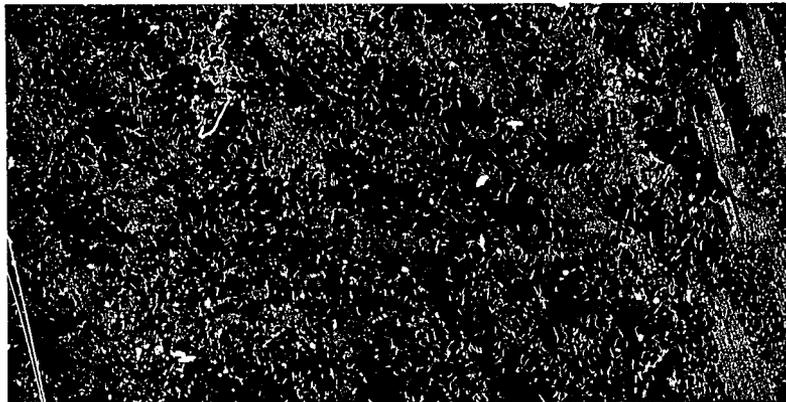


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**SOCIOLOGICAL CONSTRAINTS AND SOCIAL
POSSIBILITIES FOR PRODUCTION OF GOATS
IN WESTERN KENYA***

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INTRODUCTION

The goal of the Small Ruminant Collaborative Research Support Program (SR-CRSP) in Kenya is to develop and evaluate the introduction of a dual purpose goat (i.e. raising goats for meat and milk) for the small farms of Western Kenya. This area of Kenya is densely populated with a high rate of population growth. While the agricultural resource base of much of this area is good, (i.e. adequate rainfall and generally good soil for cultivation), farm sizes have been steadily growing smaller due to population pressure. In many cases, a families land holdings are now too small to support a dairy cow - the preferred animal in the area. Consequently, it was felt that the dairy goat, being smaller and thus consuming less feed, would be utilized in this setting and would provide a source of protein in a protein deficient diet as well as a source of cash income from the sale of offspring or milk products.

This study was undertaken in an effort to gain an understanding of the social organization of small farm agriculture in Western Kenya with particular emphasis on the role of women in that setting. The data reported were gathered in the Samia location, Busia District of Western Province during 1980-81.

As part of a general concern with equitable distribution in current agricultural development programs, more and more attention has focused on women's contributions to agricultural production, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa. The recurrent food crisis in that region brought to public attention a truth that has been known to some researchers for many years -- women are the prime food producers in many parts of the world (Burke, 1981).

This report focuses on one agricultural project designed, in part, to maximize the agricultural production of women. The project attempted to accomplish two developmental goals simultaneously: (1) to improve the level of nutrition of rural Kenyan families; and (2) to increase the participation of women

in those activities which directly affect their lives. The project in question involved organizing rural women's groups to raise dual purpose goats in an area of Kenya in which animal numbers are relatively low, protein supplies deficient and animal food resources plentiful. Of particular concern here was: whether women in this area of Kenya have traditionally been involved in livestock production; whether the traditional structure of rural women's groups can be applied to small livestock production and management; and how the project affected the lives of the women involved with it.

The report will provide: (1) an overview of the historical and contemporary context in which the project was developed; (2) an examination of the current roles and responsibilities (ideal and actual) that women have in agricultural production in Western Kenya; and (3) an analysis of the women's goat project itself.

HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY FEATURES

Women and Agriculture: An Overview

In pre-colonial Black Africa, the work done by men and women was nearly equally divided. The men did the work of defending or attacking villages, hunted, looked after the larger animals, cleared the ground, and cut trees for use in building houses, granaries, and enclosures. They also did metal, leather, and basket work. Women did agricultural work including hoeing, planting, weeding, and looking after the granaries. They also did all the household work: cooking, fetching water, picking and preparing vegetables, looking after the children, cleaning the house, etc. Some women specialized in pottery, weaving, and basketry.

Although there was considerable variation among cultures, there were certain similarities in the division of labor between the sexes. In subsistence

economies, these patterns had developed over centuries, and were quite enduring unless disrupted by outside forces. Western colonialism represented one force which dislocated many traditional societies. It introduced (i.e. imposed): a money economy which obliged peasants to produce goods that traders were willing to buy; imported manufactured products which replaced locally produced handicrafts; and forced production of commodities, which caused massive migrations to mines or plantations (Savane, 1980).

Even traditional agriculture was not immune to the fallout from colonial domination. While female systems of farming had prevailed for centuries, colonialism in Kenya brought forth changes in agricultural production. Commercial agriculture expanded from the occasional trading of surplus production or specialized crops to a major component of the economy. Corn, cassava and rice replaced millet and sorghum as food staples for almost all people. These newer crops had advantages which made them popular. Cassava resisted drought, and corn and rice were more productive although less drought resistant. In some areas, cash cropping developed at the expense of food production. Simultaneously, more of the responsibility for family survival fell on the shoulders of women as men frequently left to work on plantations or in the mines. As cash cropping spread into the African village, it increased women's burdens without necessarily bringing benefits.

Kenyan commercial agriculture gained the workers it needed when men "volunteered" because they needed money for taxes or for exchange in the new money economy. When these more subtle inducements failed, workers were conscripted. The wages they received were low. Thus, a family was often deprived of a worker (usually male) with little return. Sometimes families were required to subsidize the worker with intermittent supplies of food (Burke, 1981). All of this increased the work of women. Many remained at the homestead with

their children while men left either temporarily or permanently. When women did follow their husbands, the land the colonial administration gave them to farm was often the least productive.

The manner in which colonial domination and its legacy of male out-migration affected women and their agricultural work merits closer examination. If increased food production and improved nutrition are development goals, researchers and planners must consider the consequences of these historical occurrences. If women's participation in agricultural production has increased greatly, have norms of male domination in certain societies been modified to allow for this change? Have women been given "institutional legitimacy" so that resources (e.g. extension services, credit, adult education) are available to them?

In addition to an evaluation of the pilot project, the research questions most central to this report were those regarding traditional and current family divisions of labor. It was important to identify the work of females in agriculture in the area surrounding the project site in western Kenya. Understanding the way in which colonialism and the continued out-migration of males affected traditional male and female agricultural tasks was one of the primary objectives. Of equal importance was documenting work that women did in animal management and production.

By providing insights into these issues the present study casts some light on the specific project under scrutiny as well as provides useful information for the SR-CRSP Kenya program. Ultimately the success or failure of both may hinge on issues such as these.

The Colonial History of Kenya

In Kenya the British adopted an economic development model. They created a modern labor force by withdrawing from the African population the possibility

of earning sufficient income in any way other than providing wage labor for Europeans. The chief means by which this was done was to transfer prime agricultural land from African to European ownership, and to place severe restrictions on indigenous agriculture. When confronted with the problem of obtaining capital, British officials secured it initially through grants from the royal treasury. Later capital came from grants of large tracts of land that were intended to produce investment, and through the immigration of European settlers who brought with them their own capital resources, and had access to more through friends and relatives left in Great Britain (Wolff,1974). To sum up, colonial officials in Kenya freely manipulated land, labor and capital to achieve the development goals they desired.

The creation of a wage earning class in Kenya significantly affected people in Western Kenya. Although their land was not viewed as high potential and, therefore, was not settled by Europeans, men were recruited from these "reserve" areas for labor on European plantations. Thus, a pattern of male out-migration from Western Kenya began some sixty or seventy years ago. Women who chose or were forced to migrate with their husbands were a part of this labor flow from the reserves, cultivating food for their families on non-productive parcels of land. Women left behind in the reserves were forced to take on new responsibilities at home.

Women in Kenya have traditionally been highly active in agricultural production except for the Muslim women in the coastal region and women in the pastoral areas (e.g. Masai). Before European domination of Africa, treefelling, hunting and warfare were the principal responsibilities of men, and women assumed responsibility for cultivated crops. Gradually as felling and hunting became less important, and an inter-tribal warfare was prevented by European domination, little remained for the men to do (Boserup, 1970).

The Europeans were accustomed to male farming systems, and attempted to induce underemployed men to cultivate commercial crops. In fact, the system of colonial taxation by a poll tax on households was used as a means to force Africans to produce cash crops. While some men did become involved in this activity, and sex roles were modified to some extent, in many cases European domination resulted in women enlarging their part in agricultural work because both the colonial officers and the white settlers recruited men for work in road building, mining, and on plantations (Boserup, 1970).

The vast majority of women in Kenya, some 88 percent of the total, reside in rural areas where they make a major contribution to the rural economy. Nearly all adult women engage in farming activities on smallholdings and produce much of the food their families consume. In slightly less than one-fourth of all rural households, the husband is either absent for long periods, has migrated elsewhere, or is deceased. Females in such households thus assume much of the work usually undertaken by men (CBS, 1978). The Integrated Rural Survey of Kenya (1974-75) shows that in Western Province, 19 percent of the heads of households are women.

Male Labor Migration

When the colonialists introduced a money economy and thereby forced Africans to work for wages on farms, roads and in mines, the out-migration of males seeking work began. An important result of migration is the weakening of traditional family structures. This occurs both when a male migrates, leaving behind his family, or a female migrates alone or with all or part of her family. In both cases, the migration involves family fragmentation, which in turn contributes to a breakdown of many traditional relationships, and the emergence of new family structures. The length of the period of separation and the pattern of remittances are important factors in these changes.

From Africa the scattered evidence that does exist regarding the impact of migration on family structures suggests that, in general terms, family structures and women's roles within the families are affected by migration through the: (1) dissolution of the patrilocal, patrilineal families, and the emergence of mixed or nuclear families (Kudat, 1975); (2) changes in authority structures within families (Kudat and Gurel, 1979; Wilpert, 1977); and (3) alterations in patterns of communication and socialization. Family structures are also altered through changes in marriage customs (Anderson, 1972), a rise in the age of marriage, a decrease in fertility and an increase in divorce rates (Salien de Gonzalez, 1961; Rosen, 1973). Changes in sex role norms (Whiteford, 1978) and the division of labor within families also accompanies migration. Further affecting family structures, in some instances, is the increase of both extra-marital relations and prostitution, and in more general terms, household instability (Berggren, 1979) and thus the weakening of social control mechanisms operating in traditional societies.

Central to the impact of male migration on family structures are the changing economic and social roles of the women who are left behind. What is the effect of a males absence on economic and social roles of family members and patterns of communication and authority within families? What is the influence on marriage, fertility and divorce? In the case of these changes within families, what new roles do the women left behind assume? Do they gain new status within families or do they continue to function in traditional roles? Unfortunately, the extremely limited information available regarding changes in families as a result of male migration leaves unanswered most of the questions raised. The evidence which does exist, however, suggests the central role of women in the process of change within the economy and families.

In general, women left behind often function as household heads with regard

to the upbringing of children, and the management of the household and agricultural activities. In addition to the already important work of planting, weeding, harvesting and processing crops, fetching water and firewood, cooking and child care; women must often assume new responsibilities of milking cows, overseeing the management and herding of livestock and other agricultural activities previously carried out by men. (LeVine, 1966; Gordon, 1978).

With male migration, the distances and communication barriers between husband and wife, as well as the increased economic responsibilities of women, would be expected to result in changes in decision making and authority within families. Anderson argues that among the Sisyano in the Philippines, the dominant role of women is reinforced by male migration. No special problems are created by households which are defacto headed by women as a result of male migration for employment, since women have historically been in charge of the household, its budget, and the children. Although these households tend to be more dependent on relatives and neighbors, "Most Sitio neighbors have traditionally been highly interdependent anyway; emigration simply reinforces this interdependence" (Anderson, 1972:23). Male migration is found to have a similar impact on families among the Sabo in the Philippines (Connell *et al*, 1976).

Weist's study of a Acuitzio village in Mexico revealed that control within the household seems to depend on the way the family members left behind by male migrants obtain a livelihood. If a wife and children are forced to provide primary support, then the male has generally abandoned the household and the woman becomes the household leader. However, very few women interviewed maintained that they had complete control over expenditures in their husband's absence. In a majority of cases, remittances from the man, although regular and adequate for maintenance of the household, were only a portion of his total earnings. Men usually maintained ultimate control of the household budget by

limiting the amount of remittances (Weist, 1973).

LeVine's study in Kenya revealed that the traditional ideal of male domination in the husband-wife relationship has not been challenged as a result of a male migration. While the women left behind in a Gusii community must assume an increasing burden of work (they perform almost all of the agricultural and domestic work and oversee the herding of animals), the men are less bound to routine tasks, have more mobility and retain authority over a major share of family income through control of income from cash crops and employment. LeVine argues that male labor migration has accentuated traditional tendencies rather than drastically restructuring sex role norms in rural communities. "While the absence of men unquestionably loosens the control they once had over their wives' activities, the women who remain behind cannot be said to have gained status relative to men. . ." (1966:188).

LeVine's thesis is important for the study for two reasons. The first is that it offers empirical evidence from Western Kenya that traditional ideals have been unchallenged in spite of male labor migration. The second is that increases in female animal labor are mentioned as a result in male migration. This thesis could have considerable bearing for this study. If women are contributing more labor to animal management it might be reasonable to introduce a female livestock project, but one must bear in mind the evidence also put forth; that male dominance goes unchallenged, and examine what this may mean for the project's success.

Women's Organizations

In Africa, women have long grouped together for work as well as for other reasons. According to Monsted (1978), traditional groups in Africa developed in order to provide for mutual assistance, ceremonial functions (mostly dance), and

economic activity largely through the production of handicrafts. As an example, (1978), posits that Umoja, a broad-based traditional women's organization in Western Kenya, represented virtually all of the women in the area, save the elite. Women in this area of Kenya worked extensively in agricultural production, including planting, weeding, harvesting, processing and trading crops from which they derived a small income, and high community and family status. They had also participated in small informal groups for many years where agricultural labor was exchanged. Umoja provided a framework wherein women could transform and expand the organization to better meet their own needs. The groups addressed a variety of issues congruent with women's domestic livelihood and economic pursuits.

Monsted's (1978) study of contemporary women's groups in Kenya revealed that women's organizations can request and receive government services which earlier were not available to them. The kinds of services now provided for women's groups are agricultural extension grants, courses in family planning, child care, nutrition, pig, poultry, and bee-keeping, and leadership courses for women leaders to improve their knowledge about possible projects for women's groups. This conflicts with other evidence (e.g. Staudt, 1975-76) that extension personnel do not reach women farmers. Also, Monsted does not account for the restrictions and limitations on bureaucratized government-sponsored women's groups. There may have been a loss or lack of consensual agreement of women's issues, and the element of dependency on government or private sponsorship becomes crucial in the formation and survival of such groups.

Monsted notes that the mobilization of women in Kenya has had the support of husbands, and in many places there would have been no women's groups if the husbands had had a negative attitude toward their formation. Husbands realized the benefits of membership, and perceived the groups as a form of labor supply

insurance policy in case of a wife's incapacitation. Monsted asserts that husbands also supported women's access to income from economic projects. There was no competition between the activities of women's groups and men in the rural areas, and the groups were not used to create conflict between men and women.

While there are problems or potential problems with modern women's organizations, agriculturally related income generating groups do exist and are becoming more widespread. Rural women cannot afford to give up their roles as farmers, and husbands apparently respond favorably to such groups -- as they traditionally responded -- recognizing the labor and possible income benefits for their households.

It seems clear that women are an integral part of Western Kenyan agriculture and that a women's goat project had at least some historical and cultural basis for success.

THE RESEARCH SETTING AND STRATEGY

An overview of the Lake Victoria Region

The research was conducted in the Samia location, Busia District in the Western Province of Kenya. Western Province is a densely populated region and has a very high rate of population growth -- over four percent annually. The Samia location had a population in 1979 of 47,299.

The Samia location (the term "location" refers to the smallest administrative unit in Kenya) lies just east and north of Lake Victoria. Elevation in the area varies from 3,600 feet at the lake to 5,000 feet in the Samia hills. Rainfall generally is 30 to 40 inches annually.

The Integrated Rural Survey of Kenya (1974-75) reported that over 70 percent of the farm holdings in Western Province were less than three hectares. A substantial number of farms, 22 percent, were less than .5 hectares. The mean household size was 7.44 persons. Nearly 54 percent of the male population was aged fourteen and below, while 49 percent of the female population fell within the same range. The figure for male heads of households with one wife was slightly less than 80 percent. The male literacy was 65 percent, the female literacy rate was approximately 33 percent. Approximately 55 percent of male children were enrolled in primary schools, while 50 percent of female children were enrolled.

Small farms dominated the agricultural structure in the study area. Among the major commodities produced in the Lake Victoria basin were cotton, sorghum, millet, maize, cassava, rice, sugar cane, plantains, vegetables, and smallholder livestock and poultry farming. The lake area accounts for 70 percent of Kenya's cotton production, which, while largely grown on a small scale producer basis, is a major earner of foreign exchange for the country. In the Samia location, cassava and millet were the principal food crops due to their drought tolerance, although sweet potato, cowpeas, and beans were frequently seen as well. Cotton, sesame,

groundnuts and sunflowers were produced as cash crops. The Samia location was drier than areas further inland from the lake. No rice or sugar cane was grown in the location.

Physical Characteristics

The town most central to the dairy goat project was Sioport. It was also the town in which one of the founders of the project had a residence, and where the technical staff resided. While Sioport sublocation had a population of 7,367 in 1979, the town itself probably had less than 500 residents.

Sioport was some 25 kilometers from a tarmac road. There was no electricity in the town or in the surrounding area. Public transportation was regular if sparse. Although there were a few large buses that passed through the town on a daily basis, most of the transportation was by matatu, a jeep or pickup crammed with people and with fares which were not regulated by the government. In the town treated water was available for some portions of the population, but most people used water taken directly from Lake Victoria or the Sio River, either pumped by generator or collected by women and girls for daily use. Government district offices were located in Busia town, some 70 kilometers away. No public transportation went directly from Sioport to Busia. Travel there was accomplished by two separate matatu rides. The closest telephone was located some 15 kilometers away from Sioport. There was a government hospital in Sioport, plagued by bureaucratic problems, but offering free and immediate care. A private mission hospital was located 10 kilometers away, and although the staff attempted to keep costs minimal, they were often beyond the means of most people.

Sioport had a daily market which consisted of locally grown foods such as grains, beans, vegetables, and some fish from the lake. There was no weekly

market in Sioport and for items needed such as cloth, plastic ware, or if one wished to sell or purchase livestock one had to travel to a weekly market in Funyula, some 15 kilometers away. During the study period, the town was, from time to time, plagued by food shortages. Such items as sugar, salt, bread, wheat flour, and maize meal were often missing from various local shops.

The town itself was at an elevation of approximately 3,600 feet and was situated on Lake Victoria. Surrounding the town were the Samia hills which rose to heights of 5,000 feet. The goat projects were scattered throughout the location, at various elevations. Although the expected rainfall for this area was 30-40 inches annually, the past few years had been characterized as drought years. There were supposedly two distinct rainfall seasons; a short rains season in October and November, and a long rains season beginning in February or March and ending in June. The study period overlapped the "short rains" which did not yield the expected inches; indeed, there was such a severe lack of rain in one sublocation in which a goat project was located that the goats were moved to another sublocation. Tsetse fly and tick borne diseases were prevalent in the Samia location -- posing a major constraint and challenge to animal production.

The population of Sioport and the Samia location was generally composed of members of the Samia ethnic group, a sub-tribe of the Luyia. The Luyia are the third largest ethnic group in Kenya, numbering over one million. They inhabit the Western Province of Kenya composed of the three districts of Bungoma, Busia and Kakamega.

However, there were a surprising number of people from other ethnic groups in residence. This was due to such diverse factors as marriage, migration for wages or the "easy money" of magendo. It was not uncommon to find members of the Luo ethnic group in Samia, as the Luo bordered on the Luyia land. Also, because Sioport was located on an international boundary, there were quite a

number of Ugandans in residence, both Samian Ugandans and Ugandans from other ethnic groups.

Methods of Inquiry

When the study was being planned it was anticipated that the major methodological approach would be field research, employing mostly participant observation techniques. While this approach yielded valuable data, particularly in the form of frequent interactions with key community informants, other data collection methods were used as well.

When it was discovered that the women involved with the goat project could not be found on any regular basis at the bomas, the research design was revised to include formal interviews with groups members. An open-ended questionnaire that covered most of the topics of interest. A total of 71 women at the four active goat bomas were interviewed. Practice interview sessions with an interpreter/assistant were conducted to get an idea of translation and time involved. The instrument was also tested with a key informant (a relative of the project's founder) to make certain that none of the questions were offensive, and to get an idea of what would and would not be relevant to ask.

The third data collection method employed were essays written by secondary school students. The cooperation of three secondary schools in Samia was obtained, after consulting with the headmasters and headmistress of each. The students were asked to write an essay describing the sexual division of labor on their family homesteads specifically with regard to the division of labor with crops, animals, and household labor. Teachers were asked to identify the students who were local, because many secondary school students attended schools not located near their places of birth. In all, 77 essays were collected; the student's ages ranged from 13 to 20.

The final research strategy employed was an in-depth interview with five older women in the community, four of them involved in the goat project. A number of issues were addressed here. First, we wished to know how the goat project differed if at all, from other women's organizations with which the respondents were acquainted. A second set of questions focused on how the lives of women had changed since they were young, what hopes they had for their daughters and granddaughters, and a historical description of events in the women's lives that had been meaningful (e.g. marriage, births, co-wives). Finally, the women were asked to describe any memories they had of the first Europeans to arrive in the area, and what kind of change the European presence brought about.

The following analysis uses the four sources of data (observations, interviews with participants, school essays and in-depth interviews) to varying degrees in analyzing women's roles, the goat project and the fit between the two. In drawing conclusions it will often be necessary to use these multiple sources of data to buttress a specific point.

LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION: DIVISION OF LABOR ISSUES

Introduction

This section analyzes the family division of labor in Samia location, particularly regarding livestock production and management. Traditional chore patterns as well as changes in those patterns will be discussed. Other norms regarding animals in the area will also be highlighted as well as an examination of the current role of goats in the smallholder system. In summary, this section will touch on: (1) what the traditional and current sexual division of chores were for goats and other livestock; (2) what goats and other animals traditionally meant to men and women; and (3) what goats meant for the community at large.

Several theories and explanations have been used in discussions of the sexual division of labor in Sub-Saharan Africa -- a region where women contribute significantly to agricultural production. Brown (1970) related women's work in tribal and peasant societies to the exigencies of childcare. Repetitive and non-dangerous tasks that did not require extensive excursions were deemed more appropriate for women when the constraints of childcare were taken into account. Brown suggested that female farming, which characterized much of indigenous African agriculture, was related to the simplicity of techniques (e.g. slash and burn) used under conditions of low population density. This pragmatic view implied that the management problems posed by changed technical conditions of production may be resolved by "merely" altering the perceptions society members have of the suitability of new tasks for men's or women's life situations.

Boserup (1970) and Lancaster (1976) suggested that in African agricultural economies, women typically work in sectors which have low social value. Slash and burn cultivation techniques are simpler than intensive cultivation. Many African staple crops store poorly, cannot be accumulated easily, and therefore have only limited importance in the political arena. Because of their limited

political value and consequent low social value, food crops became associated with a female realm. According to Lancaster, practical and cultural conditions operate in the same direction: "Throughout the tribal world, this male attitude (of superiority) has typically included simple long-fallow agriculture, which has been linked to women and the domestic sphere" (1976:541).

It is only when crops become important to the greater male political economy that men become interested in the daily rounds of subsistence. An example of this would be cash cropping, wherein men participate on a larger scale. But food crops are considered "domestic" work, and all the labor (e.g. planting, weeding, harvesting, drying, storing, and preparing) is relegated to women.

Some recent Marxist writing on the position of women has also stressed the importance, although not the exclusive importance, of a cultural framework of production. Edholm et al (1977:119) commented, "In most circumstances it is clear that the assignation of tasks on the basis of sex has an ideological origin.... When we turn to more strictly economic aspects of the sexual division of labor, we have to start by trying to understand its relationship to other divisions of labor."

Goody's and Buckley's work on women in African agriculture proposed a social structural explanation. In a survey of 279 African societies practicing hoe cultivation, they found that women predominated as farmers in those areas where they were included as part of the formal property inheritance system. "The woman's position as a focus of differentiation within the family is related to her role in food production; she and her children will be identified with the section of the joint property which is allocated to her for productive purposes" (1973:117).

In an earlier study of the division of labor in African hoe culture, Baumann made similar claims. The key variable in his effort to show a correlation between

matriarchal society and primitive soil cultivation was property and inheritance. Baumann claimed that in most Central and East African societies, where inheritance of property is exclusively male, men participated to a greater degree in soil cultivation, but in most West African societies women alone were concerned with agriculture "because women's field work is logically bound up with women's rights to possession of the soil and its products..." (1928:301).

Although Goody and Buckley and Baumann introduce an important variable for the sexual division of labor -- women's legal relationship to the land they farm -- neither are supported by this study. Baumann's thesis is not upheld in Western Kenya where lineage is exclusively male, yet men participate in cultivation in a negligible manner. Goody's and Buckley's thesis is not upheld as women are the predominant farmers in a system where they are not included in land inheritance.

However, Afonja's discussion of the division of labor and the inheritance of land is most helpful. She suggests there was a complimentary structure in the division of labor in that men and women shared tasks involved in physical production, but that women bore the burden of reproducing the members who would join in the production system. This cooperation, she asserts, did not preclude inequalities in the distribution of responsibility, and these inequalities were culturally legitimized. She comments: "These inequalities are also reflected in the reward structure, particularly in patrilineal societies where women are excluded from property inheritance and from the control of land, the main instrument of production" (1981:304). In a discussion of change in the division of labor with the introduction of a capitalist mode of production, Afonja claims that traditional inequalities persisted for two reasons: first because women's role in reproduction continued to be emphasized, and second because men were able to take advantage of their control of capital, land and family labor in the subsistence economy.

Several variables emerge from this literature that are important in an examination of the division of labor: women's responsibilities for child care; a cultural definition of subsistence farming as part of domestic/women's work; and women's legal relationship or rights to the land they cultivate. Each of these variables is important in an explanation of women as subsistence farmers. The variables help to create a scenario for Western Kenya wherein women do the majority of farm labor for two basic reasons: (1) their reproductive roles and (2) their productive roles as laborers. Although the food the women produce is crucial to all members of the household, there is no threat to male dominance arising from this because males control the means of production within subsistence, and later, capitalist economies. Males control land, labor and capital.

For this report a major weakness in the literature is that animal management is not addressed. Because animals are an important part of smallholder systems, labor for and control of animals needs to be examined in accordance with other farm activities.

However, the literature raises several questions for this report. Will women in Samia location be "comfortable" raising dairy goats if the traditional division of labor assigns activities associated with goat management and production to men? Can women individually benefit from such a project if livestock are traditionally managed by men? What happens to the division of labor with the out-migration of men from rural areas for wage employment?

The focus of this section, then, is to document the prevailing division of labor in the society under study, and the changes in normative work patterns that have occurred with colonial influences on the rural economy. Of particular interest, following LeVine's (1966) thesis that male labor migration has accentuated traditional norms rather than restructuring them, is whether changes

in tasks result in changes in status or power within families. Although women may be caring for animals, does this necessarily give them any further control over the household economy? Does caring for animals give women power to sell or buy animals and animal products? Such questions are crucial in an assessment of a women's goat project.

Normative Patterns of Work in Samia

In our society men do different work from the women. This is because there are some heavy works (sic) which need more strength and this kind of work is mostly done by men. This includes building of houses, burning of charcoal, looking after cattle and hunting. Women are not strong enough to do such work.

Secondary School Student--Samia

According to the essays collected from secondary school students regarding the household division of labor, it would seem that traditionally women do not raise goats. Seventy-one of the 77 essays indicated that the only animal under the care of a woman were chickens; and even here many responded that the slaughtering of chickens for ceremonial purposes or guests was a decision made by husbands. Some students mentioned that chickens were housed in the kitchen for the night, and since the kitchen is a place where men do not enter, the chores of poultry raising are left to the women. As one young man wrote: "Father does not step into the kitchen unless mother is away for some time. Therefore, he does not pay much attention to hens." Some students, instead of identifying a particular sex or household member with poultry raising, wrote that they just had local hens that looked after themselves, thus discrediting the chores of raising poultry.

Management of larger livestock, with very few exceptions, was the male head of household's domain, often with considerable assistance from his sons. As one female student put it: "The care of animals as we know very well, a female type of person cannot do this job." Again and again in the essays it was stated

that fathers and sons care for sheep, goats and cattle. Men and boys are traditionally responsible for grazing, selling and slaughtering these animals. The milking of cows was not as clear-cut a chore for either sex. A few students mentioned that their mothers milked cows for household consumption, and one mentioned that his mother sold the milk and kept the revenue. However, a much larger number attributed the milking of cows and subsequent sale of milk to males. One female student mentioned a possible "taboo": "Father milks the cows. Mother can't do that. She's a woman and its a taboo for women to milk cows." This "taboo" was only mentioned in this instance, and was never encountered in interviews with other informants. While perhaps not an actual "taboo," it may be uncommon for women to milk animals. This would raise serious issues for a dairy goat project in which women would be expected to perform such a task.

Related to this is the much broader issue of the distribution of power and decision making responsibility within the family. What was interesting about the essays was that although changes with male labor migration were mentioned (and will be discussed), what was presented was the traditional role pattern taken by males and females. The statements made by the students revealed that while behavior was changing out of necessity, the socialization process has not undergone any substantial change.

It may be important to mention that the assertions of traditional roles found in the essays might be partly explained by the students' stages of psychological development. In the United States and in Europe, children at this stage are particularly concerned with conformity to sex role norms. This concern loosens as children progress to adulthood. Given that the majority of the students fell into an age range of 13-17, their responses may reflect a stronger adherence to sex role norms than the larger population. However, a patriarchal ideology was firmly in place in this society as evidenced by several statements.

I stand to say that the powers and privileges inherent in my father are unmistakably sacrosanct... He is the sole maker of the home and it entirely rests upon him to defend it in economic, social and political issues. He fences, builds granaries, disciplines us. In case of misfortune, he makes offering to the living dead...Mother cares for children, cooks, fetches water and firewood assisted by daughters as we sons regard this as being an affront to us.

My father is the household leader who takes care of all economic activities in the home. He gives out money where there is a need to buy foodstuffs, paraffin, or clothes. Mother is responsible for the well being of all the family. She cooks food and maintains discipline among children and reports to father for punishment. Father is in turn responsible for their discipline.

The overall household leader is my mother though she depends very much on father on the side of capital for the purchase of commodities vital for the upkeep of the family at large. In other words, father helps mother very much on the side of finance in that all the things sold on the farm, like maize, father takes the money and saves all the security needed.

These statements reflected an ideology of male superiority that was pervasive within the society. The father was held in high esteem and was afforded final authority within the household. In the chain of command, discipline and punishment, the father had the final word. Also, male superiority was linked to the relegation of work roles in that women's chores were considered to be an "affront" to males. Finally, the household economy was under the father's control. Although women did most of the productive work in terms of food production and the sale of excess food, men controlled any gain from women's productive labor.

The distinction between males and females was further manifested in food consumption patterns. In Samia, and in other parts of Western Kenya, certain "taboos" against women eating chickens and eggs were prevalent. Two older women commented on this:

...Before women were not eating chicken. Now they do. When you marry and you haven't tasted a hen since you were born, then at the marriage ceremony if the woman won't eat

a hen, the husband and his family will not accept her. Now all women eat chicken, perhaps in the whole world.

Since I was born, I haven't eaten chicken. Now my daughters are eating them because they were born modern, in the time of the wazungu (Europeans). The wazungu are the ones that forced us to eat hens. If you go to the hospital, it's where you will first learn to eat hens. I still do not eat eggs, but my daughters are now eating them.

Some informants linked this practice with male domination. One young woman stated: "Among the Luhya, women were not allowed to eat chickens or eggs for a long time. Now this has changed. Women feel they deserve to be as strong as men." Another informant said that men did not allow women in Samia to eat eggs, chicken, goat or cow. This informant claimed that in addition to being a patriarchal custom insuring that men's diets were better than women's, the practice also kept the men in charge of the economy. In the pre-cash economy, men used eggs to "purchase" a chicken, chickens to "purchase" a goat, and goats to "purchase" a cow. Cows could then be used to accumulate land and/or brides.

The claims of these informants are substantiated by Huston in her interview with a midwife in the town of Busia. The midwife addressed the nutritional gap between men and women, and its implications for children:

...There are still many areas where people believe children should not eat eggs because, they say, the children will never talk. You have to keep persuading people. When mothers realize that children who eat eggs do talk, they will convince other mothers that their children will not be harmed by eggs. But you can't force them to suddenly change what they do....Women are not supposed to eat chickens either -- although the men do. It's not fair (1979:65-66).

The practice of forbidding women to eat chicken also carried over into the rite of passage for young women into adulthood. In Samia the pulling of lower teeth served as an adulthood ritual. As one older woman remarked: "The removal of the lower teeth was forced. If you had teeth, it was said that you would steal chickens from your parents and eat them. So the teeth were removed and

eventually chickens were forbidden to women." It is interesting then, that women were responsible for an animal that was forbidden for them to eat. If women were forbidden to eat chicken and eggs, there would be very little risk involved for men in allowing their wives to care for these animals.

Thus there was considerable evidence to support the assertion that this society had a strong normative basis for male dominance. Further, traditional norms regarding animals and their management and production reflected the patriarchal ideology of the society. Animals were a source of wealth, as well as objects for the accumulation of wealth. While women dominated in horticultural tasks for the production of family food, men dominated in animal management for the production of capital. The one animal, the chicken, which was clearly under a woman's management, was traditionally forbidden to her as food. The implications of this for a women's goat project are obvious --without the explicit or implicit support of men, the project will have difficulty succeeding.

Changes in Normative Patterns

In order to make life run smoothly the men and women have to unite together on the shamba (farm) in order to earn a good living, but unfortunately most of the time the men go to towns to seek for (sic) white collar jobs. The whole burden is now on the woman. She has to know everything that is going on in the home while the husband is away. My mother hires groups of men and women to help her dig and harvest....The cows and goats are cared for by anybody who is at home.

Secondary School Student-Samia

In a discussion of change, it is important to have an understanding of what existed before the change. Perhaps most crucial to this discussion is an examination of men's roles previous to the cash economy and subsequent wage labor force imposed by the colonial administration. According to Boserup (1970) the chief pre-colonial occupations for African men were felling of trees, hunting and warfare. Hunting and warfare were the two occupations which took men from

their homesteads. One would assume that hunting expeditions occurred with some regularity, and that men were gone on hunts for relatively short periods of time. Warfare might mean that men were gone for longer periods, but one would assume that wars did not occur on a regular basis; at any rate, this would vary greatly by ethnic group. Thus, we can conclude that previously men were at their homesteads on a much more regular basis.

A significant proportion of the female participants in the dairy goat project had certainly experienced out-migration by their husbands. When the interviews were conducted, 31 percent of the women's husbands were working away from Samia, and 53 percent of those women whose husbands were at home responded that their husbands had migrated for work previously. Fifty-six percent of the women interviewed listed their husband's occupation as a wage occupation, as opposed to farmers (39 percent) and fisherman (5 percent). Furthermore, 47 percent of those women who reported their husbands as absent, indicated that they visited once a year at best.

Several of the essays addressed the problem of the father being away from home or deceased, and the changes that occur with these situations. Of these essays, some addressed a generalized role change, while others were more specific as to changes in labor needs. Among the generalized comments were these:

The household leader is my mother as my father passed away.

My father was the boss before he died, but at present mother is boss.

In most cases, it's my father who leads the house but when he goes for a short safari (trip) it's mother to lead.

The household leader is apparently the mother since my father is dead. My mother may be referred to as the farmer in my homestead.

My father died about 10 years ago...My mother is the household leader. When my elder brothers are around they normally become the household leaders. This does not imply that when my brothers are the household leaders, mother

leaves the affair of leading completely. She is now very much taken the advisor (sic) to us on certain aspect....

The few comments that directly refer to work are these:

My father is out, all is looked after entirely by my mother.

My father is undertaking some wage labor. My mother does most of the work.

Father is a town dweller. Cultivation of the shamba is done by mother. He (father) sends money so that she can hire labor to help...On my father's absence, the household is looked upon by my mother, but when he's around, he's the one who roars.

Obviously the household leader was my father but because he will never come again (deceased), my mother is the boss of the house. All the cows, goats and chickens are taken care of by mother.

A few responses implied that while women may apparently be taking complete charge of households in a husband's absence or death, this may not reflect a real change in roles. The fact that older sons are consulted, as well as the description of a father returning and "roaring," would indicate that female control is tenuous at best. If women were in total control of livestock, with husbands working in towns, one would expect that this chore would become part of the female children's socialization, yet there is evidence to the contrary. In the interviews conducted with participants in the women's dairy goat project, none of the women mentioned their daughters helping them with animal labor. Table 1 lists the chores that women mentioned their daughters helping with. These are all traditional chores for women: hoeing, weeding, fetching wood and water, grinding grain, and cooking.

When women whose husbands worked away from home were asked what perceived effects their husbands' absence had had on their work (see Table 1), only 5 percent reported no effect. By contrast, 53 percent mentioned that their work had increased but their husbands compensated by sending money and 32 percent mentioned more work with no compensation from husbands. Related to this, some

68 percent of the women with absent husbands reported receiving cash remittances from their men.

Table 1. Responses to Questions on Work Roles
by Participants in Samia Dairy Goat Project

Item and Categories	Percent	Number of Cases
What chores does your daughter/s help with		
Cultivation	41 ¹	22
Weeding	37	20
Fetching wood	61	33
Fetching water	67	36
Grinding grain	63	34
Cooking	43	23
Perceived effects of husband's absence on workload		
No effect	5	1
Work increased but husband compensated by sending money	53	10
Work increased but no such compensation	32	6
Grow more cash crops	10	2
Whose "job" is it to care for goats		
Women's	39	28
Men's	11	8
Both - shared job	47	33
Children	3	2
¹ Multiple responses allowed		

Contrasted to the secondary school essays, the interview data showed a somewhat different view of the current situation regarding livestock management (Table 1). Of the participants interviewed, 39 percent answered that it was a woman's job to care for goats, 58 percent answered that it was either a man's job or a shared job.

More revealing were the responses to questions dealing with economic decision making regarding animals (Table 2). Sixty-three percent answered that it was a husband's decision to sell an animal, and 37 percent answered that the decision was a joint one. Similarly, 69 percent answered that their husbands decided when to slaughter an animal, and 31 percent answered that it was a joint decision. One might speculate that while many women viewed themselves as responsible for daily care of goats, major decisions were reserved for men.

A question was posed to the goat project participants as to who would make decisions regarding the sale or slaughter of animals when husbands were away. Fifty-eight percent of the respondents felt that the wife would then make all the decisions, 21 percent responded that the wife, with the help of a male relative or neighbor will make decisions, and 21 percent of the women felt that they would have to contact their husbands before making any decisions.

One final observation that supports the points made above regarding the involvement of women in major animal management decisions concerned the marketing of livestock. In observing the weekly livestock market, on only one occasion was a woman seen selling a goat. When interviewed, the woman volunteered that she had written to her husband "begging his permission to sell the goat to help with school fees."

Table 2. Responses to Questions on Work Roles
By Participants in Samia Dairy Goat Project

Item and Categories	Percent	Number of Cases
Who decides when to sell animals		
Men	63	45
Women	0	0
Both - shared	37	26
Who decides when to slaughter		
Men	69	49
Women	0	0
Both - shared	31	22
Who makes these decisions when man is gone		
Wife alone	58	41
Wife with advice from male relatives/neighbor	21	15
Wife with permission from husband	21	15

Women as well as men were observed selling chickens. These sales took place in a different part of the market, establishing larger livestock as a separate category.

We have established that the dominant cultural norms for Samia define larger livestock as a male realm. Within this cultural framework, women and men have modified their work roles with high incidences of male labor migration. Women have assumed labor tasks with larger animals with male absence, and probably depend more heavily on their children's assistance than if males were present. However, the dominant cultural norms persist in that it is still male children who are socialized to herd animals, and men remain predominantly responsible for economic decisions made about animals.

Goats: Current Perceptions and Uses

This section of this report has focused thus far on the normative patterns associated with the human actors in the project. However, the animals involved, in this case goats, also have a position in the culture and are perceived in certain ways by members of the society. This section focuses on those perceptions.

First, it should be noted that animal numbers in this part of Kenya were generally low, disease being the primary constraint. Among the goat project participants interviewed, 47 percent had no goats on their family compounds. The percentages were even higher for sheep and cattle; 85 percent had no sheep on their compounds, and 68 percent had no cattle. The only animal found with any frequency was chickens.

According to the respondents, 89 percent indicated that goats were kept as a source of cash, rather than for consumption at the household level or as a medium of exchange for other animals or goods. When asked what the cash would be used for (multiple responses were allowed), the following responses were given: school fees (60 percent), health care costs (19 percent), general family expenses including food, fuel, and soap (68 percent), and as an investment in the farm (19 percent).

Goats generally had a lower status than cattle in that they were not considered a preferred meat. However, they were used in ceremonies of all kinds. Nearly all of the women interviewed attested to the use of goats in ceremonies such as weddings and funerals. More traditional ceremonies were also mentioned; 17 percent of the women attested to the use of goats as a sacrificial animal. Informants revealed that sheep are a preferred sacrificial animal to goats, and that beef was the preferred meat at any ceremony. One older woman spoke of the slaughter of animals for meat at weddings. She said that goats "are only slaughtered at the wedding of an old woman, a young bride will always be honored

with a cow. The goat is just a small thing." The custom of bride price -- men presenting a woman's family with sources of wealth upon agreement of marriage - - did often involve the exchange of goats. However, some women attested to the low status of goats in this exchange.

Interestingly, in this part of Western Kenya, there were some strong negative beliefs regarding the consumption of goat meat. Thirty-five percent of the women interviewed indicated that goat meat was related to leprosy, while a further 17 percent indicated that goat meat was related to other health problems.

The low status of goats as an edible or ceremonial animal did not necessarily translate into viewing goats as worthless. To the contrary, the goat served as a form of savings account for Samians, particularly for educational expenses. One can only speculate, however, about the consequences of the negative perceptions of goats for a project attempting to introduce dairy goats to the population. Will the beliefs about goat meat carry over to goat's milk, or will education and experience allay such suspicion? Thus far, the modest quantities of milk produced by the project were easily sold, and the population did not appear to be opposed to accepting goat's milk. However, milk had not been produced in sufficient quantity to be available to any substantial proportion of the population.

Summary of Division of Labor Issues

This section focused on the social division of labor for livestock in the project area, and changes that occurred with male labor migration. A gap in the literature dealing with division of labor issues in Africa was identified in that most studies were almost entirely devoted to the cultivation of crops. Because animals were an important part of the smallholder system, even if the only animal was chickens, women's work with animal production and management needs to be explored as an important contribution in division of labor studies. In a discussion

of change, the importance of animal labor was highlighted because animals were identified as a male "crop" and remain an important medium of exchange.

Traditionally, goats and large livestock were under the care of men. This tradition continues to prevail in spite of male out-migration. While women assumed many of the daily labor tasks, they turned to their sons or other males for assistance, and very rarely did they have economic control of animals. Even when husbands were away, women frequently deferred to them or other males before making a decision to sell or slaughter an animal. Goats within the Samian society had a fairly low status as an animal. They were neither a preferred meat nor a preferred ceremonial animal. Their value was in their easy liquidity, and their worth as a source of cash should not be overlooked. In the case of school fees, food shortages, or health problems, goats were important to a sizeable segment of the Samian people. But to sell a goat or other livestock remained primarily as a male decision.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT: THE BOMA SYSTEM

Women's organizations were mobilized in Samia in 1979 to begin raising dairy goats. These projects had a broad two-fold goal: (1) to increase the nutritional level of the communities and (2) to generate a new economic activity for women. Operationally, European breeds, contributed by external agencies, were kept in screened bomas due to the threats in the area to animal health (e.g. tsetse fly, ticks, etc.). This was a departure from traditional goat management techniques of grazing in a herd or tethering.

During the period of data collection, 71 women were interviewed at four of the existing goat bomas which had been in operation for nearly one year. At the end of the study eight structures had been completed and groups of women were being mobilized in these areas. The goal was to build one structure for each of the sublocations in Samia. If accomplished, the final count would then be ten bomas. Costs of construction of the goat bomas were quite high, mostly due to the cost of screening material, corrugated tin roofs, water tanks, and imported lumber. Estimates were given that each boma cost approximately 18,000 Kenya shillings or some 2,500 U.S. dollars.

Of the four bomas studied, one contained Anglo-Nubian goats, another Toggenburg goats, and two contained the indigenous Small East African goat being kept under intensive management. The bomas containing the European (milk) breeds were operated on a zero grazing system, while the two containing indigenous breeds were operated on a partial grazing system. At one of the bomas, crossbreeding of the purebred dairy goats with the indigenous meat goats was underway in an effort to create a goat that was both resistant to disease and produced more than a trivial amount of milk. The long-term goals of the project were vague (which will be discussed later), but it was hoped that enough crossbred

goats could be produced so that project participants could be given a few goats for household use, while the purebred dairy goats would remain in the goat bomas under the management of the women's groups.

Income generated from the sale of the first offspring was to be utilized to begin construction of other bomas. Any decisions about distributing the income from second offspring ideally were to be worked out among the participants. They could, for example, decide to sell several goats and then divide the gain to help pay for children's school fees. However, in reality, offspring were frequently not sold, but instead moved to one of the newly constructed bomas. While there were sound reasons underlying this decision -- other sublocations in the area wanted "a piece of the action" -- it did have the effect of delaying the goal of producing enough crossbred goats for household use far into the future. It also raised serious questions in some minds about who was in control of the project -- participants or outside actors.

The long range plan of bringing the goats to the household level was further complicated by the costs of a household size boma (for three or four goats). If the crossbreeding efforts produced a goat which was not totally immune to trypanosomiasis (a blood parasite carried by the tsetse fly), a highly unlikely probability, then the goats would need similar housing and management. Experiments with construction of such a boma yielded a structure which would cost approximately 200 Kenya shillings or 20 U.S. dollars. While not excessive, this cost was still well out of the range of families in the area. One informant told me that most people could not afford the proposed household boma or the goats. Although loans might be arranged, this informant said that "most feel it would be too risky to take care of animals they are unfamiliar with."

Women's roles in the boma organization were difficult to understand. The study design was modified when it was discovered that women were not at the

bomas on a regular basis. Instead, men were hired in salaried positions at each boma, as herders and watchmen. This was understandable in the case of the watchmen, as it was not culturally acceptable that a woman stay at any location overnight to guard property. However, the case of herders was less clear.

The reasons for hiring men at the women's projects proved to be exceedingly complex. According to informants, a major reason was related to ownership of the land used for the projects. Often private land was donated to the projects, rather than using trust land (i.e. communal land). Usually, at least one of the employees at each of the bomas was a relative of the former owner of the land. One informant revealed that attempts had been made to limit one position per boma to a relative of the former owner because the remainder of the sublocation population would feel cheated.

A second reason that men were hired reflected the ongoing sexual division of labor for animal production. In spite of the fact that the project was a "women's project," men were still considered to be the sex that manages animals. Women were, as discussed previously, doing an increasing amount of the daily labor with animals especially with high rates of male out-migration. Indeed, women at the goat projects' sites were contributing daily labor in the form of carrying forage for the goats and milking them. However, change had not occurred to the point where it was acceptable to hire women into salaried animal management positions. In a sense, the male presence at the bomas firmly reflected the predominant male authority which was asserted at home as well.

Finally, men were hired in salaried positions because men, in the larger society, were the ones to take salaried positions. Ninety-five percent of the women interviewed had never worked for wages, and nearly 50 percent had never participated in any form of trading which would yield a source of cash. However, 56 percent of the respondents interviewed had husbands currently employed in a wage labor position.

Membership Characteristics

Most of the women's groups had an active membership of approximately 30-50 members, although in terms of initial dues paid, the membership might for some purposes be considered as large as 200. The total membership represented approximately 5 percent of the population. The women were mobilized by one or two particularly active women in their area, who knew the majority of the population. According to informants, it was often difficult to mobilize women because husbands did not approve. Husbands would give permission to their wives to join the project when they understood that the project would also eventually benefit them via the animal distribution scheme. Political allegiance may also have swayed husband's attitudes, resulting in their forbidding or supporting wives' membership because they either opposed or supported the project founder. It also appeared that men granted their wives permission to join when they heard that other men had granted permission to their wives.

Table 3 presents the frequencies found for the membership characteristics of age, marital status, and education. Of the 71 women interviewed, 60 percent of the respondents were under 50 and 40 percent were over 50. The mean age was 45, while the mode was 60. Age was a particularly difficult response to obtain with any degree of accuracy, and respondents in many cases guessed their ages.

Table 3. Characteristics of Women's Group Members

Variable	Percent	Number of Cases
<u>Age</u>		
less than 20	1	1
20-25	8	6
26-30	11	8
31-35	11	8
36-40	7	5
41-45	10	7
46-50	14	10
51-55	6	4
56-60	16	11
over 60	16	1
<u>Marital Status</u>		
married	88	62
not married	1	1
widowed	11	8
<u>Education</u>		
none	47	33
standard 4 or less	17	12
standard 5-7	13	9
secondary	8	6
non-formal Christian only	11	8
non-formal adult education only	4	3

Only one woman interviewed was not married, and 11 percent of the respondents were widowed. In terms of formal education, 62 percent had not received formal education. Fifteen percent of that figure had received some sort of Christian training (usually taught to "read the Bible"), or adult education. Only 8 percent of the respondents had received some secondary level education. It cost the women 5 shillings (less than one U.S. dollar) to join the groups, and from time to time, they were asked to contribute more money. This money was used to pay a member of the group to do various activities such as cleaning the boma or milking the goats. The payment for such work varied by group, and sometimes created conflicts for those women contributing such labor without pay.

Table 4 lists the kinds of women's groups the goat project participants belonged to in addition to the project. Thirty-seven percent indicated that they currently belonged to a group which farmed for money, and 40 percent indicated that they currently belonged to a group which farmed, but not for cash. These non-cash oriented groups were typically formed of clan members who could help each other out with agricultural labor, particularly during labor peaks. Fourteen percent belonged to church related farming groups. The Anglican and Catholic churches in the area had organized women's labor groups to farm church owned land, with most of the produce going to landless poor families. Thirteen percent belonged to other church related or charity groups, typically formed to aid women domestically in times of illness or birthing. One percent attested to current membership in a liquor or beer brewing group, 3 percent belonged to dancing groups, 10 percent to a women's fishing group, 10 percent to the UNICEF village technology groups, one percent to a family planning group, and one percent to a beekeeping group.

When asked what groups they had belonged to in the past, 39 percent had belonged to a group which farmed for money. Twenty-eight percent had belonged

to a group formed for agricultural labor, which was not formed for profit. Four percent belonged to dancing groups, and a higher percentage, 11 percent attested to membership in a beer or liquor brewing group. Membership in this kind of a group was a sensitive issue. Although brewing was an activity that had long been a money making venture for women, stringent laws were in effect against such local brewing. Because of the laws, the respondents may have felt more at ease in admitting to membership in such a group in the past.

The propensity for Samian women to "group" was born out by this data. The memberships fell into a number of categories: some were consensual groups in the traditional mode, others were more recent bureaucratic groups (e.g. fishing, family planning, village technology, beekeeping, etc.).

Although the goat project was related to a number of international agencies, it was not related to any national or local bureaucracy. Instead, it owed its origins to the mobilizing efforts of the local member of parliament, a woman herself. From a sociological perspective, this makes the goat project an interesting amalgam of charismatic and rational/legal elements. Charismatic is defined by Weber (1968) as a person having exceptional powers or reputation as leadership capability.

In the examination of the Samia women's dairy goat project, we discovered that the project, while experiencing effects of bureaucratization similar to those in most contemporary women's groups, is also a special case due to the charismatic leadership of the political notable, and its multifaceted sponsorship. A notable is defined by Weber (1968) as one who enjoys social prestige and/or wealth, who is devoted to politics and one who has acclaim within a community. How influential the notable was in obtaining these various sponsors is unknown, but her leadership probably aided in marshalling resources that would have otherwise been out of reach.

Table 4. Characteristics of Women's Group Members

Variable	Percent	Number of Cases
<u>Other Group Memberships - Current</u>		
Farm for cash	37	26
Farm, no cash	39	28
Church farming group	14	10
Other church group	13	9
Fishing group	10	7
Village technology	10	7
Family planning	1	1
Beekeeping	1	1
Dancing	3	2
Beer or liquor brewing	1	1
None	21	15
<u>Other Group Memberships - Past</u>		
Farm for cash	39	28
Farm, no cash	28	20
Dancing	4	3
Beer or liquor brewing	11	8
None	37	26
Don't remember	3	2

While the groups operated autonomously the majority of the time, conflicts in the organizations were reported to and assuaged by the political notable. Perhaps allegiance and deference to the notable created a condition of dependency on her for more serious problems. In the same vein, the groups' dependence on outside (often international) funding was significant. Relative independence from financial and technical support was a goal that might never be reached, making it nearly impossible to operate in an autonomous fashion.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This report focused on a project which attempted to involve women more fully in the development process of Kenya, and for the conclusions it is important to define as much as possible the cultural ideology of the advancement of women.

Comparative statistical data reveals that women, in most of the developing world, are as a class treated differently than men. This may take the form of unequal access to education, to ownership of property or to access to the banking (e.g. credit) system. Of particular importance is women's limited access to positions of power, responsibility and the professions. The unequal and limited access for women takes different forms in different societies and therefore the form feminism takes is culturally bound as well.

The concept of feminism can be briefly stated as an ideology, sometimes manifested as a social movement, which supports the advancement of women. Feminism begins with the assumption that women constitute a group with identifiable interests different and perhaps in conflict with other groups in the society. In addition, there is the assumption that women as a group, are in a disadvantaged position relative to men as a group. Most who argue against feminism hold that women, by virtue of their special roles as reproducers, are not in a disadvantaged position relative to men, but rather are simply in a different position due to their reproductive capacity. Thus, if women strive to do the work that men do, families will suffer. In the case of Kenya, feminism has taken a very different form as compared the perspective taken by most Western feminists. This point must be understood because those things which Western women might view as crucial to the advancement of women in Kenya may not be at all important for the Kenyan women themselves.

According to Paulme (1963), Western women have condemned African

customs on the grounds that they debase women: polygyny, child-betrothal, widow inheritance, and other methods of transferring women without their consent are used as examples. Also criticized are the heavy burdens placed on women by the division of labor; the submissive attitudes a wife must adopt toward her husband; the generally acknowledged right of a man to beat his wife; and the observation that marriage gives rise to little intimacy between spouses. It is easy for Western women to conclude from such an analysis that African women are oppressed and exploited and are in need of "liberation."

While this anti-traditionalist position is common in the literature, it demonstrates a lack of understanding of African society. First, although male dominance does exist, just as it exists in Western societies, perceptions of female advancement are quite different. African women are often more concerned with clan, group, or family status and achievement than with individual status and achievement. Second, African and Western women are different in that African women have a tradition of agricultural work. They do not have a tradition of "housewives only." Although they are often solely responsible for household work, their identities are shaped as much by their roles as producers as by their roles as reproducers. In Kenya, the vast majority of rural women are farmers, raising food crops for their families. Unlike their husbands who have often sought wage labor elsewhere, they are not alienated from their work. Thus, Western women should not assume that African women are anxious to enter the modern sector when they observe how their husbands' labor is exploited for low wages, and poor living conditions which are unpleasant as well as costly.

Finally, there is a difference in political and economic structure. African women have more basic concerns than sexual discrimination or unequal opportunity based on sex. The sharing of power means challenging class and tribal power structures as well as sexual power structures. While women in Western

industrialized nations often believe that sexual equality is achievable in an apolitical environment, in Africa sexual equality cannot be separated from other kinds of equality. Struggles for women's advancement cannot be taken out of the context of larger struggles against poverty and neocolonialism. A failure to appreciate the African women's environment leads the best intentioned Western feminists down the path toward ideological imperialism, perhaps the most insidious form of domination.

The Work of Women in Agriculture

One of the primary objectives of this study was to examine women's participation in agricultural work. Documenting traditional chores, as well as changes in chores due to male out-migration was a major objective. Although agricultural responsibilities were examined in general, particular attention was given to women's work in animal production and management.

The study revealed that goats and large animals were traditionally under the care of men. This practice was relatively enduring in spite of male out-migration. While women have assumed many of the daily labor tasks associated with livestock out of necessity, the study revealed that this new responsibility had not yet been incorporated into the socialization of young women, and the assistance of sons was still frequently sought. Even with the high incidence of absent males, women rarely had economic control of animals in terms of making a decision whether to sell or slaughter an animal.

The Structure of the Women's Groups

A second objective of the study was to examine the social organization of women's groups, which were a traditional phenomenon, and continue today in a more bureaucratized form. The research question for this portion of the study

was whether such an indigenous form of social organization was appropriate for a livestock project.

The analysis of the Samia women's dairy goat project included a discussion of how women's groups have been affected by the introduction of Western ideologies and organizational forms. Using Weber's (1968:49,50) analysis of organizations, it was posited that contemporary women's groups might become bureaucratized with members losing autonomy (member authority) and autocephaly (member election of leaders). In addition to these possible changes, bureaucratization might mean a lack of consensual action and goal orientation, traits which characterized the more traditional groups.

The Samia women's dairy goat project exhibited some of the characteristics of a modern, bureaucratic group, but seemed to be sheltered from others due to its origins. The group members were mobilized through the efforts of the project's prime sponsor, a political notable. Although the goat project was dependent on a number of international agencies for funding and technical support, it was not dependent on any national or local agencies except for the political leader. Allegiance to the local notable was a major factor for group membership and the groups survived in spite of a lack of clearly understood goals. One might conclude then, that action and goal orientation were neither rational nor consensual. It was the allegiance for the notable which gave the group a feeling of consensus it might have otherwise lacked. This is a crucial point; if one chose to ignore that and simply borrowed the idea of a women's goat project to introduce elsewhere, one would be ignoring a crucial factor in the organization of the women, and in the success of the groups thus far.

The analysis of the groups also focused on the animal management system, which was a departure from traditional systems of grazing and/or tethering and involved the intensive management of goats in screened structures. The primary

roles of women in the project were the cutting and carrying of forage to the goats. During dry periods, they also collected and carried water. Sometimes money was contributed by members to pay a member to do other chores, such as cleaning a boma or milking goats. Other activities were carried out by men who had been hired at the bomas. For example, at the bomas where indigenous goats were kept, the salaried men herded the animals. Thus, the sexual division of labor operating in the larger culture was not challenged to any great degree. It is reasonable to assume that the introduction of a cut and carry method of goat management would mean more work for women because the chores of cutting forage and carrying it would fall within women's work roles, just as the fetching of firewood and water do. Remember the young man who remarked: "Mother...fetches water and firewood assisted by daughters as we sons regard this as being an affront to us."

The Benefit Issue

The question of who benefits from a project such as this is important. While we have established that men would have economic control of those animals brought to the household level, it is assumed that any increased income from these goats would benefit the entire family. The projected future of the project also includes the retention of purebred goats in the bomas under the care of the women. Any profits from these operations would go directly to the members. At both levels -- household and project -- it is hoped that profits would improve the lives of members' families. However, one must remember that when introducing such a management system, the bulk of the labor will be female labor as the chores of cutting and carrying forage will fall within the female work realm.

Acknowledging women's already increased burdens with high incidences of male labor migration, there must be hesitancy in recommending the introduction

of a new technology when the labor for it will fall on women's shoulders, and yet not afford them direct or certain economic benefits. Extending the project to the household level would result in such a situation. The introduction of this technology in Africa may have the unanticipated effect of increasing females' problems and workloads while giving them few if any monetary or social rewards. When the actual division of labor is not understood nor taken into account as a factor in development, new techniques may have unforeseen impacts on the family labor force (Williams, 1975).

One has to wonder if this wouldn't result in another classic development problem because extension agents are men, and generally impart their information to men, ignoring farm management by females. It would also raise the question that if labor demands on women are increased at home, would interest continue in the group project which also demands their labor? While we know that allegiance and a belief in future economic benefit had inspired continued participation in the group, we can only speculate on future participation when and if the goats were dispensed to the members for household use.

Further Research

The problems identified with the Samia women's dairy goat project will be of use to development planners, as well as researchers, when attempting to devise ways in which to include women in development programs. More research of this nature must be undertaken before assumptions are made regarding the needs of women and how those needs could be met.

When conducting a study of the incorporation of goats into a smallholder agricultural system as exists in Kenya, an examination of the family division of labor is important. Obviously, the labor to be utilized for the expansion or introduction of goat production in Kenya is family labor, and it is important to

understand who is likely to be caring for the animals as well as who is likely to have economic control. Given that: (1) the role women play in Western Kenya agriculture is already important and growing more so, and (2) a significant proportion of households are, for all practical purposes, headed by women; it is crucial for this segment of the populace to be explicitly recognized in the planning of agricultural development projects. The incorporation of goats into many West Kenya households (assuming their cultural acceptability) will inevitably involve some change in labor activities already underway. It is important to be sure that the overall change in terms of economic benefit and social justice are in the positive direction for this already heavily burdened segment of the population.

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