

**TRANSFORMATION OF GENDER LABOUR RELATIONS IN AGRICULTURE IN
AWENDO SUB-COUNTY, KENYA, 1902-2017**

BY

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY**

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DECLARATION

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, the late Mr Wellington Ogol Okwany and the late Mary Adhiambo Ogol.

ABSTRACT

Gender labour relations in agriculture have undergone a lot of changes over time impacting differently on both men and women. From the existing literature, gender labour inequalities have persisted over time in Awendo. The optimal agricultural productivity of both men and women has not been realized due to the skewed gender labour relations. Despite the significant strategies the government of Kenya, International Non-governmental Organizations and the International Governmental Organizations have put in place to address gender parity, the problem of gender inequality has not been addressed fully in Awendo by the government. A historical examination of the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo was therefore necessary. The purpose of this study was to examine the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County, Kenya 1902-2017. The specific objectives were: to examine the roles of men and women in agriculture during the pre-colonial rule in Awendo, to analyze changing gender labour relations in agriculture in colonial Awendo, to assess the impact of independence on gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo and to evaluate the existing strategies meant to reduce the persistent gender labour inequalities in agriculture in Awendo 1902-2017. The study was carried out in Awendo Sub-County because of the well established commercial and subsistence agriculture hence the study was able to examine the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture over time. The study was guided by gender theoretical perspective (Ayesha, 1997) which emphasizes the social constructs of the roles and expectations created by society on what men and women should do or be thus making it relevant to this study on the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017. Historical descriptive research design was employed to collect data and investigate the problem. This helped in assessing and describing the state of affairs in the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo 1902-2017. A sample size of 283 was derived from the study population of which more than 80% rely on agriculture. The study employed the snowballing sampling technique to select the key individuals who were believed to be information-rich in the area of study. Primary data was collected through oral accounts using in-depth interview schedule, Focus Group Discussions and also obtained from national and local archives. Secondary data were extracted from various sources. Data was analyzed qualitatively through thematic and content analysis by identifying key themes and concepts. The study has exhibited that gender labour transformation in Awendo in the pre-colonial time was determined by cultural factors, death of animals and population increase as well as population movements. The people of Awendo ventured into agriculture due to their interaction with the Bantu such as the Abagusii. Agricultural labour in Awendo was gendered as indicated by the division of labour. Agriculture was a women's affair as they provided most of the labour required. Crops that would bring in income such as yams and gourds were considered men's crops and were more important than the women's crops such as vegetables and grains. In addition to the excess agricultural labour, women in Awendo performed a myriad of domestic chores. The colonial system which was capitalist introduced a different labour structure that was unfavourable to the female gender because of the value it placed on the male labour. Male labour was withdrawn from the locality, leaving the women heavily burdened with excess male responsibilities. The removal of male labour persisted up to the post-independence period which did not take women's matters as crucial for the development of localities and the nation at large. However, towards the end of the 20th century, attention began to be given to women's issues. Legislations, legal interventions and government goodwill have been put in place though they have not adequately reached the grassroots women. Thus there is still a need for further aggressive actions against the persistent gender labour inequalities. Significantly, the study contributes to the historical understanding of the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo and enriches the literature on the study of women.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION/ACRONYM

AFC	Agricultural Finance Cooperation
AWD	African Women's Decade
BDPA	Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action
BEAP	British East African Protectorate
CDAs	Community Development Assistants
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CoK	Constitution of Kenya, 2010
FAO	Food Agricultural Organization
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
GoK	Government of Kenya
GTP	Gender-analysis Theoretical Perspective
IAAE	International Association for Applied Econometrics
IBEACo	Imperial British East African Company
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
KAERA	Kenya Archaeological and Ethnographic Research Agencies
KESSP	Kenya Education Sector Wide Approach Programme
KLA	Kenya Land Alliance
KNA	Kenya National Archives
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Standards
KNHREC	Kenya National Human Rights and Equality Commission
KTDA	Kenya Tea Development Authority
KWTF	Kenya Women Trust Fund
MDGs	Millenium Development Goals
MYWO	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization
NFLSC	Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies Conference
NGEC	Kenya National Gender and Equality Commission
NLC	National Land Commission
O I	Oral Interviews
OVC	Orphans and Vulnerable Children

PFA	Platform for Action
RoK	Republic of Kenya
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SK	South Kavirondo
SONY	South Nyanza
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SWAP	Sector Wide Approach Programme
UN	United Nations
UNDWC	United Nations Decades for Women Conference
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Science and Cultural Organisation
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USAID	United States Agency for International Development.
WB	World Bank
WCW	World Conference on Women
WEF	Women Enterprise Fund
WLRP	Women Land Right Programme

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Agriculture	-Refers to the growing of crops either for sale (commercial) or direct consumption (subsistence) in Awendo. It also includes animal husbandry in Awendo.
Commercial Agriculture	-Refers to the growing of cash crops such as sugarcane, tea, tobacco and pyrethrum among others for sale in Awendo.
Subsistence Agriculture	-Is the growing of food crops meant for direct consumption such as maize, simsim, yams, beans, vegetable and groundnuts mainly in Awendo.
Labour	- This refers to the physical or mental exertion, especially when difficult or exhaustive work is involved.
Division of labour	-Has been used to mean the various roles and responsibilities played by men and women in the provision of the needed agricultural labour.
Gender	-This is the socially constructed agricultural roles and responsibilities men and women are expected to play in the society.
Gender Relations	- Refers to the interactions between men and women in a given society.
Transformation	- This is the change over time 1902-2017 in gender labour relations.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Gender relations in agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) has been studied extensively by both African and Africanist scholars giving it various approaches such as sociological, political, anthropological, historical or general approaches. This has been so due to the persistent inequalities over the years in gender labour relations in agriculture as women have been perceived to be doing more of the agricultural work as compared to their male counterparts who have come out to be the bigger beneficiaries. It also follows the argument that agriculture is crucial in addressing the African food crisis. The need for equal productivity of both men and women cannot, therefore, be overemphasised (Boserup, 1970; Saito et al., 1994).

The literature on inequalities in gender labour relations in agriculture has stated that despite several attempts to address gender inequalities, it has persisted more so on the agricultural labour provision and usage of the accrued benefits. The genesis of gender labour inequalities in agriculture in Africa can be traced back to the pre-colonial patriarchal labour structures which were later driven by the skewed colonial labour policies (Ndeda, 1991). Independence Africa borrowed quite a lot from the colonial labour structures which did not give much value to the women labour hence the continued imbalanced gender labour relations. In as much as gender labour inequalities have had their way into post-independence Africa, it has been in different forms with the 21st century registering remarkable improvements towards gender balance. A number of African and Africanist scholars have written on this area with an emphasis on various aspects of gender relations.

For instance, Boserup (1970) explains that people in pre-colonial Africa were engaged in various economic activities for their livelihood some of which included hunting and gathering, agriculture, mining and simple manufacturing. In the traditional African society, labour structures were gendered and were also based on age. For example, men engaged mainly in hunting, mining and simple manufacturing such as iron smelting while women engaged in food gathering such as fruits, root tubers, tree barks and vegetables. They also engaged in childcare, fetching firewood and fetching water. Women were as well given the larger portion of agricultural activities as compared to men who would mainly clear the fallow lands and do the tilling. Thereafter, women picked up

from planting, gapping and weeding which were done at least twice or thrice depending on the crop and availability of the rain. Women also kept away predators such as birds and animals. In addition, harvesting, threshing and storing were women's responsibilities. The male would appear again at the stage of determining the usage of the crops.

Ayot, (1990) as she studied the position of women in the Luo societies taking the case of Jok'Onyango A.D. 1750-1920 in South Nyanza, agrees with this study that division of labour within the Luo home in the pre-colonial regime was done according to the sexes in that there were certain duties which could be performed by women while there were those which were carried out by men. Within the homesteads, therefore, the men-built houses and granaries or stores of food, whose roofs they thatched. The men fenced the homesteads and, in most cases, provided security. On the other hand, when men had built houses, the women finished the walls and floors, which they smeared with a particular type of soil mixed with cowdung. The women, therefore, were the ones who did the plastering of walls, including those of granaries.

The point of departure between this study on the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County and Ayot's (1990), is in the agricultural labour. Ayot puts it that both men and women participated in ploughing, sowing, weeding and harvesting, although food processing, as she argues, was primarily done by the women. She goes ahead to posit that men made baskets, such as *odheche*, and *ogute*, *atonge*, *aditni*, *atonga rego* and *ondweto*, the women were actively involved in pottery, which included pots for cooking and storage, waterpots, a variety of dishes such as those used for dishing meat, fish and vegetables. The women of Karachuonyo were particularly skilled pottery makers and they traded in pottery as this study puts that agricultural labour was gendered. This is because there were clearly distinct agricultural roles performed by men and those that were performed by women. Despite the points of departure, this study found Ayot's arguments very instrumental for this study on the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017.

Colonial labour patterns caused a lot of changes in the African gendered labour structures. It represented a profound alteration to the labour patterns which made it more difficult for the African woman. Francis (1995); Pala (1975) and Brett (1980) assert that colonial land reforms

gave land-titles to individual men while ignoring the women. Women's economic position had thus deteriorated in various ways: the gender-based economic differential had increased because men controlled vastly greater incomes; wives' rights in most family cattle had diminished; women's exclusive rights to female property had been eroded; women lost automatic access to land due to the titles which were only handed over to men leaving them with the usufruct rights while men benefitted more from women's increased workloads. Furthermore, labour migration from during the colonial period detached most energetic men from society leaving women with all the domestic responsibilities including being the head of the families. African women then provided all the agricultural labour needed in the farms as well as at home in the absence of their men. Following the effects of migrant labour, women even became ousehold heads (Ndeda, 1991).

Ndeda (1991) argues that the colonial migratory labour policy in Nyanza impacted negatively on the rural women because they had to fill the gaps left by their men who proceeded to work in the settlers' plantations and government installations. However, Hay (1976) presents a twist from Ndeda's position as she puts it that the whole notion of the exploitation of colonial Nyanza women was not real because the men compensated for the loss of their labour through the remittances that they sent back home. Such remittances, on some occasions, would cater for the entire agricultural labour required thus exerting no burden on their wives.

Nyakwaka (1996) argues that colonial labour policies in South Nyanza had different phases going by the specific objectives the Europeans had set to achieve. For instance, some areas were significant for agricultural production such as the Rift Valley region while other areas like South Nyanza were a major source of male labour. The male labour was preferred to female labour because the men appeared more energetic and adaptive. Awendo seved as a reservoir for labourers for the colonial state and the settlers. They worked on the settlers' farms where they provided intensive agricultural labour. This forced women in South Nyanza to overstretch their roles in order to fill the gaps that their husbands had left such as clearing of bushes and ploughing for their cultivation thereby increasing the labour demands as they had to also perform what was traditionally male labour.

Nyakwaka (1996) affirms that even before the colonial domination in South Nyanza, changes took place in the Luo patriarchal agricultural labour structures occasioned by various factors. One of such factors which promoted agricultural venture in Awendo was animal epidemics. This left the Awendo people with agriculture as the main source of livelihood thus women had to work harder in farming in order to satisfy the increased demand for food caused by the epidemics. Other factors such as the death of a household head (*Jadoung'*) and environmental factors also caused changes in the gendered agricultural labour patterns in Nyanza.

During the colonial epoch, government policies in the 20th century such as migrant labour, administrative coercion, taxation, land Acts, commercial agriculture, new seeds and new methods of farming significantly transformed African labour practices. Land alienation policy for instance reduced virgin land that men were supposed to clear for their wives for their agricultural engagements. It denied women even the usufruct rights they used to enjoy over land. Migrant labour policy on the other hand withdrew the energetic young men from Awendo thus leaving women to do all the agricultural labour in addition to a myriad of domestic chores traditionally assigned to them. Colonial Awendo women led by *mikayi* (first wife) would now provide security for their homesteads with *mikayi* as the head of the homestead. The colonial labour policy assumed female labour for long. As impact of the policy, the female gender gained more control over land, made decisions for the family, performed all the agricultural roles. Men, women and children worked side-by-side to pay the taxes thus breaking the gender division of labour. The colonial policies such as forced labour and the introduction of wage labour changed gender roles in Awendo to the extent that there was no clear demarcation between the roles played by men and women. This challenged the pre-existing gender division of labour that was in Awendo Sub County.

The attainment of independence by Kenya was a source of relief to Kenyan women as they looked forward to better gender labour structures. Bufani (1972) explains that since independence, the Kenyan women have been moving towards greater freedom and are achieving greater equality to men both within and outside the family, in the legal, sexual, social, occupational, economic, political and cultural realms. The old order, which confined women to the home as servants, and helpers to their menfolk, has been, or is in the process of being replaced by a new one in which

women increasingly undertake to fill many roles within the homestead, as wives, mothers, and homemakers, and outside as partners and co-workers of men in all types of enterprises. It has to be noted that Bufani (1972) talks of homemakers or coworkers with men and not housewives.

Nzomo (1989) laments that world countries and Kenya in particular were gender blind for long until the 1970s world countries convened conferences, workshops and seminars which came up with protocols to challenge the male dominance in agriculture and other economic sectors. These protocols have taken long but have not yet the grassroot population of Awendo. In Kenya, more so during the 20th century governments, these protocols and procedures remained on paper without proper implementation plans thus affecting the women of Awendo who remained exploited by their counterparts. Whereas a number of studies have been undertaken on gender relations in Africa, Kenya, Nyanza South Nyanza and Awendo gender inequality still remains pervasive among most Awendo women majorly in the grassroots. This historical study intends to look into the pervasiveness of gender gaps in Awendo and examine the strategies that have put in place to address the inequalities in Awendo. The gender inequality issues which have been echoed by the studies have mainly impacted the lives of the elites who have become aware of the protocols and procedures.

The 21st century has witnessed a number of transformations on gender relations in Kenya than ever before. The century has also experienced the implementation of most of the resolutions agreed on by the international, national and local conventions and conferences as compared to previous centuries. During this period, a number of aspects of gender discrimination in Awendo have experienced changes in favour of the women thereby narrowing the gap particularly in commercial agriculture by bringing on board more women than before into the practice. Kenya has been applauded for making several steps in meeting some of the resolutions made by the international community.

African Woman and Child, (2007) puts it that due to the pervasiveness of gender discrimination in the world, a number of studies, conferences, workshops and seminars have been organized worldwide to address gender discrimination-related issues. In the course of the last three decades preceding the 21st century, the United Nations has organized four major World Conferences on

Women. These have been held in various major cities across the globe; Mexico City (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995). These gatherings have in the process brought together the world's governments, non governmental organisations as well as tens of thousands of women from civil society with the aim of lobbying for the development of global and at national level action plans that fully bring attention to women's rights in society.

The third conference of the United Nations which became the first to be held in Africa was the Women's Conference hosted in Nairobi from 15th to 26th July 1985. It brought together close to 1,500 official delegates from around 150 countries. Its main objective was to evaluate the achievements of the UN so far made in the course of the Decade for Women set at the Mexico conference in 1975. The founding conference identified three most critical areas of concern including promotion of general equality between men and women, ensuring the full integration of women in development efforts such as in commercial agriculture which had been the domain of men, as well as increasing women's contribution to strengthening world peace (African Woman and Child, 2007). This Women's Decade and the Third conference had little impact to the women of Awendo because its content did not reach these grassroot women. Much of its content remained on the shelves as was lamented by Nzomo, (1989). Not much was done to intentionally address the gender inequality gaps. It was until the millennium that a number of government and international community guidelines started to be implemented in Kenya. As a result of the implementation of the recommendations, a number of the elite Awendo women have risen up in the 21st century though not much has been achieved among the grassroot women populace hence the need for this study on the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017.

Nzomo, (1989) posits that in addition to cooperating with the internationally laid down procedures to curb gender inequalities, Kenya has also come up with her own methods to address gender inequalities in various sectors where gender inequalities are rampant such as in commercial agriculture in Awendo. Some of Kenya's domestic approaches include responding to international obligations in addressing the anormally, universalism in the provision of social services such as the available lucrative jobs and education. The government of Kenya has also come up with gender mainstreaming procedures, for instance, increasing the budget for women entrepreneurs, gender-

based government policies have also been drafted to facilitate the eradication of gender inequalities in the government and non-government sectors. Parliament, which is one of the highest decision-making organs in Kenya has also committed itself into being part of the solution to gender inequalities. It has done this through drafting Bills and Acts of parliament. Through the Kenyan judicial system, procedures have been laid down to facilitate the handling of gender-related cases without delay in full application of the law. Two-thirds gender rule and the affirmative action meant to promote women participation in decision making in government offices. Most importantly, the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 has been regarded as the masterpiece in addressing gender-related issues in (Kenya CoK, 2010). Inasmuch as the government has come up with a number of approaches to the fight against gender imbalances in Kenya, little effect has been felt by most of the Awendo women in agriculture thus the need for this study on the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo sub county 1902-2017. Some of these bills and judicial procedures have trickled down to Awendo thus tremendous improvements have been realised though still a lot needs to be done.

The studies that have been carried out in Awendo Sub-County and its environs have focused on various spheres of the economic activities. Butterman, (1979) studied the social formation and change in Kanyamkago from 1800 to 1945. Butterman focused on the cultural transformation in Kanyamkago as she explains the cultural set ups of the Luo of South Nyanza. From Butterman's study, this study on the transformation of gender labour relations in Awendo Sub County 1902-2017 got a clear background of gender inequalities which it intends to analyze. This was very helpful for this study. Rubin (1983) emphasized the dietary effects of sugarcane farming on school-going children. Rubin (1983) posits that the sugarcane plantation farming has led to malnourishment among children as they are in most cases fed on unbalanced diet as some would take sugarcane only as their main meal for the day. Kennedy (1989) focused on the economic impact of commercial agriculture in Awendo. He concluded that the cash crop increased poverty and famine as the locals focused on it at the expense of food crops. The research by Kwenya (2007) focused on the management of the benefits accruing from sugarcane farming and women's access to factors of production. He also argued that women did not have the control of the benefits earned from it. While Adipo (2002) was concerned with the impact of sugarcane commercial farming on the physical and human environment. There was a need for a study on the

transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture to be undertaken in Awendo in order to address the pervasiveness of gender inequalities in the midst of a myriad of studies and remedies meant to address gender imbalances in Awendo Sub County. It was on this basis that this study on the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017 was carried out.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa in particular has had gender-related issues such as gender labour inequalities in the provision of agricultural labour, exploitation of the women labour, women's lack of access to factors of production, skewed decision making and lack of equal access to the control of the benefits accrued from agricultural production (Butterman, 1979). In Kenya, agriculture has been considered as the economic mainstay, therefore, its productivity should be maximised. In Awendo, the main knowledge gap is the persistence of inequalities between men and women in the provision of the needed agricultural labour for as women's labour is exploited. For agricultural productivity to be maximized, the labour terms should be fair to both men and women. Despite the use of various approaches by the Government, International Community and the International and national Non-Governmental Organizations in an attempt to eradicate gender inequality, the inequalities between men and women seems to have persisted in the entire period of study. It is for this reason that this study on the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County has been undertaken in order to explore the successes and the challenges of the strategies.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

To examine the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County, Kenya 1902-2017

1.4 Study Objectives

The objectives of this study were to:

- i. Examine the roles of men and women in agriculture on the eve of colonial rule in Awendo.
- ii. Analyze changing gender labour relations in agriculture in colonial Awendo.
- iii. Assess the impact of independence on gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo.

- iv. Evaluate the existing strategies meant to reduce the persistent gender labour inequalities in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County.

1.5 Research Questions

In order to achieve the objectives of this study, it was guided by the following research questions:

- i. What roles did men and women play in pre-colonial agriculture in Awendo?
- ii. What changes occurred in the roles played by men and women in colonial agriculture in Awendo?
- iii. What changes occurred in gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo following the attainment of independence?
- iv. How have the existing strategies meant to reduce the persistent gender labour inequalities impacted on gender labour relations in Awendo Sub-County?

1.6 Significance of the Study

Agriculture is the economic mainstay of Awendo Sub-County. Awendo Sub-County depends on agricultural productivity to feed her growing population and also to generate wealth. The productivity of agriculture in Awendo Sub-County has heavily been determined by the labour structures. Approximately 90% of the Awendo Sub-County population depends on agriculture either directly as the farmers and owners of the farms or as labourers or running businesses associated with agricultural products grown in the Sub-County. Hence addressing labour challenges affecting the productivity of agriculture in Awendo Sub-County cannot be overemphasised. This study aims at contributing to the historical understanding of how the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County over time has impacted on agricultural production. A lot of emphases have been put on the gender labour inequalities and the contributions of the strategies in place to address the inequalities. This study also endeavours to add on to the useful insights for comparison with other case studies which have been done from various parts of the great lake region and Kenya as a whole. It is in the hope of the researchers that the Sub-County, the County and National governments, economists, agricultural practitioners and policymakers will find the outcomes of this study relevant.

1.7 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The focus of this study was on the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017. The year 1902 was the period the South Kavirondo (SK), where Awendo Sub-County lies; along with all those areas which had been amalgamated to form the Eastern Province of Uganda were placed under the East African Protectorate (EAP) which ultimately became Kenya (Ochieng, 1974). The study was limited to Awendo Sub-County of Migori County in Kenya because of the well-established subsistence and commercial agriculture punctuated with SONY sugarcane processing factory. Earlier commercial agriculture in Awendo Sub-County was unique as compared to other areas in Kenya as it was done by the Africans themselves on their farms where they grew tea and tobacco on their own farms though on small scales. The study was specifically focused on the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo 1902-2017. The study also selected gender so as to examine the involvement of both men and women in agriculture and to bring out the history of the inequalities that have remained pervasive over the years. In addition, it enabled the study to give agriculture a gender face. The main purpose of the study was to examine the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017. This was further divided into examining the roles of men and women in agriculture during the pre-colonial rule in Awendo, analyzing changing gender labour relations in agriculture in colonial Awendo, assessing the impact of independence on gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County and lastly, evaluating the existing strategies meant to reduce the persistent gender labour inequalities in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

Gender scholars felt the need to find a theoretical framework that could capture the realities of African gender relations. This resulted in the emergence of gender analysis theoretical perspective in the 1990s by Ayesha Mamma (Ayesha, 1997). Gender analysis theoretical perspective has been used to analyse the relations in order to identify, understand and redress inequalities based on gender (Reeves and Baden, 2000).

Gender analysis incorporates various aspects of gender that are unique to the African context and are relevant in analyzing transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-

County 1902-2017. Since gender is a social construct, the focus is not only on the men or women but on the systems, which determine gender roles and responsibilities, access to and control over resources and decision making (Boyd, 2003). As a theory, the focus on gender as an analytical tool was compelled by the recognition that women are not as differentiated group. In addition, the theory acknowledges that women and men are a social group of analysis of this framework, therefore, the social relations of gender and not 'men' nor 'women' as separate categories (Ayesha, 1997, pp 35-49). By so doing, the analysis recognizes that gender relation is a concept that refers to social relations. It also refers to the hierarchical relations of power between men and women which ends up being imbalanced in favour of men (Reeves and Baden, 2000:25). Focusing on the groups of gender relations rather than the specific categories of men or women it is, therefore, the pivot of gender analysis theoretical perspective.

It is worth noting that gender is not complete by itself but occurs in conjunction with other systems of social and economic relationships. Therefore, for better understanding of gender relations, the terms of their interrelations with other systems of stratification and vice versa must be analyzed. Knopp (1992) argues that gender, like other social categories such as class; race and ethnicity that are related to power, is deeply implicated in the constitution of each other as social relations. Cranny et al (2003) argue that gender constitutes a number of institutions such as the family, legal system, the market, general education and parliamentary democracy. They are a resource, which is drawn on a daily basis to reinforce or redefine the rules, norms and practices that govern social institutions. Because women have been left out from many institutional spheres historically, they often have less bargaining power to effect change in institutions. Gender analysis theoretical perspective maintains that different social forces interweave to form a whole system.

The development debate on gender has advanced considerably since the United Nation's First introduced the women's decade in the 1975, which emphasized on economic growth and the "trickle-down" approach as key to reducing poverty. One of the notable advancements in the debate has been the move to consider gender equality as a key element of development. Women's concerns were first integrated into the development agenda in the 1970s. Disappointment over the trickle-down approach paved the way for the adoption of the basic-needs strategy, which focused on increasing the participation in and benefits of the development process for the poor, as well as

recognizing women's needs and contributions to society. Activists articulated women's issues in national and international fora. Following these events, the women-in-development movement endorsed the gender theoretical perspective, with a view to enabling women in scholarship to examine their situations and to act to correct their disadvantaged positions. The debate also affirmed that giving women greater access to resources would contribute to an equitable and efficient development process. Basing on such a discussion, the research on gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County found gender theoretical perspective as most relevant in achieving its objectives

Another component of gender analysis theoretical perspective that makes it relevant in analyzing the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017 is its recognition of the role that social systems play in the formation of gender relations. The interaction of social and economic relationships, as well as ideology and politics, greatly impacts on gender relations. In Africa, social systems and ideologies have influenced the social organizations. In the pre-independence period, the systems of the patriarchy and matriarchy did not only influence the socio-political but also economic organizations such as agriculture. The systems influenced the individual's access to power and resources of production. The particular patriarch and gender relations that demonstrated the concentration of power in men was widely spread in pre-colonial Africa. Patriarchy has, however, been transformed over time as opposed to the stand taken by radical feminists that patriarchy is uniform (Knopp 1992).

Towards the end of the 1970s, concerns with gender relations in development were taking root in both developing and developed worlds. Microlevel scholars drew attention to the differences in entitlements, perceived capabilities, and social expectations of men and women, boys and girls. Contrary to the unified-household model, the household has been considered an arena of bargaining, cooperation, or conflict. Reflecting the norms, laws, and social values of society, the differences in the status of men and women have profound implications for how they participate in subsistence or commercial agriculture, and in community life as a whole. These differences embody social and power relations that constitute the setting for the implementation of inclusivity programs, and these differences therefore influenced the program outcomes. In the 1980s and 1990s, research demonstrated that gender relations in relations to access to resources and factors of

production mediate the process of development. Development policies have shown that gender inequalities have an impact on the attainment higher agricultural productivity. This study on gender labour relations agrees with the positions of the above discourse hence belief that gender theoretical perspective will enable this study achieve its objectives.

Since gender systems are institutionalized through education, political and social systems, legislation, culture and traditions, this study focused on the social systems particularly gender relations to analyze the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017. The perspective is suitable in analyzing the whole period under study. In pre-colonial Awendo, the patriarchal system practised in the nineteenth century organized all relations whether in social, political or economic spheres. From Kwenya's study, it emerges that the patriarchal system in Uriri organized socio-political power, which influenced individual's ownership, access to factors of production, decision-making and the control of the benefits accruing from agricultural production. For instance, marriage in pre-colonial Awendo was mostly polygamous. Furthermore, dowry was given to the women's families. The payment of dowry meant that the woman was to provide both productive and reproductive labour to the husband's lineage. It was thus through a woman's and her children's labour that a man was able to accumulate wealth. This justified the polygamous system of marriage in pre-colonial Awendo. Therefore, the more wives and children a man had, the more wealth he could accumulate (Francis, 1995) as a result of this, the pre-colonial leaders in Awendo such as Odundo accumulated wealth and became very famous (Kwenya, 2007). Kwenya's findings resolves that gender inequality was entrenched in the culture of the people of South Nyanza. It is in the interest of this study on the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo 1902-2017 to examine the transformations that may have occurred occasioned by the interventions by the government of Kenya and the international community.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The arguments on gender relations are captured in the growing body of literature which posits that the skewed gender labour relation in favour of men is a big contributor to underdevelopment and sub-ordination. Going by arguments so far discussed, gender labour imbalances discourage local developments by providing a somehow low level of production as the potential contributions of both genders are not fully factored in development programmes and projects.

2.2 Gender Labour Relations in the Pre-Colonial Agriculture in Awendo Sub-County

According to Ojalammi (2007) gender can be defined as social attributes and opportunities associated with being male or female. These attributes, opportunities and relationships are socially constructed and are learnt through socialization. Gender defines power relations in society and determines what is expected, allowed and valued in a man or a woman in a given context. Promoting gender equality is an important part of the development strategy that seeks to enable people, both men and women to reduce their poverty and improve their standards of living.

Guyer (1990) & Brett (1991) discuss gender labour relations among Africans bringing out the roles played by women and men in the Pre-Colonial agriculture citing various countries. Brett after analyzing gender labour relation in Gambia, Senegal, Uganda and Kenya recognized that women contributed 60 to 80 per cent of the agricultural labour with their male counterparts contributing 20 to 30 % of the labour. They also argue that the women labour was being exploited and subordinated in the period approaching the establishment of colonial agricultural labour policies. Due to this unequal distribution of labour between the two genders, agricultural productivity in Africa has been low. They took the position that the indigenous labour patterns experienced major historical changes not necessarily triggered by the colonial labour patterns but also influenced by other factors such as environmental changes, modernity, epidemics and death.

Bourdillon (1987) has shown that, the indigenous economy experienced notable historical changes in gender labour relations and that the agricultural history of pre-colonial Africa was a process of innovation and not stagnation. The studies have shown that changes in gender labour relations in

African agricultural systems were not necessarily externally driven. A good example was cited by McCall (1987) who posits that in some African societies such as the Ndebele and the Shona, women enjoyed indirect usufruct rights over land ownership. They, therefore, had some control over what to cultivate on such lands and decided on what to do with the produce. The participation of the Shona and Ndebele women in land distribution was also extended by the bearing of male children who may have later become land allocators.

Among the Luo, the division of labour was determined by gender and age (Odaga, 1980; Ndege, 1987 and Cokumuh, 2001). Men built houses, granaries and guarded the homesteads in the event of an attack by enemies. This gives the reason why a sleeping house for young men cottage (*simba*) was located just next to the main gate of the homestead. Men also conducted hunting, gathering and fishing as a way of contributing to the search for food for their families but it was also a way of passing time as a leisure activity. They also carried out blacksmithing which they learnt from the Bantu. The blacksmiths made items such as hoes, shields, arrows and machetes. Women, on the other hand, were responsible for housework and childcare, storing and caring for food supplies. Most of the planting, weeding and harvesting was done by women. They were also responsible for the maintenance of the family house walls and floor.

A difference emerges between the arguments of Ocholla- Ayayo (1980) and Johnson (1980) on the position that women were never involved in decision making as Ocholla-Ayayo (1980) argues that among the Luo inasmuch as they were not allowed to give their views openly, they were consulted by their male counterparts. Ocholla explains that before a man could take a serious decision that could affect the family, he would consult mostly with the first wife (*mikayi*). This was so because all the important rituals (*chike*) which affected the homestead (*dala*) were performed by her.

Ayot (1990) explains that the African gender labour relations were not exploitative against women and some equality existed was true in some contexts, an argument which is contrary to most scholars. The challenge with Ayot's position is that the argument was true of monogous family contexts whereby the entire nuclear family would work collectively as a unit but that was not applicable in a polygamous family. Unfortunately, most of the Awendo families in the pre-colonial regime were polygamous as this was perceived as a source of wealth and labour thus once a woman was given her farm tilled, she would take responsibility for any other activity on the farm.

Ayot, 1990 takes a rare stand on the political position of the Luo women during the political epoch in South Nyanza. Ayot points out that while the patrilineal dominance in the political system, characterized by the Council of Elders was recognized, the gender flexibility among the Luo made it possible for women to rise to positions of leadership and decision-making processes. She takes an issue of women's experience of and participation in warfare. She justifies that Mang'ana nyar Ugu and Odete Ny'Olonde are remembered in the history of Jok'Onyango of South Nyanza as pioneer women leaders whose qualities were unsurpassed by any of the men of their time; and who knows but that there are still many more such women who have not yet been discovered, and "when the herculean task of rediscovery is undertaken perhaps we will begin to understand the magnificence" of such women. She also argues that even during the intuition of the colonial regime, women were never passive but composed songs of ridicule to the men who did not take part against the colonial encroachers. While this may be true of the Jok'Onyango, this study did not find any resistance against the British encroachment by the Awendo populace but instead the Awendo people collaborated with British.

Studies by Ayot (1981); Onduru (2009); Nyakwaka (1996) and Butterman (1979) carried out on various phenomena among the Luo of South Nyanza touching on labour relations just prior to the colonial labour patterns tend to meet at a point that the traditional labour patterns survived for long before it was interfered with and eventually transformed by the colonial labour patterns. This was because South Nyanza was far from the centre of the region, Kisumu. Nyakwaka (1996) observes that Africans in South Nyanza did not have the motivation to avail themselves for the European wage employment. This was because of the relatively self-sufficient labour systems of the economy. Therefore, the Europeans used three major strategies to either lure or force them into European labour demands. These approaches included land alienation, whereby the African lands were given to the white settlers thus reducing Africans to mere wage labourers regardless of gender factors. Men and women worked side-by-side performing all the roles that were traditionally engendered to fulfil their colonial labour demands together. Taxation and administrative coercion were other methods that were used to force Africans to offer genderless labour to the European settlers.

2.3 Gender Labour Relations in Agriculture in the Colonial Awendo

At the initial stages of the establishment of colonial rule in East Africa, the Europeans believed that Kenya was not as important to their interests as Uganda (Ogot, 1967; Ochieng, 1985). But as time went by, they realized the agricultural importance of the country. Consequently, in 1902, South Kavirondo (SK) where the area of study is located, along with all those areas that had been amalgamated to form the Eastern Province of Uganda was placed under the British East African Protectorate which eventually became Kenya. In 1903, Boughton-Knight visited Rusinga Islands on his way to Karungu in the furthest part of the SK District. He was an acting District Commissioner for South Kavirondo (Maxon, 1989). The people of Karungu resisted against Boughton led by their leader Ougo. This resistance was suppressed by the British and an administrative centre was set up in Karungu which became the headquarters of South Kavirondo District because of the border dispute between the British and the Germans in East Africa (Ochieng, 1974). This station remained until 1907 when it was moved to Kisii because of its centrality (Ayot, 1981).

The introduction of colonial rule in South Kavirondo changed the pre-capitalist African self-sufficient gendered labour patterns to capitalist genderless labour patterns. The colonial officials believed that labour provision was crucial for their economic growth thus Africans were to contribute steady flow of cheap labour which was to be controlled and supervised by the European settlers. Cheap labour for the settler farmers was a necessity majorly because the agricultural technology they could afford was labour intensive following the fact that the use of machines and other technological advancements had not been adopted. Awendo was one of the labour reservoirs that provided continuous manual and machine operations labour where the processing factories had been established. African labour was also highly needed for public works in government installations (Ochieng, 1974). Consequently, the contribution of the people of Awendo Sub-County to the colonial labour demands must be viewed in this wider context for a better understanding of the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017.

During the first two decades of colonial rule, the people of Awendo did not have the motivation to avail themselves for wage employment. This was mainly because of the relatively self-sufficient

African economy. The District Commissioner, Hemsted, observes that the natives of the District were very rich thus very few of them would seek to work with the Europeans (Maxon, 1975). To force the natives of Awendo to offer the needed labour, the colonial government came up with various policies targeting three major areas namely land alienation, taxation and use of indirect administrative system through the local leaders. The colonial government came up with policies to facilitate African land alienation. This was where the African land was given to the settlers or was used for government purposes. This reduced Africans to mere wage labourers so as to force them to offer their needed labour for a living. This method was never applied in Awendo in full stretch because settlers were not many in Awendo. Taxation was another policy that was used in Awendo in three forms which included hut, poll and breast taxes. A hut tax was first collected in 1905 from every hut found in an Africa homestead and it was the main tax (Maxon, (1975).

Taxation broke the pre-capitalist labour patterns that had clear distinctions between the roles played by men and women. To service the tax demands, the household head would collect his entire family, both men and women, to work together without gender lines. This system broke the pre-capitalist patriarchal gendered labour patterns (Ndege, 1987). There was also poll tax as argued by Maxon (1992) that poll tax was based on the number of young males in a homestead. Consequently, the African homesteads with many men would pay more tax through labour provision to the settlers and for public works. This also challenged the African patriarchal gendered labour patterns in Awendo because most of the agricultural activities such as weeding and planting were female roles but with the introduction of the poll tax, the young men and the elderly of Awendo were performing these traditionally female agricultural roles.

The other method applied by the colonial government to extract African labour in the colonial Awendo was administrative coercion. The colonial government used the local leaders and those whom they installed to recruit labour. The labourers were taken to work on government projects through migratory labour (Kwenya, 2007). This policy majorly targeted African males who were withdrawn from their family set up to go and work for the settlers and public works in distant places. This migratory labour also challenged the gendered patriarchal African labour patterns in the Colonial Awendo.

Rodney (1972) contends that, colonial migrant labour policies distorted the position of women in the society by reinforcing exploitative tendencies. For instance, division of labour at the farm level was destroyed by the requirement that men go out to work in the European farms and government installations. Women were thus to double by performing men's work such as caring for the heavy work of clearing the bush, ploughing the land and offering security and being the family heads. These were jobs the society had designated for men. They did these in addition to their already excess normal chores such as looking for food, fetching water and firewood, caring for children and even for themselves. Rodney (1972) further argues that due to the greater value given to the wage labour which was majorly men's, the agricultural labour which was majorly women became inferior in social evaluation because it did not generate cash. Men's wage labour thus became modern while the women's agricultural labour became traditional and backward. Rodney dealt with an array of issues affecting the social position of women so he could not extensively discuss gender labour relations in agriculture which this study undertook though his argument is very instrumental for this study.

The migratory labour policy left the women as the household heads, a role that no woman in South Nyanza (SN) had ever thought of playing (Nyakwaka, 1996). The women became the decision-makers, cleared and tilled their lands. These were in addition to their normal traditional female roles of weeding and harvesting (Ndeda, 1991). In 1935, the Colonial Awendo felt the meaning of land alienation when a cash crop firm, Mastermind Tobacco Company, was established in Kanyamkago for the making of cigarettes and other tobacco products. This called for even more labour because tobacco was more labour intensive (Butterman, 1979). This had similar effects on the patriarchal gendered labour as has been discussed above. The studies cited above have touched on various aspects of gender labour relations in Kenya and Nyanza but a study on gender labour relations in agriculture is lacking. Furthermore, it has emerged clearly that gender labour inequalities existed and were affecting agricultural productivity. This study on the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County digs deeper into the inequalities cited by the studies and the changes gender labour relations have gone through and the impact of these changes. Otherwise, these studies provide an amount of literature that this study used so as to come up with a detailed analysis of the topic.

Inheritance particularly of land in the pre-colonial Awendo was another aspect that demonstrated the dominance of the patriarchal system in pre-colonial Awendo. Women could not inherit land and have it in their name but always held it in custody for their sons or accessed it through usufruct rights. Therefore, patriarchy was an aspect of gendered power relations, which discriminated against women as they were the main source of labour for agricultural production in the Pre-Colonial Awendo as compared to men. Due to the impact of patriarchy, the Pre-Colonial Awendo women thus remained producers who would not have the absolute ownership of the factors of production especially land or control of what their labour produced.

Colonial system introduced a new form of patriarchy in the Colonial Awendo, which worked in collusion with the pre-colonial Awendo patriarchy (Nyakwaka, 1996). The British did not completely destroy the pre-colonial labour structures but transformed them to suit their objectives. Awendo served as labour reservoir thus most males were withdrawn and were taken to work in government installations while others were taken to the European settlers. The Europeans did not value the women's labour thus women remained behind. This gave women an opportunity to own and control the usage of land in the absence of their husbands. Though they still held the land as custodians because most mature males were taken away, accessibility and control improved (Onduru, 2009). The withdrawal of the males from the colonial Awendo society increased the woman's social domain as she also became the household head in addition to carrying out all the roles previously handled by men.

2.4 Gender Labour Relations in Awendo in the post-independence

The independent Kenya picked up a country that was disintegrated by the British labour policies such as migratory labour, forced labour and low wages, heavy taxation, land alienation, discrimination and physical torture thus a desperate people with a lot of expectations from the new dawn. The independent Kenyan state immediately embarked on policies to try and restore order in the country so as to be relevant to the local populace. One of the concerns was the gender labour inequalities in various sectors including agriculture. It started by documenting gender laws to change the labour patterns to fit the local situation with the intention of bringing both genders at par in a bid to attempt to solve the gender labour imbalances that had existed over the years.

There are not so many studies that have been conducted on the gender labour relations in post-independent Kenya. Most studies have concentrated on pre-colonial and colonial regimes. Those available have not covered gender labour relations in agriculture directly but they are important sources of information on the study of the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017. The first landmark step made by independent Kenya was the adoption of the African Socialism contained in Sessional Paper Number 10 of 1965. This ideology hoped to bring about equality of both women and men in the provision of agricultural labour in Awendo in independent Kenya (GoK, 1965; Stitcher, 1977; Farnworth, 2010). The basis of the ideology was the considerable economic irregularities that women, as compared to men, had experienced during the colonial and pre-colonial periods (Hughes & Mwiria, 1989). For example, the colonial government assumed the potential of African female labour for their cash crop agricultural production in Awendo as most of the colonial labour laws targeted males such as through hut and poll taxes. The colonial education and training systems favoured only males who were expected to provide the know-how to the settlers and the government (Stitcher, 1977).

The other impetus that post-colonial Kenyan governments subscribed to in a bid to close the gender gap in labour relations in agriculture was the launching of the United Nations Decade for Women in (UNDW, 1975). This sparked off studies on gender relations. In 1985, Kenya hosted the United Nations Decade for Women Conference with a view to enhancing the struggle for equality in labour provision in the agricultural sector (Midamba, 1996).

A number of constitutional amendments have also been put in place to try and challenge the gender inequalities in the provision of agricultural labour. Such laws include the constitutional amendments of 1989 which barred discrimination on the basis of sex (International Women's Conference in Mexico 1975; World Bank, 2009). The many attempts that have been made by the 2010 constitution such as the affirmative action plans for substantive equality are designed to increase women capacity to engage with the economic processes in Awendo Sub-County. The 2010 constitution has been identified as a big milestone in addressing gender imbalances in labour in Awendo Sub-County. The constitution has more democratic legal and constitutional space for Kenyans thereby creating room for inclusion of women (Constitution of Kenya, 2010).

The impact of migratory labour is still being felt in post-independent Kenya. People, especially males, still migrate from their rural setups to the urban areas to seek blue-collar jobs leaving women with the entire domestic, agricultural labour and even childcare. Doss (1999) indicate that by 1989, women not only continued to head the households in the absence of men who had moved to seek labour with better wages but also contributed to the required labour for both food and cash crop production. This status became worse when women could not be helped by their children who had joined formal education. Their agricultural productivity was therefore hampered by the fact that their labour was distributed over so many other domestic activities (World Bank, 2009). The departure of colonialists as most African countries were attaining political independence left Africans and African women in anticipation of major positive changes in the labour sector (Ochieng, 2013). The observations made by the above scholars are vital for this study on the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County as they give a clear picture of what became of gender labour relations after independence. However, it should be noted that the exploitation of the African woman's labour was based on the African culture thus not necessarily a phenomenon of colonialism though it came with notable changes. The colonial labour policies just changed the context in which African household and kinship relations functioned.

Some scholars (Edwards, 1979; Kalleberg, 1990; Rubin et al., 2009) agree that women are still disadvantaged in less formal collaborative work settings where they work side-by-side with men than informal work settings, where they work independently of men. While the former would be true of the parastatal sector where male and female researchers work cooperatively in research teams, the latter would apply to the public sector where males and females operate independently as extension workers serving specific contact farmers in capacities determined by their trainings. Most female extension workers in the public sector, nevertheless, tend to specialize in Home Economics while their male counterparts specialize in crop or animal production.

Gender inequality in agricultural labour has persisted over the years from the pre-colonial to colonial and even to the post-colonial Kenya. Historically, the drive towards gender equality in Kenya can be traced back to the period immediately after independence, when the government took the landmark step of adopting the ideology of African Socialism. The colonial state, for

example, neglected women's education and training and only favoured males in the provision of paid labour needed by settler economies (Stitcher, 1977). Most female employees served as unskilled labourers in agriculture and those who were formally employed earned considerably less than male employees (KNA/DC/KSI, 1936; Boserup, 1970). It could be argued that this ideology symbolized a desire by the new government to promote equal representation and treatment of the sexes within the various institutions in the country. It sought to boost women's participation in education, in the labour market, and decision-making politics. There is evidence in Kenya indicating that gender labour relations in agriculture have undergone a lot of changes compared to those of pre-colonial and colonial periods. For instance, a study conducted by IFAD (2009) observes that women and men in the post-independence Kenya worked closely as a direct measure of both contributing to wealth generation and towards closing the gender gap between women and men. These arguments laid the foundation for this study.

The independent government did not deviate from the colonial government labour policies on gender labour structures. It continued to give more attention to men's labour and cash crops which were men's crops. These included tobacco, cotton and tea in the case of Colonial Awendo while women still remained as food producers. The post-independent labour structures have also transformed gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo. The gender analysis theoretical perspective was thus taken as the most appropriate theoretical perspective for this study on transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017.

2.5 Addressing Gender Labour Inequalities in Agriculture in Awendo Sub-County

A number of studies, conferences, seminars, constitutional amendments, acts of parliament and the Kenya Constitution 2010, which has been regarded worldwide as a masterpiece in addressing gender imbalances, have been put in place to try and address the matter. The first major worldwide move was the International Women's Conference in Mexico in 1975. Legal systems all over the world have focused on the inequalities of the sexes and how to remove them especially in labour provision in agriculture. This can be discerned from the many conferences held and subsequently the resultant instruments. Examples include the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies Conference (NFLSC) of 1985; the Beijing Conference that culminated in the Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action of 1995 and lately Africa's own blueprint conference on the Launch of the African's Women's Decade in Nairobi in 2010. The common theme for these conferences has been

the quest for gender equality. Furthermore, many governments, including that of Kenya, have signed and ratified or merely endorsed by signature various United Nations Conventions and Declarations that promote gender equality and mainstream gender perspectives in all spheres of life.

The process of reflection and advocacy of the United Nations Decade for Women Conference (UNDWC), held in Nairobi in 1985 appeared to have motivated Kenyan women to re-evaluate their position in society and assert themselves in the struggle for equality with men. Soon after the conference, the subject of the unfair economic and social role of women in development in Kenya assumed a prominent position. In the debate that has ensued, Kenyan women have been concerned with equality of opportunities in education, labour market, government (political) appointments, political representation, land rights and legal rights, both in marital relations and in the public arena (Hughes & Mwiria, 1989; Midamba, 1996; FAO, 2011). The campaign for equal rights has also touched on the wide-ranging area of culture, particularly societal structures embedded in cultures that constrain women's struggles for equality.

Midamba (1993) posits that the 2010 constitution is arguably the most pro-citizen framework that Kenya has or will probably ever have. It contains an expanded Bill of Rights as compared to the previous one as it embraces the concept of social, economic and cultural rights. It variously exhorts public institutions and agencies to avoid taking measures that discriminate against women and girls. In addition, it sets up various institutions that should oversee the implementation of the new gender-responsive framework.

In the Kenyan Constitution (2010), practical measures have been put in place such as affirmative action programmes and policies designed to address gender labour inequalities. Politically, the constitution demands that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same gender. It also provides that certain positions will be reserved for women so that they do not have to suffer the unequal political competition. This is simply to allow women to "catch up" with men. Section 56 of the constitution expressly applies to minorities and marginalized groups which also include women of Awendo Sub-County.

Nonetheless, it appears that, as Kenya slowly moved towards the path of democracy and opening up of the political space, certain allowances were made in favour of women. Since the 1990s, the status of women thus started changing though at a slow pace. Following the re-introduction of multi-partyism, women were able to secure a few concessions gained in the period following the change of regime in the year 2002. Due to the more open political space, civil societies, as well as some members of parliament, were able to literally engineer certain changes in the law that responded to inequalities engendered by exclusion and discrimination of women. The courts have also come in strongly though still not to a satisfactory level as it recognized the inherent inequalities in post-independent Kenya and made decisions to reverse such situations (RoK, 2001-2004).

Despite the good works that have been done to bring equality between men and women, this has not been fully achieved among the grassroot women who continue to face imbalances in the agricultural labour as well as in other labour related areas because of either assumptions or poor implementation of the strategies. Ndeda (1991) observes that the post-independent governments and non-governmental organizations have still neglected female labour in their development programmes.

Studies have also been conducted in Awendo Sub-County of Migori majorly in relation to commercial agriculture which is well established in the area. These studies by Rubin (1983); Kennedy (1989); Adipo (2002); Kwenya (2007) were of importance to the study on the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017. Kwenya embarked on the management of the benefits accruing from cane growing taking the case of Uriri Sub-County of Migori. He concurs with earlier studies that women still undergo exploitation by their male counterparts in addition to having limited access to the factors of production specifically land and finances. Kwenya (2007) has not considered labour offered by both genders in agriculture. Kwenya (2007) gave his study a sociological approach leaving room for a detailed historical study on the gender-labour relations in agriculture. This study provided good arguments for our study to build upon.

Rubin (1983) worked on the nutritional impact of sugarcane growing on the school-going children in Awendo Sub-County while Kennedy (1989) focused on the economic contributions of sugarcane commercial agriculture in Awendo Sub-County to the alleviation of poverty and poor health conditions among the locals of the area. The researches were not directly linked to gender-labour relation nor were they historical in approach, but they provide insights which added value to this study on transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017. Adipo (2002) emphasized the impact of sugarcane growing in Awendo on the physical and human environment thus his study took a geographical approach. It is evident that, from the studies which have been conducted in Awendo Sub-County and Kenya at large, that there is no particular study on the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County thus leaving the area under-studied and undocumented which this study planned to do using gender theoretical perspective.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Research methodology of this study covers an array of aspects of data collection and analysis used to achieve the objectives of this study. It includes the research design, study area, study population, sample size and procedure, methods of data collection, tools of data collection, the validity of research instruments, reliability of research instruments, limitations and biases of the study, methods of data analysis used, ethical considerations and the conclusion of the research methodology.

3.2 Research Design

The study was conducted through descriptive research design to gain a better understanding of the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture. Descriptive research enabled the researcher to describe the state of affairs and report the findings. Descriptive design is a method of collecting information by interviewing or administering an interview schedule to a sample of individuals. Descriptive design enables the researcher to examine past events through the available evidence, report the findings and formulate important principles of knowledge and solutions to significant problems to the research area. A descriptive design was adopted since the study was to establish a detailed description of the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017. This was better done by examining the roles of men and women in agriculture in the Pre-Colonial Awendo, by analyzing the changing gender labour relations in agriculture in colonial Awendo, assessing the impact of independence on gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo and evaluating the existing strategies meant to reduce the persistent gender labour inequalities in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017. The design also enabled the researcher to establish the responses of the people of Awendo to the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County.

3.3 Study Area

This study was conducted in Awendo Sub-County of Migori County in Kenya. This area has a heterogeneous population given that it was a multi-ethnic Sub-County with dominant communities being the Luo and Abagusii while Abasuba, Abaluhya, Abakuria and others make up the minority.

It has a dense population of 352 per square kilometre (Migori Development Plan 2014). This high population of Awendo Sub-County is attributed to red-volcanic fertile soil, good climate, cheap agricultural land, cheap urban life and the peaceful co-existence of various ethnic groups and clans. Crops grown include maize, sorghum, groundnuts, various species of vegetables and cash crops mainly sugarcane, tea and pyrethrum. Administratively, it serves as the headquarters of the Sub-County with 7 locations, 21 Sub Locations, 2 constituencies, and four wards. Awendo Sub-County is located at -0° 54' 29" N 34°31'50" E. It is 238 km from Nairobi, the capital city of the country and 247 km from Mwanza in Tanzania. It is located along Kisii-Migori road and on Awendo Hills (IEBC, 2013). The largest formal employers in the Sub-County include South Nyanza Sugar Company, Mastermind Tobacco Company and the British American Tobacco Company.

The current constitution of Kenya which was promulgated in 2010 did away with all the previous administrative systems and names as it put in place a devolved government with a national government and forty-seven county governments of which Migori is one with its headquarters at Migori town. For effective administration, the county is further divided into Sub-Counties and Awendo became one of the Migori Sub-Counties together with Karungu, Muhuru, Nyatike, Rongo, Suna East, Suna West and Uriri Sub Counties of Migori County. The table below gives more details including their population trends as of 2013.

Table 3.1: Migori Sub Counties Population

Sub County	Population	Urban Population	Population Density	Head Quarters
Awendo	90153	13509	352	Awendo
Karungu	27901	3322	201	Karungu
Muhuru	16882	0	386	Muhuru
Nyatike	65502	0	133	Nyatike
Rongo	79817	2918	376	Rongo
Suna East	91549	29825	451	Migori
Suna West	52876	0	191	-
Uriri	90218	0	237	Uriri

Source: Migori Development Plan, 2013

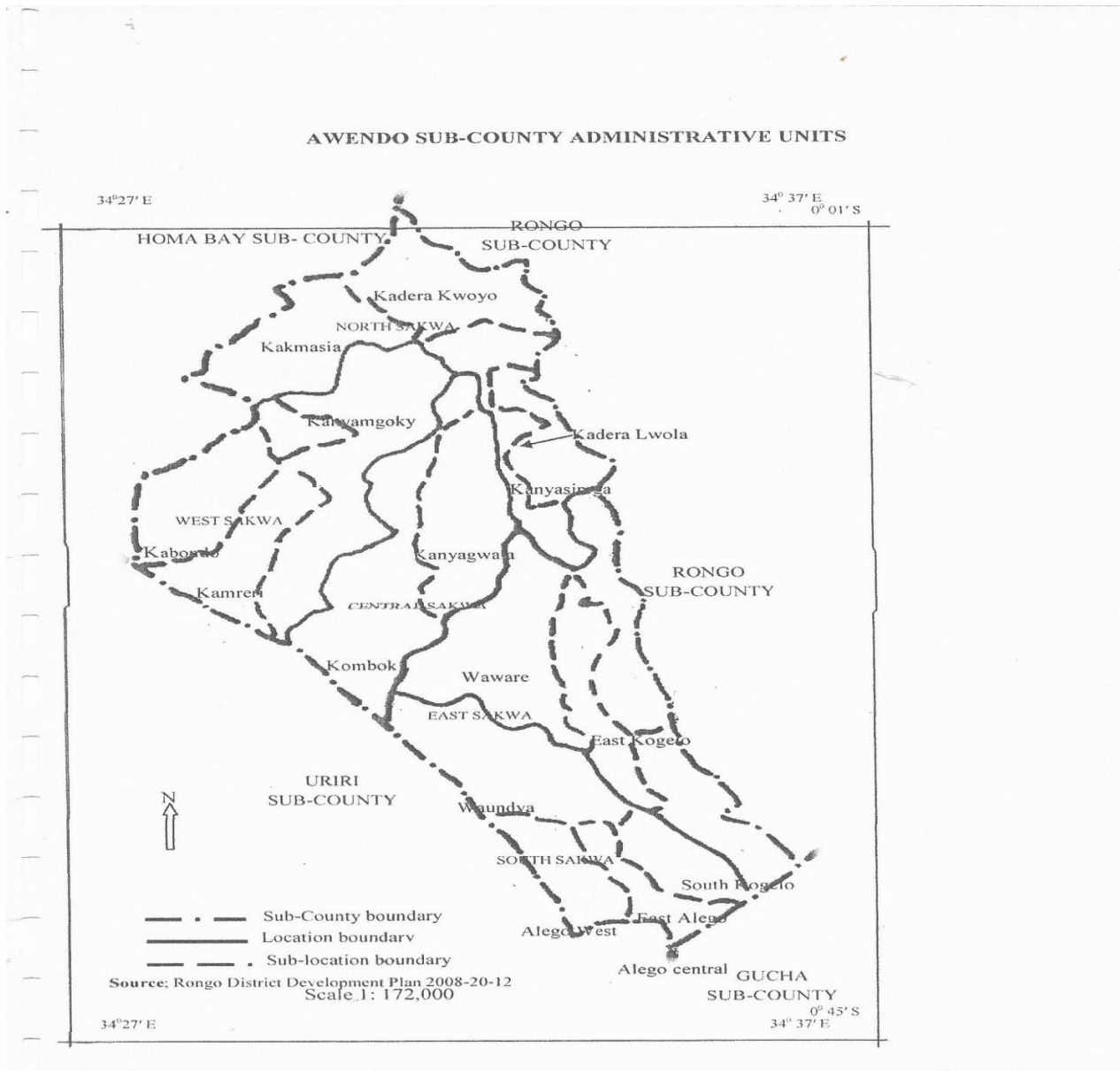
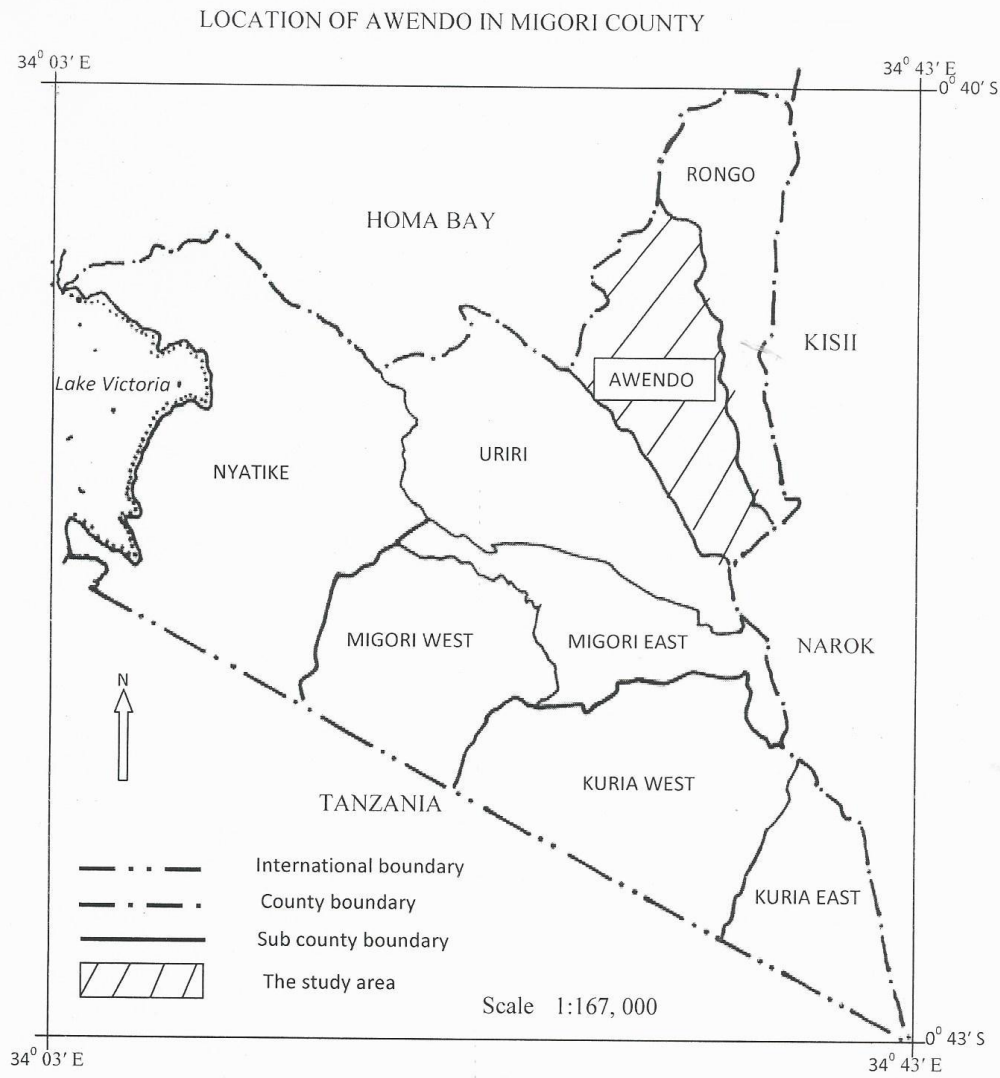


Figure 3.1: Awendo Sub-County

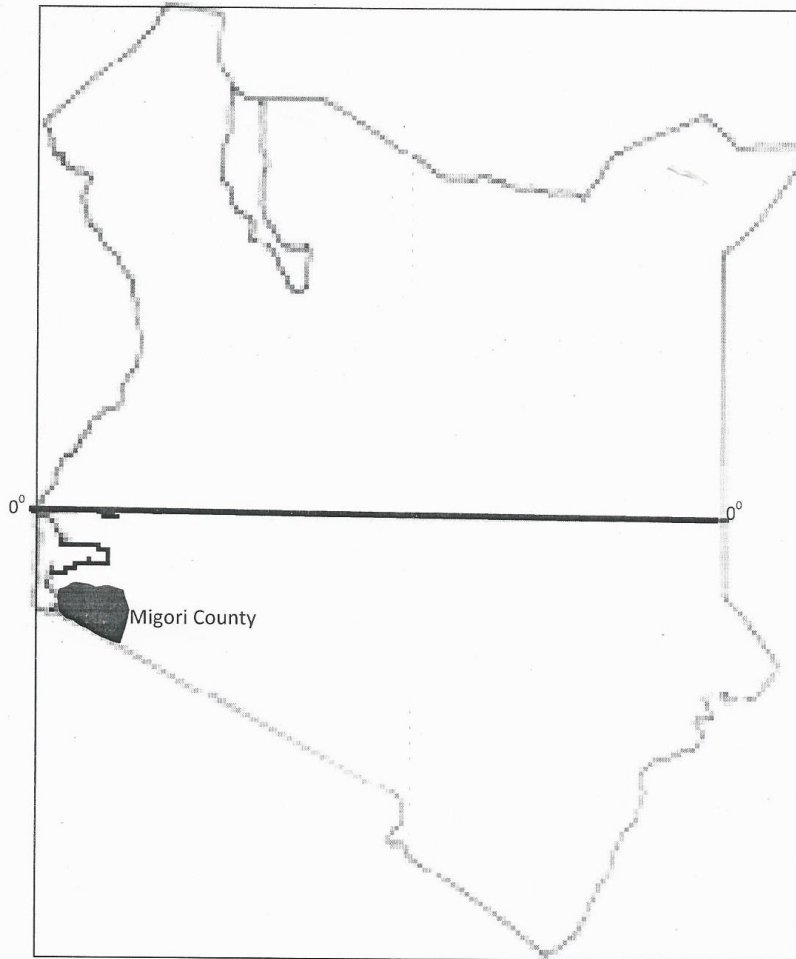
Source: Migori County Development Plan of 2013 (Pg 56)



Source: Migori County Development Plan of 2013

Figure 3.2: Location of Awendo Sub-County in Migori County

LOCATION OF MIGORI COUNTY IN KENYA



Source: Migori County Development Plan of 2013

Figure 3.3: Location of Migori County in Kenya

3.4 Study Population

Awendo as a Sub-County had a population of 136,818 (65,648 males and 71,170 females). This constituted the study population on the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017. The study population per ward includes North Sakwa 28,735; South Sakwa 45,475; West Sakwa 27,986 and Central Sakwa 34,623 (Migori Development Plan, 2013). The respondents were derived from the study population and included households that were either directly or indirectly involved in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County. Other respondents included chairpersons of women groups in Awendo Sub-County, Awendo Sub-County agricultural officers, and South Nyanza Sugar Company field supervisors.

3.5 Sample Size and Procedure

The samples were purposively selected to mark the possible relevant informants. The most relevant informants were then reached through snowballing. Snowballing method of data sampling technique was used which enabled the researcher to find persons with relevant information. The initial informants with knowledge of the transformation of gender labour relations were identified with the help of SONY Outgrowers field supervisors, Awendo Sub County agriculture officers and the local administration such as the chiefs and village heads. The initially identified informants then assisted by naming others that they knew had the required characteristics and the sample size gradually expanded as new contacts were being mentioned by the informants the researcher started off with.

Through this, the researcher was introduced to the elderly members of the society who were able to give information on gender labour relations in agriculture in the Pre-Colonial Awendo as well as during the colonial period in Awendo Sub-County. The researcher was further linked to women in commercial agriculture, women beneficiaries of the government-initiated microfinance, women in subsistence agriculture, officers in gender mainstreaming at SONY Sugar Company and agricultural offices and land officers through whom women landowners were reached. This way, the researcher was able to get more informants whose information was considered on the basis of their involvement in agriculture, age, gender and role on gender balance. The researcher took different times with an informant depending with how rich with relevant information an informant was. The researcher took a bit longer time for up to one hour or more as long as an informant was

giving relevant information. This went on until the researcher got the number of the cases and information required. The number of the cases needed was determined when the required information reached a saturation point. The saturation point was reached when the informants started repeating themselves and no new information was being received by the researchers. The saturation point was arrived at when the sample size reached 283 informants. This method was suitable for this study because the researcher was not so certain about the exact people who possessed the information needed on the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017.

3.6 Data Collection

3.6.1 Primary Data

The primary data included archival information from the Kenya National Archives (KNA) and the local archives such as Kisumu archives. The documents that were of importance included agricultural reports, district and provincial annual reports, political records and community development records. These documents were perceived to carry information on the roles of men and women in pre-colonial agriculture in Awendo Sub-County, the primary data was also intended to give key information on the changing gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo during colonial rule and also some archival documents on the impact of independence on gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County. The study then employed an interview schedule and Focus Group Discussions of 6-8 direct farmers purposively selected from the seven locations to collect oral data. Each location had an FGD.

The researcher organized a pilot study to pre-test the data collection tools to ascertain their validity and reliability. The pilot study was carried in one of the locations randomly picked so as to give each location an equal chance of being selected. The researcher at this time gave an overview of the research premise to the locals, Awendo Sub County government officials and the officials of the processing companies present in the area such as South Nyanza Sugar Company.

3.6.2 Secondary Data

Secondary data was collected from books, journals, periodicals, magazines, published and unpublished dissertations by visiting public, university and college libraries. The study also used

sources from the internet. This also acted as a further literature review process aiming at ascertaining existing knowledge gaps in the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017. The secondary data was more crucial for getting information on evaluating strategies meant to reduce the persistent gender labour inequalities in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County. The secondary data also enabled the researcher to get sufficient information on assessing the impact of independence on gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County. Following the literature that was available, secondary data also gave relevant information that supported the oral data on analyzing the changing gender labour relations in agriculture in colonial Awendo as well as on the roles of men and women in agriculture in the Pre-Colonial Awendo.

3.7 Tools of Data Collection

3.7.1 Interview Schedule (Appendix A)

The interview schedule was used to obtain oral data from the respondents. The researcher identified initial respondents with the help of the local administrators for an intensive interview for the primary data. The researcher and the research assistants had one-on-one extensive probing of the informants. This approach also allowed the interviewer to get complete and detailed information on the research topic. The method was also ideal since the interaction between the interviewers and the respondents generally stimulated richer responses and allowed new and valuable thoughts to emerge. The information gathered from the oral interviews was supplemented with archival data and the secondary data. The archival data further provided primary information on the roles of men and women in the traditional agriculture and on analyzing the changing gender labour relations in colonial Awendo. The researcher also looked for archival information on the impact of independence on gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County.

3.7.2 Focus Group Discussions (FGD)

The Focus Group Discussions involved 6-8 direct farmers purposively selected from the seven locations. They were conducted with the help of group moderators. FGDs enabled the researcher to get more oral information on the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County. From the discussions, the researcher was able to get more information and

clarifications which were very crucial for achieving the general and specific objectives of the study.

3.8 Validity of the Research Instruments

According to Brymason (2008) to make research instruments valid, they should be evaluated by experts in the discipline. Consequently, the interview schedule and the Focus Group Discussion Guide were presented to the experts at the Department of History and Archaeology in Maseno University to scrutinize and offer advice for necessary.

3.9 Reliability of Research Instrument

The researcher organized a reconnaissance to the study area with the objective of getting familiar with the study area and the local administration. The reliability of the instruments for this study was determined through a pilot study in one location out of the seven locations. The location was selected randomly so as to give each location an equal chance of being selected. This was based on Gal (1996) principle of one-tenth of the study population to get the pilot areas. Subsequently, the location was not to be part of the later study sample. In the piloting, the interview schedule was administered to the same respondents twice within an interval of two weeks. From the piloting, the data collection instruments were refined making them relevant and responsive to the objectives of the study as some of the questions were found to be irrelevant hence removed while some crucial ones were lacking and were added.

3.10 Limitations and Biases of the Study

Sometimes the researcher found it difficult to reach certain important materials such as handing over reports. In addition, some of the reports availed were either incomplete or completely lacking certain crucial information. This delimitation was bridged by using oral information and using similar reports that were available. As many of these as could be found were collected. Delimitation also experienced was getting quantitative data particularly on the labour contributions of men and women during the pre-colonial epoch. During the colonial period, the data on migrant labour was scanty. The agricultural produce more so from the subsistence farming which was majorly women's role could not be clearly quantified. Nonetheless, this study used the data available in the hope that they would give a clue of what happened in Awendo Sub-County during the period under study.

On some occasions, the key informants would forget some key information more so those of the prior dates to colonial regime. In addition, some key informants, particularly the Migori County land registrar, were very difficult to find as he always had quite a number of clients to attend to. For the forgotten information, the researcher connected the pieces gathered from various similar informants till the full information needed was achieved. For the registrar, the researcher booked an appointment at off-peak hours when the clients were not in. The researcher highly appreciated the registrar for the special attention beyond his official duty hours.

3.11 Data Analysis

The analyses were done in two sections for the purpose of effectiveness. The first was done in the field during the data collection so as to ensure a deeper understanding of the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017. The other analysis was done after the final data collection. Responses given to each item in the interview schedule made the wider theme and variables depending on where it matched. The qualitative data collected through the in-depth oral interview using the interview schedule and the documentary analysis was analyzed through thematic and content analysis method. Data collected was analyzed and arranged thematically. The data was organized systematically and presented through descriptive design. Transcription was used to analyze data collected from the elderly who were free to use the language of their choice. After every piece of data collected during the oral interviews had been used for this study, all the data collected was kept for future use such as publication. The major storage was the researcher's bookshelves where the hard copies of the materials he used in conducting this study have been kept. The soft copies have also been stored in the researcher's computer backed up by a flash disk. The soft copies have been sent to the researcher's E-mail where he can retrieve them at any time. All the data will be very important for publication. After publication, the researcher shall revisit the data to discard some while retaining some for future use. The researcher then classified, analyzed, compared and interpreted the data.

3.12 Ethical Considerations

The researcher obtained a research permit from Maseno University Ethics Review Committee before conducting the research. The researcher also sought permission from Maseno University, School of Graduate Studies. The researcher as well sought the consent of the informants whose participation was on a voluntary basis and appealed to them to give true and accurate responses that were to be kept as confidential as possible. The informants were also served with a consent form on which they gave their consent to participate in the interview. Most informants did not want their real names to be part of the data hence they were given pseudonyms which have been used in this work. The researcher remained open and honest when dealing with the other researchers and the respondents. Exploitation, coercion or bribery of respondents to give information was avoided at all costs.

CHAPTER FOUR

GENDER LABOUR RELATIONS IN AGRICULTURE ON THE PRE-COLONIAL RULE IN THE PRE-COLONIAL AWENDO UP TO 1895

4.1 Introduction

Gender labour relations in agriculture in the Pre-Colonial Awendo has been analysed in this chapter. To facilitate understanding of the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County, this chapter is further divided into sub-themes. It starts by discussing the migration and settlement of the Awendo population. It further puts down the social, economic and political structures of the people of the pre-colonial Awendo Sub-County. Furthermore, both internal and external dynamics that promoted the process of transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in pre-colonial Awendo are examined. Factors that constitute gender labour relations such as division of labour, decision making, co-operative labour, gender relations in arts and crafts, hunting and gathering as well as land tenure system have also been tackled. Like all other Kenyan societies, the people of pre-colonial Awendo adapted to the dictates of the prevailing ecological environment which implied a change in their agricultural economy (Pala, 1975, p. 47). This chapter serves as a baseline for the entire work as it offers a background understanding of the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017.

4.2 Migration and Settlement

The present occupants of Awendo Sub-County might not have a common historical origin. The majority of the populace are the Luo, who originated from the Upper Nile basin, a region of many lakes (Nyibor, Anyii, Yirol and Shabe) lying to the Eastern Bahr-el Ghazal region presently occupied by the Dinka in the present-day Republic of South Sudan (Ogot, 2009). From Bahr-el Ghazal, they moved to a place known as Pubungu Pakwach in Uganda where they settled as early as AD 1450, (Ochieng, 1974); Ogot, 2009). By the time of separation, the Luo were already practising mixed economy based on agriculture, animal husbandry and fishing. They kept cattle, sheep and goats, and grew sorghum (*vulgare*), bush rush (or pearl) - millet, eleusine (*coracana* or finger millet), sesame (*simsim*), durra and various legumes. In addition, the abundant game in the region- vast herds of Tiang, cab and other antelopes played a crucial role in the economy of the early Luo speakers (Ogot, 2009).

Ogot (1974); (2009) estimate that the Luo arrived in Nyanza Province between AD 1490 and AD 1600. Prior to the Luo occupying the area, it was a home for the Western Bantu mainly the Abagusii, and other sections were occupied by the Highland Nilotic speakers particularly the Nandi while the Plain Nilotic speakers like the Maasai also occupied some other sections. The encounters between the Luo and these early occupants of Nyanza led to some of the latter being absorbed by the Luo while others migrated to the areas they currently occupy. For instance, the Kano plains were previously occupied by the Abagusii but upon the arrival of the Luo, they were pushed to the Gusii highlands where they later again interacted with the Southern Luo. These encounters enabled the Luo to occupy the Nyanza region. The Luo who settled in South Nyanza had crossed the Winam- Gulf from Uyoma probably between AD 1730 and AD 1760. The Luo occupation of Nyanza did not occur at once but over a period of time. They occupied South Nyanza from diverse places and arrived at different times. The Pre-Luo settlers of South Nyanza were Western Bantu speaking people particularly the Abagusii. Being that the Luo were pastoralists while the Western Bantu were cultivators, the Abagusii were forced to move farther to the Gusii Hills as the Luo occupied the low lands. Those who opted to remain were assimilated (Onduru, 2009; Nyakwaka, 1996).

Oral traditions explain that, after the last migration of the Luo, they settled on the Northeastern shores of L. Victoria that is Nyanza while others settled in the North Mara regions. The Luo tribe can be broken down into six main sections based on their origins. These include the Ramogi Luo, also known as the Luo proper, Kiseru Luos, Girango Luos, Sirati Luos, Imbo Luos and other Luos. Ramogi Luos migrated from Bhar – el- Ghazal region in South Sudan and settled in Kenya while some settled in Tanzania. According to oral traditions, a warrior elder named Ramogi led the Luo ethnic group into present-day Kenya about five centuries ago. The Luo migrated into Nyanza in four phases and they first settled at what is today called Got Ramogi Hill in Yimbo. Some later crossed to the present-day South Nyanza as the majority remained to occupy central Nyanza. The phases included Joka- Jok, Jok- Owiny, Jok-Omolo and Jo- Kawango (Luo Abasuba). The first wave arrived sometime around AD 1490 (Ogot, 2009; Ochieng, 1967:29).

The Joka- Jok is a subgroup of the Luo wave and was the largest migration comprising the Pajok cluster that came from Alur and arrived in Nyanza between 1490 and 1550 and their history is

known as the history of the Southern Luo. The Pajok clan cluster includes the Alego which is made up of Seje, Kadenge and Kamijawa clans some of which moved and occupied Awendo South hence South Alego, West Alego and Central Alego. There were also the Sakwa clans made up of Kamadoga and Kamadhi who settled in Siaya while Kanyamgony, Kangwala and Waunda clans crossed to South Nyanza and settled in Awendo making up East Sakwa Location. Other larger clans of Ramogi who though did not make it to Awendo but to parts of Siaya, Kisumu, Homa Bay and some parts of Migori included Nyakach, Komwa, Konyango also known as Kachwanya, Kagwa, Kano, Seme and Kanyikela (Ochieng, 2002). After the Pajok of Ramogi, was the group that migrated from Alur from where a very small clan of Kowak made it to Awendo but was quickly absorbed by the Sakwa people. However, some clans of Kowak are found in Oyugis, Bondo and Luo Imbo localities. Others included Kanyikela who moved to South Nyanza, Kabuoch, Kanyadoto, Kamoth, Kagan, Kamageta, Kajulu and the Omia also known as the Asembo (Ochieng, 1967).

Another wave that had its population occupying the Pre-Colonial Awendo was the Joka- Owiny. It was the second largest after the Joka- Jok to migrate to Kenya. It was led by an elder called Owiny Sigoma and came to Kenya in the 16th century. The clan that made it to Awendo was Kogelo, who occupied the Southern and Eastern parts of Pre-Colonial Awendo hence South Kogelo and Eastern Kogelo locations. The other clans that did not, however, make it to Awendo included the Karuoth, Kanyigoro, Kanyikwaya, Karapul, Kanyakwar, Kakeny, Kojwodhi, Kadimo, Kowil also known as Ojwando, Ndere, Kaluo and Kadhola (Ochieng, 2002).

The Jo- Kawango came up as a result of the intermarriage between the Luhya and Luo clans who arrived from Western Kenya to occupy part of South Nyanza. They mainly interacted with the Sakwa clan who absorbed them but due to the interactions, new clans of Sakwa emerged. Today, Sakwa clans are the most prominent groups in Awendo Sub-County. The Sakwa clans in Awendo today comprise the Kagwa, Kamwegenyia also known as Waganjo, Waumi, Kamnaria (Surwa), Kakmasia, Kaler/ Kamageta, Kamiyawa, Kamresi, Nyabinya, Kanyamwanda and Nyasmwa. The Sakwa clans marry among themselves because it is made up of descendants who cannot trace their lineage to a single ancestor. The Sakwa clans occupy a larger percentage of Awendo Sub County hence North Sakwa, West Sakwa, Central Sakwa and East Sakwa (Ochieng, 2002).

4.3 Evolution of Awendo Sub-County

Awendo Sub-County has gone through various stages for it to be what it is today. Initially, it was part of the Eastern Province of Uganda. In 1902, changes were made and Eastern Province of Uganda became part of East African Protectorate, later Kenya. After the British had pacified the East African Protectorate, the colonial authorities divided it into Provinces and Awendo fell in the former Kavirondo (larger Nyanza) (Matson, 1958, p.99; KNA, PC/NZA/3/5; Ochieng, 1985).

The Kavirondo (larger Nyanza) province was made up of three Districts which included North Kavirondo, Central Kavirondo and South Kavirondo. Awendo was located in the former South Kavirondo. The purpose of division into smaller units was to facilitate effective economic and political exploitation of the protectorate. The subdivision into smaller units was replicated in dividing the Provinces into smaller units called Districts and Awendo fell under the South Kavirondo District. The other purpose for the sub-division was to facilitate labour provision for agricultural production in various parts of the colony (KNA, PC/NZA/1/30/1935)

The head office for the newly created South Kavirondo District was set at Karungu in 1903. This was not a good location for a headquarter office because it was not at a central location but at this time it was relevant due to the porous border between the British in Kenya and the Germans in Tanganyika. After a peace agreement between the British and the Germans, a more central place was chosen and the head office was transferred to Kisii town in 1907 (KNA, PC/NZA/1/30/1935; Ogot, 2009). In 1907, South Kavirondo was officially changed to South Nyanza with an administrative area covering the Luo, Abagusii and the Abakuria populations.

From 1907 onwards, the colonial government embarked on economic exploitation which was facilitated by the construction of roads linking the trading centres and major towns thus, no further divisions of the province was registered till 1st July 1961 South Nyanza was further divided into smaller administrative units so as to make the administrative units smaller for effective administration. South Nyanza was divided into Homa-Bay and Kisii Districts. Awendo landed in the Homa Bay District (KNA/PC/DC/KSI/Annual Report 1924p.8). In 1992, further divisions took place as much smaller Districts were created and Migori District was carved from Homa Bay District so that it became independent of Homa Bay District. Awendo became part of the newly created Migori District by virtue of its physical location which was closer to Migori as compared

to Homa Bay (Migori District Development Plan, 2002-2008; Adada, 2014). With the nationwide creation of new Districts in 2007, Migori was split into two Districts namely Rongo to the North and Migori to the South. Rongo was made up of three administrative locations including Awendo, Uriri and Rongo (Rongo Development Plan, 2008-2012).

4.4 Background Information of Awendo Sub-County up to 1895

4.4.1 The Social Organization

The household was the primary unit of social organization. It was made up of a wife, her children and her husband. It also constituted the basic unit of production. The household formed part of the larger homestead that consisted of several households, depending on the number of wives a man had. The wife, according to tradition, was the legal owner of the house (*ot*). But the homestead belonged to the husband (*wuon dala*), Achungo (OI), April 2016; Onduru, 1999; Hay, 1976). Each wife was allocated a parcel or parcels of land to cultivate and some livestock. All the livestock in a homestead belonged to the owner of the homestead. No one could dispose of one without his consent although a wife had full control of products such as milk from the livestock attached to her house, Achungo, (OI) April 2016). The homestead (*pacho/dala*) could consist of one house belonging to the wife if the man was monogamous. However, if the man was polygamous, then it would consist of houses equivalent to the total number of wives. All the firstborn sons built their houses (*simba*) on the right handside of the homestead. A homestead thus normally consisted of a number of married men, their wives and children. The practice of many people congregating in a homestead appears to have been influenced by security reasons, Ezekiel, (OI) April 2016; Mboya (1938).

Mboya (1938) observes that during the pre-colonial period, Awendo was in a state of flux. Slave raids, cattle raids as well as raids to acquire more land and wealth were common. This was mainly common between the Awendo population and the Abagusii, their immediate neighbours. Large numbers of people in a homestead were therefore vital for security reasons and the more men there were in such homesteads, the better.

Onduru (2009), states that in any Luo homestead and the extended families, there were laws and rules governing relations among the members. There was ranking in the homestead determined by seniority in the homestead. The oldest surviving male was the head of the homestead and the final

authority. However, if he was incompetent or incapacitated, then he has disqualified from his position and the second most senior man took his place. Wives within the homestead were also similarly ranked according to seniority. It was normal for the senior-most wife/first wife (*mikayi*) to control the labour of junior wives. For instance, junior wives provided labour on the farms of the senior wives on a rotational basis.

Butterman (1979), remarks that the relations between households revealed the inherent tension among patterns of cooperation and competition in the social organization with reference to Kanyamkago. Ocholla-Ayayo (1980), observes that the word for co-wife (*nyieke/nyiego*) could be translated into English as “jealousy”. As one respondent noted: “competition between or among households within the homestead became common during the allocation of resources belonging to the homestead. Such resources included land, livestock and bridewealth. Even the husband was competed for, Nyamwanga, (OI) August 2016; Onduwi, (OI) November 2016).

After the homestead, the next significant units of social organisation were the extended families (*anyuola*). This unit could also be referred to as (*joka kwaro*) meaning people of one ancestry (OI, Onduwi, November 2016; Butterman, 1979). Every *anyuola* was a patrilineal descent group and whether it derived its name from a man or woman depending on the genealogical incidence of co-wives and uterine brothers and the circumstances that call into action the agnatic groups derived from them (Ochola-Ayayo, 1980). *Joka kwaro* as Ochola-Ayayo pointed out referred to all those lineages that were corporate landholding units. They carried out general social functions. Each managed its own political, jural, economic, ritual and other affairs through a council of elders representing its major segments and recognised one of its number as a leader. Organised on a territorial basis, they were units of primary settlement or multiples of them, responsible for the acquisition, apportionment, and use of land and settling domestic disputes (Ochola-Ayayo, 1980). These units, as Butterman notes, were fluid insofar as they were made up of generational depth of two or four generations (Butterman, 1979). Due to migrations, however, which were a common feature in the area, some units could occupy different territorial areas. Those units that settled in the same territorial area were usually characterised by close bonds. This enabled them to cooperate during periods of crisis such as wars, death, an outbreak of diseases and sacrifices. The close affinity that existed between these two units meant that they settled their disputes internally

presided over by their elders. In cases where they could not, they would seek arbitration at the next level of lineage hierarchy, Ezekiel (OI), April 2016).

The next unit of segmentation after *anyuola* and *joka kwaro* was the clan (*Dhoot* (sing)/ *Dhouidi* (pl.)). In pre-colonial Awendo and Luo in general, this major segment was usually named after a wife of an ancestral male or after the male himself such as in North Sakwa were Kanyamgony, Kadero Kwoyo, Kakmasia, Kadero Lwola and Kanyasiranga. In the West Sakwa ward were Dhouidi such as Kombok, Kamreri, and Kanyagwaki. Central Sakwa ward included Kombok, Kawaware and Kanyagwaki while South Sakwa included South K'ogelo, East K'ogelo, West Alego and Central Alego. Although the *anyuola* (*extended family*) and *joka kwaro* (*a territorial unit*) normally occupied the same territorial area, so did the *dho ot*, and the area they occupied was referred to as *gweng* (*Village*). After *dho ot* (*extended families*), the next unit of segmentation was the maximal lineage. This segment was generally characterised by competition between or among various components. For instance, if one segment had over-expanded and possessed a large population, then such a segment could break away from the other major segments and establish an independent maximal lineage (Onduru, 1999; KNA, PC/NZA/1/3/6; KNA/Mboya1938). The current state of the Sub-County is a true reflection of the discussion above as was brought out by the oral interviews represented by Mzee Cleophas (OI), April 2016. He explained that Awendo as a Sub-County was named after the guinea fowl that was quite prevalent in the area as had already been explained but the place was occupied by Sakwa people who were considered as the male ancestor of every ward of Awendo Sub-County hence North Sakwa, South Sakwa, West Sakwa and Central Sakwa wards. These were *Gwenge*.

Archdeacon Owen noted that the position of women among the Luo was that of great influence in spite of many things showing that they were not regarded as equal to men. According to the Luo creation story, the first man to be created was one called *Podho*. To him, the creator (called *Nyasaye*) gave a magic hoe, which worked by itself, requiring no arm to wield it. With the hoe, *Nyasaye* gave *Podho* a command that he was never to attempt to do any work with it himself. If he could disobey this command then the hoe would lose its virtue and cease to work unaided. This happened before the advent of *Aloo* (sometimes called *Mihaha*) (Owen, 1926).

When eventually *Podho* was given *Aloo* as his wife, he gave her the hoe to care for and explained the command to her. For some times all went well. When they wanted any digging to be done all they had to do was to take the hoe out to the site, show it what they wanted it to dig and leave it to do the work. In the evening, it would bring it back home. But one-day curiosity was too much for *Aloo*. She felt that she must feel what it was like to turn up a few sods. She picked up the hoe and with it, turned up a little soil. Then becoming suddenly afraid, she dropped the hoe and went home; but did not tell her husband, *Podho*. However, she was unable to hide what she had done, for in the evening when they went to bring in the hoe, it laid where she had dropped it and had done no work. Then the voice of *Nyasaye* said to them;

“As you are now so clever that you know how to dig for yourself, so shall you”.

So to this day, woman among the Luo is blamed as the source of the curse of work. This explains why in the traditional Luo society agricultural labour was mainly left to the women as men would join them occasionally Martha, (OI) April 2016; Mboya, 1938). As Archdeacon Owen rightly observes, the above traditional myth came into existence reflecting the common trajectory of many such creation stories to put the blame on the woman for any misfortune that befell the human race, and was possibly invented to keep women in subjection, subordination and suppression by her counterpart (KNA/Owen, 1926).

There seemed to be a defined belief in a supreme God, which was thought to be the Sun. There was a belief in a soul which was (and is still) called “*Nyasae*” (spelt as *Nyasaye*), and which was the individual god of each person, (KNA/PC/DC/SK/1912). Religiously, the report noted further that, after the death of a person, the soul lived in a tree but came out to converse with those it had left behind in the form of dreams. The soul was reborn in a child; hence children were given the names of ancestors. The concepts of the soul and God were interconnected but also at the same time, separated.

Oral findings show that the Awendo Sub-County population believed that when someone died, the soul did not go to live on trees, but it lived everywhere; on the mountains, forests, bushes and many other places just hovering around. They would be reborn in children. At times identifying which ancestor had come back was a challenge because it caused a child to cry endlessly and at

worst, if the name was not identified early enough, the child could even die. Some souls would appear in dreams thus making the naming easy. The soul, or what could also be called ancestor(s), mediated between the living and the dead. It also mediated between the living and God. It acted as the intercessor between the living and the ancestors and God, John, (OI) March 2016; Lonsdale, 1977).

On education, Ogotu (1975) explains that, in traditional South Nyanza societies, educational institutions were developed. Formal instructions were given in set places such as the age mates' special dwellings, bachelors' huts (simba) and around the fireplace late after work. These were institutions for boys. The widows' or grandmothers' huts were for girls. Generally, both boys and girls in their institutions would be taught on ethics, history, speech, aesthetics and vocational skills. The Luo education was through participation. It was mainly to respond to the needs of life thus girls would be taught how to be good wives, care for children and do farming while men would be taught on security and hunting. The process of education was a lifetime process.

4.4.2 Economic Organization in Pre-Colonial Awendo

The economy of households in Awendo in the pre-colonial period was basically agriculture though they also kept animals, practised trade and fishing. In addition, the people of Awendo Sub-County were at the same time involved in secondary economic endeavours such as hunting wild animals and birds, gathering of wild leaves, roots and tubers, simple industrial activities such as ironworking and handicrafts. Access to the means of production was gained through membership in the social unit. The distribution of resources was marked by exploitative patterns and the way in which the relations of production were organised (KNA/DC/CN/3/1, 1925, p. 17; Butterman, 1979).

4.4.2.1 Land Tenure in the Pre-Colonial Awendo

One of the economic assets and a factor of production that an individual could need in Pre-Colonial Awendo was land. This is because, in the Pre-Colonial Awendo, the land was of great value (Butterman, 1979). Almost all the economic endeavours of the people of Awendo during the pre-colonial times were based on land either directly or indirectly such as agriculture, pastoralism,

fishing, hunting and gathering grounds and trade. In the Pre-colonial Awendo, the land was owned by the extended family, (*joka-kwaro*).

In the Pre-Colonial Awendo, land and human labour were key components in the process of material appropriation. The community was led by a council of elders who were mainly men with women conspicuously missing. Inasmuch as women in Awendo were not at the centre of land management, land was perceived as a woman. As Odinga (1977) observes, the Luo regarded land as their “mother” because it was associated with productivity. He notes that within the ethnic group, clan or sub-clan, for an individual to lay claim to *lowo* (a parcel of land for cultivation and constructing a house), it depended on his diligence.

Furthermore, in the Pre-Colonial Awendo, land rights and allocation were through transmission from father to son. A father was to apportion parcels of his own land to his sons once they were married. Upon the death of the father, the remaining sons who had not been allocated land would obtain land that their mothers used to cultivate. If the sons were still young, the land could be held in trust for them by their uncles (their father’s brothers), Sylvanus, (OI) April 2016; Hay, 1972).

It is thus important to understand the land tenure system in Awendo during the eve of colonial rule so as to understand gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County. This will also facilitate the understanding of land utilization and management. Land tenure defines a person’s right to hold property and therefore land rights were usually directly related to the individual’s connections by kinship. Land was one of the highly valued properties in the Pre-Colonial Awendo. Since Awendo Sub-County was basically agro-based, it therefore, followed that agriculture was the primary source of food for the people and their livestock.

During the pre-colonial period, a lot of land remained bare in Awendo since the population was sparse. There were a number of methods through which land was acquired in the Pre-Colonial Awendo. One of the methods was by being the first to engage the land either by clearing it for crop production, using it as a trapping/hunting area or as a homestead. The pioneer occupants of Awendo also practised hunting of wild animals mainly guinea fowl (*awendo*) which were quite common. They also gathered wild fruits, tree barks and root tubers to supplement their diets. The trappers/hunters would fix boundaries of their areas in which they could catch animals. The

boundaries between them were marked by trees or big stones so that none would lay his trap in another person's area, to minimize conflicts among themselves and also to reduce theft of trapped animals. These hunting/trapping areas became permanently for the hunters as those who joined later had to look for other unoccupied areas. This method of acquiring land was one of the oldest methods and by the time colonization was approaching, it was still common in the most interior areas of Awendo, Marjorie, (OI) March 2016; Kwenya, 2007) such lands were referred to as the hunting grounds (*kar pedho*). Since the animals would get exhausted or migrate, the hunters would also migrate with them but retain their marked hunting grounds and when the animals returned to the previous areas, they would also return with them. A community would maintain its hunting territories and this was not because land was scarce but because it was so vast that if they continued following the animals, they would go far away from their kinsmen. The various *kar pedho*/ hunting grounds emerged to land belonging to the hunting communities, clans or families that first used them before land demarcation came. A good example of the hunting community in Awendo was the Kamiyawa clan of Sakwa in Central Sakwa (OI) Marjorie; (OI) March 2016).

These lands remained to the first users since there were no people who claimed them. This explains why most hunting, gathering and pastoralist communities in Kenya seem to have a lot of pieces of land compared to those who are purely cultivators. The cultivators also had large tracts of land but since that cultivation was labour intensive, some who could not manage it acquired small pieces of land though in the most prime areas. In the Monthly Intelligence Report South Kavirondo District, 1908, an agricultural officer in the District wrote that "These natives as a whole are agricultural people with a good number of them keeping cattle such as local breeds of cows, goats and sheep" (KNA, PC/NZA/1/2/2008).

The second method of acquiring land in Awendo Sub-County was described by an oral informant, Euphilus Okwany. He explained that, by being the first one to clear a bush or an area for whatever reason whether for homestead, crop cultivation or for grazing, it belonged to the community, clan or family. This method was also common in the interior of the Pre-Colonial Awendo which was being occupied for the first time especially for the cultivators. This method was majorly common at the initial stages of settling in the Pre-Colonial Awendo and later by those moving to the interior as population increased. The initial cultivators and clearers of the fields also became the founders

of the various clans in Awendo and later even became Sub Locations and locations such as Waware, Kombok, Kanyamgony, Kabondo, Kamreri, Kadera Lwala, Kadera Kwoyo locations of Awendo Sub-County among others. All males descending from such a person had rightful claim to utilize the land on behalf of his family. Those lands that were cleared by a community also belonged to that particular community to date and have transformed into locations and sub-locations such as East Kogelo, East Alego and South Sakwa locations which belong to the male members of the communities to date, Euphilus, (OI) April 2016; KNA, PC/NZA/1/1911).

The third method was referred to as a stone throw Owino Elly, (OI) December 2016). He explained that when a new clan migrated into a new location, the clan members would share the land by throwing stones. It was purely the role of the eldest male representing a family or clan to throw the stone, it could not be delegated. He added that they would choose a starting point from where the eldest son or elder would start followed by the next until the last one. Depending on how far one would throw the stone, the landing point of the stone would be the boundary between him and the next. This was repeated until the end. This was so amicable that it never caused friction because one would blame himself for a small piece and not anybody, added Elly.

Another method through which a man could acquire land in Awendo Sub-County during the pre-colonial rule was through maternal and paternal uncles if it was confirmed that the male person had no other way of acquiring land for his family. In such a case he had to give a gift in terms of animals, such as a goat, ram or a bull depending on his ability. The animal was used as a ritual to bless the land for him, James, (OI) August 2016; Benedeta A, (OI) March 2016).

Women in Awendo were not keenly involved in land tenure system at the initial stages. They would follow their men wherever they went as a family or clan. They mainly owned land by relations to the males. They had usufruct rights as they could gather fruits, tubers, tree barks and vegetation from the lands that belonged to their husbands or ancestors. Among the cultivators, women-only cultivated lands that had been acquired by their husbands or matrimonial clans (Kwenya, 2007).

Due to strong patriarchal structures, the Pre-Colonial Awendo women remained producers who would not have the absolute ownership of productive resources especially land. Every woman basically controlled the crops grown on her land (*puothe*) so as to feed the people in her household. She was also allowed to exchange grain for livestock and other varieties of foods or donate it to the needy relatives through *kisuma*. *Min ot* also dealt with the processing of her crops into food, cleaned and dried the beans, pounded and ground sorghum and millet and in later years cassava and maize. Therefore, hard work in the field was one of the major qualities of a marriageable woman. The training of a girl was in preparation for the role of a prospective wife and mother in future marital life (Butterman, 1979).

4.4.2.2 Agriculture in Awendo Sub-County

By 1870, agricultural production had become the dominant economic activity among the Luo Butterman, (1979). This was probably due to the outbreak of cattle epidemics of the 1880s and 1890s. The interaction between the Luo of Awendo and the Bantu such as the Abagusii during the migration and settlement immensely contributed to the establishment of agriculture in Awendo. As the population of Awendo increased, the demand for food also went up tremendously and cattle keeping alone could not certain the food demands. The challenges faced necessitated the shift from pastoralism in the 1870s to crop cultivation in the 1880s and 1990s (Kwenya, 2007). Pastoralism was the main economic activity of the Luo populace prior to the 1870s.

The other possible factor that could have enhanced the shift, which is not given attention in studies on Awendo Sub-County, was the presence of tsetse fly, which did not only affect Awendo but also the larger South Nyanza. This study ascribes the shift from pastoralism to crop production to the presence of the flies as well, which is still common in the area and forced households in Awendo to place more emphasis on crop production. Other factors that contributed to the shift were the occupation of higher grounds which were considered favourable for crop production as the climatic conditions were favourable (Onduru, 2009). The adaptation of a new agricultural tool, iron blade hoe (*nya-yimbo*) also enhanced crop production but did not necessarily cause the shift. This was because, being exorbitant in price, very few people could afford it. The shift in economy from pastoralism to crop production had a variety of impact on the people of Awendo. The immediate effect was that women labour became more involved in crop production. However, the

widely held view that women were the ones who were primarily involved in agricultural production was not correct. Documentary evidence shows that both sexes were involved in agricultural work especially in monogamous families. Archdeacon Owen citing Reverend Wakefield's article noted that both sexes of South Kavirondo (the Luo of South Nyanza) worked on agricultural fields. However, women appear to have undertaken more agricultural work than men more so in subsistence agriculture as women became the key food producers (Maxon, 1989). According to Onduru, both sexes of Kavirondo worked alongside each other in the fields and in a state of complete cooperation... *Ja-Luo* (a Luo) lives mainly by agriculture. They cultivated sorghum, sweet potatoes, peas, eleusine, pumpkins, tobacco and hemp (Onduru, 2009). An oral respondent commented that women were more engaged in crop production than men as one respondent argued:

It was true that both woman and husband worked on the agricultural farm. But the man would stop work by about 11:00 am, leaving the woman to continue working up to about 3:00 pm. The man would leave early to attend to livestock, John, (OI) April 2016).

Agricultural labour in Awendo received greater attention because agriculture requires a lot of it. Agricultural activities such as clearing farmlands, ploughing, planting, weeding, caring for the crops until maturity, harvesting and storage, were labour intensive. Agricultural labour in the Pre-Colonial Awendo was gendered as men had their culturally designated roles just like women. Labour division in the Pre-Colonial Awendo was determined by gender, age and seniority (Onduru, 2009; Hay, 1976; Nyakwaka, 1996).

Traditionally, economic chores were gendered among African people. Both men and women had different culturally aligned obligations, which influenced decision-making and division of labour (Tignor, 1976:289). Parpart (1995) adds that the African agricultural activities were influenced both by the soil texture and the rainy seasons. Awendo people took advantage of the different soil types to grow a variety of food crops that satisfied their subsistence needs throughout the year, except in periods of natural calamities such as drought or floods. (OI) Nyaosi, July 2016 and KAERA, (1988, p. 7) agree that agriculture in Awendo was majorly subsistence and the food crop production was an important economic activity long before colonial rule. The foodstuffs produced included sorghum (*sorghum bicolor*), millet (*panicum miliaceum*), simsim (*sesamum indicum*), Colored maize, finger millet (*eleusine coracana*), cassava (*manihot esculenta*), sweet potatoes

(*ipomoea batatas*), yams (*dioscorea cayenensis*) and cowpeas (*vigna sinensis*). Though the Pre-Colonial Awendo people kept livestock, their primary economic activity was agriculture and animal products especially meat was rarely consumed apart from during important ceremonial functions. This was after the shift from pastoralism to cultivation. Awendo people had a carbohydrate and vegetarian diet mostly of millet, cowpeas, simsim and sweet potatoes as their staple food and a variety of green vegetables

4.4.2.3 Division of Labour

In Awendo, there was an elaborate division of labour based on gender and age for the purpose of enhancing agricultural productivity. Labour in the pre-colonial Awendo was largely cooperative within the family and the larger kinship group. The labour was manual as there were neither machines nor technological advancements. The reward for good work offered was mainly in kind and was distributed among all the members involved. The purpose of production was consumption thus surplus production was minimal if any. In a case where the harvesting season found the previous harvests, it was disposed of by exchanging it for other commodities depending on the needs of the family.

Young boys and girls were also allotted tasks aimed at transforming them into proper men and women. They herded cattle, cared for small brothers and sisters, learnt to hunt, to cook and to behave according to the norms of the community. In the early morning and late afternoon, young boys sat listening to their grandfathers, while the girls sat next to the elderly women as they cooked or made baskets at the time of rest. Some 26% of informants in this study aged 79-109 noted that the women of Awendo had more responsibilities in addition to those mentioned above as compared to their men. For instance, women gave birth to the new generations of Awendo, they were further responsible for storing and caring for food supply, most of the planting, weeding and harvesting, plastering and repairing the walls and surfaces of the house (KNA, DC/KSI/1/3).

In Awendo issues like security were mainly the responsibility of men. Men guarded the homestead in the event of an attack from enemies. This is why, *simba* (sleeping house for older boys) was situated by the gate beginning with *simba* for the eldest son. To aid them in their security role, they made security weapons such as machetes, shields, slings and bows. They also built houses and cattle sheds, herded cattle, hunted and instructed the young warriors on how to defend the

community. In addition, young men made hoes, cloths and ropes for an exchange to get some income. After work, the men rested as they drank their local brews, sniffed bhang and smoked pipe among a host of other forms of relaxation. Fishing along the rivers such as Sare and Riana was also considered a resting activity, Wilfrida, (OI), April 2016).

An agricultural season started with the head of the family, who in most cases had his own farm (*mondo*), though at times he asked his dependents, mostly his wives, to help him work on it. This was more of a command than a request. The wives would not disregard the authority of the man. This practise was common in Pre-Colonial Awendo because the men were mostly polygamous thus it was not easy for the head of the homestead to join a wife on her farm lest it brought complaints from the other wives. He, therefore, had his *mondo* to which he would rather call all the wives to lend a hand once he felt overwhelmed. In cases of a monogamous family, the man did not necessarily have his *mondo* but would occasionally join his wife and children on the farm if he was free, Nyaosi, (OI) July, 2016).

As noted earlier in this chapter, agricultural chores were gendered but flexibility was accommodated. There were interchanges occasioned by different circumstances. Men cleared all virgin land, brushwood and undergrowth vegetation. They were also required to do the first ploughing and hoe fallow lands. Fallow lands were considered harder than even the virgin lands. After the men had hoed the ground, women followed immediately to do the harrowing. However, a man had first to apportion the land he had cleared to his wives before the harrowing could be done beginning with *mikayi*/the first wife.

After harrowing, the women planted while young men helped watch over rodents and the wild animals that were destroying the plants. Women also weeded assisted by their children. The wives depended on their children for labour support during such times thus it was advisable to have as many children as possible. The more children a woman would be able to bear, the more they would be celebrated even by their fellow women. This was because children among the Awendo pre-colonial populace were seen as a source of labour and security, Mzee Milwala, (OI) April, 2016).

Harvesting would follow; this was done by women assisted by their children. The crops grown in the Pre-Colonial Awendo included sorghum, millet, simsim, coloured maize, finger millet, cassava, sweet potatoes, yams, and cowpeas. Men only chipped in to cut the sorghum but women

did the rest of the work, (Ndege, 1987). After harvesting, the women threshed the grains and stored them safely in the granaries (*deche*), Mzee Milwala, (OI) April, 2016). It was the duty and responsibility of a man to ensure that each of his wives had sufficient land on which to grow foodstuff for her children though it was her responsibility to work on the farm with the children. To safeguard against total loss of harvest, the cultivated land was scattered over the ridges.

Given that agricultural production among the people of Awendo was gendered, women were responsible for seasonal crops which were mainly meant for family consumption while men grew perennial crops majorly for commercial purposes. However, the division of agricultural labour along gender was not rigid. Due to this gender delineation, some crops were identified with either female or male cultivators. Women cultivated legumes, maize, sorghum and millet. Crops such as yams, cassava, arrow-roots and gourds were mainly men's crops. The men's crops were majorly meant for sale to exchange for other items depending on the needs of the family. It was upon the man to decide on what to buy. On most occasions, the produce by men either from *mondo* or the men's crops was spent in buying local brews for the man to enjoy with the kinsmen. Some men were responsible enough and would use the product to get bulls or other animals depending on the produce, Mzee Milwala, (OI) April, 2016).

The ability of farmers to access and control labour was inextricably intertwined with diverse and multiple experiences of individuals as wives, co-wives, husbands, mothers, fathers, daughters-in-law and widows and in general as men and women. Since much of the agricultural labour depended on family labour, it is important to understand the constraints and opportunities that women and men faced in different personal circumstances and within gendered power relations at the family level. The organisation of the Awendo family rotated around patriarchy where power was vested in the male gender. Consequently, senior men possessed rights to determine ownership, access to and control over resources within household social structures (KAERA, 1988:32; Mzee Milwala, (OI) April, 2016).

A respondent explained that marriage was an important source of labour in Awendo because a woman's labour was transferred from her patrimonial relations to the matrimonial relations upon marriage. The men in the matrimonial family personified by the husband had the right to appropriate a woman's labour. Both male and female respondents indicated that women's labour

belonged to the husband. A female respondent described it as “*part of husband’s possession*”. The importance of a woman's labour was exemplified among the larger Luo society. They viewed a woman as one who had gone to “*cook for her husband*”. However, all family members provided labour, which was gender-specific. For instance, men did bush clearing, ploughing, harrowing as they made the farms ready for planting. The man would then share out, marked with clear boundaries, the farms among his wives before they started planting. Women would then come in supported by their children to do the planting, gapping, weeding, harvesting and storage. Most of the agricultural labour was provided by the women supported by their children as the man continued working on his *mondo* (Nyakwaka, 1996; Buttermann, 1979, p.24).

In the case of planting and harvesting, the eldest wife was always the first as it was considered bad omen and a breach of house protocol if she did not do it first. In a community of *jopiny* (owners) and *jodak* (tenants), *jopiny* took the lead followed by *jodak* because as tenants, the latter could not signal the former to begin farm work Otieno, (OI) March, 2016; Ndege, 1987, p.59; Ndeda, 1991). A married Pre-Colonial Awendo woman was meant to provide both productive and reproductive labour to the husband’s lineage. It was through a woman and her children’s labour that the men were able to accumulate wealth. Therefore, the more wives and children a man had, the more wealth he could accumulate.

A respondent narrated that sex especially with the first wife (*mikayi*) in polygamous marriages or in monogamous cases marked the beginning of every agricultural activity. For instance, on the night preceding the first ploughing, first weeding, first tasting of the crops as they were getting ready and first harvesting, the husband had to sleep in the *mikayi*’s house and they had to play sex to symbolize the opening of the process. It, therefore, insinuates that *mikayi* did not have an option of refusing to have sex with the husband. It was part of her agricultural responsibility in Awendo, Mama Jane, (OI) April, 2016; Murray, 1977, p.271-272). When it came to scaring the rodents, birds and animals from interfering with crops, women and children did the scaring during the day while men cared for the crops at night to ward off wild animals, like wild pigs, porcupines and small ducks, Mama Jane, (OI) April 2016).

Following the fact that women did quite a lot of the agricultural labour in the pre-colonial agriculture in addition to a myriad of domestic chores in Pre-Colonial Awendo as compared to their male counterparts, they came up with ways of making work easier which later was also picked up by men. It is not clear where this method of labour came from but it is argued that, out of the labour frustrations women were going through, this must-have just come up spontaneously. This kind of labour has been referred to as ‘cooperation labour’ since it worked among friends where the members of the group worked in rotation for one after the other until all their farms were well done (Nyakwaka, 1996; Milwala, (OI) April, 2016; Mama Jane, (OI) April, 2016). Through this labour organization, the women assisted each other to complete weeding, harvesting, and threshing of grains which, as has been discussed above, were women's agricultural roles. Since the method appeared beneficial to the women, the men also adopted it and used it to help one another to clear bushes for virgin lands, make beehives which was also a key male agricultural activity or to dig wells in circumstances where water was a problem mainly during drought or just a dry spell (Zwannenbergh, 1970; Kanogo, 2005). It was the responsibility of the person being worked for to provide food for the workers. In the case of men, the food had to include the local brews (*kong'o*) and the wife or *mikayi* in case of polygamy, would prepare food for the husband's workers or *mikayi* could delegate the role of preparing the food to a younger wife. A person, whether man or woman, could invite his or her other friends to join him or her during such labour. This invitation acted as a way of expanding the groups as more members got lured by the way it made work easier. This method of labour has remained popular to date in Awendo though still among women as it is popularly known as merry-go-round, Nyambaka, (OI) April, 2016; Nyakwaka, 1996).

4.4.3 Other Economic Activities that Supplemented Agriculture in Awendo Sub-County

Awendo Sub County had a number of economic endeavours that enabled them to have food most of the time. Though the main economic activity in Awendo at the time of this research was cultivation, nonetheless, the researcher found that the Awendo residents practised pastoralism, trade, fishing, art and craft and hunting as well as gathering. These other economic activities supplemented agriculture in addition to enabling them to have a balanced diet. Butterman (1979) explains that the River-Lake Nilotes were originally pastoralists. They considered it superior to cultivation. This must have been determined by the hot and dry climatic conditions at Bahr El Ghazal in the current day Republic of South Sudan. As they migrated southwards, they started interacting with the Bantu who cherished crop cultivation. The Luo of Awendo encountered a

climate that favoured cultivation in the Pre-Colonial Awendo and on the contrary, their livestock were attacked by various diseases.

The Nilotic speakers as described by Ogot (2009) were basically pastoralists who adopted agriculture as they interacted with the Bantu communities thereby developing a mixed economy. This was also the view of most of the respondents who confirmed that, in the distant past, pastoralism was superior to agriculture in the Pre-Colonial Awendo as indeed throughout Luoland Imelda, (OI) April, 2016). Earlier studies on Nyanza such as those of Hay (1976), Butterman (1979) and Mboya (1938) agree that the Luo idolised pastoralism as their primary economic activity and considered it superior to crop production.

The pastoralist communities of the Luo in Pre-Colonial Awendo kept animals such as cattle, sheep, and goats while chicken and bees were later introduced. In the more arid areas, donkeys were kept for transportation purposes. Milk for household use was ranked as the most important benefit followed by the sale of milk; meat and live animals. Other benefits included animals being used to maintain the homesteads clean by feeding them the long grasses, animals were also valued for dowry payment, they were a source of wealth while their skins and hides were used for making entertainment instruments such as *bul* (drum) and *orutu* (a single wire musical instrument) while the bulls were used for ploughing lands thus promoting the pursuit of mixed economy. The major and common general constraints on livestock production included diseases, drought, insecurity, lack of water, limited markets and drug supplies, inadequate pastures and poor veterinary services. Coping strategies to alleviate these constraints were; use of veterinary drugs, ethnoveterinary practices, traditional quarantines and mobility of livestock (Onduru, 2009).

In addition to cultivation and pastoralism, the River Lake Nilotes had fishing as one of their economic activities. As Hobley (1970) describes, those who lived near Lake Victoria and along the rivers, majorly Rivers Sare and Oyani for the people of the Pre-Colonial Awendo were expert fishermen. Fishing was meant to supplement their diet. Johnston, (1980) commenting on the diet of the Luo, also noted that besides the flesh of fowls, cattle, sheep and goats, the Luo ate large quantities of fish, which they obtained from rivers, and above all, from Lake Victoria. The Pre-Colonial Awendo populace applied a number of fishing methods mainly on rivers such as Oyani

and Sare. One of the most common methods was the use of large conical wicker traps locally known as *gogo*. *Gogo* was mainly pulled by men while women waited by the shores to clean the fish. The other method of fishing was the use of a fish-basket known as *ounga*. This was mainly employed by women operating along the shores and did not involve going into the deep parts of the lake or rivers. Women, while fishing in rivers and ponds like water bodies, also used this method. The fish that were caught were mainly used to supplement the diet, while the surplus was exchanged through local trade. Varieties of fish were caught, ranging from the prized ones such as *ngege* (tilapia), *fwani* (barbel), and *kamongo* (catfish), to other less popular ones known locally as *okoko*, *fulu*, *ningu*, and *omena*, Achola Mary, (OI) November, 2016; OI, Sumbe, November 2016).

The Luo community took part in the trade as their economic endeavour before the establishment of colonial rule. This was indicated by Hobley when he wrote that;

“The principal occupations of the Kavirondo were cultivation, cattle rearing and trading,”
(Hobley, 1970).

Hobley (1970) adds that, through trade, households in South Nyanza were able to supplement their food requirements. Through trade, they were able to acquire properties such as livestock, agricultural products and implements. According to the oral information, trade was usually active during periods of famine. This was because production was mainly subsistence and famine would indicate poor production, Ayanga, (OI) November, 2016; Hobley, 1970; KNA, PC/NZA/1/4). Fearn (1961) points out that in Nyanza, the traditional system of mutual kinship obligation, which was widely observed, was a significant factor, which minimized the need for trade (Fearn, 1961). Contrary to Fearn’s position, however, the oral information showed that trade was a very common practice in Pre-Colonial Awendo, Philomena, (OI) November, 2016).

Oral information shows that there were two forms of trade in pre-colonial Awendo, internal and external. The former was among the people of Awendo themselves, while the latter involves the people of Awendo and adjacent communities such as the Abakuria and the Abagusii as well as people from far away places from the East African Coast, such as the Arabs and the Swahili. The Baganda from the interlacustrine region were also involved in the trade. Respondents observed that external trade was more active between the people of South Nyanza and the Abagusii. Items of

exchange included finger millet and sorghum in exchange for livestock, milk and fish. The trade was vigorous with the Abagusii since they occupied a rich agricultural region. Reverend Wakefield, who wrote on the economic activities of the *Wa-Kosovo* (the Abagusii) in 1870, noted that they were agriculturalists. Hobley (1970) shortly afterwards in 1882 also observes that *Wa-Kosovo* (the Abagusii) were an agricultural community. It should be noted that barter was the main mode of exchange though it co-existed with the use of iron or beads as currencies which were not very common in Pre-Colonial Awendo as was explained by the oral informants. Other related economic activities that the households in Awendo and indeed the Luo generally engaged in, include hunting and gathering. All these went a long way in supplementing the daily diet of the people of South Nyanza. The artwork was another key economic activity as those who had the technological know-how such as the making of storage pots, baskets for going to the market and also for storage of cereals sold their art products while the local entrepreneurs traded on them. The people of Awendo made a number of other materials which they used locally while others were sold as was reported by Hudson, (OI) November, 2016).

Development of agriculture in the Pre-Colonial Awendo led to the development of art and craft related cottage industries such as pottery, weaving, ironworking and woodwork. Art and craft activities were dominated by women in Awendo during the period under review. Most of the raw materials were locally available such as wood, stones, clay, iron and animal skins and hides. Women, in most cases, made different household items including tools, decorations and beauty items such as bangles and necklaces as well as agricultural equipment. The Pre-Colonial Awendo women were further involved in weaving and pottery. They wove *par*/mats used for sleeping by children, caps and table mats. Using clay, they moulded pots for fetching and storing water, for cooking, keeping small grains such as *simsim*, keeping milk, porridge and for brewing of local liquor (*Kong'o/andiwo*). Some plants such as the calabash tree would either grow wildly or domesticated and were good sources of raw materials for the Pre-Colonial Awendo art industry. From such plants, they made gourds and calabashes as gourds were split in the middle into equal halves to produce calabashes. The calabashes were used as drinking vessels while the gourds were for storage of smaller grains and milk (Onduru, 1999; Nyakwaka, 1996; Ombalo, (OI) April, 2016).

Nonetheless, men were also involved in art and craft as they were involved in iron technology. Men's art activities were a source of income as most of the items made were meant for sale as compared to women's items which were mainly meant to remain in the household. Among the men there was specialization. This was because there were those who were leather experts who made items such as bags for carrying swords and other items. They also made sandals, belts, shields (*okumba*), hats, bedding and clothing. They also made musical instruments such as a single-stringed instrument (*orutu*), drums (*bul*) and harps. The musical instruments were for celebrations, leisure purposes or just for general entertainment.

Others still specialized on woodwork/wood curving which was basically done by men, from which they made various items including mortar and its pestle used in preparing herbs for various medications and weapons such as clubs (*arungu*), bows, yokes, for aligning bulls to plough using ox-drawn plough and pins on which the hoes were fixed for them to be easier to work with. Others also specialized in ironworking. The Luo were not blacksmiths from their area of origin Barl-el-Ghazal in South Sudan but they acquired the practice as they interacted with Bantu, mainly the Western Bantu made up of the Abaluyhia, Abakuria and mainly the Abaturi sub-clan of the Abagumbe clan of the Abagusii who were experts in ironworking, Marjorie, (OI) March, 2016; Adada, 2014; Abuso, 1980). Most raw materials came from the Bantu who had them in plenty and were immediate neighbours like the Abagusii while the Abasuba who had been absorbed by the Luo, brought iron technology. Ironworking was celebrated among the Luo as it was bringing a lot of income and the items made were durable as compared to the clay and wood made items. It was a men's affair as it needed a lot of energy to beat the red-hot irons to required shapes that produced the various items. They used the iron to make weapons such as arrowheads (*asere*), spears (*tong*) and different shapes and sizes of knives. In addition, they made agricultural equipment such as the hoes which were in different sizes and shapes, machetes for clearing bushes and for security, ox-drawn ploughs for tiling large farms thus increasing production and wealth (Nyakwaka, 1996; Kwenya, 2007; Mama Jane, (OI) April, 2016).

The other secondary economic activity in which the Awendo populace engaged was hunting and gathering. However, hunting and gathering as a mode of production had not received sufficient backing from among the Awendo people who had now immersed themselves in agriculture. This was because hunting and gathering were perceived to be for people who depended solely on nature

with no other options for livelihood. This was not the case in Pre-Colonial Awendo which had well endowed agricultural land and climate. Hunting and gathering was a key economic activity as it supplemented agriculture. Due to its supplementary role, the researcher deemed it necessary to have it as part of this study and bring out the roles of men and women among the hunting and gathering groups of Awendo during the period under discussion, Ombalo, (OI) March, 2016).

Going by the literature collected, hunting and gathering was a common practice among hunting-gathering clans. Men and women had different specific tasks. In Awendo, during the period, men hunted large land and water fauna, trapped small animals and birds, hunted birds, built boats for fishing along large and small rivers such as Sare and Riana (local large rivers mentioned by the informant). While women gathered firewood, fruits, tubers and tree bark. They also gathered local herbs for medicinal purposes. Most of the women's activities were performed close to the home and involved monotonous tasks that required no concentration and could easily be interrupted and resumed (Nyakwaka, 1996; Kwenya, 2007).

Hunting, as compared with gathering was a predominantly male activity among the hunting and gathering clans. Hunting permitted men to go long distances from home and travel over great distances. This was not possible for women who were burdened by the numerous domestic activities which were tedious while for men, hunting was like a game as they enjoyed it and it was not obvious that those who had gone hunting had to come back home with something. It was a kind of game and leisure for men. Therefore, the wife still had to look for food for her family. While men followed the larger and small wild animals, women gathered grains, seeds, nuts, fruits and tubers, eggs of birds, crabs, small animals, and insects. Women's work was steady and regular. Men's work was more spectacular but less reliable. In some of these societies, methods of preserving food were lacking thus gathering was more reliable than hunting, Wilfrida, (OI) March 2016; Marjorie, (OI) March, 2016).

Among the hunting societies of the Pre-Colonial Awendo, as the women would be out gathering and by good luck came across an edible small animal, they would chase after them and, in most cases, would manage to kill such animals. However, such occasions were rare but were highly celebrated, Mama Jane, (OI) April, 2016). It, therefore, emerged that, inasmuch as there was the division of labour, this did not bar an opposite gender from engaging in economic activity of the

opposite gender as both were for the good of the society. This was confirmed by George Kwach, (OI) April, 2016.

Hunting and gathering were important to the people of Awendo as it had a number of benefits in addition to supplementing the diet of the people who majorly relied on agricultural by-products. From the oral interviews conducted across the sub-county, it emerged that hunting had some other more valuable outcomes which have not been clearly brought out by the contemporary scholars. As Opanga narrated, hunting supplemented trade by providing some of the key trading items that were exchanged at very high values. These items included ivory, rhinoceros' horns, hippopotamus teeth and the rare skins of small animals such as the tiger skin, Opanga, (OI) April, 2016).

4.4.4 Political Organization of the People of Awendo in the Pre-Colonial Rule up to 1895

The Luo being one of the Nilotic speakers had no single paramount ruler (chief or king) meaning it was a centralized society though W R Ochieng has written about Kadimo kingdom, Ochieng (1974); this was not the case with most Nilotic communities particularly the Luo. Each sub-ethnic group had its own Council of Elders at the lowest level who administered the community. The Luo political arrangement was marked by a number of councils of elders who managed the community at different levels. At the topmost level was the overall council of the entire Luo Community called *Buch Piny* (The Council of the People) (KNA, Hobley's Diary, 1896). The pre-colonial councils of elders among the Luo were rulers and leaders of a sub-ethnic group that were majorly arranged into clans (Ochieng, 1974). From among the councils of elders, a chairman who was also the spokesman of the council was chosen. The chairman was referred to as *Ruoth*/chief. Chiefs were very powerful over the people they were leading. As Hobley who also wrote of the Luo pre-colonial chiefs noted:

There is no doubt that in the older times the chiefs were far more powerful than now, and a vigorous chief with a large number of wives could have descendants enough to form the beginning of a quite considerable clan, KNA, Hobley's Diary, 1896).

The functions of the Council of elders among the Luo in the pre-colonial period in Nyanza were three folds. This was because they played political, religious and military roles in the community they were leading. The Council (*Buch piny*) was composed of clan elders (*Jodong dho ot*) who, in most cases, were the oldest males in a family lineage, the peacemaker (*ogaye*), and the military

leaders (*Osumba Mrwayi*). The Council resolved matters affecting the whole ethnic group of the Luo such as famine, drought, war, sacrifices and prayers. It also settled inter-clan disputes such as boundary disputes or calling for peace or declaring war with other communities. It also acted as the final court of appeal for the whole community (Ogot, 1976; OI, Hosea, December 2016).

Buch piny was further subdivided into smaller political units called (*gwenge*), or what can be called minimal lineages. Each of these minimal lineages had a Council of elders called *Jodong Gweng'* (elders of the lineage) with its chairman called *miruka*. Smaller to *gweng'* was a council of elders referred to as *doho*. *Doho* operated in a similar manner to *buch piny*, dealing with matters pertaining to the minimal lineage. Any matter that *doho* could not handle due to its complexity was referred to *buch piny*. *Doho* was composed of elders of a family lineage called *kwaro*. Every family lineage would produce the oldest person alive to be their elder. The local *ogaye* (the peacemaker) was also a member of the council of *doho*. The Luo had warriors who were in charge of security who were operating like the modern policemen (*ogulmama*). *The warriors were headed by a senior warrior (Osumba Mrwayi)*. *Osumba Mrwayi* set in the council of *Buch Piny*. The main role of *ogulmama* headed by *Osumba Mrwayi* was to enforce the decisions reached at the *Buch Piny* and *doho* meetings, Kenyani, (OI) April 2016; Odiero, (OI) December, 2016; Ochieng, 1974).

Women were not directly involved in the political organization in Awendo during the period as was also the case in almost the entire Luoland but they were consulted by their husbands more so those who were past menopause. The Elders (*Jodongo*) of the various councils consulted their first wives (*mikayi*). The women were very important as they influenced the positions taken by their husbands during council meetings, Paulina, (OI) November, 2016).

4.5 The Colonial Intrusion into Awendo Sub-County 1895-1903

Londsdale (1964, p.56) explains that the initial stages of the European invasion of Africa did not see Kenya conquered because it did not seem to have the minerals that were the centre of attraction to the Europeans. Due to the strategic position of East Africa as the source of River Nile which was crucial for Egyptian development, the focus shifted to East Africa with Britain and France on one side and Germany on the other. There was bitter rivalry between the two factions. This was because Britain having conquered Egypt, it was the intention of Germany to conquer the source of River Nile in a bid to punish Britain. This was after a fierce rivalry between the two wings over

Morocco which saw Germany lose to France and Britain in the Algeiras conference thus she rushed and while still conquering Tanganyika, the British also dashed to save her interest over Egypt by conquering the source of River Nile (Uganda). Britain entered East Africa through the Kenyan coast and went straight to conquer Uganda by making it a Protectorate before the Germans (Londsdale, 1977, p.171). By 1894, Colonel Henry Colville, the first Commissioner of Uganda Protectorate had established an administrative station in Kenya at Mumias with Sir Fredrick Spire as the first British officer. This sub-station majorly served as a call centre as the Europeans believed that Kenya was not as crucial to them at that moment as Uganda for reasons already stated above (Ogot, 2009, p.333; Ochieng, 1985, p.93; Mungeam, 1966; KNA, 1/4; KNA, 1/3/9). By 1883, Joseph Thomson had visited the larger Maasai land and then visited Mumias as contacts had already been made with Chief Nabongo Mumia of the Wangwa Kingdom thus the kingdom also served as a point of entry into Kenya. The chief always gave them warm reception as he saw opportunities for his kingdom in the hands of the Europeans thus he wanted to win more contracts with them (Mungeam, 1966, p.84; KNA/1/4). In 1885, another European missionary named Bishop James Hannington arrived in the Kingdom of Nabongo to introduce church missionary activities in the area as they had done in Uganda. After about two years, he left for Uganda and, although he had been warned by Chief Nabongo not enter Uganda through the East, he defied the Chief and entered Uganda through the East thus he was killed by the Baganda who had received a prophecy that their enemy will come from the East (Osogo, 1966; Goldsmith, 1955).

The two journeys encouraged more Europeans to venture into Kenya. This was because the journeys occurred at a time when European invasion of Africa was at its critical stage. Going by the terms of the Berlin Conference agreements of 1884-85 on effective occupation and evidence of the occupation, the British government increased and concretized its occupation of the region. This saw the replacement of the British officials by the chartered Imperial British East African Company (IBEACo) of Sir William Mackinnon (Hobley, 1970, p.72; Zwanenberg, 1976, p.124).

The British conquest of Kenya was not only a political process but was also an economic force. Due to the foreseen advantages, the IBEACo was allowed to exploit the British sphere of influence between Zanzibar and Uganda. The formal colonial period in Kenya started in 1888 when the Royal Charter was granted to the Imperial British East African Company (IBEACo) with the mission of exploiting the British sphere of influence between Zanzibar and Uganda. Come 1894,

Kenya was declared The British East African Protectorate thus marking the beginning of the colonial administration (Maxon 1989, pp.147-152; 2002, p.103); Zeleza, 1989, p.37; KNA/1/6). Lonsdale (1964) the British colonial administration in Kenya (East African Protectorate) officially commenced on the First of July 1895. In 1901, the Uganda railway reached Port Florence (later Kisumu) and in 1902, the Eastern Province of Uganda, the region that currently covers Western, Nyanza and Rift Valley Provinces were transferred to East African Protectorate from the Uganda colonial administration. The commissioner of the Protectorate, Sir Charles Elliot, noted that Africans had not yet accepted the colonial rule. In order to obtain their acquiescence, he believed that it was imperative to organize military expeditions against what he termed recalcitrant Africans. A series of punitive expeditions were carried out between 1900 and 1908 against communities that resisted British rule such as the Nandi, Embu, Abagusii, Kipsigis, Bukusu and Kabras. South Nyanza was brought under British colonial rule in 1903, while the rest of Luoland had been placed under British colonial rule in 1900 (Matson, 1958; Ogot, 1965).

The military approach of the British often made new lands available for alienation. It was also marked by the transfer of livestock to the Europeans. Therefore, through expeditions, the colonial office expropriated the means of indigenous production on behalf of the settlers. Through the method, the European got land and other African economic advantages more than African customs would have allowed them to offer to the Europeans (Wolf, 1986, p.103; Adada, 2014, p.57; Onduru, 2009, p.149; Mzee Pamba, (OI) January, 2017) concurs with this as he explains that his grandfather, together with other villagers, lost their cattle to *jo rochere* (white men) as they ran to take refuge in the drylands towards Tanganyika.

In 1902, South Kavirondo (later South Nyanza where Awendo is located) along with all those areas which had been amalgamated to form the East African Protectorate ultimately became Kenyan territory as has been discussed earlier (KNA, PC/NZA/1/3; Ogot, 1968, p.98). In August 1903, Sir Boughton-Knight visited Rusinga on his way to Karungu, the farthest part of the South Kavirondo. He had been posted to Karungu as an acting District Commissioner (KNA, DC/KSI/3/2; KNA, DC/SK/7/5; KNA, DC/KSI/1/1, 1908-1909; Ochieng, 1974, pp.84-85).

The imposition of the colonial rule entailed the process of capitalist spread into African economies. The conquest not only had political importance but the British also saw other opportunities in Africa such as the large unexploited market, virgin lands for agricultural raw materials, untapped cheap labour and Africans were also seen as a source of revenue (Lonsdale, 1989, p.46).

The colonial authorities established administrative structures based on successive jurisdictions. The East African Protectorate (Kenya) was divided into Provinces such as the Kavirondo Province (later Nyanza Province) which was made of three Districts namely North Kavirondo, Central Kavirondo and South Kavirondo. The Districts were further divided into Divisions which were further divided into Locations and the then locations to Sub-locations while the last administrative unit was the village which was majorly clan-based. In terms of the order of authority, the Protectorate was under the Secretary of states for Colonies based in Britain. Under him was the Governor who was a British in charge of the Protectorate (Colony). The British were also in charge of the Districts and Divisions with Africans being in charge of the locations and villages. Africans were never given serious positions of responsibility. The major responsibilities of the Africans in authority were to implement orders from their British seniors, recruit Africans for the forced and exploitative labour, collect taxes from Africans and report African offenders to the colonial offices (KNA/DC/KSI /3/2; Ogot, 2009).

As a sign of occupation in 1903, the Union Jack, a British flag was sent to every District to be raised in all the administrative centres to symbolize the conquest and control of the area. The flag was also to confirm the paper boundaries more so set by the Heligoland and other treaties between the British and their colonial rivalries. In 1904, HH Horne picked up the control of the South Kavirondo District following the demise of Boughton-Knight. He effectively stopped the German encroachment into the Protectorate (KNA/PC/NZA/South Kavirondo Annual Report 1908-1909; Abuso, 1980). The people of Karungu, just like some other Luo, resistant communities such as Uyoma that did not welcome the British, put up a resistance led by their Chief Ougo (Abuso, 1980; Nyakwaka, 1996; Onduru, 2009) this resistance was easily suppressed by the British who had superior weapons and were prepared for the war having experienced similar resistance in other areas while the people of Karungu were ambushed as they did not expect such a force. The British thus established an administrative centre in Karungu. It was preferred as the Headquarters because

of the German encroachment into the British territory through the border with Tanganyika. Karungu remained as the headquarters of Southern Kavirondo till 1907 when it was transferred to Kisii. This was because there was relative peace around the border between the Germans and the British. Kisii was on the mainland and from this point; the South Kavirondo District was established (KNA/PC/NZA/South Kavirondo Annual Report 1908-1909; Ayot, 1987).

Awendo location was part of Rongo Division of the South Kavirondo District. Awendo and the Abagusii were also put under colonial dominion almost simultaneously, (KNA, PC/NZA/1/3, Annual Report 1903-06). The Abagusii resisted but were defeated by the well-armed British soldiers; the people of Awendo did not put an armed resistance against the British like the Abagusii and the Karungu people. This was because the people of Awendo had heard how the British conquerors had dealt with the resisters at Karungu under the leadership of Ougo and they also saw how the Abagusii, their neighbours, lost their lives and their property which were destroyed in the process of resisting and still they were subdued (KNA, DC/KSI/1/1; Ochieng, 1965; KNA/PC/NZA/SK/1/5, 1939-1946; Nyakwaka, 1996).

4.6 Conclusion

Men and women had different responsibilities, which influenced decision-making and division of labour as well as other aspects of life in Awendo during the period under discussion. From the above analysis, it has been confirmed that Awendo people had gender-specific roles in agricultural production and in the agriculturally related areas. This was, however, not static since there was no taboo in one gender helping another gender during times of labour shortage. There was nothing wrong for men for instance, to plant maize and millet, which were considered as women's crops but they do much for the women.

In the social set up, the family organization and segmentation has been analyzed bringing out the gendered responsibilities of the pre-colonial Awendo populace. It has also brought out the religious origin of agricultural labour. The organization of the Awendo family rotated around patriarchy where power was vested in the male gender. Consequently, senior men possessed rights to determine ownership, access to and control over resources within household social structures. Upon marriage, a woman's labour was transferred from her paternal relations to the matrimonial

relations. The men in the matrimonial family personified the woman and the husband had the right to appropriate the woman's labour. Both male and female respondents indicated that women's labour belonged to the husband. A female respondent described it as "part of the husband's possession". Due to patriarchy, Awendo women remained producers who would not have absolute ownership of factors of production, especially land. The foregoing indicates that women were in control of the domestic economy. Production roles of women covered an array of domestic chores, agricultural operations and limited livestock care. It is evident that hard work in the field was one of the major qualities of a marriageable woman. The training of the Awendo girl was in preparation for the role of a prospective wife and mother in future marriage life.

Under economic organization, the chapter has discussed land acquisition, land tenure and women in relation to land use and ownership. Various aspects of agriculture have also been established such as the shift of the Luo economic orientation from pastoralism to cultivation, gendered labour roles in agriculture and family as a source of agricultural labour. The researcher has also discussed gender labour relations in other economic activities in Awendo including pastoralism, trade, art and craft as well as hunting and gathering.

On political organization, the chapter has delved into the pre-colonial political arrangements from the family which was the lowest political unit to *Buch Piny* (Council of the People). The roles of women in relation to the political organization have been brought out. The chapter concludes by looking into political intrusion of Awendo as it prepares the ground for the next chapter. The next chapter analyses the changing gender labour relations in agriculture in the colonial Awendo as it exposes the nature of gender labour relations in the colonial Awendo and impact of independence on gender labour relations in agriculture.

CHAPTER FIVE

CHANGING GENDER LABOUR RELATIONS IN AGRICULTURE IN COLONIAL AWENDO

5.1 Introduction

In his last annual report, Sir Charles Elliot had indicated that settlers and natives needed agricultural labour at the same time and that natives were less willing to leave their land to work for the settlers (Bennett, 1963). Following the Africans' unwillingness to work for settlers, policies were put in place to enable the Europeans to procure the cheap African labour thus disrupting the traditional gender division of labour among the Africans. European settlement interfered with gender labour relations of production as men and women began doing chores that were previously assigned to specific gender groups. In this chapter, therefore, the establishment of colonial rule and its impact on gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo has been examined. Other key sub-themes that have been discussed in this chapter include evolution of Awendo Sub-County, wage labour and its impact on gender labour relations; land tenure system, taxation policies and conclusion have been discussed in relation to the changing gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County. The reception of such policies by the people of Awendo has also been analyzed. In the chapter, the impact of the Second World War and decolonization on gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo has also been examined.

5. 2 Establishment of Colonial rule in Awendo

The colonial conquest of Awendo had political, social and economic reasons as it expanded its power and market across Africa. To the Africans, it was a cause of confusion, not knowing how to respond to the European arrival. Some African leaders like Nabongo Mumia, King Lewanika of the Lozi Kingdom and Kabaka Mutesa I of the Buganda Kingdom received them expecting some benefits for their people while some communities like the Nandi, Bukusu, Karungu and Agiriama resisted them because they viewed the Europeans as a source of problems. Furthermore, communities like the Luo, Agikuyu and the Akamba exhibited mixed reactions as a portion of the same community received the Europeans while another portion resisted (Mungean, 1966; KNA/1/6).

The colonization of Kenya by the British followed the Berlin treaty of 1884-1885 that recommended effective occupation of the spheres of influence. In Kenya, the effective occupation

started on 6 September 1888 with the granting of a royal charter by Queen Victoria of Britain to the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) headed by William Mackinnon. The Imperial British East Africa Company was the administrator of British East Africa, which was the forerunner of the East African Protectorate, later known as Kenya. The IBEAC was a commercial association founded to develop African trade in the areas controlled by the British colonial power. It granted immunity of prosecution to the Europeans while allowing them the right to raise taxes, impose custom duties, administer justice, make treaties and otherwise act as the government of the area (Smith, 1899, p.269). In 1895, a protectorate was declared over British East Africa. This marked the beginning of colonial administration in the British East African Protectorate/ later Kenya (KNA/KSM/3/6/1926; Smith, 1899; Ochieng, 1985; Zeleza, 1989).

The period that followed the declaration of protectorate over Kenya was not an easy one to the Kenyans. Being that the conquests were resisted by the Africans, such resistance provoked fierce retaliation by the British who were better armed as compared to the African soldiers. All the resisting communities were defeated. For instance, the Karungu and Abagusii who neighbour Awendo were defeated in 1907 and 1908 respectively thus discouraging the Awendo people from resisting the British, (Ochieng, 1974, p.92; Maxon, 1989, p.123; 2002, p.84).

Following the success of the British conquests over Africans in Kenya, the Europeans established colonial administrative structures over those who collaborated like Awendo as well as those who resisted. The administrative structures were based upon the division of the protectorate into portions otherwise referred to as the Provinces which were further divided into Districts and Districts sub-divided into Divisions then into Locations and finally divided into villages/Sub-Locations. All the administrative ranks were headed by the British except the locations and the Villages which were headed by Africans but with decrees from the British. From Awendo was chief Odundo who was named as one of the well-known colonial chiefs of Sakwa, John, (OI April, 2016; Ochieng, 1985, p.98; Matson, 1958).

Consequently, by 1902, Kisumu and Naivasha Provinces were made to be part of the East African Protectorate. C.W Hopley, an employee of the defunct Imperial British East African Company reached Mumias in Nyanza as a sub-commissioner in 1895. His main role was to facilitate the occupation and pacification of Kavirondo Province later called Nyanza Province

(KNA/PC/NZA/3/2; KNA, Hopley's Diary, 1896). The colonialists realized that infrastructure and particularly transport was a factor to effective pacification as this would enable them to reach the interior of the Protectorate. Caravan routes used during the long-distance trade thus had to be secured and were later made roads and railway lines to facilitate the establishment of colonial rule leading to the construction of Kenya-Uganda Railway from the Port of Mombasa to Uganda, (Matson, 1958, p.54).

In 1901, the Kenya-Uganda Railway reached Kisumu then known as Port Florence. The following year in 1902, the Eastern Province of Uganda was made the East African Protectorate made up of Western, Nyanza and Rift Valley Provinces (KNA/PC/NZA/3/5) the colonial administrators could now easily reach the interior. In 1903, the Union Jack (British Protectorate's Flag) was then hoisted at Karungu; a sign of occupation and creation of a new district known as South Kavirondo later South Nyanza. The Protectorate's commissioner, Sir Charles Elliot, noted that Africans had yet not accepted colonial rule. In order to pacify them, he believed that it was imperative to organize military expeditions against the resisting Africans. A series of punitive expeditions were thus carried out between 1900 and 1908 against communities that resisted British rules such as the Nandi, Embu, Karungu, Abagusii, Kipsigis, Bukusu and Kabras. South Nyanza was officially placed under British colonial rule in 1903 following the hoisting of the Union Jack, (KNA/PC/NZA/6/8/ 1909; Matson, 1958, pp.46-48).

The people of Karungu put up armed resistance led by their leader Ougo, the resistance did not last long as they were easily defeated by the well-armed and prepared British in 1903. Following the suppression of the resistance, an acting District Commissioner, Boughton-Knight reached Karungu. Karungu was a small port on the Eastern Shores of Lake Victoria making it of strategic value in keeping a check on the German encroachment which was a threat to the British in East Africa. In 1904, H.H Horne was sent to Karungu as the District Commissioner upon the demise of Boughton-Knight (KNA, PC/NZA/5/7 South Kavirondo Annual Report, 1939). In 1907, the headquarters were transferred to Kisii which was a more central place in South Kavirondo following the defeat of the Abagusii resistance in 1907. The transfer followed a peace settlement between the British and the Germans (Matson, 1958).

Awendo was therefore conquered after the establishment of the new station at Kisii in 1907. The people of Awendo did not put up armed resistance against the British. This was because the people had heard that a number of people lost their lives in Karungu and in Kisii while resisting the British, Joseph Odeny, (OI) August, 2016). The imposition of colonial rule came with new agricultural labour policies that affected the gender labour relations among the people of Awendo.

5.3 Gender Labour Relations in the Colonial Awendo

5.3.1 Gender relations on Land Tenure System in Awendo during the Colonial Period

To facilitate alienation of African lands, land laws and concessions then known as ordinances were passed by the colonial government. The colonial government allowed and facilitated European settlers and later Asian immigrants to alienate large chunks of fertile land, thereby displacing Africans from their inheritance. During the colonial period, land in Kenya was divided into three parts, namely the Scheduled Areas, the Coast and the Trust Lands. The latter were also known as Native Reserves or non-scheduled areas. In the Scheduled Areas, also known as the White Highlands, the land was vested in the government. Here the land had been alienated by creating leasehold titles and in some cases freehold titles. The coast was leased by the British government from the Sultan of Zanzibar (Dilley, 1966, p.185).

The British colonialists came up with several laws and concessions to further alienate the coastal and mainland communities from their land. These included the Land Acquisition Act (1894), Crown Lands Ordinance (1902), Crown Lands Ordinance (1915), and the Kenya Native Areas Ordinance (1926). These laws and ordinances saw the eviction of communities to facilitate the construction of the Kenya-Uganda Railway and the leasing of the 20 per cent medium to high potential land to European settlers and multinational corporations for 99 years (the infamous ‘white’ highlands). This is large since Kenya’s land had been declared ‘Crown’ land owned by the Queen of England to be disposed at her will. The first Crown Land Ordinance of 1902 provided the settlers with a 99-year lease and subjected them to the control of the State, replacing Ordinance of 1897 that provided for a 21-year lease. Each settler was to be given 160 acres free of charge as an inducement. In 1915, another Ordinance gave the settlers 999-year leases and declared all ‘Waste and unoccupied’ land in the Protectorate ‘Crown Land’ and subject to the Governor’s powers of alienation. It also demarcated the land into either ‘Scheduled Areas’ (for European

settlement) or None Scheduled Areas (for African Reserves) (KNA, PC/NZA/3/5, Ainsworth's Annual Report 1917; Bowles, 1979).

Bowles (1979) goes on to explain that, with these arrangements, even by the time Kenya formally became a colony in 1920 through the Kenya Annexation Order-in-Council and the Kenya Colony Order-in-Council of 1921, there were rules that enabled the British Protectorate authorities to alienate land for settlers. The Crown Lands (Amendment) Ordinance of 1938 gave legal effect to the dual policy of European "White Highlands" (or high potential areas) and African "Native Reserves" (or marginal lands). Following enactment of this policy, all the areas outside the Native Reserves, and any other African claims and interests were extinguished. African customary law was to apply to the "native areas" and the Native Lands Trust Board was to protect "native interests".

The settlers' desire for both land and labour acted as push factors for the government to pass 76 acts alienating more African land. The enactment of East Africa (Lands) Order in Council in 1901 discouraged individual settlers from negotiating with the Africans for land. All land in the protectorate was placed under His Majesty the King. The implication of the order was that Africans ceased to own their land and the government took the right to alienate land for settlers. In 1902, the Crown Land Ordinance was enacted which, stated, in part:

...in all dealings with the Crown land, regard shall be given for the rights and requirements of natives, and in particular the commissioner shall not sell or lease any land in the actual occupation of natives (KNA, PC/NZA/1/26, Agriculture Department Report, 1924).

With the arrival of more settlers especially from South Africa in 1903, African interests were pushed to the periphery in outright favour of the settlers. The settlers' appetite for land was further satisfied with the enactment of the 1915 Crown Land Ordinance. The ordinance declared all Africans' land Crown Land. This, therefore, disinherited Africans making them tenants-at-will in their former land. This meant that they lost all legal rights to their land. The ordinance empowered the governor to alienate African land if it was not "beneficially" occupied (Dilley, 1966, p.252). Besides, it increased the lease period from 99 to 999 years. Moreover, the ordinance recognized the existence of African reserves but did not demarcate them and, therefore, left room for further

alienation. It was not until 1926 that African reserves were demarcated and thus protected from further alienation (KNA, PC/NZA/1/1/2/1926; Sorrenson, 1967; Dilley, 1966, p.249). By the close of the First World War, ex-soldiers were encouraged to settle in the Soldier Settlement Scheme.

In Nyanza, there was no serious land alienation because the region was perceived as not being settler and agriculture friendly. It was considered to be infested with various diseases such as sleeping sickness and malaria and had unfavourably climatic conditions mainly hot and dry, (KNA/DC/KSI/1/3; Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1924). Nevertheless, there was land alienation in Nyanza for the construction of the railway line and government installations. Major alienation of land in Nyanza occurred at the initial stages of colonial establishment. In some areas of Nyanza, the land was alienated to facilitate the construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway and construction of government offices. Nyanza did not have the experience of settlers farming which was the biggest force behind land alienation. Although it mainly served as a labour supplier and reservoir, most of her population was taken to work in the European settlers in the highland areas of Kenya and government installations.

Similarly, Awendo did not experience intensive land alienation as compared to the highlands of Kenya which were more favourable for large scale agriculture. Awendo was mainly a labour supplier region. Very limited land was alienated in Awendo because even the colonial administrative offices were mainly established in Kisii town with only chiefs' offices being built in Awendo. In areas where land alienation was experienced, it denied the women even the usufruct rights they had over land. This was because such lands were fully owned by the Europeans and Africans had no access to such lands even by the African males. It affected subsistence agriculture because the fertile areas were taken by the Europeans. Their husbands neither owned the lands nor controlled them thus the women were even more frustrated (OI, Phoebe, July 2016).

5.3.2 Agricultural Labour

Having pacified Kenya and restructured the leadership with the installation of Europeans in strategic leadership positions in the government structure, the British embarked on their exploitative agenda. Since Kenya did not have minerals, the main factor of exploitation remained the Kenyan arable land. For this reason, policies were put in place to facilitate European

acquisition of land, labour and the subsequent exploitation that ensued. The colonial officials in Kenya believed that, to a large extent, the dynamic forces behind economic growth in Kenya would have to come from the European sector. Kenyans were to supply a steady flow of cheap labour which was to be controlled and supervised by the European settlers. For the intended new economic order in Kenya, cheap labour was a necessity, more so since the agricultural technology they were using was not so advanced and was thus human labour intensive.

The European administrators, as well as the European settlers, were convinced from the onset that voluntary labour would not be forthcoming from the African reserves easily. Notably after 1908 following the development of labour-intensive plantation agriculture in the highlands, road and railway construction, and also the increasing number of sportsmen who needed porters, led to increased demands for labour. In order to obtain such a labour supply, the European settlers demanded a reduction of the land available for African agriculture, increased taxation for Africans, contract labour with dire penalties for infringement, and government support for a policy of forcing Africans to engage in wage labour. Studies on Kenya touching on the First World War such as those by Hay, (1972); Buttermann, (1979); Stichter, (1977); Maxon (1989) and Ndeda, (1991) have observed that the demand for African soldiers and porters during World War One brought the labour crisis to a head.

In South Nyanza, there was no particular cash crop that had been introduced in the region until the mid-1930s. By this time, the main wage labour was directed towards the construction of roads and other public works such as building and construction for the government as well as to the settlers' plantations outside the district. Migrant labour arrived in South Nyanza much earlier as soon as colonial rule was established in 1903 (Onduru, 2009; Nyakwaka, 1996). African male labour was required by the colonial administration to facilitate the extraction of commodities from the interior areas. Kisii was the headquarters of South Kavirondo thus most of the first roads originated from Kisii to other areas of the District. The labour on road construction was extracted from the adjacent areas. The natives did not welcome the idea of leaving their traditional agricultural activities to work for the Europeans thus force was introduced. The 1903 to 1906 Annual Report noted that:

A number of Kavirondo now work for the railway along with the various parts of the line, others are employed by the Public Works Department to work on public

installations such as roads while others by the settlers. This made them enlarge their views (KNA/PC/NZA/1/3 Report on the Province of Kisumu for the year 1903-1906, p.3).

By 1906, not very many men from South Nyanza were engaged in wage labour outside the district. This, therefore, did not affect their subsistence labour as they would still go and perform their African agricultural duties. This is also evident in general studies such as those by Tignor, (1976); Kitching, (1980) and Stichter, (1977). Studies on Nyanza such as those of Butterman, (1979) also concur with findings from these general studies. These studies have emphasized the fact that South Nyanza was rich in livestock. This was detrimental to an early entry into wage labour. However, as this research shows, South Nyanza was still peripheral to the centre of employment, Kisumu, since infrastructure had not been established to connect the area to Kisumu.

During the first two decades of colonial rule, the people of Awendo did not have the motivation to avail themselves for wage employment. This was mainly because of the relatively self-sufficient African economy (Maxon 1975). The District Commissioner, R.W. Hemsted, observed that the natives of the district were very rich with cattle and agricultural produce thus very few of them would seek to work in the European plantation farms (KNA/PC/KSI/2/2).

Following the unwillingness by the Africans to work for the Europeans, the force was used to turn Africans into wage-labourers needed for the European agriculture mainly in the Kenyan white Highlands. These included administrative coercion. As contained in KNA/DC/KSI/1/7 and backed up by Nyaucho's narration that administrative coercion was used to mobilize labour in Awendo during the first two decades of the colonial epoch. The powers of the chiefs in this role were spelt out in the 1912 Native Authority Ordinance. This law empowered the chiefs to recruit labour for public works and for the settlers. The chiefs were accountable to the District Commissioner from whom they received orders. Land alienation was another force whereby African lands were given to the settlers thereby reducing Africans to mere European agricultural labourers though this policy was not very popular in Awendo, Nyaucho, (OI) April, 2016).

Sir Edward Northey, the colonial Kenya Governor in 1919, totally supported the settler production as he assumed African agriculture. On the contrary, he emphasized the need for Africans to work on European farms and not their own farms (Maxon, 1989). African agriculture was neglected as

the governor concentrated on how to ensure that the Africans worked for the Europeans on their agricultural plantations and the government installations as well as projects.

The studies on women in Nyanza such as those by Hay (1972); Nyong'o (1981); Ndeda (1991) have shown that the region mainly supplied labour to the rest of the country during the colonial period. Consequently, the establishment of colonial rule in South Nyanza was marked by the development of a new economic order, migrant wage labour. The new economic activity saw young men of South Nyanza leave their rural homes temporarily to seek wage employment within and away from the district. The British colonial government in Kenya wanted to create a "white man's country".

During the second decade, the colonial officials gradually introduced wages for the labourers who were mainly collected from Awendo. The ordinary rate for Kavirondo labourers for local employment was between 3 to 4 Rupees per month with *posho* (*bonuses*) given at the rate of five and six cents a day (KNA/DC/KSI/1/7). The village heads in their areas were given the responsibility of providing five to eight men daily for a month to provide labour for government public works like roads, Ezekiel, (OI) April, 2016).

These public works changed the patterns of work in Awendo households since it was men who were engaged in public works. The men would be away on wage labour when they were needed in their homes to perform their agricultural duties like clearing the farms, allocating the farms to the wives, ploughing, making decisions for the family and making the storage facilities. These roles were thus picked the Awendo women. Occasionally, labourers tried to evade the labour to spend more time on their shambas since they earned more money by cultivating their own farms as compared to the meagre salary they were being given by the settlers and the government. This made them prefer working on their own farms, Ezekiel, (OI) April, 2016). Thus, DC R.W Hemsted observed that June-September was a good time to employ Africans on road construction because, before this time, the Africans would be too busy on their farms (KNA/DC/KSI/1/19). Due to the unwillingness of the Africans to work, force and duress were used to ensure that the African men offered labour to the Europeans. It was because of the large number of men being away on wage labour, African agriculture remained in the hands of the women. Consequently, the yield of the

areas under cultivation was falling. Rodney (1972) posits that wage labour was one of the means through which Europe underdeveloped Africa by taking away young energetic men from the African agricultural environment leaving women to perform all the agricultural activities creating a burden on the women which changed the agricultural ecosystem.

This withdrawal of mainly men's labour from their homesteads in Awendo left their women with all the domestic and agricultural duties. Women especially *mikayi* would now become the head of the household. Security which was a role of the young males was now picked by the women. On a positive note, the migrant labour patterns in Awendo enabled women to gain more control overland as they would now determine the crops to plant in their farms. Women would now clear the virgin lands, plough the farms by themselves and then prepare the storage facilities. Colonization drove Awendo rural dwellers into deepening poverty. Deliberate policies were put in place to create "labour reserves" where people in Awendo had little alternatives other than to sell their labour cheaply. The colonial labour structure underestimated women labour as they were not recruited into wage labour. Women were left to sustain the local economies. Thus, the colonial government focus on labour from the African men for maximum benefit. The Awendo women were therefore abandoned with all the agricultural labour thus lowering their productivity.

5.3.3 Migrant Wage Labour in Colonial Awendo

In analyzing the transformation of the African population into wage labour, R. Wolf referred to the 1920s decade as the stage which saw the establishment of regular labour supply on the basis of wartime mobilization. This stage coincided with an increase in demand for labour by the government, European settlers, private firms and individuals which influenced the methods of labour recruitment and state labour policy in general. The labour situation in the post-war period was even worse as compared to earlier stages when the demand was low. European settlement was expanded in the post-war period with the settling of white ex-soldiers as well as their surplus population in the protectorate. These were in addition to those who had been invited to help in exploiting the colony. Subsequently, there was a heightened demand for African labour in the post First World War period. Just like in the early years of settlement, the government was sympathetic to the settlers. In 1919, Governor Sir Edward Northey issued a circular dated 23rd October 1919 to government officials to "encourage" Africans to go for work. The District Officers were asked to

do “what they can to induce an augmentation of the supply of labour” for farms “by every possible lawful influence....” (KNA/DC/KSI/1/1/9).

In implementing the circular, the chiefs and village heads were asked to "encourage" labourers since they had to be “repeatedly reminded that it is part of their duty to advise and encourage all unemployed young men to go out and work on plantations and government installations”, (KNA/PC/NZA/1/3). By using officials and the machinery at their disposal, the colonial authorities were determined to get males out of the reserves (Maxon, 1992, p.73; Ndeda, 1991, p.243). Compulsory labour was targeted for specific hard services thus mainly men were preferred. These included public service and private contractors working with the state which, under the circumstances, could mean anybody (Zezeza, 1989, p.51). Consequently, the Northey labour circular was implemented without informing the colonial office and it remained in force until 1921 when the secretary of State Winston Churchill discontinued it. In a dispatch commanding government official to desist from recruiting labourers, Churchill instructed that “government officials would in future take no part in recruiting labour for private employment” (KNA/PC/DC/KSI/3/12; Sorrenson 1967, p.117). Despite this command, the use of force in recruiting African labour continued (Presley, 1992). Consistent and efficient labour supply remained a thorny issue to African women more so in Awendo as it overburdened them by removing their husbands from the villages. African men would occasionally sneak back to their families to continue with their normal duties especially the family protection, agricultural activities and heading their families thus they would occasionally miss their migrant duties (OI, Martha, April 2016; Nyakwaka, 1996).

As Africans continued to resist European forced labour by occasionally evading duties, a mechanism that would aid the monitoring of Africans’ movements and desertion of duty was introduced. This mechanism was the introduction of the *kipande* system, Mwachi, (OI) November, 2016). The introduction of an identification document in the 1920s by the Native Registration Amendment Ordinance of 1920, later in 1952 referred to as the *kipande* thus represented an attempt to systematize the labour control system so that the Africans could not find an opportunity to sneak back to their families (Anderson, 2000). The identification document featured the basic personal details of an African male aged 15 years and above and also his fingerprints as well as

employment history. The main objective of this policy was to keep track of the pool labour efficiently. This is because, once a worker was registered, he could not be deregistered and could not fail to report to work daily and complete his portion because the settler employer marked the register to track those deserting duty (Anderson, 2000).

The *kipande* was designed as an instrument to be used to keep track of the labour supply. It facilitated the enforcement of labour contracts because it enabled penal sanctions to be returned to their former employers. It was possible to trace runaway employees because local chiefs helped identify such deserters. The *kipande* also restricted workers' freedom to leave their workplace and change employers. Finally, the *kipande* system led to the standardization of low wages because it made it virtually impossible for a worker to bargain with a new employer for a wage that was better and unrelated to his former wage as recorded on his *kipande*. This policy, as was explained by Nyauo, Nyauo, (OI) August, 2016) Nyauo, made it very difficult for the Africans to sneak back to their families in Awendo. It is coming out that the Awendo women then lost hope of seeing their husbands and did not know what would follow next thus some even forgot their husbands and the younger men who, besides working on their farms, would provide security to the women and the society at large. Before the introduction of *kipande*, the Awendo men would occasionally sneak back and it would take time before they were tracked back.

Resident labour or squatter labour was another system of labour mobilization in colonial Kenya. Because the Africans were managing to make payments in cash, in 1918, the Resident Native Ordinance required that future payments be made in the form of labour instead of cash. The earliest cases of squatters were original inhabitants of the alienated lands and those who lost access to land in the reserves. During this period, there was increased growth in urban wage labour employment due to push factors rather than pull factors. The wages were low and living conditions were also miserable. Men migrated as they left their women to subsidize the colonial capital accumulation (Zezeza, 1989; Sorrenson, 1967; KNA/PC/DC/KSI/3/12).

According to Obonyo (OI, August, 2016) the colonial labour system completely restructured Awendo's local labour structures. The Awendo patriarchal structures were disrupted and a new kind of patriarchy installed. In the early years of colonial rule, Africans never adopted migrant

labour as the first option since they continued to produce independently without government interference. However, the continuation of Africans' independent production would have meant that settlers could not get sufficient labour supply. This, therefore, brought settler estates to their knees. Policies were thus fronted from the earliest period to ensure adequate flow of African labour although the colonial wages remained miserably low (KNA/DC/KSI/1/1; Ndeda, 1991; Presley, 1992). Historical evidence from colonial Africa indicates that the colonial state and the foreign office always colluded with the capital in England to provide the legal framework within which labour could be recruited and maintained in adequate numbers and at low cost to the employer (KNA/DC/KSI/1/1; Anderson, 2000, p.459). Just as they put pressure during land alienation, the white settlers were behind most labour laws enacted and because the government was the biggest employer, rarely did settlers' demands faced objection. For instance, as early as 1906, a draft of Master and Servant Ordinance that was presented to the government by the settler was accepted largely unaltered. Government officials supported the ordinance “in order to obtain reasonable services from the natives who are unused to the benefits and obligations of continuous labour” (KNA/DC/KSI/1/1).

Despite enacting the 1906 ordinance, African labour was still not forthcoming as was expected to lead to maximum exploitation of the natives' labour. This promoted the enactment of the 1908 Communal Labour Law aimed at raising labour for government projects like building infrastructures such as roads, waterways, bridges and railways. The same was often used to force Africans to work for private individuals (KNA/DC/KSI/1/1; Presley, 1992, p.44). These labour laws had long-lasting effects on the gender labour relations in colonial Awendo. They brought a lot of changes in the gender labour relations. Following the implementation of the 1906 and 1908 labour laws, women's labour in Awendo also became engaged by the colonial government. They were recruited to work within their districts on the government roads, waterways, bridges as well as the compounds of the government offices within Awendo. This had profound effects on the local economies and women in particular. Women had to fulfil their colonial labour needs then come back to work on their farms because the colonial labour was not sustaining.

The demand for labour in the period before the First World War was limited. The official records put the number of men contracted for work outside Awendo district in the period 1908-1912 at 4,707 (KNA/PC/DC/KSI/3/12). Similar records show a sharp increase in the number of men

contracted for labour during the war period. However, it is argued that in the first decade of the twentieth century, only a few people from the district joined wage labour as shown in table 3.2 below.

Table 5.1: Labour Recruitment from South Kavirondo and other Districts in Nyanza Province, 1914 – 15

Quarter	North Kavirondo	Kisumu	South Kavirondo	Lumbwa	Nandi	Total
Jan-Mar,1914	894	2,942	654	-	99	4,589
July-Sept, 1914	2,636	6,044	1,015	80	140	9,915
October-Dec, 1914	3,118	10,553	1,440	536	125	15,775
Jan-March, 1915	2,697	4,047	4,266	696	96	11,802
TOTAL	9,345	23,586	7,375	1,315	460	42,081

Source: KNA/Nyanza Province, Recruitment Report, 1915.

Table 5.1 above shows the increased recruitment of Africans from South Kavirondo and the neighbouring Districts into military labour. The recruitment increased as the war intensified thus the difference between the first quarter of 1914 and the first quarter of 1915.

Conslata (OI, April 2016) narrated that the effects of WW1, as was narrated to her by her mother, Regina Maongo, adversely affected the local population. Most of the young bodied men of the village were withdrawn to serve in the war. This was in addition to those who had left before to provide labour to the settlers and the colonial government. She added that labour recruitment into settler and government labour demands was not that tight so a person could hide and remain behind but recruitment into the war was so tight and strict that it became difficult to hide and remain behind. The effects of the First World War not only affected the African subsistence agriculture but also settler farming. South Kavirondo District Commissioner stated in his 1915-1916 annual Report that;

It has not been possible to accomplish much in the way of agriculture during the year owing to the large demands for young men to join the world war which heavily depleted the settler farming of the able-bodied men of the District, (KNA,PC/NZA/AGR/4/2/1, 1915-1916.

In the following year, the situation did not improve. This is represented in the 1917-1918 annual report which states that;

“The immense drain on the District for military labour affected general conditions in the reserves and cultivation was beginning to decrease.” (KNA, DC/SN/3/1 1917-1918.

Table 5.2: Labour Recruitment in South Kavirondo District during World War One

Period (Yrs)	Corps Labour	Other War Labourers	Totals
1914-1915	8,915	5,055	13,970
1915-1916	6,822	1,070	7,892
1916-1917	9,558	1,658	11,216
1917-1918	8,758	1,052	9,810
	34,053	8,835	42,880

Source: KNA/DC/KSI/1/2 1914-1918

Table 5.2 above shows the military labour recruitment during the war period from 1914 to 1918. It shows the various roles the recruited Africans played either in the military as a direct fighter or as a paramilitary officer like carriers and messengers. This is a confirmation of the sentiments of Regina Maongo’s Mother on page 81. The totals were high for the region because the overall population of the area was still very low. This highly affected agricultural labour in Awendo, Conslata, (OI) April, 2016).

5.3.4 Impact of Migrant wage labour on Agriculture in Awendo during the colonial period

During colonial intuition, the labour policies in the 20th century significantly impacted on a number of African labour practices. First, land alienation reduced virgin land that men were supposed to clear. Secondly, the introduction of the imported iron-hoe made it possible to clear bigger portions of land within a short time. These changes released both males and females for other colonial ventures subsequently altering gender relations. The colonial policies such as forced labour and the introduction of wage labour changed gender roles to the extent that there was no clear demarcation between the roles played by men and women. This was because the colonial labour policies were universal, Milwala, (OI) April, 2016; KAERA, 1988:56).

It was becoming the custom for sons to pay their own bridewealth as compared to the previous periods when the bride price was a father's gift to the son. Wage labour was thus becoming a quicker and more dependable way of getting the bride price. The change to wage labour seriously affected the labour provision for agricultural production in Awendo. In addition, younger Africans also viewed it as a quicker way of earning cash as compared to agriculture which had been the mainstay in Awendo. Occasionally the young men would, therefore, join the labour willingly even without being forced. Ordinarily, it was not welcomed by the Africans, (Nyakwaka, 1996). Indeed, one of the main contradictions in colonial policies was that the administration tried to encourage cash crop production by the locals from the 1930s. This followed the introduction of cash crops such as tobacco, pyrethrum and tea in Awendo and its neighbouring communities such as among the Abagusii. At the same time, they encouraged forced labour recruitment to the extent of prejudicing local agriculture, Samuel, (OI) March, 2017).

The agricultural labour demands in Awendo homesteads greatly exceeded the labour supply as only women and children remained at home to offer the highly needed domestic agricultural labour after their husbands, fathers and sons had been taken away by the migrant labour demands. This seriously reduced agricultural production (KNA/PC/NZA/1/26; Esther, (OI) July, 2016; Onduru, 2009). The famine of 1931 and the continued low prices of agricultural products continued to drive able-bodied men out of Awendo for the migrant labour outside the district. The wages earned were also low, ranging between six to ten shillings a month. The DC, C.E.V Buxton, reported bands of natives going from place to place looking for better-paying employment during the period 1931-1932 (KNA/PC/NZA/1/26).

According to the DC's figures, only 1,236 were contracted for labour during the same period, but thousands left Awendo to look for work as they also had no land to expand their agriculture in the reserves. In 1933, it was reported that Africans continued leaving Awendo in large numbers in search of work. They moved mainly to the urban centres to look for jobs. An informant, Esther Ndhiwa, confirmed that a large number of young men left Awendo to seek wage employment leaving their women behind. This affected African agricultural labour which they perceived as inconsistent in production as it depended on the natural conditions which were never regular in

terms of rains. African agriculture rarely generated cash because it was majorly for subsistence, Esther, (OI) November, 2016).

Wilson (2007) posits that the disproportionate withdrawal of young men from the countryside had destroyed the balance of African subsistence agriculture. Therefore, those who remained behind or returned, though they got their presents like clothes and blankets, got them at the cost of increasing hunger and in most cases, it was worse than before. He observes that the absence of men also led to serious nutritional shortcomings because their women could not clear off the trees in order to expand the cultivable lands (Wilson, 2007). This scenario seemed similar to a scenario in Awendo as was explained by Beldina, (OI) November, 2016 that, when her husband left her, she had to farm only the place he had cleared before leaving for the migrant labour. She farmed the same site with her three children for long without expanding because her sons were much younger.

A number of factors contributed towards food shortage in Awendo but the absence of the male from their localities was the main factor that could not be overlooked. The colonial government needed to be concerned with the welfare of the Africans more so subsistence agriculture. The present or existing female labour was already overstretched and finding a solution for the migrant male labour system could not be overemphasised. Instead, in October 1942, the colonial government began to question the lack of involvement by women in war-related work. L.D. Owen's response is appropriate here:

Women in the reserves are not able to do what is generally counted as work, because owing to the absence of so many men from this reserve, the fieldwork and the upkeep of homes, and even the care of cattle, increasingly revolves upon the woman. All the millet which this reserve has produced not to speak of other foods such as eggs and chicken, etc could never have been attained the bulk it has without the hard work of thousands of women and girls (L.D. Owen's letter to D.C. CK. October 13, 1942, KNA)

Women were faced with additional responsibilities. Most of them had to face these alone because most homes were left without even a single man. although this was not the government policy at the initial stages. At least one man was supposed to be left in each homestead but as years went by, men were conscripted indiscriminately until certain homes had no males left in them (Ndeda, 1991, p.192).

By 1945, conscription had caused large numbers of men to leave their homes. On the 31st of December 1945, conscription was withdrawn. People had become so hesitant to work that by 28th February 1946, the government was stating that all must work for the achievement of any form of development. The government stated that:

“Constant propaganda should be undertaken to emphasize the necessity of each individual by his work contributing to the development of the state”.

This recommendation was formally accepted by the government in Sessional Paper No.2 of 1945 dated 16th May, 1945. It stated:

It is, therefore, a permanent and pressing duty of the administrative officers to impress upon the inhabitants..... that government regards it as essential that all able-bodied men shall work either in their own lands, in their own businesses, or outside employment. It is the duty of administrative officers in cases where surplus able-bodied men are living in idle, to formulate a scheme for minor communal services e.g. land improvement and soil conservation.

However, the irony was that the Nyanza ‘reserves’ were already depleted of the able-bodied males. The few who remained were regarded as living in idleness if they did not get external employment. It was, however, observed that, during the formative years of colonial rule in Awendo, basic agricultural crops included simsim, sorghum, millet and coloured maize. These traditional crops were produced both for domestic use and trade. Agricultural labour was mainly a women’s affair but this changed during the colonial epoch as men were considered for agricultural production as compared to women. The colonial state required more raw materials for its industries in Britain. From the 1930s and 1940s, the colonial state thus encouraged the people of Awendo to expand their agricultural production through various methods. For instance, through purchase and distribution of ‘improved’ varieties of traditional crops, and new seeds such as groundnuts, tea, cotton and black wattle production was increased. The new seeds were distributed by the District Commissioners, chiefs and headmen. Men became the centre focus for any agricultural development and productivity as compared to the pre-colonial times when women were the pivot for agricultural productivity. The people of Awendo were also encouraged by colonial

administrators to buy new iron hoes and *jembes* in order to expand production, Jacob Ogwe, (OI)November, 2016).

Men collected the newly introduced cash crops. This was because they were handed over to the household heads that happened to be men and were also given the required technological know-how on how to handle the crops thus women were left out. Because they already had a ready market created by the colonialists, the crops gained more ground among Awendo populace. Women, therefore, continued with their subsistence crops as men took up the new crops. The effect was that men continued to be economically stronger as women became weaker because men produced for sale while women produced for consumption. This elevated men more on the social strata, Jacob Ogwe, (OI) August, 2016).

Towards the end of the 1940s, experimentation with new crops and implements had become a regular feature of the colonial agriculture in Awendo. The first two decades of colonial rule were thus spent integrating the new crops and practices which had been adopted, and making out new crop rotations. The earliest new crops to arrive included groundnuts, wattle, new varieties of millet, simsim, beans, maize, tomatoes, sugarcane and certain varieties of fruits (KNA, PC/NZA/3/4/6). The implements included hoes (with tied iron blade) which were women's implement and *jembes* (hoes with a fixed, broader iron blade) for men. These were followed by the introduction of the ox-drawn plough made from iron technology. These new seeds and implements were added to the traditional seeds and implements.

Hay (1972) while writing about the people of Kowe observes that a generalized theory of innovation recognizes three main stages namely; the introduction stage which includes forced planting, followed by voluntary experimentation by a few individuals, and finally the adoption or the total rejection of the proposed innovation. Similarly, Sylvanus, (OI) November, 2016 explains how new crops brought by the Europeans were integrated into African agriculture in Awendo. He explains that, in Awendo, most of the new crops were distributed by the colonial representatives such as the District Commissioner who mostly brought them from their motherland and through the chiefs, the crops found their way into African agriculture. The chiefs were first given demonstration lessons on agricultural development on their own plots. These demonstration plots

would be used to inform the people in a location how best to grow particular crops. Some of the people voluntarily experimented with new crops when they returned from wage labour. Most of the new crops were adopted by the men while the women remained with traditional agriculture which mostly remained backwards.

The last stage of the innovation theory is the adoption or rejection of the new idea. The factors which influenced the adoption of new crops included the exchange or cash value of the new crops. Therefore, while the colonial officials played an important role in introducing crops and tools, their influence was often marginal in the actual decision-making on whether the innovation was to be adopted or rejected. The new crops were mainly given to the family head who were the males and due to the cash value, men blocked women from accessing them thus in the African societies, these crops were commonly perceived to be 'men crops' (Hay, 1972).

From the foregoing, it emerged that colonialism, through its labour policies, contributed greatly to the gender inequalities among the people of Awendo. A large number of men left during the colonial times hence destroying the balance of subsistence agriculture in Awendo. On the other hand, gender labour relations between men and women changed. There was increased responsibility for women regarding the reproduction and the running of daily affairs of the household. During the period, women remained with all the agricultural labour, child caring, undertaking all the household labour demands, providing security and heading the family. In addition, it should be noted, however, that there existed migrant workers from Awendo who were employed on a long-term basis in good places such as the railways and other government departments. They acquired blankets, shoes, shirts, suitcases, bicycles and other imported goods. These migrant labourers changed the agricultural aspects in Awendo by introducing the concept of *tiyo gi pesa* meaning working with money (Butterman, 1979). Jenifer Omune, (OI) November, 2016) confirmed that, in some instance, some of the men bought hoes, *jembes* and ploughs. They also hired plough teams to plough for their wives while they were away. This study therefore clearly demonstrates that the household was not virtually distorted. Land in Awendo gained more feasibility as a means of acquiring wealth as it had as the colonialists introduced cash crops in the area and encouraging the locals to grow them. By 1945, a large number of the people, mainly men, had come to realise that the real economic security lay in commercial agriculture and long-term

wage employment outside the home. Generally, as most of the informants such as Jenifer Omune, (OI) November, 2016 noted:

Although our agriculture was adversely affected by the colonial activities, the colonialists however to some extent impacted this region positively. They introduced new cash crops, for instance, sugarcane and other new breeds of maize. They also improved breeds of animals and also introduced modern tools for farming such as the ox-ploughs, jembes, just to mention a few.

It can, therefore, be elucidated that despite the fact that women in Awendo were over-tasked during the colonial period, the colonialists also impacted the Awendo region positively to some extent.

Hay (1972) further posits that the husbands who were involved in migrant labour sent remittances to their wives to aid their agricultural activities by hiring extra labour. In cases where the remittance was used in agriculture, it majorly replaced the male's missing labour but did not supplement the labour. They also used the remittance on paying taxes, school fees for children and for consumption. This position was in agreement with Jenifer's (OI) position presented in the above paragraph. Agriculture was further neglected because of poor pay for farmers, poor infrastructure and few markets which were far from the point of production especially for the new cash crops. Jenifer explains that a good number of women left behind by the migrant labourers took up the male family roles of decision making, financial responsibilities, access to factors of production and giving family direction so well that they were rarely overwhelmed, Jenifer Omune, (OI) November, 2016). One interviewee explains that she could not spend the entire money sent to her by her husband on agriculture yet she was lacking some basic needs in the house, Martha, (OI) April, 2016). She would, therefore, buy the basic items first such as utensils and clothes than spend what would remain in agriculture. To make better use of the remaining amount, she would invite fellow women to help her till her farms in a merry-go-round format as she used the money to prepare food for them. She added that the remittance in most cases was small and it would take long before another amount was sent. She thus confirmed that she had to work very hard with the children left under her care.

Hay (1972) considers the impact of migrant labour in agriculture differently from an unpopular view. She argues that migrant labour was, in the first decade of colonization, adopted by the

unmarried men. These men initially played very little role in agriculture but were majorly hunters, attending to cattle and community warriors. However, after the 1930s, it became very necessary for the married men to venture into migrant labour so as to meet the highly growing demand for cash. Subsistence farming was doing poorly during this time due to the transfer of male labour. Hay argues that the women labour was further consumed by the non-agricultural activities that their husbands used to do such as protecting the family, clearing farms and protecting family lands. Hay's view here was contrary to what was happening in Awendo as was confirmed by Thomas Mbuya, (OI) November, 2016) who argues that the Awendo young men were very key in providing agricultural labour and security. It was for these reasons that male children were preferred. Therefore, the migrant labour heavily affected agriculture in Awendo as it deprived it of its labour source.

As time went by towards the 1940s, agriculture was slowly losing attention as a source of income as more and more labour was being taken away from agriculture in Awendo as women who remained engaged in excess work that could not allow agriculture to produce the intended income for the family to survive on. The decline in agricultural value forced women to engage in other non-agricultural though related income activities such as trade and handicrafts including weaving and pottery (Francis, 1995). Suslia explains that women traded in agricultural products from Kisii as they took *agulni* (pots), *kikepe mochue* (woven baskets) and dried fish among other things, Suslia, (OI) April, 2016).

5.4 Impacts of Taxation and Forced Labour on Gender Labour relations in Agriculture in the Colonial Awendo

Taxation was one of the tools applied by the colonial government in Kenya to meet the cost of colonial administration. It was mainly used to force the Africans to get out of home for the wage labour and on some occasions, it was forced labour that was direly needed by both the colonial government and the settlers. A number of legislative acts were passed that empowered the local leaders such as chiefs and the village heads to recruit African labour as colonial agents in charge of tax collection. It was also a colonial government strategy to ensure that Africans fully participated in the development of the colonial economy (Ndege, 1977; Nyakwaka, 1996). The imposition of taxes was the third method used apart from land alienation and labour laws to disengage Africans

from their economic production. Taxation served two purposes: it encouraged wage employment and stimulated peasant commodity production but it also delimited peasant accumulation of wealth (Zezeza, 1989, p.50).

The colonial regime was focused on the male labour for construction, offering manual labour on their plantations and working as chiefs because there was no African chief who was a woman during the period of colonial epoch in Kenya. The colonial regime had a low opinion of the African women, particularly their labour. This explains why it was mainly men whose labour was taxed such as hut tax charged on a man basing on the number of huts he had and his wives were just to come in to help him service the taxes. The other type of tax which took lead after the banning of hut tax in 1937 was the poll tax. A poll tax was charged on every unmarried man. After independence, it was replaced by income tax. This followed the enactment of the income tax ordinance which changed the basis of poll tax from barely unmarried male to sources of income by males such as profit from business or salaries (Maingi, 2015). The 1937 Income Tax Ordinance exempted women from paying taxes and this closed them out of employment. This laid the foundation for the low consideration of women's' labour even in the early independent regimes of Jomo Kenyatta and later Daniel Moi (Mutemi, 2015).

“We were not being employed because our husbands would provide for us” Justin, (OI) April 2016).

The application of tax in the East African Protectorate started way back in 1901 (KNA/PC/NZA/1/1). The first type of tax applied in Kenya was the hut tax. This was because Africans had many wives thus many huts in a homestead. This mainly targeted the male heads of the families in a homestead. The payment took various forms. For instance, in some areas, they paid in terms of rat tails so as to clear the rats that were probably a menace. Later, taxes began to be paid in cash. This was applied in Awendo as well explains Mary Asoyo that cash tax was applied in Awendo and it was achieving the objective of providing services to the Europeans, Mary Asoyo, (OI) August, 2016). This was because Africans in Awendo, at that time, had many cattle thus they would use their cattle to settle the hut tax (OI, Mzee Miriam Undisa, March 2016). Seeing that the Africans were settling their tax dues without offering services, the Europeans

started using force to push African to offer labour. It was, however, only after the end of the First World War that they began to be increased sharply and to be collected efficiently (Tignor, 1976, p.8). The hut tax was nevertheless limiting in the collection of revenue because only married men were required to pay as owners of dwellings. To rectify this status in tax collection, a poll tax was introduced in 1903. It was payable by all-male adults aged over sixteen years. The tax targeted young men who had not yet married and were, therefore, not taxable under the hut tax (KNA/PC/NZA/1/1).

The introduction of the poll tax coincided with the increased settler population in 1903. This was an indication of the desperate position of the government in trying to raise labour for the settlers and for the government. Along the poll tax was breast tax which, though it came later, and targetted young girls whose breasts had appeared, as an indication of mature adults but could neither be covered under hut tax nor poll taxes. Young boys and girls were also perceived as cheap untapped labour by the colonial masters (Sorrenson, 1968; KNA/PC/NZA/1/4). The rate of tax increased which thus increased the tax burden on the Africans, therefore, taxation was not a major issue for Africans except the rates. If the rates remained low, it would have been possible to raise it from their production. However, rates continued to be raised and more taxpayers enlisted as the government sustained pacification of Africans.

Table 5.3 (a): Tax Collection in South Kavirondo and its Neighbouring Districts in Nyanza Province between 1909-1917

District	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17
Central Kavirondo	215,463	238,692	248,109	265,680	270,939	303,354	308,556	501,460
North Kavirondo	207,324	264,264	305,679	355,917	383,565	417,126	426,357	661,245
South Kavirondo	224,580	222,498	230,079	238,224	250,965	263,928	253,326	429,685
Lumbwa	37,383	47,874	49,788	55,953	58,578	62,625	67,848	108,820
Nandi	25,488	28,848	31,482	33,501	36,054	36,147	38,679	67,065
Total	710,238	802,176	865,137	949,275	1,000,101	1,083,180	1,094,166	1,768,295

Source: KNA/PC/NZA/1/2 South Kavirondo Tax Returns, 1917 Pg 7.

Table 3.4 (a) above shows the amount of tax collected from South Kavirondo. The amount of tax collected was increasing with time thus by 1917, tax payment by Africans was at its peak. Just like everywhere else in South Kavirondo District except in Gusiiland, hut tax was first collected in 1905. The tax rate was three rupees which were extraordinarily high for the people. This tax was gradually increased and after the end of the First World War, the tax was paid at the rate of 8 rupees which was quite high for an ordinary person (KNA/DC/KSI/3/4).

Taxation interfered with the gender division of labour in Awendo as it required both males and females to work side-by-side to meet the tax demands. It neutralized the position of the head of the family, the man, as there was another power above him, Ezekiel (OI) April, 2016). It became worse for the women when migrant labour was introduced which removed the energetic men from the Awendo society leaving the huts which still attracted taxes. It thus became the sole responsibility of the women who remained in the homesteads to pay the hut taxes needed by the colonial government. Tax was usually collected on a quarterly basis though during the months of August and September, the tax would be higher because there were usually hefty harvests thus it brought in quite a lot of money to the colonial government (KNA/PC/NZA/1/4; KNA, DC/KSI/3/5; Nyakwaka, 1996; Onduru, 2009).

Due to the high amount charged as tax per homestead, some Africans would try to evade paying them but measures were put in place through the local African leaders and also the introduction of the kipande which helped keep track of the African labourers. If they were discovered, the leaders were permitted to collect items such as livestock from the suspected evaders at least equivalent to the value of the pending tax. With such punitive measures, the Africans had no option but to submit to the tax demands. For instance, Sakwa which had the highest population in Awendo had the highest-paid tax in 1920-1921, Cleophas, (OI) April, 2016; KNA, DC/KSI/1/3; Ndege, 1977); Nyakwaka, 1986). This was due to the fact that migration from the location was not common thus most of the people remained working on their farms as compared to other regions where a majority of the young men had gone for migrant labour.

Table 5.4 (b): Hut Tax Collected (in Rupees) From Awendo Sub-Division up to 1912

Year	Sakwa			Kamagambo		
	Huts	Rupees paid	Rupees expected	Huts	Rupees paid	Expected amount
1905-1906	-	2367	-	-	1897	-
1906-1907	1591	7430	7473	1273	5686	6119
1907-1908	2461	7615	7683	1066	6574	6698
1908-1909	2697	8240	8591	1919	7151	7157
1909-1910	2555	8649	8665	2289	7567	8067
1910-1911	2571	8723	8823	2425	8369	8475
1911-1912	2760	9171	9190	2687	8823	8973

KNA/PRB/116 “History of the Southern Kavirondo District,”; Kisii Political Record Book KSI/28, Reel 6.

Table 3.5 (b) explains that the highest taxes were collected from Sakwa in Awendo. The strategies that the colonial government had put in place to curb tax evasion were effective as the gap between the expected taxes and the tax collected was very narrow. The higher figures also indicate that Africans in Awendo were so much engaged into paying taxes at the expense of their subsistence production.

By 1913, it was officially acknowledged that taxation was the best way to force Africans into wage labour;

“We consider that taxation is the only possible method of compelling the natives to leave their reserve for the purpose of seeking work. Only in this way can the cost of living be increased for the native, and... it is on this that the supply of labour and the price of labour depend”
(Wolff, 1987, p. 98; Clayton & Savage, 1974, p.41)

By the end of the First World War, in 1919, both the colonial state and the European settlers were impressed by the effectiveness and success of the war-time forced labour recruitment methods. The settlers thus urged the new Governor, Edward Northey, to continue with the same coercive methods. Consequently, the Northey circulars of 1919 and 1920 revived the wartime system of forced labour. According to these circulars, the Governor called for active assistance by

administration officials in the recruitment of labour for private undertakings (Maxon, R.M (1975), p. 193; KNA/PC/NZA/8/9 Nyanza Annual Report of 1919).

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, therefore, Africans were moving to wage labour voluntarily. The amount of labour in the wage market was, however, not sufficient enough to provide for the settlers and the government's labour needs because it was low. Consequently, coercion to extract African labour for government projects was inevitable. Using Native Authority Laws of 1910 and 1912, the government-appointed headmen who were required to compel Africans to suspend their domestic production to work on assigned government projects and settler farms. In effect, this was forced labour by the government on the Africans. Failure to participate attracted a fine of thirty shillings or one month's imprisonment (Presley, 1992, p.44; KNA/PC/NZA/1/3). The Village Headman Ordinance authorized government-appointed officials to recruit labour for public work deemed to be in the interest of the village. Despite this, labour remained scarce. Settlers' evidence before a Native Land Commission in 1913 maintained that the labour crisis could be settled through an increase of African taxes and reducing the "native" land. They further advocated for the use of corporal punishment on Africans, (Ibid: 42). The commission resolved that government officials could "encourage" Africans to go for wage labour (Tignor, 1976). This was also applied in Awendo whereby the village heads coerced Awendo population into colonial wage labour.

Before the First World War, the colonial government never took any keen interest in developing African agriculture. Instead, the focus was on settler farming thus the massive transfer of African labour from African agriculture to settler farming. It was also not keen on the quality or the quantity of African produce since it was not considered of any profit to the colony. As a result, Africans did not receive any agricultural advice or capital from the agricultural department. However, before the close of the war, economic problems facing Kenya reversed the government's attitude towards African agriculture. While all interested parties agreed on making African labour possessed economic value, they differed on where that labour was particularly needed: either in the African reserves or European farms. John Ainsworth, the advisor on Native Affairs in the War Council, was of the opinion that there was the need to compel Africans to put maximum effort in

production in their own farms as compared to when they are working on the European farms (KNA/PC/NZA/7/8).

John Ainsworth reminded the government that whites would not work in a country inhabited by the “black race” (Mungeam, 1966, p.133). Although the British had outlawed slavery, Ainsworth did not find it inappropriate to use Africans in the development of the colony. The non-official member opposed his bill introduced in 1918 to compel Africans to cultivate their land. Ainsworth’s bill was thrown out only to be replaced by the Northey Labour Circular of 1919 that ensured constant flow of African labour to European farms from Africans.

Given that white settlers would not manage intensive capital farming, and were also not prepared to do manual work, they expected the government to supply them with adequate and quality African labour. The option left for the government was to enact laws that would compel or even force Africans to work for the settlers. In 1908, during the tenure of Sir James Hayes Sadler, a labour Inquiry Board under the chairmanship of Sir Charles Bowring was instituted. It urged the government to be more aggressive in ensuring that Africans moved out of their homes for wage labour. The committee was further of the opinion that:

... the land set aside for Native Reserves should be limited to the present requirements of the committee being of the opinion that the existence of unnecessarily extensive reserves are directly antagonistic to an adequate labour supply (KNA, DC/SN/23/42, The Labour Department Report, 1947; Sorrenson, 1968, pp. 90-91).

According to the statement, the committee was of the opinion that alienation of more African land would force them to seek wage labour. Furthermore, to force the men to work for settlers, the colonial office and the settlers made every effort to deny them the right to grow high valued crops like tea and tobacco which had been introduced in Awendo. Without these crops, the Awendo people had either to grow foodstuff for sale or seek wage labour so as to pay their taxes which was actually compulsory.

Sorrenson (1968) indicates that, in 1922, there were a number of European owned private firms engaged in recruiting labour in Awendo. The other private recruiters were the African Highlands Produce Company, a local subsidiary of James Finlay Company of Glasgow and the Kenya Tea Company a subsidiary of the Brooke Bond Company, which established Tea Estates in Kericho in 1925, (*Ibid*). These companies employed their own European and African agents in Awendo.

The private recruiting agents were expected to obtain permits valid for twelve months from the Provincial Commissioner in Kisumu. The tea companies transported their labourers from their labour camps which were established at strategic parts along the major roads throughout Awendo. They were very small, thus labourers were overcrowded in very inhuman conditions (KNA/DC/KSI/1/2). Corruption and deceit often characterized the methods used by private recruiting firms and tea companies to get labourers.

Most of the forced labour, on the other hand, was ordered out by the chiefs and headmen under instructions from the DC. The methods used for recruitment ranged from armed raids to luring young men with shorts and long trousers, to such ploys as ambushing women while they were coming from the river or market and holding them hostage in recruiting camps until they were ransomed through substitution by their male relatives (Stitcher, 1982, P.37-38). After the six months contract, as set by the colonial government, locally known as *ogirimiti* (agreements) were signed between the employers and the labourers. After the six months, the migrant labourers would be paid in terms of wages which although low as wages were below 10 shillings such that one had to save for transport, taxes and a few luxurious items, for instance, soap, box and clothes (OI, Mzee Ibrahim Rogoncho, August 2016).

During the post-war economic depression of 1919-1922, there was a high level of rural-urban migrations for economic reasons. Stitcher observes that the marginalization of African agriculture during the 1920s decade was as a result of the withdrawal of large amounts of African labour which was increasingly tempted out by the very success of European Agriculture. Stitcher (1982) adds that;

The relation between African agricultural production and labour supply may be seen in the period from 1925, the increased outflow of labour precisely correlates with a lack of growth in agriculture, such that by the end of the decade African agriculture is no higher than it was at the peak of 1925, (KNA/DC/KSI/1/2).

Thus, the colonial labour policies had the effect of marginalizing African agriculture which was mainly dominated by the women. Throughout the 1920s African participation in migrant labour increased because of the poor income from agriculture in comparison to the incomes from wages and the amount they had to submit as taxes. The migrant labour had devastating effects on gender labour relations in Awendo as women remained with all the agricultural labour demands (OI, Oyoko, April 2016; KNA/DC/KSI/1/3). Towards the end of 1920s, there was a drastic decrease in the number of those going out to work from the district mostly in 1928. This decrease was caused by an outbreak of malaria (KNA/DC/KSI/1/3). This number dropped further with the slump in the prices for European farm produce. Consequently, there was a decrease in labour demand by the settlers (KNA, PC/NZA 3/13, South Kavirondo Labour Report 1932/ OI, Mzee Walter, August 2016).

Following the agitation by Africans against the crude tax laws put in place by the colonial government, a number of shifts were experienced in Awendo. Since the Devonshire White Paper of 1923 had given some greenlight by its declaration for the precedence of the native's interest in case of a conflict with the immigrants and, although it took long for the statement to be applied, it was eventually implemented in the Income Tax Ordinance of 1937. The basis of the Income Tax Ordinance was business in the sense that taxes were deducted from business profits, salaries and wages, rents and various sources of income. It was done through a well-established format of determining income. This tax system continued in Kenya until 1948 though with various modifications. The Income Tax Ordinance of 1937 abated the tough times the African men and women had been going through by being forced to offer their labour to service various punitive taxes imposed by the colonial government and the white settlers. The fact that it exempted women was however, a success for the Awendo women though their labour was transferred to African agriculture (KNA, PC/NZA/1/35, Nyanza Province Annual Report by Moyne, 1940; KNA, PC/NZA/1/7/8).

According to the Moyne report, the value of the poll tax (individual tax) was to go up upon dropping hut tax because a good proportion of the hut tax was being paid by women though alongside their husbands but now, they were being exempted from the new tax system, Mutemi, 2015. The exemption of women from paying the new poll tax of 1937 was the biggest success

achieved by women during the entire colonial epoch. It relieved the women from the forceful and exploitative labour that they offered to the white settlers' farms. Inasmuch as the exemption appeared a blessing to the Awendo women, it may not have been. This is because, with the increase of the individual tax, their men became highly engaged in paying the taxes such that any other activity in the homestead was left to the women. GoK (2005) argues that the exemption of the women from paying the individual tax was not relief but rather a factor used to deny women job opportunities. It is further discussed by the GoK that the exemption was a clear way of showing a devaluation of the African women's ability to work. An interviewee confirms that this approach pushed the Awendo women to the periphery as men gained dominance in employment, wealth generation and gaining experience in cash crop growing, no wonder cash crops were referred to as *men's crops*, Nashon (OI) April, 2016). One informant also alluded that this exemption pushed the women to become beggars and to rely on their husbands as the subsistence agriculture continued doing poorly in the hands of the women. Nyagowa adds '*to bende nene waneno pesa gi?*' translated to mean 'and were we even seeing their money?', (Nyagowa, (OI) April, 2016).

This situation went on the entire period of the colonial decline in Awendo. The changes that were later made did not mention anything further on women till the country achieved majority rule/independence. Upon independence, the country came up with development philosophies with the first one being the Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 titled African Socialism and its application to planning in Kenya. This philosophy promised equality of all Kenyans (men and women) politically, socially and economically.

5.5 Gender Labour Relations in Agriculture in Awendo during the Transition Period (1945-1965)

During this period, the colonial administration in Kenya started focusing on the welfare of the African women as compared to the previous years. The colonial administration in Kenya had neglected women in most of their operations while they focused on the men's labour. The colonial policies and laws emphasized the exploitation of the African men through their labour on government projects and the settler farms. Any form of empowerment for Africans would be geared towards men such as growing of cash crops and training on leadership. With time, the wives of the colonial

administrators and missionaries such as Mrs. Beecher (Beecher was a missionary) Nancy Shepherd among other women started working with African women because in their perception they believed that the best way to develop the African societies was by empowering the African women (KNA, Community Development Report, 1933).

Maendeleo Ya Wanawake (MAYAWA) was thus established. MAYAWA originated from the colonial period when Nancy Shepherd, then Assistant Commissioner for Community Development and Rehabilitation and the then Venerable Archdeacon H.K. Binns, began to organize women's clubs with the aid of volunteers. Professional leadership was supplied by Community Development personnel, but the main motivating force came at the local level through European women volunteers. The wives of administrators, missionaries, technical advisors, and settlers organized branches across Kenya. African assistants were trained so that, in time, the branches could function under their leadership (KNA, Community Development Report, 1933).

From the outset, MAYAWA came under the patronage of upper-class colonial women including Lady Mary Baring, the Governor's wife. Lady Eleanor Cole, Lady Worley, Mrs. A.J Beecher, wife of the Anglican Bishop, Mrs. C.H. Williams, wife of a Provincial Commissioner, Mrs. T. Hughes, wife of a provincial agricultural officer, the wives of the executives of Rosterman Mines, and members of the East African Women's League (a European voluntary association of East Africa founded in 1917 for the advancement of women) (Chitere, 1988).

They established learning and training institutions and sought government funding (Chitere, 1988). As a result, institutions such as the Jeanes School in Kabete and Kericho Spinning and Weaving Centre or schools were started. The Jeanes School mainly trained women on leadership though African chiefs were also being trained there. This was the leading institution for the training of women leaders (Chitere, 1988a). The School had, from as far back as 1925, trained wives of village colonial workers or guides (KNA/Benson Report/ Jeanes School/1932). The two institutions attracted many African women more so those whose husbands were working for the Europeans. They trained African women with the guidance of European women. In order to be more relevant and to reach many African women effectively, they started forming women, self-help groups. The self-help groups started much early in the late 1930s. As an impact of

MAYAWA movement members, women were excluded from the Income Tax Ordinance of 1937 while the colonial government deeply engaged their husbands in jobs to aid the payment of the individual taxes. Unfortunately, women were left out of the colonial government employment system thus those who did not manage to be taken by the institutions, more so the Awendo rural women were pushed to subsistence farming which was very unreliable.

The original intention of the European women was to unify, nurture and empower African women socially, economically and politically to be able to deal with the unique challenges that face them in society (Pala, 1975). The women self-help group grew to become an organisation hence Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO) in the Department of Community Development in the colonial government. The women groups mainly engaged in training African women in leadership and weaving of various items such as basket, clothes, and containers for keeping cereals among other things. From 1946, Community Development Assistants (CDAs), chiefs, ex-servicemen and other local leaders who were admitted for training at the school were required to go with their wives. The wives were trained in housewifery, childcare and agriculture. For example, in 1949, 100 African women who had accompanied their husbands to the school received this type of training because they were also considered leaders alongside their husbands (KNA/Kenya Social Welfare Organization, Annual Report, 1949).

Another significant breakthrough that transformed gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo was the Swynnerton Plan written in 1953 and published in 1954 providing a definitive statement on land tenure policy in Kenya. This plan aimed at intensifying African agriculture on the basis of land tenure reforms and production for the urban and export market. According to Swynnerton, the architect of the Plan, after whom it was named, argued that:

“Sound agricultural development is dependent upon a system of land tenure which will make available to the African farmer a unit of land and a system of farming whose production could support his family at a level, taking into account the prerequisites derived from the farm, comparable with other occupations. He must be provided with such security of tenure through an indivisible title as will encourage him to invest his labour and profits into the development of his farm and as will enable him to offer his security against such financial credits as he may wish to secure from such sources as may be open to him” (KNA, PC/KSI/Swynnerton/1/12).

The final stage was the registration of land which was to show the interests in land that the owner had and title deeds were issued. At this point, the land was converted into a trade item and could be sold. It was not categorical that land individualization was particularly for male but females did not come out in large numbers to take advantage except mostly the widows because their ‘defenders’ were not alive as they were comfortable being represented by their male counterparts (OI, Abang, April, 2016). The plan was to detach people from their traditions and their traditional ways of farming. This was possible because the natives were allowed to sell their land, go into the city, and later buy it back if they decided to go back. An assumption was that those who went into the city and detached themselves from traditional systems of farming could learn modern methods of farming and increase their levels of production. Such steps opened land buying and ownership to any gender because it was on the interested buyer-seller basis but not on traditional methods of land tenure that could not open such avenues to women (Swynnerton Plan, 1954). At independence, more land legislations were passed but Awendo women were majorly left out because there were no deliberate attempts to bring them on board but, instead, the government continued coming up with legislations that were mainly pro-men.

Audry (1975) puts it that up to 1945, the influence of the European activities with African women had not gained much ground in the grassroots as it focused on the high-class women mainly of the African colonial officials. After the end of the Second World War, there was a paradigm shift as the focus of even the government towards the role of women in various fora such as agriculture improved. From 1946, the wives of the ex-servicemen, chiefs and those of the Community Development Assistants (CDAs) were being trained alongside their husbands. Audry puts it that it was a cooptation of women into leadership. Following the rapid growth of the women activities, MYWO was officially registered in 1952 by the colonial government of Kenya as a national membership of the Non-Governmental Organizations.

In Nyanza, the impacts of the Jeanes School, the spinning and weaving institutions, as well as the cooptation of women into leadership, were also felt. In Awendo, the effects of the changes were felt as women leaders coming from Awendo locality like Phoebe Asiyo who later became some of the prominent women leaders started as volunteers at the women organization and rose to the apex of leadership in Kenya. With the supervision of the European women who mainly worked as

volunteers, Nyanza district enjoyed a high number of clubs from earlier years and by 1954, it had 69 clubs as compared to 100 in Nyeri, 94 in Machakos, 45 in Kiambu and 35 in Fort Hall districts (later Murang'a); the other districts had fewer numbers (KNA/Ministry of Community Development Annual Report, 1954). A number of factors were responsible for this rapid growth of the women's movement in Nyanza as manifested in the increasing number of clubs: First, a women's section within the Community Development Organization was created with the appointment of Nancy Shepherd as the head. She became the first woman Assistant Commissioner two years later. The section planned and coordinated women's work throughout Nyanza District. Home craft officers who later became known as the Women Community Development Officers were also appointed in Nyanza such as Pamela Mahanga (KNA/Ministry of Community Development Annual Report, 1953, p.13).

According to Audry (1975) in 1954, there were more than 300 Women clubs and a membership of about 37,000, with twelve European and two African home craft officers in charge (KNA/Annual Report of the Federation of Social Services, 1954). Funds for salaries were scarce and many officers worked without pay (EAS, 4 March 1955). By June 1955, the membership had grown to 40,690 and the clubs to 602. This marked an increase of 94 clubs and 3,720 members in six months. At this point, the rapid expansion began to level off. A 1964 report put the membership at 42,447 with 1,120 clubs. Nyanza Region was the strongest with 9,459 members; the Eastern Region was a close second with 9,334, followed by the Central Region with 6,734. In 1969, the membership stood at more than 80,000 with 3,000 clubs and was given as more than 90,000 in 1970 and 1973. However, by 1974 it had suffered a drastic decline to "not more than 40,000 members. In South Nyanza, there were 3,564 members with 1230 members coming from Awendo based communities mainly Sakwa. There were two offices in South Nyanza one at Uriri and another at Homa Bay, Phoebe, (OI) July, 2016).

Audry (1975); Phoebe, (OI) July 2016; Elida, (OI) August, 2016, agree that the Department of Community Development expanded Maendeleo Ya Wanawake activities like trainings and suggested the following programme for weekly meetings over a three-month period in Awendo and across all the Districts in the Country. They included child bathing; health and hygiene in the home; agriculture-rotation of crops, making compost and compost pits and other agricultural practices; children's play, training in character building; how to build a mud stove (if the women

have their own house); childcare; hygiene and health in the home; recipes and cooking demonstrations; handwork or needlework demonstration; headership; talks on current affairs and literacy classes should be held in addition to the club meetings.

It was quite unfortunate that Jeanes school which trained women mainly on leadership did not have a lot of influence in Awendo as it did not establish a learning centre in South Nyanza but weaving and spinning were taught and women had their earnings from the items they made such as sisal ropes, baskets, pots, hats among other things, Ranogwa, (OI) August, 2016). The impact of Maendeleo Ya Wanawake on gender labour relations cannot be overemphasized in Awendo. Its impact was felt as it improved the living standards of the women who could now have their own sources of income having been left out of the government employment schemes since 1937.

Ranogwa explains in an interview that, as the country approached independence in the 1960s, agriculture remained the mainstay of the Awendo populace. Not many changes were felt immediately as the focus was on setting up a new government. Agriculture in most parts of Awendo remained small family farms in rural areas with the family being the main source of labour. Access to land as a factor of production during the period remained significantly less equitable between men and women. While the agricultural labour force comprised mostly of women. Rules governing property ownership, acquisition and transfer of land were still less favourable to women. In addition, there was land tenure insecurity, highlighting the clash between the political elites and the African squatters and those who were living in the reserve areas as well as other landless Kenyans and is heightened by increasing pressure on land, Ranogwa, (OI) August, 2016)

5.6 Conclusion

Gender relations in colonial Awendo seem to have favoured Awendo men as compared to women because they controlled the socio-political institutions, which directly influenced the economic organization. As they responded to internal and external forces, African gender division of labour was disrupted by the introduction of colonial administrative policies. Men were removed from their traditional roles in agricultural production. This left women and children to shoulder the bulk of the agricultural responsibilities as women became the heads of their families as well. For those

men who remained in their families, their leadership role was diluted by the colonial requirements thus orders came from the colonial office that both the husband and wife followed and not from the man who was the head of the family. Consequently, Awendo women who had been locked out of key decision-making institutions that influenced the community's affairs became key decision-makers. This changed when their men joined migrant labour and they had to make crucial decisions in the society. Some of the women assumed the responsibilities perfectly.

On land issue, Awendo land tenure was challenged by the new political economy. As the Europeans occupied land blocking any further expansion by the African communities as the British new landowners continued to put more land under cultivation, the land value rose tremendously. Subsequently, some Africans were pushed out of their lands to go and live in the infertile and congested reserves. Such individuals were the first to join wage labour either within the African areas or the towns while some still joined the white settler farms. Others migrated to the Rift Valley as squatters on European farms. The changes in ownership of and access to land directly affected Awendo agricultural production along gender lines. The challenges that women faced on land matters never changed much because the land registration introduced just added man more authority over unalienated land as the title deeds were in the names of the male heads including those who had joined migrant labour. Women still remained with usufruct rights during the colonial period. The importance of Awendo women's labour is demonstrated by the kind of activities they carried out. It was, therefore, the women's labour that sustained the community during the colonial era as most of the men were engaged by the colonial government and the settlers. Apart from sustaining the community, it was the women's labour that enriched the Awendo men. Ownership of and access to land was first and foremost influenced by the land tenure system.

The arrival of the Europeans only helped to entrench a process that was already in place, namely male patriarchy. Ownership and access to the means of production were important in influencing the ability of each gender group in agricultural production. Females would only access land through a male guardian. They had to be either married or remain in their father's homestead. Remaining unmarried was not always acceptable in the Awendo society. Since they would not own land, women were not able to claim it. It has also been noted that there was gender discrimination in inheritance, especially of land. Awendo women were never supposed to inherit land from either

their paternal or matrimonial relatives. Gender relations of agricultural production in Awendo were, therefore, in favour of men. The penetration of imperial agents in the late nineteenth century did not change the situation of the women of Awendo much even though the changes that occurred. Due to the prejudiced attitude that European men had towards their women, African women's position was even more compromised from the late nineteenth century. In the following chapter, the impact of independence on gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo is examined.

Towards independence, a number of changes were witnessed in Awendo. There was an increased concern for the natives generally. This improvement led to the withdrawal of the key punitive challenges Africans were going through which also affected Awendo. The challenges included exploitative taxation which was overrated in the name of paying for the civilization they were receiving. The other challenge was being forced to overstretch such as forced labour to pay the taxes which were varied in number and captured every stage and gender in life and this affected Awendo women more because it was considered a labour reservoir. The European women such as Nancy Shepherd, Lady Mary Barring, Lady Eleanor Cole, Lady Worley, Mrs A.J Beecher, wife of the Anglican bishop came up in the mid-1930s to help the African women come up in the economic and leadership spheres. This led to the establishment of Jeane's school, Kabete and regional learning art-craft learning institutions across the country.

These institutions emphasized art and craft as a means of making the African women self-reliant. The leadership mentorship also had a lot of impacts and produced leaders such as Former Hon. Phoebe Asiyo. This period also saw the value of the African woman labour demeaned by being removed from the Individual Income tax which was based on the amount of salary one earned. This demeaning of the African women's labour affected even the relationships at the family level as men started having more authority and control over their female counterparts. European Women such as Nancy Shepherd and Lady Mary Barring and Mrs A.J Beecher matronaged the establishment of women self-help groups which developed into clubs with increased membership. The women movement clubs caught the attention of the colonial government that also started supporting the clubs financially. The clubs grew in membership and in organization and in 1952, it became a formidable organization thus was registered as an organization by the name Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organization (meaning the progress of the women Organization).

CHAPTER SIX

CHANGING GENDER LABOUR RELATIONS IN AGRICULTURE IN AWENDO IN POST-COLONIAL KENYA (1963-2000)

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo in post-colonial Kenya have been examined. This has facilitated the understanding of the changing gender labour relations that followed the attainment of independence and became instrumental in the integration of the colonial labour systems into the post-colonial labour policies while bringing out the changes that may have transformed gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo during the period under study. The impact of independence on gender labour relations was analyzed basing on a number of international interventions and government aspects such as development plans, government policies, legal interventions as well as a mention of government philosophies. The analysis of the changing gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo in post-colonial Kenya has been done in two phases focusing on the government regimes such as during Jomo Kenyatta's regime (1963-1978) and then Daniel Arap Moi's reign (1978-2000). The chapter is going to focus on the state of gender labour relations in Awendo and the role the governments have played in addressing gender-based issues within the period under review. The chapter discusses the state of gender labour relations during the period while bringing out the changes that may have taken place in gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo.

6.2 Establishment of the Post Colonial state in Awendo 1963-1978

Kenya attained internal self-rule in May 1963 following a democratic general election held in Kenya. On 1 June 1963, Kenyatta was sworn in as the first Prime Minister of Kenya. Kenya remained a monarchy, with Queen Elizabeth II as its head of state (Murray-Brown, 1974). On the 12th December, 1963, the British monarchy handed over control of the country to Jomo Kenyatta. Come December 1964, Kenya was officially proclaimed a Republic with an Executive President (Gertzel, 1970). Having become the executive president, Kenyatta focused on consolidating his powers and position as the President of the Republic of Kenya thus not much was put in place for gender equality. Jomo Kenyatta appointed Oginga Odinga as his Vice President. He preserved most of the elements of the colonial order, particularly in relation to gender relations in various sectors which were left largely intact (Murray, 1974).

Gertzel (1970) posits that the young independent economy of Kenya was heavily moulded on the colonial systems with plantation agriculture dominating. Therefore, not much attention was given to local agricultural production which was mainly driven by women. This was because the economy was still dominated by foreigners. Under Kenyatta, the structure of Kenya's agricultural gender labour relations did not change fundamentally as expected by many local Kenyans. The economy remained externally oriented and dominated by multinational corporations and foreign capital. This was at the expense of the native producers who were not given much attention hence local agriculture remained subsistence and run by the women with little support from the government.

Ochieng (1995) posits that, in contrast to his economic policies, Kenyatta publicly claimed that he would promote gender equality by creating, among other steps, a democratic socialist state with an equitable distribution of economic resources, opportunities and social equality between men and women. In 1965, when Thomas Joseph Mboya was minister for economic planning and development, the government issued the Sessional Paper No. 10 titled "African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya", in which it officially declared its commitment to what it called an "African Socialist" economic model. The sessional paper elaborated a mixed economy with an important role for agriculture, with Kenyatta's government specifying that it would only consider nationalization in instances where national security was at risk. In addition, by planning to Africanise the agricultural sector which was dominantly female, there was a sigh of relief among the women of Kenya. The sessional paper contained pleasant ideas on the promotion of gender equality. Left-wing critics highlighted that the image of "African socialism" portrayed in the document provided for no major shift away from the colonial economy. Hence the claims of the paper did not reflect what was happening on the ground. The government claimed to promote social equality more so between men and women yet, come 1965, the ILO complained that Kenya was sidelining women in many of its operations (ILO, 1965).

In Nyanza, women welcomed the attainment of independence with unforeseeable happiness and jubilation. The women expected transformations in their social, economic and political lives. They expected the gender gaps they had suffered in areas such as education, poverty, labour, financial markets, political and economic empowerment and institutions to be solved. In Awendo, there was

a lot of happiness in 1963 at the announcement of the achievement of independence as the Unionjack was being lowered in Kisii and the flag of Kenya being raised. Men, women and children attended the function in Kisii in unimaginable numbers (Nyakwaka, 1996, p.78). On the same note as noted by Butterman (Butterman, 1979, p.64) that the women of Awendo had a lot of expectations from the native regime that was coming in. The Awendo populace referred to the attainment of independence as 'the new dawn' (KNA/PC/NZA South Nyanza Gazetteer 1962, p.34). The women of Awendo expected liberation from constrained equal access to social and economic capital such as employment, political, financial and social services that they had suffered during the colonial regime.

6.3 Gender Labour Relations in the Post Colonial State in Awendo, 1963-1978

The year 1963 marked the attainment of Kenya's political independence and beginning of a new dawn, as was the expectation of the Kenyan women. Despite the clarion call at independence by the founding President to fight poverty, ignorance and disease, Kenya's economy continued to be determined by majorly Western industrial nations, especially Britain which made it difficult for the country to meet the expectations of most Kenyans including the Africanization of the Kenyan economy. For instance, though the government recognized agriculture as the mainstay of the country's economy, no major changes were undertaken to transform the relations of production such as labour and land. More importantly, the inclusion of each gender in equal measure in food crop production continued to receive insignificant attention from the government and yet it was the source of livelihood for most Kenyans (Mutemi, 2015).

The realization that both genders needed to be equal was a conception of the independent government of Kenya far from the pre-colonial and even the colonial regimes. The journey to achieving this has been long as it has not been easy to win the mentality and the attitude of the majority of both males and females who were brought up in the past generations that were entrenched in the male dominance. African Socialism as a development philosophy of the government of Kenya under President Kenyatta was a landmark step on plans to promote gender equality. The ideology, whose objectives are laid down in Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965, hoped to bring about equality between women and men in terms of participation in government and personal developments and in societal rewards as well as opportunities (RoK, 1965; Stitcher,

1977; Miller & Yeager, 1994). The government in its wisdom of coining the philosophy included objectives that were oriented to gender equality such as political equality; social justice; freedom from exploitation and equal opportunities for all. These followed the President's statement emphasizing on equality of all citizens regardless of gender or ethnic backgrounds as quoted below;

“Since attainment of our independence just over eighteen months ago, the government is coming up with measures that will ensure rapid economic development and social progress for all our citizens without considering his/her gender and ethnic of origin...” President Kenyatta, Anaïs Angelo (Retrieved from <https://www.kwani.org> on June 2017).

The basis for the new ideology was the considerable social, economic, and political inequalities that most women as compared to men had been experiencing throughout the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial epochs (Hughes & Mwiria, 1989). There were high hopes of getting better things for the country as the people received majority rule with joy and celebrations. Women saw independence as a big achievement that had brought hope even to the women of Awendo.

A 1965 ILO report indicated that women had been left out of the mainstream employment opportunities in Kenya under Kenyatta's regime. On documents, such as the Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965, there are a lot of very promising programmes for gender equality with the main purpose of ensuring gender equity but with very little implementation on the ground. The objectives in Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 typically include-political equality; Social justice; human dignity including freedom of conscience; freedom from want, disease, and exploitations; equal opportunities; high and growing per capita incomes equitably distributed which were unfortunately not being practised on the ground (ILO, 1965).

Some of the principles of African socialism included political democracy and mutual social responsibility. In this case, political democracy implies that each member of society is equal in his or her political rights. The philosophy also focused on mutual social responsibility by society and its members. The state has an obligation to ensure equal opportunities for all its citizens, eliminate exploitation and discrimination, and provide necessary social services such as education, medical care and social security to all its citizens regardless of gender. These objectives and principles of the philosophy remained void until 1997 when gender equality received reasonable recognition (Attiya, 2007).

The discussions surrounding gender equality in Kenya were shelved thus were not discussed seriously for some time save for the international conferences that were going on such as the World Plan of Action; Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women; Women's Decade; Commission on the Status of women and the Beijing Platform of Action. As the paperwork was going on, there were little impacts which were felt on the grassroots of Awendo Sub County, Mary, (OI) August, 2016) who knew nothing about any of the world conferences or what was going on in the world about gender equality. She could not imagine that she is supposed to be equal to her husband, Andrew. The same feeling was expressed by Justin who although had heard rumours (as she referred to it) on gender equality but to her, '*mago mag mond wasunge*' meaning those ones are for the wives of the whites, Justin, (OI) April, 2016).

In addition, Jomo Kenyatta came up with development plans running from 1964 to 1980. These were meant to facilitate the achievement of the objectives of the government. The first one was the 1964-1970 economic development plan, which was branded by its planners 'The Gigantic Six-Year Plan. This had great ambitions for gender equality in its objectives as far as developing the economy of the country was concerned. Announcing the plan, Jomo Kenyatta said, "*The 1964-1970 economic development plans were geared towards promoting gender equality*". It dreamt of providing education and health in equal measure without any form of discrimination. But the plans remained in the plan as its objectives were thwarted by the 'alarming rate of population increase', (Development Plan, 1966). In addition, the plan was overtaken by other urgent and dire needs such as food shortages, drought, famine, housing shortage and the soaring house rents. The plan had to be revised to address the issues mentioned above thus shelving the initial gender equality ambitions. This affected Awendo as gender equality remained stagnant thus women had to continue languishing in gender inequalities.

Drought, alarming population growth rate, famine, lack of housing and other basic needs derailed the gender equality objectives of even the subsequent development plans in Kenya which in turn affected women in Awendo Sub County. After the first plan, came the second and third development plans branded 'redistribution through growth' (1970-1980). The articulations of these development strategies as well faced hitches in their implementation of gender equality ambitions as it focused on the more pressing issues. Thus, in the early 1970s, it had become clear that social

and gender inequalities remained stronger among Kenyans and, in fact, it was deepening (ILO, 1972). The ILO popularized the concept of 'redistribution through growth' which became the new centre-piece of development planning in Kenya. It, therefore, translates that the Kenyatta regime faced a lot of bottlenecks in implementing gender-based policies though they were part of each of the plans.

6.4 Gender Relations in Agricultural Labour in Awendo (1963-1978)

During this period, Awendo basically relied on subsistence farming with crops such as maize, sorghum, bananas, simsim, beans and various species of indigenous vegetables some of which are shown in Table 6.1 below:

Table 6.1: Awendo indigenous vegetables

<i>Botanical Name</i>	Common Name	Local name/as known in Awendo
<i>Amaranthus spp</i>	Pigweed	<i>Ododo</i>
<i>Gynandropsis gynandra</i>	Spider plant	<i>Dek/Akeyo</i>
<i>Commelina bengalensis</i>	Wondering Jew	<i>Andhodho/Odielo</i>
<i>Cucurbita maxima</i>	Pumpkin leaves	<i>Susa</i>
<i>Oxygonum sinuatum</i>		<i>Awayo</i>
<i>Solanum nigrum</i>	Black nightshade	<i>Osuga</i>
<i>Corchorus olitorius</i>	Jute	<i>Apoth</i>
<i>Vigna unguiculate</i>	Cowpeas	<i>Alot boo</i>
<i>Crotolarai ochreleuca</i>	Crotolaria	<i>Mitoo</i>
<i>Basella alba</i>		<i>Ndemra</i> along rivers ie Oyani and Sare

Some of the vegetables in the table 6.1 above would grow naturally in the gardens or along the rivers. These indigenous vegetables were supplemented with exotic ones such as spinach, cabbage and sukuma wiki/kales which were also commonly found in Awendo. In the local markets such as Awendo, Oyani, Uriri, Ulanda and Rapogi, the indigenous vegetables keep on reducing and becoming very expensive as compared to the exotic ones. This is because the indigenous vegetables face challenges such as the inadequate supply of quality seeds or seedlings, inadequate knowledge of production technologies such as organic farming, erratic weather conditions and

most importantly, the negative attitude as they are being perceived as 'women crops' thus not much emphasis has been put on them. They are also considered to be 'backwards'. The Awendo populace also fed on a number of root tubers such as yams, sweet potatoes and arrow-roots most of which had been introduced by the British.

Commercial agriculture had not taken root strongly in Awendo Sub County during this period. Commercial agriculture took root in Awendo and its environs from the 1970s. For instance, cash crops such as tobacco, cotton, sugarcane and tea received greater influence in 1970s. Though some of the cash crops were introduced much earlier such as cotton. The British East Africa Corporation Limited was established in 1906 aiming at spreading the work of the British Cotton Growing Association in Kenya, a body designed to encourage cotton growing in the British Empire and to establish cotton ginning factories and plantations in the entire country. As a result, ginning factories were built at Malindi, Kilindini and Kisumu as experimental farms were established at Malindi, Voi, Mombasa, Kibos and Kisumu. Cotton growing did not catch up well until the 1970s. During the late 1970s and 1980s, the sector experienced a boom because the government supported it through the Cotton Board of Kenya, which had organised a marketing system that saw farmers get paid promptly. The board invested heavily in factories such as Raymonds and Rift Valley Textiles (Rivatex) in Eldoret, as well as Kicomi in Kisumu. However, the textile market was liberalised in 1991 and the Cotton Board became ineffective. Second-hand clothes were imported, providing a serious challenge to locally produced clothes. Gradually, firms closed down and cotton ginning factories lay idle. Following the introduction of Kicomi, cotton was produced in areas such as Rarieda in Migori and some pockets in Kamagambo and Awendo (Ochola, & Kosura, (2007).

Emphasis had not been put on commercial agriculture since the region was known as a labour reservoir for settlers and government projects thus during the colonial period not much was being done on commercial agriculture in Awendo. The growing of tobacco started in Migori in 1970 as Ministry of Agriculture trials. Both the Ministry of Agriculture and British American Tobacco (BAT) identified Awendo as an area suitable for growing tobacco and in 1972, BAT came in and recruited Leaf Technicians to encourage tobacco growing in Awendo Sub County. The company provided loans in kind to farmers and up to present, the loans are offered to tobacco farmers for the necessary inputs (Luke, 1984, p13). Due to the colonial orientation and exposure, the cash crops were mainly picked up by men in Awendo. Men had been taken as labourers during the colonial

times most of who were working in the settler farms thus giving them commercial exposure over the Awendo women. In return, the men became so more economically stronger than women. Surprisingly, most of the labour used on farms was family labour. From the patriarchal setup, farm work was done by women thus as the cash crop growing was creeping in, most of the actual labour was done by the Awendo women as the men in Awendo controlled the outcome.

The period of 1963 and 1978 experienced an improved engagement in commercial agriculture in Awendo. To do this the government identified agriculture as the solution to her food shortage thus more focus was put on cash crops for Africans as compared to the previous period. In Awendo cash crops such as tobacco, sugarcane, pyrethrum and a bit of tea in addition to the subsistence crops were grown, Caleb Abwao, (OI) December, 2016). To facilitate the take-off in commercial agriculture in Awendo, there were a number of government incentives such as improved seeds, fertilizers and extension services which greatly improve production that was put in place. The government encouraged Kenyans to grow crops as compared the colonial period whereby Africans were completely barred from cash crop growing. This was to ensure a flow of foreign exchange into the country. The foreign exchange became the major driving force that guided the agricultural sector in independent Kenya (Alila, 1993, p.41). This again gave men a further undue advantage over women whose major crops were for consumption unless it was in excess and the new crops for the following season were ready then they could sell though at low prices because they were similar crops in the local markets. This was due to the inability of the government to implement its gender equality intentions in Awendo Sub County contained in the philosophies and development plans. The cash crops were described locally as men's crops. The women crops were not given much attention possibly because they were not earning money. Although most of the labour used in commercial farming was being offered by the women, Penina Adede, (OI) December, 2016).

The provision of extension services by the agricultural officers also helped to augment production as Africans' knowledge on cash crop growing was enhanced by agricultural extension education. The extension services were of greater benefit to the women who had not been engaged in commercial agriculture during the colonial period. Improved marketing co-operatives and transportation networks especially in the high potential areas equally motivated rural cash crop production (Maxon, 1992, p.285). African producers were encouraged to form cooperative

societies to market their produce in bulk through the statutory marketing boards such as the Kenya Planters Cooperative Union (KPCU), the Kenya Tea Development Authority (KTDA) and Pyrethrum Board of Kenya (PBK) handled the main cash crops, coffee, tea and pyrethrum respectively. It is important to note that cooperative membership was given to owners of land parcels and cash crop farmers who were majorly men thus curving out women.

Consequently, in Awendo as it was in other parts of Kenya, most cooperative members were men. Though most of the cash crops were produced by large- scale farmers, small-scale farmers who were mainly women also took the challenge enthusiastically to form their own groups though theirs was to help them offer labour as they helped each other to finish the agricultural labour for their subsistence crops. It must be noted that in as much as there was space for the Awendo women to pick up any area of interest including cash crop growing, deliberate mechanisms to change the minds of men and women and also the cultural inclinations were not put in place thus women did not enjoy the fruits of independence as compared to men, Elias Onyango, (OI) July, 2016).

6.5 Land Reforms and Gender Labour Relations in Awendo (1963-1978)

Land has continued to be a crucial resource in independent Kenya for agricultural production thus land reforms became an integral feature of the founding government of Kenya. It was also necessary to have the reforms because settlers had been gripped by fear due to the impending change of political power (World Bank-Thongori et al, 2007). The government, therefore, embarked on land transfers, which allowed settlers to sell their land to Africans through an arranged procedure of land settlement schemes such as the Shirika schemes, Yeoman and peasant schemes and million-acre schemes, among others (KNA/settlement schemes in Kenya, 1975). In Nyanza, most of the settlement schemes were mainly established in the Kisii highlands such as Burabu and Maruti Settlement schemes. In South Nyanza, there was the Lambwe Valley settlement scheme. It should be noted that the Kenyatta government was utterly gender-blind in the land transfer processes. This affected the Awendo women who were the key players in food production and literally depended on land for their agricultural activities. This left them at the mercy of their husbands through usufruct rights, a situation which was just a pre-colonial example. This was another blow to the women though an improvement from the colonial times that even

their husbands did not have access to land and both man and wife would service taxes that never benefitted them, Richard Odwar, (OI) August, 2016 ; OI, Adede Penina, (OI) August, 2016).

This was not surprising because the new government was headed majorly by men most of whom had objected to the economic advancement of women and were also suffering from the colonial influence. Most women also had not realized the value of equality as they had been comfortable in the arms of their husbands other than a few enlightened ones (Sowell, 2004). Sowell's findings were in line with the oral Interviews in Awendo, Joseph Odeny, (OI) April, 2017) who reported that he could not remember women being allowed to inherit land in Awendo left by the Europeans nor even being allowed to buy from the schemes apart from the males who would negotiate for pieces of land on behalf of his family while their wives would be protective over already acquired land by their husbands for they considered such lands as theirs as well. Oral findings also showed that the Luo cultural beliefs in Awendo continued blinding the women to the extent that they never thought of negotiating for a piece since they were comfortable being represented by their husbands, Margaret Akinyi, (OI) March, 2016).

The land transfer changed from one form to another being influenced by the political temperatures. In 1960, a small settlement project, which provided for the settlement of "peasant" farmers who were to be allocated farms scattered widely throughout the former European settlement areas, was planned (Curry, et al., 1999, p.151). The proposal never took off, as independence approached and the priorities of the country changed and the government also realized that the scheme was insufficient to impact on landlessness among Africans (Curry, et al., 1999, p148). Consequently, early in 1961, another settlement project that had "peasant" farms, which were acceptable to European settlers, was conceived. The "peasant" farms were located on the periphery of the European area and could, not pose any problem to settler farming (Curry, et al., 1999, p.152). Therefore, the essential aim of this project was to satisfy African land hunger but still maintain the European settler economy. The "peasant" farms were designed to allow a net income of around 100 pounds per annum (Arkadie, 1966, p.10). The two types of schemes were nevertheless selective in that the prospective settlers had to have a certain amount of capital to qualify.

The "peasant" settlers were to have 1,000 shillings working capital. Furthermore, all settlers were to prove their farming ability (Udry, 1996, pp.74-76). The financial restrictions placed on these

schemes blocked many women from benefitting since most of them depended on their male heads as they were unemployed or had very poor pay that could not enable them to accumulate such kind of capital. The program was a failure since it targeted a selected group of prosperous people who were mostly men leaving women aside in abject poverty. In 1962, when the Second Constitutional Conference was held, all indications were that the land issue was central to both political and economic prosperity of Kenya.

In 1963, the registered land Act, Cap 300, was enacted to ensure better registration of titles. This legislation was to deal with African grievances that had been ignored by the earlier colonial governments. Registration was to be done for Africans and individualization of title to customary law. The main achievement under this legislation was the element of individual ownership and registration of land. All title deeds that had been issued were to be reissued under this law. Section 143 made first registration of land privileged; this implied that it could not be challenged even if it was wrongfully obtained. Title deeds issued under the Act were considered as proof of absolute ownership and could be used as security for more resources with financial institutions as security. This was an advantage that did not reach the women of Awendo (GoK, 2014). The situation of women and the poor were made worse by severely restricting their financial and social ability to gain land through government or the market. Consequently, the ideology of exclusive rights over land set forth by the European settlers and advanced by the independent government gave "precedence to individual ownership invested in male heads of households and in turn marginalized the usufruct rights of women formerly guaranteed under lineage tenure" (Opondo, and Smith 1988, p.165). Shipton's study of the Luo of Nyanza indicates that, after the reform programme had been completed, only 7% of the registered land parcels had women as joint or exclusive owners. He argues that "registration has affected the hardening of men's land rights into absolute legal ownership, to the exclusion of women and children" (Shipton, 1988, p.119). Apart from investing ownership in male heads and thus marginalizing usufruct rights of women formally guaranteed under customary tenure, women were also not able to have collateral to secure credit for agricultural development since few held land in their names. In any case, land tenure reform put emphasis on export production owned by males. In Awendo, since the production of cash and subsistence crops are directly linked to the access of land, women were confronted with a whole

range of handicaps in fulfilling their roles as food producers as they dominated subsistence while the cash crops were left for men, Phoebe Ongadi, (OI) July, 2016).

6.6 Gender concerns in Agriculture in Awendo, 1978-2002

The 1970s saw an enthusiastic push for gender equality. World conferences were organized to push for more space for women. The first one was the World Conference on Women, held in Mexico in 1975. This was the first international conference held by the United Nations to focus solely on women's issues. The main objective of the conference was to remind the international community that discrimination against women in different forms and shapes continued to be a persistent problem in much of the world. This goes along the focus of this study which is also pivoted on the skewed gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo 1902-2017. The conference therefore marked a turning point in policy directives in most countries of the world. The conference picked on labour, education, employment, family planning, health, nutrition and housing as key focal points to be emphasized if gender discrimination against women was to be addressed. It also agreed on follow-up conferences to evaluate the progress that had been made in eliminating discrimination against women and their equality by various countries (Chesoti, 2004). The world countries were expected to pick up on the resolutions of the conference to address gender imbalances in their backyards. The government of Kenya embraced the worldwide push for gender equality and, in support of this, accepted to host the World Conference on Women held in 1985 or the Third World Conference on Women which took place between 15 and 26 July, 1985 in Nairobi chaired by Kenya's Margaret Kenyatta. This was a clear indication that Kenya was in favour of gender equality.

The world push for gender equality may have come to Kenya at an inappropriate time. This was because of the political turmoils caused by the demise of the founding president of the Republic of Kenya, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta in 1978. The political transition thus took the centre stage in the country thereby defocusing the country from its ambitions such as the fight against gender discrimination. Daniel arap Moi who was the next one on line as the head of state and government had to fight for his political survival before he could embark on the worldwide issues such as the fight against gender discrimination. The first World Conference on women held in Mexico, 1975 approved the world Women's Decade covering the period 1975 to 1985. During this period Kenya, as one of the world countries, was expected to implement the resolutions contained

in the “Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and Their Contribution to Development and Peace” and the “World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women’s Year.” the issues to be handled by the world countries such as Kenya included pay equity, landholding, violence against women and the basic human rights, (Marcello, C.G, 2014).

During the 20th Century, not much ground was covered in terms of achieving gender equality in Kenya or implementing the international obligations on the fight against gender parity. As Nzomo, (1989) puts it at the close of the United Nations Women’s Decade in Nairobi that the Nairobi conference to close the United Nations decade dedicated to women of the world caught Kenyan women and men by surprise because they were not aware that such a decade existed. It was until the eve of the conference, that the Kenyan women and men had come to know that there had been an entire decade dedicated to them and committed to the achievement of equality and peace.

Nzomo, (1989) notes that Kenya had come a long way from the 1960s when there was hardly any mention of women in development. She goes on to posit that throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, the post-colonial government of Kenya acted as if the gender question as a policy issue was of no relevance to Kenya. It was not therefore amazing that the national development plans, as well as other key policy documents, were completely oblivious of the critical role that women play in the national political and economy. While the development plans and other policy documents would have detailed reports on agriculture and peasants as the mainstay for Kenyans, they failed to recognize that the predominant majority of the agricultural labour was being done by women. In Awendo, agriculture was the mainstay for the populace and the labour was mainly provided by the women. The reason is that the agriculture practised was subsistence meant for food production. Food crops were regarded as women's crops as compared to cash crops which were considered men’s crops though they had not been heavily established in Awendo in the 1960s and early 1970s. Consequently, most of the agricultural labour was supplied by women accompanied by their children and occasionally the husband. Unfortunately, such devotions by women were not recognized by the male dominant society.

The ILO (1972) clearly brought out the disparity between men and women in employment, income and equality, the government challenged the report denying that it is not aware of any overt

discrimination against women in the country. This was to be an eye-opener to the government and Kenya at large on the gender issues that affect women. The government claimed that women are employed in important positions in the armed forces, police, prisons, and in government as well as in the private sector. The government maintained the position that Kenyan women are not being discriminated against and therefore need not to struggle over the rights they are already enjoying.

In his book; '*Kenya African Nationalism: Nyayo Philosophy and Principles*,' President Moi talks of several achievements for the Kenyan women under his regime. In this book, he devoted a whole chapter on women of Kenya outlining the achievements made so far to the end of the women's decade in 1985. One of the achievements that Moi mentioned was the continued cooperation with the government and co-action with the leadership from the grassroots to the top. Another gain was the coordinated and manageable plan of action on the women's strategy to AD 2000 and the third one was the vigilance and cooperative performance in the course of peace, love and unity. The president also talked of the house allowance for women to be introduced. This was later implemented in 1995. Initially, women were not given house allowance as they were expected to be housed by their male counterparts. There was also the women's bureau which encouraged the establishment of women groups. These achievements did not seem satisfying among the womenfolk (Nzomo, 1989).

As it was a surprise to the Kenyan women that there had been a whole ten years period dedicated to them, it was worse for the Awendo women who did not hear of the 'Forward-Looking Strategies for Women's Advancement' at the Nairobi conference held in 1985. It is, therefore, not astonishing that the decade did not have any impact on the lives of the women in Awendo. They continued with their daily subsistence life with the main responsibility of looking for food for their families and reproducing for their husbands. The First World Women Conference in 1975 identified Labour, education, employment, family planning, health, nutrition and housing as the main aspects of discrimination against women. It was true that the women of Awendo experienced these. A good example is agricultural labour. In the 1960s and 70s, women provided up to 80% of the agricultural labour while the benefits accrued from their labour would be controlled by their male counterparts (Kwenya, 2007). The number of children that a woman would bear would determine the kind of respect she would be given by her husband, the community and the society as well as by the fellow women. Woe unto you if you are barren, Perez, (OI) July, 2016).

The World Plan of Action for the implementation of the objectives of the International Women's Year further identified more gender-based issues that women of Awendo Sub County also suffered. These included pay equities, landholding, violence against women and basic human rights violation. The worst of all to the Awendo women was the inability to own land. As was narrated by Perez, it was difficult for a woman in Awendo to choose where to do her agriculture instead; she would take what the husband would give. They only enjoyed usufruct rights only, Perez, (OI) July, 2016). Therefore, the women of Awendo Sub County needed the impacts of these conferences to reach them in the grassroots. In addition, Kenya has established a national policy framework in favour of women. The country is also a signatory to a number of international and regional conventions on gender. For instance, within the Women's Decade, on March 9th1984, Kenya officially ratified the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). CEDAW is seen as the international bill of rights for women, which defines discrimination against women and calls upon all signatories to work to eliminate gender-based discrimination. By ratifying CEDAW, the Kenyan government committed itself to implementing the actions outlined in CEDAW to end gender-based discrimination and promote equality (UN, 1979).

In the 1970s and 1980s, the main progress made was the documentation and understanding of the gender dimensions of development though not much was always translated into concrete progress for women moreso among the grassroot women such as of Awendo Sub County. Reasonable moves towards fighting gender parity started in the 1990s. In 2003, the World Bank noted, in its development report, with a lot of concern that;

Studies of a wide range of societies find that women are an important engine of growth and development in Kenya. Their ability to save and invest in their families is well documented. As the family's nutritional gatekeeper, women fight hunger and malnutrition. Their largely unrecorded role in agriculture explains the survival of subsistence agriculture. Yet in many Kenyan societies, women had limited mobility, lack of voice or access to information.
Source: (Muragu, 1998).

6.7 Gender Labour Relations in Commercial Agriculture in Awendo (1978-2002)

The socio-economic roles for men and women in Awendo Sub County determined their participation in the household economy. For women, these roles have confined them more firmly at the household economic level. Women's primary role in agriculture in Awendo coupled with the

key role that they play in ensuring food security at the household level has confined them to the household economy. Women, and to some extent girls, are the major food producers in Awendo. In the 1970s to 1990s women in Awendo contribute 80% of the labour necessary for the production of household food crops. At the household level, women and girls are also responsible for fetching water, firewood and cooking. They collect water not only for domestic purposes but also agricultural use. Moreover, they are responsible for childcare.

Agriculture remained the mainstay of the Awendo Sub County population during this period. The sector is Kenya's leading economy by virtue of the fact that the vast majority of the country's population derives their livelihood from it. The sector has undergone many significant changes since independence in terms of structure and production patterns. This study discusses some of the changes in Awendo during Moi's era in relation to gender labour relations in the area. One of the most remarkable changes has been the expansion of the smallholdings sector courtesy of the development plans adopted. It also increased its support to the smallholdings sector in terms of provision of more extension services, and improvements in rural infrastructure such as the feeder roads. These improved the smallholdings sector that was expanding in Awendo (Okoth-Ogendo, 1981).

The 1980s and 1990s saw the explosive growth of the cooperative movements which facilitated development of agriculture among the Awendo farmers both men and women. Since there were no deliberate efforts to motivate women into cash crop growing and land ownership, these services mainly benefited the men who were land and farm owners in Awendo as women remained only with usufruct rights, (Sunita Tambo, (OI) December, 2016). Agricultural cooperatives have played a significant role in the expansion of agricultural production in Awendo. Awendo and its surrounding enjoy the services of cooperatives and associations such as Uriri Farmers Cooperative Society, SONY Sugar Farmers Co-operative Society and Awendo Farmers Association. From the associations and Cooperatives, Awendo women farmers have enjoyed the creation of employment opportunities, marketing of their products, education and training on the best practices along with the crops of their interests. The cooperative associations have also been giving advances and loans to the women farmers which for their expansion. The cooperatives have served as the mouthpiece and protector of the farmers from oppression by the buyers on delayed payments. By this, the

cooperatives and association have kept the buyers on their toes for the benefit of their members. It is courtesy of the cooperatives and Associations that agriculture has remained thriving to date, Moses Ogola (Chairman of Awendo Farmers Association), (OI) December, 2016.

Because it has fertile soils, Awendo has been conducive for agriculture both subsistence and commercial. The agriculture practised in Awendo during the period was subsistence. This was because agriculture was mainly a source of food and not a source of income. In respect of subsistence agriculture in Awendo women and girls performed such activities as planting, scaring birds and wild animals, threshing and winnowing, weeding, harvesting, post-harvest storage and processing. All these roles are performed by traditional means which made the work more cumbersome. Some tasks such as weeding manually or planting had to be well-timed and were seasonal. Weeding would be done twice or thrice depending with the rains. If the rains were in excess, then weeding could even be done thrice or even four times. This was the heaviest agricultural activity for women of Awendo towards the end of the 20th century. Further, patterns of rural-urban migration have seen many more men than women continue to migrate to towns to look for better jobs thus leaving women with all the agricultural labour. The rural-urban migration led to the incidence of female-headed households which increased tremendously leaving more women than men living in rural areas of Awendo. The impact of this trend is that women bear more and more of the farm-based labour. Women in Awendo were inevitably heavily burdened.

In the cash economy, however, the established patterns in Awendo in the 1970s to 1990s made women lose out. Women were mainly known as labour providers but the benefits in terms of control and remuneration would go to men in their capacity as heads of households. Women's loss of control and benefits can be attributed to the confluence and impact of colonial and African patriarchal traditional labour patterns. At the household level, African gender traditions affirmed women to their traditional roles. At the market level, men would assign themselves dominance and control of the market economy. Cash crop agriculture requires large lands; therefore, the process of land tenure has affirmed and supported male dominance of the market economy.

As a general rule, the greater the value of the resources and benefits, the more male control will be found. Male dominance in commercial agriculture in Awendo can be further explained by the time

allocated to women to market their labour in either formal employment or income-earning. In addition, women's productive engagement is greatly limited by their allocation of time to domestic and reproductive duties. Participatory assessments which have been conducted in Awendo by various Non-Governmental Organizations have revealed that women spend a larger proportion of their time engaged in household reproductive activities (Rubin, 1984).

In Awendo, cash crops include mainly sugar cane and tobacco which are done on a large scale. Others include tea, coffee, pyrethrum, horticultural crops done on a small scale. In Awendo, there is sufficient literature on cash crop production such as on tobacco and sugar cane. However, there is limited attention on the roles played by women in commercial agriculture in Awendo. The burden of women in cash crop production has increased significantly because most of the duties and tasks are undertaken by women are manual. This includes activities like harvesting tea and tobacco, weeding, as well as their active participation in a diversity of horticultural produce (Okoth-Ogendo, 1989).

Sugarcane has been the most commonly grown cash crop in Awendo since 1976. Awendo has been hosting the South Nyanza (SONY) Sugar Company. This is the second-largest sugar producer in the country, which supplies 15 per cent of all sugar in the country. For some years the cash crop firms in Awendo had been praised. This is because farmers took up cash crop farming very strongly and by the year 2000, about 92 per cent of cane milled was supplied by sugarcane out-growers as compared to the company's nuclear farms. There were 73 sugarcane out-grower's societies in Awendo (KNBS, 2014; SONY Farm records/registry availed during the study). The out-grower's societies are supposed to represent and protect the interests of farmers. Sugarcane producers rely on millers such as SONY to provide all services and expenses for cane production and sales.

In the late 1990s Awendo women out-growers sugarcane farmers formed vibrant agricultural associations to promote solidarity among the smallholder farmers in order to buffer market dynamics as well as for social and economic gains. Through the associations, the women farmers had better bargaining power in the market and to protect themselves from exploitation by the millers. In other words, the farmers generally have been able to get fair prices, access market,

reduce risks and generally to increase the bargaining power of the farmers. This has had a commendable impact on the women as it provided a platform for gender equality negotiations among farmers. From the associations in Awendo, women have become leaders and have also become part of decision making. In some circumstances in Awendo, women have formed their own farmers' associations with full women leadership. An example was the Ulanda Women Sugarcane Outgrowers Association with which the study team had a Focus Group Discussion. Such associations have attracted the attention of various stakeholders concerned with sugar cane production. The FGD with Ulanda Women Sugarcane Outgrowers Association, explained that, through their association, they have been able to get large parcels of land from which they have been planting sugarcane. The association has also enabled them to push for their dues from the SONY Sugar factory collectively. A number of the members have been able to educate their children from the gains made from sugarcane growing. Most of the members of Ulanda Women Sugarcane Outgrowers Association have complete families and, due to the economic value they are adding in their families, they have received more respect from their husbands who are in full support of their association, Veronica Orangea, (OI) December, 2016).

6.8 Conclusion

This period witnessed imensed transition politics from the colonial state to the post-colonial government. Not much was achieved as the government was still putting in place the necessary systems. The research then embarked on gender labour relations in the post-colonial Awendo during the period 1963 to 1978. It emerged that not much was done on gender inequalities in the various sectors of government operations and in the private sector.

The gender gap remained glaring and attempts to bridge the gap remained very minimal. The post-colonial government had inherited a gender-biased system from the colonial regime. The Kenyatta government seems to have had a lot to put in place for the newly born country such as government operational structures, training of manpower and strategies to alleviate his people from Poverty, Disease and Ignorance. These seem to overshadowed gender inequalities concerns. The philosophy of African Socialism and its application to planning in Kenya had objectives that were gender equality based but were never implemented. Kenyatta's self-developed philosophy of Harambee was more focused on mobilizing the resources for development thus gender equality objectives in Awendo were shelved. Land is very crucial when it comes to agricultural practice. From the pre-

colonial and the colonial phases, women remained without direct access to land yet they were the key players. Unfortunately, not much was done to facilitate women's access to land by the post-independent governments. They continued with the usufruct rights which limited their agricultural productivity.

Therefore, gender division of labour in agriculture in Awendo did not fundamentally change from 1963 to the late 1990s. The women of Awendo continued to shoulder the bulk of subsistence agricultural labour in the absence of most men from the farms. They continued to provide labour for maize and beans which were the staple crops in the district and even the cash crop labour was mainly women's role though men owned the farms and controlled any benefit from such farms. Women did the tedious part of the agriculture labour such as planting and weeding. They also participated in keeping away predators from eating the crops while men dominated the highly developing commercial agriculture in Awendo.

Generally, agricultural labour remained the domain of women because even in cash crops, their labour was being hired by men though the men owned the farms and the end products. From the 1990s, gender labour relations in Awendo Sub-County started going through significant transformations as residents and the government tried to cope with international forces such as Structural Adjustment Programmes initiated by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The objectives of philosophies such as African Socialism started having impacts on the people of Awendo though at a very slow pace. The 21st century seems to be serving the climax of the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo. Quite remarkable changes have continued to be experienced in commercial agriculture in Awendo as women strongly adopted the practice. World campaigns such as Millenium Development Goal three, the Women's Decade, the Forward-Looking Strategy and the other Women conferences have committed Kenya to promote gender equality. The 21st century government goodwill has led governments to support and implement the international pressures for gender equality in Awendo. The government has also come up with pragmatic plans and programmes to achieve the objective. The milestones made in the fight against gender equality in the 21st century and the pervasiveness of gender parity in agriculture in Awendo is discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE PERVASIVENESS OF INEQUALITY IN GENDER LABOUR RELATIONS IN AGRICULTURE IN AWENDO SUB-COUNTY IN THE 21ST CENTURY

7.1 Introduction

The analysis in the previous chapters have shown that gender labour inequalities in agriculture in Awendo have been persistent from pre-colonial to colonial periods and even through to the post-independent epoch though with some improvements. The Millennium Declaration signed by the UN member states, including Kenya, in the year 2000, marking the beginning of the 21st century, brought gender issues into focus through Millennium Development Goal 3. This declaration commits Kenya to promoting gender equality and the empowerment of women in various sectors such as in agriculture as an effective way to combat poverty, hunger and disease, and also to stimulate sustainable development. The UN Sustainable Development Goals have further reaffirmed the importance of gender in international development under Goal five, to “Achieve gender equality and empower women and girls”. In Kenya, the 21st Century has experienced commendable improvements in the implementation of gender equality related policies than any other Century in the past. The 21st century Kenyan governments from 2002 to date did not shelve the gender equality concerns as had been the case with the previous governments but embarked on their implementation. A number of sectors which had been the domain of men have thus experienced great changes in the course of the century. A number of aspects in the life of the people of Awendo have changed in favour of the female.

According to the World Bank index, Kenya is among the top 10 African countries that have made significant reforms in laws and regulations targeted at improving gender equality since the beginning of the 21st Century. Kenya scored 83.75, with the highest score of 100, surpassing the global average score of 74.71 and Sub-Saharan Africa’s 69.63. This becomes the highest record Kenya has ever achieved over time. The World Bank index captures eight indicators that touched on women’s interactions with the law as they begin to progress and end their careers. They included freedom of movement, laws that mandate non-discrimination in employment based on gender, equal remuneration for work of equal value, laws on marriage, laws that influence women’s economic decision after having children, decision making, managing assets and getting a pension (World Bank, 2018). Kenya has done quite a lot to fight discrimination against women but surprisingly in Awendo, discrimination against women is still outstanding. This chapter addresses

why gender parity has remained pervasive among the Awendo rural populace amidst remarkable improvements.

Gender inequalities have had derogative effects in various aspects of the life of Awendo women but mainly in agricultural productivity. Several attempts have been made over the years to try and address the anomaly. Despite the intensive campaigns through international conferences national fora, acts of parliament, crusades, constitutional amendments and even public speeches in public forums in Kenya but not much seems to have been achieved among the rural women of Awendo Sub-County of Migori County. Due to this mismatch, this chapter found it important to evaluate the existing strategies which have been directed towards curbing the problem of gender inequalities among the Awendo rural women by identifying the successes and challenges of the strategies.

7.2 Transformation on Gender Relations in Agriculture in Awendo in the 21st Century

The 21st Century has had the most vibrant war against gender discrimination in Kenya and the world at large. The century has also experienced the implementation of most of the resolutions agreed on by international, national and local conventions and conferences as compared to previous centuries. During this period, a number of aspects of gender discrimination in Awendo have experienced changes in favour of the women thereby narrowing the gap particularly in commercial agriculture by bringing on board more women than before into the practice. Kenya has been applauded for making several steps in meeting some of the resolutions made by the international conferences.

Some of the aspects that have experienced changes have been discussed in this chapter. Strengthened gender inequalities in all areas have brought in a lot of shifts on these roles thus triggering arguments. Others defend men to be more burdened while others argue that women are still more burdened with daily domestic chores such as laundry, cleaning, cooking food, shopping, looking after sick relatives and carrying out repairs while men only show significant contribution by other services of mending faulty items around the house (Atieno, 2006).

Prior to the 21st Century, in the pre-colonial regime both gender in Awendo Sub-County had culturally differentiated roles and responsibilities arranged along gender lines whereby men were

considered responsible for taking care of the family financially, guiding the family, protecting the family, making final decisions for the family and generally being the head of the family. On the other hand, women were to take care of children, do most of the household chores such as preparing food, looking for food for the family, fetching firewood from the forests, fetching water from even up to 5km, doing the laundry and caring for her husband as well. In agriculture just like it was with the household chores, women of Awendo Sub County provided almost 80% of the agricultural work which was most demanding in terms of time and physical energy (FGD with SONY Women Field Supervisors, (OI) 21st August, 2016). These included planting, gapping if need be, weeding which was done twice or thrice depending on the extent of the rains and the type of crop, keeping away prey and in the process could meet dangerous ones like porcupines and snakes. Upon maturity of the crops, they harvest, thresh and store. The men on their part would clear the forests, plough the farms, share out the farms among his wives and would appear again in determining how the stored crops would be used. The situation was worst among polygamous families because the man would share out the farms depending on how loyal to him and hard working a woman was. The number of children a woman had also played a big role on the size of farm she would get. These myriad household and agricultural activities pushed women to bear as many children as one could because it meant a source of labour and security especially male children were adored. The man would have his own small farm called *mondo* on which he would still be helped to work by the wives, Nyamboka, (OI) August, 2016).

In Awendo, polygamy was cherished as it was a source of pride to the man as well as a source of labour. It was also considered a source of income because every woman was to generate her own wealth through hard work and bearing as many children as possible. For monogamous families, it was a bit fair to the woman because the man, together with his wife and children, worked together on their farms. There was a lot of consultation between the husband and the wife on the family matters. For the polygamous families, most of the consultations were done with the first wife; *mikayi*. The main indicator of wealth was having enough food in the home. Every wealth generated by the wives belonged to the man as this would determine how whatever is generated by the wives is spent. Most of the agriculture practised was subsistence since it was mainly to provide food. In Awendo, in the pre-colonial epoch, agriculture was considered to be a women's activity with men only chipping in occasionally. Inasmuch as women were the chief food producers, they

had no access to land on which they could do their farming except for the usufruct rights which did not give them full control of the land. Usufruct right gave them limited rights such as to plant the crop, take care of the crops and wait for harvesting for that particular season otherwise the owner who was the male head could give it to another woman. Therefore, no woman was permitted to sell, give out or say anything about land. On most occasions, the woman would plant her crops on the farm which would be given to her sons thus the more sons a woman had, the higher the bargaining power for more land (Kwenya, 2007).

With the coming of colonization, the situation for the women of Awendo became worse as was explained by Mzee Euphilus. Euphilus explained that women suffered the more because Awendo served as a labour reservoir for the Europeans. The Awendo energetic men were taken into the migratory labour on the settlers' farms or government installations. The Europeans looked down upon women's labour thus no woman was considered for the migratory labour but instead the women remained in the Awendo villages without their husbands. This left the Awendo women with no option but to also perform the roles that their husband had been performing such as clearing the lands and ploughing. The Awendo women also now had to provide security for themselves, make key decisions like which crops to plant. Most importantly, the husband was very important at the start of ploughing the farms, planting and harvesting. During these points, the male had to have sexual intercourse with the first wife, *mikayi* as a way of launching the agricultural activity for the season. Most of the decisions were made by the male head of the family. In cases of polygamy, the *mikayi* assumed the roles of the male head that had been taken into migrant labour. It was more tormenting for the monogamous families because the wife became everything in the home and it was not easy as was demonstrated by our oral informants. As a result, agricultural production went down, though women gained more access to land and could determine which crop to plant, Euphilus, (OI) December, 2016).

In Awendo, cash crop growing was gendered. This was because cash and export crops were regarded as "men's crops" and subsistence crops as "women's crops". The standard explanation for this division is that women are responsible for feeding the family and thus prefer to grow subsistence crops for the household, whereas men are responsible for providing cash income and thus raise cash and export crops. Cash crop growing is not old in Awendo as it started in the 1970s.

Another explanation for men dominating cash crop agriculture is because men had worked on cash crop farms during the migratory labour period thus, they had the experience as compared to the women. Cash crops were thus taken to be men's crops. The most commonly grown cash crops in Awendo include sugarcane, tobacco, tea, horticulture, sunflower and bananas. Bananas can be for subsistence or cash crop depending on the quantity planted. The other challenge women had with cash crops was land. Cash crops required a lot of land which could be acquired by men as they had greater rights over land than women. The women of Awendo lacked access to land, farm inputs, credit, information, and markets that are prerequisite for growing cash crops. This inequality continued to expand the economic gap between men and women, Mzee Euphilus, (OI) December, 2016).

Mzee Euphilus and Mama Turphosa put it that decision making in agriculture in Awendo has also experienced deep gender influence. Their invisibility in national statistics and their low participation in extension services have meant that those issues of most concerns to women have been neglected in the design and implementation of many development policies and programmes in Kenya. Mama Turphosa compares the situation as at the time she was married in the area at age 16 and the current situation when she is approximately 83, she argues that the women experienced extremely low participation in policy-making in Awendo. In Awendo, decision making was a man's responsibility. This explains why the household head, usually a male, was to determine the type of crop to be planted and how to spend the benefit which comes from agricultural production. Though in critical decision making, the household head could consult with *mikayi*. Due to this, women were exploited because the decisions made by men never sorted their issues. Instead, the decisions favoured men at the expense of the women, Turphosa, (OI) April 2016; Mzee Euphilus, (OI) December 2016). At the onset of the 21st century, the government of Kenya introduced the National Policy on Gender and Development which was published in 2000 (GoK Gender Policy, 2000). It aimed, among other objectives, to enable men and women to have equal access to economic and employment opportunities, (*Ibid*, p. 9). The specific objectives of the policy include: facilitating the review of laws that hinder the Awendo women's access to and control over economic resources. Other objectives include undertaking gender sensitization geared towards changing customs and traditions that perpetuate these hindrances; enhancing measures that guarantee equity and fairness

in access to factors of agricultural production; developing and improving vocational and technical skills among women in agriculture for improved agricultural production in order to ensure food security. The policy also aimed at intensifying existing programmes aimed at developing and introducing appropriate technologies targeting the role of women in agriculture, food production, storage, processing, and finally preparing and promoting gender-responsive agricultural research and dissemination of agricultural research findings (RoK, 2000). NO AWENDO

Come 2002, the government successfully co-opted the national women's organization Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO), as a women's mass movement. The government's patronage of the MYWO was viewed to have disempowered the movement thus making it weaker as compared to the previous period when it was progressive as a leading women's organization, as well as producing leaders that were more militant and supportive of women's interests. Nonetheless, the opening of the political system in 2002 strengthened MYWO giving rise to a vibrant new women's movement and many women's groups started to lobby for women's political representation, and strategic changes to legal provisions for land ownership for agricultural development (Chitere, 2015).

In addition, the government strengthened the national machinery in 2004 by establishing the National Commission on Gender and Development and by elevating the Women's Bureau into the Department of Gender in December 2004. Furthermore, the Kenyan government came up with the Sessional Paper No. 2 of 2006 on Gender Equality and Development that provides a framework for the operationalization of gender mainstreaming in policy, planning and development in Kenya, (FIDA, 2007). On the legal arena, a number of legal mechanisms through Acts of parliament have been put in place by the government to help reduce gender discrimination in Kenya. An example is the Matrimonial Property Bill (2005) which provides for married persons, including women, to own, access, control and dispose of property including the rights and liabilities over the matrimonial property. The Law of Succession Bill (2005) has brought substantial changes to African customary law in matters of succession in that it makes no distinction whether a child of a deceased person is a girl or a boy, married or not. This enables the children of a deceased person, whether a boy or a girl, to inherit their parent's property. This has gone along in preventing the "property grabbing" by the relatives of a deceased husbands in Awendo Sub County villages who

often leave the women and female children of the deceased person without the means of production and place to live in. Both the Property Bill (2005) and The Law of Succession Bill (2005) have been of great benefits to the widows and girl children in general in Awendo Sub-County (FGD, August 2018).

These have been of great benefit to the Awendo women who had been under the dominance of men without realizing that there was a fairer way of living with their male counterparts. Of the greatest and immediate importance were the Matrimonial Bill of 2005 and the Law of Succession Bill of 2005. These enabled the Awendo women to own what they produced. For instance, Chief Dan Odhiambo, who is one of the chiefs from South Sakwa ward cited two cases in his Location whereby a family had grown sugarcane together but when the money was paid to the husband by SONY Sugar Company, the husband went quiet without informing the wife. When the wife realized her husband's changed lifestyle, she suspected that the money had been paid.

“Josphine reported to my office and I managed to summon the husband and luckily enough he responded promptly. I explained to him some of the new laws own how family wealth should be handled. He apologized to his wife and we discussed and agreed on how they were to spend the money. It was about Ksh 450,000. That was three years ago, have not heard them have problems again yet they continue to harvest their sugarcane.” (OI, Chief Dan Odhiambo of Got Rachar Location, South Sakwa Ward, December 2016).

Further constitutional amendments, Acts of parliament, feminist movements, crusades, workshops, seminars, government policies, awareness campaigns and ultimately the Constitution of Kenya 2010 have been put in place to address gender issues in Awendo and Kenya as a whole. The Constitution of Kenya 2010, for instance, has been credited by world organizations as the masterpiece in addressing gender imbalances in various sectors of the government and non-governmental bodies. The various forms of gender inequalities include gender discrimination, violence against women, suppression of the progress of women, low enrolment in education, property ownership and control, entry into lucrative jobs and the exploitation of the women labour in agriculture. Therefore, a number of strategies have been put in place to mitigate these various forms of gender inequality in Awendo.

The changes and the measures discussed above have gone a long way in protecting women in Awendo as they take part in their agricultural endeavours mainly in commercial agriculture. The Awendo economy is heavily based on agriculture, with 90% of the population deriving their livelihoods from agricultural holdings either directly or indirectly. Most farms in Awendo are small family farms with areas between 0.2 to 10 Hectares, though those with less than 10 acres are the majority while those with more than 5 Hectares are extremely few and are mostly the affluent. A majority of the women farmers owning farms are in the lowest cadre. Moreover, a majority of food producers who are mainly women make up the smallholder farmers.

7.3 The Constitution of Kenya 2010 on Gender Relations in Agriculture in Awendo

In Kenya, the women's movements fought for over 20 years to get women's land rights and other basic rights recognized in policy and the legislation. Their struggles were rewarded in 2010, when Kenya adopted the new constitution which has been considered to be one of the most progressive constitutions in Africa, with an explicit inclusion of gender equality on land rights and protection for spouses and other dependents upon the dissolution of marriage or the death of the male landowner. This is an important step forward for Kenyan women (RoK, 2010). In the history of Kenya prior to 2010, it is estimated that 27% of the smallholdings in Kenya are solely managed by women, while a further 47% of smallholdings are managed by women in the absence of their husbands, (Kenya Land Alliance, 2004). However, Kenyan women only hold about 5% of registered land titles together with their husbands, and just 1% in their own name, (Ellis, et al, 2007). Female land ownership has been so low partly because women generally have limited economic resources and therefore find it difficult to buy land on their own, but it has also been kept low by discriminatory practices under customary laws.

In 1997, Kenya's Independence Constitution was amended to explicitly prohibit discrimination, including on the basis of sex. It made a major serious exception, for laws and provisions "with respect to adoption, marriage, divorce, burial, devolution of property on death or other matters of personal law" (RoK, 2009). This loophole enabled patriarchal norms to continue to flourish in the distribution of land. Very often, fathers continued to transfer land only to sons. In most cases, matrimonial property is still registered in the name of a spouse, typically the male, or considered to belong to him. This is still a challenge even in the post-2010 dispensation, despite having been

made illegal. The inheritance of widows remains a widespread phenomenon across the country. Kenyan women as a group (daughters, sisters, wives, mothers, grandmothers) are still discriminated against in land ownership regardless of how the land is acquired, whether inherited, held individually or communally. In the event of singlehood, marital separation, divorce or widowhood, women who depend solely on land for their livelihood often become destitute upon their removal from the land (NLA, 2017).

The current Kenyan Constitution was promulgated on 27 August 2010 and has been considered one of the best constitutions in Africa for women. This is because it comprehensively addresses gender equality, enshrining it in the Bill of Rights, which promotes women's representation, participation, opportunities and their empowerment as equal citizens. Three separate articles of the constitution also protect women's rights with regard to land. Article 60 is the first in a section on land reforms and starts with the assertion: "Land in Kenya shall be held, used and managed in a manner that is equitable, efficient, productive and sustainable". It then outlines several principles, including equitable access to land, the security of land rights, and "elimination of gender discrimination in law, customs and practices related to land and property in land". Article 40, meanwhile, guarantees all Kenyans' right to acquire and own property and offers protection from arbitrary or limitations on property use. Further, Article 68 calls for a series of land reforms to, among other things, "regulate the recognition and protection of matrimonial property and, in particular, the matrimonial home during and on the termination of marriage", and to "protect the dependants of deceased persons holding interests in any land, including the interests of spouses in actual occupation of land" (CoK, 2010; KLA, 2014).

In an address on the inauguration day of the constitution, H.E. Mwai Kibaki made the following remark in relation to gender equality;

"The New Constitution gives our nation a historic opportunity to decisively conquer the challenges that face us today. It provides us with avenues to renew our fight against unemployment, poverty and gender inequality. The changes envisaged in the New Constitution are meant to close the gender gaps. However, the New Constitution gives us better structures of governance to address the challenges more efficiently. This promise is possible because we are blessed to have talented and hard-working men and women. The New Constitution is also a promise that every Kenyan, young and old, man or woman will unleash their full

potential. To the women of our nation, I wish to assure you that the New Constitutional dispensation will create equal opportunities that will lead to the attainment of your goals, dreams and ambitions. As a country, we have to empower our women and girls for the betterment of our country.”
H.E. President Mwai Kibaki, Friday, 27TH August, 2010.

In an earlier speech by the Director of African Women and Child Feature Services after the successful referendum on the constitution, she made the following remarks as an expression of the hope and joy the women had over the CoK 2010;

“There is no doubt that the Constitution of Kenya 2010 (COK 2010) presents a new dawn for the majority of Kenyan women. It also epitomized the victory for the women of Kenya. For the first time, the highest law of the land recognizes the role of women in the overall development of the country. The women were, through the constitution, assured of enjoying their rights in more comprehensive than ever before. This included being consulted in areas such as land ownership, parliamentary allocations, marital affairs and the constitutional implementation process especially on matters that concern women of Kenya. As a woman, you can now enjoy “full and equal enjoyment” of all rights and freedoms the same way as a man. You should never be denied a right because you are a woman.

On behalf of the African Woman and Child Feature Service, we wish to acknowledge the efforts of all those individual women, women’s organizations and Kenyans in general who fought so hard for legal reforms and reviewing of the constitution which eventually led to the country having new laws, now known as the Constitution of Kenya 2010 which recognizes the rights of everyone and has entrenched Gender Equality as one of the key principle.” Rosemary Orlale, Executive Director of African Women and Child Feature Services

With the coming into force of the 2010 constitution, the country’s legal framework underwent surgical changes in favour of women as compared to past years of independence in Kenya.

There are legal means in the constitution meant to improve the social status of women to try and match their male counterparts (CoK, 2010). This has majorly been felt in Awendo mainly in the areas of land ownership, property rights and women’s rights.

Women had been yearning for their legal inclusion into the development of their societies and country. This was because they had a feeling that the independent constitution and the country’s legislation had not put in place the legal mechanisms to purposefully include women in

development (FIDA, 2009). The needs of the women that have been touched by the new constitution include; a Bill of Rights that recognizes equality between men and women as well as prohibiting gender-based discrimination (CoK, 2010 Art 27); devolution of services, including land-related services thus making it easier and possible for even the grass root women in Awendo Sub County to forward their oppressions and complaints (*Ibid* Art 7) and requiring legislative implementation of the principle that women make up to at least one-third of the members of elective or appointed political bodies (*Ibid* Art 27(8)). In addition, the CoK, (2010) has given a set of land laws contained in the Land Act, Land Registration Act, and National Land Commission Act that takes into account women's right to own land, which was approved in 2012. A new set of marriage laws, the Matrimonial Property Act, 2013, and the Marriage Act, 2014, have been passed to replace the older framework, which was oppressive to women and did not take into account gender equality in Awendo Sub County. Other legislative reforms echoed by the women leadership in various fora, include Community Land and Evictions and Resettlement Bills, are currently under development and debate (CoK, 2010). This will bar the embarrassing eviction of women from their matrimonial homes. These laws have served to protect the women of Awendo Sub County against a number of gender-based discrimination thus they can comfortably invest in commercial agriculture which requires time, labour, land and finances.

On financial empowerment, the state department of Gender Affairs has the responsibility of expanding credit financing to women for enterprise development such as by getting involved in commercial agriculture as well as ensuring equality in gender representation in all public appointments. Gender concerns are anchored in Article 27 (3) of the Constitution which states that ‘‘women and men have the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres’’, and Article 81 (b) which states that ‘‘not more than two thirds of the members of elective bodies shall be of the same gender’’. The two-thirds gender rule applies to public service appointments as well. The State Department of Gender was empowered by the government to take the technical lead with regard to gender mainstreaming in policies and programmes within the Government. It also monitors compliance with international conventions to which Kenya is a signatory. This was a key move towards the push for gender equality that has indeed been a struggle in Kenya (CoK, 2010).

The new laws have given women in Awendo confidence to demand their rights. The law is the supreme organ in every country such as Kenya. Having been protected by the law is thus one of the biggest achievements that Awendo women have ever received. This has empowered the Awendo women to venture into areas that were initially dominated by men. A good example of such is commercial agriculture in Awendo. Today, in Awendo, women own large sugarcane plantations, they work as field supervisors and are served with motorbikes by SONY Sugar Company which they ride on their own. Some are at the apex of decision making in Awendo.

7.4 Gender Relations in Agricultural Land Tenure System in Awendo Sub County in the 21st Century

Land is the bedrock of any agricultural activity in Awendo Sub County just as it is anywhere in the world. Whether it is inherited, allotted, purchased or seized, it is the most basic resource for agricultural production in Awendo. A recommendable improvement of women's access to land has been achieved in Awendo though some Awendo women still find themselves without sufficient land to produce enough food for their families or without land at all, yet they are the main food producers. Kenya covers an area of 582, 649 sq. km. of which 571.416 sq. km is dry land and 11,230 sq. km. is covered by open waters (Development Plan, 1984-198,8 p.70).

The post-independent Kenya governments seem to have had a passion for addressing gender issues in relation to land ownership and control in Awendo. To achieve this, the successive Kenyan governments have put in place gender-based land policies to facilitate equal access to and control of land. Kenya is also taking stock of areas where well-intentioned economic and social policies may actually create a situation of deprivation in society. The issue of land tenure and the dispossession of indigenous people's traditional lands and territories is an apt example. As noted earlier in the chapter, policies surrounding land use and accessibility have been affecting the economic and socio-cultural stability of indigenous Awendo Sub County grassroot women adversely right from the eve of the colonial period to the post-independent Kenya.

A number of legal approaches have also been put in place to ensure equal access to and use of land by both gender in equal measure in Awendo Sub County. This has been a diversion from the persistent patriarchal land ownership structures that have been sidelining the female gender to the

benefit of the male gender, [Evans Ochieng (Migori County Land Registrar) (OI) December 2016]. This was also confirmed by women in an FGD in South Sakwa Ward in August, 2018. Women in Awendo Sub County, have been denied the full enjoyment of land rights, in spite of the government's commitment to promoting gender equality by ratifying international instruments that seek to protect women's rights. Until August 2010, from when the constitution legally prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex when it comes to land use and ownership (CoK, 2010). Kenya has made positive steps in developing a constitution that reflects international standards of gender equality and enacting laws to give effect to the constitutional provisions. The newly enacted laws, including the establishment of the National Land Commission Act 2012, the Land Act 2012 and the land registration Act 2012 all entrench principles of gender equality in access to, and use of land. The grassroots Awendo women population is not yet fully aware of the new constitutional changes so as to improve the women's access to, and use of land (FIDA, 2009).

Before the Women's Decade, not much had been done as far as the legal protection of women in relation to land was concerned. A lot of legal interventions took place in the 21st century though, from the 1980s, reasonable steps to protect women overland had started taking root. In February 2004, the country embarked on drafting a comprehensive National Land Policy with the aim of promoting gender equality aims to on land and "guide the country towards efficient, sustainable and equitable use of land for prosperity and posterity" (Ministry of Lands, *National Land Policy*, 2007, p.1). The policy recognizes that women have been denied access to land rights as a result of discriminatory laws, customs and practices. The government is committed to ensuring that men and women have equal access to land and to facilitate the enforcement of the legal rights of access, control, ownership and inheritance, access to credit and co-registration in Awendo and Kenya at large. The policy affirms that access to land, such as in Awendo, shall be assured for all Kenyans on the basis of equity and fairness. This shall boost agricultural productivity by both genders. The policy proposes an institutional framework to oversee implementation. This includes the establishment of a Land Reform Unit within the Ministry of Lands and Housing, and a National Land Commission. The other commission set up by the 21st century governments to address gender disparity in Awendo was The Kenya National Human Rights and Equality Commission (KNHREC) is a Constitutional Commission with the core responsibility of promoting gender equality and equity in general and to coordinate and facilitate gender mainstreaming in various

regions such as Awendo and sectors for national and grassroots developments such as promoting women involvement in commercial agriculture in Awendo. It also ensures respect for human rights in Kenya. In line with this, it ensures that women's rights over land ownership and usage are respected and protected in Awendo. In addition, it investigates complaints of abuse of power, unfair treatment, manifest injustice or unlawful, oppressive, unfair or unresponsive official conduct against women and any other person in relation to land ownership and usage.

In 2005, the government came up with the Matrimonial Property Bill of the year 2005. Women in Awendo have had improved access to land as was confirmed by FGD, Chairperson of Ulanda Women Sugarcane Outgrowers Association, (OI) December, 2016). Veronica went ahead to thank the government more for the Law of Succession Bill (2005) which has brought substantial changes to Awendo customary law in matters of succession mainly on land.

“Most of the lands we plant our sugarcane are ours. Some belong to some of us while some we have bought. Owning our own farms made us to be the most successful women group in the whole of Ulanda. More women joined us till now we are the biggest association in Awendo constituency.” FGD, (OI) December, 2016).

While access to land has been declining, the population in Kenya as a whole is growing. Kenya's population was reported as 38.6 million during the 2009 census compared to 28.7 million inhabitants in 1999, 21.4 million in 1989, and 15.3 million in 1979. This was an increase of 2.5 per cent over 30 years or an average growth rate of more than 3 per cent per year. The urban population stands at 33 per cent while the rural population stands at 67 per cent. The population growth rate has been reported as reduced during the 2000s and was estimated at 2.7 per cent (as of 2010), resulting in an estimated of 46.5 million in 2016, Kenya (KNBS, 2009).

While a majority of women were being sidelined on land ownership and access due to lack of reforms, there are a few who benefitted through the institution of freehold tenure. Wealthier women responded to tenure insecurity by starting to purchase land that was clearly registered in their names and they could use or transfer it as they wish. Those with limited capital grouped to pull their resources to enable them to purchase land (Kenya Land Alliance, 2004; Julia Okumu, (OI) November, 2016; Opondo, M. & S. Smith, 1988, p.172). This study found out that a number of the women groups in Awendo "were working with local authorities to purchase their lands for

members' food crop cultivation". Some widows also managed to remain with land in their own names and could leave such lands to whoever they wished. The women used such lands to secure loans from the financial organizations and, therefore, protected them from oppression of their husband's relative. This afforded women a chance to own a secure tenure. But these are isolated cases and the overall position of women in terms of rights to land is still precarious (Shipton, 1988). As was narrated by Jemima Midega, (OI) a member of an FGD in North Sakwa Ward;

When my husband died in 2003, he left me with about 9 acres of land on which almost half of it we had planted sugarcane while the remaining portion we had maize for our domestic consumption. Luckily enough my husband had only one brother, George, who was also doing well and had bigger land than ours thus he did not disturb me over the land left behind by my husband. Instead, he helped get the title deed in my name. Unlike Elizabeth, my neighbour on that other side from whom her three in-laws took all the land her husband left her with. I count myself lucky Jemima Midega (OI) (FGD in North Sakwa Ward), August 2016).

In cases where women participated in buying land together with their husbands, such land was co-registered under both the husband's and the wife's names giving them equal legal ownership right (Ibid) as co-buyers. This has marked a change from the norms of the previous governments whereby land was wholly a men's affair. Women have also used statutory laws to press for their claims. Haugerud (1989) argues that it was not uncommon for a wife to prohibit the sale of a piece of land by her husband by placing a complaint with the land registrar's office, who might then prohibit the land sale. Haugerud further reported that even the Kenyan government finally recognized the impact of land registration on women's rights to land. In 1990, the government issued an administrative directive to ameliorate the discrimination against women land acquisition, inheritance and rights over land alienation. The directive limited the ability of men to sell land without the consent of their wives and children, and allowed the first child to represent the others and allowed female children to have a say in stopping land sales. The functionality of such directives is questionable in a society such as Awendo in which the role of female children in family property is objected most of the times.

Furthermore, several amendments were made in the independence constitution that guaranteed the rights of women to own property, particularly land. These are provisions relating to; access to

justice, national values and principles, equality and freedom from discrimination, the protection of the right to property, principles of land policy, and judicial authority. The constitutional provisions on land are based on the National Land Policy, which identifies women's land rights as an issue that requires special intervention. The key principles in the Land policy (2009) include access to justice, gender and inter-generational equity. Under the Land policy principles and guiding values, gender equity and sensitivity as principles have been given prominence (CoK, 2010; Aura, 2014).

The Constitution of Kenya, 2010, marks the new beginning for women's rights in Kenya. It seeks to remedy the traditional exclusion of women and promote their full involvement in every aspect of growth and development in their society. The preamble to the Constitution lists equality as one of the six essential values upon which governance should be based. This expression of principles of equality is given legal backing in Article 10, which includes human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusivity, equality, non-discrimination and protection of the marginalized as being among the national values and principles of governance that are to be used in applying and interpreting the Constitution and other laws. This is further emphasized in Article 20(4) (a) which lists equality and equity as values to be promoted in interpreting the Bills of Right (CoK, 2010).

The Constitution of Kenya 2010 has also been very instrumental in addressing gender inequalities in agriculture in Awendo. It has outlined the principles to be applied by the National Land Commission on its role of facilitating land ownership, land use and land transfer by any gender in Kenya. These principles are enshrined in Article 60 of the constitution and include ensure equitable access to land; this includes women's right not only to occupy and work on the land but also to equitably own it. Another principle is the security of land rights which is important especially in the advent of large-scale commoditization of land resources. The rights of women who, for example, are at risk of being thrown out of their matrimonial homes upon the breakup of a marriage or upon the death of a spouse can be secured by invoking this requirement as was the case with (OI) Jane Muok, December, 2016 discussed in chapter four above. Sustainable and productive management of land resources is another concern to the land commission due to the fact that women play a big role in agricultural production in Awendo in addition to the myriad of domestic chores, yet they remain marginalized, neglected and discriminated against in the distribution of key resources such as land. This requirement should correct the status quo and make

it possible for women to enjoy the fair distribution of benefits arising from their contribution to agricultural production (CoK, 2010). Article 60 of the Kenyan constitution, 2010 requires that land handling enhances transparency so that women in Awendo can be well informed of any land transaction and processes that concern them so that they can oppose actions that may disadvantage or marginalize them further. This has taken root in Awendo as was explained by Adongo Yukabeth who narrates that one year ago, from the date of the interview, they bought some land as a family and her husband fully involved her up to the last stages, Adongo Yukabeth, (OI) November 2016). This, she said, may not be the case everywhere else in Awendo. As some women may have no idea of how and when land transactions are being undertaken as they may completely be left out of negotiations or agreements on land issues (CoK, 2010).

Going further, the article clearly states that discrimination of any kind against women is now outlawed and the commission is now under an obligation to ensure that the non-discrimination provisions in the law and in the constitution are upheld and fully implemented. Lastly, the constitution requires communities to settle land disputes through recognized local community alternative dispute resolution initiatives consistent with the constitution. This requirement recognizes that community mechanisms may be influenced by patriarchal and discriminative approaches, and therefore includes the need for those processes to be in line with the constitution which prohibits discrimination. A major advantage of community mechanisms of dispute resolution is that they are more accessible, cost-effective and less technical for the grassroots women (FIDA training guide, 2015; Daniel Odhiambo, (OI) July, 2016; CoK, 2010). The effectiveness of the local community alternative disputes resolution initiative at the grassroots was confirmed by the case of Julia Okumu who narrated her story to the researcher; as follows:

When my husband died in 2003, he left me with six acres of land out of which a larger portion we had planted sugarcane while almost two acres we planted maize for our domestic consumption. My husband had three brothers while he left me with two sons and two daughters with the eldest who was a son being in Form two. I feared that my in-laws would disturb me over our land as this was a common problem facing widows in the area; I took our land documents to my father who kept them for me. As if to confirm my fears, the eldest brother to my husband came to me two weeks after his burial asking for the documents. I reported the case to the area chief and the senior members of the extended family who happen to side with me. The elders and the chief called the in-laws and talked with them and they did not only agree to leave their brother's property to me but also to support me in educating our children. Julia Okumu, (OI) November, 2016).

It is therefore clear that the NLC Act provides a framework for ensuring that land reform initiatives guarantee the equal right of women to possess, inherit, access, and even to transfer their land to persons of their choice.

The constitution of Kenya, 2010, Article 27, which provides for equality and freedom from discrimination under the Bill of Rights, states:

Every person is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and equality of the law. Equality includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and fundamental freedoms. Women and men have the right to equal treatment, including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres. The State shall not discriminate directly or indirectly against any person on any ground, including race, sex, pregnancy, marital status, health status, ethnic or social origin, colour, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, dress, language or birth.
Source: CoK, 2010.

Due to the influence of the 2010 Constitution, the government of Kenya drafted a number of legislations providing for the registration of Title Deeds to the Awendo residents in the name of the 'head of the family' whether male or female. This has covered households where the head is a female but with the usual practice of bestowing title deeds or lifelong tenancies on male heads of households. It has not been specified that the head of the household must be a man. This has opened windows for many women to also own land though a majority of the title deeds are still written in the name of males because most of the households are headed by males. The registration of land titles in the name of individuals (Individualization policy), mainly men, has both increased control over the distribution of land and the dependency of women who have no legal access to land. Indeed, land reforms have made commendable improvements on women legal land ownership and, by extension, the lands on which they do their agriculture in Awendo though the legislations have not adequately reached the grassroots Awendo population that direly need the information. The research found that very few women have benefitted from individualized tenure and registration of titles in Awendo, which stands at 29 per cent, as at the time of data collection. The very few who are benefitting are women who are financially better off with urban linkages. In effect, the 21st century legislative changes on land tenure may have the effect of directing the benefits to those who least need them; the elite (Noronha and Latham World Bank No.561; (OI)

Dickson Asembo, April 2016). Cohen in his study on Ethiopia's land reform concluded: It is the elite groups that are usually most aware of proposed legislative amendments and their potential impact and not the grassroots population. They are in a position to use their influence to manipulate the law or to delay its implementation (Cohen, 1973, p.15).

The impact of government interventions through legislation, policies and the constitution on women land issues in agriculture in Awendo cannot be overemphasized. The agricultural productivity in Awendo after the Women's' Decade and most importantly after the implementation of the constitutional recommendations have gone up. Commercial agriculture in Awendo was men's venture from its inception in 1970s because they owned the land and controlled its usage. Men of Awendo Sub County also had the knowhow of cash crops which they acquired from the migrant labour experience. This experience put them a head of the women farther hence subordinating the women even the more. Commercial agriculture requires large tracts of land for a longer time as compared to the traditionally considered women's agriculture. Having access to and control of land would give the owner and controller an upper hand. This explains why women's involvement in commercial agriculture has improved in the 21st century with the improvement of women owning and controlling land. Awendo has been a very fruitful ground for the study on the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture 1902-2017.

There is evidence in Awendo society that the need for gender equality is taking root in areas such as women involvement in commercial agriculture, access to gainful employment, land ownership and usage, decision making and leadership. From the oral interviews carried out for the study, it was evident that the women of Awendo today have property rights and even full control of what they own since some of them nowadays possess land directly in their names in this 21st century unlike in the earlier centuries where women were discriminated against, as Evans Ochieng (Migori County Land Registrar) observed;

“...according to my Awendo register, there are over two hundred parcels of land that are directly registered in women's names and in a week I handle more cases of women with land issues as compared to the past records. There is increased awareness among women in Awendo on their property rights more so with land whether the husband is living or dead. Women buying parcels of land have currently increased. The ages of women that seem actively getting concerned with land and property ownership are 30-50. We also give a lot of information to

women who come to consult with us.” Ochieng Evans, Migori County Land Registrar, (OI) August, 2017).

The land registrar’s observation was backed by Mzee Magugu’s confession that compared Awendo in the 21st century and the Awendo in which he grew up. There is an increased number of women who own their own lands with title deeds as compared to their times whereby such could not happen. Land belonged to the community; as explained by Mzee Magugu, 2016;

“Today I have seen so many married women own their own lands for which they have their title deeds. Some even have the full control like the daughter-in-law of Mzee Okeyo over there who works with the government in Nairobi. She has a very big sugarcane plantation which is almost being harvested a good number of women in our village here have it very easy in inheriting their husband’s share of land from their families. This is because if they are barred from their shares, they go to the lands people and people have been arrested for being barriers. The lands people are very protective of women in this village. Mago gik mane ok nyaltimore ndalo wa cha (Those could not happen during our days),” Mzee Magugu, 2016.

The Women Land Rights Programme (WLRP) has been focusing on advocacy for effective implementation of constitutional provisions for secure women land rights. Over the years, Kenya Land Alliance (KLA) has played a fundamental role in Awendo in bringing secure and equitable land rights at the centre of land reform discourses any time opportunity presents itself. Building on its record, KLA strategic interventions have been focusing on several priority interventions such as influencing and catalyzing legislative and policy reforms in the land sector. As a result of this, there has been a consensus that legal, policy and institutional reforms that are aligned to the constitutional provisions are still necessary so as to secure land rights for all, especially the women. KLA records availed at the Migori lands department by the land registrar (Ochieng Evans) shows that, for the past almost five years, the government of Kenya has been issuing Title Deeds to landowners whether male or female. Land title issuance is a pointer to the achievements so far made because a number of women from Awendo do receive their first-ever title deeds with a lot of jubilation (WLRP, 2017; KLA, 2017; Ochieng Evans, (OI) December 2016). The title deeds have helped many of the women in Awendo who had no alternative sources of income to expand their activities in tobacco and sugarcane farming.

7.5 Remarkable Changes in Gender Labour Relations in Commercial Agriculture in Awendo in the 21st Century

From its inception in Awendo in the 1970s, commercial agriculture had been the pride of the men at the expense of women's labour. It was at the expense of women because the women offered the physical labour needed but the farms and the crop belonged to the men who would determine what is to be done with any benefit that comes from the farm. Women have been used in food production thus they would produce the food crops meant to feed the family and not to generate any income while the cash crop which belonged to the men, was meant to generate income. This explains why there has been a bigger economic gap between men and women in Awendo. The 21st century seems to have experienced a lot of improvements in women involvement in commercial agriculture in Awendo as compared to the previous periods. Reasons could be the relentless push for gender equality campaigns from various spheres during the century. The century governments realized that lack of access to factors of production such as funds and land by the women had been key impediments to their success in the initially male-dominated agriculture. To address this, the governments embarked on facilitating access to microfinance and land by the women. Access to and control of land by the Awendo women has been discussed earlier in the chapter. As a result, the government identified micro-entrepreneurship as the better way out for the Awendo women to succeed in commercial agriculture.

The government's drive to build productive capacity among the Awendo Sub County women was meant to create jobs and contribute to poverty alleviation among the women of Awendo. However, access to finance for rural poor women has not been easy for a long time. This is because they experience social and economic discrimination because of the patriarchal nature in Awendo. The Kenyan 21st century governments acknowledge that women have not been at par with their male counterparts economically and even socially, therefore, special provisions have been made for gender mainstreaming. To stimulate economic activity and growth and to ultimately reduce the gender gap and discrimination among women, the governments have placed emphasis on the development and expansion of women's microenterprises. This has been made possible with the introduction of various supporting funds by the government and NGOs. The funds were meant to reach women in various forms. There have been efforts to make the funds effective to enable women to access the funds for their economic developments. There is a common saying that has

been used in the 21st century that has energized the push for gender equality in Awendo and Kenya as a whole, that “When You Empower a Woman, You Empower the Whole Society” (Rosemary Orlale, (2014).

In this century, Kenya is among the leading African countries in efforts to realize gender equality, achieve the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) and the Sustainable Development Goals. In 2009, a big step was taken towards empowering women financially. This was the establishment of the Women Enterprise Fund (WEF). It was a public fund that avails credit to women entrepreneurs in Kenya. It also offers support services such as infrastructure support, capacity building and marketing support to women. WEF is open to individuals, and companies owned by women as well as women groups. It has the goal of enhancing the role played by Kenyan women in socio-economic development. WEF was an initiative of the Ministry of Gender and was meant to avail funds to Kenyan women though on loan but at reasonable interest rates. Keeping in line with the social motivation of the government funds; it aims at making women financially independent. This study found that the WEF has had an impact on the women of Awendo.

The study found that one aspect of the government attempt to uplift the status of the women in Awendo that has reached the grassroots was the women funds as compared to the legal interventions which some women are still naïve about. Probably the reason for the success of the funds could be that men have helped in the propagation of the financial ideas since they know somehow that the funds would benefit them in one way or the other as compared to the legal interventions that some men are also still naïve about. Probably men in Awendo have done the reverse here by discouraging the women against the laws since they may fear that their sisters would compete them over the small stretches of land. Some men also expressed fears on women achieving financial independence arguing that if women achieve financial independence, they would not respect them. An oral informant from Central Sakwa ward, George Ochieng commented that the strength of a man is when his wife asks him for money to go the market; otherwise, the wife will even abuse the husband that she can live without him. *Mon tijgi tek* (Women are difficult), let them be asking us for money... he added, George Ochieng, (OI) January 2017).

WEF has achieved commendable success as was explained by the women groups that had borrowed the funds. One such example was Achung' Kenda Women Group based in North Sakwa Ward. The name *achung' kenda* must have been purposeful because it means (I am independent). The chairperson, Elizabeth Aloo expressed appreciation to the WEF explaining that their main financial strength has been the funds from WEF. She went ahead to narrate that even when they were starting, they had no funds but due to the support by the WEF, they had two hectares on leasehold on which a portion about two and a half hectare they had done sugarcane farming while on one they planted local vegetables, Elizabeth Aloo, (OI) March, 2016).

Another source of fund which has contributed a lot to the women's improved involvement in commercial agriculture in Awendo has been the Kenya Women Fund Trust (KWFT). KWFT has moved in to lend a hand in the sector by providing funds aimed at improving the performance of women-owned enterprises. Other funds include the Youth Enterprise Development Fund. The Youth Fund was established in 2006 with the aim of availing equal opportunities for Kenya Youths (both males and females).The government eyes fostering entrepreneurship as a tool for dealing with gender inequalities among the youths as it avails equal opportunities for the youths (GoK,2008; Collins Oduor, (OI) April, 2016).

Further funds have included Uwezo Fund which has been another very reliable source of funds for the Kenya women in addition to the women as youths and also women as among the people with disabilities. The Uwezo Fund in Kenya is a youth's and women's fund. It was launched in 2013 with the objective of expanding access to finance through grants and credit to promote youth and women businesses and enterprises at the constituency level, thereby enhancing economic growth towards the realization of the goals of Vision 2030. It aimed at enabling the Kenyan women to generate gainful self-employment and to model an alternative framework of funding -community-driven development targeting women. The Uwezo Fund has enabled women to access grants and interest-free loans, as well as mentorship opportunities to enable them to take advantage of the 30% government procurement preference through its capacity building programme (Olima, G. A., 2016).

The Uwezo Fund has been an empowerment programme, launched in 2013. It hoped to benefit women. In addition, it offers capital to women entrepreneurs with the primary aim of achieving

financial independence and eradicating poverty. Its loans range from sh.50, 000 to 500,000 at a time. This is a sufficient amount to start a business. Agricultural Finance Corporation has also been of great financial help to the women of Awendo. Though not specifically meant for the female gender, it focuses on boosting mainly commercial agriculture. It offers credits to the agricultural entrepreneurs among men and women in Awendo (World Bank, 2013). The Uwezo Fund chairman of Awendo Constituency, Oduor Collins, confirmed that the fund has been successful in the region as women have been responding well. He emphasized that most of the women who are responding are in the 25-50 age bracket and most of who operate in groups. He said that he has a total of 31 women groups with membership ranging from 10 to 30. Some of the groups include Ulanda Women Group, Ulanda Women Sugarcane Out-Growers Association, which is the largest of all the groups, Awendo Women Group, SONY Women Group, Chamluchi Women Group and Achung Kenda Women Group. Others have also been applying individually as opposed to groups. He added that the products include loans such as Constituency Women Enterprise Scheme; Local Purchase Order financing and bid bond financing. Other services include capacity building and market support and linkages, Oduor Collins, (OI) April 2016). An oral informant, who is the woman with the largest sugarcane farm in Awendo measuring 2.5 Ha, confirmed that what made her reach that level had been the government-initiated funds such as Women Enterprise Fund and the Uwezo Fund, Awino Florence, (OI) April, 2016).

The table below shows the population of women in commercial agriculture particularly sugarcane which is the most popular cash crop in Awendo. The population of women represents 27% of the total farmers from Manyatta Location. This is a very encouraging population in an area which was 100% male-dominated a few years ago.

Table 7.1: Sample of Women Commercial Farmers in Awendo

MANYATTA SUB LOCATION CANE POSITION AS AT 22-12-2017-AWENDO									
S. NO	Zone	Field No.	Land Parcel	Farmer Name	HA	Variety	Gender	KM	Area
1	OUTGROWER AREA B	25229600	97B	AWINO FLORENCE PURVIN A-7401566	2.5	CO945	Female	25	KONA KOGWANG
2	OUTGROWER AREA B	25224500	691	KENNETH ODERO-2742400/ EUNICE ATIENO -10821898	1.2	CO945	Male/Female	26	GOD JOPE
3	OUTGROWER AREA B	25246900	251	FLORENCE ADHIAMBO -2766608/ FREDRICK OTIENO-30124567	1.01	CO945	Female/Male	30.3	GOD JOPE
4	OUTGROWER AREA B	25210800	1231	JECINTER ADHIAMBO ONYANDO-24650501	0.91	N14	Female	29.5	GOD ROYE
5	OUTGROWER AREA B	25229000	1197B	GRACE ATIENO OLUOCH-6084632	0.9	CO945	Female	23	KONA KOGWANG
6	OUTGROWER AREA B	25205600	258	MILIKA ACHUNGA MARORO-3984363	0.88	CO945	Female	27.4	GOD ROYE
7	OUTGROWER AREA B	25211900	98	CHARLES ABUSO-1632340/JENIPHER OMWOKA 24564321	0.81	CO945	Male/Female	23.5	KONA KOGWANG
8	OUTGROWER AREA B	25227500	533	MARGRET AKINYI ONYANGO-8245841	0.8	CO945	Female	24.5	GOD JOPE
9	OUTGROWER AREA B	25205800	584	PHILISTER MASITSA MASHETI-1887485	0.75	CO945	Female	30.4	GOD ROYE
10	OUTGROWER AREA B	25222800	8	ZIPORA MAYODI INYANGU-21554789	0.66	CO945	Female	29.1	KODILA
11	OUTGROWER AREA B	25238600	489B	LATRICE AKINYI ODHIAMBO-21086710	0.61	CO945	Female	25.8	GOD JOPE
12	OUTGROWER AREA B	25227802	585	KERINA ATIENO OBUNGA-2801882	0.6	CO945	Female	26	KODILA

13	OUTGROWER AREA B	25234500	1429	LYNET ACHIENG SHIRATY-14482533	0.55	CO945	Female	25.4	GOD JOPE
14	OUTGROWER AREA B	25211700	1098	ELIZABETH ALOO BARRACK-1893530	0.55	CO945	Female	31.5	KODILA
15	OUTGROWER AREA B	25213500	2155A	CATHERINA AOKO OPONDO-21466498	0.55	CO945	Female	31.6	KODILA
16	OUTGROWER AREA B	25243400	531B	ESTHER NDHIWA SAMBA-2804937	0.54	CO945	Female	27.1	GOD JOPE
17	OUTGROWER AREA B	25203400	163	MONICA AUMA ONYANGO-13115203	0.53	N14	Female	23.8	GOD JOPE
18	OUTGROWER AREA B	25251500	514A	JANE ASEMBO ACHIENG-20726637	0.5	CO945	Female	25	GOD JOPE
19	OUTGROWER AREA B	25220100	7953	MILLCENT ACHIENG OBONG`O-32019526	0.5	N14	Female	25	KODILA
20	OUTGROWER AREA B	25232800	74A	ELIDA OUMA ATIENO-20976773	0.5	CO945	Female	24	KONA KOGWANG
21	OUTGROWER AREA B	25249000	410	NYAGOWA MONICA ACHIENG-11124621	0.49	CO945	Female	25.8	GOD JOPE
22	OUTGROWER AREA B	25232300	740	ODIRA CAROLINE AKINYI-21541991	0.48	CO945	Female	24.2	GOD ROYE
23	OUTGROWER AREA B	25226200	205	ACHIENG TURPHOSA JAEL-5586507	0.4	CO945	Female	25	GOD JOPE
24	OUTGROWER AREA B	25239303	620B	MAUREEN AOKO OTIENO-30532316	0.4	CO945	Female	25	GOD JOPE
25	OUTGROWER AREA B	25218501	473	BEATRICE AWUOR OBORA-27503351	0.4	N14	Female	32.6	KODILA
26	OUTGROWER AREA B	25243500	38C	ODERO MARY ANYANGO-13383894	0.38	CO945	Female	32.8	KODILA
27	OUTGROWER AREA B	25238601	489	LATRICE AKINYI ODHIAMBO-21086710	0.36	CO945	Female	25.8	GOD JOPE

	AREA B								
28	OUTGROWER AREA B	25210200	1155D	PEREZ AOKO OYUKO-4748945	0.33	N14	Female	25.9	KONA KOGWANG
29	OUTGROWER AREA B	25206400	1585	PHOEBE AOKO ONGADI-3983907	0.31	N14	Female	24.9	GOD JOPE
30	OUTGROWER AREA B	25212102	914D	CAROLINE ATIENO MAGADI-30532398	0.31	CO945	Female	38	KODILA
31	OUTGROWER AREA B	25221401	513A	ALICE OLUOCH ACHIENG-21519412	0.3	CO945	Female	25	GOD JOPE
32	OUTGROWER AREA B	25227500	533A	MARGRET AKINYI ONYANGO-8245841	0.3	CO945	Female	24.5	GOD JOPE
33	OUTGROWER AREA B	25235700	139	LEAH MUSANGIZA KAMADI-6898184	0.3	N14	Female	28.8	KODILA
34	OUTGROWER AREA B	25230100	103B	ABOGE VIOLET JEBIEGON-10298449	0.3	CO945	Female	24	KONA KOGWANG
35	OUTGROWER AREA B	25213501	2155B	CATHERINA AOKO OPONDO-21466498	0.29	CO945	Female	31.6	KODILA
36	OUTGROWER AREA B	25222600	512	WILKISTER ATIENO OMOLO-10843048	0.25	CO945	Female	23	GOD JOPE

SOURCE: SONY Sugar Company Records availed on 22nd December 2017 by Alice Ojow, Field Supervisor.

Table 5.1 above shows that 274 women are actively involved in commercial agriculture in Manyatta Sub-Location in Central Sakwa Ward out of the total 1,012 out grower sugarcane farmers. This translates to 13% of the out-grower sugarcane farmers. This translates to 27% of the total. This percentage was the highest in the history of women involvement in sugarcane farming in Manyatta Sub-Location, in Awendo Sub County. The data was collected at end of 2017 in December, “*the number of women in sugarcane farming in the areas I supervise has been going up and seemingly will continue to group*”, Alice Ojow-Female Field supervisor, (OI) December 2017). There were some 11acres though there were rare cases of sharing between a husband and a wife like the cases of Charles Abuso ID-1632340 (Husband) and Jenipher Omwoka ID-24564321; Kenneth Odero (Husband) ID-2742400 and Eunice Atieno (Wife) ID-10821898 and Florence Adhiambo (Wife) ID-2766608 and Fredrick Otieno (Husband) ID-30124567(OI, Alice Ojow, December, 2017). Charles Abuso explains that;

“at first, I was the sugarcane farmer as the head of the family while my wife used to do the physical labour like planting and weeding in addition to her domestic chores and also take care of our maize farm though occasionally when labour demands are high she would come in handy but it was bringing a lot of problems because my wife would think that I had gotten a lot of money from harvesting which was not the case. I also decided to include her because I felt that we are equal partners and I had nothing to hide” Charles Abuso, (OI) December, 2017).

As a result, specific initiatives to engage the Awendo women in Income Generating Activities (IGA), skills, development and market analysis were launched in Migori County in 2014. Among the instruments that were introduced to improve the impact of community-based organizations on gender and social equality at the community level were female mentors. Another product provided financial support to women and disadvantaged groups to initiate IGAs, (Migori County Development Plan, 2014; Jane Asembo, (OI) April, 2016).

Several women groups that provide savings and credit facilities to the women with the objective of lifting them economically have emerged in Awendo Sub County. The Kenyan government also has dedicated micro-financing programmes that are available countrywide for women. These have improved the economic independence of women thus reducing the vulnerability of the Awendo women. The micro-financing programs include Agricultural Finance Corporation, Her business, Industrial Development Bank, Kenya Industrial Estate, Kenya Entrepreneurs, Uwezo Fund, Women

Enterprise Fund and the Youth Development Fund, (www.myGovt.go.ke). Women groups have enabled their members to have their own sources of income which have also reduced their dependence on their husbands as most of the women in the groups are unemployed thus had to fully depend on their husbands Sabina Nyatigo (Secretary of SONY Women Group), (OI) April, 2016. *'Ne akwayo nyaka Siling apar mar chumbi'*, I was begging for even Kenya shillings 10 for buying salt, added Nyatigo. Since she joined the SONY Women Group, Nyatigo has ventured into sugarcane farming from which she is expecting to have a good harvest since the young sugarcane farm is looking healthy. She added that women groups have helped the women in Awendo a great deal and she suggested that more be encouraged to come up.

In the Sub County of Awendo, the largest government institution is the SONY Sugar Company. Being an agricultural zone, the highest employers are the agricultural institutions or agriculturally related institutions. At the time of this research, the largest employing institution in Awendo Sub-County was SONY Sugar Company. The company had been certified with a certificate of compliance with government gender demands, Tom Ondiek (chairman of SONY Gender Mainstreaming), (OI) April, 2016. Ondiek lamented that the worst-hit departments with gender parity were the technical and the field supervisors though he said that he was doing something to correct that. At the time of this research, even the Managing Director was a woman, Jane Pamela Odhiambo, (Daily Nation Thursday 2nd of February, 2017; Tom Ondiek, (OI) April, 2016). From the records of farmers of Manyatta Sub- Location which was made available to the researchers, from the 832 farmers on the long list, 286 were recorded as females thus representing 34.4 per cent. The percentage was an increase from 237 in 2016 representing 26%, Alice Ojow (SONY Field Supervisor) (OI) December, 2017].

Due to the strategies discussed in this study, there are several milestones in addressing gender disparities in Awendo and Kenya as a whole which have been made. The history of the Kenyan female figure has been linked to the vast projection of colonialism as gender roles conflict in post-colonial Kenya (Onsongo, 2009). In colonial Kenya, men's labour was given more recognition in political, social and economic spheres as compared to their women counterparts. Even after the colonial era, hierarchical gender roles and discriminatory relationships in economic, politics, religion and culture have tended to be continual thus the subordination against women found itself

into post-colonial Kenya. Kenyan women's struggles against gender asymmetry are often described in terms of the public and private spheres (Lovett, M. 1989). In the colonial and post-colonial Awendo, female subordination took intricate forms 'grounded' in traditional cultures and implemented through the domestic public dichotomy. In Awendo, male and female roles were peculiar to age and gender but these became reconfigured around the ages as the society changed and evolved.

Today, such circumstances have undergone surgical changes. Article 41(1) of Kenya's constitution states that: "every gender has the right to fair labour practices and every worker has the right to the relevant job title, fair remuneration, and reasonable working conditions." This is applicable to the employer or the employee whether by government or by the private sector, woman or man, casually employed or permanently. Notably, discrimination by both public and private employers has also been prohibited in all areas of employment including advertisements, recruitment, creation, classification or abolition of posts; the determination or allocation of wages, salaries, pensions, accommodation, leave or other such benefits; and the choice of persons for posts, training, advancement, apprenticeships, transfer and promotion or retrenchment. These had been mainly dominated by men at the expense of the women. The Constitution of Kenya (2010) clearly distinguishes the reason as to why many men in Awendo serve in the cream positions of various firms, industries, government and their high salaries as compared to women who remained poor as Ruth Opole (Head of Corporate, SONY Sugar Company), (OI December, 2016] explains;

We have approximately 70% of the men serving in higher job positions in the Company herewith fewer women while the reverse is true for lower positions such as secretaries, cooks and even cleaners which are dominated by women, Ruth Opole, (OI December, 2016).

The 21st century has seen the Awendo Sub County women economically elevated as compared to the previous centuries when a majority of the women were extremely poor. Women occupied the lowest cadre of jobs and a majority did not go to school. Poverty was associated with women in Awendo. They experienced discrimination at its best from their male counterparts. In agriculture, women offered their physical labour and did most of the agricultural work as compared to their male counterparts. They did the planting and weeding which was done twice or thrice depending on the rains in a season. After weeding, they would keep away the pests like birds and rodents until the

plants would mature. After maturity, they would harvest and thresh then store them. From here the male would come in to determine how the already threshed and stored harvests would be used. In terms of hired agricultural labour, women were known in groups or as individuals as good at weeding. In agriculture, the most labour intensive and difficult job is weeding.

The crops considered to be women's crops were of low quality and were meant for consumption hence subsistence agriculture. All that women would produce would be consumed even before the end of the season or if it remained, it was to be disposed off thus not earning any income for them. With the introduction of commercial agriculture in Awendo in the 1970s, the situation became worse for the women. The income-generating cash crop farming was taken by men hence called men's crops. In commercial agriculture women-only offered their physical labour as they would be hired by the men who were the landowners to work on the farms and would be paid peanuts yet they were the ones who shall have done the job. Women would be hired to plant, spray and weed the cash crops mainly sugarcane or tobacco in the case of Awendo. This disadvantaged position by the women in Awendo made the women remain poor as the men continued to use the women's labour to enrich themselves.

To emancipate, the 21st century governments-initiated funds such as Women Enterprise Fund, Uwezo Fund, Youth Enterprise Development Fund, Agricultural Finance Corporation and the Kenya Women Fund Trust. A lot of women empowerment has also been done facilitated by the government such as extension services for commercial agriculture which have been conducted in Awendo. Today, in Awendo, women also do hire men's labour to work on their cash crop farms. Women have ventured into commercial agriculture in Awendo which initially was considered to men's affair and this has seen the women grow economically. Women in Awendo today occupy bigger offices. For instance, as at the time of data collection, Jane Pamela Odhiambo was the Chief Executive Officer of SONY Sugar Company and Ruth Opole as the Head of Corporate. These were preserves of men a few centuries ago. Today, women are competing fairly with men in various aspects of commercial agriculture in Awendo Sub County.

Decision making at family and national level is a major concern if any achievement is to be made in any endeavour. In pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Kenya, decision making was men's

responsibility. In a polygamous homestead, the head was charged with the responsibility of making decisions and giving direction to his family. If he had to consult, then he could only consult *mikayi*. Women were considered to be men's property hence were to follow the instructions given by the husband. In case a woman was to attend an elder's meeting, she had to sit on the ground and only talk when asked to or else she could not interject to give an opinion. Agricultural decisions were made by the household head and the woman's role was to provide labour assisted by her children or fellow women. Due to this heavy-duty of providing tedious agricultural labour such as weeding, women started to form merry-go-round groups. The colonial period propagated a similar trend because the Europeans concentrated on male labour assuming women's labour. Throughout the colonial regime in Awendo, women were never considered for migrant labour. The same scenario persisted into the post-colonial regime with very few women taking part in decision making at the local or national level. It is for this reason that women concerns took too long to be addressed. It is in the 21st century that women involvement in decision making started taking root. The government came up with affirmative action as a mechanism to try and bring women to the table of decision making in the political arena through representation. In addition, the constitution of Kenya 2010 has heavily addressed the involvement of women in decision making at different levels.

Affirmative Action is another strategy that has been constitutionally provided to help curb gender inequalities that face the female gender in agriculture in Awendo. By definition, it is a deliberate move to reform or eliminate past and present discriminations using a set of public policies and initiatives designed to help on the basis of sex, colour, creed, geographical location, race, origin and gender among others (WiLDAF, 2010). In the Constitution of Kenya 2010, affirmative action is contained in Article 27(6). It expounds that; "To give full effect to the realization of the rights guaranteed under this Article, the state shall take legislative and other measures, including affirmative action programmes and policies designed to redress any disadvantage suffered by individuals or groups because of past discrimination." Article 27(8) notes the following; "In addition to the measures contemplated in clause (6), the state shall take legislative and other measures to implement the principle that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same gender.

Kenya's international obligations in respect to equality extends not only to eliminating discrimination but also to taking measures to promote substantive equality through positive action (in Kenya referred to as "affirmative action"), (G.A. Res. (1966); Article 2(2). The UNHRC has also stated that the "principle of equality sometimes requires state parties to take affirmative action in order to diminish or eliminate conditions that cause or help perpetuate discrimination prohibited by the Covenant", (Human Rights Committee Report, *General Comment 18: Non-discrimination*, 1989, Para 10.). While International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) has stated that, "state parties may be, and in some cases are, under an obligation to adopt special measures to attenuate or suppress conditions that perpetuate discrimination", (UN Doc E/C.12/GC/20, 2009, Para 9). It is, therefore, particularly welcome that Article 27(6) of the Kenya constitution creates a duty of affirmative action, a concept which is defined in Article 260 as including "any measure designed to overcome or ameliorate an inequity or the systemic denial or infringement of a right or fundamental freedom against women".

Affirmative Action has been a key approach to addressing gender gaps in agriculture in Awendo. It has proved to be one of the most effective approaches to the war against gender imbalances in Awendo. It takes into account under-representation and insignificant occupation of positions by women. The underlying motive for affirmative action is the principle of equal opportunity for both men and women, which holds that all persons have the right to equal access to self development. In Kenya, affirmative action is contained in Article 27(8) of the Constitution of Kenya 2010. It requires that the state should take deliberate legislative measures to ensure that not more than two-thirds of the members of an elective body or appointive public body are of the same gender. This is an aspect of affirmative action which has been facing a number of challenges though it has made achievements in Awendo as women are strongly coming up, Tom Ondiek, (OI) December, 2016).

Affirmative action has mainly applied to demand political representation and demanding slots for females at the higher levels of education where it has improved women representation. Female representation at the apex of decision making (parliament) has been improving though slowly courtesy of the affirmative action that the government has been putting in place. Taking the cases of elections in Kenya from 1963 to 2017, this study has highlighted the improvements experienced so far. In the most recent election in 2017 more women than ever were elected in addition to those

nominated bringing the total number to 76 out of the total 349 (290 Elected and 47 Women representatives and 12 nominated members). This brings it to 21% which is still 41 seats lower than the minimum number required of 117 or not more than two-thirds of the total. This is, however, an improvement compared to the past elections since the country attained independence in 1963 (Daily Nation 12th August, 2017).

Due to pressure put on the government and the male chauvinists, women have been accessing areas of decision making that were considered the preserve of men. This explains why women are strongly coming up in commercial agriculture which had been for men. The gendered labour systems are gradually breaking as men and women work alongside each other without clear boundaries or segregation of duties along gender lines.

7.6 Pervasiveness of Skewed Gender Labour Relations in Agriculture in Awendo in the 21st Century

In assessing the impacts of the strategies put in place to address the gender disparity experienced in Awendo, a number of gaps seem to be barring the effectiveness of the strategies which have already been discussed in this study. As it is clear from the strategies, attempts have been made to address this menace for as long as Kenya's independence has existed but gender labour inequalities have persisted more so in the provision of agricultural labour in Awendo as well as other sectors of the economy.

Although the 21st century has seen remarkable and commendable changes taking place in commercial agriculture in Awendo as compared to earlier centuries, male dominance in agricultural factors of production such as land, funds and decision making is still pervasive. Land has remained the epitome of interest as a factor of production and is still dominated by men though a lot of improvements are being realized as women have started accessing land ownership in Awendo. Following the findings of this study, many policies and strategies still need to be put in place locally, nationally and at the international level. These are particularly meant to help mitigate the problem of gender inequality in Awendo and Kenya at large. Women still experience widespread discrimination regardless of the laws that have been put in place.

The new legal options during the post-colonial periods mainly in the 21st century gave women a myriad of opportunities to air their grievances against cultural injustices in Awendo. In several cases, the Awendo women do not seem ready to challenge traditions and cultures as the patriarchal trends seemed to dominate the independent society and the women continue to succumb to extreme inequalities regarding traditional labour systems and property rights. Some of the women interviewed during the study were aware of what to do but decided to persevere the discriminative experiences from their male counterparts in the hope that things will change for the better. Such a case was similar to Carren Akoth's case, who said that she has no say in the house because even if she says anything constructive, her husband won't pick it up because it shall have come from a woman, Carren Akoth, (OI) November, 2016).

On the other hand, the study found that, in Awendo Sub-County, some grassroot women populace are still neither aware of their rights to property ownership nor any law that has been put in place to protect them. A number of them still continue to suffer the brunt of patriarchy blindly even in the midst of constitutional protection against gender discrimination. The main victims of the skewed male-female relations in some areas of Awendo are the widows who are left with property by their deceased husbands while those women who are aware of the existence of such laws, still do not pursue them because '*they want to save their marriage*', Deborah, (OI) April 2016). A classical example was the case of Grace Atieno 33 in West Sakwa Ward whose husband left with a sugarcane plantation approximately seven acres, a family motorbike, well-furnished house, three bulls and a piece of land which was still under the larger family name. Atieno was also left with their three children, two girls and a boy who happened to be the youngest.

She explained that they were living comfortably with her husband prior to the demise but things changed when her husband died. She went on to explain that, two weeks after the burial of her husband, her brother-in-law came and asked for the motorbike as if to return but he never returned it claiming that it belonged to his brother. As if this was not enough, another elder brother-in-law took one bull from the field where they were tethered and never gave an explanation for the action. On reporting the matter to the elder brother-in-law in the lineage, she was promised that a meeting was to be organized to address the case but this was never to occur. She remained worried. She did

not know what to do next (Grace Atieno, April 2017). Atieno's case shows that still, a lot of groundwork needs to be done in the Awendo rural areas.

Others are aware of the laws and the strategies but have just refused to accept the laws as they preferred to operate under the oppressive traditional beliefs and practices. In addition, there is lack of rooted gender equality among the various generations of Awendo who have continued to prohibit women from pursuing what belongs to them or challenge a barrier standing between them and their rights even to property majorly at the grassroots such as Awendo. This could be because of a lack of legal awareness among the grassroot women who may still not accept the law and would find it difficult to adapt to the reforms. The research found such a case in Awendo provided by Zippora Mayodi on the gender laws. The researcher himself engaged in a debate with Zippora over the current changes in favour of the women. As I tried to convince her that there are laws that protect her as well as her three daughters-in-law, she argued that we young people are destroying the world. She added that the things that are happening today are indications of the end times. She dismissed the laws at every stage of our discussion, Zippora Mayodi, (OI) November, 2016).

Kenya has undergone legal reforms granting Kenyan women equal inheritance rights but these legal reforms seemingly have not trickled to the deeper rural areas well thus giving room for customary practices to flourish which only grant women secondary rights to land, namely through their relationships to a male relative. Women are rarely able to inherit land in their own right as the law recommends in case of the demise of a parent (Musangi, 2015).

Land is clearly a fundamental resource in agricultural production, yet across Awendo Sub-County, very few women have a statutory land title, largely due to their weak capital base. Huge numbers of the women in Awendo still access land through male kin in customary land tenure systems, and their livelihoods are thus dependent on their ability to maintain relationships with fathers, husbands, sons and other male relatives. When these relationships fail – due, for example, to widowhood or divorce – the women at times have to leave their land by their husband's clan. In Awendo customary systems, single mothers have not been able to access any land. Young women, in general, may see no place for themselves in rural areas and move away. Thus, married women are still dependent upon the goodwill of their husbands and the availability of the land to grow food

John Anjudo, (OI) March, 2016). Although the majority of women have access rights to land for their food crop farming, it is important to make a distinction between access and control of land. While control is power and implies the ability to dispose of land, access implies only the right to use or consume with the permission of those who hold the right to dispose of it (Mackenzie, 1989, p22), this is still a problem in the rural Awendo. Women's indirect access to land does not give them the official status of "holders". For this reason, planners do overlook women's rights and only make decisions with the recognized holders - the men. The crux of the matter is that the 21st century legislations have focused more on women land ownership but have forgotten women's power to control land they use, thereby marginalizing them in agricultural productivity in Awendo, while men continue to have the control over the resource and women's labour (Okoth-Ogendo, 1975; Javan Mbelase, (OI) July, 2016).

There were interesting responses from the women in Awendo during the research when asked the question, "Do you own land?" The interest of the research at this moment was to know whether Land Tenure Reforms had enhanced women's acquisition of land in Awendo or not. This was because the interest of individualization of land tenure, as one of the land reforms, is to enable any person to acquire land thereby creating equality between the sexes. It was therefore important for the research to determine whether the women in Awendo owned the land they farmed. The answer to this concern could only be obtained through further investigations. When asked whether they owned land, a number of women farmers, about 82 per cent agreed without hesitating. Further investigation revealed that a number of the 82 per cent that agreed to own land were referring to their usufruct rights over land and not legal ownership rights. The research found out that the confusion came from the ambiguity of the term 'ownership' in both customary and statutory laws.

The researchers restructured the question to ask the women farmers whether the land was registered in their names. At this moment, some paused to rethink whether they really owned the farms. One oral informant responded that; "*But whatever is in my husband's name is also mine.*" Hellen Matolo, (OI) December, 2016). At this moment, however, the 'yes' answers tremendously reduced to 29 per cent which still indeed a good percentage as compared to the past generations; 'I don't know' responses were 23 per cent. This meant, according to their explanations upon further questioning, that they had not seen the title deed but were sure that their husbands were keeping

them, others were not even sure if their husbands had followed up for them. The ‘no’ responses remained the majority at 48 per cent. One such response was, Hamida Odipo, (OI) December 2016. On further interrogation, Hamida explained that her husband refused to argue; “*to kaweye to atimo nang’o?*” meaning, if we separate or divorce, what shall I do? A majority of the “No” responses pegged their justifications on cultural barriers. It, therefore, means that a lot still needs to be done even though there is good progress as compared to the past.

Despite the constitutional protection of property rights to land, as a key factor for agricultural production, women in Awendo still do not have secure land rights. Cases of lack of title deeds, irregular land allocation, landlessness and displacement from people’s land are rampant in Awendo rural areas, Kenneth Wagunda, (OI) November, 2016. In addition, women do not have equal access to land and secure land rights as compared to men. Secure and equitable access to land rights by both men and women is essential for achieving SDGs thus eradicating poverty and achieving food security.

The main challenge the women farmers in Awendo face is lack of sufficient land on which to do large scale farming. Land scarcity is a common feature among smallholder production systems in Awendo particularly in the high potential areas and the average landholding size among the women farmers is only 0.3 hectares, with parcels being continuously subdivided. Land Title deeds enable farmers to cultivate without fear of eviction and they can also use the land as collateral against financial loans. Women only hold between 1-5% of land titles and therefore have almost no access to land of their own, save for the usufruct rights they have due to their relations with a male either as a husband or son. As such, it becomes difficult for them to even access loans which can help boost their agricultural endeavours. However, women play an important role in agricultural production, contributing up to 80% of all labour in food production. In sugar cane production, women in Awendo produce higher labour than they can control the land they till or the crop they work on. Considering that cash crop is still viewed as a male’s crop, women do not receive adequate extension services which usually target farmers and not workers.

On financial empowerment of women, it has been recognized that the efforts made by the micro-finance bodies in uplifting the women’s financial strength thereby boosting women’s involvement

in commercial agriculture were quite encouraging. Nevertheless, there are challenges that have been cited by the women of Awendo who have borrowed money from the micro-financial bodies. One informant, Awino, puts it that the biggest challenge facing women in commercial agriculture in Awendo is inadequate capital. They felt that the microcredit they were receiving was not enough for commercial agriculture which is quite financially demanding. Such circumstances do force the women to change their initial investment plan for other options that were totally new and sounding to be within the range of the available funds but not commercial agriculture. She added that, if the company would not be subsidizing, it would be difficult for the women to venture into commercial agriculture in Awendo, Awino, (OI) April, 2016; Oduor, (OI) April, 2016).

Competition is another challenge facing women borrowers in Awendo. According to the oral interviews conducted in Awendo over the challenges, it was found that women loanees ended up engaging in similar businesses with services or products which were not differentiated. Inasmuch as Awendo is semi-urban, the rural dwellers have few options to go for in terms of ventures because there are no wide varieties of economic activities for women to choose from hence less profit.

The other main problem faced by Awendo women was loan diversion. Collin and Bosibori KWFT representatives in Awendo, explain that some applicant would indicate a different mission for the fund such as engaging in commercial agriculture in the application documents but end up doing something different from the original mission. Hamida Odipo, a member of Ulanda Women Group confessed in an interview that they do apply for loans with a business intention because that way it was easy getting funds but the real intention is different such as school fee, medical bills or just for domestic use, Hamida Odipo, (OI) December, 2012).

In some occasions, the diversion is facilitated by the husband and because he is the head of the family, women would comply as was the case with Roselyn Olewe. Roselyn is aged 32 while her husband aged 36, residents of Awendo Sub-County. Her husband convinced her to go and take a loan from the KWFT so that they could venture into horticulture farming on their one-hectare farm with the promise that he would help her in repaying the loan. The money was to help them in preparing the farm, hiring labour, buying seeds, weeding and buying drugs for the new enterprise. Her husband was to be in charge of the enterprise. Roselyn got the money in her name amounting to Ksh 100,000 and handed it over to her husband. Unfortunately, from that day when she handed

over the money to him, he went missing and came back after one week with only 20,000 with no genuine explanation but instead he was very harsh. Not knowing what to do because she could not fight him, she quarrelled and cried mainly on how she was going to repay the money. She ventured into grocery business with the Kenya shillings 20,000, struggled and cleared the loan but promised never to take a loan again in her life, Roselyn Olewe, (OI) December, 2016).

7.7 Conclusion

Kenya has also played a major role in trying to solve the gender inequality menace within her domain. The roles of the 21st century governments, in addition to their predecessors', have had a tremendous effect in trying to curb gender inequalities. The strategies these governments have put in place include, among others, gender mainstreaming in the government institutions, coming up with gender-friendly policies, parliament through its statutes and laws, the judicial system has also put in place procedures to determine gender-related issues without delays. Most importantly, the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 which has been regarded as the master-piece for addressing gender-related issues in Kenya has also been crucial in addressing gender gaps.

From the analysis of this study, it can be concluded that commendable achievements have been made in Awendo. This has been possible courtesy of the various strategies put in place in the 21st century as compared to the previous centuries. Some of the strategies include such as government goodwill, constitutional reforms, various constitutional amendments, statutes of parliament, affirmative action, availing of funds mainly for women entrepreneurship with the ultimate objective of making them economically self-reliant and gender equality awareness campaigns. Today, there is a good number of women who are directly involved in commercial agriculture mainly in sugarcane and tobacco commercial farming, there are those who own their own lands with their own title deeds, gender-based discrimination at family level in Awendo have drastically reduced, women rights awareness is also doing well as it has made women aware of what to do in cases of abuse or denial of patrilineal or matrilineal property ownership. There is improved representation of the female gender at key decision-making levels in relation to commercial agriculture in Awendo. These improvements have had a greatly remarkable impact on the lives of the 21st century Awendo women as compared to the previous centuries.

In the midst of the remarkable improvements and achievements in addressing gender inequalities in agriculture in Awendo in favour of the female gender, there are challenges. This follows the findings of the study that a majority of the grassroots women populace in Awendo still have not embraced the changes especially those aged fifty and above. This population of the women is also very influential on the younger generations because they are the mothers and grandmothers thus hindering the success of the strategies. Still, a bigger portion of the younger generations is not aware of what is happening thus do not know what to do in the event that they face gender discrimination. Furthermore, another portion is aware of what to do but would not dare having considered a number of factors such as their marriages or the opinions of other people closer to them who may not advise them accordingly. Some of the women lack the confidence to face the cultural and traditional barriers to report or face aspects of gender inequalities in their surrounding. The other group that is still struggling with changes and is the majority is the poor who have to fully rely on their male heads for almost everything and must totally be loyal to them thus posing a challenge to the effectiveness of the strategies in Awendo. Land, which is a major factor of agricultural production, is largely in the domain of men thus women in Awendo still lack sufficient land for their agricultural activities as they still have to rely on their relationship with a male. On financial empowerment, it has been recognized that the governments of the 21st century have availed funds that target women but the women end up shying away from the funds due to various challenges.

It is therefore remarkable that gender inequality in Awendo has made commendable improvements in closing the gender gaps in agriculture in Awendo as well as in other aspects of the society. Though still, a lot needs to be done in the rural areas of Awendo so as to ensure that the mechanisms reach the last woman in the extremely remote areas. The 21st century governments have been applauded for the tremendous contributions in addressing gender-based discriminations in agriculture in Awendo as compared to their predecessors. The next chapter entails the summary, conclusions and recommendations based on the discussions in the entire work on the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the overall purpose of this study. The purpose of this study was to analyze the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017. The analysis sets off in 1902 to provide a baseline for the analysis of the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo thus understanding the status of gender labour relations in agriculture in the pre-colonial times all the way to colonial, post-colonial as well the paradigm shift emerging in the 21st Century. The analysis was to provide a background to the understanding of the paradigm shift in the colonial, post-colonial and 21st Century periods. As has been demonstrated by the study, the transformation of gender labour relations has been a continuous process during the pre-colonial to colonial, to post-colonial and mostly in the 21st Century periods. The analyses have been undertaken within the main themes such as changes that have characterized the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo during the period under study. The study was based on the principles of gender theoretical perspective. The principles of the theory were used to interpret the data, draw its findings, conclusions and recommendations.

8.2 The Paradigm Shift in Gender Labour Relations in Agriculture in Awendo Sub County 1902-2017

From the discussions, it has emerged that women were the chief agricultural food producers. Agricultural labour division was based along gender and age lines. Women did most of the work including planting and weeding which was done thrice or four times depending on the rains. After weeding they kept away the pests, applied chemicals such as herbicides, harvested the crops, did the threshing and stored the crops. Men, on the other hand, had three major determining roles. These included issuing the land for agriculture to his wives, clearing, ploughing the land and preparing the granaries or storage facilities for the new crops. The man would appear again while the crops are in the store having been threshed and stored by the women to determine how the stored crops would be used.

The study has found out that gender labour transformation in Awendo in the pre-colonial time was determined by natural factors, death of animals and population increase as well as population movements. The interactions between the Abagusii who were mainly farmers and the Luo of Awendo who were mainly pastoralists. The people of Awendo ventured into agriculture so as to implement their animal diet. Agriculture came with more roles for women as has been analysed in the body of this work. Death of a household head changed roles as women had to provide security over their households. Most African families were polygamous. Polygamy was adored because it supplied labour in terms of children and women to a man. *Mikayi* who was the first wife assumed that the roles of the head of the family, a role that was a preserve of men. Natural factors such as animal migration, famine and drought would transform gender relations of labour. Cultural interactions with the various other cultures also caused transformations in gender division of labour.

The colonial regime came with different approaches to labour and gender matters. During the colonial epoch, government policies in the 20th century such as migrant labour, administrative coercion, taxation, land Acts, commercial agriculture, new seeds and new methods of farming significantly transformed African labour practices. The analysis done established that there were a lot of transformations in Awendo society following the establishment of colonial rule right from the pre-colonial times. This subsequently altered the patterns of agricultural gender labour relations. The transformation was essentially linked to the socio-political and economic organization under which the Awendo people had been since the pre-colonial period. In the pre-colonial period, the process of accessing crucial resources, basically land and labour, was based on patriarchal structure and social definitions, which conditioned gender relations of agricultural labour in the Sub County. Whereas Awendo men had rights of ownership to the property such as land, women had rights of use only by associating with an individual male. The organization of the Awendo family rotated around patriarchy where power was vested in the male gender and this affected the agricultural productivity of the female gender. Consequently, senior men possessed rights to determine ownership, access to and control of resources and key decision-making within the household social structures. Therefore, the pre-colonial period in Awendo exhausted the female agricultural labour in subsistence agriculture while denying women the access and control to the factors of production such as land. Land was highly valued in Awendo because every agricultural activity was done on it. The chapter has discussed procedures used to acquire land in pre-colonial Awendo. Women were

not keenly involved but instead followed their husbands. The pre-colonial Awendo women owned land by relating to a male relative through usufruct rights only. These rights only gave women access and use over land but not ownership and control.

It has been established that colonialism had a powerful and lasting impact on Africans including affecting their gender labour relations in agriculture as well as impacting non-agricultural sectors. At any rate, the British colonial labour policies which influenced gender labour relations in agriculture in Kenya included land alienation, migrant labour policy, passing laws to monitor labourers, wage labour and land policies. Colonial migrant labour, forced labour as well as cash crop growing also known as commercial agriculture and African taxation caused a lot of transformation in the traditional gender division of the labour. In Awendo, the colonial migrant labour ripped off young and energetic men from agriculture that could clear large tracts of land and plough before the women could come in to plant. Due to the involvement of the Awendo men in migrant labour, commercial agriculture in sugarcane, tobacco and tea found its way into Awendo in the 1970s.

Awendo men were removed from their pre-colonial roles in agricultural production leaving their women and children to shoulder the bulk of all agricultural responsibilities such as availing lands for agricultural production, clearing virgin and fallow lands, ploughing, weeding, keeping away predators, harvesting, threshing, keeping and making key decisions for their families as well as other male societal non-agricultural responsibilities such as being the head of the households and providing security. These roles were traditionally meant for men in the Awendo traditional set up. The need to build the colony's infrastructure and also providing labour for the settlers made the colonial administration office to force the Awendo people out of their domestic production to provide for the colonial government labour demands.

In the early years of colonial rule, the Awendo population was not ready to abandon their agricultural activities in favour of European farms. Force was therefore used to have Africans in Awendo out of their domestic production. This was because the Awendo economy was self-sufficient. As Awendo people became more entrenched into the colonial economy, less force was used to have them join wage employment. There were, however, important labour regulations that

significantly altered gender labour relations in Awendo during this period and subsequently agricultural production as a whole. The colonial labour regulations were gender-specific. For instance, the Sir Edward Northey circulars of 1915 were very categorical that African men were to be “encouraged” to seek wage employment away from their homes whereas women and children were to work in their home areas. This is because the Europeans themselves came from a male-dominated background thus they only considered male labour as important hence the colonial labour policies that targeted men such as hut and poll taxes. This went on for a while before the breast tax was introduced much later into the colonial period. The Europeans later realized that women could also work as they maintained their traditional economy running in the absence of their husbands who had joined migrant labour either voluntarily or by force. The breast tax was then introduced targetting women whose breasts had appeared as a confirmation that they were mature and thus could work. This was also introduced in Awendo which was mainly a labour reservoir and the natives protested this bitterly.

Taxation was another agent of change in Awendo during the period under study. Initially, as has been analysed, taxation targeted men mainly through the hut tax as the Europeans had observed that most African men were polygamous thus taxing every hut would generate a lot of revenue. There were three main types of taxes which included hut tax, poll tax and later breast tax. Taxes were paid in terms of labour hence, regardless of which gender or seniority in the society, men and women worked side-by-side to settle taxes. Taxation caused a number of transformations in gender labour relations in Awendo in the sense that for the African male head of the family to pay the tax, he was expected to collect every member of his family including his women and children to go and help him pay the tax by working alongside each other. The male household head in the dates prior to the colonial period in Awendo could not work alongside his wives and children because work was clearly structured basing on sex and age.

Later, during the colonial era, forced labour gradually developed into voluntary migrant labour. The migrant labour also intensified changes in the gender labour relations as it installed the woman as the head of the family in the absence of her husband who had joined migrant labour. She, therefore, assumed all the responsibilities that were being played by her husband as the head of the family. These workers though did not develop into a fully-fledged proletariat because they still had access

to land in the now sub-county. They also relied on agriculture in addition to the wages from the migrant labour. Family labour continued to be used in agricultural production. As labour became more monetarized, traditional co-operative work, *saga* gradually declined. It was partially replaced by *tiyo gi pesa*, as more prosperous migrant labourers could afford hired paid labour. The colonial agricultural production thus led to deeper social differentiation in colonial Awendo. Those who cultivated large pieces of land using ploughs and hired labour were able to produce greater quantities of surplus whose returns were reinvested and this increased production. This hiring of labour led to Hay's argument that migrant wage labour did not overburden the African Awendo women since the money their husbands sent would be used to hire labour that replaced the husband's missing labour and in some situations, she argues, the money the husband sent was able to hire just enough labour to even cover the woman's so that she would just prepare meals for the hired workers who were mainly women since they would simply work within their localities as their men were away. The families that were able to hire labour even went ahead to invest in building *mabati* houses and marrying many wives since they appeared to be doing better.

The study has found out that with the arrival of colonialism in Awendo, it came with changes in the land tenure as land ownership changed from the African male head of families to the colonial masters. This was mainly applicable in the areas where plantation agriculture was established through places such as Awendo which mainly provided labour, women assumed the responsibilities which they had never played in society and were even considered taboos to them. The women took up the responsibilities over land such as making key decisions such as which crop to plant where, hiring agricultural labour, some would clear the virgin lands and even plough as it took long before their husbands sent money yet life had to go on. Surprisingly, the women took up the responsibilities so comfortably with very limited challenges. Arguably, it has also been observed that due to the labour policies put in place by the colonial government, the Awendo woman was left overburdened by heavier workloads when the Awendo men left their homes in search of wage labour.

It has been argued that the colonialists not only impacted the Awendo people negatively but at least they had some positive impact. They introduced new cash crops such as sugarcane, tea, tobacco, sunflower and cotton. They also introduced new farming methods such as new breeds of exotic

animals, application of fertilizers and rotational agriculture which were adopted well by the Awendo population especially at the end of colonial rule. New machineries such as tractors were also introduced which enabled the plantation agriculture to work well thus reducing human labour demands. In addition, the Awendo men had a reason to smile when going back home after several months of staying away from home because of the salaries given to them in form of new clothes, blankets, new farm implements and some few pennies. The Awendo men also acquired the commercial agricultural know-how so that by the time the colonial rule collapsed, they easily applied their skills to commercial agriculture.

The Kenyan women received independence with a lot of jubilation expecting better changes. This study has revealed that the founding government promised to work on gender equality on its 1965 philosophy but unfortunately up to the mid-1970s, not much was done to bridge the gender gap both internationally and even nationally. No deliberate efforts were put in place to change the mindset of the people of Awendo on the need to work on the gender gaps. On land transfers from the Europeans and back to Africans in Kenya, the government was gender blind against women. This worked against women as it left them at the mercy of their male counterparts just as it did in the pre-colonial, colonial and now in the independence Kenya. Though it returned the usufruct rights women had before colonization. Not much was witnessed in the fight against gender inequalities in Awendo during this first regime.

The study has established that gender labour relations did not change fundamentally in Awendo between 1963 to late 1970s. Awendo women continued to shoulder the bulk of agricultural labour even as their husbands returned. In fact, as the males picked up the cash crops which were grown by the settlers, the demand for labour increased as in most Awendo families, the machines were very expensive thus human labour mostly by women remained the main source of labour. It is obvious from this analysis that agricultural labour remained the domain of women. It is important to note that the Awendo women continued to dominate in food crop production despite lack of attention from the government and the full attention of their husbands who adopted the new cash crops.

It has come out that from the 1980s, there was an enthusiastic push for gender equality especially in the international arena with a number of international conferences, workshops and seminars of which Kenya hosted one, the 1985 Women's Conferences marking the end of the Women's decade chaired by Margaret Kenyatta. As Maria Nzomo noted, Kenya had come a long way from the 1960s when there was hardly any mention of women. The gender policies were shelved thus they only existed on paper. Women continued to supply up to 80% of the agricultural labour whether hired or at the family level as the male continued to dominate over the women. With the introduction of cash crop grown in the 1970s in Awendo, the situation became harder for the Awendo women. This was because, inasmuch as men adopted commercial agriculture, the labour was mainly supplied by the women as hired labourers but not as owners.

The study discovered that from 1990s, the Awendo women started coming up very strongly. There was improved government goodwill as well as that of the international community. The women in Awendo have been able to privately and publicly improve their bargains for funds and space within the male-dominated spheres including commercial agriculture and for financial empowerment. Women have been able to buy their own parcels of land on which they do their commercial farming. Some have also been able to hire labour not only from fellow women but also men's labour. The gains from commercial agriculture have made women in Awendo to get more respects from their husbands and the community at large. In conclusion, the period witnessed an improved push for gender equality mostly from the international community. The government also started to implement the international obligations on the fight against gender inequality though the government did not come up with her own strategies to bridge the gender gaps.

It has come out from the study that the independence attained by Kenya in 1963 did not cause remarkable changes on gender division of labour in agriculture in Awendo. From 1963 to the late 1970s, Awendo women continued to shoulder the bulk of subsistence agricultural labour in the absence of most men from the farms. Most of the men did not return home following the attainment of independence. Instead, they continued looking for better jobs in the towns and did not come back to agriculture. Women also provided labour for the new cash crops which had been introduced in Awendo although men owned the farms and controlled any benefit from such farms. Women did the tedious part of the agricultural labour such as planting and weeding. They even participated in

keeping away predators from eating the crops while men dominated the highly developing commercial agriculture in Awendo.

The study noticed that the government identified micro-entrepreneurship as the best way out for the Awendo women to succeed in commercial agriculture. As a result, the government has come up with Women Enterprise Fund, Women Groups, Youth Fund, Uwezo Fund and the Kenya Women Finance Trust (KWFT) which has been an affiliate of the Women's World Banking. These sources of micro-finance to the women have been of the greatest benefit to the Awendo women who have managed to use the funds to uplift their investment in commercial agriculture.

The findings of this study on the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub County 1902-2017 noted that the 21st century has had the most vibrant war against gender inequality in Awendo and Kenya as a whole. Before this period, gender inequality had been thriving in almost all sectors of human life. This has been going on in the midst of the attempts to curb the menace especially from the late 20th century and into the 21st century. Women continued to be over subdued by men. They continued to be the main source of agricultural labour whether hired at peanut-pay or at the family level. Due to the pervasiveness of the severe discrimination, a number of studies, seminars, conferences and workshops have continued to be organized in Kenya in the 21st century. In addition to the international community approaches, Kenya has come up with her own strategies such as responding positively to the international community recommendations on addressing gender inequalities, universal provision of social services such as education and employment without due consideration to gender, the government has also increased the budget allocations for women enterprises, gender equality policies have also been drafted and also affirmative action approaches have been applied to ensure gender balance in the elective representative bodies. Similarly, the judiciary has put legal requirements in place to expeditiously handle cases related to gender inequality. The government has gone ahead to establish the Department of gender so as to handle gender inequality related matters. In addition, a number of legal interventions have been put in place and detailed female rights have been included in the Bill of Rights. These approaches have had commendable impact on the Awendo female population as they have protected the Awendo women successfully.

The 2010 constitution has made Kenya to be recognized worldwide as one of the countries committed to addressing gender inequalities. The constitution of Kenya 2010 has been considered as one of the best constitutions in Africa for addressing gender-related issues. This is because it contains most of the basic legal requirements needed to address gender inequality concerns. The government has also gone out of its way to empower women financially by creating financial support opportunities for women. In the same breath, land has remained the bedrock of any agricultural activity thus access to and control of land has remained one of the key concerns when gender inequality is mentioned. On this front, a number of legal approaches have been put in place to facilitate women's access to and control of land in Awendo though this has not been very successful as men have remained dominant over the control of land. This has denied Awendo women sufficient access to and control over land.

It is true that men picked up the cash cropping as they had control over land, the crops, the farms and the accrued benefits but it was women who mostly offered their labour mainly for the vigorous weeding which could be done up to six times. They offered the labour as hired labourers paid low wages or as family members. Fortunately, the 21st century governments have put recognizable mechanisms to reverse such situations in Awendo. The mechanisms have included financial empowerment through women micro-financing bodies. Following these interventions, the percentage of women in commercial agriculture in Awendo has grown up to 27% by the time the data was collected. The Awendo women today have improved access to and control of their own land in their own names. They have also acquired their own farms, hire labour and have full control over what they produce from their commercial agricultural endeavours either individually or in groups.

Decision making at family level in Awendo has also enjoyed its share of transformation as has been revealed by this study. According to the findings of this study, women have been brought on board. In pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Kenya, decision making was men's responsibility. The affirmative action, for instance had an effect on women involvement in decision making among cane farmers in Awendo. This has improved commercial agricultural production because of the consolidation of ideas by both men and women involved in the enterprise. The study discovered that inasmuch as a lot of appreciable transformations have taken place in gender labour relations

in agriculture in Awendo, still male dominance is pervasive. This still mainly affects women in access to and control of land, finances, decision making and is influenced by strong traditional setups among the grass roots women. Following the findings of this study, many policies and strategies still need to be put in place particularly meant to help mitigate the problem of gender inequality in Awendo Sub County.

Inasmuch as such recommendable job has been done in fighting gender inequalities in Awendo, this study reveals that the vice is still alive and well spelt in Awendo moreso among the grassroot populace. Good approaches may have been put in place but there is still a gap. The actual implementation and functionalities of the strategies require thorough assessment and should be critically analyzed especially in the deep rural areas of Awendo. The study has also realized that the awareness campaigns are needed for people more so the women in Awendo to be aware of these opportunities. The attitude and the perception of the majority of the Awendo populace need to be refocused for them to own the strategies. This gender inequality in Awendo has been caused by a number of challenges already discussed earlier in the work hence gender inequality has remained pervasive in gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County in the 21st century.

8.3 Recommendations

In view of the findings of the study, it recommends an imperative examination of the gender interactions on land tenure and labour provision in Awendo Sub County. This is because access to and control of land in agricultural production in Awendo is still clearly gendered. More importantly, co-ownership of land by spouses needs to be pursued more rigorously to ensure that both partners have security over the property and the benefits accruing from the usage of such property.

From the analysis of this study, it is factual that addressing the root causes of gender labour inequalities in agriculture in Awendo may require moving beyond goals and targets, to incorporating recommendations on the policy instruments that are required to ensure more equitable opportunities and outcomes for both males and females in agriculture in Awendo

The study recommends a continuous close follow up on their full implementation of the various strategies meant to reduce the persistent gender labour inequalities in agriculture in Awendo as this would make it more meaningful especially among the grassroots women population of Awendo.

The study has discussed this but further research is still vital to expose its full scope.

Due to the limiting scope of this study, it could not handle the historical economic impact of commercial agriculture on the women of Awendo in details thus further research is recommended.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview Consent Form

I.....have agreed to be interviewed by you My age is..... I come from ward Date But I would request that my name should not appear in your records I have no problem if you record my name

Appendix B. Translated consent form Yie mar bedo ee nonro

An.....ayie mondo ipenja penjo in..... Yika en.....aa ee ward..... Tarik..... To daher ni mondo nyinga kik indik nyinga kamoro amora..... Aonge wach kata ka indiko nyinga.....

Appendix C. Interview Schedule

Hello! My name is Ogol Reuben Ooko. I come from your neighboring County of Homa Bay. I am a Master of Arts student in History at Maseno University in the Department of History and Archaeology. I am conducting a Field Research on Transformation of Gender Labour Relations in Agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017.

I will be delighted if you will spare your time to respond to the questions, I'm going to ask you. Your honesty in answering the questions will be of greatly value to the study. Feel free to participate in the discussion and ask any question which is of concern. Your responses will be anonymous and confidential and will only be used strictly for academic and research purposes. I would also like to tape record as we discuss so that I can capture all the details accurately.

SECTION A: Back Ground Information

1. Gender_____ (i) Male (ii) Female
2. Ward_____ 3. Location_____ 4. Sub-Location_____
5. Age_____ (i) 18-35 (ii) 36-60 (iii) 61 and Above.
6. Level of Education:_____ (i) None (ii) Primary School (iii) Secondary School (iv) Tertiary
7. Marital Status (tick) Single.....Married.....

SECTION B Gender labour relations in the pre- colonial agriculture in Awendo.

1. What type of farming was commonly practiced in Awendo in the pre-colonialism?
2. Explain the types of crops grown.
3. What were the roles of women in the agriculture?
4. What were the roles of men in the agriculture?
5. Was there gender balance in labour distribution between the gender? explain
6. Were there crops which were grown just for sale? If yes, which crops?
7. Which crops were grown for domestic use as food?
8. How was labour distributed for various domestic chores between men and women?
9. What were the agricultural tools used on the farms for various purposes?
10. How were the proceeds from agricultural activities controlled or used in a family?
11. In your opinion, was agricultural labour fairly shared between the males and the females? Explain.

12. Were agricultural proceeds sold in the local market? If yes, who was responsible

SECTION C: Gender labour relations in Awendo during the colonial period.

1. Were there changes in agriculture that came up following the establishment of colonial rule in Awendo? If yes, explain.
2. Were there crops that were grown for subsistence and for commercial? If yes, which crops were they?
3. Was colonial agriculture gender sensitive? Explain.
4. Was there gender balance in the colonial agricultural labour? Explain.
5. Did the Europeans introduce commercial agriculture in the area? Explain.
6. Were there changes in the agricultural labour distribution between males and females? Explain.
7. Were there new crops and animals introduced by the colonialists in the area?
8. If any in question 7, how did the new crops and animals affect gender labour relations in agriculture in the area?
9. Did the colonialists introduce any for taxation and forced labour? If yes, what were the effects of the taxation and forced labour on gender labour relation in agriculture?
10. How did the European labour patterns influence division of labour between men and women
11. Comment on the division of labour between men and women? Was it fair?
12. Were there missionaries in the region? If yes, what was their influence on gender labour relations in the agricultural production?
13. How did the labour migration influence gender labour relations in the area?
14. How did the swynnerton plan of 1954 influence gender labour relations in agriculture in this area?

SECTION D: Gender labour inequalities in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County after 1963.

1. Were there subsistence and commercial crops left by the British? If yes, which crops and how did influence gender labour relations?
2. Were there new crops that were introduced after 1963? If yes, how did they change gender labour relations in Awendo?
3. How has the active involvement of women through group and government influenced gender labour relations in agriculture?
4. Briefly comment on the extent to which women are involved in the commercial agriculture in Awendo.
5. Is there disparity in the agricultural labour in the area? If yes, Is anything being done by the locals, government or NGOs to reduce it? .
6. Do you know affirmative action? If yes, how has it influenced gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo?
7. Are there women who own their personal land on which they practice agriculture?
8. To what extent are women in decision making at family level?

SECTION E: Impact of the strategies meant to reduce gender labour inequalities in agriculture in Awendo 1902-2017

1. What mechanisms were put in place to ensure equal distribution of labour between the gender during the pre-colonialism times.
2. Were the European farmers and administrators concerned with gender issues? Explain.
3. Did the colonialists put in place ways to reduce gender labour inequalities in agriculture?

4. Are there women who have accumulated wealth and land because they are involved in agriculture
5. What is the influence of education on gender labour inequalities in agriculture in Awendo?
6. Are there women who have accumulated wealth and land because they are involved in agriculture?
7. How are gender matters being dealt among the farmers from Awendo?
8. What are the impacts of the government and NGOs strategies meant to reduce gender labour inequalities in agriculture in Awendo?
9. What have been the impacts of the increased women involvement in agriculture?
10. Do you know of any affirmative action put in place by the government? If yes, how has it influenced gender labour inequalities in agriculture in Awendo?
11. Do you think the government and international organizations are doing enough to achieve gender balance as required by the Sustainable Development Goals? Explain.
12. How has the constitution 2010 influenced gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo?

APPENDIX D: Translation of the interview schedule

Chenro mar nono wach

A mosou duto! Nyinga en Ogol Reuben Ooko. Aa ee county ma bathu kaa ma en Homa Bay. A somo Masters ee mbalarieany ma Maseno ee Dept mar weche mag ndalo. Sani to atimo nonro mar wii wach mara ma en Lokruok mag tije mag jomamon kod joma chuo ee tije pur ee Awendo chakre higa mar 1902 nyaka 2017.

Abiro mor ka ikawo thuolo mari mondo iduok penjo ma abiro penji. Duoko ma ibiro chiwo ok bi ng'e gi ng'ato ong'ata. Daher adier ee duoko ma idhi miya. Bed thuolo mar penja penjo moro amora madiher. Adwa record weche ma wadhi wacho mondo wiya kik wil kod moko.

SECTION A: Weche motelo

1. Nyako kata wowi
2. Ward.....
3. Location
4. Gweng'
5. Yiki (i) 18 – 35, (ii) 36 – 60, (iii) 61 kadhi mbele
6. Sombi (i) onge (ii) Primary school (iii) Sekondari (iv) College
7. Nyombo (tik) pok inyombo/ pok onywomi

SECTION B: Winjruok ee tije mag pur ee kind joma mon kod joma chuo kapok loch Wasungu obiro

1. Pur mane mane itimo ee Awendo kapok wazungu obiro?
2. Ler ane kothe mane ipidho?
3. Tije mage mane itimo kod jomamon ee puodho?
4. Tije mage mane itimo kod jomachuo ee puodho?

5. Be nenitie pogruok ee tije mane chuo kod jomamon tiyo? Ler ane.
6. Be ne nitie kothe mane ipidho mondo ousi? Ka nenitie, ne gin mage?
7. Kothe mage mane ipidho mag chiemo?
8. Ere kaka tije mag dala ne opogi ee kind joma chuo kod joma mon?
9. Gige tich mage mane itiyogo ee puothe?
10. Ng'ama ne chiko kaka itiyogo kod gik mane oa ee puothe?
11. Ee pachi, be tije mag puodho opog maromre ee kind joma chuo kod joma mine? Ler ane.
12. Be kothe mane oka koa ee puodho iuso ee chirni? Ka en adieri, ng'ama ne chiko?

SECTION C: Winjruok ee kind joma mon kod joma chuo ee tije mag puodho e ndalo loch joroche.

1. Bende nenitiere puogruok e pur bang' biro loch joroche? Kaa nenitie, ler ane.
2. Bende nenitiere kothe mane ipidho mag chiemo kod mioso? Ka nitie, to negin mage?
3. Bende pur joroche ne ng'iyo weche jomachuo kod jomamon?
4. Bende nenitiere romruok ee tije mag puodho ee kind joma mon kod joma chuo ee ndalo loch joroche?
5. Bende joroche nokelo pur mitimo ne uso e gweng'ni? Ler ane.
6. Bende nenitiere pogruok ee tije mag puodho kind joma chuo kod joma mon? Ler ane.
7. Bende nitie kothe kod chiaye mane okel kod joroche? Ler ane.
8. Ka nenitie e namba 7, ere kaka kothe manyien gi kod chiaye mane okel kod joroche nokelo pogruok kata winjruok ee yore mag pur ee kind joma mon kod joma chuo?
9. Bende joroche ne okelo solo osuru kod tij achune? Kanitie, pogruok mane mane solo osuru kod tij achune okelo ee kind winjruok joma mon kod joma chuo ee yore mag pur?
10. Ere kaka pogo tich mar joroche ne oloko winjruok ee kind joma mon kod joma chuo ee tije gi mag puodho?
11. Wach ane gimoro ee pogruok tiche ee kind joma mon kod joma chuo. Bende tije nopog maromre?
12. To bende nenitiere joland injili majoroche ee gweng'ni? To ka nenieitie, ere pogruok mane gikelo ee winjruok ee kind joma mon kod joma chuo ee tije mag pur.
13. Ere kaka wuok mar joma chuo kadhi tiyo tije joroche noloko winjruok ee kind joma mon kod joma chuo?

14. Ere kaka chendro mar pur miluongo ni swynnerton plan mar higa 1954 noloko winjruok ee kind joma mon kod joma chuo ee tije mag puodho?

SECTION D: Onge mar romruok ee pogo tije mag pur ee awendo bang' 1963

1. Bende ne nitie kothe mane jorochere oweyo mipidho ne chiemo kod miuso? Ka nitie, negin kothe mage kendo ere kaka negiloko winjruok ee tije mag puodho ee kind joma chuo kod joma mon?
2. Bende nitiere kothe manyien mane okel bang' 1963? Kane nitie, ere kaka ne giloko winjruok e kind joma chuo kod joma mon e tije mag puodho?
3. Wacha ne matin kaka joma chuo kod joma mon tiyo tije mag puodho ee Awendo.
4. Ee kind joma chuo kod joma mon bende nitiere joma tiyo mang'eny moloyo jowadgi ee puodho ee gweng'ni? Ka nitie, bende nitiere gima itimo kod jogweng', sirikal kata kwedhe ma ok mag sirikal mondo oduok pogruogni chien?
5. Bende ing'eyo chendro ma oseketi mondo oket mon oromre kod chuo? Ka dipoo ni ing'eyo, ere kaka chendro gi osekelo winjruok ee kind joma chuo kod joma mon ee tije mag pur?
6. Bende nitiere mon manigi puothegi giwegi magi puro?
7. Ere kaka joma mon konyo ng'ado rieko ee utegi?

SECTION E: Pogruok mosekel kod chenro moseketi mondo oduok pogruok ee tije puodho ma mon kod chuo timo e awendo chakre 1902 nyaka 2017

1. Chendro mage mane oketi mondo oneni joma chuo kod joma mon tiyo maromre e tije mag puodho ka pok loch jorochere obiro?
2. Bende ne nitiere jopur majorochere kod jotend sirikand jorochere mane ng'iyo weche.
3. Bende loch jorochere noketo chendro moro a mora mar duoko chien pogruok mane nitie ee tije mag puodho e kind joma chuo kod joma mon?
4. Bende nitiere joma mon moseyudo mwando kod lowo nikech pur?
5. Ere pogruok ma somo osekelo ee kind winjruok joma mon kod joma chuo ee tije mag pur?
6. Ere kaka itieko pogruok manitiere ee kind joma chuo kod joma mon ma jopur ee Awendo?
7. Ere pogruok ma chendro moseketi kod sirikal kod riwruoge ma ok mag sirikal osekelo mondo oduok chien pogruok manitiere ee kind joma mine kod joma chuo ee yore mag pur ee Awendo?
8. Ere pogruok ma osebiro nikech kelo mon mang'eny ee weche mag pur eii Awendo?

9. Bende ing'eyo chendro ma oseket kod sirikal mar miyo joma mon teko? Ka ing'eyo, to ere kaka chendro gi osekelo pogruok e kind pogruok manenitiere e pur ei Awendo.
10. Benede iparo ni sirikandwa kod sirikal ma moko oseketo chendro moromo mar kelo romruok en kind joma mon kod joma chuo kaka piny ngima dwaro? Ler ane.
11. Ere kaka chike mane opuodhi 2010 osekelo lokruok e kind joma mon kod joma chuo e weche mag pur ei Awendo?

APPENDIX E

Focus Group Discussion guide for Focus Group Discussion

Hello! My name is Ogol Reuben Ooko from your neighboring County of Homabay. I am a Master of Arts student in History at Maseno University in the Department of History and Archaeology. I am conducting a Field Research on the transformation of gender labour relations in agriculture in Awendo Sub-County 1902-2017.

I will be delighted if you will spare your time to respond to the questions I'm going to ask. Your honesty in answering the questions will be of much value to the study. Feel free to participate in the discussion and ask any question which is of concern. Your responses will be anonymous and confidential and will only be used strictly for academic and research purposes. I would also like to tape record as we discuss so that I can capture all the details accurately.

Sample questions for focus group discussion guide

1. Are the agricultural labour and family chores equitably shared between men and women? Explain.
2. To what extent is the government directly or through NGOs addressing gender inequalities in agriculture?
3. Are the agricultural firms in this area concerned with gender matters? Explain.
4. How is the 2010 constitution influencing gender labour relations in agriculture?
5. Do you know the mechanisms that are being put in place to address gender labour inequalities in agriculture in Awendo?
6. Do you think enough is being done to reduce gender labour inequalities in agriculture in Awendo? Explain.
7. Why do you think gender labour inequalities still persists in spite of the strategies?
8. What do you think should be done to fully achieve gender labour balance in agriculture in Awendo?
9. How many of you have land in their own names?

APPENDIX F.

Translated Interview scheduled for focus group discussion

Chenro mar nono wach ee chokruok ma opuodhi.

Amosou duto! Nyinga en Ogol Reuben Ooko. Aa e county ma bathu kaa ma en Homa Bay. Asomo mastas ee mbalarieny ma Maseno, bade man boma ma Maseno e department mar weche mag ndalo. Sani to atimo nonro ee wii wach mara ma en lokruok mag tije mag joma mon kod joma chuo ee tije mag pur ei Awendo chakre iga mar 1902 nyaka 2017.

Damor ka ukawo thuolo maru makende mondo uduok penjo ma abiro penjou. Duoko ma udhi chiwo ok bii ng'e gi ng'ato a ng'ata kendo ibitigo mana ee weche mag somoni. Daher ni mondo uchiwu adier ee duoko ma udhi miya. Bed uru thuolo mar penja penjo moro amora maduher. Adwa mako weche ma wadhi wacho ee simba kaa mondo wiya kik wil kod moko.

Ranyisi mag penjo mag chokruok makende

1. Bende tije puodho kod tije ot opog maromre ee kind joma chuo kod joma mon? Ler ane uru.
2. En tut mane ma sirikal owuon kata ka okaloe riuruoge ma ok mag sirikal konyo ee duoko chien pogruok manitiere ee kind joma mon kod joma chuo ee eweche mag pur?
3. En tut mane ma jogo ma malosso weche mag pur ng'iyoo winjruok mon kod chuo? Ler uru ane.
4. Ere kaka chike mag 2010 loko winjruok ee kind joma chuo kod mon ee weche mag pur.
5. Ler uru ane chendro ma oseketi mondo oduok chien pogruok maosebedo ee kind joma mon kod joma chuo ee pur ei Awendo.
6. Bende uparo ni gigo duto mitimo mondo oduok chien pogruok manitiere ee kind joma chuo kod joma mine ee tije mag pur ei Awendo oromo? Ler uru ane.
7. Uparo ni ang'o momiyo pogruok manitiere ee kind joma chuo kod joma mon otamore rumo kata ka chendro mang'eny oseketi mondo otieke?
8. Ere gima uparo ni ditim mondo joma chuo kod joma mon oromre ee tije mag pur ei Awendo.

N/B: A number of words and phrases in the translated copies depend on sounds. This should be taken into account while going through the copies so as to facilitating understanding.

G. ORAL INFORMANTS (OI) BASED ON ADMINISTRATIVE WARDS

NORTH SAKWA WARD			
S. No	Men	Approximated Age	Date Interviewed
1	Reuben Ombalo Nyagucha	91	April,2016
2	Marjorie Wasonga	83	April,2016
3	Gimora Okelo	70	April,2016
4	Lukas Arunga Ogola	74	April,2016
5	Peter Abang	67	April,2016
6	Enos Odida Otiato	79	April,2016
8	Adinijah Anjudo	70	April,2016
10	Michael Odhiambo O.	79	April, 2016
11	Moses Ooko Ong'adi	63	April,2016
12	Elly Abwao Odhiambo	54	April,2016
13	Daniel O. Onsare	77	April,2016

14	Ronald Ogutu Sungu	73	April,2016
15	Meshack Achungo O.	82	April,2016
16	Dickson Asembo Oyoo	43	April,2016
17	Benardus Oyoko	82	April,2016
18	George Omollo	34	April,2016
10	Eliud Otieno Onyango	54	April,2016
21	Fredrick Jumah	42	April,2016
22	Cavine Ouko Omollo	32	April,2016
23	Wilis Otieno	29	April,2016
24	Elisha Kenneth Odero	42	April,2016
25	Nyakwara Nyakweba	69	April,2016
26	Edwin Omondi Opiyo	59	April,2016
27	Adinijah Wachara	68	April,2016
28	Ezekiel Okumu	91	April,2016
S. No	Women	Approximated Age	Date Interviewed
1	Consolata MaongoOgwedhi	73	April,2016
2	Turphosa Jael	83	April,2016
3	Wilfrida Achieng	75	April,2016
4	Margret Akinyi O.	64	April,2016
5	Paulina Achieng Shiraty	61	April,2016
6	Jane Onyando	91	April,2016
7	Florence Adhiambo Alila	58	April,2016
8	Monica Auma	61	April,2016
9	Latrice Akinyi Odhiambo	43	April,2016
10	Jane Asembo Achieng	32	April,2016
11	Maureen Aoko Otieno	54	April,2016
12	Zainab Mochama	74	April,2016
13	Esther Ndhiwa Samba	71	April,2016
14	Moraa Nyakundi	67	April,2016
15	Milka Achunga Maroro	52	April,2016
16	Susan Akeyo Okuna	37	April,2016
17	Nyagowa Monica Achieng	35	April,2016
18	Philister Masitsa	68	March,2016
19	Jecinter Adhiambo O.	63	March,2016
20	Elizabeth Aloo Barrack	52	March,2016
21	Jane Otieno Akinyi	64	March,2016
24	Caroline Atieno Magadi	78	March,2016
25	Suslia Onyodhi	73	March,2016
26	Catherina Aoko Opondo	29	March,2016
27	Jane Otieno Muok	64	Various Dates
28	Catherine Aus	68	March,2016

29	Rebecca Awuor	82	March,2016
30	Regina Auma	67	March,2016
31	Jane Aela Ligawa	32	March,2016
CENTRAL SAKWA WARD			
S. No	Men	Approximated Age	Date Interviewed
1	Samwel Ongonjo O.	87	March,2016
2	Cleophas Nyundo	97	March,2016
3	James Owino	86	March,2016
4	Ochieng Wao	77	March,2016
5	Dan Odhiambo Ouma	53	July, 2016
6	Javan Mbelase Ochuodho	42	July, 2016
7	Benard Ouma Wao	43	July, 2016
8	Ligawa John Aela	70	July, 2016
9	Phoebe Aoko	71	July,2016
10	Benjamin Rapando	34	July, 2016
11	Odira Caroline Akinyi	53	July, 2016
12	Okello Evans Ochieng	51	July, 2016
13	Agutu Elias Onyango	82	August, 2016
14	Ibrahim Rogoncho	62	August, 2016
15	Joseph Nyauo	96	April, 2016
16	Joseph Okuna Odeny	81	August, 2016
17	Kennedy Wilford Oketch	65	August, 2016
18	George Owino Okeyo	59	August, 2016
19	Musa Kigungu Kamaliki	57	August, 2016
20	Jared Ochieng Okuna	66	August, 2016
21	Nashon Owiti	64	August, 2016
22	Amos Obuya Okuna	65	August, 2016
23	Joshua Onyango	28	August, 2016
24	Martin Wasonga Omolo	54	August, 2016
25	Ooko Obonyo	64	August, 2016
26	Julius Mbadi Mino	69	August, 2016
27	Douglas Ngudi Obonyo	72	August, 2016
28	Geoffrey Kennedy O.	75	August, 2016
29	Caleb Misiko Magugu	81	August, 2016
30	Oyagi Walter Okech	90	August, 2016
31	Joseph Okuna Olela	78	August, 2016
32	Stephen Okello Otieno	75	August, 2016
33	Magadi Okoth Dancan	80	August, 2016
34	Moses Owuor Alaro	71	August, 2016
S. No	Women	Approximated Age	Date Interviewed

1	Petronilla Nyamawi	82	July, 2016
2	Syprosa Kwadha	79	July, 2016
3	Mama Jane Muok	89	July, 2016
4	Nyamota Peres Winyo	74	July, 2016
5	Agutu Maenye	71	July, 2016
6	Otieno Rachel Atieno	64	July, 2016
7	Odero Mary Nyalando	67	July, 2016
8	Perez Aoko Oyuko	74	July, 2016
9	Beatrice Awuor Obora	53	July, 2016
10	Edith Nyaosi	61	July, 2016
11	Martha Banda Busene	53	July, 2016
12	Millicent Achieng Obong`o	44	July, 2016
13	Beatrice Ombalo	51	August, 2016
14	Benter Odhiambo Mino	59	August, 2016
15	Juliana Ranogwa Kiliano	77	August, 2016
16	Bethsheba Magwar	52	August, 2016
17	Justine Abich	47	August, 2016
18	Phoebe Awuondo	74	August, 2016
19	Zippora Mayodi Inyangu	91	August, 2016
20	Odoyo Okula Beautrice	69	August, 2016
21	Benedeta Owiti Udede	52	August, 2016
22	Syprose Awino	53	August, 2016
23	Jemima Onyango Midega	38	August, 2016
24	Josephine Abiero Akech	76	August, 2016
25	Mary Awiti Oriang	71	April, 2016
26	Achieng Benta Miwaya	70	August, 2016
27	Pamela Adhiambo Ouko	58	August, 2016
28	Joan Awuor	19	August, 2016
29	Kerina Atieno Obunga	35	August, 2016
30	Awili Penina Owili	67	August, 2016
31	Simwa Agufa Catherina	77	August, 2016
32	Mary Asoyo	68	August, 2016
33	Onyango Jamina Midega	68	August, 2016
34	Leah Musangiza Kamadi	56	August, 2016
35	Odenyo Tabitha Chacha	46	August, 2016
WEST SAKWA WARD			
S. No	Men	Approximated Age	Date Interviewed
1	Otieno Magadi	82	August, 2016
2	Ng'wen Isaya Ogola	81	August, 2016
3	Nyamboka Cleophas	78	August, 2016
4	John Lenaro Agufa;	84	August, 2016

5	James Ogola Marawa	78	August, 2016
6	Charles Odhiambo Nyamwanga	71	August, 2016
7	Ochieng Peter Omollo	72	August, 2016
8	Wycliffe Omondi Jobando	71	August, 2016
9	Pitalis Osieko Onduwi	75	August, 2016
10	John Odhiambo Oyuko	90	August, 2016
11	Jacob Oluoch Ogwe	81	August, 2016
12	Dismas Nyakwaka	69	August, 2016
13	Kenneth Kaunda Wagunda	61	November, 2016
14	Tabu Nelson Magadi	74	November, 2016
15	Owuor Zadok	81	November, 2016
16	Otieno Tobias Oliech	43	November, 2016
17	Fred Obara	61	November, 2016
18	Onono Paul	59	November, 2016
19	Mbuya Thomas Odera	76	November, 2016
20	Omari Victor Ayanga	74	November, 2016
21	Daglas Ochieng	34	November, 2016
22	Aboge Violet Jebiegon	27	November, 2016
23	Sylvanus Sumbe	88	November, 2016
24	Hudson Vosena Anzugira	58	November, 2016
25	Gilbert Nakhauka	36	November, 2016
26	Mourice Odhiambo Adede	83	November, 2016
27	Valentine Ogalo Deya	75	November, 2016
28	Charles Mboya Abuso	38	December, 2017
S. NO	WOMEN	Approximated Age	Date Interviewed
1	Nyambaka Odongo Petronilla	80	November, 2016
2	Elida Ouma Atieno	27	November, 2016
3	Aoko Josinta Magadi	74	November, 2016
4	Maria Nyakado	71	November, 2016
5	Hulda Adhiambo Ondiek	73	November, 2016
6	Philomena Aboge	58	November, 2016
7	Otieno Valerie Aluoch	52	November, 2016
8	Jeniffer Omune Ongono	76	November, 2016
9	Awino Florence Purvin	45	November, 2016
10	Beautrice Awuor Okoth	39	November, 2016
11	Imelda Mbuya Awuor	74	November, 2016
12	Penina Agola Adede	42	November, 2016
13	Grace Akoth Onguny	65	November, 2016
14	Carren Akoth Omitta	32	November, 2016
15	Florence Achieng Ngwen	68	November, 2016

16	Kareti Lilian Atieno	28	November, 2016
17	Beldina Muhonja	64	November, 2016
18	Mary Achola Marienga	79	November, 2016
19	Fanice Nyagoha Adego	53	November, 2016
20	Sabina Adhiambo Nyatigo	33	November, 2016
21	Phanice Mijungu Adoyo	46	November, 2016
22	Mildred Akeyo Mijungu	46	November, 2016
23	Martha Sandy Alila	59	November, 2016
24	Valarie Okuna Licheri	35	November, 2016
25	Benta Adhiambo Otieno	68	November, 2016
26	Mary Atieno Odwar	64	November, 2016
27	Julia Okumu Akumu	40	November, 2016
28	Akinyi Grace Onyango	79	November, 2016
SOUTH SAKWA WARD			
S. No	Men	Approximated Age	Date Interviewed
1	Kenyani Mwachi	71	December, 2016
2	Sospeter Amungo	61	December, 2016
3	Caleb Abwao Odundo	81	December, 2016
4	Euphilus Okwany	96	December, 2016
5	Samwel Maxwel Olanya	56	December, 2016
6	Deya Valentine Ogalo	59	December, 2016
7	Dan Odhiambo Oyollah	45	December, 2016
8	Otieno Simon Ouma	71	December, 2016
9	Jared Ouma Wagunda	76	December, 2016
10	Arthur Ouma Okeyo	34	December, 2016
11	Odoyo Milwala Kennedy	94	Various Dates,16
12	Elijah Otieno	74	December, 2016
13	Opanga Oluoch Dismas	87	December, 2016
14	John Oyoo Oyola	53	December, 2016
15	Hosea Kihali Omedo	79	December, 2016
16	Francis Mugara Ambula	45	December, 2016
17	Jackson Odiero Ayoma	76	December, 2016
18	Omolo Wilis Otieno	67	December, 2016
19	Fredrick Owalo	52	December, 2016
20	Simeon Dima Ondiek	43	December, 2016
21	Isaac Okoth Dima	49	December, 2016
22	Owino Elly	76	December, 2016
23	Okumu Joel Otieno	76	December, 2016
24	John Onditi Okumu	71	December, 2016
25	Joseph Omondi Otieno	37	December, 2016
26	Wilis Otieno Omolo	47	December, 2016

27	Jackson Ochieng Oyola	39	December, 2016
28	Samuel Kiche Ojow	82	December, 2016
30	Joshua Iramuka Radigo	68	December, 2016
31	Fanuel Owili Owili	58	December, 2016
32	James Odongo Muga	75	December, 2016
33	John Otieno Odongo	79	December, 2016
34	Joseph Odhiambo Ogola	68	December, 2016
35	Andrew Tambo Ochieng	49	December, 2016
36	Moses Ogola Odongo	48	December, 2016
37	Peter Omondi Siwolo	86	December, 2016
38	Joshua Owino Alaro	79	December, 2016
39	Jared Osodo	67	December, 2016
40	Tobias Odhiambo Obura	59	January, 2017
41	Ochieng Pamba Remjus	87	January, 2017
42	George Ochieng Deya	36	January, 2017
43	Kennedy Otieno Ooko	76	January, 2017
44	Richard Ochieng Odwar	82	January, 2017
45	Tobias Okumu Okinyi	58	January, 2017
S.No	Women	Approximated Age	Date Interviewed
1	Jane Akelo Oiro	87	December, 2016
2	Abura Julia	80	December, 2016
3	Adongo Yukabeth Ondiek	77	December, 2016
4	Florida Adhiambo	73	December, 2016
5	Akinyi Achola Benedeta	80	December, 2016
6	Hellen Matolo	42	December, 2016
7	Akello Paulina Ouma	83	December, 2016
8	Omenda Sethphina Oyugi	51	December, 2016
9	Obura Lilian Akinyi	75	December, 2016
10	Elida Okwanyo	49	December, 2016
11	Hulda Aoko	68	December, 2016
12	Odhiambo Cecil Omwanda	59	December, 2016
13	Hamida Odipo	26	December, 2016
14	Alice Wandera	73	December, 2016
15	Beryl Rajula	51	December, 2016
16	Mariam Undisa	63	December, 2016
17	Naomi Osewe	58	December, 2016
18	Perez Abel	76	December, 2016
19	Sunita Tambo	63	December, 2016
20	Sheillah Othino	41	December, 2016
21	Roselyn Olewe	27	December, 2016

22	Victoria Apondi	79	December, 2016
23	Proscovia Obilla	36	December, 2016
24	Loice Omwandho	69	December, 2016
25	Helda Oludhe	61	December, 2016
26	Sylvia Omuot	68	December, 2016
27	Percilla Rajoro	46	December, 2016
28	Okoth Beatrice Akinyi	43	December, 2016
29	Franciska Oyola Ochieng	37	December, 2016
30	Laurine Nyanyama Ochieng	27	December, 2016
31	Freda Olali	61	December, 2016
32	Veronica Orangea	58	December, 2016
33	Phidelia Moraya	52	December, 2016
34	Norah Owiye	64	January, 2017
35	Rosebela Abongo Ayoo	52	January, 2017
36	Prisca Okech Ojala	25	January, 2017
37	Jesca Rabuor	37	January, 2017
38	Tembura Mujinde Saboke	69	January, 2017
39	Truphena Nyakado	64	January, 2017
40	Herina Ojala	72	January, 2017
41	Jael Akumu Odingo	79	January, 2017
42	Molly Akinyi Okuna	90	January, 2017
43	Lilian Everlyne Otieno	83	January, 2017
44	Jenipher Omwoka	32	December 2017

H. INTERVIEWEES FROM THE SONY SUGAR COMPANY (Main Agro-Based Company in the Sub-County).

The Manager (The Chief Executive Officer)

Chairman Gender Mainstreaming

Head of Corporate Organization

Senior Field Supervisors

Engineering Dept.

Collins Oduor

Benjamin Nyakwadha

- Jane Pamela

- Tom Ondiek

- Ruth Opole

1. Pamela Ojwang

2. Alice Ojow

3. Onyango Benard

4. Akoth Henry Ochieng

- Elida Okwanyo

Lower Nyanza WEF Officer

in-charge, Migori.

Awendo Sub- County agricultural Extension officer