livestock, respectively, and none slaughtered at all.

Most of the households in this category had hired labourers whose labour contribution to livestock activities is quite significant. They were involved in all the activities in this sector especially herding (35%), slaughtering (38%) and milking (31%). Children had minimal participation in livestock tasks as is evident from the table.

Livestock roles for the households where the woman is educated are slightly different from the households where the woman is not educated. The educated women seem to participate in slightly less activities than those who are uneducated.

Men in these households also seem to participate relatively less than those men who are from households where the woman is uneducated. According to the key informants, most women who were educated were in economic gainful employment and, therefore, did not have much time for livestock activities.

The key informants also said that these women were also in most cases married to husbands who were educated and in economic gainful occupations as well. A few of such households were, therefore, in a position to employ someone to help, especially, with looking after livestock.

45% were involved in watering and another 76% slaughtered livestock. Men were involved in the rest of the activities only on a small-scale basis.

The percentage of the women who claimed to be involved in milking the animals was 66. Fifty nine percent of the interviewed women said that it was their duty to care for sick livestock while another 41% fed the calves. Only 22% and 27% of these women were involved in herding and watering the livestock, respectively, and none slaughtered at all.

Most of the households in this category had hired labourers whose labour contribution to livestock activities is quite significant. They were involved in all the activities in this sector especially herding (35%), slaughtering (38%) and milking (31%). Children had minimal participation in livestock tasks as is evident from the table.

Livestock roles for the households where the woman is educated are slightly different from the households where the woman is not educated. The educated women seem to participate in slightly less activities than those who are uneducated.

Men in these households also seem to participate relatively less than those men who are from households where the woman is uneducated. According to the key informants, most women who were educated were in economic gainful employment and, therefore, did not have much time for livestock activities.

The key informants also said that these women were also in most cases married to husbands who were educated and in economic gainful occupations as well. A few of such households were, therefore, in a position to employ someone to help, especially, with looking after livestock.

Table 4.4.1.3 Decision making for educated and uneducated women

Activity	Educated		Uneducated	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Livestock sales and cash				
Husband	47	57	70	88
Wife	11	14	5	6
Both	23	29	5	6
Milk sales and cash				
Husband	11	14	19	24
Wife	57	71	38	48
Both	11	14	22	27
Poultry sales and cash				
Husband	0	0	0	0
Wife	80	100	80	100
Both	0	0	0	0
Livestock type selection				
Husband	34	43	63	79
Wife	23	29	23	29
Both	29	23	12	15
Where to graze livestock				
Husband	23	29	49	61
Wife	11	14	31	39
Both	46	57	0	0
Calling the veterinary				
Husband	20	25	61	76
Wife	23	29	12	15
Both	23	29	7	9

Source: survey interview: 1997

Table 4.4.1.3 shows a comparison on the frequency of decision making between educated and uneducated women on livestock issues.

Decisions associated with livestock sales and cash management are dominated by men whether the wife is educated (57%) or not (88%). More educated wives are, however, involved in decision making in this area (14%) than uneducated ones (6%). There was also more frequent consultation in livestock sales in households where the wife was educated (29%) than when she was not (6%). Decisions regarding the sale of milk are mainly made by the women with the educated women participating more (71%) than the uneducated ones (48%). Educated women are also more involved in milk sale decisions as partners in joint decisions (29%) than the uneducated ones (6%).

In all the households, decisions regarding sales of poultry were made by the women regardless of whether they were educated or not and they were equally likely to keep cash from these sales. Men were also the main decision makers in issues to do with livestock type selection, calling the veterinary if an animal got sick and making decisions on where to graze the livestock. There was, however, more frequent consultations between the husband and wife on these matters when the wife was educated than when she was not.

The same reason given by the key informants earlier can be used to explain the above situation. In almost all the households where the wife was educated, the husband was educated as well and in most cases in an economic gainful occupation, which did not allow him to be at home on a regular basis. Though these men were not very much involved in livestock production they were still the key decision makers although those

whose who had wives who were educated as well consulted them before making the decisions.

In the male focus groups discussions, men had differing views regarding educated women. A few said that educated women had a higher reasoning capacity than uneducated ones and therefore easier to reason together with. Other men had reservations for educated women who, according to these men, tend to overrule their husbands. These women, the men said, were also proud and in most cases did not respect their husband's decisions. A good number of these men felt that they would prefer to marry an uneducated woman for she would be obedient to them.

The younger (male and female) discussants in the focus groups concurred that the higher the level of schooling, the greater the degree of communication for the couple whereas the older ones felt that schooling brought about westernization destroying the traditional social structure and institutions.

4.4.2 Women's Occupation roles and their Participation in livestock

Roles and Decision Making in Livestock Production

Table 4.4.2.1 Women's Occupational roles and their participation in livestock activities

	Professionals (n=5) Freq %	Skilled worker (n=6) Freq %	Business (n=9) Freq %	Casual labour (n=10) Freq %	Agriculture (n=50) Freq %
	0 0	0 0	3 33	5 50	42 84
	1 20	2 33	4 44	7 70	47 94
ng	0 0	0 0	2 22	5 50	42 84
for sick	1 20	3 50	4 44	8 80	37 74
calves	1 20	2 33	3 33	7 70	44 88
ering k	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
ng k from	1 20	1 17	2 22	7 70	41 82

Source: survey interview: 1997

The above table shows the relationship between the occupational roles of the women in the sample and how often they participate in livestock roles. Women who had formal employment participated less in livestock roles than those who were employed as casual workers or were in agricultural labour force. Out of the five (5) women professionals and six (6) skilled workers, none was involved either in herding or watering the animals. It was only one of the professional women who claimed that she took care of the animal when it was sick, fed the calves and counted the animals as they came in from grazing. Less than half of the total businesswomen who were in the sample claimed to participate in livestock management roles. Those women who were in lowly regarded occupations

for instance casual labour and agricultural labour force, however, were very much involved in livestock roles. Except for slaughtering the animals, more than half the number of women in this category who were interviewed participated in all other livestock activities.

Table 4.4.2.2 Women's occupational roles and decision-making

Activity	Professional (n=5)	Skilled worker (n=6)	Business (n=9)	Casual laborer (n=10)	Farming (n=50)
Livestock sales					
Husband	0	25	0	71	80
Wife	0	0	0	0	0
Both	100	75	100	29	20
Milk sales					
Husband	0	0	0	14	28
Wife	67	25	100	57	52
Both	33	75	0	29	20
Poultry sales					
Husband	0	0	0	14	20
Wife	100	100	100	57	72
Both	0	0	0	29	8
Livestock type					
Selection	67	25	25	71	80
Husband	0	0	0	0	0
Wife	33	75	75	29	20
Both					
Where to graze livestock					
Husband	0	0	25	49	72
Wife	0	25	0	29	12
Both	100	75	75	29	16
Call veterinary					
Husband	0	0	0	86	68
Wife	0	0	0	14	12
Both	100	100	100	0	20

Survey interview 1997

Table 4.4.2.2 reports data on how the decision making process is shared between husband and wife in the sampled households with women from different occupational roles. Decisions to do with livestock sales are mainly made by men. Women who were in highly regarded occupations were more involved as partners in decision making than those who were in agricultural labour force or casual labourers. The sales from milk and

poultry were mainly the concern of women although in a few of the households where the wives were in lowly paid occupations such as casual labourer or were in agricultural labour force, the husbands had total control even over these products. Other livestock decisions for example, livestock type selection, calling the veterinary, and also deciding on where to graze the livestock are shared between husband and wife in families where the wife is in formal or self-employment. Otherwise there is more control in decision making by the husbands in households where the wife is in agricultural labour force or are casual labourers than when she is in economic gainful occupation.

4.4.3 Women's economic level and their participation in livestock roles and decision-making

Total income per month was used as an index of economic rank. Those respondents whose income was between Ksh.0 - 4000 were placed in the lower wealth class whereas those whose income was above Ksh. 4,000 were put in the upper wealth class. Key informants also used wealth ranking to categorise the various wealth classes where those families who did not have a steady monthly income belonged. Households were classified into two wealth classes (upper and lower) depending on the amount of wealth that a family had. Most families in the upper wealth category were mainly so because the husband was either a professional or was involved in some kind of business.

Table 4.4.3.1 Family Economic Status and the Participation of women in Livestock roles

Activity	Upper wealth rank (n=16)		Lower wealth rank (n=64)	
Herding	8	50	48	75
Milking	12	75	58	91
Watering	10	63	51	77
Caring for sick animals	8	50	44	69
Feeding calves	9	56	46	52
Slaughtering livestock	0	0	0	0
Counting livestock from grazing	8	50	45	70

Source: Survey interview: 1997

According to the above table, there was an insignificant difference in livestock roles participation for women from families of low wealth rank and those from upper wealth ranks. Women from families that were categorised as of upper wealth rank participated slightly more than those from lower wealth rank families. The woman was the one who in most cases remained at home and, therefore, took responsibility of the livestock unless where there was an employed labourer or the woman was in some gainful employment as well. Men are generally of higher economic level than women as they were mostly the ones who were in economic gainful employment. It was not, however, very easy to measure this especially in the focus groups discussion. The Akamba believe that a woman has got no wealth of her own for she and whatever wealth she claims to have belong to the husband, as one of the men in the focus groups discussion commented: "This woman is mine (meaning my property) and therefore I do not know what you mean when you ask about her property".

Table 4.4.3.2 Economic status and decision-making

ivity		Upper wealth rank (n=16)	Lower wealth rank (n=64)
l L\stock	Husband	8 50	56 88
	Wife	2 13	2 3
th		6 38	6 9
l milk	Husband	2 13	29 21
	Wife	13 20	30 47
	Both	1 6	5 8
azing	Husband	3 19	51 80
	Wife	2 13	7 11
	Both	11 69	6 9
ll poultry	Husband	0 0	3 5
	Wife	15 94	60 94
	Both	1 6	1 2
all Vet.	Husband	5 31	57 89
	Wife	4 25	3 5
	Both	7 44	4 6
ivestock type	Husband	10 63	58 91
	Wife	2 13	2 3
	Both	8 50	4 6

Source: survey interview: 1997

Livestock sale decisions are the main concern of men regardless of the economic status of the family although there is less participation by husbands from households of the upper wealth category (50%) than those from lower wealth category (88%). Women are also more involved either as individuals (13%) or as partners (38%) in decision making in the same area in upper wealth category households than in households of lower wealth category (13% and 9%, respectively).

This is also the case in those other livestock decisions, which traditionally were male dominated such as deciding the type of livestock to keep. In general women from the upper wealth class participate more in livestock decisions than those who are of lower

wealth class. The spouses from upper wealth category also consult one another more frequently than those from the lower wealth category.

There was found to be more frequent consultations both in household as well as in livestock matters in these families as is also illustrated in the case study below:

> *Mr. and Mrs. Kathosya are teachers at Nthunguni Primary School. They have 5 children (3 boys and 2 girls) who are all in Primary school except the first-born who finished primary school and was doing a masonry course. They live on a 25-acre plot of land, part of which is under cultivation and the remaining is used as grazing area. Mrs. Kathosya said that if they want to dispose of some livestock like a cow in the family they usually make this decision together with the husband. However if she gets a very pressing need and the husband happens to be outside the location, she could either sell a goat or sheep and explain this to the husband when he comes back: "both of us are accountable for our property as both of us have contributed towards its acquisition. My husband will always inform me before making a major decision in the family. When our son finished his schooling we both sat down and decided what was best for him".*

Men in the focus group discussions were asked about the advantages as well as disadvantages in a family where the wife had her own independence source of income. Most agreed that this, to some extent, helped to reduce the household task load as both the wife and the husband would share financial responsibilities. A few were, however, for the idea that economic independence could make a woman to disregard the husbands' decisions. These men were opposed to the idea of including women in decision making for, as many claimed, these women would brag that they are the key decision makers in the family.

According to these men, those women who had their own incomes were disrespectful to their husbands because they felt that they did not have to necessarily depend on the man for everything. These women, the men claimed, were not submissive to their husbands

and were extravagant. Some men claimed that the place for all women was in the kitchen.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATION

5.1 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter focuses on the observations made in the preceding chapters with the view to bring out some emerging conclusive statements. These were arrived at after analysing how specific variables come into play to predict specific assumptions after examining all data collected through the various methods enumerated in chapter three. This was aimed at fulfilling the objectives of the study from which the assumptions were inherently drawn. The first objective of this study was to show the changes in the patterns of labour input and decision-making and control in livestock production and marketing.

The concomitant assumption formulated for this objective was that even as women's labour contribution to the household in the livestock industry has increased, there has not been a corresponding increase in their decision-making ability. The available literature shows a cultural division of labour in agricultural production. According to Niamir, M (1994), men traditionally took care of cattle, cleared and opened new gardens, built structures of granaries and living houses, herded (if no children), hunted, and performed military duties. Women, on the other hand, prepared and cooked food, fetched water and firewood, milked cows and goats, dug fields, planted, gathered harvest, threshed, cut and carried home grass for thatching, took care of children among other duties.

This division of labour corresponds to the findings of this study, more so in the livestock sphere where, traditionally, men performed most of the activities. This was especially so

because in the research community, livestock was perceived as a traditional form of wealth, a status symbol, a source of prestige and a source of liquid cash. Its ownership was, therefore, associated with power, wealth and prestige. Men were also the key decision makers in this area and this was in a manner consistent with the cultural definition of gender roles in this community where men dominated decision-making.

Women, on the other hand, provided labour for the various tasks related to livestock but did not control the decision making process. They were involved in the production but did not own the means of production, that is, livestock. Stephens (1990) says that their return was limited to a "reflex glory" in the enhanced status of their husbands.

The above structure in the division of labour is shown to have changed a lot and women have taken up many of the roles of men in the livestock sphere. These women tend to combine their traditional roles with those tasks, which previously were specifically meant for men as male labour force participation decline, and this has ended up over-burdening the women. As it was cited in the literature review, various changes in the economic and socio-political conditions affecting the agro-pastoral people have contributed to changes in the structure of the gender division of labour with an expansion of women's social and economic roles. Some of the factors, which have influenced these changes in the patterns of the division of labour in the studied community, are: the withdrawal of household labour through male labour out-migration, school participation of children and off-farm employment. The influences of these factors on labour patterns are discussed in detail below.

The major contributing factor to the expansion of women's roles is out-migration of male labour force into towns. Male migration in Kathekani sub-location has been as a result of

lack of social as well as economic opportunities in this rural area. This is also as a consequent of differential patterns of resource allocation between rural and urban sectors. In this rural area, the farm sector is relatively underdeveloped and, therefore, lacks the structural and institutional capacity to attract and absorb a rapidly growing labour force. This is typical of the rural urban market, which is "characterized by persistent underemployment because of unequal opportunity and lack of diversified approach to rural development" (Suda 1986). Most of the men in this sub-location have, therefore, as a result gone to such towns as Mombasa, Nairobi, Mtito-Andei, and Kambu to look for job opportunities leaving the women behind.

Urban income remittances were in a number of cases cited by informants as a major input in farm production where the money is used to meet some of the farmers demands such as the hiring of farm labour. Where these remittances are used in the right manner, they become a means of redistribution of surplus resources from urban to rural areas. Most of the money sent by the migrants in this sub-location is, however, used for other household purposes and not necessarily for hiring extra labour. Some of those families with migrant husbands claimed to hire some labour only during the time of land preparation while others did not hire any labour at all. In the livestock sphere, the use of hired labour was very limited and only rarely used in herding. Instead, labour crisis during some major farm activities is supplemented with child labour where the children sometimes may miss to attend school in order to help with farm activities as the following case study illustrates:

> *Kaviu, the household head of one of the families in my case study lives in Nthunguni village with his wife and their seven children. He is a day watchman in a nearby secondary school and the wife is a housewife. Five of their children*

are in primary school and two have not yet started schooling. We visited their home during planting time and the wife informed us that none of the children had gone to school the whole of that week since they had to help with planting. The mother said she is the one who normally graze the livestock but for the period when they are planting one of the boys was the one who assists with herding as the rest of the family members help in the farm. When I asked her what she normally do with the livestock when she has something important to do she responded that one of the boys has to miss school for that day to take care of the livestock".

The withdrawal of male labour from the rural area has, to a large extent, contributed to the emergence of female-headed households in Kathekani due to the prolonged absence of males from the family. The women who are left behind function as de facto household heads with various responsibilities but they lack the autonomy to make key decisions in the management of the household. In the livestock sphere, for example, these women claimed that despite the fact that they are the ones involved in almost all the livestock activities, their decision-making capacity especially in the disposal of animals is very limited. Some educated women claimed that the only time they could sell an animal like sheep or goat without informing the husband was when there was a very pressing need like sickness although latter on they would still give an account of how they used the money. Others, however, said that they had never sold any livestock without the husbands consent and would better even borrow money to meet a certain need and return it when the migrant husband comes home. The following case study illustrates this:

Mrs. Mutuku is a farmer from Mikomani village and has 7 children (3 boys and 4 girls). Her husband works in Nairobi as a mechanic in one of the industries and comes home at the end of the month. While we were visiting their home, one of the children was there and the mother told us that the child had not gone to school for the last two days because the school uniform was torn. We asked her what she is doing about it and she said that there is not much she can do except to wait for the husband who would either bring money for the uniform or sell one of the shoats and use the money to buy the uniform. Mrs. Mutuku said that she only makes the minor decisions in the family but for the ones especially to do with livestock, she has to wait until the husband comes home. According to her, if there is something, which requires quick attention, she normally borrows money from a friend and gives it back later.

The enrollment of children into schools is the other major competing demand on family labour as it contributes to the unavailability of child labour both for household work as well as farming activities. In Kathekani sub-location, child labour is only available late in the evening, over the weekends or during the school holidays although there are instances when children miss to attend school so as to help with farm activities.

Low farm productivity, chronic food shortage and increased cash needs have led the farmers to participate in a number of off-farm activities to supplement their family income. Women are not excluded in this category. In Kathekani, women who participate in off-farm activities are not excluded from their household roles and they have to combine the two as one of the informants who has some livestock and also operates a green grocer kiosk responded:

of their needs, interests and rights. Education also erodes some of the traditional traits that hindered women in making any decisions in the family.

The study has also revealed that higher educational levels increases women's chances of obtaining formal employment in the modern sector with a regular salary thus enhancing their status and giving them more social economic power in the family. Women who were in economic gainful occupations were of higher socio and economic status than those in agricultural labour force. These women seemed to be self-confident and this intensified communication between husband and wife, which is an important factor in decision-making. Most of these women controlled their own incomes and this helped them also to make independent decisions. The results of this study, therefore, shows that women in the research site are slowly empowering themselves through education employment and independent incomes. This has helped to dispel the influence of social and cultural values which channeled women's roles to specific gender roles and also limited their decision making power. These women do not, therefore, have to derive their status from the way they performed their domestic and agricultural roles, but could as well derive their status from their education levels, economic status and occupation outside the domestic circle. As these give the women access to independent incomes, they in turn facilitate their participation in the decision making process both in the domestic and public spheres. Also, as women acquire education and other necessary skills which facilitate their participation in formal employment and other income generating activities, they also tend to seek liberation from such social and cultural values which link their status with their domestic task performance.

According to Gwako (1986), schooling brings about westernization, that is, a process of transforming society from its traditional value to a modern set of values and associated

behaviors. This helps educated couples to discuss various issues together before making any key decisions and overlook any hindrance from the traditions.

5.2 Policy Implication

It was expected that the results of this study would contribute to an understanding between women's status and decision-making in livestock production and management issues by providing systematic ethnographic information, which has not been availed before. The study hoped to avail information and recommendations relevant to both academicians and policy makers in their efforts to empowering women especially among the Akamba community.

Education, occupation and also the extent to which women have control over their independent incomes all seem to determine the decision making ability of women in the Akamba community in the research site. This study, therefore, recommends that any efforts aimed at empowering women in livestock decision-making should first of all improve women's status through increased education opportunities and participation in formal employment in order to give them independent incomes. Here, education becomes instrumental in building up women's self-confidence and skills in order for them to participate in the economic systems as well as to press for their unique concerns, needs and interest in certain domestic and public spheres.

The changes that have occurred in the structure of the division of labour have resulted in higher female participation in livestock tasks that does not correspond to their decision-making ability. This is attributed to the cultural attitude of the Akamba people where women are made to undervalue the worth of their work. The study recommended an

intensification of public awareness campaigns to educate women to on the need to value their labour.

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APPENDIX ONE

QUESTIONNAIRE

All information given in this questionnaire will be held in strict confidence

Questionnaire Number _____

Date_____

Village name_____

Sub-location_____

Name of respondent_____

STATUS DATA (Circle where applicable)

1. Sex of respondent
   a) male
   b) female
2. Age of respondent (yrs)
   a) 15 – 19
   b) 20 – 39
   c) 40 –59
   d) 50 – 59
   e) 60 and over
3. Religious denomination
   a) Catholic
   b) Protestant
   c) African Traditional Religion

d) Muslim

e) Other (specific)

4. Marital status

a) Single

b) Married

c) Widowed

d) Separated

e) Divorced

5. How many wives do you have (for married male only)

6. How many children do you have?

	Number	Male	Female
(a) Under school			
(b) In secondary			
(c) Above secondary			
(d) Out of school and not employed			
(e) Out of school and employed			

7.i Occupation of respondent

a) Present_____

b) Past_____

7.ii Total income per month

(No's 8-10 for employed males only)

8. Place of work (town)

a) Within the sub-location_____

b) Outside the sub location_____

9. How often does the respondent come home

a) Lives at home

b) Every week-end

c) Every six months

d) Other (specify)_____

10. If he stays away from home, since when did he migrate_____

11. Education level of the respondent

a) Std. 1 - 4

b) Std. 5 – 8

c) Forms 1 – 4

d) Other (specify)_____

12. What is the main source of family income_____

13. Other source of family income_____

SOCIETAL STATUS

14. What are some of the communal self help groups in this area

a) Women's groups

b) Soil conservation

c) School development activities

d) Others (specify)

15. (i) Are you a member of any of the above groups_____

(ii) If not a member why_____

16. Are a leader of any of the groups

Yes

No

DECISION MAKING AND CONTROL OVER RESOURCES

17. Do you keep livestock on the farm?

18. How many of each type of livestock do you keep?

a) Cows _____

a) Bulls (heifers) _____

e) Sheep _____

f) Daily goats _____

g) Poultry _____

h) Others (specify) _____

19. How did you acquire the animals?

20. What is the acreage of crops planted in the family farm?

a) Maize _____

b) Beans _____

c) Pigeon peas Nzuu _____

d) Others specify _____

21. Who in the household is responsible for the following tasks

a) Fetching water for the livestock _____

b) Herding /Feeding the livestock _____

c) Milking cows goats _____

d) Planting _____

e) Weeding _____

f) Harvesting _____

22. Who within the household are the main managers of main crops and livestock

_____

23. How and who makes the following decisions in the family.

a) What type of cattle to keep

_____

b) Whether or not to sell a certain animal e.g. a cow

_____

c) The type of fodder to plant

_____

d) When to de-worm the livestock

_____

e) Whether or not to call a veterinary if an animal is sick

_____

f) Where to graze the animals

_____

g) How to feed poultry_____

g) Whether or not to buy a plot or land _____

h) Whether of not to sell a plot of land

_____

24. How many cows currently produce milk

_____

25. How much per milking

_____

26. How many eggs the chickens are laying per day

_____

27. How many bags did you harvest last year from the following crops;

a) Maize

b) Pigeon peas (Nzuu

c) Beans

28. Do you sell the following produce

a) Eggs

b) Milk

c) Crops yields

29. Have you sold any of these for the last three years,

a) Large stock

b) Small stock

30. How did your household decide when and at what price to sell the above

a) Eggs

b) Milk

c) Crop harvest

d) Large stock

e) Small stock

31. Who is responsible for the control, management and use of proceeds of;

	Control	Management	Use
a) Crops sales			
b) Large stock			
c) Small stock			
d) Eggs			
e) Milk			

32. Have you managed income from each of the following proceeds over time?

33. Who actually makes the decision on how to use the income generated from the sales of each of the following proceeds?

34. How do you identify when an animal is sick?

35. What do you do after identifying the problem?

    a) Call a vet.

    b) Buy drugs from the shops and give it.

    c) Wait for my husband (for women respondents only) and inform him of the problem

36. Does the veterinary charge you for services rendered?

    _____

37. Where do you get the money to pay the veterinary. And who actually does the payment?

APPENDIX TWO

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FOCUS GROUPS DISCUSSION

a) What are the cultural duties of a typical Kamba man and woman?

b) How have these roles have changed with time and what are the reasons for these changes?

c) What effects (both positive and negative) have these changes had on both men and women?

d) What influence does education and wealth have on the above changes?