

This work is licensed under a
Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-
NoDerivs 3.0 Licence.

To view a copy of the licence please see:
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>

RN - 316672.

THE WOMEN'S GROUP PROGRAMME
IN THE S.R.D.P.

by

A.O. Pala, J.E. Reynolds,
M.A.H. Wallis and D.L. Browne

Occasional Paper No. 13

INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

P.O. Box 30197

Nairobi, Kenya

1975

IDS



087668

Views expressed in this paper are those of the authors. They should not be interpreted as reflecting the views of the Institute for Development of Studies or of the University of Nairobi.

THE WOMEN'S GROUP PROGRAMME
IN THE S.R.D.P.

by

A.O. Pala, J.E. Reynolds,
M.A.H. Wallis and D.L. Browne

CONTENTS

The Women's Group Programme in the S.R.D.P., by A.O. Pala, J.E. Reynolds and M.A.H. Wallis	1
The Case Studies: Kapenguria, by J.E. Reynolds	29
Case Study: Kwale, by D.L. Browne and A.O. Pala	52
Case Study: Mbere, by M.A.H. Wallis	62
Case Study: Migori/Kuria, by A.O. Pala	70
Case Study: Tetu, by D.L. Browne	80
Case Study: Vihiga/Hamisi, by J.E. Reynolds	92
Bibliography	105

THE WOMEN'S GROUP PROGRAMME
IN THE S.R.D.P.

by

A.O. Pala, J.E. Reynolds,
M.A.H. Wallis and D.L. Browne

ABSTRACT

This paper is based primarily on research carried out as part of the Second Overall Evaluation of the Special Rural Development Programme conducted by the Institute for Development Studies in 1975. The paper begins with a general description and evaluation of the Women's Group Programme and then presents case studies of the six S.R.D.P. areas: Kapenguria, Kwale, Mbere, Migori/Kuria, Tetu and Vihiga/Hamisi. For each area, a brief description is given of the women who attended the leaders training courses offered as part of the Programme. The courses themselves are also described. Membership figures are given for the women's groups in the six areas, as well as brief accounts of group activities and plans. Finally, the role of local government officers is described - the frequency of contacts, the specific offices and ministries involved, and the nature of the assistance given.

In general, the Women's Group Programme is found to be a successful effort in the field of rural development which should be continued and expanded. A number of recommendations are made for improvement, both of the Programme in general and in specific S.R.D.P. areas. The broad participation and increased cooperation of a number of ministries and other agencies is recommended, both at the national level and in the field. It is also suggested that the objectives and curricula of the courses for women's leaders be brought more sharply into focus. Emphasis should also be placed on new approaches to income generation for women's groups, in addition to the traditional focus on family welfare and handicrafts.

The general section of this paper appeared as Chapter Fifteen of I.D.S. Occasional Paper No. 12, and the case studies first appeared as I.D.S. Working Papers Nos. 231 - 236.

THE WOMEN'S GROUPS PROGRAMME IN THE S.R.D.P.

by

A.O. Pala, J.E. Reynolds and M.A.H. Wallis

INTRODUCTION

Our evaluation of the Women's Group Programme is based on fieldwork in all six of the S.R.D.P. areas. In addition to interviews with various Government officials, personnel from non-governmental agencies working with the Programme (Programmes for Better Family Living of the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organisation (PBFL/FAO), UNICEF, the Family Planning Association and Partnership for Productivity) and women's group leaders and members, we have consulted a number of documents -- primarily Government reports and publications of PBFL/FAO. This section includes an overall discussion and recommendations for the Programme, together with some recommendations for the specific S.R.D.P. areas. In the following sections, case studies will be presented which trace the Programme in more detail in specific S.R.D.P. areas.

The 1972 I.D.S. Evaluation of S.R.D.P. paid little attention to the Women's Programme. There is a one-page description of the Kapenguria experience and that is all. However, the Programme calls for more detailed analysis as its contribution to the S.R.D.P. is in fact of some importance. The principles of the Programme seem to be well in line with those of the S.R.D.P.

The background and development of the Programme has been described in PBFL Report No. 14. (15) As this Report notes:

The Women's Group Programme is more of an extension approach than a single programme. It is concerned with some parts of many programmes, designed and executed by different agencies, but for the benefit of the same rural family and farmer.

The major objectives are:

- a) To revitalise and strengthen women's groups in the rural areas through enabling them to make effective use of local resources such as personnel and materials;
- b) To increase the influence of group activities on the welfare of the group member's family; and
- c) To establish more functional connections between group activities and development of the community. (p. 8)

The first formal Government-sponsored programme for women can be

traced to the early 1950s when the Department of Community Development decided to form an organisation intended to promote development amongst women in rural areas. This new body was called Maendeleo ya Wanawake. The Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organisation was preceded by and co-existed with a large number of more local-level groups which formed an integral part of indigenous social institutions in various parts of the country. These local-level solidarity groups, being more closely linked with processes in their societies, were and are able to play a far more active and substantial role at the local level than the national organisation. The ngwatio among the Kikuyu, the risaga among the Gusii and saga among the Luo are historically all groups associated with mutual aid efforts in the spheres of agriculture and home and community improvement and welfare. The intention of the S.R.D.P. was to build on the foundation provided by such indigenous groups and to some extent the more recently created Maendeleo ya Wanawake body.

The Women's Programme involves experimentation in the area of leaders' training and subsequent follow-up by field staff. The idea is to select leaders of existing groups and train them in a variety of fields related to family welfare and community development (e.g. nutrition, vegetable growing and poultry-keeping). The leaders then go back to their groups and pass on the acquired knowledge to the members. The trainers, who are also to be responsible for the follow-up exercise, are supposed to be drawn from all departments whose activities are in any way related to the Programme, such as the Department of Social Services and the Ministries of Agriculture, Cooperatives and Health; in this way, there is an attempt to make this a genuinely integrated programme, unlike the less systematic approach to women's groups which the Department of Social Services (D.S.S.) and Home Economics section of the Ministry of Agriculture have had in the past. In addition, a thorough monitoring and evaluating component has been designed for the Programme, through which detailed information on the situation of each group in each area is to be obtained. The Programme has also tried to meet the S.R.D.P. principle of replicability. In mid-1974, a workshop was held in order to assess how far this could be done. (See P.B.F.L. Report No. 14 (15) and Report No. 15 (16).) Steps are now being taken to extend the Programme to various non-S.R.D.P. areas in the country.

Although we identify in the following discussion a variety of problems and areas where there is scope for improvement in the Programme as it has been implemented thus far, we take a strongly positive general view of the effort to date. There is a solid case for the existence and

continuation in an expanded form of a development programme focussed on rural women.

Access and Equity

Women constitute the majority of Kenya's rural population - about 66 to 67 per cent - and, in an economy that is basically agricultural, they carry the main burden of farming work. In addition, rural women play a very important management role in the farming and domestic spheres, and their contribution to self-help efforts across the country, both by joining the men in local communities and by carrying out action on their own, is of major importance. The substantial workload carried by rural women both in Kenya and in other African countries has been reported in a number of studies. (See 1, 9, 11, 13, 18, 19 and 20.) It has also been noted that since a large number of men in Kenya leave the countryside to look for work elsewhere, rural women have assumed an even greater share of agricultural and community improvement work than before. (See 4, 9, 20, 21 and 22.)

Up to the present, extension activities in the agricultural and cooperative development sectors have shown little recognition of the tremendous part which women in fact play in maintaining and improving rural welfare. It is widely recognised that extension activities carried out by Government agencies and their personnel tend to concentrate on more 'progressive' elements in local communities and thus often overlook those who stand most in need of assistance and who would benefit most from such activities. (7, p. 153) It is perhaps less widely realised that the population of 'forgotten farmers' is predominantly female.

We note that the problem of access and equity for women in Kenya has already been extensively reviewed in the I.L.O. Report and recommendations made for possible solutions. As the I.L.O. Report states, "The specific problems of the integration of women in the economy and in society seem important enough from all standpoints to warrant special and sustained attention." (7, p. 299) We also note that the Kenya Government response to this section of the Report contained in Sessional Paper No. 10 on Employment did not really adequately address itself to the issues raised. Indeed, it was merely observed that, "The Government is not aware of overt discrimination against women in the country. Women are employed in important positions in the Armed Forces, in the Police, in the Prisons and in the Government as well as in the private sector." (8, para. 241, p. 64)

Past policy has tended to ignore the real place women have in subsistence and development activities and this has been reflected in the neglect of women in the channelling of the informational, organisational and material facilities needed to capitalise on locally available development resources. As long as this state of affairs continues, a valuable major development resource base will be wasted.

Contributions of the Programme Thus Far

In terms of gains achieved through this particular Programme, several significant contributions can be identified.

The attempt to involve various relevant ministries and agencies in a joint effort to plan, administer and follow-up women leaders' training courses has been very productive. The integrated approach stems from the realisation that development cannot and should not be viewed as taking place in mutually exclusive sectors, and that Government structures and functions regrettably tend to operate as if such sectors were a true reflection of development events on the ground. The Women's Programme has provided a practical demonstration of the feasibility and desirability of cooperation among ministries and agencies in planning and administering leaders' training courses. Such joint effort is no small achievement given the strong spirit of departmentalism which sometimes can be observed among Government officers. The emphasis on cooperation among personnel from different Government departments has also been carried over to some extent to group follow-up and extension activities. A sustained effort to monitor group activities and progress following the training of leaders, and to foster the implementation of lessons learnt in training through the provision of extension services, is critical to the success of the leadership training strategy. Although there is clearly a need for significant improvement in the degree of inter-ministerial cooperation in these basic field-level activities, the Programme has certainly helped to encourage the idea. This point came out several times during the course of field investigations in interviews with extension and supervisory staff.

A related point is the emphasis the Programme puts on the group approach to extension efforts. This is a highly welcome development. The group approach has distinct advantages: in the first place, when an extension officer visits a women's group, it is possible to address a far larger audience than would be found on visits to individual homes and farms; secondly, the group approach has a built-in follow-up capacity that is lacking in the one-to-one approach. After the extension officer has

left, the lessons or advice which were given can be built on and reinforced as the group members collectively consider and act upon the new ideas. What we see emerging from the Women's Programme is a pattern in which extension teams are joining together with client teams to work for development. It is important to note that the potential client teams -- women's groups -- already widely exist on the ground, thus providing a ready context for the application of group extension strategies. This fact should not be overlooked when it comes to the implementation of such programmes as Maternal and Child Health/Family Planning (MCH/FP) projects planned by the Ministry of Health.

There has been some progress towards the Programme's three objectives of encouraging women's groups in general by opening access to resources, of fostering connections between group activity and family welfare on the one hand and between group activity and community development on the other:-

1. The training of group leaders has been linked to increased group membership in some cases. (16, p. 55)
2. Groups with trained leaders are in effect receiving extension services far more consistently than previously was the case; the leaders themselves are providing these services. This fact is appreciated by group members themselves, judging from comments made during interviews.
3. There has been an improvement in the focus and direction of group activities. The need for careful planning and organisation is being increasingly recognised by the groups, many of which have suffered in the past from overly casual definitions of goals and a consequent diffusion of efforts.
4. At the same time, a re-orientation of attitudes has been encouraged in many cases as women begin to perceive a new meaning in the group experience, to see a broader relevance between the group and their day-to-day concerns. The pre-independence 'women's clubs' functioning under the auspices (or direction) of Government or voluntary agencies sometimes had the closed and non-utilitarian character of a sewing circle. (See 19, p. 81.) Such an orientation persists even now in certain cases, but is fortunately on the decline. It is our view that this re-orientation in attitudes has been fostered by increased awareness of the availability of new

options for women, particularly in the areas of community development and income generation. This increased awareness is especially noteworthy amongst groups in poorer regions less well endowed with resources for group development. The development of a new outlook can be traced in turn to enhanced group consciousness and confidence and to a better appreciation of what is available in the way of tools (materials and expertise) for a group to use for self-development. The question of income generation for women's groups has proven difficult as we shall discuss later.

While it is unfortunate that a number of the income generating projects which different groups have initiated either have not got off the ground or have fared poorly, it is too early to form any negative conclusions about the general long-term prospects. As we note later, a major problem has been the lack of sound advice from the proper quarters. At present, the fact that women's groups are increasingly thinking in terms of new commercial endeavours, such as trading ventures, posho mills and poultry projects, is significant in itself.

5. In the areas of group activities and home and community development it is clear that the Programme is having a positive impact. On the social welfare side, group members have been encouraged in a number of activities aimed at home improvement, ranging from improving family nutrition, child care practices and home gardening to the building of better fire-places or latrines. On the community side, groups have engaged in such activities as adult literacy classes, communal labour on group plots, and self-help projects such as the construction of multi-purpose meeting halls which serve community as well as group interests.

THE GROUPS

The basic elements of the Programme are, of course, the women's groups in the local areas. In this section, we present some of the main features of these groups.

It can be said that women's groups both within and outside the S.R.D.P. areas fall into two broad types of orientation. In the first place, there is the social welfare type, which is the predominant one. Here the

concern is to improve the living conditions in members' households and the local community. A group may devote its attention to such matters as improved nutrition and child care practices, home improvement such as helping members to replace thatch with iron roofing or to develop better water supplies, etc., or self-help activities aimed at community development such as the construction of a health centre or a nursery school. Many of these groups also engage in recreational activities such as singing and dancing, sometimes for community entertainment, and sports.

The second type of group orientation is the commercial type, where the primary focus is income generation. Commercial goals may be achieved in a variety of ways. For example, a group may set up a small enterprise such as a bus service or a posho mill; or it may set itself up as a savings society through which registered members can borrow money for various investment purposes. (For a further discussion of group types, see 23.)

While these two types can be distinguished, it is useful to think of them as complementary rather than mutually exclusive categories. It will be found that the two orientations generally co-exist as different activities of the same groups, but they are emphasised differently from area to area. The commercial orientation is most pronounced among groups located in relatively well-developed areas; outside of these areas, social welfare activities are paramount. The relative emphasis placed on these different activities can also change over time. Groups may pass through an earlier phase in which social welfare concerns are primary and during which a stable membership and cohesive outlook are acquired. This provides a foundation for a later phase in which commercial projects receive greater emphasis, although attention is still directed to the social welfare side as well. The mabati/savings groups in Tetu can sometimes be seen in these terms. Groups in Taita/Taveta and mabati groups in Mathira Division in Nyeri provide even stronger examples of this pattern. A similar phenomenon has been observed in an urban setting in Nakuru. (see 23.)

The Mbai sya Eitu (literally, clan of girls) in Machakos District is an example of a women's organisation which has assumed a strong political and economic role at the local level and plays a leading part in soliciting funds for self-help projects in the area which the members choose to support for political reasons. This group has increased its fund-raising capacity as a result of the political influence it has acquired at the grass roots level. (See 12.)

While some of the groups are quite old and trace their origins to pre-colonial times, others can be linked to programmes from the early 1950s and still others have originated since S.R.D.P. was begun. Two basic modes of group formation seem to be operating at the present time: first, a group may be initiated as a result of the internal dynamics of an already existing group; secondly, external mechanisms may come into play, where either individuals or organisations stimulate group formation. In the first mode, women's groups build on primary foundations of solidarity groupings such as indigenous mutual aid teams and religious associations. For instance, a group of women who belong to an agricultural work group may see the need to organise themselves in a somewhat more formal fashion in order to improve their position by collectively bargaining for access to services which can be obtained through local politicians or Government programmes. Again, members of a cooperative society or a church group may decide that more needs to be done to mobilise women for local development efforts and they may therefore encourage the establishment of a women's group.

A group can also be formed through influences from outside the local community. Groups may be organised through the efforts of: (1) individual women who have had training in homecraft and related skills through programmes in the early 1950s or more recently at an urban homecraft centre; (2) wives of prominent local persons such as businessmen, clergymen or politicians; or (3) a locational Community Development Assistant, Home Economics Assistant, Nutritionist or a field worker from a voluntary agency such as Partnership for Productivity. In this last case, a field worker may undertake to organise a group out of personal interest and initiative and/or as a representative of a particular agency whose policy is to encourage women's groups. Such field workers often work in cooperation with local leaders and pre-existing solidarity groups such as school committees or church groups. Thus, what we have labelled as two categories are once again not to be viewed as mutually exclusive but as complementary. Both mechanisms of group formation may be active in the early stages of a group.

Group Membership

We are unable to give precise figures on group membership and average group size within the S.R.D.P. areas. The statistics available from our field investigations and various Government and PBFL reports are not always consistent. Although it is difficult to obtain reliable figures for all areas, we present the following statistics as a rough approximation of membership.

Table 1. Membership of women's groups in S.R.D.P. areas.

SRDP Area	No. of Groups	Recorded Membership
Kapenguria ^a	33	500
Vihiga/Hamisi	43	1312
Migori/Kuria ^b	34	680
Mbere	25	950
Tetu	71	4328
Kwale	23	280
TOTAL	229	8050

a. Accounts of group membership in Kapenguria vary significantly among sources. The figures cited above represent a best estimate based on field investigations and correction for the low and high extremes of figures recorded in official reports.

b. There is a marked discrepancy between D.S.S. reports which recorded 23 groups with a membership of 321 and a P.B.F.L./F.A.O. report which recorded 34 groups with 680 members for the same year (1974) in the Migori/Kuria S.R.D.P. area. The P.B.F.L. figures are the more reliable ones in our assessment.

The size of individual groups varies from a low of around ten members to a high of several hundred. Where membership fees are collected, it sometimes happens that a group has an 'official' (regular and paying) membership and a much larger 'unofficial' (irregular and non-paying) membership.

One should be cautious about assuming that groups with large memberships are more successful. For one thing, women's groups, like harambee groups, tend to be larger, better organised and more active in areas with sedentary populations where cash cropping and diary farming flourish and ensure steady cash returns to farmers. Secondly, group membership tends to be higher in areas of high population density and lower in less populated regions. Thus, membership figures should be interpreted with reference to the general development and population density of the areas where the groups are located.

Group Activities

As previously noted, women's groups are involved in a variety of activities, some of which are primarily directed towards home and community welfare while others are primarily commercial. As has also been

indicated above, commercial and social welfare activities are emphasised differently in the six S.R.D.P. areas. Groups located in relatively less developed areas which lack a strong pattern of cash crop production or other income generating employment tend to have a weaker commercial orientation. Groups in Kwale and especially in Tetu are much more involved in commercial activities than are groups in Migori/Kuria and Kapenguria, for example.

Table 2. Women's group activities.

A. Activities undertaken in regular meetings (including lessons/demonstrations given by Government extension officers and group leaders):-

- Adult literacy
- Cookery
- Nutrition
- Child care
- Family planning
- Home hygiene
- First aid
- Vegetable gardening
- Crop and animal husbandry
- Handicraft work (e.g., pottery, basketry, beadwork, sewing, knitting, etc.)
- Entertainment (e.g., singing, dancing, sports)

B. Self-help activities:-

- Construction of multipurpose halls (group and community meeting halls, day-care centres, adult literacy centres)
- Home and community improvement (e.g., developing water supplies, installing mabati roofs or improved fire-places and latrines)
- Saving/credit arrangements for members

C. Income generating activities:-

- Poultry-keeping
- Produce sales
- Labour teams (e.g., farming work, roofing houses)
- Production and sale of building blocks
- Handicraft sales
- Savings/credit societies

The preceding list, though not exhaustive, provides a fuller picture of the range of group activities. It should be noted that in several instances both social welfare and commercial objectives are served by the same activity. For example, poultry keeping and vegetable gardening have a nutritional value for group members' families and should not be judged solely in terms of economic gain. Again, some types of handicrafts can either be marketed or used in members' homes. Even dancing

can have a commercial aspect when a group is paid to perform at a local ceremony.

Groups generally meet once or twice weekly. The venue may be a local church or school, the group's own hall, a member's house or outdoors under a tree. The fact that many groups lack an adequate meeting place is the reason why the construction of a group hall is so often given priority attention.

THE ORGANISATIONS INVOLVED

If any agency may be said to have overall responsibility for the Women's Programme it is the Department of Social Services (D.S.S.). S.R.D.P. officers in Nairobi have often taken an initiating and coordinating role, but in the field these tasks are performed by the officers of D.S.S. The central figure in the field is the Assistant Community Development Officer (ACDO) who is responsible for arranging the leaders' training courses as well as the follow-up activities through which group progress is monitored. In this task the ACDOs are assisted by other D.S.S. staff, as well as staff from other ministries and departments, especially Health, Agriculture and Cooperatives. These other ministries are more involved with the Programme in the field than at the national level. The main voluntary body which has played a part in the Programme is the Family Planning Association of Kenya. In the Vihiga/Hamisi area, Partnership for Productivity has also had an input. Interestingly, the Maendeleo ya Wanawake organisation has not been involved at the national level, and neither has the National Council of Women of Kenya.

The donor arrangements differ from those normally applied to S.R.D.P. The costs of the Programme are borne primarily by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), which has financed development programmes for women in Kenya since 1957. Another U.N. body, P.B.F.L./F.A.O., has substantially contributed to the Programme in the capacity of both a funding and consulting agency for D.S.S. P.B.F.L. has prepared materials, organised leaders' training courses and workshops for the trainers, and worked on group follow-up. D.S.S. has assigned one officer to work with P.B.F.L. -- first on a half-time basis, then full-time since the 74/75 financial year. Currently this officer is assisting with efforts to extend the Programme to twelve other districts in the country.

COSTS

Funding for the Programme has been drawn from UNICEF and P.B.F.L. Tables 3 and 4 indicate the amount of allocation and expenditure from the

two agencies since the inception of the Programme in 1972.

In addition to UNICEF and P.B.F.L. funds, part of the D.S.S. budget allocation for training has been utilised for the Women's Programme, though the figures have not been available because D.S.S. expenditures on training had not been presented in a disaggregated form by mid-1975. However, D.S.S. officials were preparing such figures, and they should be available at some future date. It is noteworthy that a token sum of £10 has been set aside in the 75-76 financial year for activities pertaining to women in development. This is significant as an indication of Government's recognition of the Women's Programme. It will now be possible to submit budget requests for expanding Women's Programme activities in this and subsequent financial years if convincing proposals are made.

There appears to have been some difficulty in disbursing UNICEF funds allocated for equipment for women's groups whose leaders have received training through the Programme. The principal reason for non-expenditure, according to the S.R.D.P. officers at D.S.S. headquarters, is that previously equipment was wasted which had been purchased for groups who were not ready to use it. Some equipment fell into disuse or was misdirected to persons outside the groups. A cautious attitude was therefore adopted lest this experience be repeated. Disbursal of these funds is now long overdue, however, since there are a great many sufficiently well-organised groups now in existence. As of mid-1975, steps are finally being taken to clear this matter up. D.S.S. has requested lists of funding needs from women's groups and is forwarding this information to UNICEF.

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Finance

The Women's Programme has not been financed in the normal S.R.D.P. way. The principal donors have been U.N. agencies, UNICEF and P.B.F.L./F.A.O. However, this arrangement has not enabled the Programme to be altogether free from inter-agency organisational problems. Until recent staff changes, UNICEF's officers had a poor understanding of S.R.D.P. and did not cooperate fully with the Department of Social Services. Delays in disbursing UNICEF funds can be partly accounted for by poor communication between the two agencies. On the other hand, P.B.F.L./F.A.O. seems to have been able to work fairly closely and harmoniously with the D.S.S., but not with UNICEF. It would be beneficial to the Programme if all the participating agencies had a clearer understanding of their respective roles and relationships.

Central Government Administration

Another problem at the national level is that the Programme has been considered to 'belong' to the D.S.S. by other ministries which should be fully involved themselves. This can create difficulties in the field. A Public Health Officer in Tetu, for example, may not feel he can become actively involved in the Women's Programme unless he is assured of support from the senior officers at ministry headquarters. In one case the participation of a Home Economics Officer in a training course for women leaders in Kwale was questioned by Ministry of Agriculture personnel at the provincial level. The involvement of M.O.A. staff in various aspects of the Programme is crucial, yet here inter-ministerial cooperation seemed to be impeded because there were no strong signals of M.O.A. commitment transmitted down the administrative channels.

Field Level Integration

Despite difficulties at the national level, the Women's Programme has probably fared better than most as an integrated programme in the field. Cooperation among different departments is especially evident in the leaders' training courses and the associated trainers' workshops, as demonstrated by the course syllabi. However, there are instances where the Programme has not achieved a high level of integration. In Mbere, for example, at one point the M.O.A.'s Home Economics Division and the D.D.S. each had 'their' groups. Even now, although inter-agency cooperation may be valued in the abstract by field personnel, the concept often proves difficult to put into practice, for example in the areas of group follow-up and extension activities aimed at reinforcing lessons learnt during the training course. Also, little cooperation was observed in the provision of transport, and possibilities for allowing several different Government workers to visit groups together by sharing a vehicle have not been fully exploited. In order to facilitate communication and cooperation among departments in the field, a newsletter could be circulated among Government personnel, as has been done in Vihiga/Hamisi.

On a more general level, it seems that the field staff of some ministries, such as Health and Agriculture, are trained to think in terms of dealing with the individual patient or farmer. The Women's Programme, however, is organised on community development or group principles. This has produced misunderstandings. The long-run solution is to give all

Table 3. UNICEF budget for Women's Group Programme (U.S. dollars).

TRANSPORT, SUPPLY AND EQUIPMENT	BUDGETED			TOTAL	ACTUALLY EXPENDED	BALANCE NOT SPENT
	1973 \$	1974 \$	1975 \$	73/75 \$	\$	\$
Equipment for Trained Women's Groups	-	3,900	7,800	11,700	Nil	11,700
Field Supervisors (1 Land Rover)	-	4,000	-	4,000	Nil	4,000
NON-SUPPLY						
Women's Leaders Basic Course	500	20,000	5,400	25,900	3,882	22,018
Seminars and Conferences	2,600	20,000	17,900	40,500	4,402	36,098
Community Develop- ment Assistants and Youth Leaders Course	7,300	-	-	7,300	7,300	Nil
	<u>10,400</u>	<u>47,900</u>	<u>31,100</u>	<u>89,400</u>	<u>15,584</u>	<u>73,816</u>
Freight	-	500	-	500		
	<u>10,400</u>	<u>48,400</u>	<u>31,100</u>	<u>89,900</u>		

Source: Pala (13).

Table 4. P.B.F.L. expenditure on Women's Programme (U.S. dollars and K. shillings).

June - Dec 1972	\$ 1,894 00	Kshs 13,523/-
Jan. - Dec 1973	2,380.00	17,000/-
Jan - Dec. 1974	4,301.00	30,711/-
Jan - May 1975	8,092 00	57,777/-
TOTAL (June 1972 - May 1975)	\$16,667.00	Kshs 119,011/-
UNSPENT TOTAL FOR		
1975/77	\$52,451.00	Kshs 374,500/-

Note: P.B.F.L. funds have been used for the following purposes:

1. Petrol and subsistence allowance for fieldwork,
2. Workshops,
3. Educational materials, and
4. Evaluation survey.

A further \$2,661.00 (Kshs 19,000/-) has been spent in connection with the Report and Evaluation Study. P.B.F.L. personnel have also devoted a considerable amount of their time to the Programme, so that in effect one P.B.F.L. officer has been working full time on the Programme since 1974. In terms of salary, this represents a total of \$9,804.00 (Kshs 70,000/-).

ministry field staff some kind of training in working with groups. It is understood that the newly established Bukura Institute of Agriculture in Western Province is making this welcome innovation.

Income generation for women's groups is an area in which dramatic improvement needs to be made in the integration of national and local Government efforts, as will be discussed in the following section.

Income Generation

Women's groups throughout the S.R.D.P. areas are engaged in a number of commercial, income-generating projects. To elaborate the earlier listing, these include such things as the sale of garden produce derived from both individual members' and group plots; the production and sale of various handicraft items for tourist and local markets such as pottery, basketry, sewn or knitted clothing, decorative items such as embroidery and beadwork, simple home utensils, farm implements and furniture; poultry-keeping; production and sale of building blocks; and the formation of savings/credit

societies. Many groups earn money occasionally by working as labour teams. This may take the form of work on private farms during times of peak activity -- weeding, harvesting, bush-clearing, etc.; or it may involve roofing a building, cementing walls or doing other sorts of home repair/improvement work. Interest in commercial activities among the groups seems very high. Even groups that are not actually engaged in such activities at least have plans to do so in the near future. In addition to the enterprises listed above, some of the groups are interested in starting other sorts of operations, such as posho mills, small shops for craft and consumer items and cooperative marketing ventures in which a number of groups within one area would join forces.

A number of groups have achieved modest successes in their income-generating activities. For example, a group in Kwale has made a profit raising poultry, one group in Mbere has earned money by providing farm labour and some groups in Vihiga/Hamisi have made modest profits selling garden produce, handicraft items and building blocks. On the whole, however, the Women's Programme has not enabled many groups so far to generate a significant income: in areas such as Tetu where mabati/savings groups have achieved significant commercial success, the pattern for group activity was well developed before the advent of S.R.D.P.

Handicraft and produce sales are perhaps the most popular approaches to income generation. By and large these supply only negligible returns, although they would be somewhat more profitable if marketing organisation were adequately developed. In some areas it was observed that certain groups seemed preoccupied with the idea of making and selling rather elaborate sewn and knitted items, such as embroidered doilies and the like, or children's wool socks and pullovers, for which adequate markets simply do not exist. As consumer articles, such things are outside the scope of local household priorities and budgets. Furthermore, the knitted items rarely become part of the rural household's functional clothing collection owing to the high cost of materials used and intensive nature of the labour involved in producing them. While it can be observed that the production and display of such fancy goods serves as a status indicator for some, there is no question that these activities also serve to create a false sense of elevated status for persons and families whose resources may be extremely limited. (See 5, p. 70.) If in these instances income generation is the real aim, as group members assert that it is, then extension workers should seek to rechannel group efforts into more productive activities.

The widespread practice of women's groups forming labour teams for hire, which might be seen as a contemporary variation on a traditional theme, viz., the mutual aid work party, has limited income-generating potential due to constraints on group members' time, given their own farming and domestic duties, and on the availability of employment at meaningful wages. One possibility which does not seem to have been considered is to offer women's groups (along with local self-help groups) employment as work teams on labour-intensive projects such as roads or erosion control. Such work would prove far more remunerative and, if scheduled to take place in relatively slack periods of agricultural activity, more convenient for the women than agricultural work on private farms.

The collection of membership dues is another device commonly employed by groups to raise funds. These dues may amount to as little as Shs. 3 to 5/- a year or to as much as Shs. 5/- a month (reported for Tetu mabati groups). In most instances, the payment of dues does not have much promise as a means of generating working capital for projects since the amounts involved are very small and group members cannot afford to contribute more.

The role of Government agencies and their staff should also be considered. The dominance of the D.S.S. with its strategy for the Programme thus far, together with rather poor cooperation among various Government departments in the planning and implementing of income-generating projects, seems likely to slow down the pace of commercial development. The D.S.S. and non-governmental agency personnel have emphasised the promotion of women's groups by building leadership and group self-confidence, stressing the social welfare aspect of group activities.

Particularly in less developed areas, this approach has been of value in helping groups get off the ground and become viable social units. However, it does mean that rather less emphasis has been placed on organising productive activities, and this imbalance should now begin to be corrected. Group members may anticipate and appreciate instruction in such subjects as nutrition, child care, family planning, etc., but there is also a felt need for complementary activities of a commercial nature. This is due in part to the recognition that there is ultimately little point in instructing women on family welfare or other topics if the lessons cannot be acted upon for lack of resources (money). It is also partly a function of the new enlarged view of the group experience which the Programme has encouraged. Members see new possibilities for group action - not least of all in the commercial sphere.

Although the Programme has helped to create a change in orientation, it does not yet have the resources necessary to cater for the new expectations.

In order for income-generating activities to assume a more important role in the Women's Programme, there must be fuller involvement of staff from departments other than the Department of Social Services. Greater participation from the Ministry of Agriculture is especially desirable. This ministry has been insufficiently involved in the Programme except through the Home Economics Section. The situation stems from the traditional M.O.A. practice of distinguishing between home economics and farm management extension services. There has thus been a tendency to block off women and regard them as homemakers for whom home economics extension services should be provided, but not as farmers in need of farm management extension advice. Yet as we observed earlier, women in rural areas often play as active a role in farming as they do in the domestic sphere. Another ministry which could usefully play a more substantial role in the Programme now is the Ministry of Cooperative Development.

Proposed women's group ventures such as poultry-keeping, cooperative vegetable marketing or tourist handicraft shops, whether on a small or large scale, require careful study and planning. This in turn calls for a close working relationship between D.S.S. officers and others with relevant expertise in the Ministries of Agriculture and Cooperative Development. Without this cooperation, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to establish the feasibility of commercial projects and then initiate them. If such foundations are in turn lacking or inadequate, proposals bog down in the discussion stage, or, worse, unsound proposals are actually implemented. In either case, local expectations have been raised and there is the consequent risk of disillusionment and lowered initiative amongst local people should the project collapse. During the field investigations a number of instances were encountered in which either proposed or recently started commercial ventures involving women's groups were suffering from inadequate preparation and little or no joint effort from various Government departments. Three cases will be cited here:-

1. In Kapenguria, there is considerable interest in a proposal to establish a combination handicraft and consumers' cooperative shop which would be a joint project of groups throughout the Division and from other parts of West Pokot District (bound together as the 'Kiletat Women's Organisation'). Both D.S.S. staff posted in the area and local women's groups seem enthusiastic about the idea, but Government staff seems to have done little

other than discussing the proposal in general terms for several years. To our knowledge, there has been no attempt to carry out a study to determine the feasibility of such a shop, what goods it should carry and on what scale, etc. Such a study - leading to a firm decision either to drop the idea or to pursue it - would necessitate the participation of the Ministry of Cooperative Development personnel, amongst others. While it is true that a plot has been assigned for the shop in the local market centre, and that local women have collected Shs. 2,000/- (Shs. 20,000/- is thought to be required), the organisational effort is definitely lagging and prospects for the project are not bright.

2. The second case involves the proposed 'MANYATIBU' cooperative in Vihiga/Hamisi. This proposal calls for the establishment of a large-scale (Division-wide) women's cooperative for the marketing of garden and other farm produce and perhaps craft items as well. Although the local Cooperative office has been actively promoting this project, it was not planned with advice from the agricultural experts or marketing specialists who have studied the situation in Vihiga/Hamisi. D.S.S. personnel seem to have gone along with the 'MANYATIBU' idea, but almost in a passive way, and M.O.A. officers seem not to have been involved at all. Given that the project is to be based on women's groups on the one hand, and farm produce on the other, it is surprising that D.S.S. and the M.O.A. staff have not participated more fully. Much discussion has taken place over the last few years, some funds have been collected from individuals and groups, but the project is disorganised and shows no sign of being implemented in its present form.¹
3. The third case is that of a poultry-keeping project now being run by a group in the Migori area. The group was able to begin this business through financial assistance organised by the local D.S.S. office. One hundred grade hens were purchased and these

1. The Ministry of Cooperative Development has no projects in the Vihiga/Hamisi area which are specifically associated with S.R.D.P. The lack of a formal role for this Ministry may have contributed to the present state of the 'MANYATIBU' cooperative.

were placed in a well-constructed chicken house which was loaned to the group. It soon became apparent, however, that the economics of the project had not been carefully investigated. Costs of commercial feeds were too high to permit a profitable operation given current local prices for eggs. The women found it difficult to break even. This is unfortunate: poultry production seems to be a particularly suitable project in this case. There appears to be a ready market for eggs in the Migori area, and the group in question is well organised and entirely capable of running a successful operation given the proper advice. Use of local hens - or perhaps a cheaper exotic variety - in combination with less expensive feeds would quite probably have made this a profitable operation. In fact, the project still has promise if assistance can be obtained from M.O.A. officers who know about poultry production.

Although other ministries now need to become more fully involved in efforts to promote income generation among women's groups, the role of the Department of Social Services is still crucial. D.S.S. ought to coordinate the implementation of proposals for commercial activities. In all three cases noted, D.S.S. officers could very appropriately have taken a far more active role in mobilising the technical expertise necessary to ensure the soundness of the ventures before they were embarked upon. In both the Kapenguria and Vihiga/Hamisi examples, one would have expected Community Development staff to take a much more active role in the organisational effort required at the field level as well as within Government bureaucracy. Social Services personnel should also play a more active role in assessing whether particular women's groups are actually capable of carrying out proposed commercial ventures. Moreover, there is of course a continuous need for D.S.S. assistance in ongoing self-help projects.

On the national level, participation from the Ministries of Agriculture, Cooperative Development and others could be encouraged through a central interministerial coordinating body. One of the urgent tasks which such a group might initially undertake is an investigation of the commercial opportunities available for women's groups. This investigation could possibly yield a set of income-generating strategies based on past experience, the potential success of specific ventures in particular agri-climatic areas and the level of group development.

A final point has already been mentioned: the merit of some group projects should be measured in more than economic terms. Such projects as vegetable growing and poultry keeping can also generate indirect benefits in the form of better nutrition. In areas where these activities do not show promise from a commercial standpoint, they may still be promoted with a view towards subsistence objectives. In such instances, women's groups should be led to expect an improved diet rather than monetary gain.

The Women's Bureau

It is our recommendation that a Women's Bureau, as now under consideration, be designed to serve in a coordinating capacity for the Women's Programme. (See 7, p. 229.) The Bureau should be structured to include high-level representatives from all ministries and departments that have anything to do with the Programme. Besides the Department of Social Services, the Ministries of Agriculture, Cooperative Development, Health, Commerce and Industry, Labour, and Lands and Settlement should certainly be involved, and also perhaps the Ministries of Works, Tourism and Wildlife, and Broadcasting and Public Information. In order that they may effectively participate in policy formation and implementation, the ministry representatives to this body should be highly qualified and have sufficient authority to carry out decisions in their own ministries. In addition, a new and stronger spirit of commitment needs to be forthcoming from the individual ministries if the Women's Programme is to move forward. For the Ministries of Agriculture and Cooperatives in particular, there is a pressing need to review the quantity and quality of services offered to women, and to take steps to improve these services in accordance with women's actual and potential contributions to social and economic development.

Personnel Administration

The Programme has experienced severe difficulties in the area of personnel administration. Except in Kapenguria, the Community Development Assistants (CDAs), who are the key local-level staff of D.S.S., are employees of the local authorities. Most of these local authorities experience chronic financial difficulties. Moreover, they appear to find it possible to pay their senior officers regularly and well, while they tend to pay more junior staff such as CDAs poorly and irregularly. In some areas (e.g. Mbera, Tetu, Migori) all the locational CDAs have been dismissed. In other

sources.³

P.B.F.L., in conjunction with other personnel working in the Women's Programme, has drawn up a check list to be used by CDAs for recording the progress of groups. (See 16, pp. A6-A8.) This check list has been utilised to some extent in the field but it should become a permanent part of the monitoring and evaluating system. Through these means annual progress reports on each group could be written and kept by Assistant Community Development Officers. This would be a substantial improvement over the poor quality reporting often encountered at present.

Leaders' Training

A common problem in the training of women's group leaders is the breadth of the curriculum and its relatively inadequate depth. In two to three weeks an enormous amount of material is covered. It is likely, in the circumstances, that many of the leaders end the course knowing a little about a lot of things but nothing very specific. What is required is a more precise and specific focus for the training. The best way of achieving this is to ensure that the training is geared to what is practicable or can be implemented given existing resources. A further point has to do with the phasing of the training courses. In certain instances it appears that not enough time has been allocated for follow-up exercises (to assess the impact of the first-phase training course) before the commencement of the second-phase course.

Mass Media

Most women evidently have some access to newspapers and radio. It seems, however, that the mobile cinema unit has reached few of them. The effectiveness of this unit in fostering genuine local involvement is potentially considerable. In future planning, the possibilities of making greater use of the unit should be investigated.

3. In Mbere and Vihiga we tried to calculate the proportion of all female adults who belong to a women's group and found the data available suggested that 18 per cent are members in Mbere and 2 per cent in Vihiga. However, it is questionable whether these figures are correct; one would have expected Vihiga to have the higher proportion given the differences between the socio-economic and agri-climatic conditions in the two areas. All this indicates a need for further improvements in the reporting system.

areas where they remain (e.g. Vihiga), irregular pay is extremely damaging to staff morale. It is hard to imagine how D.S.S. can continue to play a meaningful role in these circumstances. Of the six S.R.D.P. areas, only Kapenguria and Kwale (where the County Council's financial administration appears sound) are able to provide staffing arrangements which are in any sense conducive to satisfactory performance. The only solution seems to be for the central Government to take over the employment of these workers.

We would emphasize that much of the success of the Women's Programme ultimately rests with communication between local extension agents and the women. It is primarily the CDAs who fill this crucial communications link. During field investigations, it was apparent that the women's groups themselves were very concerned about the situation. The dismissal of the CDAs means more than the disappearance of an important source of practical advice for the groups. Visits by extension officers also contribute to a group's perception of itself as a significant, recognised body tied in with a larger programme. The CDA plays a crucial role in this regard.

A second problem is that women leaders at present are not paid for carrying out what is really a form of extension work. The case studies suggest that the leaders feel they should be paid something for providing these services (a sentiment frequently shared by the group members themselves). It should be possible to provide at least a small honorarium for them.

Reporting

A fairly elaborate system for statistical reporting has been designed and is beginning to be put into operation, and quite a lot of research has been done. (See 16.) Although these are valuable efforts, there remain major problems. Many of the figures which we obtained from documents do not make sense. In Migori for example, the available figures on the number of groups are very inconsistent, and in Kapenguria there is substantial variance in membership figures given by different officials

2. The amount of money in question is minimal. Women simply think it would be appropriate to provide group leaders with a little pocket or 'soap' money and also to compensate them for such expenses as bus fare to and from training centres.

The Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organisation

It is surprising that this organisation plays such an insignificant role in the Programme. Few of the women's groups seem to be affiliated with it; many do not know of its existence; others know about it but are distrustful. The rhetoric suggests that Maendeleo plays a vital role in "mobilising women for development". In reality, in most of the rural areas we visited it is marginal. Assuming that an organisation like this can make a meaningful contribution to rural development, it seems necessary that steps be taken to revitalise it.

Replication

The Programme is now being replicated in various other parts of the country. One important lesson which has been learned from four years of experience is that maximum use should be made of existing resources, and the Government should make a definite financial commitment to the Programme instead of continually relying on the external resources provided by UNICEF and P.B.F.L./F.A.O. Existing Government resources such as staffing and transport arrangements should be made available for the Women's Programme in all areas, rather than special arrangements being made only for those areas where the Programme is presently being initiated. In this way Government will be able to take the Programme over should it decide to do so. Special funding can only be justified if it is made available to the Department of Social Services for its activities throughout the country, and not just for S.R.D.P. areas. For example, we recommend that the CDAs be employed by central Government not just in S.R.D.P. areas but throughout the country.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

General Findings

1. There is a need for improved cooperation among U.N. consulting and donor agencies involved in the Women's Programme and between these agencies and the Department of Social Services.
2. Other ministries, such as Agriculture, Health and Cooperative Development should be more fully involved with the Programme at the national level. It should not be assumed that this Programme is the sole responsibility of the Department of Social Services. Wider participation could be achieved through a central coordinating body with a strong interministerial structure. In this way, the ministries already

mentioned, as well as the Ministries of Commerce and Industry, Labour, Lands and Settlement, Works, Tourism and Wildlife, Information and Broadcasting, and Water Development could make important contributions to the Programme. In addition to participating in this interministerial structure, there must be a strong commitment to the Women's Programme within the individual ministries.

3. We recommend that the proposed Women's Bureau should be designed to serve as the coordinator of the Women's Programme. The Bureau should be composed of ministerial representatives who are well qualified and occupy senior positions in their ministries so that their participation in the design and implementation of the Women's Programme can be effective. It is also important that the Women's Programme be fully integrated into the plans, activities and structure of the Women's Bureau.

4. At the local level, different ministries have played a more active role, especially with regard to the leaders' training courses. However, interdepartmental participation and cooperation need to be further strengthened. Follow-up and extension activities aimed at reinforcing or implementing the training courses would be much more effective if they were carried out jointly by the field staff of different ministries.

5. Several measures are recommended to facilitate wider participation of officers from different Government departments and better integration of efforts in the field. First, since transport is scarce, more attention should be paid to possibilities for sharing vehicles among departments, with two or more workers teaming up to use one vehicle for visits to women's groups. Secondly, the idea of a newsletter circulated among S.R.D.P. and other Government staff could be used more widely to encourage communication and cooperation. Finally, as a long-term measure, field personnel in such ministries as Agriculture and Health should receive training in techniques for working with groups.

6. In view of the fact that the primary economic activity in Kenya is agricultural production, it is regrettable that the Ministries of Agriculture and Cooperative Development have not fully involved themselves in the Women's Programme. There is a particular need for these two ministries to offer greater assistance in the planning and implementation of income-generating activities for women's groups.

7. The employment and training of Community Development Assistants must be put on a sound basis. Ideally, they should remain employees of the

local authorities, but if these bodies are allowed to continue to deteriorate financially, the employment of the CDAs should be taken over by central Government.

8. Reporting and monitoring of the Women's Programme need to be improved. This can best be achieved by giving encouragement and adequate training to the CDAs since they have the greatest responsibilities in this important sphere.

9. The training of women's group leaders needs to be more selective and concrete. At present the tendency is to 'swamp' the women with a wider range of material than anyone could absorb or use effectively in a short time.

10. Women's group leaders should be paid a small honorarium in recognition of the important service they are providing, which is really a form of extension work.

11. The mass media could be used more fully to publicise and support the Women's Programme. At present insufficient use is being made of the mobile cinema unit.

12. The very small role played by Maendeleo ya Wanawake is cause for surprise and regret. It is obvious that this organisation needs to be revitalised, since its public image of active involvement in the concerns of rural women is not reflected in the actual situation in the field.

13. In the initial replication exercise of the Women's Programme in non-S.R.D.P. areas, care should be taken that too many resources are not allocated to a few specific areas, particularly if it would not be possible to provide a similar level of inputs in other parts of the country.

Recommendations for Income-Generating Activities

14. It is crucial that income-generating projects now become a central concern of the Women's Programme. Up until now there has been somewhat more emphasis on social welfare activities, but this imbalance should now be altered, especially since many groups have the interest, initiative and capability to engage in commercial enterprises.

15. Proposals for commercial ventures must be carefully worked out with full knowledge of local conditions and expert advice from the Ministry of Agriculture and the Department of Cooperative Development to ensure that they are well designed and economically viable before they are initiated.

16. Local D.S.S. personnel, especially the ACDOs, ought to play a more active role in organising and coordinating commercial projects, seeking outside assistance and expert advice, assessing the feasibility of projects and the capabilities of groups to carry out different types of projects and, in some cases, drawing up, submitting and following up on requests for aid. Up until now, a variety of proposals have been made by local officers for aid to specific commercial projects, but some have not been followed through to the implementation stage. In other cases, poor proposals have been implemented without adequate planning or organisation.

17. Many women's groups have tried to sell handicrafts or garden produce, but in many cases returns have been small considering the effort expended. In some areas markets are poorly organised, but in others there simply is no adequate market for these products. There seems to be little point in continuing to produce goods which can neither be sold nor used in the members' own homes, as is the case with certain handicraft items. In fact, concentration on handicrafts may be counter-productive if it slows down the pursuit of other alternatives.

18. Groups commonly earn money by working as agricultural labour teams, especially for weeding. The possibility of hiring women's groups to work on labour-intensive Government projects such as roads ought to be investigated.

19. Projects such as vegetable growing and poultrykeeping must not be assessed in purely commercial terms. Provided costs are met, activities of this type which generate little profit may make valuable contributions to the diets of group members and their families. For this reason these projects should be encouraged.

Recommendations for Specific Areas

20. Kapenguria: The Kiletat organisation can potentially make a major contribution benefiting women throughout the District and should be encouraged more actively. Plans for a cooperative consumer goods shop and handicraft production should be encouraged, but the initial objectives should be modest. An assessment should be made of the local market before deciding what goods should be carried in the shop. The local Cooperatives office should be much more involved in this project.

21. Kwale: The poultry project in Bomani has clearly been a success. Steps should be taken to ascertain its potential for replication elsewhere in the area.

Handicraft sales have a fairly good potential in Kwale due to the proximity of the tourist market, but a better marketing organisation needs to be developed if this potential is to be exploited fully.

22. Mbere: It is worth considering a water project as part of the Women's Programme here since fetching water takes up so much of the women's time.

Markets for the handicrafts produced by the groups need to be exploited more fully, especially the possibility of selling craft items at the Isaac Newton Inn in Embu town.

23. Migori: The reporting system here is particularly inadequate, perhaps because P.B.F.L.'s involvement in the area has been relatively slight. We feel that the P.B.F.L. team and Government officers in the Women's Programme at the national level should give more attention to this area.

Poultry production in Migori appears potentially profitable, but the one group currently engaged in poultry keeping is experiencing difficulties because inadequate attention was given to the production costs of using grade hens and commercial feeds. Ministry of Agriculture staff should assist more fully in this and future poultry projects.

24. Tetu: The women's groups in this area should be encouraged to buy grade cattle. This would be especially beneficial to low-income families in improving their nutritional status, and any excess milk could be sold.

25. Vihiga/Hamisi: The MANYATIBU cooperative project, as presently conceived, faces immense practical problems. The proposal should either be dropped or pursued more vigorously in a substantially revised form.

The new papain extraction plant in the area offers an opportunity which should be investigated for women's groups to earn an income by growing papaya.

The Partnership for Productivity organisation should be used more fully to assist women's groups who wish to become involved in viable commercial enterprise.

THE CASE STUDIES: KAPENGURIA

by

J. Eric Reynolds

This discussion is based on information drawn from official reports and correspondence available in D.S.S. files, P.B.F.L. materials and from interviews with various Government officials and members of women's groups in the Kapenguria area.⁴ It was found that information from the different sources was often unclear and confusing, even contradictory, on certain points. This state of affairs hampers review and evaluation efforts, and is itself a serious shortcoming of the Programme in Kapenguria.

Leaders' Training

Series I: This series was a failure. Only the first phase of Series I training was completed, consisting of a two-week course held in August 1971,⁵ a follow-up period, and an evaluation week for leaders and trainers held after several postponements in early 1972. When the Phase Two three-week course was due to begin, only six of the original participants from Phase One attended. Because of the low turn-out and also because of accommodation problems, the second training session was cancelled. The poor attendance was attributed to several factors, including pregnancies, departure from the area because of recent marriage to men living elsewhere or to join husbands working in other places, and refusal by husbands to allow their wives to attend the course again.

Accounts differ as to how many attended the first phase of Series I training. The Kapenguria case study in the 1972 I.D.S. S.R.D.P. Evaluation reports that 28 women attended the 1971 course; but a report by the DCDO (cited above) gives the figure as 25. In P.B.F.L. Report No. 15, 16 women are said to have completed the first phase of training. (16) Judging from the lists

4. This paper is a revised version of the case study which appeared in 1975 as I.D.S. Working Paper No. 231. The earlier presentation has been corrected and augmented in light of information obtained during the course of fieldwork subsequently carried out in West Pokot District.

5. See the report by the District Community Development Officer -- West Pokot, entitled "Case Study on Women's Programme -- Kapenguria SERDP", presented to the Provincial Women's Seminar, Rift Valley Province, February 1975, at Nakuru.

of participants available in Kapenguria D.S.S. files, 25 attended the training and 16 attended the evaluation week, but not all of those 16 had also attended the training course. So the figure for those who participated throughout the first phase (the training course together with the subsequent evaluation week) of Series I training should be somewhat lower than 16 (probably 14). At any rate, there was a very poor return of participants for the start of the second phase.

The selection of participants for Series I was inadequate. The groups were not always allowed to choose the women they would have preferred to represent them. Evidently, some Government officials obstructed the selection of genuine leaders by sending their wives to the course.

Series II: The first phase of Series II training began with a three-week course held in August-September 1973. Twenty-five attended representing 21 groups.⁶

The course included instruction in such topics as the S.R.D.P., community development, home management and improvement (e.g. cookery, nutrition, child care and development), family planning, health, adult education, animal and crop husbandry (including vegetable growing and poultry keeping), co-operatives, leadership skills, social welfare, handicraft production and sports.

As in leaders' training elsewhere, the course curriculum seems too ambitious in retrospect. A wide variety of topics was covered in a relatively short time.⁷ Not only is it doubtful that the participants were able to absorb all of the instruction, but given the diffuse subject matter, the limited field staff, the transportation difficulties and the large geographical area involved it was simply not possible to provide the kind of follow-up necessary to reinforce and build upon the lessons taught. Also, the tight lecture schedule meant that there was insufficient time for practical demonstrations and field visits to relevant projects. Time was limited in part by the inclusion of less important subjects such as sports. As in courses in

6. See the DCDO's report, cited above. According to P.B.F.L. Report No. 15, there were 26 participants, but all other records show 25.

7. This point is also made in the "Report on Visit to Kapenguria SRDP, 17-19 September 1973" by a training advisor, Dr. P. Wass (DSS, SRDP/KPGRIA/1/3): "There were some 18-20 different subjects on the course -- obviously too many to be grasped in detail. This raised the question of course objectives which should have been spelled out more specifically"

other areas, a more focussed and manageable curriculum seems to be called for. Not only would course participants be able to absorb the instruction more effectively, but extension staff would be better able to concentrate their resources on follow-up activities. The problem of selection of non-leaders which existed in the Series I course was not wholly counteracted in Series II. Some of the women attending the first phase of Series II training did not have their own groups at the time, although later follow-up established that three of these were eventually able to attach themselves to groups. Once again there was the problem of local officials selecting certain individuals to attend in disregard of group consensus.

Further problems with Series II, Phase One training were identified by D.S.S. staff and group members. It was strongly felt that some of the instruction given could not be implemented as the groups lacked the proper equipment or resources. Also, illiteracy amongst some of the leaders was said to be a problem (especially by D.S.S. Staff). This is a difficult matter. While more educated, younger women might be better equipped to follow the instruction at the level given, and might even be more receptive to it, it is the older, less educated women who often command the respect and credibility necessary for effective leadership. An older and less educated woman who can function effectively as a group leader is probably to be preferred over a younger person who cannot.

A report submitted to P.B.F. L. by the Assistant Community Development Officer - Kapenguria (8 October 1974) included observations on group progress after Series II, Phase One training. Sixteen of the groups represented in the course received follow-up visits by field staff. Seven of the groups were said to have undergone no improvement, i.e. they were reported as still "weak". One group characterised as "weak" before the training was noted as improved and now considered "strong". Four groups previously seen as "strong" were said to have improved and were now even better. The other four previously "strong" groups were seen as still "strong" although no improvement was noted. Thus, improvement was noted in 5 of the 16 groups visited. This is a rather imprecise measure of the effectiveness of the first phase of Series II training, if it is a measure at all, and we hesitate to draw any conclusions from it.

The records of this follow-up exercise are unclear. The minutes of an evaluation and review committee meeting of 19 July 1974 (held in the Kapenguria S.R.D.P. Area Coordinator's Office) mention that after Phase One training for 25 women, follow-up visits were made to only 16 groups: "the

remaining 9 groups were not visited in that only the leaders were trained but they had no groups" (sic). Yet in the ACDO's October report (cited above) on this follow-up process, 21 groups are listed, 5 of which are said not to have been visited by field staff. There are further differences between these two accounts. The minutes say that one of the five groups which the ACDO's report lists as "not visited" was visited, and two of the groups which the ACDO's report lists as "visited" are not mentioned in the minutes. Also, the minutes mention a visit to one group (Ptoyo, in Sook Location) which did not (and does not) even exist. Finally, there are several cases in which these two sources offer contradictory assessments of group progress after the first phase training course. Groups which are doing badly according to one report are said to be doing very well in the other.

It was apparently not recognised at the July meeting that three groups were represented by more than one women at the Phase One training course. Two groups sent two women each, and one group sent three. Thus, although there were some women who were not group leaders attending the training course, they were at least attached to groups as members. The records show that three of these four women became leaders of other groups at a later date.

The second phase of Series II training started with a two-week course held in August 1974. According to the ACDO's report (8 October 1974), 12 of those who attended Phase One did not attend Phase Two (P.B.F.L. Report No. 15 (16) gives the number of drop-outs as 10). Of the 12, 8 were from Sook Location, the most inaccessible location in the Division (poorest roads and transport facilities). Apparently, the transport which had been arranged for these women failed. One of the Land Rovers which was supposed to have collected the women from various points in the five S.R.D.P. locations was being serviced at the time. As a result, the transport for the Sook women arrived a day late, and the women -- having waited for it to arrive throughout the previous day -- had returned to their homes by then. Of the remaining drop-outs, one was unable to attend because of "maternity coupled with home problems", one had been dropped as group leader but not replaced, and two had been replaced by their groups with newly chosen leaders. In all, 22 women attended Phase Two, representing 21 groups. Eight new groups were represented (but note that some of the new groups were represented by women who attended Phase One). Reportedly, there were actually nine women attending Phase Two who did not attend Phase One. Most of these represented newly formed groups.

The curriculum for the second phase course was similar to that of the first phase, and therefore is subject to the same criticism. Sixteen separate topics were covered. However, the trainers to some extent based the curriculum on the follow-up reports of field personnel who visited different groups after the first training course, so the views of the local women were taken into account. The follow-up of leaders and groups after the second training course has been slow, largely due to transport problems. Results of the follow-up are not all available yet.

The Groups

Membership: Women's groups in Kapenguria are typically made up of those who are married and have children, who have little or no formal education and are at best poorly literate, and who work at farming activities in addition to their domestic chores. The very high rate of illiteracy is a salient characteristic of the women in the area, and is seen as a major problem both by the officials working with the Programme and those who are involved as participants. Even among the leaders, most of those who can read and write at least a little have learned only recently in adult literacy classes. As shown in Table 1, most of the 34 women who participated in at least one of the courses of Series II training had no formal education.

Table 1. Level of education of participants in Series II training.

Nil	Std 4 or less	Std 5	Std 6	Std 7	Adult Classes	Total
20	3	1	1	1	8	34

Source: Adult Education Supervisor, Kapenguria.

Few women's group members have occupations other than home and farm work. The one outstanding exception is a prominent local businesswoman who operates several busaa clubs where local beer is produced and sold. Some women help their husbands manage small shops, and a few work as day care centre supervisors, but this is usually done on a voluntary basis. Members of the I.D.S. study team visited several groups in December 1974, and most of the women interviewed said their husbands' primary source of income is farming. Around the centres of Kapenguria and Makutano, more of the husbands are employed outside of farming, especially by the Government. The occupations of the husbands of women attending Series II courses are shown in Table 2. Those husbands who work for the Central or Local Government have the following positions: Chief (3); Assistant Chief (3); County Councillor (1); Revenue Collector (2); Administrative Police (1).

Table 2. Husbands' occupations, participants in Series II training.

Central/Local Government	Farmer	Trader	Teacher (P.S.)	Clergy	Other	Not Married	Not known	Total
12 ^a	5	2	1	1	1 ^b	5	7	34

^aThis includes the common husband of two of the women, counted twice.

^bWorks for a mission station.

Source: Adult Education Supervisor, Kapenguria.

The groups seem to be formed to some extent along ethnic and religious lines. In some sub-locations the population is ethnically diverse, yet women's groups are exclusively Pokot or other Kalenjin on the one hand, or non-Kalenjin on the other. Some groups are also affiliated with certain churches.

It is not possible to say with any certainty how many groups there are in the SRDP Division or the total number of members. Membership figures vary widely among sources. A 1974 report by the DCDO-West Pokot states that there are 29 groups in the District with a total membership of 407. Nineteen groups are said to be active with an average of 20 members. Twelve active groups are reported in Kapenguria Division. (See P.B.F.L. Report No. 14, pp. A18-A20.

The October 1974 report submitted by the ACDO-Kapenguria to P.B.F.L. gives a somewhat different picture. Here a total membership of 476 is given for the 21 groups (from all five S.R.D.P. locations) which were supposedly represented in the Series II, Phase One training session. The average group membership would be between 22 and 23.

When the study team visited Kapenguria in December 1974 and interviewed the ACDO and other personnel connected with the Women's Programme, the total number of groups in the Division was reported as 36 or 37. Several of these groups were said to be functioning very poorly. A list of groups and their membership sizes drawn up by the Adult Education Supervisor showed 37 different groups with a total membership of 575, and an average membership of 15 or 16. Differences in the figures quoted for specific groups between this list and the ACDO's October 1974 list (cited above) are frequently substantial, with the ACDO's list giving higher figures.

The 1974 Annual Report of the D.S.S. in Kapenguria lists 37 women's groups. Membership figures are given for 27 of these groups and add up to a total of 508.

A report prepared by the DCDO-West Pokot for the FAO/PBFL Review Mission (March 1975) mentions 29 groups in the S.R.D.P. area and 36 in West Pokot District. Total membership is not given, but enrollment is said to average from 15 to 20 members for the groups in the S.R.D.P. area.

In light of these varying accounts, it is only possible to give approximate figures for membership. Thus, we can say that the Women's Programme in Kapenguria involves roughly 500 women, the total number of groups is somewhere between 29 and 37 and average membership is somewhere between 15 and 20. There is no clear indication of the number of groups which are inactive or only marginally active, but it seems likely that five to ten can be put into this category.

There is obviously room for great improvement in the reporting and monitoring system in Kapenguria. It is recognised that part of the problem is that the field staff cannot visit a substantial number of groups with any frequency or regularity due to severe transport difficulties. Infrequent and irregular visits mean that it is very hard to keep track of group membership or progress. Nevertheless, the statistics for reports on the programme ought to be formulated more carefully.

Activities and Plans: The groups usually try to hold meetings once a week. Some meet in local churches, but frequently meetings must be held out-of-doors. Attendance in many of the groups is reported to be irregular. This appears to be a function of adverse weather conditions (especially for outdoor meetings), long distances to the meeting place, and a lack of materials and resources necessary to generate and sustain members' interest.

Group activities include handicrafts (basketry, beadwork, sewing, knitting and embroidery), vegetable growing, sunflower and pyrethrum cultivation, home improvement activities (e.g. learning how to make improved stoves, sun tables and latrines), lessons in cookery, and sports (netball). The groups near Makutano and Kapenguria are occasionally visited by extension workers, mostly the Home Economist, Home Science Demonstrator, Family Planning Field Educator, Nutritionists and Community Development Assistants (CDAs). Some of these groups may be visited once or twice a month, depending on whether the field workers can find transport or have time to walk sometimes considerable distances to the meeting sites. Groups further afield are less frequently visited. Indeed, these groups are virtually cut off from extension activities.

One group which the study team visited was earning money through farm work to start a poultry project. Another group was reportedly constructing a building for group meetings and functional literacy classes. Among the groups, there are plans for expanded handicraft and homemaking activities, building meeting places, and starting functional literacy classes, poultry projects and vegetable and sunflower growing. However, these plans are sometimes very vague.

An outstanding achievement in the area has been the founding of a coalition of women's groups. This was first known as the "West Pokot Women's Education Movement" but later became the "Kiletat Women's Organisation" ("Kiletat" is Pokot for "progress"). This organisation has no connection with the national Maendeleo ye Wanawake organisation.

The origins of the Kiletat organisation can be traced to 1969, when a nutritionist at Kapenguria organised a joint meeting of several women's groups to establish priorities for collective action and discuss common problems. It appears that from the very first the women had two major goals: to establish a maternity ward at the District Hospital in Kapenguria and to start a group shop at a market centre.

In 1970 a collection was started for the maternity ward. This effort faltered but was re-vitalised in 1971. Over the next few years funds were raised on a Harambee basis, but these were insufficient to cover the costs of the permanent structure which was originally planned. It was then decided to construct a semi-permanent building, and this was accomplished with the help of additional funds approved by the District Development Committee and funds and equipment from overseas sources. Work was hindered by shortages of materials, possibly due in part to diversion into private hands, but the building was eventually completed. The project is noteworthy in that the local women identified the need, initiated the fund-raising and generated the interest necessary to carry it through. The successful construction of the ward is due to the joint effort of various agencies and individuals who were able to enlist local and overseas support.

Over time, the idea for the shop has changed from simply a place where local women would sell their handicrafts, to a combination consumers' co-operative shop and handicraft outlet. Fund-raising for the maternity ward took precedence over the shop, and this project has moved very slowly. The Kiletat women have asked the County Council for a plot at Makutano trading centre, and reportedly around shs.2,000 has been raised. However, a lot more

money is needed. The organisation raises money primarily from membership fees paid by affiliated groups and individuals. Each group is supposed to pay shs. 30 and, once a group has become affiliated, each member is asked to buy at least one "share" (shs. 25) in the organisation. Although the organisation is supposed to cover the whole District, the affiliated groups apparently all come from Kapenguria Division -- and few of these are in fact fully paid-up affiliates. In the past, Kiletat members have endorsed the idea of monthly payments by each woman to help raise funds for the shop, and plans to hold fund-raising dances and handicraft shows have also been put forward. But none of these plans has been implemented. The need for assistance has been recognised by officials involved with women's groups in the area, and some financial support has been proposed.

Table 3. Kapenguria Women's Programme, participation of Government and other agencies.

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Input</u>	<u>Staff Involved</u>
DSS	Co-ordination, Planning	CDO, ACDO
	Leaders' Training*	CDO, ACDO, AEO, AES, SWO, Home Science Demonstrator, CDAs
	Extension, Follow-up	ACDO, Home Sci. Demo., AES, CDAs
MOA	Leaders' Training	DVO, AAO, Home Economists, Divisional Technical Assistant, JAA
	Extension	Home Economists, H.E. Assistants, Technical Assistants, JAAs
MOH & FP Assn.	Leaders' Training	Nutritionists, Health Assistants, FP Field Educator
	Extension	Nutritionists, FP Field Educator
Co-ops	Leaders' Training	ACO
Adm	Leaders Training	Area Co-ordinator
Gov't of The Netherlands	Assistance/Advice for Training and Extension, Follow-up	Project Advisor
PBFL	Assistance/Advice for Training and follow-up	PBFL personnel

*This refers to participation in the planning and implementation of Series II (73/74) training.

The Officials

Extension work is carried out in Kapenguria by Nutritionists attached to the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Agriculture's Home Economists, and various Government workers helped plan and conduct the leaders training courses. However, the Department of Social Services has the primary responsibility for implementing the Women's Group Programme. The Project Advisor, representing the S.R.D.P. donor country, has been particularly active in helping with the training courses, extension and follow-up activities. Table 3 shows the contributions of the various agencies and departments.

Government staff have considered various commercial projects for women's groups, and some specific proposals have been submitted. At a committee meeting held at the S.R.D.P. Area Coordinator's office in September 1974,⁸ five proposals for aid were put forward and endorsed:-

1. It was proposed to help the Kiletat organisation establish a combination consumers' cooperative and handicraft shop. It was noted that shs. 20,000 was required, that the local Cooperative Development office had committed itself to assist (it is not clear in what capacity) and that plans were being drawn up.
2. Shs. 25,000 in aid was proposed for a weaving project at Chepareria. The idea for this cottage industry originated with a Catholic Sister who already runs a small weaving establishment at her station in Ortum (outside the S.R.D.P. area). The objective of the Chepareria project would be to involve local women in growing, processing, spinning and weaving cotton.
3. Four local women's groups were reported ready to start poultry projects and shs. 7,500 in aid was recommended for each group.
4. The cultivation of sunflowers as a cash crop was reported to offer good prospects and shs. 15,000 in aid was suggested in order to help groups start this enterprise.
5. Finally, to encourage interested groups to grow vegetables more extensively, shs. 1000 in aid was recommended to provide seeds and other inputs.

These proposals were forwarded to the Commissioner for Social Services by the ACDO in a letter of 2 October 1974. However, specific forms requesting aid subsequently filed with the Social Services office in Nairobi in January 1975 do not seem consistent with the original proposals and in fact introduce some confusion.

8. This meeting was attended by the following personnel: S.R.D.P. Area Co-ordinator, District Community Development Officer, Assistant Community Development Officer, Social Welfare Officer, Assistant Agricultural Officer, Assistant Cooperatives Officer, Adult Education Supervisor, Nutritionist, a Community Development Assistant, District Officer - Kapenguria, and the S.R.D.P. Project Advisor.

For the poultry project, shs. 13,800 was requested to purchase 200 laying birds and the necessary equipment and supplies. Aid was requested on behalf of a group in Chepareria, although two other groups were mentioned as "also involved". It was not made clear just how these other groups would be involved, as they are located in different areas. Furthermore, nothing was said about the fourth group which was mentioned in the initial proposal. It was also not clear why the request was submitted in this form when the original idea was to supply each of four groups with 100 birds and related equipment and supplies.

A request for aid was filed on behalf of the Makutano Women's Group for starting a posho mill. The Kiletat organisation is listed in this request as "also involved", but there is no indication as to the nature of this involvement or how the mill relates (if at all) to the proposed Kiletat cooperative shop.

Nothing is mentioned in the January 1975 requests concerning several earlier proposals - i.e., the consumers' cooperative, the weaving project in Chepareria or the sunflower and vegetable growing schemes.

Problems and Prospects

The Women's Programme in Kapenguria faces several serious problems, most of which have already been noted. Foremost amongst these relate to:-

1. Leaders' training courses. Several weaknesses have been identified here. These include over-ambitious course curricula, selection of non-leaders, and high drop-out rates between the two phases. There is also some evidence of poor management in other respects. Due to inadequate provision of transport, for example, none of the leaders from one location attended the second phase of Series II training. In another case, an agricultural technical assistant who had been asked on several occasions to participate as a trainer and to attend trainers' meeting wrote to the D.S.S. office to complain that the letters of invitation arrived late and that there was no provision for transport to and from the meeting places. He requested to be excluded from the trainers' list in future.

2. Poor communication and transportation facilities. Although they can to some extent be anticipated, problems of communication and transport make the work of Programme organisers very difficult. Contact between field staff and supervisors is hindered and the field staff find it hard to give instruction and advice to the more remote groups whose needs are greatest. Also, it becomes difficult to carry out the follow-up activities necessary to

determine the effects of leadership training, the problems which are confronting the groups, etc. This considerably weakens monitoring and evaluation of the Programme.

3. Monitoring and evaluating the Programme. Substantial improvement is needed in this area. Planning exercises call for accurate and consistent records which are often lacking. As we have seen, the reporting system is very weak.

4. Resources for group activities. Kapenguria groups often lack the basic material and/or financial resources they need to carry out the lessons and ideas brought back from the training courses. This situation may lead quite possibly to discouragement and withdrawal from group activity. If the training courses are to be effective, the lessons must be practicable: either the necessary resources must be supplied, or the activities must be more closely geared to local resources, or both. In this connection, departments other than D.S.S. must be more fully involved in extension activities. There is, in particular, a need for more participation by agricultural extension workers (other than the Home Economist). Many of the groups would benefit from the instruction these workers could offer in such areas as crop husbandry.

5. Income generation. The absence of markets for handicrafts is a problem felt by nearly all the groups, and it is one reason why most of them have not been able to earn much money. Many groups have even become discouraged from producing handicrafts. If the poor market outlook continues, in fact there will be little point in carrying on with handicraft activities.

Not enough care has been taken in the preparation and submission of proposals for commercial projects, or in general project coordination. As noted, proposals once submitted do not seem to be consistently followed through. Prospects for larger-scale income-generating projects seem poor. The S.R.D.P. Project Advisor is quite pessimistic about the viability of any of the commercial projects which were recommended for Kapenguria women's groups in the staff meeting of September 1974 (personal communication, August 1975). He has explored the potential for poultry-keeping in some detail. (D.S.S. Ref. No. SRDP/2/18/Vol.II/26, D.S.S. Nairobi) In his report, he points out potential problems in the distribution of inputs (regular availability of feed), proper management, local markets, and the repayment of soft-term loans. According to his projections, only large-scale projects (of between 100 and 250 grade hens) would generate sufficient profit to repay a loan, assuming a 65 per cent laying ratio, a 10 per cent profit margin, and a repayment period of five years. Smaller-scale poultry projects would mainly supply eggs for domestic use and would not provide significant monetary returns.

While the development of a District-wide marketing structure would be welcome in principle, and necessary if handicraft sales are ever to generate any measurable income, there are real problems involved in establishing a handicraft shop in Makutano. As the 1972 I.D.S. Evaluation pointed out the area does not yet have a viable tourist trade. The local market for such items is doubtful. It would perhaps be better to operate a small handicraft sales counter in a shop which would function primarily as a collection point from which handicrafts could be sent on to markets in Nairobi or elsewhere. Organisations such as the National Christian Council of Kenya (N.C.C.K.) might be able to assist in this connection. What the consumer aspect of the proposed shop would involve is nowhere clearly spelled out, and an evaluation of its prospects is not possible until it is known what items the shop will handle. There is no sense in embarking upon such an enterprise unless it is known that markets actually exist and can be effectively exploited. This requires much closer scrutiny of the feasibility of projects than has heretofore been the case (with the exception of poultry-keeping).

The Kiletat Cooperative shop has been discussed for a long time, and this is cause for concern. If the Cooperative Development office is actually committed to the project, then what is the nature of this commitment and where is the evidence of it? Firm plans should have been drawn up by this time, or at least there should be some indication that planning is in progress. The Cooperatives office in Nairobi has received no specific proposals. There has been little real action on this project, and unfortunately its prospects do not appear good at this time.

6. Illiteracy. This is a widespread problem among Kapenguria women, even among the group leaders. While literacy is no doubt a desirable qualification for leaders, a blanket policy that women must be literate in order to participate in training courses would have drawbacks, as discussed earlier.

7. Lack of adequate meeting places. Many groups must hold their meetings outdoors since indoor facilities are not available. This disrupts the continuity of group activity during periods of adverse weather.

Recommendations

1. Training Courses

Course curricula should be tailored to ensure that (a) participants are not confronted with such a number and range of topics that they cannot absorb all the material and (b) the material presented is both relevant to

women's potential role in the development process and practicable in terms of local resources or those which can be made available.

More care should be exercised in organising the logistics of training courses. Steps should be taken to make sure that course participants living in more remote areas have adequate reliable transport to and from the training venue. People who are asked to participate as trainers should receive timely notification of planning and training sessions and their transport should be arranged.

2. Transport and Extension Personnel

It is difficult to suggest measures to help with transport in Kapenguria, as the problem is great and there are few available resources. Unlike some other areas, West Pokot has very few public transport facilities which extension personnel could rely on to reach more remote groups. It can only be urged that there be greater coordination among departments. For example, if agricultural officers are planning to visit one of the less accessible places on a particular day, word could be passed to those interested in visiting women's groups in that area and transport offered. (This is already practiced to some extent.)

3. Monitoring and Evaluation

Supervisory staff, CDAs and other extension personnel should be made more aware of the importance of obtaining reliable information on groups. Information should be collected in the field with greater care. Beyond the problem of data collection, the information on groups which is available should be treated more carefully. The information which is currently on file should be put together in a more consistent, less confusing form.

4. Group Activities

Several of the commercial activities which have been recommended by local staff must wait for the delivery of major inputs (i.e. money) from outside sources. Efforts to obtain aid should be continued, but there are some important, less ambitious projects which need not wait upon such aid. For instance, many groups in the Kapenguria area would like to have indoor meeting places. Such structures can serve the group as well as the community in general (e.g. for adult literacy classes). Construction of a simple building can be done on a self-help basis, and modest funds necessary for this kind of activity can be raised locally. For example, funds may be raised by farm work, pyrethrum cultivation (in the highlands), or perhaps by hiring a group to work on Government labour-intensive road projects.

Available resources could be used more fully in other ways if agricultural extension workers would offer more advice and demonstrations in livestock and crop development.

5. The Initiation of New Projects

There is room for substantial improvement in this area. A variety of recommendations and requests for aid for specific projects have been made by local officials, but these have not been consistently followed through. There has been a general lack of coordination. Each project should be followed up as fully as possible before other suggestions are considered and/or acted upon. Furthermore, there has been a tendency to advocate ambitious schemes without due attention to their feasibility.

6. Kiletat Women's Organisation

The Kiletat Organisation should be encouraged as much as possible. This is a significant and innovative development among women's groups in the region. The Organisation has the potential for major contributions benefiting women throughout the District. Working through such an organisation, West Pokot women can identify and discuss their needs and priorities and formulate a programme of action. It might be possible in future for Kiletat to supply member groups with modest amounts of aid for various projects. The Organisation's plans for a cooperative shop for consumer goods and handicrafts should be encouraged in principle, although there are serious problems. Major markets for handicrafts should be sought outside the District at present. In this connection, an effort should be made to consult agencies such as the N.C.C.K. in Nairobi. Care should be taken in organising the shop in Makutano and initial objectives should be modest. Before deciding what goods to handle in the shop, an assessment should be made of local market possibilities. The cooperative has been in the discussion stage for far too long: if the idea is to materialise, immediate steps should be taken to consolidate and clearly define the project plans and the role the Cooperative Development office will be asked to play. It seems that little has been accomplished so far.

Recent Developments:

Because it was prepared in conjunction with the 1975 I.D.S. evaluation of the S.R.D.P., the main body of this case study is concerned with the Programme as it had evolved by early 1975. In the course of subsequent fieldwork in West Pokot District, it has been possible to collect further information about the Programme, augmenting what was originally

collected by the I.D.S. study team during a short visit to the area in December 1974. Some of this additional information has been used to amend parts of the earlier version of the study (I.D.S. Working Paper No. 231). In this appendix, developments from early 1975 to mid-1976 are traced, and some further observations are made regarding the Programme in Kapenguria.

Expansion of the Programme in the District: Plans have been developed, mainly by the Department of Social Services in Nairobi working in conjunction with P.B.F.L., to expand the Programme in fourteen districts during 1975/76. A series of national, provincial and district workshops was scheduled to implement these plans.⁹ In West Pokot, the expanded Women's Programme was to include the other two Divisions of the District, Sigor and Kara-Pokot. Those women's groups in Kapenguria Division which hitherto had not participated in leaders' training activities were also to be included. Following the provincial workshop held in February 1975, a district workshop was convened near the end of March in order to discuss plans for expansion in West Pokot. The workshop was attended mostly by DSS personnel: no other district-level officers attended. Technical personnel from the Ministries of Agriculture and Health were present and some officers from the Administration. According to the report on the workshop, the progress of the Women's Programme was reviewed, and plans for a district seminar, a community survey of women's activities and stronger inter-departmental coordination were discussed.

In May, a "National Survey Methods Workshop" took place at Kikuyu, attended by the DCDOs from those Districts in which the Programme was to be extended. The proceedings are described in PBFL Report No. 17. One of the main issues taken up was the proposed community surveys, to be conducted with the assistance of extension workers from different ministries in each District in order to assess the experiences, problems and needs of women's groups prior to the organisation of further leaders' training activities. After the national workshop, it was agreed that DCDOs should organise district workshops in their respective areas in order to plan the community surveys in detail and train those who would conduct them.

A District seminar to launch the extension of the Women's Programme in West Pokot took place in June. According to the plan, District seminars were

9. See PBFL Report No. 17, "Report on Group Survey Methods Workshop to Develop Methods for Assessing Group Needs for Programme Development", Institute of Adult Studies, University of Nairobi, May 1975.

to develop support for the Programme among local leaders, such as chiefs and councillors. The West Pokot seminar was well attended. Participants included various district- and divisional-level personnel in the Ministries of Social Services, Health, Agriculture, Co-operatives and the Administration, a few locational chiefs and county councillors, CDAs, missionaries and members of women's groups. Although the Ministry of Agriculture was well represented by officers at the divisional level and below, no district-level officers were present, not even from the Home Economics section. This absence was noted with concern during the seminar. Following reports from some of the departments and a discussion period, the participants set forth several recommendations for the Programme. Some of the more important points which were stressed include: Home Economists and Nutritionists should visit women's groups regularly and also visit members' homes as part of their extension work; group leaders should be employed by the DSS or County Council; CDAs should attend professional courses on community development work; adult literacy teachers should become more involved in such activities as the seminar; water facilities should be given top priority in the lowland areas of the District; and more effort should be made to solve transport problems, possibly through the coordination of scheduled visits by Government officers to the field. The difference between the Maendeleo ya Wanawake organisation and the Women's Group Programme was also pointed out during the discussion.

The planning and training workshops for the community survey exercise were held on two consecutive days in mid-September. (The writer attended both sessions.) The planning session was attended by a group of senior staff from the Ministries of Social Services and Agriculture and the S.R.D.P. (Area Co-ordinator and Project Advisor). Officers were briefed on the proceedings of the Kikuyu workshop in May, and the training session scheduled for the next day was discussed. A committee was appointed to work out the details of a questionnaire for the survey.

The training session itself was very well attended by extension personnel from Kapenguria Division. The other two divisions were not so well represented. In all, there were fourteen extension workers from the Ministry of Agriculture, seven from Social Services, and two from Health. Participants were briefed on plans to extend the Programme and to carry out the survey. Several talks were given on such topics as "Human Relations and Communication" and "Women's Groups as Relevant Channels for Extension Work" by trainers who had been chosen the previous day.

The two sessions were deficient in a number of ways. More personnel from remote areas could have attended had transportation been more carefully

arranged; the lectures were not particularly clear or well organised; and there was confusion in the minds of many as to what the survey would actually entail. The second session would have been far better had there been more time after the planning session for adequate preparation of lessons and to formulate the survey. These workshops were organised according to guidelines devised at the "Group Survey Methods Workshop" in May, and to some extent their shortcomings are a consequence of poor planning and ineffective training of the trainers at this national workshop. The training technique most used at the national workshop was 'role-playing', with participants enacting situations which might arise between extension personnel and women's groups. But during the training workshop in West Pokot, instruction was largely given by lecture, in which the participants themselves did not take an active role. On the positive side, however, some useful discussion of women and development did take place among the participants.

The working committee which was established to organise the community survey exercise eventually did produce a draft questionnaire. In fact, considerable effort went into this task. Unfortunately, this survey has never been carried out (as of mid-1976). Another national workshop was held in December 1975, which was mainly concerned with further planning for the programme in the districts. It seems that the West Pokot DSS representative to this workshop came away with the mistaken impression that the proposed community survey had been cancelled. All work on the survey in the district came to an abrupt halt because of this misunderstanding. It is possible that closer cooperation among the three West Pokot representatives (the others were from the Ministries of Agriculture and Health) following their return from the workshop would have resulted in less confusion. However, these representatives did not meet or otherwise work together to carry out the programme established at the workshop.

For some time there have been plans for formal interdepartmental teams to coordinate and implement the programme at the District level. Procedures for establishing such teams - known as 'District Planning and Implementation Teams' (D.P.I.T.s) - were finalised at the December workshop. They are to operate in each of the fourteen Districts where the programme is being expanded. In West Pokot, an organisational meeting of the D.P.I.T. was held in early April 1976. The eleven participants included the S.R.D.P. Area Co-ordinator, the Home Economics Officer, and representatives from the Cooperatives Office and the County Council, as well as various DSS personnel. It was agreed that the Team should be composed of officers from the DSS (DCDO,

ACDOs, AEO, and SWO), Agriculture (HEO), Co-ops (ACO), Health (Nutritionist), Education (DEO or representative), County Council (Clerk to Council) and a representative of the Family Planning Association (Field Educator). Surprisingly, crop and livestock personnel from the Ministry of Agriculture were not included. The participants agreed that field workers should gather information on local women's groups to be brought into the Programme, but no definite plans were made. There was no mention of the survey planned earlier. Another training course for group leaders was set for August, to be preceded by a trainers' workshop in June.

Leaders' Training: The training series which had started in 1973 (Series II) was brought to a close with a four-day session held in December 1975. It was originally planned that the final sessions would be devoted to discussion and evaluation by trainers and leaders of the training courses and group progress. However, this was not carried out. Instead, further instruction was given on poultry keeping, animal husbandry, cash crops, nutrition, handicrafts and group organisation and leadership. Field trips to a women's group poultry project and the new Kiletat posho mill were organised, and a handicrafts show was held. Certificates were to be presented to the participants, but these did not arrive from Nairobi until many months later.

Income-generating Activities: In 1975, UNICEF provided materials to many S.R.D.P.-area groups whose leaders had attended training courses to enable them to start up commercial projects. In Kapenguria, the Kamatira and Chepareria groups have received poultry keeping supplies and equipment, and UNICEF has also provided a posho mill requested on behalf of the Kiletat organisation. Beads and sewing and knitting materials are also being distributed.

Poultry-keeping: The Kamatira and Chepareria women's groups each received one hundred pullets, a three-month supply of feed and wire and assorted equipment, worth about shs. 4400, and started poultry-keeping projects in November 1975. The Kapenguria ACDO helped organise the projects, agricultural personnel gave advice on construction and management, and the Cooperatives office arranged for feed and other supplies to be stocked at a local cooperative society store, so that the groups would not have to travel all the way to Kitale for supplies.

The birds started laying in late December 1975 and had reached peak production by April 1976. Production has been high and the market for eggs at Makutano trading centre has been better than expected. The ACDO reckons that each group should earn at least shs. 200 a month after meeting labour and feed costs, and in fact both groups earned more than this in April,

May and June. However, the future of these projects is still uncertain because transport problems have not been solved. The Kamatira group is only about six miles from Makutano, where eggs are sold and supplies are available from the cooperative society, so that eggs and feed can be carried on foot if necessary. The Chepareria group is much further away, over difficult terrain, and there is no public transport. In fact, given the location of this group and the transport problem, they should probably never have started a commercial poultry-keeping project.

Neither group has been able to work out a regular means of transport for eggs and supplies. The ACDO has had to arrange transport for both groups on many occasions, and as long as they are so heavily dependent on him their ultimate viability must be questioned. The Chepareria group might be able to arrange for transport with a local trader who has a vehicle and brings supplies from Makutano for his own business. If no solution is found, this group should probably dismantle the project when the time comes to replace the birds, and look for another commercial activity. The equipment could be sold or given to another group closer to the trading centre.

It is not certain that these projects could be replicated successfully. For one thing, it is doubtful whether other groups could obtain supplies and equipment as a grant; the possibility of obtaining loans should be investigated, and this will require more careful monitoring of the existing projects. The transport problem needs to be worked out, and it must be determined whether the local market can absorb an increased supply of eggs or whether it is already near its limit. In evaluating these projects, the impact on the nutritional status of the group members' families and the local community should also be assessed.

The Posho Mill: When the posho mill was delivered in October 1975, it was found to be a small, petrol-operated model which could not compete successfully with the large, diesel-powered mills in the area. The Kiletat 'mill committee' felt the mill should be located in some remote trading centre where there were no competing milling facilities, but no such site was found where it would also be possible to supply fuel and servicing conveniently and where Kiletat members would be living nearby so they could supervise the operation of the mill. Finally, the mill was set up in Siyoi, where there were already two commercially operated mills, because several Kiletat members lived nearby and a local trader, the husband of one of the members, donated a room of his shop in which the mill could be housed. It was installed in November with the help of the SRDP Project Advisor.

Since then, the mill has never operated successfully. There have been a number of mechanical problems, and after the Project Advisor left in November it became difficult to find mechanics to keep the mill in working order. The mechanical problems have been compounded by poor management because, although initially a number of women agreed to help operate the mill, in fact the major responsibility devolved on one woman who could not devote enough time to supervise the mill successfully by herself and who naturally objected to the lack of assistance from others.

The organisation met in March 1976 and resolved that the project was a failure and that the mill should be sold. However, no proper determination had been made of the mill's potential profitability. The ACDO conducted a trial in April and found that the machine could run at a small profit, but only assuming volunteer labour - which does not seem to be available amongst Siyoi Kiletat members on a regular basis.

As of mid-1976, the mill stands idle. In July the Kiletat group decided to ask the ACDO to request a better machine from Nairobi. In the meantime, it was agreed that a local trader be allowed to rent the mill for shs. 100 per month. Though the women may be criticised for failing to manage the machine properly, their lack of commitment can be attributed to the realisation that the mill could not compete successfully with commercial mills in the area, to the failure to install the mill in the most favourable location, and to repeated mechanical difficulties.

At this point, if the agreement with the trader does not work out, three courses of action should be considered: (a) remove the mill to a site where it can operate without competition and therefore at a greater profit margin; (b) sell the mill and with the proceeds plus additional funds obtain a standard diesel operated mill for commercial grinding; or (c) sell the mill and use the proceeds for some other commercial project. Both of the first two options would require further expenditures. It might simply be best to sell the mill and use the money for other purposes.

The Kiletat Organisation: The most positive development in the Kiletat organisation has been the increase in paid membership. By mid-1976, 14 groups had affiliated with Kiletat and 44 women had paid for "shares". Many groups, though affiliated, have no members who have paid for individual subscriptions. Participation in the organisation is still almost entirely from Kapenguria Division.

The collection of affiliation fees and subscriptions from groups and individual members remains the primary source of income for Kiletat. There

has been very little progress since 1974 in raising funds through any other means. The only fund-raising project other than the unsuccessful posho mill was a handicraft show held in Makutano in December 1975 which only earned about shs. 200. There was talk of holding a fund-raising dance in June 1975, but the plans never materialised.

In November 1975, officials of the Kenya National Federation of Co-operatives (KNFC) visited Kapenguria and met with Kiletat representatives. The women were advised to concentrate on completing one project at a time, rather than embarking on several projects at once. When the KNFC officials were asked about the possibility of obtaining a loan with which to build a shop, they answered that the Kiletat members had not yet collected enough money on their own, and said that it was better for the local women to continue selling handicrafts. The women pointed out that it was very difficult to sell handicrafts locally, and one of the KNFC representatives said he would enquire in Nairobi about possible outlets for West Pokot handicrafts. Also, the Assistant Co-operatives Officer for West Pokot offered the Kiletat organisation space in the cooperative society building at Makutano to store their finished handicrafts. On the whole, the minutes of this meeting leave the impression that it was a disappointing experience for the Kiletat representatives. They were offered advice about not spreading their efforts too thinly, but were told nothing about how to organise a successful business. Assurances that handicraft sales are a good way to earn money have not been borne out by experience in West Pokot, and offers to look for marketing outlets in Nairobi and to provide storage space in Makutano have not been made good as yet.

The plans for starting a shop remain stagnant. The organisation has been assigned a plot at Makutano, but the County Council is asking for rent and other fees which would use up almost half of the women's savings, which are now a little over shs. 3000. Construction of a shop would probably cost around shs. 25,000, according to the estimate of the Assistant Co-operative Development Officer. Some women have thought of developing the plot and then renting out the building for a time to a trader, avoiding the expense of stocking a consumer shop themselves, but this does not help solve the problem of construction costs. It does not seem that the members are actually any closer to having a shop than they were five or six years ago unless they can raise a large sum of money through a loan, a Harambee day, the sale of the posho mill (should that be possible), or a combination of these. The Kiletat members might be better advised to seek another income-generating project for which starting capital is modest and returns more certain. The District Agricultural Officer has drawn up a set of cost and profit estimates for a small group farm

to cultivate maize or (in the lowlands) beans, and he thinks this could be a successful project.

The self-help maternity ward built by the organisation is now scheduled for demolition in preparation for the construction of a new District Hospital. Although the ward was short-lived, it must still be regarded as a significant accomplishment for the organisation. The members agreed to salvage as much of the materials as possible to help construct their proposed shop in Makutano.

While the Kiletat organisation has achieved no dramatic commercial successes, the increased commitment of local women is shown by the growth of paid membership. If this commitment is to be sustained, Social Services and Cooperative Development officers must work together to help the women decide what steps to take in regard to the trading plot. The whole project may have to be abandoned if the organisation cannot work out some agreement with the County Council which will allow them to retain the plot. It is also important that other, more feasible commercial projects be found.

CASE STUDY: KWALE

by

J. J. Brown and S. O. Pala

Introduction

The Special Rural Development Programme (S.R.D.P.) in South Kwale incorporates four locations, Shimba South, Msambweni, Kikoneni and Mwereni. The region is one of considerable diversity both in terms of the physical environment and its human population. Msambweni Location is coastal lowland which covers 192 square kilometers and has a population of 20,113 and a population density of 105 persons per square kilometer. This location receives 50-60 inches of rainfall annually. Its economy is based upon fishing and the production of sugar cane for the neighbouring Ramisi Sugar Factory, as well as coconut production. In addition, rice and fruits, such as oranges and mangoes, are grown and livestock is kept. The population is ethnically very mixed because migrant workers are attracted to the area by the availability of jobs at Ramisi Sugar Factory. One finds not only the indigenous Digo and Duruma, but Kamba, Luo, Kikuyu, Abaluhya, Waganda, Makonde and representatives from many other ethnic groups.

Shimba South and Kikoneni are at a higher altitude, have cooler temperatures and receive 40-50 inches of rainfall annually. Their better soils give these two locations the highest agricultural potential of the locations covered by S.R.D.P. in South Kwale. Most crops can be grown here. The Digo and Kamba are the dominant ethnic groups in these locations, though Duruma also live here, many of them as farm labourers. Shimba South is 357 square kilometers, with a population of 13,031 and a density of 37 per square kilometer, while Kikoneni covers 318 square kilometers, has a population of 12,140 and a density of 38 people per square kilometer.

Mwereni Location is further from the sea than the other locations and parts of this area are infested with tsetse flies. It has less than 35 inches of rain annually, making it the driest area of the four. Most of the inhabitants are nomadic pastoralists of Duruma origin, though some Kamba are to be found in the area. It is 1,319 square kilometers in area, with a population of 12,839 and a density of 10 per square kilometer, giving it the lowest population density of the four areas.

Many of the Digo and Duruma are Muslims, at least nominally, while most of the Kamba and Luo are Christians, again at least in a nominal sense.

The women who are most involved in the Women's Programme in South Kwale are from the two numerically and politically dominant groups - the Digo and the Kamba.

The original inhabitants, except in Mwereni Location, are said to have been Digo, who have not regarded the extensive settlement of Kamba immigrants in the region with equanimity. The Digo have acquired a reputation for being unresponsive to development opportunities. Government officers posted in the area from 'up country' are known to stress this theme frequently. Such views seldom amount to anything more than expressions of ethnocentrism, and in any event it is invariably far too simplistic to reduce the complex of factors which explain differential rates of technical and social change and innovation among various populations to mere questions of 'responsiveness' versus 'unresponsiveness'. Contemporary Digo society displays the heterogeneous features and the attendant stresses and strains which derive from an extensive historical association of traditional socio-cultural patterns with Islamic and Western influences, and from the presence of a large, ethnically distinct immigrant population who are regarded as rivals.

The traditional Digo settlement pattern is the nucleated village. G.C.M. Mutiso, writing about the Kwale S.R.D.P. in the 1972 I.D.S. Evaluation (Occasional Paper No. 8), reported that most Digos still live in villages, though increasingly they are erecting temporary shelters on their farm plots to use at times of peak farm activity. Those who practise farming commute between their homes in the villages and their plots. Viewed strictly from a farm management perspective, this system may not appear advantageous, but the pattern of village residence must not be judged solely in these terms. Many Digo earn more money from other activities, such as fishing or retailing processed goods, than from farming. Historically, fishing appears to have been a primary economic activity, and men can still earn substantial sums from fishing. A number of men must work together to carry out a deep-sea fishing expedition, and this sort of cooperative endeavor is facilitated where the fishermen live near each other in villages.

Another factor which has contributed to the Digos' custom of living in villages has been the perennial scarcity of fresh water supplies. It is only reasonable that people have tended to cluster in villages around the limited number of reliable wells. By living in villages, the Digo have also been better able to defend themselves in times of insecurity. Among

Moslems, the community must be large enough to permit a prescribed minimum number of men to come together every week for Friday prayers, and groups of people have also traditionally come together for the ceremonies of the popular spirit cults.

These cults hold weekly meetings in the villages and provide their members with opportunities for leadership and prestige as well as strong mechanisms for social control. Many women who have become women's group leaders hold prominent positions in these cults. This suggests strongly that a shift from village settlements to individual homesteads may undermine the solidarity and authority mechanisms on which Digo society has rested for many years. A specific problem for women's groups in the area may be one of continuity as members shift from a communal to a more individualistic economic and residential pattern.

Yet a shift to individual homesteads is apparently taking place. Although Digo social patterns and culture have long been rooted in village life, a number of recent developments, such as increased security, the introduction of piped water, land adjudication and the possibility of holding title to land, have led some Digos to establish homesteads on their own farms. There is a growing sense that new avenues for personal and economic development will require breaking away from some traditional patterns, and with this a growing conflict has emerged between young Digos and the older generation. Government administration has encouraged people to move out of the villages and live on individual farms by offering agricultural loans to those who have moved as an inducement to the others. This policy is based to some extent on specific aims, such as the hope that dry-season fires will be more easily controlled when people live on their own farms, and to some extent on the dubious assumption that progress will come more quickly if the Digos take up the living patterns of other Kenyan tribes.

The position of women in Digo society is a complex issue which deeply affects their participation in the Women's Programme. Contemporary Digo society, as we have mentioned, is subject to a number of varying, and sometimes contradictory, influences: for example, inheritance is traditionally matrilineal, but the Islamic patrilineal system has been adopted by some and coexists beside the traditional system. (See 17, p. 151.) Digo women as a rule do not own land, but they have access to land through their male relatives. Men dominate agricultural, fishing and business activities, and women generally only engage in very limited forms of petty trade -- selling rice cakes, cooked fish and other prepared foods. The money they

earn is used to meet family obligations such as providing food, roofing the house and paying children's school fees. Some women have found wage employment as teachers, but the fact that relatively few Digo women have had the chance to acquire a formal education (the participation of the Digo as a whole in education has been extremely low in the past) means that wage employment opportunities are largely confined to working as waitresses or bar maids. Many women now participate in adult literacy classes, and in some areas women's literacy classes compete with men's. Where Islamic values are strong, the men appear to play the more important role in religious and social life, and it is possible that this situation has limited women's participation in education and wage employment. However, this question needs to be more fully investigated.

The majority of the Kamba in the area reside in Kikoneni Location on farms of between 10 and 60 acres. For the most part they live in homesteads on their farms. Like their Digo neighbours, many Kamba speak fluent Kiswahili, but also like the Digo, the men tend to have greater access to travel, education and urban employment opportunities and so tend to speak Kiswahili and English more fluently than the women. A larger percentage of Kamba women have received some education, primarily because many more of them have attended Christian mission schools. Unlike the Digo, Kamba men and women attend adult literacy classes together.

The Groups

There are 23 groups on record in the Kwale S.R.D.P. area with an estimated total membership of 280. This represents about 2 per cent of the roughly 15,000 adult women living in the area (1969 Census). The much larger non-S.R.D.P. area of Kwale District is reported to have only 21 groups with a total membership of around 200. (See 15, p. A4.)

Groups tend to be ethnically homogeneous throughout the South Kwale S.R.D.P. area, i.e., either Kamba or Digo. Generally speaking, the chairwomen are drawn from the older members of each group. Their husbands are often prominent in community affairs, serving as church elders or local religious leaders, for example, or being active on self-help project committees. Amongst the Digo groups, many of the leaders seem to be women who hold positions of authority in the local religious cults mentioned earlier.

Group treasurers, who tend to be in their 30s, are women considered particularly trustworthy -- a quality which is enhanced by having school-age children and a husband who runs a farm or business, as this indicates that a woman will remain in the community and accountable to the group. Secretaries are generally younger women (mid-to-late-20s) who are relatively well educated.

Activities: Group activities are varied and to some extent depend on geographical circumstances. One group may be located in an area which is well served by roads and transportation facilities, making it more convenient for extension personnel to attend group meetings or for the group to deliver handicraft items for sale at a market. Another group may not be so advantaged, with the consequence that its activities are somewhat restricted. Digo groups are perhaps better situated than the Kamba groups in this respect. Most of the groups in the area engage in homecraft activities, such as cooking and sewing sessions, and group handicraft production is very popular. Kamba groups are noteworthy for their mutual aid activities. For example, when a woman gives birth, other group members draw water for her, cook and assume most of her household duties for a period of two weeks to a month so that she can regain her strength. In many cases, group members in Kwale participate together in adult literacy and functional literacy classes. Women who have already received some formal education attend functional literacy classes along with those who have not. Those who are relatively well educated act as a stimulus and assist their classmates who are not as far along.

As a means of producing income for the groups, handicraft production has a fairly good potential due to the proximity of tourist markets -- at least for those groups situated in places where transportation is no problem. However, inadequate marketing organisation has hindered the development of this potential. Cooperatives have been suggested, but to date no action has been taken. In the past, the Bomani women's group in Msambweni Location was very active in producing handicrafts such as handbags and wicker chairs. The group received assistance from a German volunteer and handsome profits were realised. The members accumulated shs. 2,000, the proceeds from their sale of wicker chairs to one coast hotel. When the volunteer left, however, the group was unable to maintain the momentum of the business, and sales fell off.

The Bomani group has also engaged in poultry keeping. The Department of Social Services supplied the group with 100 chicks and 300 bags of feed. The women constructed a large shed to house the birds, working under the supervision of the Agricultural Officer. They began selling eggs after five and a half months, and by December 1974 had accumulated over shs 1,000. The group hopes to increase its production and obtain a supply tender with one of the tourist hotels. Members also speak of beginning individual projects and eventually forming a cooperative society.

Many groups are eager to begin poultry project because of the success of the Bomani group. However, the Bomani women have the advantage

of close proximity to a tourist market, and it is not certain that other groups with greater transport and marketing problems will be as successful. People in the Msambweni area have been extensively involved in commercial activities for some time, and this may affect the success of women's groups in that location initiating commercial ventures of their own. A grade cattle project was suggested for women's groups in the dry Mwereni Location but was dropped because the water supply proved to be inadequate.

The Digo women's groups have raised money by making makuti (palm frond) roofing for houses and schools and cementing the walls of buildings. Kamba women's groups have earned money by working as agricultural labour teams, by performing dances at official ceremonies and by making baskets. Groups tend to reinvest their earnings, rather than paying them out as dividends, because their commercial activities are still very much in the early stages.

The Course

Community Development Officers have found it difficult to convince local women to come forward to participate in the training courses. Initially, chiefs in the area seemed opposed to the idea. In March 1972, for example, the Adult Education Officer wrote that "Unless the Chiefs in the S.R.D.P. areas change their attitudes towards women attending courses, the Department /of Social Services/ will not reach its goals". Reportedly, chiefs at first told women that scheduled courses had been cancelled and tried to undermine the Programme in other ways, until they were persuaded of its benefits. Resistance was also encountered from husbands who did not see the training as serving any useful purpose.

During the first series of courses the participants were largely selected by the chiefs and some did not actually represent groups at all. Some of those selected were strangers in the area, the wives of civil servants. They tended to interact more with each other than with local women and would leave the area whenever their husbands were transferred. The following letter from one of the chiefs illustrates the problem:-

I refer you to the above mentioned letter and wish to inform you that Mrs. ... is no longer in Mwereni location. She was here with her husband who was working in this location as Agricultural Instructor and is now transferred. I have decided Mrs. ..., the adult /education/ teacher of Kilimangodo is to take her place. (see letter of 30/1/73 in Women's Groups file, ACDO's office Msambweni)

Poor selection of participants is perhaps one reason why there was such a high drop-out rate between the Phase 1 and 2 courses in the Series I training. Five (42%) of the original twelve women who attended Phase 1 did not attend the Phase 2 course. (See 16, p. 28.)

It was hoped that for Series II there would be substantial improvement in the selection process: women selected for training would be members in good standing of on-going groups in the area. At the time of writing, however, no information was available on how this actually worked out.

The training of women's group leaders in Kwale is intended to make the women aware of local development activities and problems, of the advantages of working together in women's groups, of how to consult with Government officers and of ways to organise groups effectively. Training sessions have covered a number of topics, including nutrition, cookery, health education, child care and development, family planning, home management, home industry (handicrafts), horticulture, primary school and day-care centre activities, civic education, group management and leadership, and recreational activities.

The Officials

At the time we visited Kwale there were only two Community Development Assistants employed by the Kwale County Council. These are the officers directly responsible for the day-to-day implementation of the Women's Programme, and at least two more would be needed to make the Programme viable in all locations. There is a limit to how many groups two officers can visit on a regular basis, particularly when they must walk or travel on buses to reach the groups.

The effectiveness of all extension efforts would be greatly enhanced by increased cooperation among the various ministries involved. In some instances officers in the area could take the initiative in cooperating with other departments more easily if administrative authority were more clearly defined. Cooperation would be particularly rewarding in the provision of transport for extension workers. As the number of vehicles available is likely to remain limited, extension workers could visit many more groups if they coordinated their schedules and shared the use of vehicles.

Government officers could also introduce more appropriate projects and implement them more effectively if they would develop a greater understanding and sympathy for Digo customs and social patterns and the cultural and historical forces which have shaped modern Digo society. Some officers

from other parts of Kenya have judged the particular problems and potentials of the area in terms of their own experiences and conceptions of rural life and development. Certain aspects of Digo community life, thus, have not been fully understood, but rather have been labeled as 'deviant' or 'backward'. Appropriate development efforts must be soundly based on a full understanding of present factors and conditions.

Problems and Prospects

It appears that, while at least some Digo women have become involved in the Women's Group Programme, Duruma women have hardly participated at all. As the Duruma are the other group native to the area, an effort should be made to measure their level of participation and investigate the reasons why it may be low. It may be that there are simply not enough extension staff to cover Duruma areas, or that the content of the Programme does not strike Duruma women as particularly relevant or useful. Also, it was mentioned earlier that some local men tried to obstruct the Programme, at least at the outset. These problems highlight the importance of developing the Programme with the understanding and consent of the entire local population. Government personnel must ensure the full cooperation of the local community: if they antagonise some local people and neglect others, with hasty or unilateral efforts to implement the Programme quickly, their long-run success may be very limited.

The Women's Programme in Kwale could have a particularly favourable impact on nutrition and family planning in the area. It has been estimated in the past that as many as 20 per cent of all Digo children suffer from malnutrition. (See 2.) The persistence of this problem relates to local beliefs concerning the proper diet for the very young and the treatment of malnutrition. Children from six months to three years old are fed largely on maize meal as it is widely believed that they cannot digest a number of protein-rich foods. If children show the symptoms of malnutrition, it is believed that the parents were guilty of some form of misconduct and traditional remedies are sought rather than modern medical treatment.

Attempts to promote family planning in South Kwale have achieved very little success. Reportedly, the local response to family planning was so discouraging that the first clinic was closed and the first two family planning workers posted to the area resigned. It was said that most of the women who came to the clinic were actually interested in ways to increase their fertility. Evidently, many of the women who do practise birth control

already have very large families -- often nine or ten children. Most men in Kwale take an unfavourable view of family planning. As in other areas, a large number of children is seen as a form of social security: the parents can count on at least some children surviving to adulthood and acquiring the means to support them in their old age. Both men and women tend to equate family planning with birth prevention, and understand less well the broader notion that planned parenthood can improve the quality of family life.

Both family planning and nutrition are topics covered in the leaders' training courses. However, if these ideas are to have a wide impact it is crucial that the leaders and Government extension personnel discuss them fully with the groups themselves.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The question of the participation of Duruma women in the Programme ought to be examined. It seems that very few of these women have been involved, and it is possible that the Programme has not been accessible to them or has not effectively catered for their needs and interests.
2. Care should be taken to build an understanding and acceptance of the Programme throughout the population and to seek broad community consent. Failure to do this at the outset resulted in the Programme being hindered somewhat by local men.
3. The poultry project in Bomani has clearly been a success. Steps should be taken to ascertain its potential for replication elsewhere.
4. Handicraft sales have a fairly good potential in Kwale due to the proximity of the tourist market, but a better marketing organisation needs to be developed if this potential is to be exploited fully.
5. The emphasis on nutrition and family planning in leaders' training courses is especially appropriate for Kwale since problems in these areas are particularly noticeable here. However, it is crucial that extension personnel also visit the groups themselves to see how effectively the new concepts are being introduced and discussed.
6. Women's groups throughout the S.R.D.P. area cannot be visited on a regular basis because there are not enough Community Development Assistants: We recommend that at least two more fulltime CDAs be employed.

7. Inadequate transport has limited the movement of extension personnel throughout the area. More effort ought to be made to pool vehicles among departments concerned with the Programme. If at all possible, the ~~COA~~ should be provided with some means of motorised transport (e.g. motorbikes).
8. The effectiveness of the Programme rests to a large extent on securing strong inter-departmental cooperation. It would help a great deal if the central headquarters of the ministries which are involved in the Programme would clearly authorise their personnel at the provincial and district levels to actively cooperate with other departments in developing the Programme.
9. Some Government officers whose homes are outside the Kwale area have not developed the proper understanding and sensitivity to the customs and social practises of the local people. It is important that the people entrusted with the task of bringing about change should understand the social context in which their development work is to take place.

CASE STUDY: MBERE

by

M.A.H. Wallis

The Leaders

Social Background: What sort of people are women's group leaders in Mberere? Data are given here for 14 leaders who attended a training course in September 1973. Interviews were carried out with these leaders at Kangaru C.D.T.C., Embu, at the time the course was being held.

The age range was from 18 to 57, averaging about 28. Seven claimed to be chairwomen of their groups, three to be secretaries, two treasurers and two ordinary members. It was noted that, contrary to policy, quite a few younger women held the post of chairwoman - the official idea has been that this should be reserved for one of the older women in the group. All of them described their occupation as "farming". One said she also worked in a self-employed capacity as a tailor and one had previously worked as a nursery teacher. For the remaining twelve women, farming had been their only occupational experience. Four were unmarried. Of the remainder, three were married to P2 teachers, two to clerks, two to drivers, one to a hospital dresser, one to a retired hotel worker and one to a retired clerk. No leader, in other words, was married to a husband who was (or had been) entirely dependent on farming as a source of income. This is fairly typical of the Mberere situation generally. Only one said she had no education. Of the remaining thirteen, five had gone as far as Standard Seven, which means that these leaders are probably more educated than Mberere women in general. Details are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Education of leaders.

None	adult studies	Std I-IV	Std V	Std VI	Std VII
1	2	-	3	3	5

Only one of the fourteen said she had never read (or had read to her) a newspaper or magazine of any kind. This was the woman without any education at all. The most often cited newspaper was Taifa Leo (six times), followed by

10. More than 14 leaders attended the course, but the additional ones were from non-S.R.D.P. areas of Embu District.

Kenya Yetu and Daily Nation (five times each). All but one of the women listened to the radio at least "sometimes". Only one is a "regular" television viewer. The mobile cinema had not reached all the leaders; nine of them claimed never to have seen it in their area.

Information on land ownership in Mbere presents difficulties because most of the area has not been adjudicated. However, the women were asked how much land they had access to, and their responses are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Leaders' access to land.

Land acreage	0 - 5	6 - 10	11 - 15	16 +	don't know
No. of women	8	3	1	1	1

There is no reason to believe that these women leaders have access to more land than other women in Mbere. The higher acreage women are from the drier part of Mbere (in the south-east) where fifteen acres might be equivalent to, say, five acres in a location such as Mbeti near Embu town.

Training: The leaders' training has been designed to cover a broad range of topics. The course held in May 1974 is given here as an example. Lesson summaries prepared by the individual trainers show that the topics covered included agriculture (Katumani maize, cotton, Mexican 142 pea/beans), handicrafts (sewing, mending, cutting patterns, basketry), animal husbandry (A.I. and calf-rearing, goat keeping), poultry keeping, pottery making, cooperatives, fund raising, nutrition, child care, group organisation and family money budgeting. In a two-week period, around 35 lessons were given. The problem is that it might be a mistake to try to do so much in two weeks. There must be a limit to what the leaders can absorb in such a short time. An improvement would be a reduction in the number of topics to give the teaching a more concentrated focus. Of course it is difficult to decide which topics to include, but a thorough enquiry into the social and economic needs of women in the area might give a reasonably clear basis for deciding on the curriculum.

There was little opportunity for the evaluation team to visit classes. However, one class which we were able to attend perhaps serves as an example. The method was the lecture followed by a question and answer session (this seems fairly typical). It was noticeable that the older women were far more active participants than the younger ones. The lecturer (the divisional CDA) explained to the women the kinds of harambee activities they might involve themselves in as groups. She listed the following (in no particular order of priority):-

1. Collective farming and livestock-keeping
2. Fund raising
3. Building better houses (e.g. with mabati roofing)
4. Water projects
5. House-keeping (giving advice on)
6. Construction of cattle dips
7. Construction of dispensaries
8. Construction of churches
9. Construction of improved roads.

Also, it was explained to the leaders how an executive committee should operate (procedures, elections etc). Stress was placed on the need to adequately involve men in such activities so they do not become alienated.

At the start of the Programme, a major problem in Mbere was the dropping out of leaders. Of the 25 leaders who attended the 1971 training course only 5 were still available for the second phase in 1973. Many of the leaders selected in 1971 seem not to have been leaders in any meaningful sense and were not able to form a group subsequently. The main error seems to have been that in the selection process too much emphasis was placed on the younger educated women whilst elder women who may have been more genuine leaders were left out. Also, follow-up appears to have been poor.

This mistake was recognised in 1973 when fresh selections were made. Although many of the women selected were young and some did not have any groups before training, there is some indication that their post-training activities were of more significance than previously. Undoubtedly, a greater degree of group and leader continuity has been maintained. P.B.F.L. Report No. 15 (16) indicates 100 per cent continuity in this training series. This is an impressive improvement, even if it is recognised that some of the leaders involved are from non-S.R.D.P. areas (where greater continuity is to be expected). Significant contributory factors may well be not just the selection, but also the training and the follow-up of the groups.

Perception of the Programme: Few of the women have very much idea about S.R.D.P. only about half of them had heard of it. As far as their training is concerned, they tend to be unanimously uncritical. They are, not surprisingly, more critical of the help they get in the field from the Government. For instance, they complain that although they are taught to sew, they do not have the equipment for this kind of work back in their home areas. Marketing of handicrafts is another serious problem (i.e. the women can produce handicrafts but then lack market outlets for what they produce). The problem is compounded

by the fact that one of the most obvious agencies for marketing, Maendeleo ya Wanawake, is a discredited organisation in Mbere. The women complained that they paid their subscriptions as long ago as 1970 but still had not been accepted as members. They therefore derived no benefit from the organisation. The consequence is a feeling of bitterness which militates against further involvement of Maendeleo ya Wanawake in women's activities in Mbere.¹¹ Another complaint voiced by a few women was that some chiefs and assistant-chiefs had been hostile towards the programme. For instance, some groups were prevented from holding meetings because their activities were considered politically suspect. By 1975, however, improved understanding seems to have reduced this problem greatly.

The Groups

The ecological condition of Mbere imposes definite constraints upon women's activities in the area. The major factor is water. Diana Hunt has noted that during the dry season (which can amount to nine months of the year) women in Mbere may spend up to nine or ten hours per day going to look for water and then having to queue for it. (5) Occasionally, absence of water makes it impossible to cook. She notes that the provision of a reliable water supply could make a "major impact on rural welfare and economic activity in Mbere". (5, p. 67) Certainly, this point is valid for the Women's Programme. After two years of working in Mbere, the situation was aptly summed up by one Health Assistant: "The people of Mbere always say 'Give us water, then we will consider your other ideas'."

Membership: It is difficult to obtain precise data on this matter. Official (both P.B.F.L. and D.S.S.) reports tell us that there were roughly 12 women's groups in Mbere in 1970. By 1974, according to the CDO's report, there were 25 groups with a total of 150 members. There seems little reason to doubt that the Programme has contributed to the increase in the number of groups in Mbere. If the CDO's figures are correct this means, using the 1969 Population Census, that about 18 per cent of all adult women in Mbere are involved in some form of women's group. It should be noted that the membership and, indeed, the existence of these groups is very erratic. There has been a tendency throughout the Programme for groups to rise, fall and rise again with a rapidity too great for the reporting and statistical system to handle. Often the CDAs (the principal sources of data) have not been aware of which groups in their area had collapsed, nor which had just sprung up.

¹¹ All the officials of the district Maendeleo ya Wanawake Committee are from Embu Division.

The problem is demonstrated when we compare, location by location, the 1972 with the 1974 position. The 1972 distribution by location of the 22 groups about which we have information is shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Distribution of groups by location (1972).

Location	Mbeti	Mavuria	Evurore	Nthawa
% of groups in S.R.D.P.	9%	13%	48%	30%

By 1974 the distribution of 21 groups among locations had altered greatly.

Table 4. Distribution of groups by location (1974).

Location	Mbeti	Mavuria	Evurore	Nthawa
% of groups in S.R.D.P.	19%	33%	29%	19%

This means that in a two-year period, Mbeti Location went up from 9 to 19 per cent, Mavuria up from 13 to 33 per cent, Evurore down from 48 to 29 per cent and Nthawa down from 30 to 19 per cent. There is no straightforward explanation for these changes. However, the rapid advance of Mavuria may be explained by the activities of the CDA who was posted there in 1973. Incidentally an indication of the Programme's impact is the way in which Mbeti lags behind. This location is more densely populated and more productive than the others and thus has a better basis for a successful Women's Programme. However, the policy in S.R.D.P. has been to concentrate on the other three less well endowed locations. The data we have seem to indicate that this strategy has been carried out effectively.

Activities and Plans: For group activities, the 1974 position will be discussed. It is apparent that many of the groups have shown a real advance since the start of the Programme. The two main activities seem to be agricultural work (including bush-clearing) and the construction of day care centres. A particularly impressive example of the first kind of activity was found in Mavuria Location where one group had accumulated (as of mid-1974) 5,000 shillings in a bank account. This group had about 30 members. A number of women's groups were also involved in projects to construct day care centres. In this kind of activity they do not operate independently; the men are also involved. Added impetus for this sort of activity comes from the growing realisation that, under Mbere conditions, education may provide the only possible route to economic advancement. At the same time, Mbere's low level of economic development tends to work against success. Day care centres are fund-raising rather than labour-contribution projects and money is not easily raised in Mbere, especially in times of drought. Nor is there any guarantee that, once completed,

the centres can be run properly. For instance, many parents' committees in Mbere have great difficulty in raising the money to pay the teacher a regular wage of about 50/- per month.

Table 5 gives an indication of the main activities of the women's groups in Mbere.

Table 5. Activities of women's groups in Mbere.

	<u>No. of groups</u>
1. Shamba work	17
2. Nursery schools	9
3. Sewing	5
4. Basket making	3
5. Cookery	2
6. Other buildings (e.g. health centre)	2
7. Katumani maize trial plot	2
8. Sunflower trial plot	2
9. Functional literacy	2

Although no groups are reported to be involved in keeping livestock, steps are currently being taken to start this. It is noticeable that few groups are involved in handicraft production. We have already referred to the problems of marketing and the fact that Maendeleo ya Wanawake is not likely to provide a solution. Diana Hunt (to whose work we have already referred) argues that handicraft production is one kind of economic activity likely to do well in Mbere. A possible solution to the marketing problem might be to capitalise on the fact that Embu town is now well placed on the tourist circuit. Visitors to Meru Mulika Lodge stay overnight at the Izaak Walton Inn. The Mbere women may thus be able to use this as a market in the same way, for example, as women in Kericho District who have sold their goods at the Kericho Tea Hotel.

Mbere at the moment seems to have struck a reasonable balance between social and economic development projects. As such, the women's groups are performing in the way suggested in the current Development Plan (see p. 489). The task ahead is to see that this balance is preserved, and one way in which this can be done is by taking steps to improve the prospects for handicraft production. This balance is likely to be difficult to maintain in Mbere where many farms have insufficient labour, so women are reluctant to give much time for outside activities.

It is also desirable to ensure that men do not feel alienated from, or distrustful of, women's groups. One anthropologist who worked in Mbere for over a year has noted the emphasis on male superiority in the Mbere value system. There is a proverb: "what is said by men is not opposed by women".

He also says that men consider women to be "wholly bereft of councillor skills such as argumentation, negotiation and knowledge of customary law". (3) Some women we spoke with did say that one difficulty they had was that their activities were opposed by men, and it is recommended that such factors as these be taken into account in future planning.

It is also worth looking into ways in which at least partial solutions to the water problem can be incorporated into the Programme. This seems a particularly pressing need in Mbere where lack of water imposes such a severe constraint on the use of women's time.

The Officials

During the early stages of the Programme a number of coordination problems were encountered. A mid-1973 P.B.F.L. report on Mbere commented:-

Even though group activities include nutrition and child care, education and learning of simple agricultural skills which include the specialities of many departments, home economics and CD staff alone work regularly with groups and complain they lack the time and personnel and teaching equipment to give needed guidance and teaching to groups. Even past possessiveness over groups resulting from a reporting system which encourages workers to "own" groups was cited as preventing CD and home economics staff from working together.

The P.B.F.L. report goes on to note that senior health and agricultural personnel have not really seen the usefulness of the Programme. Joint planning, combined with a general recognition of the importance that the Programme be shared among departments, seems to have improved matters. In the training component, at least, there seems to be good cooperation between departments. Prior to the dismissal of locational CDAs in October 1974, follow-up was largely a D.S.S. affair. This loss of staff, however, necessitates full involvement of other departments. The signs are that this will be forthcoming, especially from the Health Assistants.

However, steps need to be taken to reinstate the CDAs as soon as possible. The reason for their dismissal was the inability of their employers - the local authorities - to continue to pay their salaries. The most satisfactory solution would be for the central Government to take over their employment, even though this may undermine the notion that community development is an essentially local activity. As of January 1975, there is one CDA working in Mbere (in Gachoka Division) and she has additional responsibility for the large and time-consuming non-S.R.D.P. Mwea Location.

Two other administrative problems should be noted:-

(a) Mbere has had a high rate of turnover of ACDOs. There have been three in four years. Thus, the crucial coordinator of the Programme has been someone who, for a large part of the time, has been new to the job.

(b) The role of the provincial administration has been neglected. This has given rise to a situation in which chiefs and assistant chiefs have been suspicious of a Programme they did not understand and therefore have tended to obstruct it. Improved understanding, however, now seems to exist.

As far as Government officials' contact with women leaders is concerned, information has been obtained for four different types of official - ACDO/CDO, CDAs, chiefs and assistant chiefs. These data reveal that the assistant chief is the main point of contact with the Government. Ten of the fourteen women met him daily (of course, this does not mean that they met in connection with women's group activities). The CDAs' score is second. Two women leaders reckon to meet their CDA 'almost daily', two once a week, and six at least once a month. However, four say that they see the CDA less than once in three months. Contact with the ACDO/CDO and Chief is about equal in its infrequency - nine women say that they see both types of officer less often than once in three months. This is summarised in Table 6.

Table 6. Frequency of official contacts.

Officer	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Quarterly	Less often than quarterly
ACDO/CDO	-	-	4	1	9
Chief	-	1	4	-	9
CDA	2	2	6	-	4
Asst. Chief	10	1	-	-	3

12. From interviews at Kangaru C.D.T.C., September 1973.

radio every day 10 listened between 1 and 3 times a week and 2 listened occasionally (or once in every week or fortnight). Programmes heard on the radio were on agriculture, poultry keeping, family planning (Kiswahili: Mpango wa Uzazi) and the East African Industries programmes advertising household and cooking items. The majority of respondents listened to these programmes in Kiswahili or in their own vernaculars. The second most accessible mass medium was the newspaper: 10 out of the 19 respondents read the newspaper occasionally (as often as they could get a copy which varied from twice a week to once in two weeks). One respondent read the Standard at least three times a week but the most frequently mentioned paper was the Taifa Leo (Kiswahili for Daily Nation). It was noted, however, that newspapers could be a more useful medium of communication if they were not prohibitively expensive and delivery too irregular to allow rural women to rely on newspapers for information. The cinema is the least accessible mass medium: those who reported ever visiting the cinema were only able to do so in Migori, Macalder, Kihancha and Kisumu and even then very rarely (once in three to six months or even once a year). Many women said that they would like to attend the film shows, but this was made difficult because of the distance to the centres visited by the mobile film unit and because of the time at which the films were shown. Women cannot normally take time off in the early hours of the evening to attend the cinema because of household chores, and they are not expected to go out at night, either alone or in groups.

Asked about how they were chosen to be group leaders, all the women responded that they had been elected by their groups. While this may be true for some, there are indications that a husband's influential position may push a woman into a leadership position regardless of the group's estimation of her suitability.

Leaders' Training and Drop-Out Rates: Women group leaders in Migori/Kuria have attended various types of short courses held at intervals from 1971 to 1975. These series of training sessions involved not only the group leaders, but also their trainers, and were organised through the local Community Development offices with the assistance of P.B.F.L., mainly in the area of curriculum development, selection of leaders, training of trainers and follow-up.

Two courses had already been held in 1971 before P.B.F.L. was asked to help with the programme. These were a two-week divisional seminar

for women leaders (21 May to 10 June 1971) which was attended by 51 women, followed by a two-week course (starting on 15 September 1971) attended by 23 women. There is no indication whether the 23 women who attended the second course came out of the original 51 or whether they were a completely fresh group.

It was at this time that P.B.F.L. arranged for a Trainers Workshop which was held in Kikuyu from 2 to 8 October 1972 to prepare those who would be training the women's group leaders. At this workshop, arrangements were made to hold a three-day seminar in Migori to allow potential trainers who had been unable to attend the workshop to be familiar with training requirements for the leaders. The seminar was subsequently held in Migori from 13 to 15 November 1972.

According to P.B.F.L., the seminar was organised in a hurry because officers were anxious to go on leave, and so little coordination was possible between individual trainers. Furthermore, the tentative training programme which had been prepared was adopted without revision. On the whole it appears that little effort was made to assess the situation in the Migori/Kuria area or the needs of women's groups, and no special curricula were drawn up. The agricultural officers, for instance, were prepared to instruct women in the whole range of crops planned by the Ministry of Agriculture for that area for the year 1973/74, and no attempt was made to identify priority crops from the point of view of the women's groups.

This seminar was followed by a field trip organised for the women leaders to see other groups, and this again is said to have been poorly coordinated both among the officers and among the groups themselves. The AAO, Home Economist and ACDO visited the groups after a three-week course in February and March 1973.

According to a report by the ACDO-Migori/Kuria, women's leaders in the area had received two series of training. Series I attended by the first group had four phases, of two weeks, one week, three weeks and one week respectively, with a few months break in between. Series II, attended by the second group of women had two phases lasting two weeks each. (See 13, Appendix I.) The first phase of Series II training occurred from 29 October to 10 November 1973. Courses were held at Macalder and 21 women attended. A trainer's workshop was held in Migori for 12 trainers from 25 to 26 October 1973 in preparation for the two-week course that followed.

Courses continued for women leaders up to the middle of 1974. The second phase of Series II training for the second group was held from 16 March to 30 April 1974. (See S.R.D.P. Phasing Form 1973-74, Department of Social Services.) The course curriculum included nutrition, vegetable growing, cattle rearing, child care, family planning, handicrafts, home improvement, literacy classes, group organisation and leadership, and poultry-keeping. Not all of the women leaders in the area were able to attend both series of courses.

Asked how useful the courses were, respondents said that all courses were very useful: however, when pressed further to give a more precise statement about the benefits of courses, they indicated that lack of equipment and money made it impossible to implement some of the knowledge offered at the courses, especially in poultry-keeping and vegetable growing.

Continuity between the phases of training has not been very smooth in the Migori/Kuria S.R.D.P. area. Follow-up of groups and trained leaders has not been as frequent as necessary. As has been stated, the follow-up of the first group was conducted by the AAO, ACDO and Home Economist in February and March 1973. A follow-up for the Series II, Phase 1 course (October-November 1973) was arranged and carried out by the ACDO and the trainers from 16 November 1973 to 28 February 1974, during which 25 women's clubs were visited at least once. Another follow-up was arranged for the period of 15 April to 30th June, to cater for the second group of trained leaders (Phase 2 March - April 1974) during which 25 women's clubs were visited at least once. It is, however, unclear as to whether or not the second group of women's clubs visited overlapped with the first one. The ACDO's reports are also not clear as to the nature of the follow-up, the discoveries which were made during the period about the programme on the ground and whether such information had been useful in improving group activities.

Drop-out rates for Migori/Kuria have been quite high. According to P.B.F.L. (See 16), out of 23 group leaders entered for Phase 1 of Series I training (1971/73), 6, or 26 per cent did not attend the second phase of the same series. Of 21 leaders attending Phase 1 of Series II (1973/74), 10, or 47.6 per cent, failed to attend Phase 2 of the same series. This rise in drop-out rates for Migori/Kuria is explained at least in part according to P.B.F.L. by (1) the remoteness of the area which resulted in fewer follow-ups; and (2) the fact that the sheer geographical size of the area, covering three divisions, makes it difficult for local

trainers to follow-up groups systematically. Additional factors, however, can be adduced to explain the high drop-out rate of leaders. In the first instance, the poor and irregular remuneration of locational CDAs and the lack of any remuneration for women's leaders appear to have combined to reduce the enthusiasm of CDAs and the leaders. As early as the beginning of 1974, locational CDAs for Migori/Kuria were waiting several months for their salaries. While the County Council claimed it had no money to pay CDAs, it was always able to pay salaries to senior officers of the Council, although each of these salaries was considerably larger than the salaries of two or three CDAs put together. In the past some of the women's group leaders had been paid by the local authority. However, subsequently these payments were discontinued and thus an expectation for remuneration had been created among leaders which was not satisfied. The idea of a voluntary leader is still rather difficult for groups and their leaders to accept. Furthermore, self-help committees were strained in their resources and found themselves unable to pay women's leaders and nursery teachers. Problems of transportation also added to those resulting from the irregularity of CDA salaries: the terrain in Migori/Kuria is difficult, and roads are often impassable during the rains; this lowers the level of contact which the CDAs can have with the groups - especially during the rains when seasonal streams fill up. The distribution of local staff among the locations, combined with the problems of transportation, also appears to have contributed to the low level of communication with some of the groups.

On the whole the Migori/Kuria S.R.D.P. Women's Programme seems to have suffered most from lack of follow-up once the groups had received training.

The Groups

Women's groups in Migori/Kuria S.R.D.P. area have quite diverse and interesting origins: some are quite old, tracing their beginnings to the 1950s and 1960s, while others are new and can be more usefully linked with the S.R.D.P. area from 1971 onwards.

Women's groups can be initiated in several different ways: (1) by women (usually individuals) who have had training at homecraft centres in sewing and knitting through the Community Development offices or women who have had some training in town and have returned home while their spouses continue to work away from the area; (2) by an interested locational CDA who

may work through any number of social bases such as churches, school committees or other political or social organisations; (3) by a group of men and women who as members of a cooperative society, see the need to mobilise women for their local development; or (4) by a nucleus formed from the members of a church.

According to the Ministry of Cooperatives and Social Services 1971 Annual Report, there were 20 women's groups in Migori/Kuria with a total enrollment of 416 members. Migori Division had 11 groups with a membership of 222; Kihancha had 3 groups with a membership of 76; and Macalder had 6 groups with a membership of 118. By July 1972, there were 25 women's groups with a membership of 520, according to a Progress Report of the ACDO-Migori/Kuria presented to the senior staff meeting in Migori on 10 to 11 July 1972. By 1973, it was reported that 34 women's groups had been formed and some had been abandoned. (See Annual Report, Migori/Kuria S.R.D.P., Department of Social Services.) The 1973 Report, however, does not state which groups were continuing from 1971 and which were newly formed or abandoned. In the first quarter of 1974, 23 groups were reported registered in Migori/Kuria, distributed as follows: Migori Division, 15 groups with a total membership of 243; Kihancha Division, 3 groups with 17 members; and Macalder Division, 5 groups with a membership of 61. The figures show a drastic reduction in groups and membership for Kihancha and Macalder Divisions while Migori Division maintains a steady rise both in number of groups and membership. According to the ACDO, by the end of 1974 there were 34 groups with a total membership of 680. Could 13 new groups have formed in Migori/Kuria between the time of the first quarterly report and the end of 1974? If this is the case, then there is some discrepancy between the high drop-out rate in the leader's training courses and the ability of so many new groups to spring up.

The fluctuation in group membership and the actual demise of groups can be explained at least in part in terms of the distance from Migori which is a thriving trading centre and where the divisional headquarters is located. The groups nearest and within Migori Division may derive the benefits of closer follow-up and contact with staff more than do groups in Kihancha or Macalder where there seems to be difficulty in forming new groups to replace old ones that are abandoned.

Although in 1974 34 groups are reported with a total membership of 680, these figures are not high in comparison with the total number of women in the three divisions. It should not be assumed, therefore, that a numerical rise in groups (from 20 in 1971 to 34 in 1974) is an indication

of the success of groups on the ground. A useful indication of the success of groups must be sought in the follow-up reports rather than in the sheer rise in membership, especially when groups come and go so rapidly.

Group Activities: Women's groups in Migori/Kuria engage in activities such as farming, poultry-keeping, pottery, cookery, handicrafts, knitting socks, and making baskets and children's clothes. According to the ACDO, two groups are putting up poultry houses; seven have hybrid maize plots; eighteen are involved in kitchen gardening; one is building a store; and one is building a social hall. The groups have plans to expand their craft production, buy sewing machines, raise money for a dispensary, improve on their farming plots, intensify poultry-keeping and improve their cookery and sewing. Each group varies in the emphasis it gives to different activities, however nearly all the groups whose leaders were interviewed show an unnecessary concern with knitting and sewing articles which cannot be sold easily and take up too much of the valuable time which groups could spend in other more profitable endeavours.

Groups meet twice a week at a designated meeting place, usually a school room or a church, where they conduct their business. However many of the groups desire a meeting place constructed in their own name which they could utilise for cinema shows and lectures as well as their discussions.

Problems: The biggest problem facing the groups is financial. Although part of the stress on money problems derived from the perception that the I.D.S. team might deliver or cause others to deliver resources for the group's improvement, there were some quite genuine needs mentioned. The following were noted as major bottlenecks: (1) payment of leaders and nursery teachers; (2) costs of books and purchase of materials for literacy classes; (3) costs of new seeds for kitchen gardening; (4) costs of a meeting room for the groups; and (5) the need for further training of the groups as a whole relating to family welfare and family planning.

Perception of the Programme: The leaders of groups see the formation of women's groups as a valuable step toward helping women gain confidence in public participation. The respondents would not list any course as 'not useful' and they praised the programme for giving women a chance to learn. Indeed a number of women have benefited from functional literacy classes and welcome any new ideas or resources which might bring about an improvement in their lives. However, they stated that cost of equipment, such as for poultry-keeping, and general lack of money sometimes prevents them from implementing what they have learnt.

In spite of the Women's Programme being part of S.R.D.P., respondents showed very limited knowledge of S.R.D.P. as a concept of development or of projects being carried out in the area. This lack of knowledge may have stemmed from the fact that the other ministries involved in S.R.D.P. did not have as much to do with the women's groups as the Ministry of Social Services. Lack of cooperation among ministries sometimes created false divisions between officers in the field and obstructed the possibility of coordination which is so vital at the local level. In addition, some group leaders appeared not to inform members of their groups about the objectives and finances of the programme. Where a leader is not actually chosen by the group, some form of alienation also occurs between the leader and her group members. These communication problems can be reduced or eliminated if members of the group are in frequent contact with all the relevant officials of ministries who are working in the area and if the group has a genuine opportunity to choose its own leadership.

THE OFFICIALS

In the table below we indicate the officials and agencies involved in the Women's Programme in the Miori/Kuria area.

Table 4. Officials working with women's groups.

<u>Designation</u>	<u>Department/Agency</u>	<u>Types of Contribution</u>
1. CDO	DSS	Training
2. ACDO	DSS	Divisional coordination of training and follow-up
3. CDA	DSS	Locational supervision of groups; assistance in implementation of training; follow-up
4. AAO	MOA	Training and follow-up
5. Home Economist	MOA	Training and follow-up
6. JAA	MOA	Locational extension work
7. Nutritionist	MOH	Training and follow-up
8. Home Visitor	MOH)	Visiting groups on the ground and offering advice on how to use information from courses.
9. Health Educator	MOH)	
10. Field Educator	FPAK	Instruction on family planning and follow-up
11. P.B.F.L. Staff	PSFL	Curriculum development, training, follow-up
12. Adult Education Officer	MOE	Instruction in adult literacy and supervision of the programme

Table 4 Continued.

13.	ACJ	MOCD	Instruction on cooperative societies, follow-up
14.	Fisheries Officer	MOTW	Instruction on fish farming

CASE STUDY: TETU

by

D.L. Browne (condensed from a longer draft by S.B. Westley)

Background

Tetu is a division of Nyeri District in Kenya's Central Province, covering an area of 242 square kilometers. The population is entirely Kikuyu, with a present growth rate of 3.8 per cent per annum, even higher than the national growth rate which is 3.6 per cent.

A system of social stratification is emerging in the area, with large farmers owning ten or more acres of land, followed by a stratum of traders, transporters and distributors. Then there is a group which might be called the "middle peasantry" with moderate land holdings averaging about six acres, and a poorer group with very small holdings, averaging three acres, whose agricultural earning potential is very limited. Finally there are landless peasants who live in villages on public land and maintain themselves by renting small plots from the Nyeri County Council and hiring out as farm labourers, especially to the largest farmers.

Prestige and power in the community are becoming increasingly based on wealth, and with land practically the sole source of wealth, opportunities for upward mobility in the area are limited. A temporary sojourn in one of Kenya's major towns is seen as the most expeditious means of achieving upward social mobility.

The emerging rural elite of large farmers tends to maintain its dominant position by means of greater access to education, agricultural credit and other resources. There are signs that greater self-awareness and distinctiveness are developing among the different social strata, but the emergence of a full-fledged class system has been restricted by a sense of solidarity among all Kikuyus and by the absence of organisations clearly based on class distinctions.

Information was collected concerning the Women's Programme in Tetu in a number of ways. After studying the relevant literature and Government files, the researchers interviewed officials both in Tetu and Nairobi. Members of women's groups were given extensive open-ended interviews, and random visits were made to homesteads, markets and village centres where women were interviewed informally. Finally, the women's group leaders who

had attended the special training courses developed by the F.A.O.'s Programmes for Better Family Living (P.B.F.L.) were interviewed, and the staff members who organised and conducted the courses were also questioned.

The Groups - Mabati Groups

Out of 22 women who attended the second training course for women's group leaders in Tetu, 14 stated that they were members of mabati or home improvement groups, 6 stated that they belonged to Maendeleo ya Wanawake groups and 2 to other groups.

According to D.G. Wambugu of the Ministry of Social Services, Tetu Division had 104 women's mabati groups in 1972. (Personal communication, March 1975) In 1974, however, the ACDO reported only 70 mabati groups in the same area. (See Tetu SRDP Quarterly Report, A.C.D.O. Tetu, August 1974.) The ACDO was new to the area and all five CDAs who had made up his field staff had been released from service by the Nyeri County Council due to shortage of funds: under these circumstances, it is possible that many groups were simply not counted or that some had collapsed without the support and guidance of Government staff. Be that as it may, the 70 groups reported by the ACDO have on average about 60 members, and vary in size from 12 to over 300. These groups are formed on a voluntary self-help basis. Each member pays two to five shillings a month in dues, and then when her turn comes she receives either mabati roofing for her home, a 1,000 gallon water storage tank or all the money collected from members that particular month which she is free to use as she likes. Therefore the groups often operate as savings societies. They also sometimes make small loans to members.

Most groups meet once a week, but some only meet once a month. These meetings provide the women with social outlets, with a source of information on local affairs and with opportunities for exercising leadership. The groups also serve a social control function. In the past women came together to fetch firewood and water or to participate in various forms of communal labour. As these patterns have changed, women have found new social outlets such as church or literacy groups. The mabati groups have evolved directly from the tradition of thatching roofs communally. Roof thatching used to be an annual affair in Tetu because large white maggots damaged the thatch so that it had to be replaced every year. Land consolidation and the spread of cash cropping has meant that less land is left fallow and grass formerly used for thatching is becoming scarce. This situation has contributed to the formation of mabati groups,

and chiefs and sub-chiefs have also encouraged the groups because they want their areas to look more modern.

Traditionally, women's groups raised money by participating in group labour projects, but older women who could not do the work were allowed to pay a contribution. Although work groups are still a common phenomenon in Tetu, the general rise in prosperity in the area has meant that many women would rather pay dues than engage in work projects. Thus the mabati groups in Tetu raise funds by collecting dues from the members at every meeting.

The selection of officers follows a general pattern. The chairwomen of groups are usually respected members of the oldest age set represented among the members. They are selected for their honesty and devotion to duty, and on the basis of their family's reputation in the community. Treasurers, who tend to be middle-aged, are said to be selected from among women with wealthy husbands, because the husband's property serves as a form of security. Should the wife be tempted to misallocate funds, the women can retaliate by shaming the husband until he forces his wife to return the money. However, such a situation almost never occurs. Secretaries are usually chosen from among the younger group members because they should be literate and the younger women generally have received more education. Most secretaries have attended school at least up to Standard V.

Most groups have an additional four or five committee members who tend to be local opinion leaders and who help collect funds. The committee members do not seem to be distinguished by any other special qualities: they represent various age, education and income levels. Decisions are usually made by an inner circle composed mainly of the group founders. If another inner circle forms within a group, conflict may heighten, the group may split and each inner circle becomes the nucleus for a new group.

Assuming that the figures for group membership given by the ACDO in his 1974 report are fairly close to the mark, then around 4,200 women in the Division are members of mabati groups. This represents 17 per cent of the 23,898 women in Tetu. These women come overwhelmingly from the social stratum described in this paper as the middle peasantry. As mentioned earlier, women from landless families tend to live in villages on land rented from the County Council. Since current Council regulations discourage the building of permanent or semi-permanent structures on this land, few women from the 60 villages registered in the area belong to mabati groups.

Members of Tetu-area groups have roofed 227 houses at a total value of shs 72,960 and have contributed an additional shs 14,754 towards group activities. (See Quarterly Report, ACDO Tetu, June 1974.) Many groups have already roofed the houses of all their members, so they have moved on to new goals such as purchasing water storage tanks or building block walls for members' homes. They have also turned their energies to civic projects such as building day care centres and primary schools. In addition, mabati groups help feed and clothe the poorest members of the community. They pay school fees for children from destitute families and assist elderly women, whether or not they are group members, to repair the walls and roofs of their homes or secure food when necessary. Mabati groups also perform traditional dances for local and visiting dignitaries on special occasions, such as the opening of a cattle dip, coffee factory or water project.

Maendeleo ya Wanawake Clubs

Most women in Tetu are familiar with the Maendeleo ya Wanawake organisation, but few are members. Many of the younger, better educated members of the mabati groups say they also belong to Maendeleo clubs, but the groups themselves are not affiliated with the organisation. The only registered affiliate listed in the files of the Department of Social Services in Tetu is Ite Khahuno Maendeleo Women's Club with 128 members. However, as stated earlier, 6 of the 22 women's leaders attending the second training course said they were affiliated with Maendeleo clubs: perhaps their use of the word 'maendeleo' expresses their aspirations rather than their actual affiliations, or perhaps other clubs exist which are not listed in Department files.

There seems to be a general feeling among women in Tetu that the Maendeleo ya Wanawake is concerned with less important activities such as handicrafts, rather than with activities which will directly and substantially contribute to a higher standard of living. As a result, Maendeleo is perceived as an organisation for wealthier women who may regard membership as a status symbol. A. Wandera has pointed out that the use of the word 'club' rather than 'group' stresses the non-utilitarian nature of these associations. (See Analytic Report Quantifying the Contribution of Women's Groups to National Development between 1971 and 1972, Ministry of Social Services.) Some women also associate Maendeleo with life in the enforced villages during the Emergency.

Phase II of the course was very high, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Drop-out rate for Series I training.

Attending		Drop-outs	
Phase I	Phase II	Number	Per Cent
25	14	11	44%

The drop-out rate for the Series II training course was not known when the I.D.S. investigators were in the field, but much greater care had been taken to ensure that the 22 participants were actually chosen by their groups and so it was hoped that the drop-out rate would be much smaller.

The Series I and II courses covered a wide range of topics, but 20 out of a total of 37 hours of instruction were devoted to family welfare, including child and maternal health, nutrition and family planning. This emphasis can be viewed as reflecting the major concerns of P.B.F.L. Agriculture, which is an important activity of all the participants, was covered in only one hour; home management, saving and record keeping received four hours; local industries received two hours; leadership and organisational techniques received eight hours; religion and spiritual guidance received one hour; and one hour was devoted to a panel discussion on cooperatives. The women have other opportunities to receive at least some agricultural instruction, but they apparently have no way of learning about cooperative organisation, especially since the Ministry of Cooperatives is not officially involved in the S.R.D.P. in Tetu. This is a serious need, and one which cannot be met by one hour of discussion. Groups which have engaged in commercial activities, such as handicraft, crop or livestock production, have suffered from inadequate marketing arrangements, and fuller involvement of Cooperative Development personnel with these groups would be a considerable help. It is also perhaps disappointing that no instruction was given regarding home improvement. Since this is a major preoccupation of the groups involved, new information in this area (such as on ways to provide adequate lighting, for instance) would be highly relevant.

P.B.F.L. had recommended that the Ministry of Social Services carry out a baseline survey on the needs of the community prior to organising the courses, but such a survey was never carried out, so the curriculum had to be planned with very little information on community needs. Neither

were the course planners fully aware, it seems, of the amount of information the participants could realistically be expected to absorb in a short time and then impart to their group members. It might help these women to share more information with their groups if they were given cassette tape recorders with the lessons recorded in the vernacular and a blank tape on which they could record questions to send to the trainers.

Posters and other visual aids could also be provided to illustrate certain key points. Finally, course planners were apparently not aware of the complexity of social relationships possible among women in Tetu, and they did not foresee situations where some women maintained a monopoly of information and contacts gained from the courses which they exploited to enhance their position in the community. This situation might be avoided if two women from each group participate in the training courses.

Of ten participants questioned, only three indicated that they had made any special effort to pass on information from the course to groups other than their own. The extension staff could broaden the number of women exposed to information from the courses and could also perhaps lessen competition among groups by scheduling joint group meetings on a monthly or quarterly basis. This would also facilitate their own follow-up activities; at present they must try to visit each group separately.

Women's groups should be encouraged to continue their home improvement activities, possibly by introducing permanent materials for floors and walls. Income generating activities should only be introduced after careful attention has been given to the problems of markets. In the past women's groups were encouraged to produce poultry on a commercial basis, for instance, but when production outstripped demand they had to sell poultry at sub-economic prices. Women's groups could be encouraged to purchase grade cattle for individual members just as they have purchased mabati roofing in the past, with assistance in purchasing and maintenance provided by the Ministries of Social Services and Agriculture. The milk produced could be an important addition to the family's diet, and excess milk could be sold.

The Women's Perceptions of the S.R.D.P.: All but one of the women interviewed had heard of the S.R.D.P. Like many people in Tetu, they tended to attribute to the Programme not only actual S.R.D.P. projects, such as the maize credit scheme or the cattle dips, but also other projects in the Division, such as self-help primary schools and small water projects. Many people felt that becoming an S.R.D.P. area was a political victory for the people of Tetu, and

they seemed to expect that the Division would be marked out as a progressive area by the provision of such things as modern houses and buildings, electricity in homes, or at the very least a public telephone in every market. Tetu residents liked living in an S.R.D.P. area because they said government officers visited them more often, which indicated that the government was concerned with their well-being.

They were all familiar with family planning and accepted, in theory at least, the idea of spacing children. However, they opposed the notion of deliberately limiting population, and seemed to consider a large family a blessing. Some increase in acceptance of family planning is reflected in the files of family planning clinics in the area: Ihururu clinic reported 76 first visitors in 1973 and 102 in 1974. Of these first visitors in 1974, 81 came at least for a second visit and of these 39 came at least a third time, but 36 never returned after their first visit. Wamagana Health Centre reported 102 first visitors in 1973 and 116 in 1974; of these 94 visited the Centre at least a second time, but 22 never returned.

More widespread and sustained acceptance of family planning in Tetu has been thwarted by a severe shortage of qualified staff. Within the Tetu S.R.D.P. area there are only two midwives, one clerk and one field educator with no doctors or nurses in the clinics on a full-time basis. As a result, the side effects of various birth control methods and ways of dealing with them are not fully explained. In this situation, women who experience unpleasant side effects can spread a great deal of bad feeling and misinformation about the programme.

The women interviewed were favourably impressed with the home gardens project introduced by the home economist. This and other nutrition projects were apparently having an impact in Tetu because until recently there was a sharp drop in the incidence of malnutrition. Lately, however, poor weather has led to unexpectedly low harvests and the cases of malnutrition have increased.

The Officials

Government officials in Tetu who are concerned with the Women's Programme point out that often they are not free to work on S.R.D.P. projects because ongoing departmental duties are given a higher priority. Inadequate staffing and frequent transfers are other recurrent problems. For example, at the time of the I.D.S. researchers' visit to the area the

ACDO was new and was still familiarising himself with local conditions, the Ministry of Agriculture's home economist had been on maternity leave for over six months without a replacement so that the home gardens project was losing ground rapidly, and the CDAs, who had been the Ministry of Social Service's field staff with responsibility for the Women's Programme, had all been dismissed. Although the qualifications and the efficiency of the CDAs may have been questioned in the past, now that they are gone it is obvious that they were performing an important function and serious consideration should be given to reappointing them.

One way to ease the gap left by the dismissal of the CDAs would be to pay a salary to women's group leaders, thereby formalising their role as extension agents. However, it does not seem fair for Government to pay the leaders' salaries directly, since in fact they provide services to only one section of the community. Perhaps contributions made by group members could be used to pay the leaders a small salary, under the supervision of the Ministry of Social Services.

Lack of transport also seemed to be a problem for Government officials involved in the Women's Programme, but this could be alleviated to a great extent if the activities of different officials could be coordinated so that vehicles could be shared. As part of S.R.D.P., efforts have been made to increase co-operation among the ministries, but this principal has been accepted more in theory than in practise. Barriers to co-operation still exist, such as the fear that a department's autonomy or prestige, as indicated in part by the control of vehicles, will be encroached upon if they are shared. It is not uncommon to see a number of vehicles from different ministries parked together, because the officers are visiting the same place, but in separate vehicles. Sharing vehicles would increase the opportunities for mobility and help reduce expenses as well.

Recommendations

The recommendations which have been scattered throughout this discussion are listed below.

1. If possible, a baseline social survey of the area should be conducted.
2. Government personnel should be provided with responsibility for the Women's Programme at the divisional and locational

level. In view of the important role they played in providing support and supervision for women's groups, the CDA posts should be re-established.

3. Lessons from the leaders training courses should be taped in the vernacular and the leaders provided with cassette tape recorders. Blank tapes might be provided so that the groups could record questions to be forwarded to the trainers. Visual aids should also be supplied to illustrate important points.
4. Regular joint meetings should be held, perhaps quarterly, to bring together all the women's groups from a location or sub-location. This should promote the wider dissemination of information, increased cooperation among groups and more effective follow-up procedures.
5. Vehicles should be shared by more than one department and should be used on a rotational basis except in emergencies.
6. Lower income women should be encouraged to start home gardens and to purchase grade cows to improve their families' nutritional status.
7. Mabati groups should be encouraged to continue the improvement of their homes by introducing permanent materials for walls and floors.
8. The Ministry of Agriculture should fill the post of home economist at Ruring'u.
9. Current family planning efforts should be expanded to include sex education courses in schools, and perhaps simple sex education movies in the vernacular to be shown by the mobile cinemas. Family planning education should include explanations of possible side effects and the steps which should be taken to treat them.
10. Women's group leaders should receive some payment for their services, possibly by collecting money from group members for salaries with supervision from the Ministry of Social Services.

11. The role of Co-operative Development personnel in the Programme ought to be greatly enhanced. Women's groups involved in commercial activities could benefit substantially from assistance provided by these officers.

CASE STUDY: VIHIGA/HAMISI

by

J.E. Reynolds

The Leaders

Background: During their visit to Vihiga in early December 1974, members of the I.D.S. study team were able to interview all 26 of the participants in the Leaders' Training Course (Phase II) then commencing at Vihiga Secondary School. The following discussion of background characteristics of Vihiga/Hamisi (V/H) area women leaders is based on information obtained during these interviews.

The participants ranged in age from 19 to 55 years, with an average age of about 34. Four claimed to be attending the course because they were to become group leaders in the near future, one said she was training with the plan to re-activate a dormant group, and the rest said that they were currently leaders of active groups. In all cases, the current leaders said they had been elected to their positions by their respective groups.

Most of the women (22) identified their major occupation as farming and small-scale produce selling. One participant was a member of a local convent. One claimed she owned a posho mill. Ten said that they are now or have been teachers at nursery/day-care centres. Other previous work experience outside of farming took the form of nursing, teaching weaving at a school, and a junior staff position with the police.

In terms of educational background, 12 women said they had completed primary school, and 13 said they attended without finishing. One said she had never attended, although she claimed reading and writing ability. No one claimed to have any education beyond primary level. There were 22 in the

Table 1. Education of participants in Series II training.

None	Std IV or less	Std V	Std VI	Std VII
1	7	3	3	12

group who said they could speak/understand at least some Swahili. Eleven said they could speak/understand at least some English.

Almost the entire group claimed to listen to the radio on a regular, usually daily, basis. Daily papers are not cheap by local standards, and in any event are often hard to come by. Twenty-one of the women said they read

one or another of the daily papers occasionally (usually at least once a week), when they had the opportunity. The mobile cinema visited the area infrequently, but most said they go to the films when possible.

A minority (6) of those who were married (24 married, 2 unmarried) reported having husbands whose income was derived solely from farming. Seven had husbands who worked as primary school teachers. Other husbands' occupations included: Settlement Officer, Veterinary Officer, Assistant Chief, Post Office employee, bartender, petrol station attendant, and shop owner (one of the primary school teachers). Of those six husbands who were said to have no current employment other than farming, four were said to have held outside employment previously (one primary teacher, one mason and two labourers).

Information of land holdings per household (husband and wife) was also obtained in the interviews. The course participants claimed to come from households with land holdings ranging from 1.0 to 11.5 acres. The average land holding reported would be just over 4 acres, and 86 per cent of the holdings were 5 acres or less. This figure is not surprising as the great majority of land holdings in the V/H area consist of such small parcels. (10) Only three of the women claimed to have any land registered in their own names. One woman reported that she and her husband owned 42 acres in a settlement scheme outside the V/H area.

Training: The first series of training courses for leaders in V/H was completed in early 1973. During this series major problems were encountered, viz., the selection of non-leaders and a rather high drop-out rate. There were significant improvements in the situation for the second series.

Series II took place in 1974 in two phases (April and December). In nearly all cases, the participants were chosen by their respective groups to attend the courses. The groups were encouraged to select those women who had a strong commitment to their group's development, who were willing to help and to lead the group, and who were respected in the local community. The participants represented groups from all six of the S.R.D.P. locations in Vihiga/Hamisi.

A fairly ambitious range of topics were covered in the Series II courses. Training was given in such subjects as community life and the role of public agencies (the courts, the Probation Department, law enforcement, police-community relations, social welfare), family planning, family and home welfare (nutrition, child care, child development, home hygiene, first aid, home improvement, etc.), agriculture and livestock (vegetable and fruit growing, crop husbandry, poultry keeping, fish farming, livestock rearing and disease control), cooperatives (their functions and organisation), local marketing,

land adjudication (benefits, how to obtain loans), self-help and leadership (group organisation and management), education of children, community health, and the S.R.D.P. and its objectives. In the Phase 2 course, a tour of a local handicraft centre and of a fishpond was also organised. In the Series II, Phase 1 course, a total of 19 topics were scheduled with about 24 trainers participating. In Phase 2, around 24 different topics were scheduled with about 16 trainers participating.

It is worth asking whether and to what extent those being trained were able to absorb the information given in these courses, in view of the number and range of topics covered. In terms of direct benefit to the groups, a more intense focus on a limited set of topics bearing close relevance to group needs and problems may be called for.

The problem encountered with drop-outs between the first and second phases of Series I training was far less serious for Series II. Most of those

Table 2. Drop-out rates, Series I and II training.

	Number Attending		Drop-outs	%
	Phase I	Phase II		
<u>Series I</u>	24	14	10	42
<u>Series II</u>	30	26	4	13

Table 3. Reasons cited for dropping out, Series I and II.

<u>Series I</u>	<u>Series II</u>
1. Joined husband	1. Illness
2. Nursing mother	2. Deceased
3. No interest	3. Refusal (reason unknown)
4. Training not relevant to needs	(Note: information only
5. No proper follow-up to encourage Phase I participants	available on 3 of 4 who did not attend Phase II.)

selected to participate in the Series I training course turned out to be day-care centre instructors whose participation in women's group activities was marginal. In some locations, these women were not even known by the local groups. Of the fourteen participants in Phase 2, Series I training, only three were actually working with women's groups at the time. The mistakes made in the organisation of the first training series were not repeated in the organisation of the second series due to the emphasis placed on working with active groups and having the groups themselves select the participants.

Perception of the Programme: Of those interviewed, five either had not heard of S.R.D.P. at all or had heard but were not aware of what projects were involved. The others were aware of various S.R.D.P. projects, especially maize credit, fertiliser demonstrations, livestock, poultry, tea credit and

roads. The respondents did not make a strong connection between S.R.D.P. and projects in social services, home economics, or family planning. Several of the women said they belonged to households either now participating in S.R.D.P. credit projects, or currently making application to do so. On the whole, the group did not seem to have much idea about the objectives of the S.R.D.P., but this topic was scheduled for inclusion in the course just commencing.

All of those interviewed approved of the Women's Programme and thought that it was worthwhile. Approval was expressed in general terms. The Programme was seen as "bringing progress to women" through the acquisition of new skills and knowledge in agricultural and domestic spheres, and because it was "bringing women together". Lack of funds, material and adequate markets for handicrafts and garden produce were cited as major obstacles to the success of women's groups in general. It was observed by many of the leaders that given the insufficient material resources of their groups, they were unable to act upon some of the ideas and projects which they learned about in training.

The course subjects were generally regarded in a positive way. There was a marked reluctance among the participants to identify "least useful" topics. Those topics which were particularly favoured included agriculture, family planning, home management, child care and nutrition.

Although the course participants were provided with meals, lodging and transportation, several of them indicated that a small amount of money paid to them for attending the course would be very well received. Leaders must devote at least a month of their time to training, and some more tangible return than a certificate is thought appropriate. It is possible that such a measure would please the leaders' husbands, who are sometimes known to express misgivings about women attending the courses in the absence of any tangible compensation.

The Groups

The discussion in this section is largely based on data obtained during interviews with leaders attending the December 1974 training course as well as visits to several local women's groups by the evaluators. It is unfortunate that there was not an opportunity to visit more of the groups themselves.

Membership: There were 63 women's groups reported in the V/H S.R.D.P. area. Of these, about 20 were not active at the time according to the ACDO (V/H). Average membership was said to range between 20 and 30. In a 1974 report by the CDO (Kakamega), the total membership in active women's groups in the V/H S.R.D.P. area was given as 1,312. (See 15, p. A8.) This figure seems rather

low, and would mean that the groups are attracting less than 2 per cent of the adult female population in Vihiga/Hamisi based on statistics given in the 1969 Census.

For the groups visited, two types of information on group size were collected: the number of regular/dues-paying members and the total number including irregular/non-paying participants. Table 4 summarises the findings.

Table 4. Vihiga/Hamisi Women's Programme - group size (study sample).

	Group size: Range	Group size Average (approx.)
Counting regular/ paying members only	2 - 150	33
Counting irregular/ non-paying members	15 - 250	51

In our sample frequency of group meetings varied from twice a week to once a month. Almost all of the groups were reported to meet at least once a week.

We found that it was difficult to determine through direct questioning whether or not groups were formally affiliated to the national Maendeleo ya Wanawake organisation. There seemed to be a tendency to treat Maendeleo ya Wanawake as a generic term for women's groups, regardless of any formal connections to the organisation. The CDO (Kakamega), in his report cited above, stated that some groups in the V/H area were officially affiliated with the national Maendeleo organisation, and others had ties with such organisations as the Child Welfare Society or the Red Cross.

Some of the groups in Vihiga/Hamisi were distrustful of the Maendeleo ya Wanawake organisation because one group in the area sent a large shipment of pottery to the Maendeleo shop in Nairobi to be sold, waited for news of the shipment for many months, and were still not sure of what became of the shipment, although it was known to have reached its destination. The account of this group's experience circulated among the others, and at least one other group was unwilling to send handicraft items to the Maendeleo shop as a result.

Activities and Plans: Women's group members in Vihiga/Hamisi were typically devoted to discussion and instruction in cookery, nutrition, child care and other topics in the area of home management and improvement, growing and selling produce, and adult literacy. The production of handicrafts is a very popular activity. Such items as fibre baskets and mats, manilla baskets, sewn and knitted articles (tablecloth, pullovers, etc.), and pottery were widely produced. Other items made included sisal ropes for livestock, wooden tools

and utensils (jembe handles, ugali spoons), coffee tables and stools (produced with the help of local craftsmen) and building blocks. Meetings were also taken up with singing and sporting activities, collective farming work, and work on self-help activities of various sorts.

The generation of operating and capital funds was a central concern of all groups. The women were trying to raise funds through the sale of craft items, vegetables and other farm produce and by hiring themselves out as agricultural labour teams. In addition to the usually small amounts of money earned through these means, most groups tried to collect a membership fee, normally amounting to a few shillings a year, although reportedly it could be as much as shs.30/-. These funds were used to pay for such things as group registration, material for crafts, meeting hall rental, food and equipment for cookery lessons, and seeds for vegetable plots. Sometimes members were asked to contribute small amounts in cash or kind for a specific activity (e.g., cloth for sewing).

Capital needed for more ambitious projects, such as the purchase of a sewing machine or garden plot, naturally posed a more serious problem. A few groups were fortunate in obtaining money and materials in varying amounts from such agencies as the Department of Social Services (D.S.S.), the National Christian Council of Kenya (N.C.C.K.) and local churches. Sometimes individuals such as politicians or local leaders made contributions. One church-associated group obtained a considerable amount of aid through the N.C.C.K. and a church-sponsored fund-raising day, but this was exceptional. The group in question enjoyed an unusually strong resource base and had every promise of success. The vast majority of groups were struggling with the problem of fund-raising without any strong prospects of obtaining significant outside aid. In this situation, the common strategy was to require group members to contribute a certain amount in order to get a project off the ground. There might have been a plan to combine these funds with group savings - slowly acquired over time from craft and produce sales - to yield a somewhat larger amount, but sometimes pitifully meager given the nature of the project the group had in mind.

Every group seemed to have rather ambitious plans for future activities. These ranged from the simple intensification of current activities to the purchase of a group vegetable plot, the building of a group centre, starting a shop, or becoming involved in poultry-keeping. Some idea of the orientation of V/H women's groups and an indication of future objectives can be gained from the list of requests for assistance by 26 groups given in Table 5. The list was drawn up by the Vihiga/Hamisi ACDO and forwarded to the

Commissioner for Social Services in a letter of 15 January 1975. It covered those groups whose leaders attended the Series II Training Course.

Table 5. Vihiga/Hamisi Women's Programme, assistance requested by 26 groups.

Assistance Requested	Number of Groups Requesting Item
1. Sewing equipment/material	26
2. Sewing machine	25
3. Knitting equipment/material	24
4. Cookery equipment	20
5. Vegetable seeds	19
6. Poultry keeping equipment/supplies (including chicks)	10
7. Knitting machine	6
8. Manilla thread for baskets	2
9. Citrus fruit plants	2
10. Moulding machine for pottery	2
11. Fertiliser, insecticide	1
12. Literacy textbooks	1
13. Crotchet materials	1

Problems and Prospects: The most fundamental problems which confronted women's groups in the V/H area were lack of materials needed for group activities and lack of adequate finances. In order for them to remain viable organisations, and in order that they might build the scope of their service to members and realise meaningful objectives, the groups had to have access to a certain minimum level of material and financial resources. It was not very probable that the group members themselves would be able to provide substantial additional funds through increased membership fees and the like. Indeed, the inability to meet such payments was already a common problem. One obvious approach was selling crafts and produce, a means of income-generation that was already extensively utilised, but the major obstacle here was the lack of an adequate market. In terms of handicraft sales, such outlets as the Partnership for Productivity (PPF) in Kakamega could only accept a limited quantity of goods from each group, and irregularly at that, since the intake was governed by stocks on hand and the pressure applied by competing groups of producers. It was also difficult to sell products locally in community market centres. Local markets offer little demand for items which carry a relatively high price by local standards because of high initial costs for materials, and in any case these items were often not suited to local needs and priorities. The situation was not helped by the fact that there was a replication of many craft items. Groups were often competing against one another in the area of speciality crafts (e.g. fancy needlework and knitted goods), and were competing with each other and a whole population of private producers in the area of standard local wares (e.g. pottery). Little return

could be expected in either case. As for the sale of garden produce, there was the problem of seasonal market glut.

For larger-scale enterprise, collection and transport posed additional difficulties. In this connection, the Co-operatives Assistant in V/H proposed to start the 'MANYATIBU Co-operative Society'. (The title derives from the names of the locations in the V/H area -- North and South Maragoli, Nyang'ori, Tiriki, and Bunyore.) The aim was to provide a large-scale organisation for the collection and marketing of garden and other farm produce, and possibly handicraft items. Unfortunately, the proposal suffered from poor planning and organisation, and the prospects for its ever getting off the ground and functioning as intended seemed slender indeed. Planning for the project proceeded without taking into account the advice of those with expertise in crop production and marketing who had evaluated the feasibility of vegetable growing projects in the area, and personnel from ministries other than Cooperative Development were only minimally involved with efforts to implement the proposal. (See 6, chapter 18.)

If the sale of handicrafts is ever to become a more satisfactory income-generating strategy, the problems of distribution and redundancy will have to be alleviated. The tourist market, which is minimal in Kakamega in comparison with other areas in Kenya, often will offer better possibilities for the disposal of local crafts than will community markets. But to fully exploit these possibilities, there must be closer coordination of craft production between groups as well as the establishment of division- and district-wide marketing channels for the bulking and delivery of goods to major tourist markets within the country and perhaps even overseas. In terms of long-range development of the area, it is doubtful whether the external handicrafts market can be relied on to provide the kind of steady and substantial income-generating base required. This kind of base is probably more realistically sought for through the development of a production system geared to local needs and demands. In this connection, the production of such items as farm implements, school uniforms, building materials and bus/taxi services would seem a more reasonable line to emphasise in the organisation of economic activities among groups. Still, handicraft production for the tourist market offers one possible avenue for the acquisition of capital to initiate more substantial and profitable local enterprises, and it can be used generally as a source of very modest income for women's groups.

Two additional points ought to be raised in reference to the involvement of women's groups in commercial activity. The first point concerns the full utilisation of available resources by Government personnel as they encourage the groups to engage in income-generating activities. There is no

reason (that is apparent to us) why women should not begin cultivating pawpaw trees to supply the papain extraction plant which recently started operations south of Majengo on the Kisumu Road. Also, Government personnel should look into the possibility of using the resources of Partnership for Productivity more extensively in the planning and coordination of innovative (i.e. not the traditional handicraft approach) commercial enterprise among women's groups. The second point concerns the content of women's group activities. Although the Women's Programme in the V/H area might be considered more innovative than in other areas, there was still a rather strong emphasis on the old theme of "kitchen, house and children" in group activities, as reflected in the degree of attention devoted to topics in home management, the sewing or knitting of rather elaborate (and often superfluous) clothing and decorative items, etc. While such topics have a place in group activities (and certainly the women themselves expected that they should), it must be stressed that they should not remain a major preoccupation, eclipsing those activities which are more relevant to the active role women should play in development. It may be tempting for extension workers and policy-makers to follow the time-worn path of conventionality in dealing with women's groups, but such paths sometimes lead in a circle, and this one certainly does.

It was mentioned earlier that V/H groups appeared ambitious in their objectives. In some cases, plans for the future seemed very well thought out and clearly formulated, with due attention to the kinds and costs of inputs required and the organisation entailed. One group was proposing to construct a posho mill. The funds were to come from members' subscriptions and group savings from craft and produce sales. This amount was to be supplemented by a bank loan, if possible. A local community leader agreed to donate a plot for the mill. There seemed to be a good idea of the costs and commitments involved, the suitability of this project for the area (the available market), and the returns that could be expected. Another group had firm plans for the multiple use of its meeting hall then in an advanced stage of construction. Upon completion of the building, a day-care centre would operate in the mornings and handicraft sessions and a literacy class would take place in the afternoons. The building was also to serve as a community trading and training centre in the future.

Other groups, while ambitious, did not have clearly formulated plans. In one group, this was evident in the way members and officers talked about their objectives. Major projects were discussed informally: no priorities were set, inadequate attention was given to complexities of organisation and the appropriateness of plans in terms of local conditions and available resources, and no group consensus was achieved. Such diffusion of ambition and lack of

direction is bound to lead to frustration and group fragmentation, if not total collapse. In such instances, there is an obvious need for closer monitoring and coordination of group activities by extension personnel, although the involvement of Government personnel should not be so extensive as to create dependency.

The Officials

Involvement: The major role of the D.S.S. in coordinating the Vihiga/Hamisi Women's Programme and in extension work was supplemented by inputs from several other agencies. Among other Government agencies, the Ministry of Agriculture was most involved, especially the home economics section. Home economics personnel and D.S.S. staff carried the main burden of extension activities. Table 6 summarises the input from various agencies.

Problems: In a meeting of women leader trainers held in Vihiga in February 1974, the view was expressed that many extension staff at the locational level - e.g., Home Economics Assistants, Agricultural Assistants, Health Assistants, Veterinary Scouts, Family Planning Field Educators and Locational Community Development Assistants - had not been made fully aware of women's group activities, and therefore were impeded in the delivery of services and the proper coordination of their work. It was agreed that a better flow of information to local-level extension personnel was called for. The long-awaited "Vihiga/Hamisi SRDP Newsletter" (bimonthly) had the potential for partly fulfilling this function. The first issue of this newsletter appeared in November 1974, and it remained to be seen whether it would become a viable medium of inter-departmental communication.

Two of the most critical problems identified by supervisory and extension personnel as they worked with the Women's Programme in the area were, predictably, inadequate transport and staffing. As a result, more remote groups tended to be isolated from extension services, and effectiveness of present field staff was reduced by heavy work loads and immobility. Naturally, field staff tended to concentrate on those groups which were more accessible. The home economics field staff in particular had difficulty obtaining M.O.A. transport for trips further afield. Vehicles were only released irregularly, although they were supposed to be released on a monthly basis. We might mention that the distances involved in Vihiga/Hamisi are not that great, and the area is relatively well served by public transport. It is possible that the staff transport problem could be dealt with at least in part by placing greater emphasis on existing public transport facilities.

Table 6. V/H Women's Programme, participation of Government and other agencies.

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Input</u>	<u>Staff Involved</u>
DSS	Coordination	CDO, ACDO
	Leaders' Training*	ACDO, AEO, AES
	Extension, Field visits	ACDO, Home Sci. Demo., Locational CDAs (County Council), AEO, AES
MOA	Leaders' Training	AAO, AAO(HE), Livestock Officer, Crops Officer
	Extension	HE Assts., AAO, Livestock Officer
Co-ops	Leaders' Training	Co-op Assistant
	Organising MANYATIBU Coop. Soc.	Co-op Assistant
MOH & F.P. Assn.	Leaders' Training	PHO, Community Nurse, Nutritionist, FP Field Educator
	Extension	Nutritionist, FP Field Educators
Fisheries	Leaders' Training	Fisheries Officer
ADM	Leaders' Training	A.C., D.O.
MOHA	Leaders' Training	Police, Probation Officer
PFP	Leaders' Training	Volunteer
	Kaimosi Craft Centre	Volunteer
	Extension	Volunteer
FAO/PBFL	Assistance/Advice for Leaders' Training	PBFL personnel

*Leaders' Training refers to participation in Series II (1974) in all cases.

In September 1974, all locational women's leaders and locational Day-Care Centre supervisors were dismissed by the Kakamega County Council due to a shortage of funds. In consequence, the work load for locational CDAs increased beyond the level of their capacity. D.S.S. personnel felt that the dismissed locational workers should be rehired and that Divisional CDAs should be employed, as well as a supervisor for the Women's Programme in general. M.O.A. personnel felt that the home economics programme would significantly improve with the addition of more field assistants. Family planning workers felt that the number of field educators should be increased, particularly male educators. However, the family planning programme in Vihiga/Hamisi was already relatively well staffed in comparison with other areas, and the addition of more personnel seemed unlikely.

Most of the home economics staff came from outside the Kakamega region. This created problems for some extension workers in that they could not communicate with target groups using the local language and because they did not always understand local habits and preferences. Such difficulties were not apparent among community development field staff as they were recruited locally.

Finally, it should be noted that the V/H Women's Programme was somewhat delayed in its implementation due to problems with former staff in the D.S.S. The former ACDO was replaced in late 1973.

A summary of the problems cited by Government personnel involved in the V/H Women's Programme is given in Table 7.

Table 7. Vihiga/Hamisi Women's Programme, problems cited by supervisory and extension personnel.

<u>Problems with</u>	<u>Cited by</u>
1. Lack of adequate information exchange between departments, coordination/integration of extension services	Women Leader Trainers
2. Lack of adequate transport for field work, follow-up, etc.	DSS/CD staff, HE staff, Co-ops, FP staff
3. Staff shortage	ACDO, CDAs, AAO(HE), FP Sr. Field Ed.
4. Lack of equipment/supplies for office and field work (stationery, teaching aids, etc.)	CDAs, HE Assts, FP Field Educators
5. Leaders of women's groups not paid for their services	CDAs
6. Misuse of self-help project funds	CDA
7. Funds for projects not released as scheduled	AAO(HE)
8. Language barrier	HE Assts
9. Local reluctance to participate due to misunderstanding	FP Personnel
10. Salaries and job benefits (e.g. housing allowance)	CDAs

Recommendations

1. Income-Generating Activities

More effort should be made to involve women in viable economic activities. The new papain extraction plant in the area offers possibilities for women's groups. Income could be earned through the cultivation of papaw trees. The Partnership For Productivity organisation should be used more extensively as a resource to help involve women in commercial enterprises. Commercial activity among the groups should be attuned to local needs and market demands.

2. Handicraft Sales

Although handicraft sales are not likely to become a major source of revenue for the groups, they may be expected to generate some modest funds. It seems advisable to attempt to create more effective marketing channels and to alleviate the competition and redundancy in craft production which currently exists. Advice should be sought from personnel in such agencies as the N.C.C.K. and perhaps the P.F.P., although it is understood that the latter organisation is giving less emphasis to handicraft work in favour of small business and credit facility development.

3. Proposed MANYATIBU Cooperative

Although the Cooperatives Department is not specifically involved with the V/H S.R.D.P., there has long existed a plan to develop a division-wide marketing structure for vegetables and handicraft items produced by women's groups. A decision has to be made soon on this proposal. In its present form the proposal appears to have very poor prospects. It may be an attractive idea in the abstract, but it faces immense practical problems. The proposal should either be dropped or pursued more vigorously in a substantially revised form. (See 6, chapter 18.)

4. The Vihiga/Hamisi S.R.D.P. Newsletter

The Newsletter is potentially an effective device to facilitate inter-departmental communication and coordination. This publication should be promoted and taken seriously by S.R.D.P. personnel.

5. Extension Staff Transport Problems

The V/H area has a relatively good system of public transport, and the distances involved in the area are not very great. The extension staff should make better use of public transport when making field visits. The current irregular release of vehicles to home economics personnel does not accord with the arrangements which are supposed to be in effect, and this situation should be corrected.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Boserup, E. Women's Role in Economic Development London, Allen and Unwin, 1970
2. Gerlach, L.P. Some Basic Digo Conceptions of Health and Disease. East African Institute of Social Research, Makerere University College, 1959.
3. Glazier, J. Conflict and Conciliation Among the Mbere of Kenya. Ph.D thesis, University of California, 1972.
4. Hanger, J. and Moris, J.R. "Women in the Household Economy" In Chambers and Moris, editors. Mwea, an Irrigated Rice Settlement in Kenya Afrika-Studien No. 83. Munich, Weltforum Verlag, 1973
5. Hunt, Diana. Agricultural Innovation in Mbere. Working Paper No. 166, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, 1974
6. Institute for Development Studies. Second Overall Evaluation of the Special Rural Development Programme. Occasional Paper No. 12. University of Nairobi, 1975.
7. International Labour Office. Employment, Incomes and Equality: A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya. Geneva, I.L.O., 1972
8. Kenya. Sessional Paper on Employment. Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1973. Nairobi, Government Printer, 1973.
9. Molnos, A. Attitudes Towards Family Planning in East Africa. Afrika-Studien No. 26. Munich, Weltforum Verlag, 1968
10. Mook, P.R. The Vihiga S.R.D.P. Farm Level Survey: A Preliminary Report of Findings. Discussion Paper No. 111. Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, 1971.
11. Moris, Jon R. The Agrarian Revolution in Central Kenya: A Study in Farm Innovation. Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1970.
12. Mutiso, G.C.M. Mbai sya Eitu: A Low-Status Group in Centre-Periphery Relations. Paper presented at the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, held in Denver, Colorado, November 3-6, 1971.
13. Pala, A.O. The Role of Women in Rural Development: Research Priorities. Discussion Paper No. 203. Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, 1974.
14. Pala, A.O. A Preliminary Survey of the Avenues for and Constraints on Women in the Development Process in Kenya. Discussion Paper No. 218. Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, 1975
15. Programmes for Better Family Living (F.A.O.) Women's Leadership in Rural Development. Report No. 14. August 1974.

16. Programmes for Better Family Living (F.A.O.). Women's Groups in Rural Development. Report No. 15. December 1974.
17. Trimingham, J. Spenser. Islam in East Africa. London, Oxford University Press, 1964.
18. United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. The Changing and Contemporary Role of Women in African Development. January 1974. E/CN.14/SWSA/6.
19. United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. The Data Base for Discussion on the Interrelationships Between the Integration of Women in Development, their Situation and Population Factors in Africa. Regional Seminar on Integration of Women in Development with Special Reference to Population Factors, held in Addis Ababa, June 3-7, 1974. E/CN.14/SW/37.
20. Wills, J. A Study of the Time Allocation by Rural Women and their Place in Decision-Making: Preliminary Findings from Embu District. Rural Development Research Paper No. 44. Makerere University College, 1967.
21. Winans, E.V. Migration and the Structure of Participation: An Investigation of the Effects of Migration on Small Farms and the Role of Women. Provisional draft prepared for the I.L.O. Mission to Kenya, April 17, 1972.
22. Winans, E.V. Local Initiative and Government Response: Development Politics in Kenya. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, 1972.
23. Wachtel, E. and Wachtel, A. Groups and Cooperatives: Economic Enterprises of Women in Nakuru (Part 2). Working Paper No. 190. Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, 1974.