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THE EFFECTS OF GOVERNMENT AGRICULTURAL  
POLICY ON WOMEN FARMERS IN KENYA: A  
RESEARCH PROPOSAL

by

Kathleen Staudt

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ABSTRACT

This study proposes to compare the delivery of agricultural services to men and women farmers in two districts of Kenya. Two conceptual approaches in political science are put forth which justify a study of this type. While the participation of women in agricultural production is substantial, numerous studies indicate a failure to consider women farmers in academic analysis, development planning, and policy implementation. It is assumed that the effectiveness of policy implementation is limited to the extent that subgroups have differential access to that policy.

The aim of this research is to study the effects of agricultural policy on women farmers in Kenya. Though the role of women in agriculture is widely recognized, there is good reason to suspect that levels of agricultural services, as well as types of agricultural services, vary substantially with the sex of recipient. Not only does this variance in service affect the productivity of women and their income earning potential, but it, perhaps more importantly, decreases the overall performance of agricultural services and of rural development strategy.

This proposal has been divided into several parts. The first part contains the theoretical orientation in political science which justifies a study of this kind. In the second, the importance of considering women in rural development strategy is put forth. The third part comments more specifically on Kenyan policies as they affect women. Finally, the research design is presented. In brief, the design seeks to measure and compare the delivery of agricultural services to men and women farmers.

#### I. General Theoretical Background

Political Science has been increasingly concerned with policy analysis and development administration; that is, with measuring what governments actually do and what consequences this activity entails. This approach assumes that government administration is a major determinant of social change, and that administrative performance can be evaluated as to its efficiency and effectiveness. (Dolbeare, 1970; Hyden, *et. al.*, Joy, 1969; Kasfir, 1972; Leonard, 1973; Schaffer, 1969; Watts, 1969).

Prior to this policy orientation in Political Science, the predominant concern was with the inputs of politics, otherwise known as the procedures, attitudinal configurations, and decision-making patterns involved in government action and political behaviour. There was an implicit, but untested assumption that procedural or attitudinal configurations bore some relationship to the outcome or substance of government and the quality of that outcome. This led to a flurry of activity where, especially in the field of comparative politics, theorists attempted to compare and measure national socio-political institutions on such dimensions as development, differentiation, mobilization, etc. This broad approach was eventually rejected on the grounds of non-comparability, ethnocentrism, and the increasing recognition of its inability to deal with economic and situational exigencies. (Huntington, 1971; Uphoff & Ilchman, 1972). In the last decade, a complement to this sociological tradition has emerged in political science,

the political economy approach, under which is subsumed policy analysis and development administration.

Policy choices are examined in two respects. In the first, the effectiveness or productivity of the administrative output is analyzed for consequences on the phenomena the policy was designed to influence. Some political theorists have combined this with an evaluative component which attempts to assess the normative implications of the content and strategy of government problem solving. Judgments based on either criteria of effectiveness or of some normative dimension can also be useful as a feedback device for policy recommendations. In the second aspect of policy studies, government policies themselves are recognized as having an important influence on attitudes, organizational activity and group formation, and future policy change. (Davis & Dolbeare, 1968; Dresang, 1974; Edelman, 1964; Selznick, 1949)

Furthermore, Political Science has had a long standing concern with the politics of resource allocation, ranging from the general and somewhat ephemeral Eastonian notion of the political system 'authoritatively allocating values' to the more concrete Lasswellian focus on 'who gets what, when, and how'. The study of 'who benefits?' from government resource allocation has generally meshed with concerns of stratification theorists. Societal groupings typically have been divided by class, occupational groups, education, or their relationship to the <sup>means of</sup> production. Analysis has then proceeded to examine how governments reinforce, maintain, or counteract benefits to these groupings. Little attention, has been given to the interaction of the sex division across these more traditional groupings. However, stratification theorist Lenski has called into question this neglect; he says "it is impossible to ignore or treat as obvious the role of sex in the distributive process". (1966, quoted in Acker, 1973, p. 936) Taking this further, Acker has questioned the logic and validity of standard assumptions by stratification theorists—that families are the units of measurement, that the social position is determined by the male, and that female status is a function of male status.\* (pp. 937-9). Therefore, it is necessary to measure the resource flow to women, especially when there is reason to suspect differential benefits. Numerous studies have indicated how administrative performance is affected by what policy makers perceive as clientele economic and political marginality.

\* In Kenya, at least one third of all rural households are headed by women. (ILO/UNDP, 1972, p. 47) This figure can increase to one-half or more in certain districts where levels of male out-migration are high. In the U.S., for example, 40% of households are headed by women, and nearly half of these are concentrated below the poverty line. (Acker, 1973, pp. 938-9)



(Davis & Dolbeare, 1968; Piven & Cloward, 1971; Selznick, 1949; Uphoff & Ilchman, 1972) The pages that follow illustrate that women farmers in Kenya may be differentially affected by government agricultural policy services.

## II. Development Policy & Women in Agriculture

In rural development policy, increased agricultural productivity is seen as a vehicle for increasing the supply of foodstuffs, for export, and for improving the quality of individual and family life. Governments play an important part in both stimulating and sustaining increased agricultural productivity through farmer training institutions, extension advice, and various support services such as the provision of credit, seeds, and technical information. (Heyer, *et. al*, 1971; Millikan & Hapgood, 1967, Sheffield, 1967) At a more general level, governments provide the economic infrastructure, pricing policies, and marketing arrangements which influence productivity. This barrage of policies and government services aim, ultimately, at the 'farmer', an individual who makes decisions about crop planning, labor requirements and capital investments.

Studies of African agriculture indicate that the part played by women is substantial. A division of agricultural labor by sex has prevailed in most societies and is still a fairly constant feature of this era. While men fell trees and clear land, it is often women who plant, weed, and harvest crops. (Boserup, 1970; Hay, 1974, 1972, p. 175; Little, 1974; Miracle, 1967; p. 244; Molnos, 1968, pp. 60-61; Pala, 1974; Paulme, 1963). The significant role of women is particularly evident in the production of food crops, a major responsibility of women. In fact, women are often allocated major decision-making responsibilities in the planning, storage, distribution, and gain from these crops. (Brokensha & Nellis, 1971, p. 347; Fisher, 1956; Hanger, 1973, Hay, *ibid.*, Kaberry, 1952)

Students of social change have examined how a changing economy produces adjustments in the division of labor according to sex. Theorists point to the fact that men have increasingly engaged in the financing and labor participation of crops grown explicitly for cash. Correspondingly, these studies note the flexibility and interchangeability of sex work patterns. (Cleave, 1970, p. 249; Cosnow, 1968, p. 67) But on the other hand, studies with a more explicit focus on women have observed a continued cleavage in the division of labor (Ottenberg, 1959; Van Velson, 1960), and the increasing share of agricultural work in

... & Lambert,  
... 1968, p. 71; ILO/UNDP. 1972, pp. 4, 10, 72;  
UN/ECA, 1974, 1974a, 1974b) This varying evidence suggests that there is  
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The increase or decrease in work is conditioned by economic and situational  
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people to grow market crops is largely one of persuading the women, and  
assuring them that the cash proceeds are used to purchase the families  
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family, where cash is transferred from husband to wife or where labor is  
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\* UN/ECA has made an interesting attempt to quantify the participation  
of women in African economies. It must be recognized that these are rough  
estimates, meant to be broadly comparative. Below are selected examples  
of the "units of participation" by African women in the rural sector:  
(1974b, p. 9)

Food production .....	70%
Domestic Food Storage .....	50%
Food processing.....	100%
Animal Husbandry .....	50%
Marketing .....	60%

(Davis & Dolbeare, 1968; Piven & Cloward, 1971; Selznick, 1949; Uphoff & Ilchman, 1972) The pages that follow illustrate that women farmers in Kenya may be differentially affected by government agricultural policy services.

## II. Development Policy & Women in Agriculture

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which women participate, particularly in areas where there are high rates of male out-migration and/or where cash crops are grown in addition to food crops. \* (DeWilde, 1967, p. 85; Fisher, 1956; Hanger, 1973; Hanger & Moris, in Chambers & Moris 1973; Haswell, 1963, p. 25; Minturn & Lambert, 1964, pp. 240-1; Molnos, 1968, p. 71; ILO/UNDP, 1972, pp. 4, 10, 72; UN/ECA, 1974, 1974a, 1974b) This varying evidence suggests that there is no deterministic pattern by which female work responsibilities change. The increase or decrease in work is conditioned by economic and situational factors such as labor availability and the overall level of commercialization and specialization. (LeVine, 1966).

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Even though their labor increases, they have no assurance of income. (1967, I, p. 51, II, p. 40) He says that agricultural staff agree that women are "more receptive to advice and instruction than men, but that in most cases they lacked the opportunity or authority to apply advice" (*ibid.*, I, p. 169) In his analysis of unsuccessful cotton policy promotion in Nyanza, Fearn points to the failure of colonial agricultural agents to consider the role of women's labor on the farm and the extra burden which policy adoption would bring them. (1961, p. 77) At Mwea Irrigation Scheme, Hanger and Moris discuss the official neglect of women's work and its devastating consequences for the welfare of women, and more indirectly, on rice paddy deliveries. (in Chambers & Moris, 1973) A case study by Apthorpe shows how the failure to take into account the existing division of labor and its returns led to the fall of pyrethrum production. (in UN/ECA, 1974a, p. 9) Finally, a difficulty in enforcing colonial soil conservation policy, besides the compulsory manner in which it was implemented, had been the non-recognition of the increased labor input by women, especially in areas of extensive male out-migration. Sorrenson denotes the political mobilization of women as a further consequence of that colonial orientation. (1967, pp. 74-5)

Despite the numerous examples of how agricultural policy effectiveness is reduced by the failure to consider women, many governments offer women services which treat them primarily as wife and mother, but not cultivator. These programs, examples of which include child and spouse care, cooking, sewing, and domestic duties, fail to consider the role of women in livelihood pursuits. (Ruddle & Chesterfield, 1974.) An IBRD report has called the neglect of women farmers a major short-coming of agricultural extension. The "so-called women's programs are typically

on a token scale and are designed with the implicit assumption that the place of women is solely in the home". (Coombes, 1974, p. 20)

Mbilinyi has observed that home economics programs ignore the role of women as farmers and traders. She argues that these programs have a labor intensive effect, without offering access to increased productivity or incomes. Accordingly, she says that time and labor saving inputs to increase agricultural productivity would be more beneficial to women. (1971, p. 13) While the importance of home economics programs cannot be denied, it is increasingly recognized that these programs cannot be inadequately designed for the composite participation of women.

Thus it seems apparent that, on grounds of both pragmatism and equity, the extension of agricultural services to women farmers is as necessary as it is for men farmers. Yet numerous studies have alleged a bias in the delivery of services to women. (Bossrup, 1970, pp. 19-20; Mbilinyi, 1972; Pala, 1974a, p. 18) International bodies have consistently recommended redress in the unequal access women had and continue to have in extension. (UN/ECA/FAO, 1973; UN/ECA, 1974, 1974a, 1974b; IBRD, Lele Report 1973, pp. 30, 35) Aid granting bodies have also recognized the differential, and often debilitating, consequences of development projects for women. One body has instructed that priority be given to the inclusion of women in agricultural and other programs. (Percy Amendment, US/AID, 1974)

These studies in agriculture have remarked, though not deeply investigated, that women farmers were being ignored. Gerhardt's study of hybrid maize diffusion in Western Kenya notes that the "extension services has very few female agents (other than a handful of home economics assistants) and directs its attention almost exclusively to men and that this indicates that a large proportion of de facto farm managers are being ignored". (1974, p. 121) In their study of Mbere, Brokensha and Nellis comment that "women who play a dominant part in food crops... are officially ignored by the male extension agents. The few female home economics staff are not concerned with agriculture". (1971, p. 347) Moris found that women in charge of farms were "less well catered for" by the agricultural department at the time of his survey in Central Kenya. (1970, P. 362)

More often than not, however, academic studies simply ignore the role of women in agriculture. For example, a comprehensive edition on rural development... mentions women only briefly with respect to agricultural issues. An article in that edition provides profiles of 49 farmers, none of which was a woman.



(Gwyer in Kempe & Smith, 1971). An earlier comparative study of rural development in Kenya calls attention to women only in relation to homecraft and handicraft groups. (Heyer, et. al., pp. 93-4) Knowledge, of course, shapes policy, and very little agricultural knowledge of women farmers exists. An essential requisite of policy planning is an accurate assessment of who does what, why, and with what consequences. Thus far, no such material exists on women farmers.

Not only is there overt policy neglect of women farmers, but policy strategies may also produce unintended biases against women farmers. One such example is the use of predominantly male extension workers in agriculture. Smithells has argued that the transmission of policy information and services primarily to men, via male officials, may hinder communication to women farmers. (1972, p. 5) Hanger has concluded that farmers have objections to male extension workers visiting households in the absence of husbands. (1973, p. 385). Finally, Ascroft, et. al., have remarked that, in Tetu, communication occurs more within sex than between sex lines. (1973, p. 63) This suggests that skill transmission may be more effective to women via women extension officials.

At the more general level, other policies might be cited which indirectly discriminate against women. Certainly, the long standing concern with cash crops rather than food crops has had the unintended effect of ignoring food producers, which tend to be women. The colonial orientation to family food self-sufficiency is as one such example. No measures to increase food productivity, outside of the provision for famine crops, were encouraged. A further indirect bias may be in the requirements for credit availability such as land title. It is common knowledge that female customary rights to land have been transformed into largely male statutory rights. Also marketing arrangements for staple foodstuffs can affect income earning potential for women. In that regard, price, transport, and licensing provisions may be inhibiting factors for small scale producers.

Though numerous studies have tested the allegation that extension favors wealth farmers (Ascroft, et. al. 1972; Leonard, 1973) there has not as yet been a study which tests potential bias based on sex.

The effects of bias against average and/or poor farmers have been unfavorably judged on the grounds of efficiency and equity. (Leonard, 1973; Schonher & Mbugu, 1974) There is no reason to assume, a priori, that women farmers are concentrated in the poor, or 'laggardly' class of farmers as some theorists suggest when they classify women as 'traditional', 'backward' or simply superfluous. In diffusion theory studies, as well as baseline studies, sex was not a factor which distinguished either the 'laggardliness' or 'progressiveness' of farmers.

(Bowe & Moris, 1969, p. 56; Heyer & Ascroft, 1970, p. 336; Mook, 1971) DeWilde observed "quite a few women" in the category of progressive farmer who were "often widows or women whose husbands were working elsewhere". (1967, I, p. 169)

Some studies differentiate between farm 'heads' and farm 'managers' the latter defined as persons in the day-to-day management of farms. Studies in Kenya, for example, which specify farm manager, place the number of women in that situation at 10% to 50%. (Gerhardt, 1974; Heyer & Ascroft, 1968; Mook, 1971; Moris, 1970) More importantly, perhaps, is the attempt to assess the participation of women in the decision making and work structure of the farm. Here again, the numerical assessment varies, though is significantly higher. (Hanger, 1973; Redlich, 1971; UN/ECA, 1974b) Many of these studies, however, exhibit either a wide range in the number of women interviewed or do not identify the exact numbers of women interviewed. Outside of one or two tables, the investigation of sex as a variable is not developed. A further shortcoming of similar studies is the varying definition of what it means to be a 'farmer', some definitions of which could underestimate or even exclude all but a few women. Both Gerhardt and Moris comment how research design can distort the assessment of women in agriculture. (1974, p. 23; 1970, p. 214)

The sum total of these remarks points to a weakness in both planning and academic analyses with respect to women in agriculture. The following section will shift from these more general remarks to specific consideration of Kenyan policy history as it relates to women farmers.

### III. Agricultural Extension & Rural Kenyan Women

Most agricultural peoples of Kenya accord an important role to women in agriculture, especially in food production. Sources cited in the previous section indicate a continuing, if not increasing, participation of women in agriculture.



The Government of Kenya can be commended for its partial recognition of the importance of women in the rural economy. In fact, a recent Africa-wide seminar on the "Role of Women in Development" (1-14 October 1974) chose Kenya as its meeting place, precisely because of both the participation of Kenyan women in developmental efforts, and the government response to that participation. The Harambee movement is an important organizational activity of women, and is in some areas personed predominantly by women. (Mutiso, 1971, UN/ECA, 1974b). Mbithi has also documented the organizational and leadership roles of women in certain issues areas of the self-help movement. (1972). A wide array of voluntary organizations, which advocate the advancement of women exist, personed by a dedicated, though ideologically divided elite. (Wipper, 1971; Daily Nation, 29 August 1973) Smithells, in a comparative study of seven tropical countries, found that Kenya employed more women in agricultural extension, home economics extension, or both, than other countries being considered. (1972, p. 10) Certainly not a day goes by where there are not exhortations by officials, politicians, or letter writers in the newspaper commenting on the integration of women in developmental efforts. And in recent parliamentary elections, female candidates gained a number of seats, increasing their composition in the body to nearly 4%. This is no small feat, and compares favorably to many of the so-called developed countries. Yet Wipper has labeled these gains and exhortations as "ceremonial tokenism", and she documents a disjunction between official commitments and everyday practises. (1971a, p. 470).

Despite these accomplishments, there are many indications that the problem of unequal access and inequity for women in services has not been solved. In a recent, comprehensive study of Kenya, an ILO/UNDP mission has recommended, as one of its concluding resolutions, that "wider opportunities for Kenya's women for training in agriculture be provided". (p. 27) Moreover, it states that -

a few years ago, it was deliberate policy not to give advice to women farmers, even though it was known that a very large number of smallholdings in Kenya were worked and possibly managed entirely by women, most obviously when the husband and other male members of the household were in town. This bias arose in part from the assumption that male farmers or farmers with larger holdings were more likely to respond to extension advice. To the best of our knowledge, this assumption has not been proved. (p. 153)

Official governmental response has hedged somewhat on this allegation. The Sessional Paper on Employment comments that the "discussion of agriculture generally conforms to the government's understanding of important issues in this sector". (1973, p. 34) But to the remarks on unequal access in training and equity for women, the report states that the government "is not aware of overt discrimination against women in the country. Women are employed in important positions in the Armed Forces, in the police, in the prisons, and in the Government, as well as the private sector". (p. 64) The Development Plan, 1974-78, only mentions women in the narrow context of home economics and women's handicraft groups. (Vol. I pp. 204, 482-3)

Historically, the recognition of women in agriculture has been uneven and sporadic. In perusing colonial documents, specifically Annual Reports for the districts of Nyeri and North Kavirondo, it is evident that officials recognized the role of women in agriculture, but were concerned only to the extent it interfered with wage labor requirements. An early report in Nyeri encouraged the intensification of land plots, rather than the extensive cultivation of land, as the "breaking up of the soil is done by men while the sowing, reaping, and weeding is done by the women". More intensive cultivation could save an immense amount of labor "which we must acquire namely the labor of able bodied men". (1914, pp. 2-5) Outside of these indirect references to women, and some controversy over protective laws for female labor (Central File, Female Labor, 1928-44), there is no explicit orientation to women in agriculture. Political crisis, as well as women's participation in the crisis (Shannon, 1954; Alport, 1954; Annual Report, Nyeri, 1959, p. 2), apparently prompted attention to women. The political events of the 1950's evidenced a radically changed orientation from the past.

Nyeri Annual Reports commend community development officers in the creation of women's clubs. (1956, p. 24) In 1957, Wambugu Farm Institute offered courses for men and women, though the women's course was shorter by one week. Although participants judged the course a success, "many of the women ~~were~~ complaining that as they were the main cultivators of the Kikuyu they should be given the longer courses". (p. 59) It appears that home economics courses received the greatest financial and during the 1950's period, though the productivity of these efforts was questionable.

Reports of the Tetu Domestic School conclude that it was "increasingly difficult to find the girls employment in which they could use the knowledge they gained"; "the demand for homecraft courses with an agricultural bias was so great that ADC(African District Council) decided to put up a women's block so that these courses could be encouraged". (1958, p. 11) Official enthusiasm for women's groups (if it ever really existed) died by the late 1950's along with considerable falls in participant attendance, (1959, p. 2) and one administrator commented in 1961 that the women's clubs "never really got going". (p. 2)

The North Kavirondo Annual Report of 1950 gives extensive detail to the creation of Women's Institutes where domestic crafts were taught. District officials wrote with considerable enthusiasm about this orientation: "for years we have mechanically repeated the phrase 'you must get at the women:', but I suppose being men our efforts have mainly stopped there. If we do get at the women, there is no limit to the rapid improvement of African social life." (p. 24) Some provisions for agricultural services directed at women were present at this time; female agents and women's barazas were utilized for agricultural instruction. (1951, p. 14) The number of homecraft ~~centers~~ grew to 108 by 1959 with topics ranging from handicrafts to pottery to mending and dollmaking. Vegetable planting and gardening were features—albeit secondary ones—of the organization. With regard to agriculture in general, official 'disappointment' with the agricultural potential and farmer adoption of soil conservation measures pervades the reports during the 1950's. Administrators were also disgruntled with past agricultural strategies. "It is above all the women and girls who need to be taught this cash crop agriculture, as it is they who for the most part will be the farming population, and who will depend on it for their livelihood." (1955, p. 9 of notes)

At the macro-level, some consideration was given to the training of women at Farmer Training Centres in the Swynnerton Plan. (1954, p. 53) The predominant thrust of this policy document, however, was cash crop agriculture, land consolidation, and an implicit orientation to the larger sized farms. Although district level reports began to recognize the importance of agriculture for women, staff and funds were primarily directed at home economics and domestic training with the net result of diluting the agricultural orientation. Meanwhile, however, it was often women who bore the brunt of the rather chaotic changes in crop promotion from year to year, and of the forced



nature of conservation measures, especially where large numbers of men worked for wage labor outside the district. It is little wonder officials were disappointed with farmer response to the promotion of those labor-intensive measures. In many areas, the increased labor requirements coincided with the growing agricultural workload ~~on men~~.

In the current government orientation to women in agriculture, services fall largely under the categories of farmer training, home economics, and the training of ~~female~~ agricultural instructors. Since independence, Department of Agriculture Annual Reports have documented the provision of Farmer Training Center courses in home economics and agriculture for women. Each year approximately one-third of those in attendance are women, though there are regional variations in these figures.\*

In 1963, U.S. foreign assistance provided an impetus to home economics training. (Strange, 1963) By 1964, 26 home economics assistants began working at Farmer Training Centers, and over 3,000 classes were held at these centers, attended by both men and women. (Dept. Agriculture Annual Report, p. 72) In 1968, the Annual Report comments that ~~male~~ turnover was low among these assistants, that substantial proportions of those trained abroad had left, and that personnel standards has declined. The majority of assistants at the FTCs carry out the "work of cateress and look after the general home standards of the center". (p.88) At a seminar at the Kenya Institute of Administration on farmer training, further discussion on staff loss was commented on -- ~~pregnant~~ pregnant girls were dismissed, as were women who took frequent maternity leaves. (1969, no page) The number of home economics field staff hovered around 50 during the 1960's, but they had been "handicapped by lack of staff and transport". (Dept. Agriculture Annual Report, 1968, p. 88)

The 1967 Weir Commission on agricultural education made several strong statements on the role of women in Kenyan agricultural services, a role which was "limited" at that time, and contrasted "markedly with the leading part which women in Kenya, as in most rural African societies, play in the production and marketing of ~~the~~ food crops". (p.33) This commission recommended that training be offered to women at all levels: from FTC up to and including the university, allowing women to compete in the agricultural service. "At the time of the report, none of the three intermediate level institutions (Egerton, AHITI, Embu ) could accommodate women and

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\* from Dept. Agriculture Annual Reports

1963 : 9,510 men; 4,294 women (p.80)  
1964 : 12,449 men; 6,802 women (in 1967 report, p. 99)  
1965 : 15,476 men; 7,803 women (p. 75)  
1966 : 16,002 men; 7,803 women (p. 88)  
1967 : 18,176 men; 7,957 women (p. 99)

consequently had been forced to turn women away. (p. 71) The recommendations for intermediate level training were implemented in 1968, when Embu Institute admitted 8 women in its class of 136. (Dept. Agriculture Annual Report, p. 86) Another observation of the Weir Commission was that there were no women in the first and second categories of the field staff (Agricultural Officers and Assistant Agricultural Officers), due to the inadequate provisions for training. At the third level (Technical Officer), 24 of the 1254 numbered were women, amounting to 2%. (p. 13) No breakdown by sex was provided for the fourth level.

With regard to agricultural extension, there have been no systematic studies of efforts directed at women. There have been, as indicated in the previous section, remarks in various studies of lags observed in the provision of agricultural services for women. An exception to this dearth of analysis, however, is found in a study of Mwea Irrigation Scheme, an area of dense administrative services for women (though primarily social services, rather than those of a technical or agricultural orientation). In his concluding remarks Moris seriously questions the replication of such a scheme in view of its devastating consequences for women's workloads and their non-access to income. (Chamber & Moris 1973, pp. 479) Mwea provides the paradoxical example of how government service density, combined with official non-action on inequitable income returns, has reduced the overall quality of women's lives on the scheme.

It is apparent that there have been both historic and current shortcomings in the provision of agricultural services for women farmers. This proposal will now address itself to a specific research design.

#### IV. Hypotheses & Research Design

A two-pronged approach has been designed to measure the consequences of agricultural policy for women farmers. The first aspect will



consist of survey research, and the second, a qualitative assessment of policy implementation. The major assumption of this research is that the effectiveness of policy implementation is limited to the extent that subgroups have differential access to that policy.

Location: The survey research will be conducted in two districts, Kakamega and Nyeri, in an attempt to be broadly comparative and obtain results significant for Kenya as a whole. Site selection will be controlled for certain economic factors such as the extent of male out-migration and area economic potential. Both Kakamega and Nyeri are high potential areas, and rates of male out-migration are among the highest in Kenya. Though in both districts the general economic activity of women is similar, there may be attitudinal configurations about women that differ or historical influences on women which vary, factors which will be taken into consideration.

Sample: Because of the extensive documentation which exists on extension services favoring wealthy farmers, both men and women farmers will be surveyed in order to ensure that a relationship between delivery of service and sex of recipient is not spurious. Random sampling is proposed, and the number of respondents sought in each area is 80 to 100. Interviews will be conducted with the aid of local language speakers; a woman interviewer will assist in the interviews of women farmers, with a corresponding arrangement for men farmers.

Survey Instrument: After local pre-testing, a question guideline, rather than a structured questionnaire format, will be utilized. The aim is to make interviews as informal as possible, with maximal use of open-ended questions. The research instrument will attempt to tap farmer perception and experience and to ascertain links between government service and farmer behavior. The first section of the interview will collect data on the agricultural activity of the farmer.

- What crops are grown?
- What work is entailed?
- What husbandry techniques are utilized?
- Who makes what decisions?

Questions will also be directed at the farm's history.

What different crops and techniques have been adopted?  
Why have they been adopted?  
What is the source of information for these adoptions?  
What is the farmer's evaluation of such changes?  
Which locally recommended adoptions have not been adopted  
and why?

Secondly, questions will be addressed to the farmer's contact with various agricultural services and officials. A broad constellation of agricultural services will be covered, including extension advice on an individual and group basis, farmer training, home economics, and credit availability.

What contact has the farmer had with the various institutions?  
Who has initiated contact?  
What was the expectation and final evaluation of such contact?  
What is the farmer's knowledge of recommended agricultural practises?  
What was the source of that knowledge?

Finally, demographic data will be gathered in order to analyze specific socio-economic variables which may influence work patterns, service accessibility, and adoption behavior. This data will consist of age, rough income indicators, education, and marital status.

Hypotheses: Much of the survey will be exploratory, as there is little available theory to permit clear hypothesized outcomes. The following major hypotheses are based on empirical findings in the previous sections and on theoretical orientations posed in section I.

- Hypothesis #1: The content and type of agricultural service for farmers varies with sex of recipient.
- Hypothesis #2: Source of agricultural knowledge varies by sex of recipient.
- Hypothesis #3: The paucity of women extension officers limits the communicative potential of agricultural administration to women farmers.
- Hypothesis #4: Constraints to the adoption of recommended practises vary by sex.
- Hypothesis #5: Determinants of the adoption of recommended practises vary by sex.
- Hypothesis #6: Time of adoption (i.e. early vs. mature adoption) varies with sex of farmer.

Hypothesis #7: Overall density of governmental agricultural administration is positively associated with high levels of service availability to women farmers.

Hypothesis #8: The higher the large-scale, commercial crop orientation in agricultural administration, the lesser the likelihood of service availability for women.

Hypothesis #9: A colonial compulsory policy orientation in agriculture is negatively associated with adoption of recommended practises by women.

Qualitative Aspects of the Study: The second aspect of this research will be a qualitative assessment of agricultural districts based on informal interviews with agricultural staff and on district as well as archival records. Of particular concern will be special administrative constraints which affect the delivery of services to women. This research orientation will be posed in the form of general questions rather than working hypotheses.

1. What is the effect of staff and financial constraints on the delivery of policy services to women?
2. What is the effect of diffused ministerial responsibility on policy services for women?
3. Does the lack of administrative coordination between ministries at the field level affect one sex more than the other?
4. How do prevailing administrative attitudes towards women influence administrative performance with respect to women farmers as a group?
5. Do special programs for women operate under a different set of constraints than the more general programs?
6. To what extent have central government directives regarding women penetrated to the field?
7. What type of extension officer is most likely to visit farmers in sex-related equitable ways?

A further qualitative assessment of the district will be to assess how organizational and political activity affects the delivery of services to women. Studies of political participation have addressed themselves to the ability of political activity to influence administrative performance, or more generally, the success of rural development strategies. (Holmquist, 1970; Mbithi, 1971; Montgomery & Esman, 1972; Mutiso, 1971) Of particular concern will be the assessment of organizational activity on the part of women and how this relates to policy services.

Implications for Development: Finally, some concluding comments will be offered on the implications of findings for policy effectiveness and agricultural productivity. The comments will also be addressed to the implications of findings for the overall intergration of women in development, and the type of, as well as the direction of, that integration. This necessarily calls attention to the implications for women's income-earning potential and ultimately the quality of their lives.



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