EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT, AND INCOME
INCIPIENT ECONOMIC STRATIFICATION IN LAND-SCARCE BUNYORE

By

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Working Paper No. 371

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AUGUST 1980

IDS/WP 371

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ABSTRACT

This paper begins with an overview of a field research project which has focused on the problem of land scarcity as it affects the people of one agricultural community in East Bunyore, Kakamega District. Data from a previous paper is briefly reviewed indicating a very strong reliance on non-farm income for households in the sample area. People in the sample community see their economic well-being tied to income not from their land but rather from wage employment or self-employment. The role of kinship and social networks as aids in securing employment is considered. For males in the sample, the pattern of job distribution both spatially and typologically suggests that such networks are very important at the clan and sub-clan levels in providing employment information, training, and physical and moral support in helping to secure jobs. At the same time, the people of the community place an extremely high value on education for they see it as the means of obtaining a good job. Despite this, data on educational achievement show a relatively small percentage of males receiving secondary schooling. The fact that secondary education is a prerequisite for essentially all white collar employment means that employment opportunities in these fields are limited only to a small portion of the sample population. The data point to a trend of widening income disparity among households in the sample community stemming from differential access to education and employment in the higher wage brackets.

Introduction

In recent years, land scarcity has emerged as a serious problem in a number of agricultural areas in Kenya. Where households were once self-sufficient in providing for their subsistence needs from their own agricultural production, it is now frequently the case that households are able to fulfil only a fraction of their subsistence (or income) requirements from their own lands (utilizing prevailing agricultural practices). In these areas, which include parts of Central, Eastern, Nyanza, and Western Provinces, virtually all potential farm lands have been brought into the cycle of production. Despite this, the primary constraint on the agricultural productivity of these households is land shortage. The average land base available for household agricultural production has been sharply reduced over the years as the limited land resources of fathers have been subdivided among sons. Although household farm production still provides the primary means of support for most of Kenya's small farm population, its central role as a source of livelihood may be put in jeopardy by the continued decline in the level of land resources available to small farm households. Yet, in order to accommodate Kenya's rapidly growing population, now increasing at a rate of approximately 3.9% per annum, this process of subdivision and the "miniaturization" of household land resources will likely continue unabated for the foreseeable future.

This paper presents an overview of a field research project which has taken as its central focus the problem of land scarcity among Kenyan agriculturalists. Conducted over a two year period beginning in June, 1978, the research has considered the various ways in which households in one agricultural community have adapted to an economic environment in which land scarcity is a predominant feature. The area selected for study is the very densely populated southwestern portion of Kakamega District (Western Province) known as Bunyore and inhabited by the Abanyole (who are a part of the larger Abaluhya grouping). The study as initially proposed has been described in a previous IDS working paper. Briefly, that paper emphasized a study of "the productive resources of rural households in Bunyore" examining the "variety of ways such resources are used in adapting to the current economic environment" (Paterson 1979:4). Four areas of inquiry were outlines for study in the sample area:

(1) what resources are available to the household,

(2) the ways in which resources are accumulated and allocated,

(3) how decisions on resource allocation are made, and

(4) how changing strategies of resource allocation for individual households affect the local community in terms of its economic and social development.

Many of the data relating to points one and two above have been presented in a second IDS working paper (Paterson 1980) and therefore, only a basic outline of these materials will be included here. Following this description, the remainder of the paper will concern itself with the issues of education, employment, and income which are subsumed under points three and four.

The Research Site

A single village unit was chosen as the most appropriate sampling universe for obtaining the range of data suggested for study. One of the goals of this research has been to attain a detailed understanding of the socio-cultural fabric of the community which can provide a context for the interpretation of the demographic and economic data collected. To obtain data at this level of specificity requires intensive and prolonged contact with the sample community. We want, for example, not only to collect statements from members of the community concerning their beliefs and attitudes on various subjects but we also want to observe how the beliefs and attitudes expressed in such statements compare with actual patterns of behaviour. The structure and quality of social relationships in the community, village politics and leadership, the flow of wealth, the adherence (or lack of adherence) to community standards of behavior; these are example of the kinds of data which might be collected in such an exercise.

Bunyore is an area of some 180 square kilometres which is divided into three administrative units, the locations of East, West, and South Bunyore. Its population density in 1979 can be estimated at approximately 750 per square kilometre. The village selected for study is situated in East Bunyore. The basic demographic and economic data were collected in a survey of 166 village households (a 98% sampling). The survey revealed a

resident population of 861 dispersed over the village's 200 acres (0.81 km^2) giving a population density of approximately 1063 per square kilometre. An additional 262 people from the village were found to be residing outside the village at the time of the survey. Including these people in the census totals would make the village figure 1123 with a corresponding population density of 1386 per square kilometre. Mean household size, including some non-residents classed as household members (for example, men working in Nairobi having dependent families in the village), was 6.8 members. One of the most interesting statistics to be derived from the survey is the high rate of out-migration from the village for males between the ages of 18 through 59. Nearly 68% of this age/sex category were found to be residing outside the village.

One of the first tasks of the research was to look at the land resources of village households. These are indicated in Table 1, below. For comparison, the provincial and national averages are also included for small farm holdings. The average (mean) amount of land available to each village household was

Table 1. Distribution of household land resources by holding size for small farm population.

Size Hectares	Kenya 1974[1] Percentage	Western Prov. 1974[1] Percentage	Sample Village 1979 Number	Percentage
under 0.5	13.91	21.53	112	70.00
0.5 - 0.9	17.92	17.67	36	22.50
1.0 - 1.9	26.99	17.27	10	6.25
2.0 - 2.9	15.11	14.68	1	0.625
3.0 - 3.9	8.89	8.60	1	0.625
4.0 - 4.9	7.22	4.36	0	0.00
5.0 - 7.9	6.50	10.22	0	0.00
8.0 - 20.0	3.47	5.68	0	0.00
	100.00	100.00	160	100.00

1. Source: Integrated Rural Survey, 1974-75. Kenya Government (CBS) 1977: Table 7.1.

0.45 ha. (median size, 0.32 ha.; mode, 0.28 ha.; range, 0.04 - 3.76 ha.). The land resources of 83.2% of the village households are less than 0.65 ha. (representing 56.3% of the land).

By far the greater portion of this land in the sample village was used in growing maize for home consumption, usually interplanted with a leguminous vegetable crop or groundnuts. The research found that the average household growing local maize varieties is able to satisfy about a third of its domestic maize requirements from household production. The range was considerable however, from 6 to 79% with the middle fifty percent of the households producing between 20 - 50% of their total maize consumption. Whatever the precise amounts, it is apparent that households growing local maize in the sample village are falling far short of satisfying their domestic maize requirements. This shortfall is fairly closely associated with the amount of land one is able to place in maize production, those with larger pieces of land (but using the same farming practices) obtaining proportionately larger harvests.

Basic Approaches for Dealing with Land Scarcity

Limited by inadequate land resources, the predominant methods of agricultural production are no longer able to meet the food and income requirements of most village households. Within these households, other alternatives must be found which can compensate for the limitations imposed by scarce land resources. In viewing the sample community, three basic approaches for dealing with land scarcity have been considered:

(1) the acquisition of additional land resources
(2) more efficient utilization of existing land resources
(3) reliance upon externally generated (non-farm) sources of income (e.g., wage employment, self-employment).

These approaches which have been discussed in detail elsewhere (Paterson 1980: 10-26) are summarized below.

(1) With the agricultural production of most households constrained by limited land resources, many village households have sought to enlarge their areas of production by borrowing, renting, or purchasing land. At the time the village was surveyed, a fourth of all village households were using land they had borrowed, usually from those who had migrated from the

village for employment or to settle other agricultural lands. By such land transactions, village households were able to increase their land resources an average of 0.28 hectare per holding. While this amount would represent a 70% increase to the average land holder and is undoubtedly of vital importance to particular households, it nevertheless does not fundamentally alter the basic condition of land scarcity facing most village households.

(2) A number of village residents have tried to increase their maize production by adopting technological innovations such as hybrid seed, insecticides, and chemical fertilizers. The adoption of such a package has the potential to triple maize yields. In most instances, however, the level of investment in such a package is low and consequently increases in maize yields are not so dramatic, in the range of perhaps 20 - 40%. Approximately 68% of all village households have at some time planted hybrid maize on their holdings. The proportion of households actually using hybrid at any given time is, however, much less: 12% in 1978, 2% in 1979, and 33% in 1980 (during the long rains). Very few households use hybrid on a regular basis and most hybrid users also grow a local variety simultaneously. (For the long rains, 1980, 89% of those planting hybrid also grew local maize).

Another way of getting a greater return from the land is to substitute maize with cash crops of higher value. The village survey found about 15% of the households growing crops such as surgarcane, onions, cabbages, and groundnuts intended for cash sale. In all cases, the value of such crops was higher than what could have been anticipated from plots of local maize grown on the same areas. Interestingly enough, for each of the households growing cash crops, an adult male household member was present to manage the operation.

(3) Despite the fact that some village households have tried to improve their incomes from farming by increasing areas under production and adopting more efficient use of land resources, most households remain quite dependent upon incomes derived from other sources. Nearly 93% of all households are relying on the employment earnings of at least one of their members, and of these, half have two or more major sources of earned income. In all, the village survey counted 282 major sources of earned income for the 166 households. Corresponding with the high rate of out-migration for

working age males, 68% (161 of 236) of all working males held jobs outside the local area. Approximately 80% of all such jobs outside the local area were wage and salaried positions. In contrast, in the local area, about two-thirds of all jobs were self-employed positions.

In summary, an evaluation of the statistical data collected on land ownership, land utilization, agricultural production, income, and employment shows a village population highly dependent on incomes from employment or self-employment. For most, farming functions more as a supplement, albeit a very important supplement, to other sources of income. Relatively few have adopted any of the options available for increasing agricultural productivity at anything more than a level of token acceptance. While a small number have been able to increase their land resources through purchases both within the village andoutside , this is not a realistic possibility for most village households.

Employment, Education, and Income in the Village

People in the sample community see their economic well-being tied to income derived not from their land but rather from employment or self-employment. It is a reality which receives near universal acknowledgement among village households. The point is particularly well stressed when talking to parents about their children's futures or in discussing with youths their own goals and expectations.

Up to the present time, members of the sample village have indeed done remarkably well in securing wage employment. The employment histories of village males show a long tradition of wage employment and business enterprise. Nearly every village male over the age of twenty has spent some period of his life in wage employment, usually outside the Bunyore area. The only exceptions are a few young men who have not yet been able to find jobs and a few old men who claimed their only work had been farming in the village.

The range of jobs open to village men in pre-independence Kenya was relatively narrow--limited mainly to agricultural labor, domestic service, construction labor; work as messengers, watchmen, etc. From at least the 1940s onward, market trading and basket selling outside Bunyore

have been important forms of self-employment. During the 1950s a number of semi-skilled/skilled jobs also appeared in printing, painting, welding, mechanics, as well as a number of white collar positions.

The impression one receives when interviewing men who worked during this period is that they had little difficulty securing employment in unskilled positions. It would also appear that for most workers from the village, wages were uniformly low up into the 1950s. The only exceptions might be some of the self-employed traders and basket sellers and a few skilled or white collar workers earning at higher levels. Toward the end of the 1950s and moving into the post-independence period, the employment profile of the village changes in several important ways. We find the village population engaged in a much wider range of jobs with a substantial proportion of these new positions falling in white collar, semi-professional and professional categories (e.g., teachers, nurses, medical officers, clerks and administrators in both the public and private sectors). In the earlier period, the jobs held by village men demanded little, if any, formal education. Even now, for many of these jobs such as those in agricultural labor, educational requirements are minimal. In the case of white collar jobs however, the level of education needed to secure employment in these categories has been continually rising since these jobs first entered the village employment picture.

The first clerks, business administrators, medical officers, laboratory technicians, and teachers to come from the village were primary school leavers (Standard 8) born between 1930 and 1945. Many of these have since upgraded their educational qualifications, studying privately or in special training programs and teachers colleges. The data presented in Tables 2 and 3 below suggest the degree to which lack of formal education may prohibit entry into white collar jobs. White collar positions are not held by any men with less than full primary education . However, of the thirteen males born after 1944 and now employed in white collar positions, none has less than four years secondary education.

The village data suggest that while education is not an important criterion in the hiring of unskilled workers, there are definite minimum educational standards which apply in recruitment for white collar positions.

Table 2. Distribution of Formal Educational Achievement and White Collar Employment among Village Males (Employed or Seeking Work) within Various Age Groups, 1979. (wc = white collar)

Year of Birth	Number of Years in School										Employment Category Totals		
	0 - 6		7 - 8		9 - 13+		Education Totals						
	wc	other	wc	other	wc	other	0 - 6	7 - 8	9-13+	All	wc	other	All
30-34	0	11	2	1	1	0	11	3	1	15	3	12	15
35-39	0	22	5	2	1	0	22	7	1	30	6	24	30
40-44	0	11	7	8	6	2	11	15	8	34	13	21	34
45-49	0	14	0	12	5	2	14	12	7	33	5	28	33
50-54	0	23	0	7	2	7	23	7	9	39	2	37	39
55-59	0	22	0	11	6	6	22	11	12	45	6	39	45
30-59	0	103	14	41	21	17	103	55	38	196	35	161	196

Table 3. Percentage Distribution of Formal Educational Achievement and White Collar Employment among Village Males (Employed or Seeking Work) within Various Age Groups, 1979.

Year of Birth	Number of Years in School										Employment Category Totals			
	0 - 6		7 - 8		9 - 13+		Education Totals							
	wc	other	wc	other	wc	other	0 - 6	7 - 8	9-13+	All	wc	other	All	#
30-34	0.00	73.33	13.33	6.67	6.67	0.00	73.33	20.00	6.67	100.0	20.00	80.00	100.0	15
35-39	0.00	73.33	16.67	6.67	3.33	0.00	73.33	23.33	3.33	100.0	20.00	80.00	100.0	30
40-44	0.00	32.35	20.59	23.53	17.65	5.88	32.35	44.12	23.53	100.0	38.24	61.76	100.0	34
45-49	0.00	42.42	0.00	36.36	15.15	6.06	42.42	36.36	21.21	100.0	15.15	84.85	100.0	33
50-54	0.00	58.97	0.00	17.95	5.13	17.95	58.97	17.95	23.08	100.0	5.13	94.87	100.0	39
55-59	0.00	48.89	0.00	24.44	13.33	13.33	48.89	24.44	26.67	100.0	13.33	86.67	100.0	45
30-59	0.00	52.55	7.14	20.92	10.71	8.67	52.55	28.06	19.39	100.0	17.86	82.14	100.0	196

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Over time, these standards have been rising as the proportion of Kenya's population receiving secondary education has expanded. Today there are virtually no white collar jobs open to those with less than four years secondary education (or other alternative job training). In the case of the sample village, this means thatat present, only 16.57% of the males 18 to 39 years old would be qualified by their educational achievement for entry into such employment (see Table 7 which follows). In fact, as Tables 2/3 indicate, the level of white collar employment for this age group is actually higher than this since those born before 1945 were able to secure white collar jobs with only primary education. In recent years, however, the younger members of the 18 - 39 age group have found it increasingly difficult to obtain employment on the basis of secondary education alone. Performance in secondary school as measured by EACE test scores has now become an important screening device in the selection process for white collar positions. High and middle level positions in the public sector, for example, typically require scores within the third division or better while current qualifications for untrained primary school teachers in Kakamega District demand at least a fourth division score with passes in maths and science.

In addition to a wider range of employment activities and restricted entry into certain fields based on formal educational achievement or other pre-training, the village employment picture has changed in another way. Compared with the pre-independence period, we now find a much wider disparity in employment-generated incomes among village households. Those in white collar positions are among the highest paid in the village with salaries from around Shs. 600 per month up to several thousand. A number of self-employed businessmen and some skilled workers are also earning comparable incomes. However, the majority of workers from the village are earning something less than Shs. 600 per month. Precise data on the earnings of low income workers is lacking but reference to a few examples can at least illustrate the disparity. In the local area, watchmen and agricultural laborers receive from Shs. 80 to 120 per month. Agricultural workers on the tea and coffee estates are paid about Shs. 250 per month, sawmill workers in the Rift Valley around Shs. 200 per month, and unskilled railway workers about Shs. 450.

Data on Kenyan formal sector employment also provide a clear example of the earnings differential between unskilled workers who make up the largest portion of the labor force and other skilled and white

collar occupations. Table 4 indicates, for example, that in 1977 teachers were earning more than twice as much as unskilled workers, clerical and secretarial workers more than three times as much, and middle level executives and managerial personnel were earning over eight and one-half times more than unskilled workers. The significance of this pattern as it relates to social and economic change in the village will be discussed later in the paper.

Table 4. Distribution of Formal Sector Labor Force[1] with Average Monthly Cash Wages, 1977.

Occupation	Number of Citizens Engaged	Percentage of Citizen Work Force	Monthly Cash Wage[2] Shillings	Wage as a Multiple of Workers[1]
Unskilled workers	421,942	58.78	370	1.00
Skilled workers	62,211	8.67	1,003	2.71
Technicians and Foremen	20,274	2.82	1,851	5.00
Teachers	103,110	14.36	862	2.33
Clerical/Secretarial	73,219	10.20	1,190	3.22
Other white collar	6,964	0.97	1,397	3.78
Middle level executive and Managerial personnel	15,612	2.17	3,212	8.68
General Managers and Directors	8,800	1.23	7,000	18.92
Professionals	5,757	0.80	4,861	13.14
	717,889	100.00	861	2.33

Source: Derived from report of Annual Enumeration of Employees and Self-Employed Persons, 1977; Kenya Government (CBS) 1979: Table 15. Occupational categories adapted from Bigsten and Collier, 1980.

1. Figures do not include casual employees numbering 166,620.
2. Based on total work force which includes 2.5% non-citizens.

Education as Part of the Strategy for Gaining Employment

Customarily, it has been a father's obligation to provide each of his sons with a piece of land which could serve as the economic base from which to support a household. Given the current conditions of land scarcity, it is an obligation which is simply no longer possible to fulfill. A quarter of all village households have land resources under 0.2 hectare, most of these holdings being the result of relatively recent subdivisions. Today, the son's allocation of land is regarded not so much as a productive resource but rather as a residential building site. People in the community see it as both normal and essential that the major portion of their total household incomes should come from non-farm sources (i.e., income that is not derived from the household's agricultural production). In practical terms, this means that nearly every household has at least one of its members engaged in either wage employment or self-employment. It also means that before any young man can begin a separate household of his own he must first have found employment (in order to sustain that household). Many young men and women also consider the man's employment to be a pre-condition for marriage.

While many men have referred to how easy it was to get a job "in the old days," whether this is an accurate portrayal or not, there is near universal agreement nowadays that finding or creating work is quite a difficult process and one which can be long and complex. Education is seen as the beginning of this process. From providing land, the father's responsibility to his children has been shifted to that of providing education. Rather than land, the son's major productive resource is now seen to be his labor which can be enhanced and made marketable by education. Most people understand quite well that educational training will not assure them or their children of a job in the future but they also know that lack of education can only limit their opportunities that much more.

During the course of the research, a study of income and expenditure sampled fifteen village households selected so as to represent the range of economic well-being observed in the community (based on income and land resources as determined from the household survey). While it was necessary for two of the households to be dropped from the sample prematurely, for the remaining thirteen, daily records of income and expenditure were maintained for periods varying from nine to fourteen months. Upon completion of this record-keeping

exercise, the original fifteen households also served as the sample for structured interviews which surveyed attitudes and opinions in the community. One of the questions posed to respondents in the survey asked, "What do you think your sons will do to support their families?" Few people volunteered specific occupations or employers in answering this question but every single household expected or at least hoped that their sons would find employment or be able to start businesses. What is most interesting in people's responses to this question is that all but one prefaced their answers with a reference to education, that their children should be (or have been) educated so that they can get employment.

Several questions in the interview schedule asked people to describe the problems that they experience in the village. Their most frequent responses are summarized in Table 5 below.

Table 5. Problems Affecting Village Households.

Problem	Number of Households Mentioning First Response	Secondary Response	Total
Hunger	7	4	11
Educational expenses	2	6	8
Land shortage	4	2	6
Illness	2	3	5
Clothing	0	4	4
Deficient housing	0	1	1
Total	15	20	35

The fact that the most frequently mentioned problem of the sample households was "hunger" must be interpreted in the light of some clearly unusual circumstances which prevailed in the village and throughout Kenya at the time the interviews were conducted. Most interviews took place in the month of March, 1980 just after the time of planting. It is typically a month when the village and the whole of Bunyore would normally be importing large quantities of maize. Due to the nationwide shortage of maize during this period, the normal pattern of distribution and sale of maize was severely disrupted. Supplies were drastically limited and prices at their height quadrupled to Shs. 80 per debe. Households which, for example, might

normally spend Shs. 80 per month on maize purchases would find they suddenly needed Shs. 320 to buy the same quantity of maize and many times it was simply not available even at such high prices. Thus, the severe effect of the shortage on the Bunyore area put the problems of finding and affording food (read maize) foremost in everyone's mind. Under normal conditions of food supply, concern for the problem of hunger, while not disappearing, would be greatly diminished.

Looking at the list of problems affecting village households as indicated in Table 5, we find that they are all related to the provision of the basic necessities of life--food, shelter, and clothing as the things which can keep one in good health; and land as the source of food. The inclusion of education in this list suggests that, like land, education is viewed as an essential element (or important alternative) in securing these basic needs.

Table 5 can be seen not only as a list of problems but also as a reflection of priorities for household expenditure. Household income will first be spent to satisfy food, shelter, clothing, and medical requirements. From the point at which these needs have been met, expenditures toward education will have first priority within most village households. This does not mean that all school-age children are attending school nor does it mean that all households can afford the expense of educating their members. If,however, a child is attending school or is at the age when he should begin and there are required school expenses, the household will try to pay these first before buying any non-essential items. For example, it would be unusual to find any parent buying batteries for the radio or a new pair of sneakers if it meant his child would have to sit home for non-payment of activity money or test fees. On a larger scale, no household would begin construction of a new semi-permanent house(i.e., having a corrugated iron sheet roof) if the cost of such an undertaking would otherwise prevent a household member from attending secondary school. As a matter of fact, the standard of housing in the village is quite good with more than 50% of all households having at least one corrugated iron sheet roofed house in their compounds. These houses are much more likely to be constructed when children are young and school expenses are low or their construction delayed until after all children have completed their educations. In the case of the latter, it is often the children who then build a house for their parents.

It was previously suggested that formal schooling beginning at an early age is part of a long and complex process intended to widen the range of opportunities and increase chances for success in the job market. Such schooling leading to the various certificates of education (CPE, EACE, etc.) is, however, only one aspect of job preparation. There are many other kinds of job training taking place in both formal and informal settings. Data from the village on these is much less precise since they take many different forms and cover such a wide range of activities. At one end, there are, for example, boys learning the craft of basketry simply from their association with those around them making baskets with perhaps a few lessons given to the ones who show an interest. Others with an interest in market trading can similarly learn the finer points of business from the many around them doing such work. At the other end, there are formal training programs available from craft, trade, and business schools and various (less formal) apprenticeship programs. These schools and most apprentice training require substantial fees, generally within the range of tuition one might expect to pay for a year at a secondary school (Shs. 600-1250, day school). While few people from the village have ever attended such schools, many of the village's skilled and semi-skilled workers, especially carpenters and masons, learned their trades as apprentice workers.

There is much more to getting a job than simply attaining a certain educational level or particular job skill. Despite the high value placed on education by village households, the data presented in Tables 6 and 7 show nearly 45% of all village males in the 18-39 age group did not finish primary school and over 10% never attended school. Only 16.6% of the 18-39 group have advanced beyond Form II in secondary school. Referring back to Table 3, we also find that from the mid-1950s onward (i.e., for men born after 1939), the percentage of boys completing Form II and above (more than eight years) has remained relatively unchanged, fluctuating within a few percentage points of the average figure of 23.84%. It should be clear from these statistics that quite a number of men from the village have not been able to rely on educational achievement to secure their employment.

The Role of Kinship and Social Networks in Gaining Employment

Education and job training are only two of the preparatory aspects of job hunting. Perhaps one of the most crucial aspects in the actual search for a job is the size and quality of one's social network and

how well one is able to utilize these social linkages. This network extends from close family members through the clan and eventually through the whole village. Because all the wives in the village come from other villages, the network can also draw on the kinship and social ties these women have to their own villages. Beyond these ties of kinship and marriage are the bonds of commonality between all those from Bunyore and which extend out more generally to all those who speak a Luhya dialect. These kinship and social networks are valuable as sources of information on job vacancies--where to go, who to see, and what to do. When even getting an application form for employment can sometimes be a difficult and frustrating task, a friend or relative in the right position may be able to smooth the way and give assistance in having the completed form processed.

The most effective utilization of the network as demonstrated in the sample village would appear to be at the clan or sub-clan level. There are usually certain individuals within each clan who have pioneered various fields of employment and who have established themselves in certain locations throughout East Africa. Younger kinsmen can receive advice or training from these individuals and can follow their examples. This is especially true for those in building trades and market trading. All of the basket sellers, for example, come from segments within three of the five major clan units of the village. Most of the banana, fruit, and vegetable traders come from a fourth clan and many of the carpenters and masons come from this same clan. In agricultural labor, another clan has supplied the majority of tea workers coming from the village.

The pattern of migration for village males in employment is also quite interesting. The village is well represented in towns throughout the agricultural areas of Rift Valley Province as well as in Nairobi, Mombasa, and Kisumu. Before the political turmoil of the Amin years in Uganda, Kampala was also a favorite location for people from the village. The village survey found eleven basket sellers who had worked in Kampala. The small Nakuru District town of Molo has, at present, no fewer than twenty-five people from the village working there in all kinds of jobs and from all clans. Most of the first arrivals to Molo were market traders from one clan and their children are still carrying on those businesses. More recent arrivals are now working as cooks, agricultural laborers, carpenters (furniture makers), watchmen, and sawmill workers. Other such family, clan, or village enclaves are distrubted throughout Kenya and Uganda. When job

Table 6. Distribution of Educational Attainment for Village Males by Age Groups, 1979.

Level of Education	Age Groups											
	7 - 17 years			18 - 39 years			40 - 59		60 years +		18 and over	
	Number Continuing	Number Having Attended[1]	Highest Level Attended[1] (#)	Number Continuing	Number Having Attended[1]	Highest Level Attended[1] (#)	Number Having Attended[1]	Highest Level Attended (#)	Number Having Attended	Highest Level Attended (#)	Number Having Attended	Highest Level Attended (#)
None	-	-	18	-	-	18	-	26	-	25	-	69
Nursery	9	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. 1 - 3	64	154	69	0	149	15	52	22	11	10	212	47
4 - 6	60	85	56	2	134	43	30	24	1	1	165	68
7 - 8	8	19	11	2	91	44	6	5	0	0	97	49
Form I - II	5	8	6	2	47	19	1	1	0	0	48	20
III-IV	1	2	2	4	28	23	0	0	0	0	28	23
V - VI	0	0	0	1	5	2	0	0	0	0	5	2
University	0	0	0	1	3	3	0	0	0	0	3	3
Unknown	-	1	1	-	2	2	1	1	0	0	3	3
Totals	147	-	182	12	-	169	-	79	-	36	-	284

1. Includes continuing students

Table 7. Percentage Distribution of Educational Attainment for Village Males by Age Groups, 1979.

Level of Education	Age Groups												
	7 - 17 years			18 - 39 years			40 - 59		60 years +		18 and over		
	% of Age Group Continuing	% of Age Group Having Attended[1]	Highest Level Attended as % of Age Group[1]	% of Age Group Continuing	% of Age Group Having Attended[1]	Highest Level Attended as % of Age Group[1]	% of Age Group Having Attended	Highest Level Attended as % of Age Group	% of Age Group Having Attended	Highest Level Attended as % of Age Group	% of Age Group Having Attended	Highest Level Attended as % Of Age Group	Number 18 and over
None	-	-	9.89	-	-	10.65	-	32.31	-	69.44	-	24.30	69
Nursery	4.95	-	4.95	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. 1 - 3	35.16	84.62	37.91	0.00	88.17	8.00	65.82	27.85	30.56	27.78	74.65	16.55	47
4 - 6	32.97	46.70	36.26	1.88	79.29	25.44	37.97	30.38	2.78	2.78	58.10	23.94	68
7 - 8	4.40	10.44	6.04	1.18	53.85	26.04	7.59	6.33	0.00	0.00	34.15	17.25	49
Form I - II	2.75	4.40	3.30	1.18	27.81	11.24	1.27	1.27	0.00	0.00	16.90	7.04	20
III-IV	0.55	1.10	1.10	2.37	16.57	13.61	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	9.86	8.10	23
V-VI	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.59	2.96	1.18	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.76	0.70	2
University	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.59	1.78	1.78	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.06	1.06	3
Unknown	-	0.55	0.55	-	1.18	1.18	1.27	1.27	0.00	0.00	1.06	1.06	3
Totals	80.77	-	100.00	7.10	-	100.00	-	100.00	-	100.00	-	100.00	284

1. Includes continuing students

opportunities appear in one of these locations, word is passed through the various social and kinship networks to those back in the village wanting employment. Among close kinsmen, the network is likely to play a much more active role than simply transmitting information to job seekers. Those who are working in the towns can offer a base of physical and moral support, providing food, shelter, advice, and encouragement to those coming from the village in search of employment.

The pattern of employment among village males in terms of both type of work and the spatial distribution of jobs suggests that kinship and social networks have been an important factor in maintaining the relatively high rate of productive employment found in the village. The fact that this densely populated village has had a long history of out migration for employment means that these networks are long functioning and well developed, widely dispersed geographically, and touching all sectors of the economy. This makes them sensitive to the changing employment needs of the nation and perhaps gives this community a slight advantage in the employment world over other groups who have been more dependent on agriculture and whose networks may not be so wide-ranging.

Unequal Access to Education and Jobs: The Emergence of Economic Strata Within the Village.

What emerges from the preceding description is a picture of a community in which household land resources are minimal and households are highly dependent upon certain segments of the market economy for their livelihoods. In the Bunyore case, this dependence is based largely on income derived from employment and trading activities (both local and external) rather than from the sale of cash crops. Over the past thirty years, formal education and both formal and informal technical training have come to define the range of employment opportunities open to the people of the village. From the pre-1950s period when employment opportunities were much the same for all village males, the situation has now changed such that many employment opportunities are available only to those who can meet specific educational qualifications or who have other specialized training. For the minority of village males who have succeeded in gaining entry to these restricted fields, earnings are likely to be at least two to three times greater than what their fellow villagers earn in unskilled employment.

jobs is also passed along family lines. (For this analysis, the dividing point used to distinguish low and high wages has been Shs. 600 per month applying to data collected during the period September, 1978 to Mya, 1979.)

The system described is not yet rigid. Higher education is not totally inaccessible to lower income households and some individuals coming from low income households have managed to obtain good jobs. Those with ambition, ingenuity, and initiative can still be successful. The pooling of multiple low-wage incomes within a household can generate the necessary funds to educate a talented household member or to start what could develop into a highly successful business. As it stands, the system is not obliivous to merit but the balance is tipped so that individuals from the moderately well-off households have an easier time proving what merit they have (or can sometimes sidestep the question of merit altogether).

The village economy of the pre-1950s period allowed little chance for any major economic disparities to arise between households. No doubt, some differences in levels of wealth existed at this time but they were probably related more to variation in the personal initiative and intelligence of income earners rather than to any fundamental inequalities of opportunity within the system. Over the last thirty years, however, the data point to a trend of widening income disparity among village households stemming from differential access to education and to employment in the high wage category.

The widening gap in village incomes is an issue in itself, opening up a whole range of questions concerning social, economic, and political relationships within and between households. Are low income households, for example, made vulnerable to political and economic exploitation by the wealthy? Can high income households demand political support from lower income groups in return for economic favors? Do the rich enjoy social prestige and high status from their wealth or is it the cause of envy, jealousy, and ill-feeling toward them? Are the affluent increasing their land resources at the expense of the poor? What is the relationship of income to agricultural investment and productivity? These are questions which are beyond the immediate focus of this paper and will not be addressed here. They will be taken up in detail in subsequent accounts of this research.

As a case study, the data presented in this paper describe only a single village in East Bunyore, a village which while somewhat exceptional in its extreme population density and acute land shortage is nevertheless viewed as a representative case in that it exemplifies the basic form of agricultural, economic, and social conditions prevalent throughout Bunyore. In some ways, the village is perhaps a forerunner, or indicator, suggesting the direction of change which will follow in other parts of Bunyore. The basic patterns of education, employment, and income and the process of economic stratification described for the sample provide examples which are likely to be paralleled not only in Bunyore but in other agricultural communities as well where non-farm incomes predominate.

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