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ADMINISTRATIVE RESOURCES, POLITICAL PATRONS,
& REDRESSING SEX INEQUITIES: A CASE
FROM WESTERN KENYA

by Kathleen A. Staudt
Assistant Professor
University of Texas at El Paso

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Kenyan agricultural policy ostensibly aims at increasing agricultural productivity through the transmission of agricultural information and support^{services} from field staff to farmers. Contact with farmers, the clientele of the Ministry of Agriculture, is a basic and minimal prerequisite in the pursuit of this goal. Inequities on the basis of economic status are a serious and continuing problem in the delivery of agricultural services, as are those based on region.¹ Indeed, attention to rural areas and the rural majority in general is inadequate, given its size, value, and return to the economy. This paper views women farmers as a crucial, but underanalyzed link in the inequitable patterns that prevail.

In Kenya, as well as in many parts of eastern and southern Africa, women comprise a sizeable and important segment of the agricultural administration's clientele. In these areas, women constitute one-third or more of the farm managers, a result of prevailing patterns of male out-migration in search of employment. Besides this female managerial component, women are the traditional and historic cultivators of farms (work which includes planting, weeding, harvesting, processing, and trading) as well as decision makers about what crops to plant and what techniques to use.² If governments aim at increasing agricultural productivity through the provision of advice and support services to farmers, it is essential that women farm managers and workers have equal access to such such services.

Despite the now almost commonplace generalization that development programs in Africa have ignored, or adversely affected women relative to men,³ there are few empirical studies that support the extent to which inequitable patterns prevail. A separate analysis of this western Kenyan case provides data which illustrate pervasive discrimination. Women managers have less access to every type of agricultural service available, and

the gap between them and farms with a man present increases as the value of the service increases, both in cost to the administration and benefit to the farmer. Probably the most striking finding is that the bias against women holds under a variety of controls, including farmer's economic standing, land size, and innovativeness.⁴ A subsequent line of inquiry becomes the assessment of how other factors, such as increased administrative resources and political power, affect inequitable patterns.

What are the effects of increased resources on policy performance, particularly on ensuring equity in the delivery of services to an administrative clientele? Presumably, administrative performance improves in both quality and quantity with increased resources for staff and support services. Many problems in administrative performance are said to result from financial constraints under which development administrators operate. Low budgets, staff shortages, insufficient transport vehicles and the like, are explained to account for the failure of administrators to adequately service clientele.⁵ Moreover, bureaucratic innovation is predicted with the increasing availability of resources in the form of time, finance, material, or skills.⁶ Increased resources may enhance innovation by expanding an administrative clientele (to include, for example, women) without depriving those clientele already served.

Yet one cannot assume that administrative commitment to deliver services is always present; indeed, in a distributive context of scarce resources, political factors may be crucial in determining the priority with which clientele are served. Political action to improve administrative performance for clientele can be examined in two interrelated aspects. The first examines whether, and to what extent, political control and direction is exerted over bureaucracies to make them responsive to clientele,⁷

while the second examines whether clientele exert direct pressure on administrative agencies. In studies of U.S. administrative performance, politically powerful segments of clientele have been found to obtain greater responsiveness, extract considerable resources, or even define the scope of administrative action and thus gain advantage in the distributive process.⁸

This paper will analyze the extent to which administrative and political factors influence the delivery of agricultural services to women farmers in western Kenya. I compare two administrative units--one highly serviced in staff and support services relative to the other--to illustrate the effects of increased resources on addressing sex inequities. Do increased administrative staff and support improve the delivery of services to women farmers compared to their female peers in areas less well served? Do increased services address the equity gap between the sexes in a highly serviced unit? I also compare the two units for the forms of political power exerted by women in response to these inequities. If sex inequities remain, what accounts for differential patterns in the delivery of services? The answers lie, I argue, in the substance of policy and the means by which it is implemented, factors which have important effects on the ways people structure their political demands and on the forms of political participation they take.

The Research Site: Agricultural Services and Political Patrons

I conducted research in two sublocations of Kakamega District, western Kenya, both part of the nine sublocations in Idakho location. Idakho's boundary is coterminous with the Idakho subgroup of the Baluyia, a people of patrilineal and patrilocal social organization. With an altitude of

between 4-5,000 feet and rainfall over 70 inches per year, the climate is suitable for two yearly growing seasons of the staple crops, maize and beans. The heavy participation of women in agricultural work is documented in early and contemporary anthropological studies.⁹ Men prepare the ground for planting, while women plant, weed, harvest and process crops, including both food and cash crops.¹⁰ Due to substantial male out-migration in search of wage employment, women have assumed additional "men's work," including tending cattle and managing plowing businesses, while some absent men "work with money" by sending cash home to hire laborers or people to plow land.¹¹ The entire district is densely populated, and farms in my sample average between two to three acres in size.¹²

The levels of the Ministry of Agriculture's field staff mesh with administrative boundaries. A Junior Agricultural Assistant works at the sub-location level, a Technical Assistant at the location level, and an Assistant Agricultural Officer at the division level.¹³ Their primary task is to visit farmers, generally on an unsolicited basis, though some influential farmers contact staff to visit their homes. Instructors also give talks at demonstration plots, or at barazas, the weekly government announcement meetings. At demonstration plots, a lecture is given to a group of 10 to 50 farmers on practices such as fertilizer application or planting methods. The general purpose ^{of their work} is to provide farmers with advice about new crops and better farming practices, as well as with information about other services. These other services include recruiting persons to courses at Farmer Training Centers, and providing information for loan applications. The agricultural staff is composed primarily of men; in Kakamega District only 2% of the field personnel are women, and this creates potential problems in serving a female clientele because of prevailing communication patterns whereby

men speak with men and women with women.¹⁴

Ten miles from one another, the two sublocations studied, Shikulu and Shitoli, are similar in all agricultural respects except that of land; Shitoli is more densely populated than Shikulu. The sublocations vary in the amount of administrative services available, a factor which reflects distinctive clientele political linkage. Shitoli farmers have access to greater administrative resources and exert more direct influence on the agricultural administration through a political patron, the Member of Parliament.

The less well served area, Shikulu, has one agricultural instructor assigned to it, who serves approximately 2,000 farm households. In great contrast to Shikulu and to most sublocations in the district, Shitoli has the equivalent of three agricultural instructors, who serve approximately 1,500 farm households. These varying density ratios should have an enormous impact on the primary support services available to farmers, that is, farm visits and demonstration plots. Furthermore, Shikulu is more isolated from the administrative mainstream, given its position as the furthest sublocation from the location center, division agricultural office, and tarmack road. In contrast, the tarmack road and administrative offices are located on Shitoli's boundary. This contrast has led to historically close administrative contact between Shitoli and the government, while more minimal contact between Shikulu and the government administration.

Shitoli not only has high levels of staff and support services, but is also a sublocation where explicit political control is exerted over the goals and direction of administrative services. Highly innovative, Lirhembe multipurpose cooperative society was initiated by the Member of Parliament in 1972. Since inception, Lirhembe has been controlled and directed by the M.P., so much so that the exertion of political control, rather than

administrative control from the Ministry of Cooperatives and Social Services,¹⁵ has been a point of contention throughout its existence. Indeed, the M.P.'s failure at the polls in the 1974 election raised questions about the continued existence of the cooperative society, because the organization was heavily dependent on political rather than administrative support, and the newly elected M.P. was not eager to support his opponent's creation. This politically controlled cooperative was created with the conscious intent to saturate services in an area and thus increase equity in the distribution of services. The cooperative has dramatically altered administrative responsiveness and service availability to farmers in the minds of most observers.¹⁶ Whether it has affected bureaucratic responsiveness to a female clientele is a separate question.

Interested in rural development, the M.P. was amenable to such demands from his constituency. Women are a majority of the electorate in the M.P.'s electoral constituency, given the uneven sex ratio.¹⁷ Though clan and subclan identities, which coincide with residential areas, have the greatest appeal in campaign strategies, blocks of women also represent a strategy. The M.P. directed part of his ongoing campaign strategy at women voters by stressing what the multipurpose society would do for them.

Women were aware of the potential profitability of linking themselves with this patron, the M.P., who needed their electoral support during campaigns. Like most women in Kenya, women in Shitoli belong to a number of different associations for mutual aid, agriculture and church activities. I have elsewhere argued that administrative neglect may have contributed to the rise of women's organizational mechanisms which compensate for the lack of services and aid women in coping with the increasing commercialization of agriculture. Many women belong to agricultural groups which

function to collect money, share labor, and exchange agricultural information. Women's propensity to organize represents a considerable power resource, but one that tends to operate autonomously from the political system. This autonomy may be an asset in organizational effectiveness, but a drawback in extracting the increasingly valuable resources distributed in the policy arena.¹⁸

I spoke with a number of women leaders, "delegates" as they call themselves, who led a group of women to the M.P.'s house to request services for women. The women who serve as delegates usually come from the local elite,¹⁹ and are well educated for the area. These women are past recipients of domestically orientated government programs at five times the rate of ordinary women,²⁰ programs that included marriage training and "homecraft" such as cooking, serving, and knitting. Many were schooled in the post-war era, when girls education was heavily comprised of learning homemaking skills. Given their training, elite women tend to define "women's issues" within the realm of home, child, and church related areas, rather than the more comprehensive focus on income-earning activities derived from agriculture. This detracts considerably from the broadness and relevance of issues, and thus the amount of power they might exert with existent organizational resources. A result of elite women's activity was the creation of a women's sewing class in the cooperative, staffed by a Home Economics Assistant.

In the past few decades, government policy has defined and confined women's issues to the home-related sphere. As far back as the Jeannes School (begun in 1925), subsequent colonial community development women's programs, and contemporary, but sparsely staffed Ministry of Agriculture home economics programs, government women's programs have not encompassed

the breadth of female economic pursuits. Virtually the only access women have to Ministry of Agriculture Farmer Training Center courses is through recruitment into a home economics class. While the various subjects taught are valuable, the agricultural focus--women's prime livelihood pursuit--is significantly diluted and comprises only a third or less of class time.²¹ General agricultural services are predicted^a on the assumption that women's needs are identical to household needs and that benefits to a household head "trickle down" to household members, assumptions that may be unwarranted, particularly in families with absent men. Therefore, increasing general agricultural services may not address the administrative sex equity problem, given the institutionalization of an incomplete conception of women farmers.

This phenomenon is not peculiar to Kenya, but was a practice diffused throughout former British colonial Africa, a source of which was the Anglo-American sex role model.²² This policy orientation relegates women to the sphere of homemaker, childkeeper, and seamstress, held as the ideal, "modern" definition of women. Yet the economic responsibilities of women, including elite women, are farm work and the provision of food for families. Thus, the extent to which this strategy can operate to redress agricultural inequities is limited by the vision of female delegates and by the demands of ordinary women, demands which tend to be shaped by elite women who often articulate "women's issues" on the basis of past programs in the larger political arena.

Whether increased administrative resources can counteract the historic policy, staff, and sex-typing biases is a question considered below, as is the effectiveness of women's group linkage with a political patron, the M.P. Before undertaking that analysis, however, I will provide data which illustrates women manager's access to services in both sublocations.

Sex Inequities: The Data

A geographically purposive sample of 212 farm households was interviewed,²³ and farms were divided into those managed by women, labeled female managed, and those farms with a man present, labeled jointly managed. Women in jointly managed farms continue to do an equal to dominant portion of farm work and management. Women managers are either widows or women with husbands employed outside the district. They represent a full 40% of the sample, which closely corresponds to the number of female household heads listed in the 1969 Kenya Census.²⁴ Joint management includes farms with husband-wife teams, as well as corporate management, where intergenerational management occurs because land has not yet been apportioned to sons.

The table below illustrates farmer responses to interview questions about agricultural services. Farmers were asked whether their households had ever received a visit from an agricultural instructor, and whether a household member attended a demonstration plot or completed training at a Farmer Training Center (FTC). FTCs provide a one-to-two week specialized agricultural course, (such as coffee care, or cattle care), for a nominal fee. The nearest center to the sublocations surveyed was 5-20 miles and had been open since 1923. Farmers were also asked the procedures for loan application and whether they had ever received a loan. Two types of government loans are available: the Guaranteed Minimum Return, which provides hybrid maize seed and fertilizer to farms of a minimum size (the size of which is beyond that of most farmers in the area), and Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC) loans, in which cash is made available upon the submission of land title deeds or salaries to serve as guarantees for loan repayment.²⁵ The sublocations surveyed completed the land reform process in 1973, and individual title deeds became available, almost entirely to men, however,

in whose names land is held. The data below denote the proportion of farms who have not received the items discussed or, in the case of loan information, could not correctly relate procedures. Visits and demonstration plots are the more common forms of services, while training and loans are the more valuable, in terms of both cost to the administration and benefit to the farmer. At the bottom of the chart is a numeric mean, representing service receipt on a cumulative scale of six points.²⁶

(Table 1 here)

As the data show, in neither sublocation nor service do female managed farms have equal access to services. The gap between the sexes is quite striking for all services. That such a gap remains for the most common service (the visit) is remarkable, particularly since it consumes the largest proportion of instructor time. In the ordinarily served sublocation, Shikulu, almost two-thirds of the women managers have never had their farm visited, in contrast to slightly more than one-third of farms with a man present. The presence of several agricultural instructors in the high serviced sublocation, Shitoli, raises the overall level of farm visits, but gaps between the sexes remain. A man's presence appears to have great drawing power to instructors making home visits. This is beneficial for women who farm jointly with their husbands, as they are the household members more frequently at home when instructors make their rounds.

Similarly, gaps remain between the sexes in an examination of demonstration plot attendance. Greater proportions of jointly managed farms have had a household member attend a demonstration plot, and of this category, equal numbers of men and women attended plots. This is a result of two factors. First, farms with a man present are directly included in the government communication network, the barazas, where plot announcements are

made. It is overwhelmingly men who attend barazas,²⁸ and thus are aware that a demonstration plot will be held. Second, jointly managed farms operate with fewer labor constraints than do female managed farms. Women alone must manage and work their farms, as well as care for children. Thus, they operate under greater time and labor constraints than farms with two or more adult laborers. Women managers have no access to regular, unpaid labor.

The presence of more staff in a highly serviced sublocation has little or no effect on increasing recruitment for training programs or information about loans to farmers. Thus, for these more valuable services, the typical patterns of an ordinarily serviced sublocation prevail, whereby farms with a man present have greater access.

Women have a limited accessibility to specialized training at Farmer Training Centers for a number of reasons. Similar processes operate to those for demonstration plots; that is, women managers are outside government communication networks where information about training is transmitted, and women operate under time and labor constraints which make absence from the farm difficult. For those few women receiving specialized farmer training, courses are of the home economics type with limited class time spent on agricultural topics. In addition, recruitment for home economics courses is frequently aimed at special categories of women, labeled "chiefs and assistant chiefs wives" and "agricultural instructor wives."²⁹ A final factor operating to lessen women's access to training is that many husbands are reluctant to permit wives an extended absence from homes.

The number of loan applications and acquisitions at the time of this research was small, largely due to the recentness of land reform allocating

individual title deeds, the usual form of loan guarantee for AIC cash loans. Though small, the significance of these sex differences in loan dispensation should not be discounted, because disparities are likely to increase rather than decrease in the future. This is due to certain institutional discriminatory features in the loan application procedure.

Several examples will illustrate how such a seemingly neutral policy has adverse effects on women. Title deeds are almost entirely in men's names, and the submission of a title deed is the most common surety for a loan. Wages are also used for loan guarantees, but men work for wages in far greater numbers than women. Women who want loans must persuade their husbands to submit a guarantee. If husbands work away and only infrequently visit homes, or are not interested in the farm, such persuasion may be difficult. Widows can arrange that the title deed be transferred to their name, but this is a process infinitely more complicated and costly than the already complex loan application process. This title deed transfer involves distant travel not only to the district land office, but to civil court proceedings as well. The policy decision to put title deeds in male names, and tie this resource to loan acquisition, has solidified male control over powerful resources.

In sum, residence in Shitoli, with its higher levels of support services, does increase farmer propensity to receive all types of services, with the exception of loan information. Both women and men appear to have greater access to services in Shitoli, though disparities are maintained between farm management types, disparities that increase as the value of the service to its beneficiary increases.

In the summary service scale, the striking feature about women managers is that residence in a high service sublocation merely raises their access

to levels present in farms with a man present from ordinarily serviced sublocations. An encouraging note, however, is that the service differential is .8 in an ordinarily serviced sublocation, but .6 in the highly serviced sublocation. This may represent a declining gap with the presence of increased administrative resources, but the small difference warrants only a tentative conclusion in this regard. Given the extraordinary staff and support services, one would have expected the gap to be considerably more narrowed. Extraordinary levels of service seem necessary to compensate for the more typical sex discrimination found in ordinarily served sublocations. Without deliberate attention to sex inequities, structural patterns remain the same, whereby jointly managed have enlarged access to services. In the absolute sense, Shitoli women fair better in agricultural services than Shikulu women. Nevertheless, in the relative sense, disparities between the sexes in Shitoli are almost as glaring as in ordinarily served areas.

The task of untangling the effects of both sex and economic discrimination is an important one. A frequent perception about rural women is that they are lodged in the lowest economic categories and are too poor to innovate or experiment with new crops and practices. Bureaucrats operating in a setting of scarce resources might justify administrative neglect of low income farmers by virtue of their inability to put into practice advice which is increasingly attached to cash expenditures. Despite common perceptions, women managers span all economic categories, in similar proportions to those of jointly managed farms. Women earn money from a variety of sources: they sell produce, brew beer, and (for those women with working husbands who contribute to their family's maintenance), receive money from husbands. Consequently, many women are materially better off than some men in the

countryside who have been unable to secure wage employment and who disdain agricultural work.

I developed a scale³⁰ to measure the effects of economic standing on services for women and men in both sublocations. Below is a table which examines those effects on the cumulative service mean.

(Table 2 here)

It is clear that increased administrative resources dramatically affect the absolute level of services to low income farmers, both men and women, though disparities between low and high income groups remain. The higher income farmers had enlarged access to services, while relative differences between high and low income farmers remained the same. This pattern of inequality is reproduced in the consideration of sex differences. Farms with a man present have enlarged access to services, while relative gaps between the sexes are maintained. Women's access to agricultural services is always less than men of their income group.

Disparities between the sexes in agricultural services are less marked at the low income level, suggesting a greater similarity of interests between men and women of that economic category. While women managers benefit from increased services, a comparison between women and men in the high income category indicates that disparities are just as marked as in the ordinarily serviced sublocation. High income jointly managed farms in Shitoli receive almost a full service more than high income female managed farms, and in Shikulu, this difference is over a full service. Increased services accentuate and perpetuate access, not only to higher income groups, but to those higher income farmers with a man present.

While there is a striking difference between low and high income jointly managed farms in sublocations of varying administrative services, the

difference between low and high income women is not so marked. Wealthier women managers, presumably with greater access to cash for agricultural innovation receive only slightly more service (.3) than if they had been poorer. In fact, the amount of services received by wealthier women in Shitoli is either equal or lower than that of most jointly managed farms in both areas. This suggests that the consequences of agricultural policy for women as a group are not as differentiated as for men. Sex discrimination, an independent and equally important administrative problem to that of economic discrimination, has not been adequately addressed in Shitoli.

An alternative method to tackle the question of access to services is to ask farmers their source of information about new practices. Hybrid maize is the most significant innovation in recent years, and the crux of the agricultural administration's program. Introduced in 1963, but gaining widespread acceptance by 1972, this type of maize, at minimum, doubles output per acre. Hybrid maize has a number of crop husbandry practices associated with it which are essential to increase crop output, including spacing, weeding, and planting requirements. An important part of agricultural instructor activity involves transmitting this information directly to farmers. Though there were no sex differences in the time at which managers adopted hybrid maize in my sample, there were important differences in farmer sources of information about hybrid maize practices.

I asked farmers about various practices recommended for hybrid maize, and when they responded correctly (as did most), I asked about their source of information. Below is a table illustrating these differences.

(Table 3 here)

As shown in the table, significant disparities between management types are present. Though far more women in the highly serviced sublocation

learn practices from agricultural sources, the proportions who do so are similar to those in jointly managed farms in an ordinarily served sub-location. Even in Shitoli, many women continue to hear about practices from their neighbors, members of women's groups, and traders. While this method of information has proved adequate thus far, second-hand information may lose something vital in the process of transmission. Women's networks appear to compensate for the failure of agricultural support services to transmit agricultural knowledge to women farm managers, and serve as an important cushion for inequities in service delivery.

Thus far, I have examined the effects of increased staff levels on agricultural services available. Valuable services were available to cooperative society members, including seeds and fertilizer to increase maize output, grade cows, and plowing services. Once participating in such a cooperative, women managers ought to have access to an array of services, beneficial to their farms. Though not elaborated upon here, women members, or women with husbands as members, were served fairly equitably and showed a greater assertiveness in requesting services than women who did not participate in the cooperative.³²

The biggest hurdle for women, however, is recruitment into the cooperative. No explicit government policy bars women from cooperative membership, but implicit practices are directed at men or at families, which in effect, means men. As explained earlier in connection with loans, women managing farms alone operate independently of husbands, who may visit farms as infrequently as once a year. Such men may not be interested in the farm operation except that it provides sufficient food for the family. A customary practice has been that men represent households, and as a result, men are the likely registrants for cooperative membership. Though female

membership is not prohibited, it is assumed that male "heads" will sign for the family and make such decisions. No recruitment effort has been directed at women managing farms alone, and government informal expectations about membership are directed at men. In fact, I know of no female registered in the cooperative who is not a widow. These widows, with female names on the cooperative roster, comprise only 7% of cooperative membership. As a consequence, women managers with uninterested, absent husbands are quite unlikely to be cooperative members and derive cooperative material and technical support service benefits. The figures on the table below bear out this tendency.

(Table 4 here)

The figures are striking. Less than half of female managers in the Shitoli sample belong to the cooperative, while almost three-fourths of the jointly managed farms are registered at the society. While the society may bring more material benefits to its members, including women, it must be recognized from the outset that a selective process works to disproportionately screen out potential members who are women managers, due to their marital circumstances. If women convince absent husbands to join or if it is obvious to husbands that material benefits are derived from membership, there is a much greater likelihood that women managers will be integrated into this service network. In my subsample of 65 cooperative members, only 28% (or 18 farm households) are female managed.

Though not an agricultural service, the existence of the sewing program might be conceived as a significant service for women. In my sample, only 12% of the households reported that a woman attended sewing classes. This proportion is small for a number of reasons. The sewing program is chronically short of funds, so that women must buy their own material.

For many women, cash is not readily available, and the purchase of material is a low priority in the minds of many who have more pressing demands on their incomes. Furthermore, no adequate market exists for items sewn by women that would make the club self-sustaining. Finally, women operate under time constraints, particularly during the peak labor periods of the two growing seasons, and have little time for weekly classes. Teaching women to sew has no direct linkage to women's prime livelihood pursuit--that of farming. Sewing training as the prime policy recognition and orientation towards women is neither a policy solution, nor a substitution for agricultural services to the female farm clientele.

An analysis of standard agricultural services, farmer information sources for agriculture, and recruitment into the cooperative show that women farm managers--a legitimate, important, and sizeable part of the administrative clientele--are inadequately served compared to farms with a man present. Despite the extensive amount of staff and support services available in the highly serviced sublocation, the problem of sex discrimination has not been addressed.

Explanations for this vary. For one, policy recognition of women farmers is either only sporadic, or takes the domestic training form. Historical policy precedents channelled services to men, and upon this base, later policies evolved, in an incrementalist style.³³ Secondly, the overwhelming predominance of male staff reinforces the channelling of services to men. Though not elaborated upon in this paper, some male extension workers express a preference for speaking with men.³⁴ Third, women have worked and innovated in agriculture without much assistance from the government, by developing their own organizational resources. Consequently, they have not asserted demands for services.

These factors culminate in a process whereby women, as the final link in a chain of rural inequalities, are politically marginalized and continue to farm with little access to services. Agricultural services, which reflect prevailing regional and economic inequalities in Kenya, are supplemented by sex inequalities that elaborate on and extend those prevailing patterns.

Conclusion

Considering the effects of both administrative and political factors, it appears that neither goes far in addressing the problem of sex equity in the delivery process. While residence in Shitoli has raised the absolute level of services for women managers, compared to their female counterparts in Shikulu, the relative difference between the sexes remains more or less the same. In fact, women in a highly serviced administrative unit have access to about the same proportion of services as those available to men in an ordinarily serviced area. These disparities persist, despite the high level of services and increased staff, as well as the political linkage between women and their politician patron, the M.P., who exerted a great deal of political control over the cooperative.

Increased administrative resources are frequently thought to address the problem of inequity. This problem is generally analyzed in terms of economic inequities rather than sex inequities, which is a related, but independent and equally important policy consideration. Without any systematic assessment and attention to the problem, however, it will not be solved. A more likely outcome is that former recipients of services will have enlarged access to services, while relative differences between those recipients and other clientele remain the same.

In Shitoli, the presence of numerous staff and services did not alter relative differences between the sexes in the delivery of services. Indeed, women's equal access to services was not even an administrative issue. Rather, attention was limited to a sewing program, of dubious assistance in light of women's agricultural work and management. A sewing program was developed several decades ago as the government focus for women, and continues even now as the prime effort addressed at women, despite its questionable value.

The cooperative staff made no effort to recruit women managers whose husbands were absent. They thus accepted the prevailing custom that men are the household heads. While some might applaud the cooperative's congruence with cultural norms, the congruence is based on an idealized conception of the society; it does not recognize the very real "headship" that women managing farms alone exercise, due to prevailing economic and migration patterns. As a result of the cooperative's failure to develop outreach programs, women continue to use their own resources to cope with the changing agricultural economy. That is, women, with the aid of other women in the numerous women's associations, exchange information and labor with one another, thereby compensating for government neglect.

Clearly, a reliance on administrative commitment to address inequalities is inadequate, and therefore political pressure may be necessary. Nevertheless, political factors were not of utility in addressing the problem of sex discrimination. This is a result of the form of political action taken, and the goals articulated by women leaders. Indeed, equity for women was a non-issue, both to the M.P. and to the articulators of women's issues, those women leaders drawn from the local elite. Instead, the women's issue was a sewing club, because of its policy precedence to the

women leaders and M.P. The power of past policies to structure people's political demands was an important factor in this context.

Women clearly benefited from the M.P.'s provision of a cooperative, considering that their access to services rose in the absolute sense. Any rural development program is almost by definition beneficial to women, as they play a predominant role in the rural agricultural economy. The M.P., by his amenability to pressure for campaign purposes, most probably increased the responsiveness of the administrative program, a goal vocalized by group leaders. The problem lies, however, in the type of demands articulated by elite women leaders and perceived by the M.P. The demands and response culminated in a sewing program, of little utility or interest to women farmers. While it is true that families benefited from cooperative services and that services trickled down to women, this occurred primarily in families where a man was present.

Women's organizations usually operate outside the larger political arena, which is disadvantageous for the extraction of benefits available from that arena. Yet, in the instances cited where such organizations were linked to the arena, it was via leaders who articulated issues of a domestic type, with little impact on women's livelihood pursuits.

Though women have common problems whether their economic standing is low or high, it is questionable whether women as a corporate political group will be able to wield decisive power in the present political context. Political loyalties and voting patterns are overwhelmingly based on kin ties, which are coterminous with residence, as are constituency boundaries. Parliamentary elections occur every five years in Kenya, and incumbents are ousted at the rate of one-half to two-thirds in each election. Indeed, the women's political patron who initiated the cooperative lost the election,

despite his campaign style which emphasized services for farmers, including women--a loss attributable to clan divisions within his home location. A women's political strategy which relies on electoral patrons is unlikely to have any major impact on redressing inequities. Aid from the M.P. was a temporary palliative and solution to women's agriculture problems, particularly since no administrative structural changes in the delivery of regular agricultural services occurred. Once the M.P. lost, he was no longer in a position to assist women's groups. Women as a group cross-cut kin ties, and may never be the decisive factor in electoral strategies.

A larger question is the extent to which rural corporate groups in general will wield decisive power in the Kenyan context. Agricultural policy implementation contains structural sex and class inequities unlikely to be solved by incremental administrative improvements or electoral changes, changes that are both temporary and reflect elite interests. Women, like other disadvantaged groups, are chronically underserved, but still manage productive smallholdings. Women managers, in particular, with less access to unpaid labor, are able to maintain farms and support families at virtually no cost to or benefit from the administration. Kenyan development strategy is characterized by political, regional, and economic inequities, and sex inequities overlap and cross-cut all these dimensions. It is vital that research attention to economic and regional inequalities also analyze how sex inequities affect, extend, or consolidate other forms of inequity.

Table 1 Farms Not Receiving Services by Farm Management Type* 27

	<u>Shikulu</u>			<u>Shitoli</u>		
	Female	Joint	Assoc.	Female	Joint	Assoc.
No Visit	61%/28	37%/23	Q=.45* TauB=.24	36%/14	20%/13	Q=.38 TauB=.18
Never Attended Demonstration Plot	72%/33	56%/35	Q=.32 TauB=.16	50%/19	37%/24	Q=.26 TauB=.13
No Training	98%/45	82%/51	Q=.81* TauB=.24	92%/35	78%/51	Q=.52 TauB=.18
No Loan Information or Application	100%/46	81%/50	Q=1.0* TauB=.30	97%/37	91%/59	Q=.58 TauB=.13
No Loan	100%/46	97%/60	Q=1.0 TauB=.12	100%/38	98%/64	Q=1.0 TauB=.08
Summary Service	.8	1.6		1.6	2.2	
	N=108			N=104		

*Significant at the .05 level.

Table 2 Summary Service Mean, by Sublocation and Farm Management Type

	<u>Shikulu</u>				<u>Shitoli</u>			
	Low		High		Low		High	
Female Managed	.7	N=26	1.0	N=20	1.5	N=23	1.8	N=16
Jointly Managed	1.1	N=31	2.1	N=31	1.8	N=38	2.7	N=27
	N=108				N=104			

Table 3 Source of Information About Hybrid Maize Practises, by Sublocation and Farm Management Type³¹

	<u>Shikulu</u>		<u>Shitoli</u>	
	<u>Female</u>	<u>Joint</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Joint</u>
Agricultural Staff	30%/13	61%/35	58%/22	83%/48
Non-Ag.	70%/30	39%/22	42%/16	17%/10
	N=100		N=96	
Yules Q=	-.57		-.55	
Tau.B =	-.31		-.27	
Signif.=	.01		.01	

Table 4 Cooperative Membership, by Farm
 Management Type (Shitoli Sample Only)

	<u>Female Managed</u>	<u>Jointly Managed</u>
Member	46%/18	72%/47
Non-member	54%/21	28%/18

N=104

(Yules Q= -.51; Signif.= .01)

26

FOOTNOTES

- 1 See David Leonard, "Why Do Kenya's Agricultural Extension Services Favor the Rich Farmers?" Paper Presented at the 16th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Syracuse, New York, October-November, 1973; Joseph Ascroft, Fred Chege, Joseph Kariuki, Niels Roling, and George Ruigu, "Does Extension Create Poverty in Kenya?" East African Journal, (March, 1972); Colin Leys, Underdevelopment in Kenya (London: Heinemann, 1975); ILO/UNDP, Employment, Incomes, & Equality: A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya (Geneva: ILO, 1972).
- 2 Ester Boserup, Woman's Role in Economic Development (London: George Unwin Allen, 1970); Uma Lele, The Design of Rural Development (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1975), p. 26; John deWilde, Experiences with Agricultural Development in Tropical Africa (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1967); UN/ECA, "Women: The Neglected Resource for African Development," Canadian Journal of African Studies, 6, 2(1972); ILO/UNDP; Elizabeth Jane Hanger, "Social & Economic Aspects of the Contribution of Women to the Farm Household Economy: Two East African Case Studies," (Unpublished Thesis, University of East Africa, 1973) on decision making.
- 3 Boserup; Irene Tinker and Michele Bo Bramsen, Women and World Development (Washington, D.C., Overseas Development Council: 1976); Marjorie Mbilinyi, "The 'New Woman' and Traditional Norms in Tanzania," Journal of Modern African Studies, 10, 1(1972).
- 4 See my "Women and Inequities in Agricultural Services," Rural Africana, 29 (Winter, 1975/76).

5 On resource constraints, see Warren F. Ilchman & Norman Uphoff, Political Economy of Change (Berkeley, University of California, 1971), p. 32, 58-59; Robert H. Jackson, "Administration and Development in Kenya: A Review of Problems Outstanding," in Goran Hyden, Robert Jackson, & John Okumu, Development Administration: The Kenyan Experience (Nairobi: Oxford, 1970), pp. 326, 328; Guy Hunter, Modernizing Peasant Societies: A Comparative Study in Asia and Africa (London: Oxford, 1969), pp. 172-173, 187; Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Range of Choice: Constraints on the Policies of Governments of Contemporary African Independent States," in Michael Lofchie, (ed.) The State of Nations: Constraints on Development in Africa (Berkeley: University of California, 1971); Albert Waterston, Development Planning: Lessons from Experience (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1965).

6 Victor Thompson, "Bureaucracy & Innovation," Administrative Science Quarterly, (1965); also Cyert & March's notion that added "slack" in the coalition process of decision making provides more options, and thus, the potential for innovation. See R. M. Cyert and J. G. March, A Behavioral Theory of the Firm (Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice Hall, 1963); Everett M. Rogers, Diffusion of Innovation (New York: Free Press, 1962), pp. 40, 285-292; Lawrence B. Mohr, "Determinants of Innovation in Organizations," American Political Science Review, 63, 1(March, 1969). Innovation is defined as the successful adoption of new ideas or approaches.

7 Fred W. Riggs, Administration in Developing Countries: The Theory of Prismatic Society, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1964); Michael Lofchie, "Representative Government, Bureaucracies, and Political Development: The African Case," Journal of Developing Areas, (October, 1967).

8 On agricultural services see Phillip Selznick, TVA and the Grass Roots, Berkeley: University of California, 1949); on selective service, see James Davis and Kenneth Dolbeare, Little Groups of Neighbors (Chicago, Markham, 1968); on welfare policy, see Frank Tripi, "The Inevitability of Client Alienation: A Counter Argument," The Sociological Quarterly, 15 (Summer, 1974); John D. Montgomery and Milton J. Esman, "Popular Participation in Development Administration," Journal of Comparative Administration, 13, 3(November, 1971), p. 360, 367; Francis E. Rourke, Bureaucracy, Politics and Public Policy (Boston: Little Brown, 1969); J. David Greenstone and Paul E. Peterson, Race and Authority in Urban Politics (New York: Russell Sage, 1973), p. 3.

9 Gunter Wagner, The Bantu of North Kavirondo, I (London: Oxford University, 1949), p. 41; Walter Sangree, Age, Prayer and Politics in Tiriki, Kenya (London: Oxford University, 1966), p. xxxvi.

10 Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, "A Report on Economic Studies of Farming in Nyanza Province: 1963," Farm Economic Report No. 26 (Nairobi: Government Printer, November, 1969). In areas where maize and beans are both food and cash crops, this distinction is somewhat misleading.

11 For an elaboration, see my "Agricultural Policy, Political Power & Women Farmers in Western Kenya," (Unpublished dissertation: University of Wisconsin, 1976), Chapter 4; Sharon Stichter, "Women and the Labor Force in Kenya 1895-1964," Rural Africana, 29 (Winter, 1975-76), also documents and evidence that women increasingly do "men's work," including tending cattle, p. 48-49.

12 The research was made possible through grants from the African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin for travel funds, the NDEA Title VI Foreign

Language Fellowship Programs, and the Graduate School of the University for computer funds. See note 28 on sample selection.

13 As a rule, the higher the person in the hierarchy, the more training they have received. This is dependent, however, on the year of entry into agricultural service. The two lower level staff live in or near the administrative units in which they serve. Field staff are hereinafter called agricultural instructors.

14 J. E. Smithells, "Agricultural Extension Work Among Rural Women: An Assessment of Staff Training Needs in Selected Developing Countries," (U.K.: University of Reading, Agricultural Extension Rural Development Centre, March, 1972); Joseph Ascroft, Niels Roling, Joseph Kariuki, and Fred Chege, "Extension and the Forgotten Farmer," (Afdelinger Voor Sociale Wetenschappen aan de Landbouwhogeschool, Wageningen, 1973).

15 In 1974, this ministry split, and was reorganized into the Ministry of Cooperatives and the Ministry of Housing and Social Services.

16 A comparison of the delivery of staff and support services to members and nonmembers validates this observation. See my "Agricultural Policy..." pp. 273-274.

17 According to the Government of Kenya Population Census of 1969, women comprise 54.3% of adult residents in Ikolomani Constituency. I was unable to obtain a sex breakdown of the number of registered voters.

18 See Chapter 9, in my "Agricultural Policy..." A study of Kamba women reflects a more optimistic appraisal of women's power in conventional politics. See Gideon C. Mutiso, "Mbai Sya Eitu: A Low Status Group in Centre-Periphery

Relations," Paper presented to the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Denver, November 3-6, 1971.

19 "Elite women" is the label designated for women, married or widowed, of the emergent class structure in the community of my research. This elite class is distinguished from other residents by two of the following three characteristics: 1) early (1920-1930's) access to education or local government employment by themselves or parents, 2) formal leadership positions, and 3) early adoption of agricultural innovations. The life style of this emergent elite class is clearly distinguishable in terms of house construction, material consumption, children's educational opportunities, and usually, land size. Gerhard Lenski's definition of class is utilized; that is, an aggregate of persons who stand in a similar position with respect to some form of power, privilege or prestige. See his Power and Privilege, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1966), pp. 74-75.

20 This number is based on a sample of 40 elite women chosen according to note 19, and on a more representative sample of 212 ordinary women chosen according to note 23. Half of the former received such sewing training, and 10% of the latter.

21 Figures based on Kakamega District, Ministry of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1970-73.

22 See my "'Victorian Womanhood' in British Colonial Africa: The Role of Social Service Programs," Paper presented to the Conference on the History of Women, St. Paul, October 21-23, 1977.

23 A geographically purposive sample of 212 farm households was obtained in the Idakho research site between December, 1974, and June, 1975. It represents 10% of the total number of households in the geographic areas targeted. My initial concern was to assure that varying distances from the road and main paths, and thus from agricultural instructors and services, would be covered. These geographic areas coincide with clan and subclan identities. Once spatial areas were designated in order to obtain geographic and clan representativeness, I attempted to select farms that would be representative of varying economic standings and age groupings. Numbers were based on my approximations of their proportion of the population. I did not know in advance, however, about the farm management type until the interview had begun. The close correspondence of women managers to the proportion of female heads in Kakamega reported in the 1969 Census supports the notion that my choice of farmers was "chance-like" in method. The sample is not, however, a random one, and the universe of this sample is restricted to one location. The sample does not purport to generalize to all of Kenya or Africa, but rather to illustrate sex differences within a sample which may be suggestive for other parts of Kenya or Africa with agriculturally based economies in areas of high land density and rates of male out-migration. Though scientific sampling techniques were not utilized, I am confident that the sample judiciously represents a reasonable cross-section of farmers in western Kenya. The basis of this confidence is my six-month residence in one of the sublocations studied with a family who so graciously welcomed me as an additional member. Through my residence there and my participation in community life, I gained in-depth knowledge of that subclan and geographic area. A female research assistant from the area and I conducted the interviews, and she translated questions and responses from Kiluyia to English.

We asked a systematic set of questions . from each farmer about crops, husbandry practices, sources of information about farm practices, agricultural services, and demographic information. A typical interview took 40 minutes.

The number of "Male Managers" in the sample is quite small, and a preliminary investigation which differentiated this category revealed a great similarity between it and jointly managed farms in the delivery of agricultural services. For purposes of simplicity, these few farms were included in the jointly managed category into which, (defined as farms with a man present), they legitimately fall.

24 The Republic of Kenya, Census of 1969 reports a 36% female household headship in Kakamega District (the lowest administrative level available with this data).

For an analysis of the effects of age on the delivery of services (which parallels differentiation between widows and nonwidows among the female managers), see my Chapter 5 in "Agricultural Policy...".

25 Though technically too small to qualify for the Guaranteed Minimum Return loan, I was aware of seven farmers who obtained this type of loan.

Many AFC loans are for graded cattle, a work sphere which traditionally devolved on men. As reported earlier, economic change and male migration have affected these traditional responsibilities and women often tend cattle, as do children. Almost half the female managed farms in my sample had at least one cow, and several of these women managed oxen businesses. Indeed, of the three women in Shikulu (independent of this sample) who had AFC loans, all were for graded animals. Thus the use of this indicator does not disproportionately screen out women managers.

- 26 The items on the cumulative mean include one visit, two or more visits, farmer training, demonstration plot attendance, and loan application or receipt. It is important to note that the mean items differ slightly from the table. Additionally, though oriented toward home economics, farmer training participation has been included for women because, as reported in note 21, one third of class time is devoted to agriculture.
- 27 Because this is not a random sample, and thus does not proprt a normal distribution, the Chi-Square Tests of significance are technically not appropriate. The size of the sample may mean it approximates normality; thus, significance tests have been included for exploratory purposes. Tau-B values have been included as a more stable measure of association than Yules Q.
- 28 I attended a number of barazas, and never saw more than 10% women in attendance.
- 29 Labels restricting courses to certain categories of women were found in the Kakamega District Ministry of Agriculture, Annual Reports, 1970-73.
- 30 The economic standing scale was based on house construction and material possessions within the house, including such characteristics as roof, wall, and floor construction, and the type and amount of furniture.
- 31 The total N of less than 212 is due to households where no hybrid maize was grown or ^{with} no information about hybrid maize practices.
- 32 See my chapter 6, "Agricultural Policy...".
- 33 Lord Lugard, The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa (London: Frank Cass & Co., Ltd., 1965, first published in 1922,) p. 517. Reprinted in Kenya

Colony and Protectorate, Annual Report (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1929), p. 57; Lord Hailey, An African Survey (London: Oxford, 1953), p. 894; Boserup.

34 See note 4.