

**EFFECTS OF GENDER-LABOUR RELATIONS IN TOBACCO PRODUCTION ON
SOCIO-ECONOMIC WELFARE IN KURIA EAST AND WEST SUB-COUNTIES,
MIGORI COUNTY, KENYA**

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**A thesis submitted to Graduate School in Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Award of a Doctor of Philosophy Degree
in Sociology of Egerton University**

**EGERTON UNIVERSITY
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DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Declaration

This is to declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for examination in any other university.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to several significant persons in my life. To begin with, I dedicate it to my beloved Parents Mzee Joseph Marwa Muniko and Mama Rodah Chacha Marwa who have nurtured my diverse dreams and have been graced by God to see this happen. This is especially so in my academic endeavors in which my father wanted me to graduate with a PhD earnestly and incredibly, this is his moment...In addition, special dedication goes to my beloved wife Jacqueline Jepng'etich Birgen Muniko, for her continued encouragement and support as my life partner in all my dream projects, including this Degree. She always offered me all needed family support as I worked through this thesis. Also, I dedicate this work to our three young children who were so curious about the many hours I spent on the study table, laboring in this thesis. They include: our dear son Joseph-John Marwa Muniko (Gift) and our dear daughters: Rodah Robi Muniko (Precious) and Teclah Boke Muniko (Lucky). Bravo to my other extended family members, brothers, sisters and in-laws who stood by my side and kept cheering me on tirelessly, throughout this academic journey.

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ABSTRACT

This study examined gender-labour relations in tobacco production and their implications on household's socio-economic welfare in Kuria Sub-Counties. The major issue that led to this study was and still remains that tobacco is being regarded as a crop belonging to men since its inception in the 1960's. Consequently, men have institutionalized restriction and constraints on women regarding the access to land resources and the benefits accrued from tobacco sales on one hand, while appropriating the intra-household tobacco labour on the other. The most affected social segments are women and children in this scenario. This study intended to establish facts of this assertion through three objectives, which included: to examine the effects of intra-household gender-labour relations in tobacco production on socio-economic welfare of the household in Kuria Sub-Counties, to assess the effects of access to resources in tobacco production on socio-economic welfare of the household in Kuria Sub-Counties and to evaluate the effects of differentials between female and male headed households in tobacco production on socio-economic welfare of the household in Kuria Sub-Counties. This study was informed by both the Structuration and the Marxist theory of dialectic materialism. Both cross-sectional survey and ex-post facto designs were adopted in this study. The target population consisted of tobacco farmers. Data was obtained through interview schedules and focus group discussions. Sample size was 212 households and the unit of analysis was the household head. Multi-stage sampling procedures were applied. SPSS version 21 was employed for data analysis. The descriptive statistics were utilized in this study. Findings of the study established that 98 percent of the respondents were significantly affected in their intra-household labour relations, while 92 percent indicated that gendered distribution of work had the socio-cultural differentials. Further, 77 percent of the respondents asserted that decision making on household tobacco income spending was made by the husband, whereas 75 percent pointed out that female headed households had good welfare considerations. This study concludes that tobacco production significantly affected gender-labour relations and socio-economic welfare of the households. This study recommends that the Government of Kenya should formulate strong policies to alleviate gender-labour challenges and household's socio-economic welfare. Further research should be conducted in other adjunct areas in relation to tobacco production involving child labour and health problems in Kuria East and West Sub-Counties.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BAT	British-American Tobacco
FGD	Focused Group Discussions
GoK	Government of Kenya
ITGA	International Tobacco Growers Association
KDDP	Kuria Sub-Counties Development Plan
KDMR	Kuria Sub-Counties Monthly Report
KNA	Kenya National Archives
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
NGO	Non-Government Organizations
SES	Socio-economic Status
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
UN	United Nations
UNECA	United Nations Economic Council for Africa
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Program

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

This study investigates the various gender dimensions in tobacco production in Kuria East and West Sub-Counties. To begin with, tobacco crop was piloted into Kuria Sub-Counties, meticulously with government of Kenya approval and facilitation. Also, it has been affirmed that tobacco multinationals operated with little government control in the region. Moreover, Boserup (1965) contends that the intensification rarely takes place while possibilities for expansion still exist. Both approaches lead to a similar ending, yet it is the mechanism that differs. The basis of her argument concentrates upon the relation between demographics and technological change. This study was premised on whether tobacco intensification with its intensive land use led to socio-economic gender change at the household level in Kuria Sub-Counties.

There are two varieties of tobacco grown in Kuria, the flue and fire cured varieties, which both required heavy fertilizer applications. The flue-cured variety mainly uses heat passed through aluminum pipes inside a stuffed house. A lot of wood therefore is needed to provide fire and heat. Furthermore, heat and humidity control are extremely crucial in the process. This means a 24-hour watch over the whole process involving regular checking and adjustment to the furnaces on an hourly basis. This entailed intensive work for the peasants, which usually had a gendered dimension (KNAD, 1965-1985).

Basically, tobacco production in Kuria begun under the sponsorship of the British-American Tobacco Company Ltd. (B.A.T) in October, 1969 when a group of B.A.T officials toured the Sub-Counties to select pilot farmers. About ten farmers were selected to grow tobacco, which was the first step for B.A.T in extending tobacco farms to the Sub-Counties. There were government agricultural instructors attached to this project (KDMR, 1969).

Others contend that Africa's inability to develop is mainly as a result of systematic transfer of surplus value through unequal exchange. In this connection, it is affirmed that cash crops are given more attention by governments despite their various shortcomings (Palmer and Persons, 1974). Not only have governments placed greater emphasis on cash crops rather than food crops, but the crop has exhibited numerous significant peculiarities. It is exhaustive

and deleterious to the soil. It also causes deforestation and produces infinite wretchedness and misery among those who produce it, turning a fruitful land into barrenness (Akehurst, 1981).

Studies by Wright (1983) show that women have less access than men to critical productive agricultural resources and services such as credit and farm inputs. Even when national laws give men and women equal rights to own and control land, existing customary laws often prevent women from ever fully owning land. Furthermore, smallholder households, particularly women and other vulnerable groups may have specific needs and priorities. Consequently, an important advance in the understanding of agrarian change in Africa has been the growing realization that the transformation of regions through their incorporation into the international economy has rested on changes in key domestic gender relationships.

Gender relations in particular, households divisions of labour and rights over resources are critically important arenas in which economic change has been registered, acted out and, often, struggled over. Cash cropping has precipitated and often, rested on changes in gendered divisions of rights over land, labour and products and in the nature of the domestic unit (Guyer, 1984).

Similar sentiments have also been remarked, stating that there are gender differences in the access to and ownership of property and agricultural implements in the developing world. This can be linked to the commercialization and capitalization of rural agriculture. The introduction of cash crops such as tobacco, tea and coffee in the developing countries has long term implications in society, specifically on socio-economic welfare disparity. This is the domain of men in Africa, thereby bringing about conflict of interest between the genders in the productivity of the capitalist economy. Hence, there is widespread socio-economic welfare disparity across the continent. This is a widely acknowledged view (Bulow, 1986).

In addition, Tobisson (1986) expressed that 'the toilsome plight of Kuria women as compared with their male counterparts is in fact widely acknowledged in Tanzania, so also is the harshness of Kuria men, in the sense that it is men who make women work harder'. She further observes that, Kuria male harshness lies in the root of women's inability to improve their own situation. The gender comparison between Kuria men and women lies in the socio-economic allocation of tasks in the household. However, in the contemporary Kuria society this appears to have changed, several female responsibilities have become increasingly labour-intensive over the years. This could be due to changes in crop patterns and animal

husbandry. There is a general trend depicting a steady increase in the workload of Kuria women, while that of men appears to be on decline. Clearly, this indicates unmistakably that there is a social and economic problem to be addressed in this context. In modern times, there is an overwhelming imbalance in the agricultural gender-labour relations with a double exploitation stance in Kuria Sub-Counties. These eventually exacerbate the peasant poverty situation in the Sub-Counties. Further, the traditional household gender-labour relations and roles are significantly affected. Most of the damage is believed to have taken place during the last 45 years (Tobisson, 1986).

A number of recent studies in Kenya have examined the impact of agrarian change on gender relations, especially in rural settings whereby differentiated roles play an important livelihood part amongst the natives (Thomas, 1988). On the other hand, commercial farming has brought in its wake commoditization and the introduction of private rights in land and labour, which has adversely affected women's access to and rights into the means of production (Shipton, 1988).

The production of cash crops in Kenya, especially amongst the Kipsigis people has created gender differentials in the access to household resources, thereby witnessing suppression of women in this regard (Mackenzie, 1990). There are detrimental effects of commercial farming on women's power and authority (Sorensen, 1992). Besides, Von Billow (1992) argues that the growth of commercial maize and tea production in Kipsigis society (in Kericho County) has created enormous gender differences in the community.

Further, Prazak (1992) indicates that within the homestead of the Kuria, social relations based on age, gender and kinship status ensure unequal access to productive resources, prestige, power, opportunities and control of the products of labour. The homestead is the basic social and economic unit in Kuria society and ongoing changes in the structure of domestic groups, increased polygyny, high birth rate and low domestic development are affecting the basic relationships that determine its productivity.

Heald (1999) takes up the issue of the decline of pastoralism in Kuria and argues that this process should not be taken as self-evident, that a decline in stockholding should be seen as a consequence of relative rewards of agriculture, population increase and environmental depletion. On the contrary, she argues that such a view ignores the fact that cattle were the

first sector of the traditional agro-pastoralist societies of Kenya to become commercialized and, in the process, criminalized. For instance, cattle's rustling is a security menace in many communities. Heald bases her argument upon a longitudinal study with survey data collected from the same homesteads between 1985 and 1995. Both surveys were designed to assess the effects of tobacco growing on emerging patterns of socio-economic stratification where she postulates that over the ten years there had been a 50 per cent decrease in cattle ownership. In addition, Chacha (1999) argues that tobacco indirectly brought stratification in Kuria hierarchy so that women were further suppressed with it, despite the fact that they mediated through several social gaps to access tobacco resources in return for the labour that they provided in tobacco production.

Thus, this study investigates gender dimensions in tobacco production in Kuria Sub-Counties. In this area, men and women farmers have different responsibilities in agricultural production systems, including tobacco farming (Lipton 2005). Differences in gender roles are not always obvious, but depend on these gender roles being fully understood in cultural dimensions and relevance. Further, the author notes that agricultural production is the only realistic driver for mass poverty reduction and rural development in most of the developing world and perhaps particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa. This element is now accepted by many academics, international development organizations and national governments in relation to underdevelopment aspects (World Bank 2007).

According to the Republic of Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, KNBS (2011), the Kuria people are natives of Kenya. They live in Kuria East Sub County (Headquartered in Kegonga) and Kuria West Sub County (Headquartered in Kehancha). The immediate neighbours of the Kuria are the Maasai, Luo and the Suba. Socially, the Kuria are divided into four clans namely, the Abagumbe, Abairege, Abanyabasi and Abakira. The Kuria are traditionally a farming community, mainly planting maize, beans and cassava as food crops. The cash crops grown in the area include coffee and tobacco.

Besides, history asserts that the Kuria people are early inhabitants of Kuria region whose subject informs this study. They came from both Bantu and Nilotic speakers who brought into Kuria their peculiar cultures. Predominantly agricultural Bantu came into close contact with primarily Nilotic pastoralists (Bwiyere, 2013). Thus, a blend of cultures took place among the early inhabitants of Kuria from the start by combining agricultural practice with

pastoral pursuit as well as tendencies towards nomadic life. Today, elements of Kuria agriculture are much like those of the Abagusii and the Luo while in cattle keeping they have borrowed the practices of the Maasai, Zanaki and Nguruimi. Further, during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, more and more immigrants settled into the region and whether they liked it or not, the earlier communities were forced to interact with the new arrivals or at any rate to confront them. Some of the newcomers were aggressive and would not let their neighbors live in peace as they engaged in raiding for cattle and at times fought for dominance in the region. This meant that the small family clusters that had hitherto lived peacefully in the region shifted location and internal migration and resettlements were a continuous and repetitive process within and around Kuria region. In this way, new social groups were formed. The Kuria people were mainly pastoralists in the pre-colonial era but currently the Kenyan Kurians lean towards crop production and the Tanzanian Kurians lean more towards pastoralism. The Kuria also keep and love cattle and in the past, this used to lead to inter-clan and inter-tribal clashes over cattle rustling. On the other hand, crop production has been commercialized for several decades in this region and has adopted capitalist features which this study investigates (Bwiyere, 2013).

This background has offered a good glimpse into the history of the Kuria people, thereby understanding the various socio-cultural and economic practices they embraced in the past and how contemporary agricultural changes have come into the community, in particular the new developments and investments found in tobacco production in Kuria Sub-Counties have been highlighted and have formed the basis for launching this study.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Gender-labour relations in agricultural production in most parts of the world are socio-culturally rooted and stratified. Household tasks are allocated on the basis of a gendered criterion. However, most studies done in this area are discipline bound thereby disregarding the complexity of gender-labour relations, especially in tobacco production in areas like Kuria East and West Sub-Counties. This is manifested in asymmetrical power relations between women and men, particularly recognized in stereotypes in the access to and control over household resources. Thus, it is on the strength of this background that this study was undertaken. The social dilemma in this study was that household gender-labour relations were affected by tobacco production, which eventually affected other important household features such as socio-economic status and welfare necessities amongst tobacco farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties. Therefore, at the onset, this study investigated how tobacco production dynamics operated at the household level, mainly premised in gender-labour relations, anchored in socio-cultural practices and their implications on welfare.

1.3 Broad Objective

To establish the effects of gender-labour relations in tobacco production on the socio-economic welfare in Kuria East and West Sub-Counties.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

- i. To examine the effects of intra-household gender-labour relations in tobacco production on the socio-economic welfare of the household in Kuria Sub-Counties.
- ii. To assess the effects of access to resources in tobacco production on the socio-economic welfare of the household in Kuria Sub-Counties.
- iii. To evaluate the effects of differentials between female and male headed households in tobacco production on the socio-economic welfare of the household in Kuria Sub-Counties.

1.3.2 Research Questions

- i. How do intra-household gender-labour relations in tobacco production affect the socio-economic welfare of the household in Kuria Sub-Counties?
- ii. What are the effects of access to resources in tobacco production on the socio-economic welfare of the household in Kuria Sub-Counties?

- iii. To which extent do differentials between female and male headed households in tobacco production affect the socio-economic welfare of the household in Kuria Sub-Counties?

1.4 Justification of the Study

This study was a sociological examination of a tobacco growing peasantry in Kuria East and West Sub-Counties. The study focused on gender-labour relations between men and women for whom tobacco had become an important part of their existence. They were all small-scale agricultural contract producers for the tobacco multinationals with capitalist hegemony that were supported by the Government of Kenya at its beginnings. Specifically, the socio-cultural and economic aspects of tobacco farmers' households were taken into consideration in cash crop production, especially tobacco, which has raised interesting academic and policy issues that led to this study. Several factors, discussed below, have been established as the justification for this study.

Firstly, this study intended to establish how gender-labour relations in Kuria Sub-Counties were affected significantly by tobacco production in which women were twice as likely as men to be involved in tobacco related farming activity in which their labour varied from household to household. On the other hand, this study also attempted to determine the gender distribution of work in the household, that it particularly had bias on women and mainly disadvantaged them in Kuria Sub-Counties.

Secondly, the study made effort to confirm that tobacco production affected intra-household economic dynamics, especially in the access to and control over household resources. This was premised in the fact that it was the dominant cash crop in the society. The study also assessed local encounters with capitalism, especially in terms of the imposition of new demands by tobacco multinationals and power relations within the household. The findings in chapter four clarify that household socio-economic relations were problematic in Kuria Sub-Counties.

Thirdly, this study endeavored to affirm that decision making processes at the household level regarding the utilization of income were chiefly done by men. An attempt was made to investigate how socio-cultural investments were undertaken and how their implications were in tune with the benefits from tobacco at the household level. It emerged that women needed

to be empowered in Kuria Sub-Counties in order to participate fully in household decision making processes.

Fourthly, the study focused on establishing the fact that female headed household had good welfare considerations in comparison with male headed households. Also, that male heads of households had institutionalized gender restrictions and constrained women regarding access to household resources especially the benefits accrued from tobacco sales. This factor had long term and significant implications for socio-economic welfare of the male headed households in Kuria Sub-Counties.

Fifthly, this study tried to confirm that the relationships between tobacco multinational companies and the local farmers were good, but disguised in exploitative extraction of the crop from the farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties. This had obvious poverty outcomes in the entire society. Besides, the study looked at the extent of the involvement of the Government of Kenya in tobacco production in Kuria Sub-Counties, especially in regard to policy and regulation issues on multinationals. It was anticipated that the Government of Kenya needed to mitigate in the various challenges in tobacco production in the society.

1.5 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study assessed how tobacco farming has changed the Kuria people previously with a predominant livestock economy, into tobacco producers for the international market, while on the contrary still languishing in poverty for several decades. The emphasis was placed on gender-labour relations anchored on the socio-economic changes that have occurred in Kuria Sub-Counties in the last several decades.

Firstly, particular attention was focused on the commercial production of tobacco in Kuria Sub-Counties that had impacted grossly on gendered intra-household labour relations, where the labour of women, like that of men played a crucial role in all the stages of the farm activities. However, their participation in the fields was not perceived by the males and even the females themselves as a particular feature of the household economy. Significantly, this study focused on the effects of tobacco production on household income, differentials between male and female headed households and welfare imperatives amongst the tobacco farmers.

Secondly, there were limitations to this study. For instance, it restricted itself to only one cash crop, tobacco and its socio-economic effects on Kuria Sub-Counties household prospects. For example, a comparative study between tobacco and food crops, health etc, was not covered by this study. These were deliberately avoided to ensure that there was particularity of focus on the original topic of the study. However, such knowledge gaps need to be filled by other scholars in the future.

1.6 Definition of Terms

- Production** The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology, Nicholas et al (2013) defines production as techniques and the organization of creation of social products and the outcome of social processes. In this study, the term is used to imply the physical organization of tobacco farming activities and processes in Kuria Sub-Counties.
- Household** According to the Penguin Dictionary of Sociology, Nicholas et al (2013) a household means a single person or group of persons sharing living accommodation. In this study, the term refers to unit of production and reproduction where several tobacco farmers live together.
- Gender** The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology, Nicholas et al (2013) defines gender as the differences that are culturally and socially constructed. They are well elaborated so that women and men are ascribed specific feminine and masculine personalities and responsibilities. Thus, gender identities are realized through the socialization process. This term is essentially anchored in this study to assess the socio-economic and intra-household relationships between men and women tobacco farmers in Kuria society
- Equity** The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology, Nicholas et al (2013) explains equity as a term that refers to impartiality and equality especially with the injunction to treat equals equally. It is conventionally concerned with distributive justice, especially, the treatment of individuals in social transactions. This term has been adopted by this study to describe the needed social and economic equity amongst tobacco farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties.

Division of Labour The division of labour refers to differentiation in society as a whole with an overtone of sexual division of labour. Besides, it focuses on modern work specializations. This is the explanation according to the Penguin Dictionary of Sociology, Nicholas et al (2013). In this study the term has been used to address the intra-household labour dimensions amongst tobacco farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties.

Welfare Welfare is defined by the Penguin Dictionary of Sociology, Nicholas et al (2013) as the basic premise of the well-being of people. This term is employed in this study to establish how households deal with their livelihoods especially in accessing and utilizing tobacco income

Socio-Economic The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology, Nicholas et al (2013) describes the term Socio-Economic as the economic and the social combined total measure of a person's work, experience and of individuals' or families' economic and social position in relation to others based on income, education and occupation. In this study the dynamics involved in social relations in the various economic processes in Kuria Sub-Counties do not correspond with contemporary socio-economic realities of the tobacco farmers.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This section reviews literature from diverse sources in which the works of scholars on agricultural practices and the gender equation, including tobacco production are appraised to offer coherence, especially in establishing knowledge gaps that this study tries to fill up. It also presents the theories that inform this study. Further, all the sources of literature and theories are presented chronologically in order to offer consistency in the progressive development of the ideas that inform this study over time, thereby identifying various knowledge gaps herein. In addition, a conceptual framework has been designed to exemplify the interrelations between variables of this study.

2.2 Intra-Household Gender-Labour Relations in Tobacco Production

To begin with, intra-household labour relations have attracted attention of several scholars across time and space. For instance, in the earlier times, Murdock (1949) maintained that, man with his superior physical strength can better undertake the more strenuous tasks in rural agriculture. These include, clearing land for farming, building, quarrying, etc. Not handicapped as the women by the physiological burdens of pregnancy and nursing, he can range farther afield to hunt, herd, till and trade. Women were at no disadvantage, however, in lighter tasks which can be performed by women in or near home for example gardening, weeding, harvesting, etc, they are known for their proficiency. Essentially, all known human societies have developed specialization and cooperation between the sexes along this biologically determined line of cleavage. As a result, the biologically determined explanation of gender-labour division can stand as an explanation of what Marx calls the ‘natural division of labour’. However, it lacked adequate explanation for the changes in the division of labour over time when simple production relations no longer exist. This study was concerned with gender-labour changes that were impacted by the commercialization of tobacco production in Kuria Sub-Counties. The labour practices were based on patriarchal assumptions that allocated household tasks on a gender stereotyped criteria.

On the other hand, an account of the Philippine experience sought to investigate the question of female participation in the production of food crops and other marketable goods in the Philippine villages. Although men are generally considered as the family's breadwinners, wives are often compelled to supplement male earnings to ensure the survival of the family (Mincer and Polachek, 1962). Besides, Boserup (1970) commented in regard to rural agriculture. She pointed out that, where there is low female participation in farm work, extensive plough cultivation is proficient. In such a situation, there was little need for female labour except during harvesting seasons. Hence, the advent of the plough agriculture usually entails a redial shift in sex roles where men take over the ploughing even in regions where hoeing had formerly been a woman's work. At the same time, the amount of weeding to be done by the women may decline on land ploughed before sowing as the land will develop fewer weeds. Therefore, the plough lessens female agricultural burdens. This study was determined to establish how tobacco production activities informed the gender labour socialization process among the natives of Kuria Sub-Counties. Therefore, the gender differences were an important feature in the household division of labour and were a hierarchically organized and practiced amongst the natives.

In a similar contribution, Mitchelle (1975) has propositions on gender development and sex typed behavior, which is a result of differential acculturation and reinforcement of boys and girls. And so, unambiguous gender role behaviors are acquired, just like any other human behaviors. Another social study on cash crop production in Kenya especially wattle has been made. This study focused on the problems of production, marketing and the whole spectrum of commodity analysis (Cowen, 1975). On the other hand, Bernstein (1976) finds that the relations of production in the African rural context are highly gendered. The domestic modes are destroyed through gender differentials at work, hence leaving its individual cells, the peasant household to confront capital in a 'direction relation'. The tendency of the search for cash incomes in order to meet the needs of simple production is precisely to individualize the basis of simple production to substitute the household for community. Similarly, Korir (1976) made a study on Tea in Kericho region of Kenya. He delved into the challenges of gender in the production process through to marketing and the whole range of socio-economic dynamics in the community. He demonstrated clearly that a division of labour tasks exists in the society; the sexual division of labour here seems not to be very rigid. Further, women can handle the plow if necessary and do other household chores as usual. Both the wife and husband spend about the same time on other economic activities (Tilly, 1978). This study

looked at how the division of labour was constructed at the household level in tobacco production in Kuria Sub-Counties. The extent of gender divisions in the household could lead to unprecedented welfare differentials. Hence, the divisions in gender-labour obligations in the capitalist perspective were particularly considered to be problematic for households in the region.

In addition, Halim and Hussain (1981) have indicated that both rural women and men are active in productive work in and outside the household. Rural women are responsible for agricultural and non-agricultural activities just like their male counterparts. They do all activities as members of the same household or as workers/labourers elsewhere in addition to their usual obligations. Housewife's average productive hours vary from 10 to 14, whereas that of men varies from 9 to 11 hours per day. Gender cooperation is of essence in assisting both genders realize maximum potential and equal participation in all socio-economic activities. Similarly, they indicated that it can be realized that the moderate gender relations had minimized any apparent restraint on women by men in most aspects of life in Bangladesh.

The scenario in the developing world is indicative of gender-bias in agricultural activities. For example, in old China most of the countryside was backward and poor for many decades, since the farmers were exploited and oppressed by feudal lords, they lived in utter poverty. The women's position as compared to men was even worse (Quan, 1985). After 1949, at the foundation of new China, the government adopted a series of measures to protect equal rights of men and women. Women now, like men, are the masters in China. They have been active in participating in all sorts of agricultural activities and have shown their special ability in rice production. Women, like men have accepted responsibility for the fields and other intra-household activities. Women have become a very important workforce in the countryside, using modern technological appendages and disseminating agricultural education to all at the same footing with men. Now women account for 60% as compared to 40% of men in the total labour force in China (Quan, 1985). This study investigated the tobacco production relations in Kuria Sub-Counties, especially in gender household realities and handling of social structures and processes. In general, household organization was significant in tobacco production. The relations could therefore not be compared with other agricultural parts of the world like the case of china above.

Further, Lyda (1985) asserted that a decrease in female labour use in the Philippines over the period 1970 to 1980 occurred as a consequence of decreasing labour use requirements of operations in which women participate, for example, transplanting, weeding, harvesting and threshing. During this period, women's contribution to rice production declined absolutely and relatively. Men increased their labour use due to double cropping, because the typically male activities of land preparation and fertilizing increased with the crop area. These increases largely made up for the decrease in male labour use in other operations. However, women only saw that their labour was reduced. Furthermore, the spreading of harvesting labour over a longer time span meant that women's labour was no longer needed to meet high seasonal labour demand. Therefore, available male labour could be used throughout the harvesting season and partly be substituted for female labour (Lyda, 1985). This study set out to look at female and male roles in tobacco production in Kuria Sub-Counties. There was keen interest to look at the alleged bias on women as it was typically seen the household division of labour, whereby certain farming activities were considered feminine while others masculine. The feminine tasks were considered lighter but numerous and done throughout tobacco production cycle, while masculine ones were considered heavier but fewer and done mostly at the initial stages of farm preparations.

In an attempt to discuss this matter further, Tobisson (1986) highlighted the gender spectacle in rural Kuria in Tanzania. 'The toilsome plights of Kuria women as compared to men in agricultural undertakings were in fact, widely known in Tanzania. This observation brings out a sharp picture of the rural Kuria socio-economic and cultural practices prevalent in contemporary Kuria society of Tanzania'. Nevertheless, the information presented here concerning basic socio-economic characteristics and features is relevant also for the Kuria in Kenya. The assertion about the excessive workload of Kuria women turned out to be well founded in Kuria Sub-Counties. Moreover, she argued that there is empirical evidence to show and prove that a shift from hoe to plough cultivation is usually accompanied by an expansion of the area under cultivation. Very often this generates an increased demand for extensive labour, in which there is usually more of female than male involvement in the subsequent phases of the production cycle. Hence, this context requires a study probe that will shed new perspective in this regard, most notably on the impact of tobacco production on Kuria gender-labour divisions. According to Tobisson (1986), the focus on rural-labour relations including the labour relations within the household in Africa has produced a variety of problems. This is especially in the analysis of relations to the exchange of labour and

control of the surplus. If the household labour relations are not included, the features of the labour market will be more clearly those of the capitalist labour market where the surplus is appropriated. The focus of this study was on labour relations within the household in Kuria Sub-Counties which are crucially important socio-cultural features; especially the labour contribution of men as compared to women in the household economy.

It has been reported that there is overall progress in gender-labour relations in various fields, but other areas for example agriculture is disturbingly slow. Although female entry like men, into some of the occupations such as professions has been quite rapid, the overall occupational distribution has only been marginally affected by these changes. Most women work in occupations that have been traditionally female dominated and relatively few men have entered these occupations. Sex differentials in occupational distribution to date still remain substantial, but there is the need to investigate further into these aspects of labour divisions, most especially in rural agriculture (Mallier, 1987). This study collected information on the division of labour in the household. The concern was on gender aspects of both adults and children respectively.

In furtherance to the above, Bababola (1987) has discussed the evil of polygyny and concubinage during tobacco harvesting seasons in Nigeria. There was a marked increase in income, thus enabling men to marry more wives so as to move up the social ladder. This ensures optimum supply of labourers for their farms. Furthermore, the monopoly of tobacco buying multinational companies is highlighted here. They pump more and more capital on tobacco farming to the farmers i.e. Loans for seeds, chemical sprays and fertilizers who eventually repay the loans at high interest rates during the selling season of tobacco crop. It is the multi-national companies which pre-determine the tobacco grading system and selling prices. Most of the farmers due to illiteracy are highly exploited in due course, thus perpetuating the cycle of poverty. Therefore, the commercial tobacco production has a double edged stance on the peasants, thereby destroying their rural gender-labour structures and exacerbating rural poverty. This study sought to comprehend the practice of polygyny which was common in Kuria Sub-Counties, implying that large households were a source of cheap labour in tobacco production.

Traditionally, the role of the homemaker was associated with a woman and the role of a breadwinner is associated with a male. Typically, women are concerned with caring for the family and the home while men are typically providing for the family. This ultimately

portrays the man as a leader and the woman as the follower (Gerber, 1988). Another tradition emerged as a reaction to the first tradition and focuses on how social structures (as opposed to biology or individual learning) create gendered behavior (Epstein, 1988). Retrospectively, females have had less access to formal information and communication systems associated with agricultural study and extension. Thus, complimentary, conflicting and collaborative gender relations and roles may characterize developing countries' agriculture and rural development (Poats and Spring, 1988). Based on the above contentions, this study set out to ascertain how gender was inculcated amongst the tobacco farming natives; this was especially in tobacco production activities. Therefore, the emphasis was on social interaction and accountability to others' expectations and in particular how doing gender had created and reproduced inequality amongst farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties.

Kavetsa (1992) made her contribution to the gender equation in the household labour relations in coffee farming in Kenya. She focused on the problems of production, marketing and the whole spectrum of commodity analysis. Accordingly, gender construction denied women the opportunity and right to equal benefits as well effective participation in the household economy. This construction largely drew its cultural logic from patriarchal ideology. Besides, gender is done in every social interactions, it seems naive to ignore the gendered selves and cognitive schemas that children develop as they become cultural natives in the patriarchal world. Gender is an institution that is embedded in all the social processes of everyday life and social organizations (Lorber, 1994).

Also, Saito (1994) indicates that the Kenyan gender-labour divisions and relations by tasks are also breaking down. The farm women as compared to men are increasingly taking to tasks previously done by men. In fact, women now do most of the farm operations themselves with the supplementary help from family and hired labour. In Kenya for example, it is outstanding to have a higher proportion of women as compared to men, engaged in most of the phases of the production cycle of food/cash crops and livestock, in addition to their daily household chores. On the other hand, the distribution of labour for maize production by type of activity shows that 87% of women as compared to 54% of men participated in the regular work of ploughing, planting, weeding and harvesting. Curiously, only 50% of women and 80% of men are involved in the selling and taking of the profits accrued from the crops. Therefore, this becomes a problem. She further explains that the unequal relationship here presents a sociological problem that is attuned with the focus of this study. And so, this literature may

be a good source of reference for the methodology and theoretical approach essential for this study. Similar patterns of the division of labour in the traditional societies living in western Kenya today show some regional variations, but the general pattern is very much the same. The main differences seem to be related to the pattern found in most communities, namely, men are responsible for animal production, the cattle and women were the daily workers in the cultivated crop fields. Further, patterns show that men are responsible for the kind of work in agriculture involving physical strength in short peak periods, thus women were the real cultivators. Once the land is cleared and ploughed by men, it is women who do the planting, weeding, and harvesting. Finally, men intervene during the selling of the crops so as to expropriate the profits accrued (Saito, 1994). Therefore, the study of labour relations above including the intra-family labour relations, naturally led to the analysis of the special work conditions of women as compared to men. This is double exploitation of peasant women relative to that of the peasant men. The general trend here is that, for most African rural communities men control and own land. This means that men own land and land is inherited by male descendants. A man who owns the land may dispose over the land and allocation of food and cash crops and what types to be grown, as he was the decision maker. Thus, this study investigated the changes in household labour relations, for instance, that women were taking on more masculine tasks in the farms, especially in tobacco production in Kuria Sub-Counties compared to men who did less farm work thereby disadvantaging women in the household economy.

Susan (1994) has strongly expressed the view that, human behavior is modified by modeling and reinforcement, whereby human behavior is modified by its own consequences. The behavior that receives approval is likely to be repeated and one which is punished is less likely to be performed again. Reinforcement of gendered behavior in the family and at the societal level through observation and initiation of others socializes the children into their socio-cultural milieu. This study sought to identify the cultural gender dimensions that were well socialized in Kuria Sub-Counties.

There is a behavior tradition that focuses on how individual sex differences originated, whether biological, cultural or social in origin (Udry and Hoddinott, 1995). This study prompted the cultural notions that were connected with tobacco production, especially in regard to gender-labour relations that influenced farmers' household income generating and power relations dynamics in Kuria Sub-Counties. This study also wanted to find out whether

women in the Sub-Counties were empowered educationally and socially, especially in matters of tobacco labour and income utilization

Odhiambo (1997) asserted that forms of women slavery in tobacco farms have been reported. This is a disturbing development, whereby women especially concubines were highly exploited in terms of their labour by their male counterparts in tobacco fields. This study began looking at the gender construction amongst the Kuria people in the aspect of opportunity and right to equal benefits as well as effective participation in the household economy.

The Kenyan dynamic in this regard explored into various literatures, for instance, according to Zarina and Davinder (2001) the gender division of labour, unlike sexual differentiation between females and males as such, was socially constructed and is further reinforced by education, training and societal attitudes. The construction of the division of labour is based on the perception of women as being there to serve and care for the family and community at large. Gender division of labour further constructs a family form in which the male head of the household is supposedly responsible for financial support of a dependent wife and children. This study was interested in the sexual differentiation between females and males in Kuria Sub-Counties as a source of differentiated labour input at the household level. This was even made serious by the intense demands of tobacco farming in the region, in which men played specific roles which were believed to be masculine but occasional in the farms, whereas women performed tasks which were considered to be feminine but were more regular in the farms.

Children in African households contribute to the labour supply and many households have large numbers of children. Driven by poverty, adults push their children to work on tobacco farms. They work long hours, stooped and for very little pay as laborers, sometimes being paid only each six-months or yearly, going without education and suffering from the adverse health consequences of farming tobacco (ILO, 2001). On the other hand, providing women with educational and employment alternatives to tobacco production will free them from harmful traditional labour conditions. It will also transform gender relations by empowering women to negotiate on their own behalf and increase economic influence in the household; consequently giving working women more power (Kantor, 2003). The purpose of affirming gender distinction in society argues that the actual physical or mental effects of biological

difference had been exaggerated to maintain a patriarchal system of power and to create a consciousness among women that they were naturally better suited to perform domestic roles (Pilcher and Imelda, 2004).

Many Native American tribes have traditionally grown and used tobacco. For instance, Eastern North American tribes have historically carried tobacco in pouches as a readily accepted trade item, as well as smoking it, both socially and ceremonially, such as to seal a peace treaty or trade agreement. Traditionally, tobacco was seen as a gift from the Creator, with the ceremonial tobacco smoke carrying one's thoughts and prayers to the Creator. In fact, tobacco has long been used in the Americas, with some cultivation sites in Mexico dating back to 1400–1000 BC (Goodman, 2005). This study investigated the intensive labour in tobacco production amongst farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties, where all the stages of tobacco husbandry are done manually. The study also wanted to find out if there were no ritual values connected with tobacco farming in the household and society at large.

The American farming practices in modern times indicate that tobacco fields are managed through all the stages, from seedlings to harvesting mechanically. Although topping the flower and in some cases the plucking of immature leaves is still done by hand. Most tobacco in the U.S. is grown in North Carolina, Kentucky and Virginia (WHO, 2008). This study intended to investigate tobacco farming activities that were considered feminine that entailed more female participation compared to their male counterparts who did fewer masculine activities. Ultimately, women were overburdened by the labour in tobacco production.

On the other hand, violence against a wife continues to be seen as legally acceptable in some countries; for instance in 2010, the United Arab Emirates Supreme Court ruled that a man has the right to physically discipline his wife and children as long as he does not leave physical marks (Nordland, 2016). This study set out to investigate the aspect of labour burdens that women carry in tobacco production in Kuria Sub-Counties. Household labour specified feminine duties which were carried out dutifully at the household level under male supervision.

2.3 Access to Resources in Tobacco Production and their Effects on the Household

There has been an attempt to investigate various tobacco farming economic activities in East Africa and the World over. Histories of these have been document respectively and will be

presented from the oldest to the most recent ones in this respect. For instance, Boesen and Mohele (1979) gave a detailed examination of a tobacco peasantry in Iringa, Tabora and Urambo areas commonly referred to as being covered by the Miombo type of vegetation. They examined the production of tobacco on the basis of constraints by and exploitation of natural resources. This study wanted to confirm whether tobacco production was a contested household activity. This was especially in reference to the situation in Kuria Sub-Counties. The main conflict was about the distorted nature of the households' economic structures that were exemplified in the exploitation of women as compared to men in relation to tobacco labour input versus income spending.

The opportunities for productive employment open to women, types of work they did, the wage rate they received, their personal and socio-economic conditions and the various problems they faced have been established (Evenson, 1980). This study was keen to confirm how tobacco extraction had always attracted a tradition of profiteering and competition between multinationals for the tobacco crop, especially in Kuria Sub-Counties.

On the other hand, Stubbs (1985) discussed the history of tobacco production in Cuba. Stubbs contended that the international cartels helped to ruin the Cuban economy. She held that it was the history's irony that in 1933 the year Cuba tobacco industry was facing bankruptcy, Doris Duke was called the richest girl in the world. She was a daughter of a man who in amassing a multi-million tobacco fortune had ruthlessly helped to ruin other tobacco companies and countries. In another scenario, Baud (1988) conducted a Dominican study about the lives and works of successive generations of tobacco cultivating families in Northern Valley of the Dominican Republic generally known as Cibao. It is mainly an analysis of the development of regional market economy and the position of elite in a peasant society. In examining the history of tobacco production in Cibao, he takes into account its impact on land use and change and states that with the expansion of tobacco coupled with population increase, Cibao landscape gradually became domesticated. This study investigated how tobacco economy had influenced the Kuria society with regard to tobacco market forces. For instance, tobacco farms were on the increase and correspondingly the multinationals were competing for the farmers' harvests, while poverty was concomitantly on the rise.

Besides, in the early 1990s, almost 40% of the Africa's land surface had been converted into cropland and permanent pasture (Holmberg et al, 1991). Of particular importance, was the need to understand the contribution of the various factors such as expansion of agriculture in society. This study wanted to establish how one of the major agricultural activities consumed huge chunks of land in the form of small scale farming in tobacco in Kuria Sub-Counties. Many peasants engaged in the activity as the only major cash crop they depended on in the region.

Consequently, Bababola (1992) examined capitalist development and tobacco farming in Nigeria. He generally argues that the injection of capital into the agriculture economy of third world societies led to the disintegration of pre-existing social organization of production and the proletarianization of the peasants. This led to the establishment of capitalism as the dominant mode of production. Taking an issue with the Nigerian Tobacco Company, he argued that the company took a monopolistic control in Oyo State of Nigeria to squeeze and deny farmers some of the farming power over the pricing and value of tobacco cultivated. He argued that increased cash earnings in tobacco farming enabled farmers to marry many wives to enhance their social status in the community as well as augmenting labour in the farms. This study analyzed the socio-economic power relations resulting from the commercialization of tobacco, especially in Kuria Sub-Counties. It looked at polygyny which played a vital role in tobacco production, for example, the bigger the farm the more the wives and children as a source of cheap labour within the household. It made the household labour self-contained.

Moreover, Mbiba (1993) revealed that while women had control and decision-making power regarding cultivation, the husband's consent was still required due to his potential assistance with financing or dealing with local authorities. This study asserted that tobacco production involved power relations within the household. This was of central significance to understanding gender dynamics of rural agricultural systems. Basically, this study had the quest to illustrate how economic power relations were exercised amongst tobacco producing households in Kuria Sub-Counties. For instance, a wife could not make any decision without the involvement of the husband.

Recent studies into natural resource rehabilitation were based on in-depth case studies. These have highlighted situations where population growth and agricultural intensification have been accompanied by improved rather than deteriorating soil and water resources (Tiffen et

al, 1994). This study wanted to establish whether tobacco production affected complimentary processes in its husbandry particularly wood fuel used for its curing in Kuria Sub-Counties.

Besides, Shehu and Hassan (1995) have noted that dairying activities of female household members served to balance household power relations by providing women with their own enterprise. It was necessary to understand who in the household actually controlled tobacco produce or income generated from farming activities and why this is the case. Further, Mugereza (1995) sought to analyze the social and economic effects of tobacco growing in Masindi Sub-Counties in Uganda. He examined the contract system introduced by tobacco companies and brings about the socio-economic debates about the benefits of tobacco growing to both local and national economies. Mugereza argued that the intensification of allocation of labour within the tobacco household does not tally with claims about the improvement in living conditions of labour or with the raise in employment. Children don't attend school because they were required by their parents to tend tobacco fields because of poverty. This study set out to establish if the situation in tobacco production involved intense use of household labour to the extent that even children were closely involved in its production, especially in Kuria Sub-Counties where labour relations were also highly gender biased.

An International Tobacco Growers Association (ITGA) sponsored consultant study of the tobacco industry was published. It was considered a definite study on the wood use of tobacco. The study admitted that the production of flue-cured tobacco, which was used for manufacturing American blended cigarettes, caused grave ecological and economic problems in areas where there is a prospective or actual fuel wood supply deficit (ITGA, 1995). Besides, a growing body of research documents what works to economically empower women, from providing access to formal financial services to training on agricultural and business management practices, though more research is needed across a variety of contexts to confirm the effectiveness of these interventions (Harvard Law Review Association, 1996).

In addition, Mianda (1996) demonstrated how cultural traditions and ideologies delineate masculine and feminine roles that form the basis of power struggles in the household garden produce sector. Some studies in the field of rural agriculture have done well to illuminate how gender hierarchies are constructed, legitimated, maintained, and challenged in specific contexts. For instance Mianda illustrates how women in Kinshasa, in the Democratic

Republic of Congo utilize strategy and tactic to gain advantage over their husbands, and hence control over the garden enterprise. Men were found to refuse participating in feminine tasks such as cultivation, thus allowing women to gain husbands' approval to begin production on the basis of its contribution to family welfare. The resulting gender division of labour consequently establishes gardening as an entirely female activity and women rely on this categorization to control the entire process of production from price setting and negotiation to marketing. Women were found to conceal portions of profits from their husbands by storing such cash in kitchen pots. Again, the cultural perceptions of domesticity as women's domain, dissuades men from handling cookware for fear of becoming the victims of sorcery. This study endeavored to understand if Kuria women had developed social skills to counter their husbands in tobacco production relations, particularly income spending.

This area of study has attracted numerous scholars' attention, including Friedberg (1996) who explored trade liberalizations in Burkina Faso. This prompted rural gardeners to adopt more entrepreneurial strategies in order to secure access to external markets and aid. Economic reforms have failed to create a market free of gender biases, leaving women gardeners at a disadvantaged position as compared to men. This study made an important contribution to rural agriculture literature by advancing the understanding of gender dynamics through both gender-disaggregated data collection and gender analysis. African rural economy which is marked by strong gender decisions, each sex is assigned different workloads. For example, ploughing, application of water, fertilizer, pesticide, transportation of seeds, repair of machinery, etc, are exclusively male Jobs. On the other hand, weeding, seed transplantation, unmechanized tasks, harvesting, etc are typically the domain of women. However, it should be noted that while the situation is rigid in given localities, there is considerable variation in the various regions in the way agricultural tasks are gendered and assigned. Tobacco production had complex economic control and power relations in the households, for instance, distinct rural agricultural activities were chosen by or assigned to particular household members based on their genders and ages.

According to Rubert (1997) who focused his work on moral economy and pointed out that this is seen clearly from the aspect of division of labour in tobacco production. He found out that in the Zimbabwean tobacco industry, production process becomes burdensome especially to women who were used for cheap labour while marketing was done mainly by men and in similar context. Perhaps the one with closest affinity to the present study which examines the

work experience, living conditions and social relations of thousands of African men, women and children on European-owned tobacco farms in colonial Zimbabwe from 1890 to 1945. The author provides evidence that Africans were not passive in their responses to the penetration of European capitalism into Zimbabwe, but on the contrary, helped to shape both the work and living conditions they encountered as they entered wage employment. Beginning with a brief history of tobacco growing in Zimbabwe, this study focuses on the organization of workers' compounds and on the paid and unpaid labour performed by both women and children on those farms. This study wanted to unpack facts regarding tobacco production and its unique realities, especially in Kuria Sub-Counties. It was highly labour demanding, was owned by men and its income seemed to be spent asymmetrically in the household.

The crisis affecting Africa has its profound roots in the integration of African economies into the world capitalist system. For instance, O'Connor (1998) asserts that, the agricultural sectors and the rural areas are most often the ones most affected because of this integration. This can be likened to the case of agriculture, which, in most countries is in a crisis situation because it is essentially oriented towards the world market and not towards the feeding of the local people. This study needed to establish if the Kenyan government favored tobacco as a cash crop for world market export, while not considering other important socio-cultural and household economic parameters that were involved in its production in Kuria Sub-Counties.

In addition, Otieno (1998) made a geographical approach to examine the environmental impact of contract tobacco cultivation in Kuria Sub-Counties and focused on the ecological processes that influence land use practices at the farm level. Thus, Otieno contended that the heightened demand for fuel wood to cure tobacco increased rather than reduced tree cover in the area. Tobacco production had implications on the health of the farmers and that it was premised only on the economic aspects which affected not only individual households but also sources of wood fuel that were heavily used for tobacco curing. This had bearing on Kuria Sub-Counties' future dimensions on human resources.

A study carried out by Van and Eastwood (1998) effectively utilized oral sociologies to offer firsthand accounts of tobacco production in the words of tobacco farmers themselves showing the process of cultivating what they call most delicate and difficult plant. Here they argue that whereas most crops drive farmers apart as they compete for the best prices, the price controls

on tobacco bring growers together. The result is a culture unlike any other in America, one often forgotten or overlooked as federal and state governments fight over the spoils of the tobacco settlement. It describes the process of raising a tobacco crop from the perspective and experience of the farmers themselves. “You take tobacco out of Kentucky and this farmland wouldn’t be worth a nickel”. Combining cultural anthropology and oral history, the authors create a remarkable portrait of the heart of the tobacco belt in Central Kentucky. This study would be significant because of its richness in the use of oral histories. This study wanted to confirm if tobacco was a major cash crop in Kuria Sub-Counties but farmers did not have the means to counter price determination and control by dealers or multinational companies which seemed to impoverish farmers systematically.

In Central America and increasingly in South America, farmers intensify production in order to prevent degradation of pastures and avoid the higher cost option of expanding onto neighboring lands. Hence, the initial question posed by the study, whether intensification caused increased or decreased deforestation resulted in an unfortunate alternative hypothesis: forest scarcity was a pre-requisite for technology intensification (Douglas et al, 1999). This study investigated how tobacco production interacted with other human productive activities in Kuria Sub-Counties. For instance, many farmers practiced mixed farming despite tobacco being their leading cash crop. They also practiced livestock keeping though in small numbers. In addition, tobacco farming also consumed lots of wood fuel in the area.

Further, the chemicals used in tobacco farming have destructive consequences on maternal and fetal health, as documented in Kenyan workers and indigenous Huichole tribeswomen in Mexico, who experience high rates of miscarriage and birth defects (Campaign for Tobacco Free Kids, 2001). According to Goodman (2005) the history of government involvement in tobacco production and consumption before turning to big business, in the consolidation and diversification of the tobacco industry is clear. He closes with a short chapter on modern health concerns relating to tobacco and how they may affect the culture of tobacco consumption and production. Moreover, the work of Goodman is an overview of the culture and business of tobacco production. Goodman presents a cultural and economic survey of the plant and its products. He begins with native Americans, who used tobacco in ceremonies and approached it with reverence. He then details how European explorers took tobacco back to Europe and how its use was quickly adopted there by the general public. Its adoption was hastened by medical reports claiming numerous health benefits of consuming tobacco, from

preventing colds to curing bowel ailments. This study wanted to verify if tobacco production was a crop only linked to economic activity and income without any ritual values in Kuria Sub-Counties.

Rampant tobacco growth can be partially explained by the existence of high import tariff on foreign tobacco entering China. While this tariff has been reduced from 64% in 1999 to 10% in 2004, it still has led to local Chinese cigarettes being preferred over foreign cigarettes because of their lower costs. China's increase in tobacco production was the single biggest factor in the increase in world production. China's share of the world market increased from 17% in 1971 to 47% in 1997 (Hu and Mao, 2006). This study investigated tobacco production in Kuria Sub-Counties as a major national economic exercise but without corresponding benefits to the natives. For this reason, it could not be comparable with other world tobacco producers that gave their farmers value for their farming efforts.

Group on Alternative Crops established by FCTC's Conference of Parties looked at a number of countries, including Malawi and Zimbabwe and examined the comparative efficiencies of several crops as compared with tobacco leaf. Depending on marketing arrangements, it found out that in Malawi crops such as paprika, tomatoes, rice, groundnuts and coffee can bring in more income than tobacco farming (Keyser, 2007). On the other hand, according to the Institute for Natural Resources and Technology Studies - INRTS (2007) case study in Kenya, the social and economic costs and benefits of tobacco cultivation compared to other commercial crops were exemplified. It showed that tobacco had the lowest economic return per acre compared to other commercial crops, including passion fruit, watermelon, soybeans, pineapples and peppers. This study investigated why the natives of Kuria Sub-Counties continued to farm tobacco crop despite the various shortcomings that came with it, notwithstanding the various gender challenges that afflicted them

The report by WHO (2007) showed that according to Kenyan government statistics, Kuria Sub-Counties in the Nyanza province, that produces the largest amount of tobacco, are also the poorest Sub-Counties in the country. This study endeavored to confirm that the postulations regarding household labour appropriation and multinational exploitation in tobacco production situation in Kuria Sub-Counties were particularly authentic. WHO studies indicate that the conditions of economic relations in tobacco production were problematic. Farmers were also not venturing into any other cash crop production (WHO, 2007).

Besides, most African governments are encouraged by the tobacco industry, based on an economic point of view, to promote tobacco farming. The industry typically argues that tobacco farming contributes to tax revenue, improves farmers' employment and income, especially cash income and relieves household poverty. Growing tobacco also takes advantage of less fertile land that would otherwise be underused. Most importantly, they argue that tobacco farming generates export earnings and promotes local economic development in these countries (Jones et al, 2008). This study focused on ascertaining why most farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties, in particular, singularly stuck into tobacco production at the expense of other more profitable crops. The economic realities of tobacco production in the area, most particularly the government was in favor of the crop for export earnings, which was the main motivating factor.

The multinational companies ordinarily give the farmers loans so they can buy tobacco inputs such as seeds, fertilizers and pesticides. Because of the contracts, farmers anticipate a ready market and cash income. But because the price they can get for their harvest is decided by the leaf companies, which grade the leaves and set the price, tobacco farmers are often trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty and indebtedness. After paying their loans, farmers' income is often in the deleterious, especially when they factor in their labour costs and those of their family members. This situation is aggravated, as the farmers bear the risk of a natural disaster or other crop failure. With the increasing cost of imported inputs, the farmers may find themselves in lifetime debt bondage (Kibwage et al, 2009). This study had the quest to find out whether there were many economic challenges that individual tobacco producing households went through in dealing with tobacco multinationals in Kuria Sub-Counties. It was farmers who tolerated the brunt of debts and intensive tobacco labour in their households.

Recent studies in Tabora region of Tanzania, the main tobacco producing region of the country, conducted a comparative analysis of the technical efficiency of smallholder tobacco farmers and maize farmers. The market value per unit of tobacco leaf was three times higher than that of maize in this country. The picture was however reversed when the cost of inputs, such as labour are included. Maize farmers have two crops per year as opposed to one for tobacco (Kidane et al, 2014). This study wanted to unpack the production reality with regard to tobacco production in Kuria Sub-Counties. For example, farm inputs were given to farmers on loan basis throughout the entire tobacco husbandry processes. They were then recovered

by the tobacco multinationals during the sale season thereby leaving the farmers with little net income. This continuously recurred around the year.

To complement the above, the value of tobacco leaf exports includes the value added for the handling of exports, such as grading, packaging and transporting. Comparing the unit price of a country's tobacco leaf export with the auction price from the trading floor shows that a significant portion goes to intermediary processes and to middlemen. The individual small land holder tobacco farmer typically lives in poverty (FAO, 2014). This study was keen to confirm whether tobacco production was a viable agricultural option in Kuria Sub-Counties. In fact, it could be typified with any other good income generating activities except for the terms imposed by the multinationals on the farmers. The net amounts acquired were usually very low after the company loans were recovered from Kuria farmers.

Further, in Brazil around 135,000 family farmers cite tobacco production as their main economic activity. Tobacco has never exceeded 0.7% of the country's total cultivated area. In the southern regions of Brazil, Virginia, and Amarelinho, flue-cured tobacco, as well as burley and Galpao Comum air-cured tobacco, are produced. These types of tobacco are used for cigarettes. In the northeast, darker, air- and sun-cured tobacco varieties are grown. These types of tobacco are used for cigars, twists and dark cigarettes. Brazil's government has made attempts to reduce the production of tobacco, but has not had a successful systematic anti-tobacco farming initiative (FAO, 2014). The study wanted to underline the role of the government of Kenya in tobacco production, especially whether it was prominent like that of Brazil that took lead in discouraging tobacco production in the country for health reasons, among others.

Tobacco leaf exports in five countries below play an important role in their export trade. For the year 2011, tobacco leaf was the top agricultural export for Malawi, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. It ranked as the 2nd agricultural export in Tanzania and 3rd in Zambia. In Malawi, one of the most heavily tobacco-dependent economies in the world, tobacco accounts for over 60% of the country's total annual earnings, and accounts for 13% of the economy as measured by the GDP. In Zimbabwe, tobacco leaf accounted for 22.64% of total exports in 2011 (FAO, 2014). This study looked at the economic potentials of tobacco as a cash crop, especially in regard to Kuria Sub-Counties which was one of the largest tobacco

producers in Kenya. However, the management of the crop had proved to be problematic within the household and between farmers and the multinationals respectively.

According to UNFPA, despite many international agreements affirming their human rights, women are still much more likely than men to be poor and illiterate. They have less access to property ownership, credit, training and employment. They are far less likely than men to be politically active and far more likely to be victims of domestic violence (UNFPA, 2015). This study was focused on establishing if women were unprivileged by their male counterparts in Kuria Sub-Counties, especially with a gender overtone in tobacco production.

2.4 Differentials between Female and Male Headed Households among Tobacco Farmers

The differentials between male and female headed households need to be studied systematically and with clear historical development in this aspect. All are presented chronologically so as to offer coherence in the study. For instance, in order to have crucial insight and understanding to this development, a socio-psychological point of view is crucial for this study. Freud (1931) did emphasize the essence of gender differentiation, reinforcement and modeling by psycho-analysis. When Freud began to develop his ideas about gender development at the turn of the century, it was taken for granted that men and women were different. In Freud's focus on the subject, it was assumed that psychological differences between the sexes stemmed from differences in reproductive functions. The psychological aspects were essentially attuned to the farmer's gender psyche. In particular, this had significance in gender metaphors construction in regard to household economic welfare. This was strongly rooted in traditional values.

The presumption that social structures existed outside individual desires or motives and that social structure at least partially explained human action. This embraced the transformative power of human action (Smelser, 1959). This study established how intra-household socio-economic structures affected its welfare. In essence, this study wanted to demonstrate how household power relations between men and women informed their welfare dynamics amongst tobacco farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties.

Further, Joan (1975) asserts that gender involves four interrelated elements. Firstly, culturally available symbols that evoke multiple representations, for example, light and dark,

purification and pollution, innocence and corruption. Secondly, normative concepts that set forth the interpretation of the meanings of the symbols expressed in religious, educational, legal and political doctrines. These, categorically assert the meaning of masculinity and femininity. Thirdly, restricted use of gender to kinship systems focuses on household and family as the basis for socio-cultural organization. But the same can be extended to include other aspects of society, for example the labour market and gender as a subjective identity. This entails the reproduction of gender, a description of the transformation of the biological sexuality of individuals as they are acculturated. Fourthly, gender is a constitute element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes (male/female), indeed it is the primary way of signifying relationships of power. And so, whenever people are considered different, it is likely that they will be differently valued. Therefore, this leads to socio-economic ranking or stratification which is predominant in the developing countries of Africa. This study wanted to confirm how tobacco producing households in Kuria Sub-Counties aligned themselves to traditional gender dimensions and how their welfares were affected in due course. Gender relations had very strong linkage with income and its utilization at the household level, in which it significantly affected welfare imperatives.

The study by Raymond (1980) presented power relationship as part of the stratification system whereby one dominant gender (male) used macro manipulation, such as the control of social institutions and economic resources sufficiently to make the less powerful (female) fall into line. Whereas the less dominant gender (female) used micro manipulation, such as interpersonal skills and charm to offset the control of the powerful. There are traits and roles associated with men, such as the socio-economic and socio-cultural positions that men hold, are seen as more valuable than those encompassed by the feminine gender-roles.

Married women's labour supply could be assumed to be determined along with that of other family members in an effort to maximize household welfare. This model expected the supply of labour to increase with the rise in wage rate, unless the income effect of wage change outweighed its substitution effect (Gronau, 1980). In view of peasants, concern to ensure the survival of the family is founded in the labour behavior of married women. This may be interpreted as geared towards fulfilling the survival requirements of their respective families. Therefore, married women supply their labour here according to the fluctuating subsistence requirements, so as to attain some level of good standards of living. This study intended to investigate the low tobacco prices that affected households' income and consequently its

welfare in Kuria Sub-Counties. This study also wanted to establish tobacco production activities amongst married women who exhibited similar characteristics in the region, for instance, they all worked extra ordinarily hard and benefited less at the end of tobacco production cycle.

The study by Mohamed (1987) contributed to the understanding of household dynamics. In support of this, such structures needed to be understood comprehensively. This was in the framework of a system whose modes of operation and rules of the game operated in such a way that it was always the poorest and economically weakest that suffered the most serious consequences of the crisis. This study wanted to affirm that traditional values were well socialized amongst the Kuria people, in the sense that, gender relations were significantly affected by these notions. Men were always the strong and women emerged to be the weak and burdened at the household.

Contemporary realization that African nations are unable to feed themselves led social scientists to examine the historical roots of rural poverty. Some scholars attributed the contemporary African food crisis to the destruction of traditional economies, which has in turn undermined peasants' reproductive capacity as well as their ability to cope with ecological disasters (Helmunt, 1999). This study endeavored to ascertain how the agricultural economy in Kuria Sub-Counties found itself prone to tobacco multinationals and whose activities even threatens household welfare, especially food security.

There has been encouragement by tobacco multinationals for more tobacco farming around the world, along with government subsidies which led to a glut in the tobacco market. This surplus resulted in lower prices, which were devastating to small-scale tobacco farmers. According to the World Bank, between 1985 and 2000, the inflation-adjusted price of tobacco dropped 37%. Tobacco was the most widely smuggled legal product (Campaign for Tobacco Free Kids, 2001).

Women from tobacco estates were further disadvantaged. A report on the tobacco industry in India and Bangladesh exposes the realities of health, sexual and economic abuses faced by female workers (John and Vaite, 2002). This study tried to find out if Kenya has many policies and legal frameworks regarding tobacco production controls, especially in curbing the activities of the multinationals, while improving the farmers' welfare imperatives, but was not fully enforced. Women were less likely than men to be land owners and named in

agreements with tobacco companies, but were encumbered with intensive tobacco farming responsibilities (John and Vaite, 2002).

Gendered roles in heterosexual marriages are learned through imitation. People learn what society views as appropriate gender behaviors from imitating the repetition of actions by one's role-model or parent of the same biological sex. Imitation in the physical world that impacts one's gendered roles often comes from role-modeling parents, peers, teachers, and other significant figures in one's life. In a marriage, oftentimes each person's gendered roles are determined by their parents. If the wife grew up imitating the actions of traditional parents, and the husband non-traditional parents, their views on marital roles would be different (Benokraitis, 2002). There has been criticism from some feminists towards the political discourse and policies employed in order to achieve the items of progress in gender equality, with critics arguing that these gender equality strategies are superficial, in that they do not seek to challenge social structures of male domination, and only aim at improving the situation of women within the societal framework of subordination of women to men (Lombardo, 2003).

Women are often deprived of equal work experiences because they are not provided equal opportunities on the basis of legal rights. Liberal feminists further propose that an end needs to be put to discrimination based on gender through legal means, leading to equality and major economic redistributions (Helene (2004). There are huge real differences in attitudes towards appropriate gender roles. In the World Values Survey, responders were asked if they thought that wage work should be restricted to only men in the case of shortage in jobs in Iceland the proportion that agreed with the proposition was 3.6%; while in Egypt it was 94.9% (Fortin, 2005).

Various concerns have been raised by many stakeholders regarding tobacco production and use around the world. In response to the growth of tobacco use in developing countries, the World Health Organization successfully rallied 168 countries to sign the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control. The convention was designed to push for effective legislation and its enforcement in all countries to reduce the harmful effects of tobacco. This led to the development of tobacco cessation products (WHO, 2008). In some places, although the law itself no longer requires the consent of the husband for various actions taken by the wife, the practice continues de facto, with the authorization of the husband being asked in practice (Buhle, 2008).

Therefore, women are expected to behave in a way that aligns with female gender stereotypes while these stereotypes are simultaneously used to justify their lack of success in an economic context, putting women in the workforce in a precarious, double bind situation (Williams, 2009). Since the 1950s, social scientists as well as feminists have increasingly criticized gendered arrangements of work and care and the male breadwinner role. Policies are increasingly targeting men as fathers as a tool of changing gender relations (Vachon, et al. 2010).

Concerns include the fact that all forms of media have the power to shape the population's perceptions and portray images of unrealistic stereotypical perceptions by portraying women either as submissive housewives or as sex objects (Acevedo, 2010). Equal rights for women in marriage, divorce and property/land ownership and inheritance are essential for gender equality. The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) has called for the end of discriminatory family laws (UN, 2013).

In some developing parts of the world women are often denied opportunities for education as girls and women face many obstacles (Plan International, 2015). These include: early and forced marriages; early pregnancy; prejudice based on gender stereotypes at home, at school and in the community; violence on the way to school, or in and around schools; long distances to schools; vulnerability to the HIV epidemic; school fees, which often lead to parents sending only their sons to school; lack of gender sensitive approaches and materials in classrooms.

An integrated gender mainstreaming approach is the attempt to form alliances and common platforms that bring together the power of faith and gender-equality aspirations to advance human rights (UNFPA, 2015). UNFPA conducted a study on gender equality by comparing the text of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women with some widely recognized Islamic references and resources. The findings reflect the parallels between the Convention and many tenets of Islamic scripture and practice. The study showcased specific issues, including VAW, child marriage, respect for the dignity of women, and equality in the economic and political participation of women. The study was later used to produce training materials geared towards sensitizing religious leaders (UNFPA, 2015). In addition, women in many African societies are often denied opportunities to education as girls and most often women face many cultural obstacles (GCEUSC, 2015).

In Muslim culture, women are seen as equal to men, but the degree to which that is honored is largely cultural. While some cultures encourage men and women to take on the same roles, others promote a more traditional, less dominant role for the women (Global Connections, 2016).

The media emphasizes traditional domestic or sexual roles that normalize violence against women. The vast array of studies that have been conducted on the issue of the portrayal of women in the media have shown that women are often portrayed as irrational, fragile, not intelligent, submissive and subservient to men (The Myriad, 2016).

The scenario that women find themselves in the developing countries is wanting. For instance, they are deprived access to education in which they are exposed to early marriages; they lack access to property such as land which is vital for rural agriculture, etc. Thus, women find themselves in utter poverty (UNHRR, 2017). Besides, Switzerland was one of the last countries in Europe to establish gender equality in marriage. In this country, married women's rights were severely restricted until 1988, when legal reforms providing for gender equality in marriage, abolishing the legal authority of the husband, came into force, these reforms had been approved in 1985 by voters in a referendum, who narrowly voted in favor with 54.7% of voters approving (Markus, 2017).

2.5 Knowledge Gaps

A significant attempt has been made to review literature from various sources that were presented in three tiers. This entails step by step review that looked at the works of literature and was premised on the three objectives of this study. Thus, this study has been able to establish some knowledge gaps. For instance, the existing literature does not cover specific household gender afflictions among small scale tobacco farmers in Kuria Sub- Counties. Also, the various household socio-economic challenges exhibited in gendered dimensions between men, women and children in Kuria households are not captured and presented in the existing literature.

On the other hand, the patriarchal gender constructions limiting access to household resources especially land, contracts and income utilization in the Kuria peoples' livelihoods need to be investigated as the existing literature have not delved into this aspect. Besides, the

differentials between the male and female headed household interests in welfare and their gender implications need to be studied as the existing literature leaves gaps in this sphere.

2.6 Theoretical Framework

This study was informed by two theories namely, the Structuration Theory and the Marxist theory of dialectic materialism.

2.6.1 The Structuration Theory

This theory has a long history in terms of its applications to streamline academic knowledge in social realities. Thus, it was aligned to this study through a four level presentation, starting from the old and progressing to the new scripts. To begin with, this theory asserts that social structures shape individuals, but simultaneously, individuals shape the social structures. The author embraces the transformative power of human action by insisting that any structural theory must be concerned with flexibility and actor's interpretation of their own lives (Giddens, 1979). Besides, structure can deliberately be the object of practice. Attention must also be paid both to how structure shapes individual choice and social interaction and how human agency creates, sustains and modifies current structures (Ridgeway, 2000). Thus, these theoretical assertions are utilized to unpack intra-household organizational notions in tobacco farming in Kuria Sub-Counties, especially the construction of gendered division of labour. The understanding of gendered behaviors has received contributions from this articulation, particularly in regard to household structures and their traditional functions.

The central focus of this theory is on specific and consistent matters both internally and with conventional social structures. It highlights problematic aspects of Giddens' concept of structure on rules and resources; this one focuses on rules (Stones, 2005). On the other hand, the structuration theory may emphasize structural community-based approaches and informal communication systems that mediate in matters pertaining to social structures. Structuration reveals interesting ethical considerations relating to whether a social system should transform (Falkheimer, 2009). Thus, this approach helps in comprehending how household resources are managed according to self-imposed rules. Further, this theory also focuses on the significance of communication, vital in appreciating how household members relate in tobacco production. This theory has a number of tenets that make it most applicable to this study. This is bearing in mind that gender-labour relations in tobacco production involve

human thoughts and actions. Thus, the gender behavior aspects may be streamlined through theoretical tenets found in this model.

Firstly, the Structuration Theory stresses the significance of social structures in shaping individuals behaviors and individuals in turn shaped social structures. In this regard, the theory takes into cognizance the power of human accomplishment, emphasizing that humans are in charge of their relations and it is within their powers to establish change into the direction of their desires. This idea has been instrumental in understanding how tobacco production tendencies came into being and how they have affected individual participants.

Secondly, the structuralism theme emphasizes community-based approaches and informal communication systems which this study adopted to interpret households' social dynamics. The issues in question need to be solved through communication. This is premised in the power of social discussions, crucially to resolve conflict at the household level. Moreover, structuration theory attempts to integrate all organizational members with emphasis in comprehending the functional part of a household structure. Thus, informal communication adds value and is instrumental in various forms of social intervention in the society.

Thirdly, more specific and consistent household relational matters within conventional social structures are streamlined by this theory. It means that each structure should be understood in its merit within a given social milieu and be measured against contemporary practices in other social environments in order to comprehend them. Lastly, the theory highlights the problematic spheres of resources and rules in the household. Social and cultural norms influence gender behavior, especially in the manner through which they affect collective household resources. All these ideas are significant towards addressing various gender-labour, socio-economic and welfare aspects of this study.

However, there were limitations to this theory. For instance, it did not cover the economic determinants in tobacco production. For this reason, there was need to employ another theory that addresses the economic aspects in tobacco production. In which case, the Marxist theory of dialectic materialism was utilized to inform and offer crucial economic insights to this study. With this in mind, it is hoped that all the economic issues surrounding this study will be addressed adequately.

2.6.2 The Marxist Theory of Dialectic Materialism

The Marxist articulations have their roots anchored in classical economic values based on production relations. The assertions of this theory have traversed time and space, with a strong history of renewal and relevance in academic spheres. In this theoretical presentation, Marxist conceptualizations are articulated, starting from the old and progressing to the novel postulations. For instance, Marxist theory of dialectic materialism asserts that at a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production. Under the capitalist mode of production, this struggle materializes between the minority (the bourgeoisie) who own the means of production, and the vast majority of the population (the proletariat) who produce goods and services (Marx, 1849). This informs tobacco production forces, especially in reference to gender economic conflicts in Kuria Sub-Counties.

Further, according to Marx, the development of agriculture in capitalism was charted above all through the displacement of peasant by capitalist farming. Lenin's emphasis on the tendency to class differentiation among peasants was a fundamental addition to understanding paths of agrarian change. This theory begins with identifying the possibility of the dissolution of the peasantry through the formation of distinct classes of agrarian capital and wage labour from within its ranks (Lenin, 1964). Lenin's argument contested at the time and ever since by agrarian populism, was often misunderstood theoretically.

The other aspect is that class differentiation of peasants (and family farmers in the advanced capitalist countries) can proceed via the increasing entry or reproduction costs of petty commodity enterprise, resulting in the dispossession of weaker producers without any necessary formation of classes of rich peasants or capitalist farmers. Peasant communities are often characterized by recurring poverty, debilitating powerlessness, precarious productive systems, constant subjection to impositions and exactions from external forces, and persistent threat of extinction (Scott, 1976).

In response, they engage in various actions geared towards mitigating the impact of the above conditions or at the extreme, radically transforming their lives. On one hand, peasants have been described as passive and willing to endure and adapt to the most unequal of relations with outsiders. This position is well articulated in the findings of this study, especially in regard to gender economic relations at the household and the tobacco multinational relations with tobacco farmers. This theory further shows that when farmer's backs are against the

wall, they either cut down on their consumption or intensify their farm work. In many cases, they simply leave the countryside and take on work in the urban areas or in other countries. In many cases, as a popular branch of peasant studies illustrate, they engage in everyday forms of resistance by employing what has been termed weapons of the weak (Scott, 1985).

Further, at the other end of the spectrum of peasant responses to external impositions and oppression are major acts of resistance such as rebellions and revolutions requiring collective action on the part of peasant communities. There are various theories on peasant participation either as main protagonists or adjunct players in revolutionary movements. This has been selected in particular to explain the situation in tobacco production relations in Kuria Sub-Counties. One stems from placing the subsistence ethic at the center of the analysis of peasant politics and where recurring violations of a moral economy based on a notion of economic justice and working definition of exploitation are thought to trigger spontaneous outbursts of uprisings and insurrections (Scott, 1986). There is also the tendency to class differentiation arising from the peculiar combination of class places of capital and labour in petty commodity production, hence its exaggerated form of instability (Morales, 1986). Besides, social class places capital and labour in constitute petty commodity production in capitalism that is not necessarily distributed symmetrically within household production. Indeed, they are unlikely to be so as they typically follow the contours of gendered (and other unequal) divisions of property, labour and income in family and kinship structures (Brass, 1986).

Marxist work covers significant economic aspects of capitalism i.e. monopoly and surplus value. According to Karl Marx, capitalism is primarily a system of exploitative power relations. In the capitalist tradition, the value of any commodity that is produced for sale is determined by the amount of labour incorporated in the commodity by the worker, plus the indirect labour stored in the artificial appendages. Moreover, surplus value is another important concept in the Marxist theory, which is the difference from which employers derive their profits. In this scheme, the employers pay workers only for their labour power without paying them for their actual expenditure of human energy and intelligence that is taken out of them and transferred into the commodities they produce (Tong, 1989). This particular aspect informs the exploitative nature in tobacco production relations between the multinationals and tobacco farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties.

Significantly in Kenya, Carney and Watts (1990) observed that tobacco contracts created intra-household conflicts over the allocation of land and resources to tobacco and away from subsistence crops, specifically millet. Another Marxist study indicates that Tea development authority scheme in Kenya alienated female farmers and contributed to widening the gap between resources controlled by men and those controlled by women by favoring male household heads when granting contracts. While contracting with the principal workers may not be possible in all contexts, the literature suggests that contract design should more carefully account for how profits are distributed in relation to contribution and work effort. These intra-household concerns appear repeatedly in the literature. Among tea growers in Kenya, Von Bulow and Sorensen (1993) observed that women provided labour for their husband's tea fields with the understanding that the income from those fields would be used to benefit the entire family. This particular notion is apparent among the Kuria tobacco farmers, but does not seem to manifest itself in this direction.

In particular, Marx termed economic relations as an ensemble of significant relations. We live our lives at the core of the intersection of a number of unequal social relations based on hierarchically interrelated structures which, together, define the historical specificity of the capitalist modes of production and reproduction and underlay their observable manifestations (Martha, 2001). Thus, household economic differentials were addressed by this particular Marxist articulation.

The Marxist theory of dialectic materialism is further complimented by the contract farming concept, which is Marxist in orientation and further explains an arrangement between farmers and a processing or marketing firm for the production and supply of agricultural products such as tobacco, often at predetermined prices. Farmers are responsible for producing specific quantities of goods at a certain level of quality and agricultural firms are responsible for purchasing the commodity, often also providing inputs and technical assistance. Limited access to land and control over the allocation of labour and cash resources are key constraints hindering women's ability to benefit from CF (Eaton and Sheperd 2001). The impact of CF on women is often mediated by their relative bargaining power within the household. The dominant finding throughout the CF literature suggests that women are generally not involved in contracting with agro-industrial firms and are disadvantaged in contract schemes in particular. In general, the CF literature suggests that the unitary model of household decision-making does not adequately describe the process of household decision-making.

Instead, the literature suggests that farming contracts can cause intra-household conflicts through the reallocation of productive resources, changes in labour burdens and decisions about control over cash income.

Moreover, Eaton and Sheperd (2001) assert that good management of CF implementation requires paying attention to male-female household relationships in order to mitigate possible negative unintended consequences. They identify payments made to men for work carried out largely by women and conflict between contract requirements and women's subsistence farming priorities as two key challenges to CF. Contract farming theorists suggest that program planners should attempt to allocate contracts and make payments to the principal workers rather than the household heads. Eaton and Shepherd have outlined a set of preconditions for contract initiation, including secure land tenure, that they argue should be met in order to decrease breaches of contract by both farmers and firms. Further, the authors note that in the majority of projects, firms contract directly with farmers who either own land or have customary land rights within a communal landowning system.

Conflict arose within the household when many husbands instead spent the money on personal needs. Dolan (2002) found that as export horticulture crops (especially French beans) became increasingly lucrative in Meru District, Kenya, the land allocated to a traditionally woman's domain (vegetables) was increasingly appropriated by men who laid claim to the land allocated for and the income derived from French bean cultivation. In addition, Dolan (2005) found, the desire to minimize the risk of contract default due to production failures drives firms' preference to contract with men, whose more secure access to land and labour decreases this risk. This excludes women who have fewer rights to land and less authority over household labour allocations.

Similar to the constraints facing female smallholders in all farming arrangements, women's lower rate of land access and ownership is mentioned throughout the literature as a critical barrier to their ability to engage in CF. Maertens and Swinnen (2009) attribute the exclusion of female contractors in high-value CF schemes to their limited access to productive resources, especially land and labour.

This study analyzes more important aspects of the socialization in agriculture as postulated by Marxist theory of dialectic materialism. Also, this theoretical analogy is utilized to indicate some practical problems that modern agricultural production demands, which is a

negation of peasant ownership and the peasant manner of production. Gender analysis has interrogated some of the dominant orthodoxies in agrarian studies especially in conceptualizing households and their connections to broader economic structures, in deepening the analysis of rural markets as social and political constructions with highly unequalizing tendencies; and in better understanding both the role and the limitations of different institutional arrangements for the management of local resources. Marxist approach is crucial to gender relations or in relations to gender and contract farming and where there is scope for more empirical and theoretical work (Maertens and Swinnen, 2009).

Therefore, the justification for the inclusion of the Marxist theory of dialectic materialism and by extension the Contract Farming Concept which is Marxist in its tenets in this study is due to the fact that they extensively discuss the exploitative, unequal labour relations and imbalanced terms of contractual engagements in economic spheres amongst tobacco farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties. Firstly, this theory articulates the relations between the powerful classes (men) exploited the labour of the weak class (women) especially the accrued income. For instance, in this study most men spend household incomes in ways that do not benefit the household as expected. Therefore, these aspects proportionally corresponded to the unequal gender-labour relations practiced in rural tobacco agriculture and the exploitation of the multinational tobacco companies in Kuria Sub-Counties. Therefore, this theory unearthed and illustrated the shortcomings and implications of such relations among the Kuria small scale tobacco farmers.

Secondly, Marxist theory mirrors government policies on tobacco production and the aggressive marketing of tobacco multinationals. There are several interests served in tobacco production scenario, the government is keen to collect multimillion revenues at the expense of all else. The multinationals were set to engage farmers on contractual basis, offering the loans for initial farm inputs and recouping such monies at abnormal profit rates from the farmers during the harvesting and sales of the cash crop. The farmers were oblivious of all these economic games and were basically interested in meager net payments. Thus, the double or even triple headed exploitation incurred by tobacco peasants in Kuria Sub-Counties deserve the Marxist theoretical evaluation in order to bring out clearly their various socio-economic struggles.

2.7 Conceptual Framework

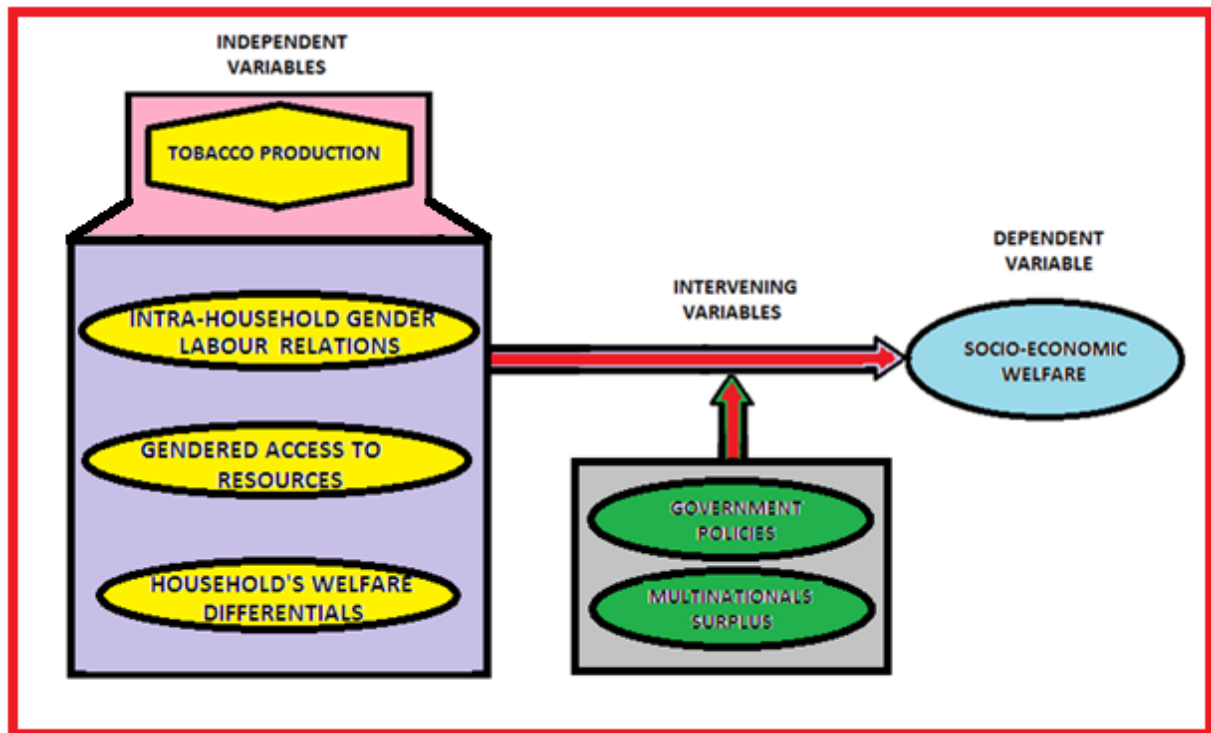


Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework

Figure 2.1 illustrates the interrelationships between the variables of this study which demonstrate not only the direction of their relations but also the consequences therein. The directions of the arrows symbolize the types of influences exerted by each variable on the other. Thus, the diagram is a guiding instrument that compliments the study findings, which also concur with the directions and effects of the above interactions and interrelations. Below is an anthology of these facts. In this framework, intra-household gender-labour relations, access to resources and differentials between female and male headed households in welfare aspects are the independent variables. All of them relate to tobacco production directly. Within this segment, the intra-household labour relations are structured and operationalized through the patriarchal ideology, especially in regard to the division of labour in which work is defined in terms of femininity and masculinity of household members. Access to various household resources is another key area of attention within the independent variables, because it affects household welfare directly. This is in terms of income and expenditure with critical gender dimensions. The differentials between male and female headed households are also highlighted. Welfare aspects are quite different in the two scenarios. On the other hand, tobacco production is an important agricultural activity which is the only significant cash

crop in Kuria Sub-Counties. The heavy reliance on the crop has had a number of socio-economic implications, which will be discussed in the subsequent chapters.

The intervening variables are tobacco multinationals and government of Kenya. For instance, the tobacco multinationals manipulate the peasants' labour input indirectly and directly through high standards of farm tillage and low market prices for the crop sales at the end of the continuum. For instance, the farm loans advanced to farmers at high interest rates usually result in low tobacco returns to the peasants after the loans are recovered at high interest rates. The major interest of these multinationals is surplus from tobacco crop. Thus, the influence tobacco production has on farmers is unidirectional. Further, the Government of Kenya is another intervening variable. It holds a mitigate role in the process of tobacco production, which it does not exert on tobacco multinationals appropriately. Their interactions and influences in tobacco production are highlighted and presented in the conceptual framework respectively. Ideally they influence the entire process through their powerful positions. The combined influences initially affect the intra-household labour input, which eventually influence the other two major aspects: the socio-economic status and welfare in the household. Moreover, government public policies and regulations ought to inform the process, but seems to be down played. Further, Government of Kenya is interested in tobacco revenue collection from the multinationals who must extract it from the farmers. That is why rural farmers within Kuria Sub-Counties are highly exploited by tobacco multinationals. These forces exercise formidable influence on production parameters in the region.

The dependent variable is the socio-economic welfare. This is directly influenced by the socio-economic structures within the household, consequently affecting the welfare status at the household level (micro level). More so, the female population is in turn exploited through labour appropriation by their male counterparts (discussed in chapter four) who may also be attributed to cultural patriarchal practices. All the above interrelations lead to gendered opportunities in terms of access to resources and income utilization thereby resulting into various socio-economic encounters in the household, as has been asserted by the conceptual framework

CHAPTER THREE

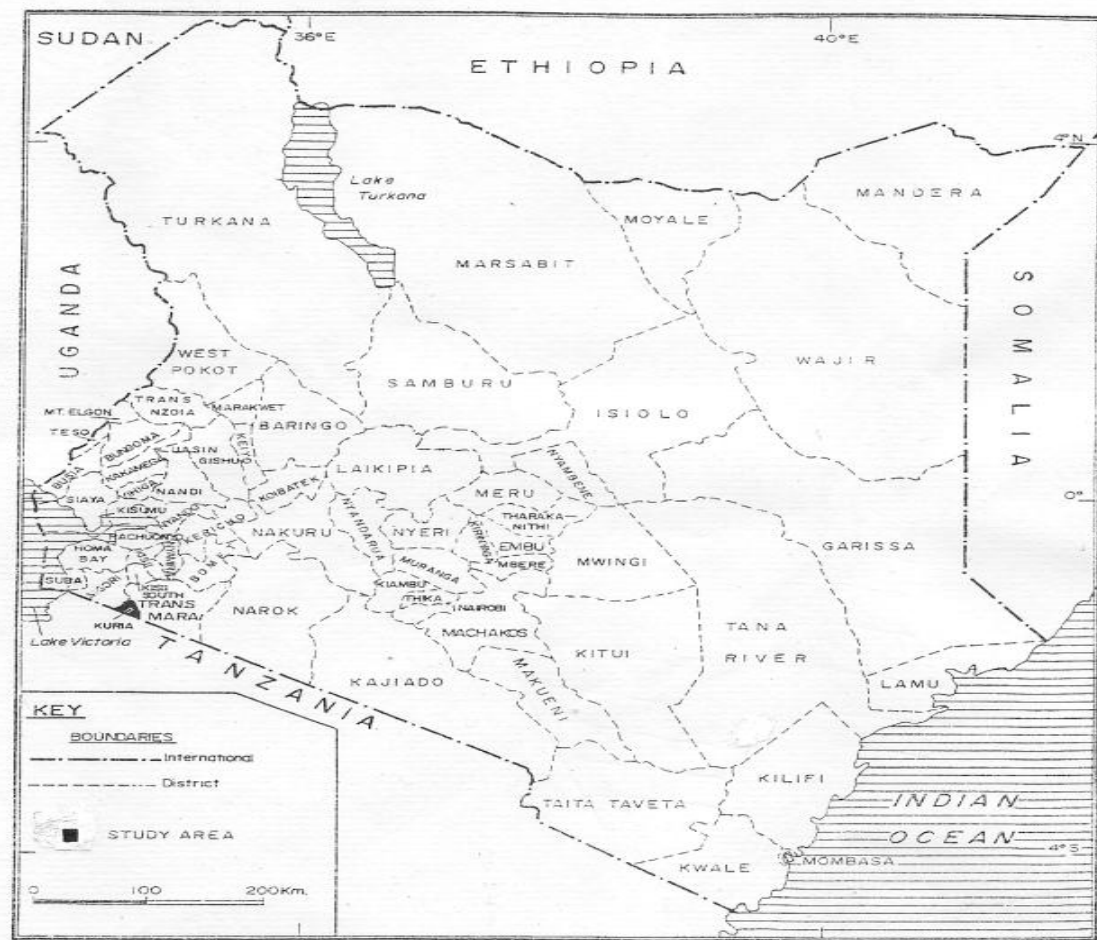
METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methods utilized in this study. Significant parts of this section include: The research area, research design utilized in the study, target population, sampling procedure, sample size, unit of analysis, methods of data collection: primary data, secondary data, pilot survey, data analysis and ethical considerations. Each section will be presented in detail.

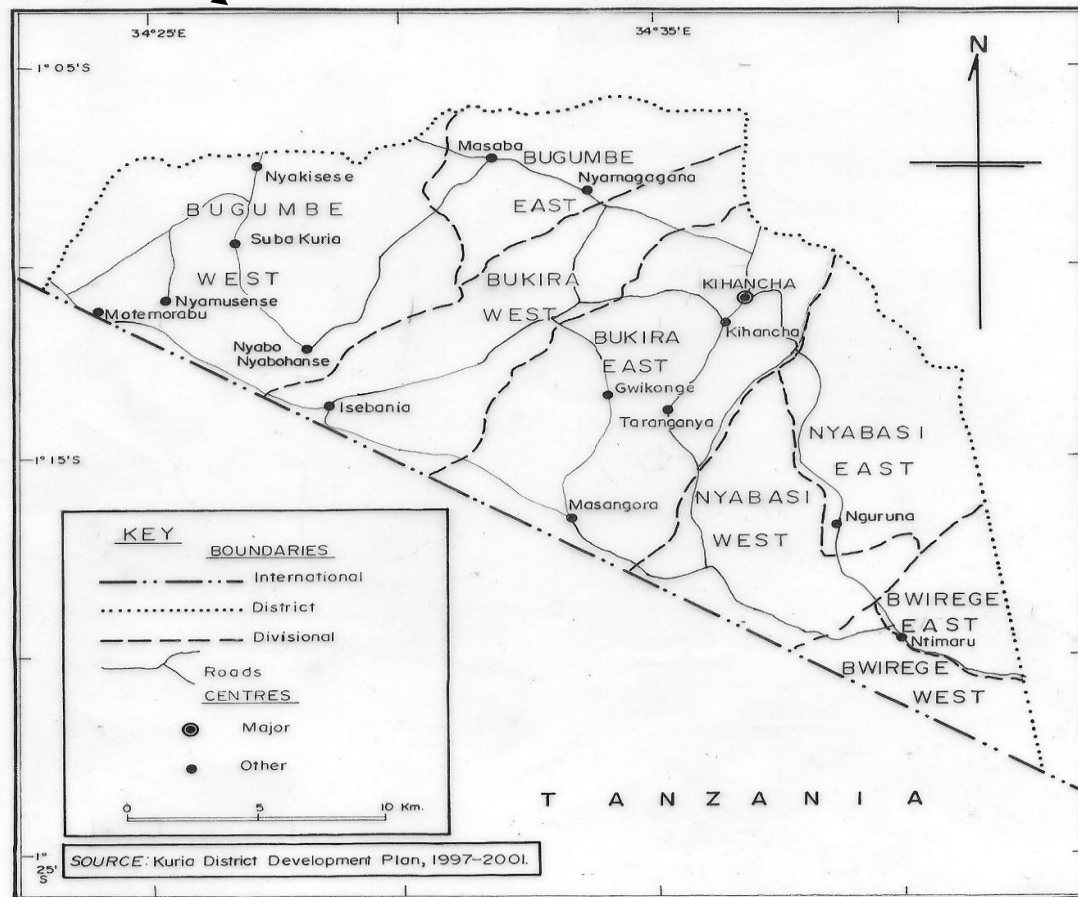
3.2 Study Area

This study was conducted in Kuria (East and West) Sub-Counties. The area is located in south western Kenya bordering Tanzania. Kuria society remains one of the poorest Sub-Counties in Kenya despite being agriculturally lush (KNBS, 2011).



Map 3.1: The Administrative Map of Kenya

Source: Kuria Sub-Counties Development Plan (1997 – 2001)



Map 3.2: The Geographical Location of Kuria Sub-Counties in Kenya

Source: Kuria Sub-Counties Development Plan (1997 – 2001)

The Sub Counties have an area of approximately 300 square miles and a population of slightly more than 280,000. The Sub-Counties have four administrative areas, namely: Bukira, Bugumbe, Nyabasi and Bwirege. The area is moderately hilly with numerous perennial rivers like Tebesi, Hibwa, Nyangoto, etc. The climate is tropical with reliable weather patterns. The area is re-known for its prominent agricultural activities producing both cash-crops like tobacco and coffee. Also, food crops like maize, beans and other cereals are produced in this area (KDDP, 1997-2001).

3.3 Research Design

This study adopted both the cross-sectional survey and ex-post facto designs. Firstly, the survey design entails the collection of data at a particular moment in time, which is reflective of the relationships and interactions between variables in a social study. Thus, it enables a cross sectional analysis. Further, the cross-sectional survey design is utilized in examining the empirical evidence (Bryman and Cramer, 2001). Secondly, by extension, this study utilized the ex-post facto design. This is a design that avoids manipulation of data by the researcher. It functions through the collection of contemporary primary data in the area of study, based on information of previous occurrences (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999). The choice of this design was based on the assumption that gender-labour relations in tobacco production could be studied retrospectively. Thus, the two study designs were appropriate and exhaustive in their applications in this study.

3.4 Target Population

The target population in Kuria East and West Sub-Counties was 230,000 tobacco farmers. Further, the number of households belonging to the tobacco farmers were 42,681, which were significantly important for this study. The Sub-Counties have four administrative areas in which tobacco farmers households were distributed as follows: i). Bukira with 12,080 tobacco farmer's households, ii). Bugumbe with 14,093 tobacco farmer's households, iii). Nyabasi with 10,468 tobacco farmer's households, iv). Bwirege with 6,040 tobacco farmer's households (KNBS, 2005 to 2006).

3.4.1 Sampling Procedure

This study obtained a list of tobacco household heads from the chiefs and assistant chiefs guided by local informants. Particularly, the total population, which, according to Nachmias and Nachmas (2006) is the aggregate of all cases that conform to some designated set of specifications. Thus, such populations were stratified into four administrative units, named earlier. Both male and female headed households were considered as respondents of the study. Hence, households were selected methodically by the use of proportionate stratified random sampling, which was based on tobacco farmer's households' population per administrative area. This technique gave each household an equal chance of being selected in the exercise. The absentees in the study were usually revisited or replaced by the neighboring households.

Therefore, this method was fairly representative. In particular, the study team visited every 201st household in each one of the administrative units in Kuria Sub-Counties. In fact, each stratum had its own 1st starting point. The order of the data collection was sequenced as follows: i). Bukira, ii). Bugumbe, iii). Nyabasi and, iv). Bwirege. Further, according to Best (1981) the samples served as adequate representation of the population about which the study wished to survey and generalise.

3.4.2 Sample Size

Table 3.1: Table for Calculating Sample Size

Division	Population of households	Percentage	Sample population
Bukira	12080	0.00497	60
Bugumbe	14093	0.00497	70
Nyabasi	10468	0.00497	52
Bwirege	6040	0.00497	30
Total	42681		212

Source: Field Data (2015)

The study used 0.00497 percent as indicated above to arrive at the sample size. The sample size for this study was 212 tobacco farmers households distributed as follows: i). Bukira, 60 Households, ii). Bugumbe, 70 Households, iii). Nyabasi, 52 Households, iv). Bwirege, 30 Households. In all, 126 respondents were male and 86 were female heads of those households, a total of 212 respondents. The sample size was used according to the tenets for sample threshold which states that 100 is the minimum sample size in an academic study (Kathuri and Pals, 1993).

3.5 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis adopted by this study was tobacco farmers household head. The respondents in this approach were household heads or any household adult member appointed by the household head to respond on his/her behalf. This choice of the unit was supported by both objectives and theoretical framework of this study. For instance, the Structuration Theory informed the study on the tenets of socialization, which covered objective one's intra-household relations comprehensively. On the other hand, the Marxist theory of dialectic materialism streamlined production aspects in both access to resources and household welfare differentials, which informed both objectives two and three respectively.

3.6 Methods of Data Collection

The data for this study was derived from both primary and secondary sources that were collected in Kuria Sub-Counties. In this study, the household was taken as the unit of study and analysis. The household was defined here based on sharing a common place of residence and eating. This was due to the fact that sociologically, it is a unit of reproduction and production. In addition, variables endogenous to the household were considered. For instance, income status and welfare cycle of the household were investigated within the internal organization of labour dynamics and welfare norms within the household.

3.6.1 Primary Data

Having identified households as units of analysis, they were selected by the use of proportionate stratified random sampling from each of the four administrative areas in Kuria Sub-Counties. The data was collected through the interview schedules and focus group discussion guides respectively.

3.6.1.1 Interview Schedules

Interview schedules were administered directly by the principle researcher and well briefed research assistants to the male and female household heads. The interview schedule was designed to fit the entire population in its various social statuses. Incidentally, majority of the respondents were semi-literate, especially having completed only primary school level while a few had completed the secondary school level. Both closed-ended and open-structured interview schedules were utilized in this study. Besides, for the literate population, interview schedules were given to them to fill in directly and were eventually collected by both research assistants and the principle researcher. These interview schedules basically extracted information regarding intra-household labour and welfare dimensions, most especially the gender aspects in tobacco related labour inputs. Further, the organization of the household, income dimensions and the eventual consequences of the same on the households' welfare were the key areas of focus in the interview schedules.

3.6.1.2 Focus Group Discussions

This type of data collection method was employed in the study as an alternative process of collecting information by interviewing a group(s) rather than an individual, which was in line with the works of (Creswell, 2005). These discussions involved several distinct population clusters that were picked from different geographical areas within Kuria Sub-Counties. On

the other hand, the discussions involved a systematic questioning of several individuals simultaneously, which was premised in the ideas of Fontana and Fey (2000) and yielded substantial responses. Thus, the groups interviewed in this exercise represented all social, cultural and economic statuses. For instance, it involved men and women in combined groups, from various socio-economic statuses discussing topical issues on tobacco farming together. Further, according to Cohen et al (2004) a group is specially chosen to discuss the issues being examined in the study, a perspective that was complimented by Morgan (1998) which differentiates focus group discussions from other groups.

Therefore, this study also considered different levels of education of the respondents and ensured that all knew the requisite details of tobacco farming. In addition, Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) presented focus group discussion as one that can be utilized by a study to better understand and interpret information and findings emanating from an earlier use of other data collection methods. In this exercise, three objective themes guided the discussions, with several questions under consideration in each category and various population clusters encompassed in the discussions. This was expected to develop and compliment the other data collection method, the interview schedules.

Further, this method proved to be inexpensive, generated rich data through debated issues. Some new light emerged complimenting the other data collection tool. It consumed less time and motivated participants to contribute to the debate openly. However, some weaknesses also emerged in this tool; for instance, it took more time transcribing and interpreting responses from Kuria vernacular to English language. However, the FGD exercise yielded significant primary data which complimented interview schedules in this study.

Finally, this data collection method was utilized due to the fact that it involved a one on one discussant interaction with respondents. This entails that it was done at different geographical and administrative locations for in-depth discussions amongst various social categories of permanent residents in Kuria Sub-Counties. Basically, three themes guided the discussions based on the objectives of the study, with topical issues under consideration in each category. Besides, the four clusters: Bwirege (East and West), Nyabasi (East and West), Bukira (East and West) and Bugumbe (East and West) participated in the FGDs. Each cluster formed 2 sub-clusters as indicated above, whereby 8 groups in total were involved. Discussions in each group lasted between 60 to 90 minutes. This was in connection with FGD standards in order to ensure that there was ample time to fully explore the discussion topics without wearing out

the participants. The average number of participants was eight (8) so as to maintain suitable participation amongst all. Mixed genders were maintained throughout all the FGD sessions. All participants were adults from various social statuses and were well opinionated. Adequate arrangements were made to ensure that all participants arrived for the discussions in time. It was important to ensure that all participants were comfortable and engaged with the discussion and that their opinions were being heard and documented. Neutrality of the moderator was also ensured so as to fairly attain adequate information from the participants. The information collected from the discussions was transcribed on the same day when memory was still fresh. It was later translated from Kuria and presented in English language. The FGD findings were consolidated and presented in boxes in chapter four respectively.

3.6.2 Secondary Data

The study took cognizance of secondary data in order to supplement and corroborate the primary sources. Both library and archival information were used. Thus, the secondary sources involved extensive review of literature which included books, journals and other relevant literature materials that complimented this study.

3.7 Pilot Survey

Pilot survey was conducted as a pre-test exercise in Suba region, an area that borders the Kuria people. This area was selected because it has many similarities with mainstream Kuria in terms of both population demographics and environmental dispositions. The major reason for this was to test the instruments of the research before the start of data collection exercise. The key factor considered in doing this was to detect errors in both interview schedules and FGDs especially in the sphere of sequencing and range of probing. In this effort, the articulations of Baker (1994) were considered, which state that between 5 to 10 percent of the sample size is a reasonable number for pre-testing research participants. Thus, a total of 21 respondents participated in the pilot survey which utilized the maximum population sample size of 10 percent in this exercise. Consequently, this exercise appropriately informed the polishing of the instruments of the study for accuracy and consistency. The results of this survey can be referred to in appendix iv, page 162 respectively.

3.8 Data Analysis

At the completion of data collection the concept of Fulcher and Scott (2011) was invoked, which indicates that once data has been collected, it must be organized and presented in ways

that highlight their relevance for theoretical interests that inform the research. Thus, at the end of data collection which involved 212 respondents, coding and entry techniques were utilized. This was a crucial step towards analysis, especially coding, which involved the conversion of qualitative data into numerical values that could be entered into a computer program. Hence, Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was utilized to analyze the research data. The analysis involved both inferential and descriptive statistics. Further, this analysis utilized the inferential statistical techniques in which relations were explored between various socio-economic and welfare variables. In another case, descriptive statistics were applied, thereby using pie charts, percentages, frequency tables, histograms and bar graphs to illustrate the quantitative aspects of the findings. Also, 5 percent significance level was adopted as required in social sciences, especially in taking care of marginal errors and mistakes in the process of data analysis. Besides, FGD data was analyzed by utilizing the tenets of Hollway and Jefferson (2004), an approach which analyzes data using “tell it like it is” common sense approach and evidence. This was done to purposely verify and compliment interview schedules in 16 key question guides for FGDs in the study. On the other hand, in order to observe and identify significant patterns of the study and to sequentially begin constructing the framework of thematic analysis, the articulation of Babbie (2009) was utilized to guide this aspect of organization respectively. Therefore, thematic analysis played a considerable role in analyzing focused group discussions. To this end, the supposition of Gomm (2008) which point out that thematic analysis is required for qualitative data was utilized. Consequently, these analytic approaches went a long way in anchoring and analyzing both quantitative and qualitative data, thereby producing valid findings in this study.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

Study procedures were followed as stipulated in social science research. For instance, the research permit was obtained and supplied to the various local administrative officers in the study area. Also, considering that this study had a lot of public and corporate interests, confidentiality was taken into consideration. All the respondents of the study were made to understand the academic value and purpose of the study. In fact, they enthusiastically agreed to participate in this study. No children were interviewed, instead, all information required regarding the role of children in the households’ tobacco production activities were acquired through heads of households, who did so with ease. The conduct of the principal researcher and research assistants during fieldwork were up to expected research ethics and standards.

CHAPTER FOUR FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings and discussions of the study based on the three specific objectives that guided the research.

4.2 Background Information

This study analyzed the background information of the respondents. These were: age, gender, levels of education, marital status including polygynous households, children's school attendance and children's level of education and duration of household's tobacco production. These factors were of sociological significance in terms of comprehending the various socio-cultural and socio-economic parameters applied in households' work allocations and subsequent welfare aspects among the tobacco farmers in Kuria East and West Sub-Counties.

4.2.1 Age and Gender Distribution of the Respondents

Age was an important socio-economic factor in terms of its influence on the decision making powers and gender of an individual. It also defined the various roles played by different individuals in the household economy and Kuria society at large.

Table 4.2: Respondents' Distribution by Age Brackets

Age brackets	Frequency	Percent
Between 20-29	39	18
Between 30-39	108	51
Between 40-49	51	24
Between 50-59	13	6
Above 59	1	1
Total	212	100

Source: Field Data (2010)

Table 4.2 above quantitatively shows the respondents' distribution by age brackets. In the study, 212 respondents had minimum and maximum age groups of between 20-59 years. This shows that all the respondents who were tobacco farmers had over 18 years of age which is the legal age of a mature person according to the laws of Kenya. The data collected was

therefore age representative of the population, i.e. 20-29 (39 people) 30-39 (108 people) 40-49 (51 people) 50-59 (13 people), and above 5 years 59 (1) as illustrated on table 4.1 these were the most active sections of the population in both social, cultural and economic activities. Another crucial part of this study was gender distribution as presented below.

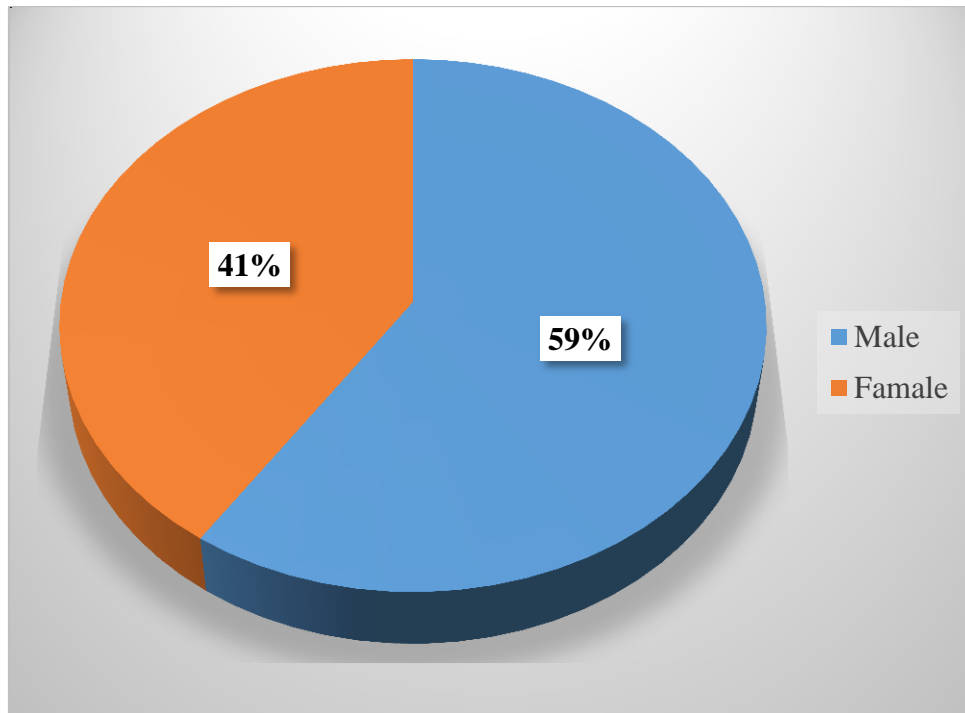


Figure 4.2: Distribution of Respondents by Gender

Source: Field Data (2010)

Figure 4.2 above quantitatively summarizes the distribution of respondents by gender. An examination of the figures revealed that 59 percent (126) of the respondents were male, while 41 percent (86) were female. Considering that all respondents were household heads, it emerged that majority of them were male heads, clearly indicating that Kuria Sub-Counties were typically a patriarchal society.

4.2.2 Marital Status

A question was asked about the marital statuses of the respondents. The respondents indicated in figure 4.3 below that 91 percent (193) were married, 7 percent (15) were widowed and 2 percent (4) were divorced. This illustration shows that all respondents had gone through the regular cultural requirement of marriage in Kuria Sub-Counties.

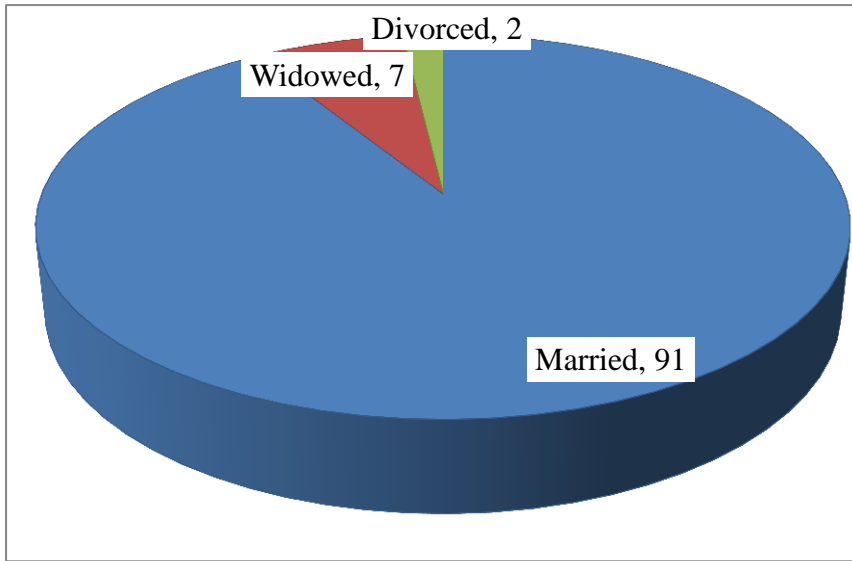


Figure 4.3: Marital Statuses of the Respondents

Source: Field Data (2010)

4.2.3 Household Head

Figure 4.4 below demonstrates that majority of the household heads were men which accounted for 91 percent (193), whereas female headed households were few, accounting for only 9 percent (19) of the total number of household heads in Kuria Sub-Counties. This further shows that the community is patriarchal indeed.

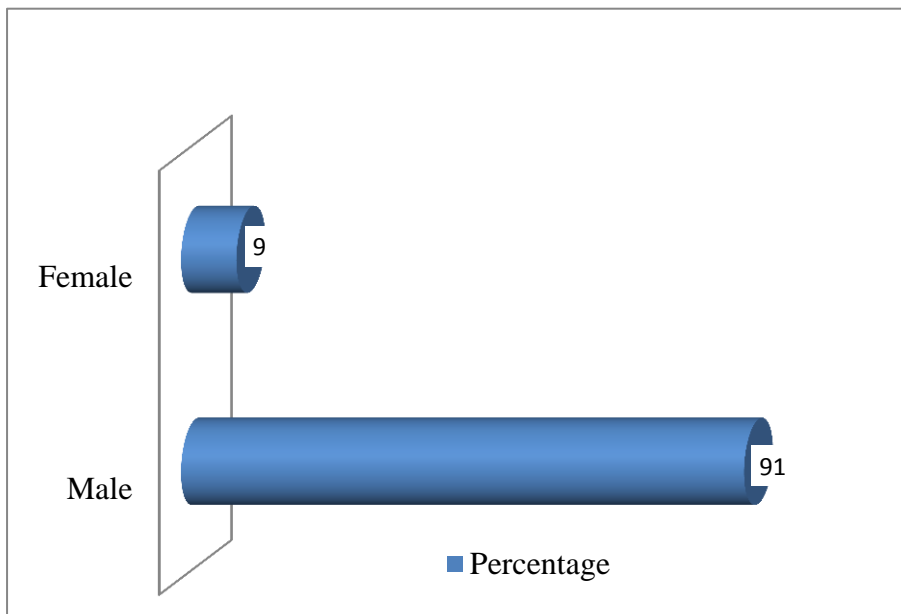


Figure 4.4: Genders of the Household Heads

Source: Field Data (2010)

4.2.4 Respondent's Education

Education enhances a person's ability to reason ably and understand issues critically and intelligently. Individual's level of education influences his/her ability to secure regular/self-employment and reliable income. In addition, it also determines other activities in which an individual is involved in, thus influencing decision-making powers and socio-economic status of the individual in the society. Below is a presentation of the levels of educational attainments in Kuria Sub-Counties.

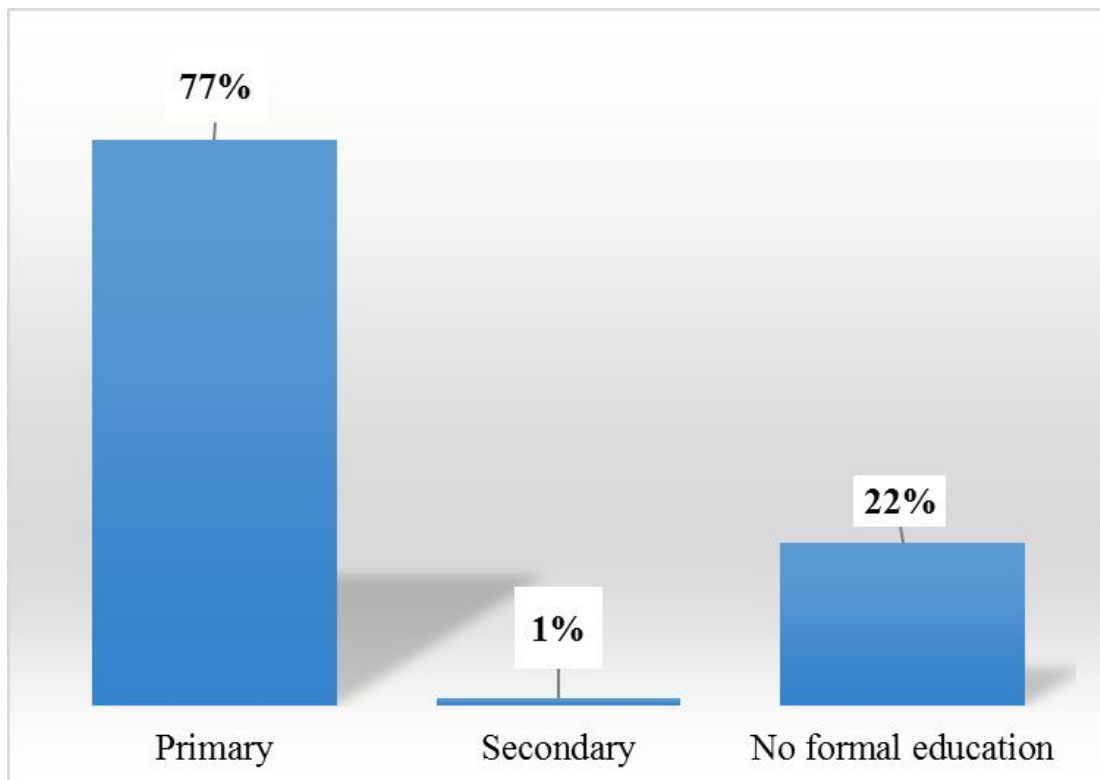


Figure 4.5: Distribution of Respondents by Level of Education

Source: Field Data (2010)

Figure 4.5 above quantitatively reveals that 77 percent (164) of the respondents had reached primary level of education, 1 percent (1) had secondary qualification and with 22 percent (47) who had no formal education. Considering that this was a rural setting, it emerged that majority of the respondents had only basic education and employed themselves in tobacco farming in Kuria Sub-Counties.

Table 4.3: Polygynous Arrangements

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	87	41
No	125	59
Total	212	100

Source: Field Data (2010)

Further, the study sought to find out whether respondents were polygynous. Table 4.3 above quantitatively summarizes responses on whether they were polygynous. In all, 41 percent (87) men were polygynous, whereas 59 percent (125) were monogamous. This statistics clearly indicate that polygyny is widely practised in Kuria Sub-Counties.

Table 4.4: Reason for Polygynous Marriages

	Frequency	Percent
Socio-cultural prestige	13	6
Socio-economic reasons	58	27
Its traditionally acceptable	16	8
No definite reason	125	59
Total	212	100

Source: Field Data (2010)

Table 4.4 above quantitatively shows that 59 percent (125) of the respondents did not have definite reasons for polygyny, while 6 percent (13) having married due to socio-cultural prestige, 27 percent (58) due to socio-economic reasons, while 8 percent (16) had polygamous marriage because it was traditionally acceptable. In this scenario, at least quarter of the polygynous household heads had economic basis for being polygynous, which culminated in farming activities and notably tobacco farming. These had especially the gender-labour relations aspects that are sufficiently presented in other sections of this chapter. On the other hand, the cultural approval of the practice also carried more than quarter of the household heads, which perpetuates the practice even further. This is also corroborated by FGD (Box 4.4) which shows that polygyny was commonly practised in Kuria sub-counties.

Table 4.5: Tobacco Farmer’s Children School Attendance

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	203	96
No	9	4
Total	212	100

Source: Field Data (2010)

The study enquired to know whether respondent’s children were in school. Table 4.5 above quantitatively indicates that 96 percent (203) of the respondents had children in school, while only 4 percent (9) whose children did not attend school. Thus, basic education for children was highly embraced by the farmers, as much as most of them were semi illiterate and illiterate. Only a small segment had their children held up at home, not attending school. In this scenario fewer children progressed through to higher levels of education as illustrated in the next figure 4.6 below.

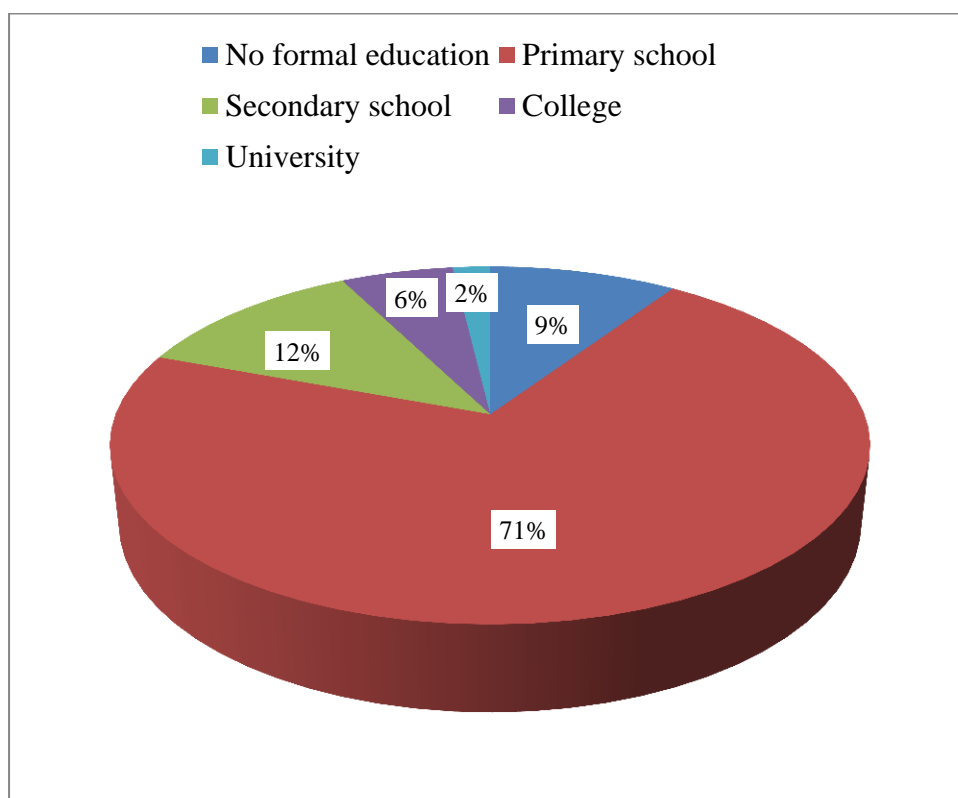


Figure 4.6: Distribution of Respondents according to Children’s Level of Education

Source: Field Data (2010)

As illustrated quantitatively in Figure 4.6 above, majority of children 71 percent (151) only attended primary schools, very few of them continued to higher levels e.g. secondary 12 percent (25), University 2 percent (4), College 6 Percent (12), while another 9 percent (20) did not have formal education. The low educational aspiration trends therefore meant that the majority of the youth were not well educated, which implies that they were vulnerable to other numerous societal challenges due to low academic capacities amongst them in the area. Majority of them turned into tobacco farming, as it has been demonstrated in other sections of this study.

Table 4.6: Duration of Tobacco Growing

	Frequency	Percent
Between 1-5 yrs	130	61
Between 6-10 yrs	23	11
Between 11-15 yrs	32	15
Above 15 yrs	27	13
Total	212	100

Source: Field Data (2010)

Table 4.6 above indicates quantitatively that all the respondents were involved in tobacco growing in Kuria Sub-Counties. The duration of tobacco growing was different with 61 percent (130) having dealt with tobacco for the duration between 1-5 years, 15 percent (32) between 11-15 years, 13 percent (27) over 15 years and 11 percent (23) for 6-10 years. The statistics above are therefore indicative of the fact that tobacco farming has been a long term agricultural activity in Kuria Sub-Counties. Most significantly, is the fact emerging here that majority of the farmers are new entrants into the activity, that is between 1 and 5 years into the tobacco farming activity. This study finds that more youth are joining in tobacco production, which has both economic and cultural effects on them as will be discussed in subsequent sections of this chapter.

4.3 Intra-Household Gender-Labour Relations in Tobacco Production

All the 100 percent (212) respondents agreed that the farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties traditionally performed different tasks depending on gender and age of household members. This was indicative of the fact that gender and age were important factors in the division of labour in the Kuria society.

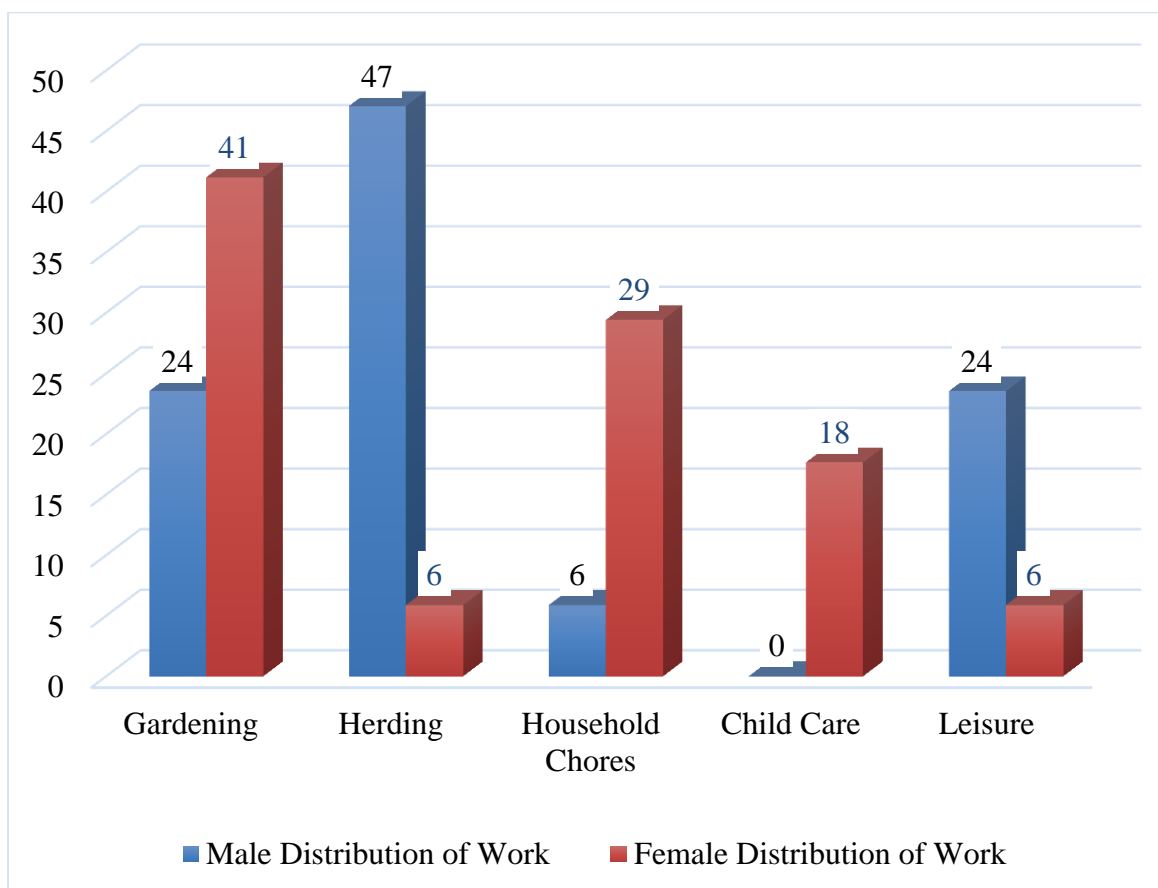


Figure 4.7: Specific Tasks Performed by Men and Women in a Typical Farmers Day

Source: Field Data (2010)

Figure 4.7 above, quantitatively outlines the specific tasks that are performed by men in a typical farmer's day in the Sub-Counties. It reveals that men mainly performed herding, which accounted for 47 percent (8 hours) followed by gardening at 24 percent (4 hours), while household chores took only 6 percent (1 hour) and child care received no time, that is 0 percent (0 hours) indicating that men did not perform this duty at all. On the other hand, men enjoyed leisure time at 24 percent (4 hours). This finding has implications on gender-labour relations, for instance, herding could be considered a masculine household activity, thereby performed by men as their major contribution to the household economy. Further, this is compared to gardening which could be considered to be a feminine household activity hence men performed decimally in this activity.

Besides, Figure 4.7 above shows the specific tasks performed by women in Kuria Sub-Counties. Women did gardening at 41 percent (8 hours), house chores occupied 29 percent (5

hours), Herding 6 percent (1 hour). Child care consumed 18 percent (3 hours) of their time whereas leisure time took a meager 6 percent (1 hour). The percentages above indicate that intra-household labour had a gender dimension. The tasks performed by women above, clearly show how they typically combine their daily household economic activities. For instance, at the height of tobacco farming husbandry, they spent most of their time in the farm and partly in the household chores as illustrated above in figure 4.7. Thus, gardening/farming becomes a significant role played by women in the households gender division of labour.

Box 4.1: Nature of Intra-Household Labour Relations

Date: Monday, 3rd January 2011

Area: Bukira East - Kehancha

Size of the group: 8 participants

Highest Educational levels: Degree

Lowest educational level : Primary Certificate

Age bracket: 20– 60 Years

Gender: Both male and female participants

Findings:

“Emeremo ngegakorwe buuya na abaanto boswi kumuugi. Gukurua irikumbati rechere, amang’ana gakorema gaihonchora bokongu”

Labour was traditionally undertaken at household level among household members, but since the advent of tobacco labour relations have changed a lot.

“Imigiuro gehonchora amang’ana, abasaacha na abakari ngokora bare ichigaasi hagaare hagaare komereemo girikumbati reeno”

Cultural attitudes have affected household gender-labour relations, especially in tobacco farming where gender tasks are performed specifically in the farms.

“Amang’ana ga abakari na abasaacha ngarengo ko emereemo geoswi agimiigi ko abakuria boswi hare barengo”

Gender notions are prevalent in the middle of gender-labour relations amongst all people in the Kuria community.

“Egaasi eno abaana bagokora nguturria ere bokong’u, haane omento ana abaana abaaruu, egaasi ngotoba ere gwikumbati”

Child labour is an important factor in the labour input of tobacco farming, the more children the easier the work.

Source: Field Data (2011)

Box 4.1 above describes qualitatively (translated into English from Kuria) the cultural inclinations and attitudes of both men and women at the household level. In this exercise, out of 8 participants, 4 responses from both men and women were obtained. This was an important contribution in the FGD that was mounted as an alternative source of data to either compliment or disagree with the quantitative data. In this case, it proved that gender is a strong factor in tobacco production and continues to be upheld in Kuria Sub-Counties. On the other hand, FGD informs this study that child labour is a significant contribution in tobacco production. In fact, one of the respondents alarmingly reported that children contributed immensely in tobacco farming activities (Box 4.14). This is also exemplified in Figure 4.29 and Figure 4.30 in this chapter, in which both boys and girls are allocated various workloads at early years of life depending on their genders respectively.

Table 4.7: Changes in Household Workload Distribution

	Frequency	Percent
Male biased	17	8
Female biased	194	91
Created household labour divisions	1	1
Total	212	100

Source: Field Data (2010)

Table 4.7 above, quantitatively indicates that 91 percent (194) agreed that the distribution of workload within the household had changed in Kuria Sub-Counties. It was female biased. Some 8 percent (17) thought it was male biased and 1 percent (1) agreed that household labour structures had changed generally, especially in the attitudes towards masculinity and femininity of household farming duties in Kuria society. Tobacco production has affected labour dimensions in which women were made to work more intensely in usual feminine activities as compared to masculine activities that were fewer.

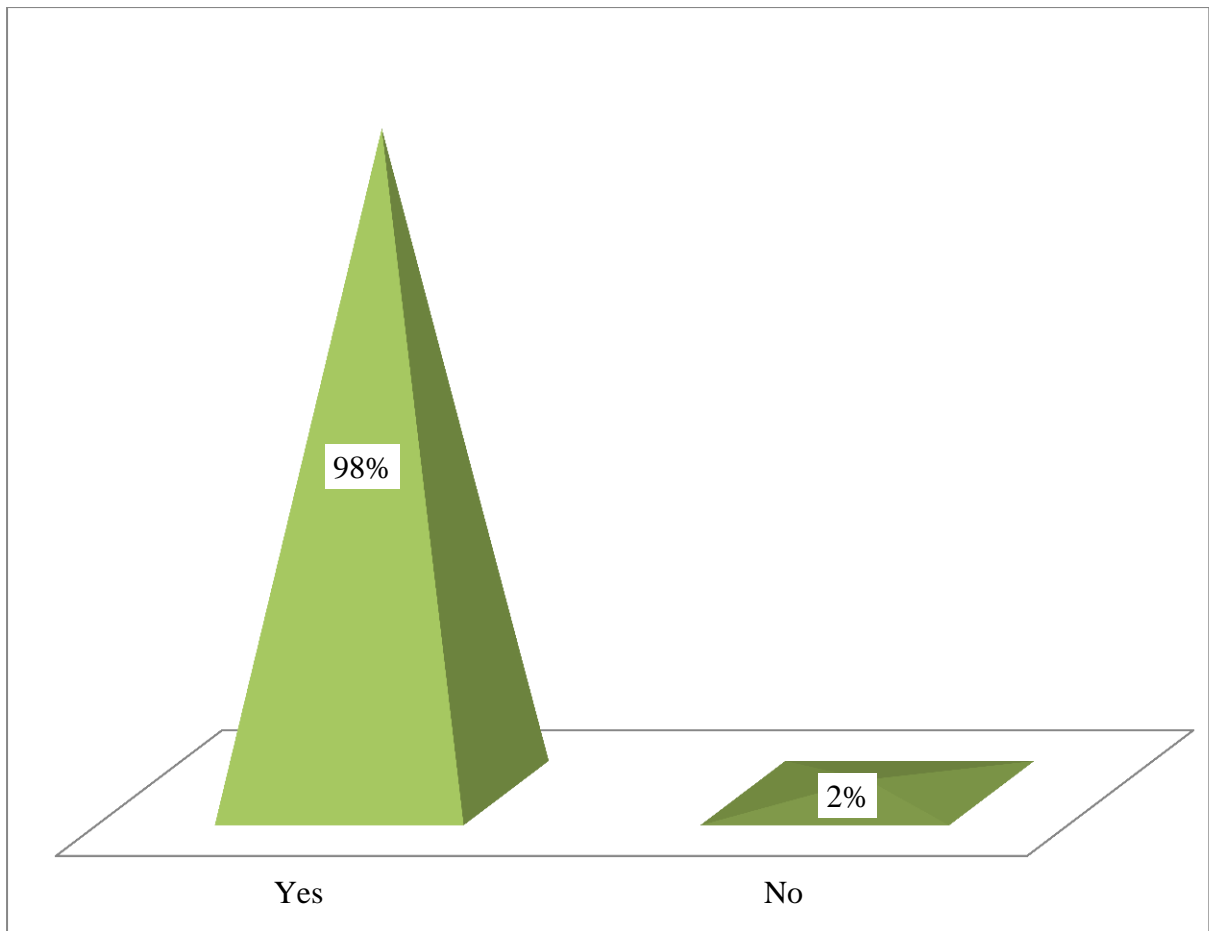


Figure 4.8: Tobacco Farming Affected Intra-Household Relations

Source: Field Data (2010)

The Figure 4.8 above quantitatively shows that tobacco affected intra-household relations at 98 percent (209), while 2 percent (3) indicated that they were not affected. Thus, it emerges clearly that the effects of tobacco production were felt by majority of the households in Kuria society.

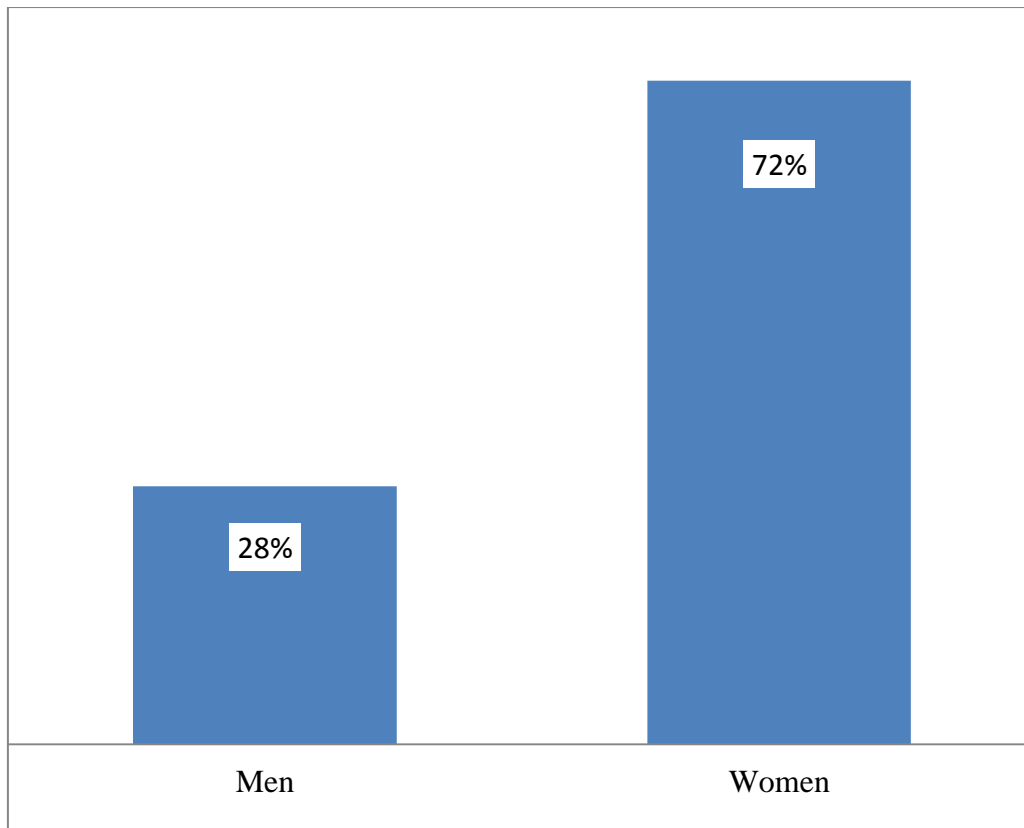


Figure 4.9: Comparison between Men and Women in Tobacco Farming Labour Input

Source: Field Data (2010)

Figure 4.9 above further reveals quantitatively that the effects of tobacco were felt by the respondents. They were indeed significant, especially considering that the labour of women was intensified more than ever before. The farm labour input of men was meager; standing only at 28 (60) compared to the women at 72 percent (152). Basically, this had implications on households division of labour which was skewed to the disadvantage of women in Kuria Sub-Counties.

Box 4.2: Distribution of Workload

Date: Monday, 3rd January 2011

Area: Bukira East - Kehancha

Size of the group: 8 participants

Highest Educational levels: Degree

Lowest educational level : Primary Certificate

Age bracket: 20– 60 Years

Gender: Both male and female participants

Findings:

“Emeremo ngokorwa geere koreng’ana na ke bore abakari na abasaacha bagotonerwa gokora kumuugi”

Various types of work are regarded to be masculine or feminine thereby dividing the types of work to be done by the different genders in the household.

“Abagaikoro ngokoora bare emereemo emeeru nsiko chino, gokera geera abasaacha bagokora”

Women were made to work hard due to more feminine workloads which are usually more than those prescribed for men.

“Abasaacha ngokora baare emeremo gia abasaacha mekeigo siboono nimirito”

Men work in masculine duties that are fewer but intense.

“Abaana nabaiya nguturia baare komeremo gi irikumbati bokungu koreng’ana nemereemo hagare hagare igia abaiseke na abamura”

Children’s participation in tobacco production is important and is gendered, they perform different gender tasks.

Field Data (2011)

Box 4.2 above shows FGD excerpts (translated into English from Kuria) that was conducted to qualitatively verify the findings gotten through interview schedules, which expressed the quantitative outcome of the study. Out of the 8 respondents, 4 responses were obtained (from both men and women), they clearly availed their responses in this exercise. Indeed, it emerged that both masculine and feminine attitudes played crucial roles in work allocations and participation in tobacco production. Clearly, Figure 4.8 agrees with this postulation.

Thus, it is apparent that gender percolates every farming activity amongst men, women and children throughout the entire period of tobacco crop husbandry. Without doubt, gender cultural sentiments seem to be actively involved in sustaining this gender ideals and realities in Kuria Sub-Counties

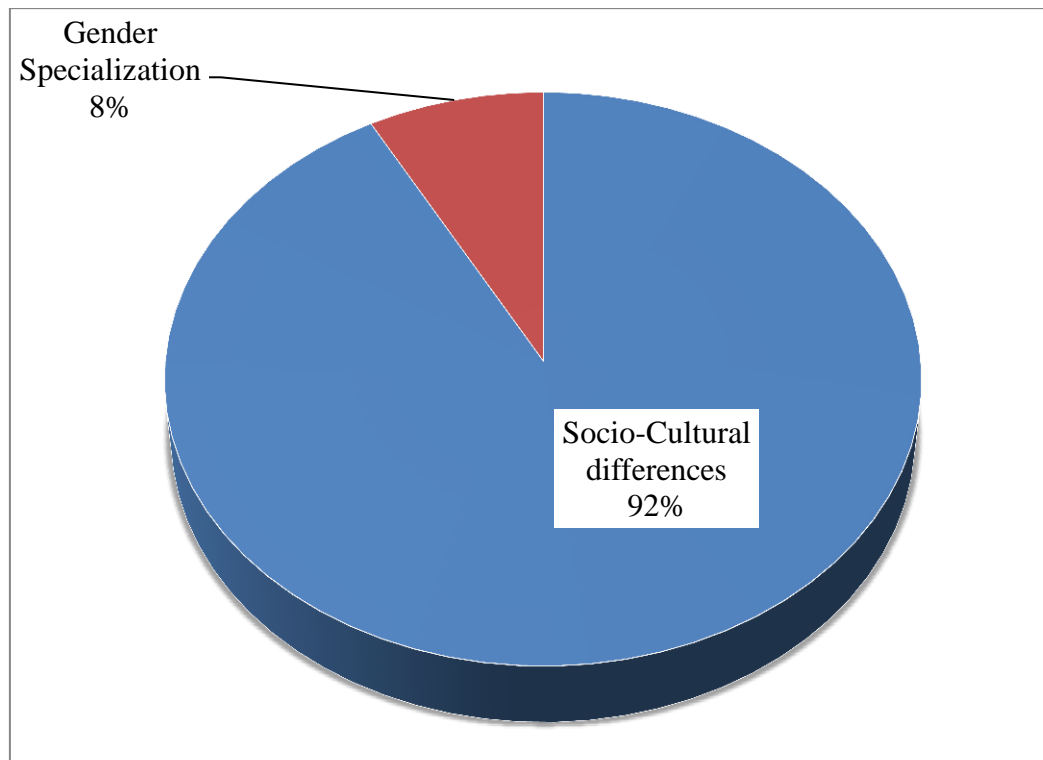


Figure 4.10: Justifications for Gender Divisions of Labour

Source: Field Data (2010)

Figure 4.10 above quantitatively clarifies the respondents' rationale for such divisions of labour. For instance, 92 percent 195 of the respondents agreed that division of labour was based on Socio-Cultural differences, while 8 percent (08) of the respondents explained that the divisions were based on gender specializations. Thus, in this scenario, the division of labour seemed to be shaped up by the above sentiments and the real implications are on intra-households' relations and the subsequent welfare aspects.

Table 4.8: Extent of the Effects of Gender Division of Labour

	Frequency	Percent
Significantly	5	2
Moderately	207	98
Total	212	100

Source: Field Data (2010)

The effects of the labour rationale are shown quantitatively on the Table 4.8 above. Some 98 Percent (207) respondents indicated that the rationale affected them moderately, whereas, 2 percent (5) indicated that the rationale affected them either significantly. Hence, this shows that division of labour is well inculcated amongst the Kuria people, which explain how such practices are widely practiced and accepted in Kuria Sub-Counties.

Box 4.3: Gender Division of Labour and its Control

Date: Wednesday, 5th January 2011

Area: Bugumbe East - Masaba

Size of the group: 10 participants

Highest Educational levels: Diploma

Lowest educational level : Primary Certificate

Age bracket: 25– 63 Years

Gender: Both Male and Female participants

Findings:

“Abasaacha mbo bakomaherra iga abaanto baabo bakorre emeremo geeka buuya”

Division of labour was actively controlled in the household by male heads.

“Abakaari mbaana emeremo emeeru gwikumbati,basaacha baabo nkomaherra baare iga imeremo gekorwe buuya”

Women play a major role in tobacco production under the supervision of men.

“Amang’ana ga abasacha na abakari nkomaherwa garre gonkaaga yakohana emeremo girikumbati kumuugi”

Gender differentiations are exercised in the household tobacco labour practices.

Source: Field Data (2011)

The above descriptions, excerpted in Box 4.3 (translated into English from Kuria) clearly show that men are in charge of tobacco farming activities. Indeed, an FGD was conducted in order to help weigh both quantitative and qualitative data of this study respectively. In fact, men have great control of household labour input as well as other spheres within the household. This study confirms that this notion exhibits the significance of patriarchy in Kuria Sub-Counties. For instance, in all the 3 responses acquired from both men and women FGD respondents, they indicated that men maintained labour control in the household. Figure 4.8 above, agrees that division of labour does exist in the region thereby complimenting the argument in Box 4.3 that men are the superiors in workload distributions and control at the household level.

On the other hand, 100 percent (212) respondents indicated that tobacco farming had led to widespread polygyny and concubinage in Kuria Sub-Counties. Firstly, this seems to be a stable source of labour, implying that more wives and children implied a greater source of labour; this is further illustrated and explained in table 4.2. Secondly, it was regarded as a source of social prestige, especially amongst the more active farmers who generate a lot of household income.

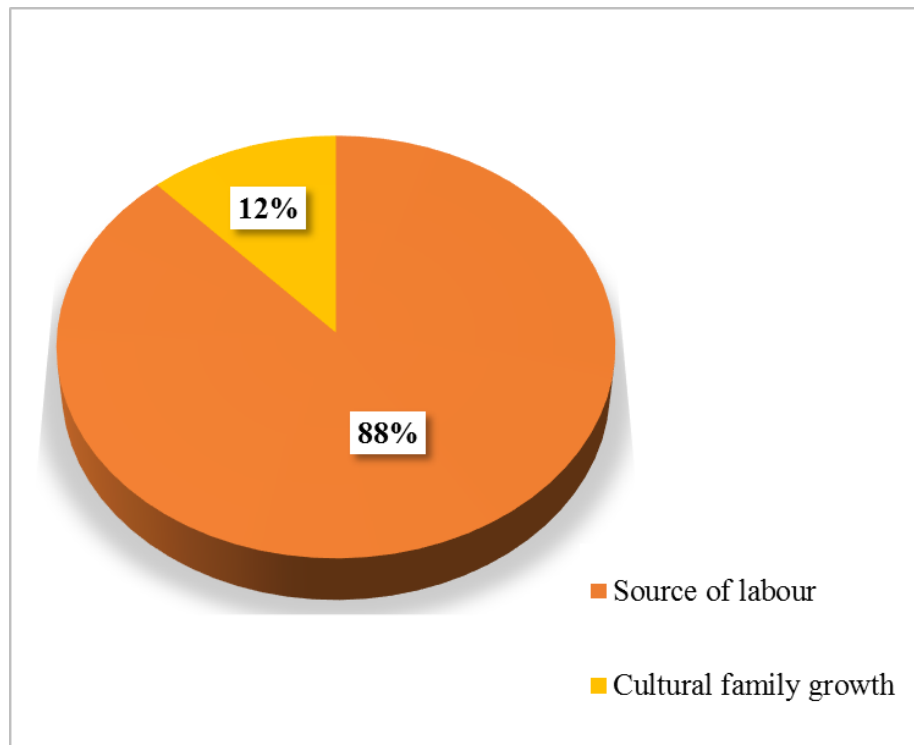


Figure 4.11: Reasons for Polygyny amongst Tobacco Farmers

Source: Field Data (2010)

Figure 4.11 above further shows quantitatively why tobacco farming had led to polygyny in Kuria Sub-Counties. In this case, 88 percent (187) indicated that it was a source of labour. Thus, it is evident that polygyny plays a vital role in tobacco farming activities, especially in labour provisions in Kuria Sub-Counties. Some 12 percent (25) of respondents asserted that it was done due to cultural family growth, implying that family expansion which was desirable achievement in the Kuria society was perpetuated through this practice.

Box 4.4: Practice of Polygyny

Date: Wednesday, 5th January 2011
Area: Bugumbe East - Masaba
Size of the group: 10 participants
Highest Educational levels: Diploma
Lowest educational level: Primary Certificate
Age bracket: 25– 63 Years
Gender: Both Male and Female participants
Findings:
“Abasacha abakuria nkohareka bare gokorokia ichinguru icha oboosacha boobo”
 Polygyny is widely practised in Kuria Sub-Counties as a way of expressing manhood amongst men.
“Abasacha abaaruu mbahanchere kohareka inkaaga eno irikumbati rekoremwa nakogeswa kumiigi geebo”
 Polygyny is regarded by men as a source of tobacco labour during planting and harvesting seasons in the household.
“Ikimira ikia abakuria ngwitabirria kere abasacha kohareka”
 Culturally men were allowed to practice polygyny at will amongst the Kuria.
“Okohareka nkomahoa kore iga nigento ikiya kobaanto”
 Polygyny is considered a source of social prestige.

Source: Field Data (2011)

The prevalence of polygyny in Kuria Sub-Counties is further described in Box 4.4 above (translated into English from Kuria) which offers 4 responses qualitatively from both men and women participants. This shows support for table 4.4 that indicates reasons for polygyny in the region quantitatively. Thus, there are several underlying reasons for polygyny; the

common denominator being that it is widely practised in the society for labour provisions in tobacco production.

Table 4.9: Challenges in Tobacco Work

	Frequency	Percentage
Long working hours	198	93
Can't enjoy the benefits	14	7
Total	212	100

Source: Field Data (2010)

The working hours bothered 93 percent (198) of the respondents while those who indicated that they could not enjoy the benefits were 7 percent (14) as shown in the table 4.9 above. The above statistics quantitatively gives details of the intensity of tobacco farming, most particularly, the household labour input that bothers majority of the members. Seemingly, this seems to have less corresponding welfare benefits, as will be illustrated in the subsequent sections.

Box 4.5: Difficulties Involved in Tobacco Farming

Date: Friday, 7th January 2011

Area: Nyabasi East - Kegonga

Size of the group: 11 participants

Highest Educational levels: Diploma

Lowest educational level : Primary Certificate

Age bracket: 22- 59 Years

Gender: Both male and female participants

Findings:

“Abasaacha ngokora bare keboore bagutuna, utakamotebia iga agutuuri emeremo, nkebore ahanchere, hande umwene ahanche gokora igo kumugi”

Men do as they wish, you can't tell him to help out, they have the discretion on labour allocations in the household.

“Emeremo emehagare kobasacha na kobakari nkomahahekana gere bokong'u gwikumbati”

Gender identity in the labour input had intensified in tobacco farming.

“Abasacha nkohonera bare abakari, baramaha iga hanse bare, komeremo geno gegokorwa kumugi”

Male household heads had bias on female counterparts in terms of the various activities performed in the household.

“Abasacha mbo abanene, mbo bakohamora kebore emeremo gegokorwa”

Men's dominance is prevalent in the household labour control, they decide on how it has to be conducted.

Source: Field Data (2011)

Box 4.5 above (translated into English from Kuria) describes the various difficulties involved in tobacco production in Kuria Sub-Counties. This further compliments at least in part, the quantitative findings in Table 4.9 above which shows that tobacco work was intensive and difficult indeed. In all, this qualitative source elicited 4 responses from the participants which further described other gender difficulties involved in tobacco production. Thus, from the

aforementioned, this study deems tobacco production as one which has imposed unique demands amongst Kuria farmers.

4.4 Access to Resources in Tobacco Production and their Effects on Socio-Economic Welfare

Table 4.10: Size of Land under Tobacco Cultivation

	Frequency	Percent
Below 5 acres	197	93
Between 5 and 9 acres	15	7
Total	212	100

Source: Field Data (2010)

Table 4.10 above quantitatively reveals that tobacco farmers were small scale farmers since 93 percent (197) of the respondents had tobacco farms below 5 acres, while only 7 percent (15) had land size between 5 and 9 acres. Therefore, majority of the farmers were small scale holders and as indicated in the previous sections, most of them are the youthful population that have been absorbed into tobacco production.

Box 4.6: Categories of Farmers

Date: Friday, 7th January 2011
Area: Nyabasi East - Kegonga
Size of the group: 11 participants
Highest Educational levels: Diploma
Lowest educational level : Primary Certificate
Age bracket: 22- 59 Years
Gender: Both male and female participants
Findings:
“Abarimi birikumbati abaaru mbaana emegondo emeke”
Most of the tobacco farmers in Kuria are small scale farmers.
“Abarimi birikumbati abanene mbakeigo beene barenge Kuria hano”
There are a few large scale tobacco farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties.
“Kobarimi abirikumbati baara bana emegondo emeke, abasacha kenene mbo baimerereye imingi geebo komang’ana gonswi”
Male headed households were majority amongst the small scale farmers and men control everything in the household.
“Abakungu baano baimerereye imiigi, kenene na abasino gose bano batigana na basacha baabo”
Small scale female headed households were mainly widowed or separated ladies.
“Abakungu bakeigo baano baimerereye imiigi, mbano basacha baabo barenge chomba”
Some few female headed households are those whose husbands work in towns.

Source: Field Data (2011)

Box 4.6 above (translated into English from Kuria) demonstrates the categories of farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties. This qualitative dimension shows that majority of farmers were small scale holders, a factor that has also been illustrated quantitatively in Table 4.10 indicating that

small sizes of land were under tobacco cultivation in the region. Besides, Plate 4.1 below further illuminates the images of such small farm holdings amongst tobacco farmers in the Sub-Counties.



Plate 4.1: Tobacco Small Scale Farms in Kuria Sub-Counties

Date: Monday, 24th January 2011

Photographer: Principal Researcher

Source: Field Data (2011)

The above Plate 4.1 clearly illustrates the amount of area (sampled area) covered by tobacco small scale farms in Kuria Sub-Counties. It has been a major cash crop in the area for several decades. Other food crops also appear at various spots in the plate, thereby elucidating that the farmers also farm for households' subsistence. This also compliments the arguments presented in Table 4.10 and Box 4.6 above proving that tobacco production was indeed undertaken at small scale levels in Kuria society.

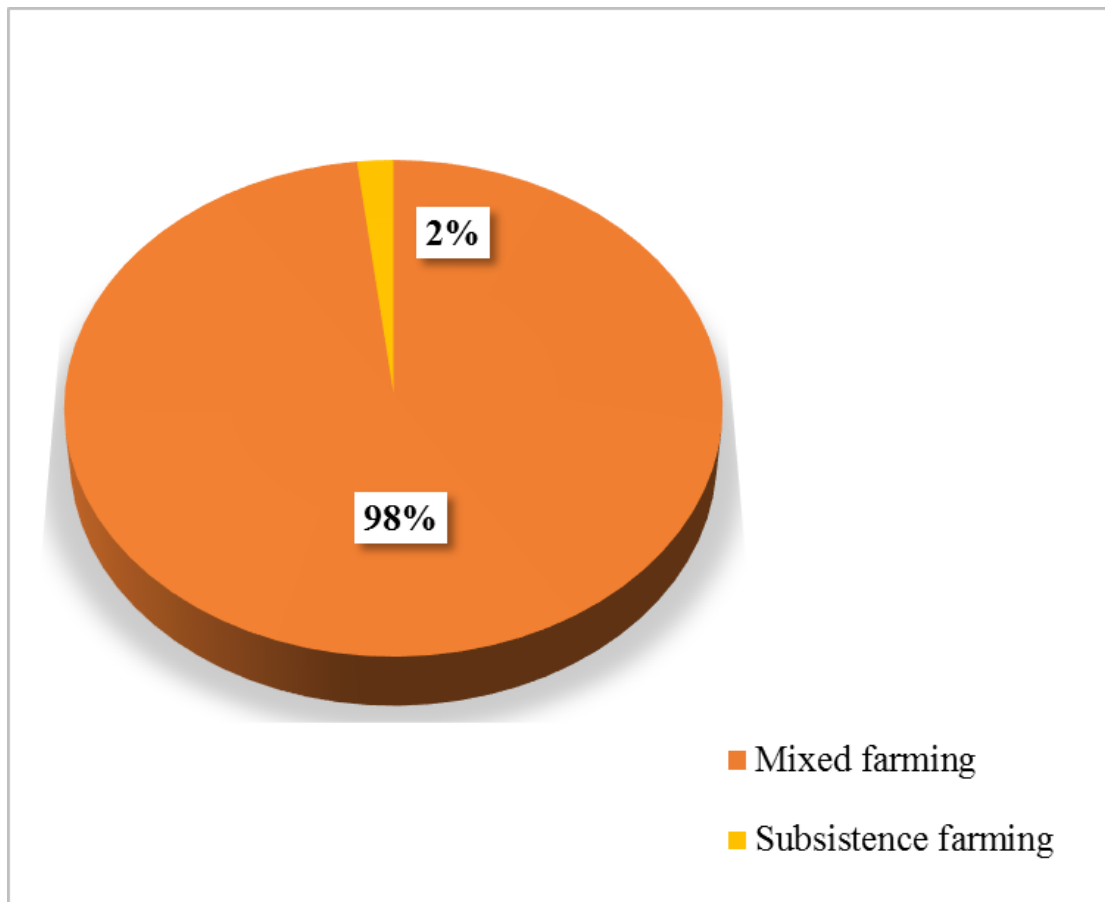


Figure 4.12: Main Land Uses amongst Tobacco Farmers

Source: Field Data (2010)

Figure 4.12 above quantitatively shows that 98 percent (211) of the respondents practiced mixed farming, while the rest, 2 percent (1) practice subsistence farming. The farming activities here show the seriousness of the local farmers in addressing their household economies. As much as they grow tobacco, they also ensure that food crops are catered for adequately. The only challenge witnessed in Kuria is the distribution of labour force per gender and utilization of tobacco income, especially when aligned to welfare parameters, which do not tally in Kuria.

Box 4.7: Types of Farming and Livelihood Activities

Date: Monday, 10th January 2011

Area: Bwirege East - Ntimaru

Size of the group: 9 participants

Highest Educational levels: Degree

Lowest educational level : Primary Certificate

Age bracket: 22- 59 Years

Gender: Both male and female participants

Findings:

“Abarimi abarru mbano bamahereye irikumbati beene, kugira iga nkobaretera rere ichimbiria”

Majority of farmers are dealing with tobacco as their only cash crop.

“Abarimi abirikumbati mbana imegoondo gende, nkorema bare ibiakoria biabo”

Tobacco farmers have other agricultural activities in farms, like those of food crops.

“Abaanto abaaro abahano mbahanchere ichitugo kemwe”

Cattle keeping are also regarded as a passion amongst the locals.

“Abasacha baande mbahanchere ubugwimi guchintahana nkeigo icha monse monse”

Some men engage in hunting practices in a few remote areas.

Source: Field Data (2011)

Box 4.7 above excerpted qualitatively (translated into English from Kuria) indicates that the farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties have various agricultural activities for their livelihoods. This is in furtherance of the quantitative illustration in Figure 4.12 which shows that the farmers engage in both subsistence and mixed farming at the household level. Thus, they actively produce farm products.

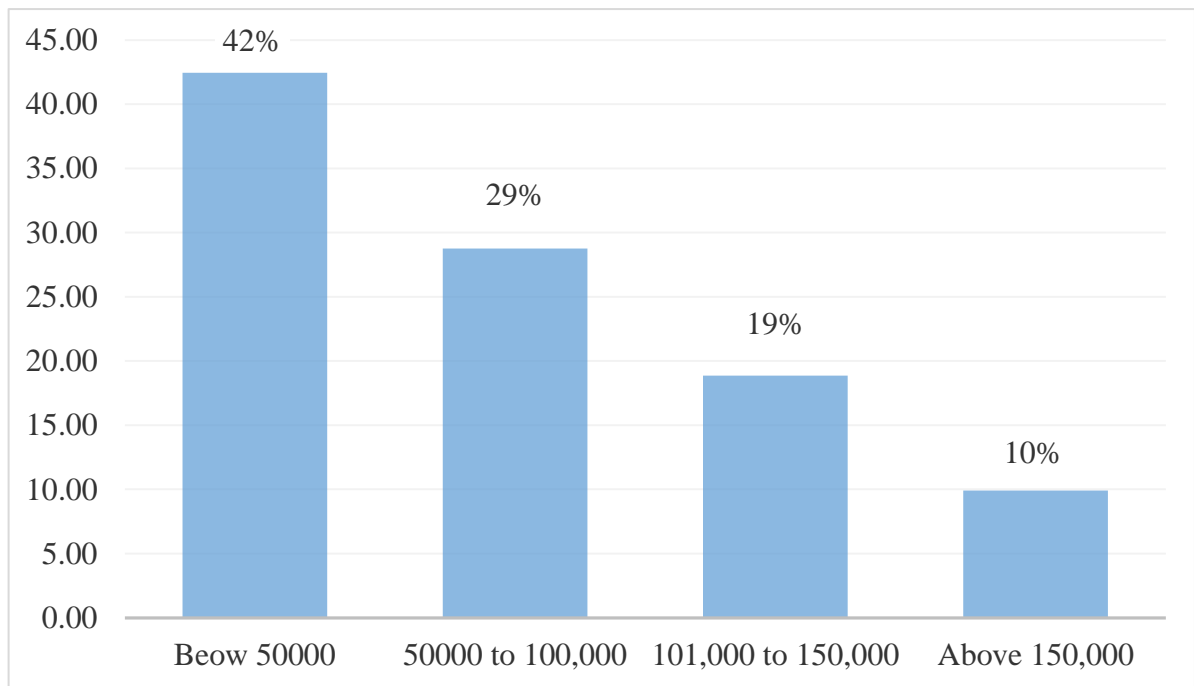


Figure 4.13: Annual Income Brackets

Source: Field Data (2010)

The annual income brackets of tobacco farmers are shown quantitatively in Figure 4.13 above. At the outlook, majority of the small scale farmers at 42 percent (90) earned below Kshs 50,000 annually. This was followed by 29 percent (61) who earned between Kshs 50,000 and Kshs 100,000. Only 19 percent (40) earned between Kshs 101, 000 and 150,000 and 10 percent (21) earned above Kshs 150,000. The income brackets above indicate that tobacco farming income is small. This is especially so when the income is viewed from the per car pita perspective. This invites the issue of economic relations between the tobacco multinationals and tobacco farmers. This will be explained in later sections (Table 4.16 and Figure 4.38) that quantitatively illustrate the state of contracting and economic relations between farmers and tobacco multinationals that are necessarily antagonistic.

Box 4.8: Household Economy

Date: Monday, 10th January 2011

Area: Bwirege East - Ntimaru

Size of the group: 9 participants

Highest Educational levels: Degree

Lowest educational level : Primary Certificate

Age bracket: 22- 59 Years

Gender: Both male and female participants

Findings:

“Abarimi abarru abirikumbati nkomaha bare iga irikumbati nguturia rere guchimberia kemwe”

Farmers experienced some improvements in terms of cash flow at the household because of tobacco farming.

“Abatetani abaaruru mbana isina kumiigi geebo, igoro yichimberia chirikumbati”

There are arising expenditure problems amongst couples in utilizing tobacco cash at household level.

“Abakari bo mbatondoreywe namang’ana gakomaherra ichinyumba chaabo buuya”

Basically, women have more interest in their household’s welfare aspects.

Source: Field Data (2011)

The household economy is a significant part informing welfare parameters. Box 4.8 excerpted qualitatively (translated into English from Kuria) shows that farmers households generated tobacco income. It shows that apart from flow of cash within the household, there were gender challenges and differing views regarding the utilization of such income. This is also quantified in Figure 4.13 that illustrates income range amongst tobacco farmers, most of whom were small scale holders. Table 4.11 will further this argument by showing gender decision making parameters and their implications on household welfare.

Table 4.11: Decision Making on Tobacco Income Utilization

	Frequency	Percent
Husband	164	77
Wife	19	10
Both husband and wife	29	13
Total	212	100

Source: Field Data (2010)

Decision making on the use of tobacco income was also investigated. Table 4.11 above shows quantitatively that at 77 percent (164) decision making were made by the husband as opposed to 13 percent (29) that was made by wife or by both husband and wife. Another 10 percent (19) were made by the wife alone. Decision making on tobacco income usage was clearly dominated by men and which affected households' economy significantly. It also means that women were immensely disadvantaged in such circumstances, especially in terms of household welfare.

Box 4.9: Available Household Resources

Date: Wednesday, 12th January 2011

Area: Bukira West - Nyamaharaga

Size of the group: 8 participants

Highest Educational levels: Diploma

Lowest educational level : Seconadry Certificate

Age bracket: 21- 63 Years

Gender: Both male and female participants

Findings:

“Emegondo ngio egento ikirito bokong’u kobaanto, siboono abamura beene mbo bakogehabwa na basawaabo”

Land is a key household resource and is inherited by sons along patriarchal ideals.

“Irikumbati ndiorebahere kobinto bioswi biira abaanto bakorema”

Tobacco is the leading cash crop amongst all farmers in the region.

“Ibiakorea nkoremoa biire korri inchara itagacha koba ho”

Food crops, mainly cereals are also planted for subsistence to avoid hunger.

Source: Field Data (2011)

Box 4.9 above presents summary of regional excerpts from farmers (translated into English from Kuria) indicating 3 qualitative responses elicited from a focus group discussion cluster of 8 participants (Both men and women). The participants clearly show that land (belonging to men) and farming were the key resources within the household in the rural setting in Kuria Sub-Counties. Besides, Table 4.11 illustrates quantitatively the decision making landscape on utilization of tobacco income within the household, in which case, men are the dominant players in this aspect. This sets into action other gender imperative arguments that will be furthered in subsequent sections of this chapter.

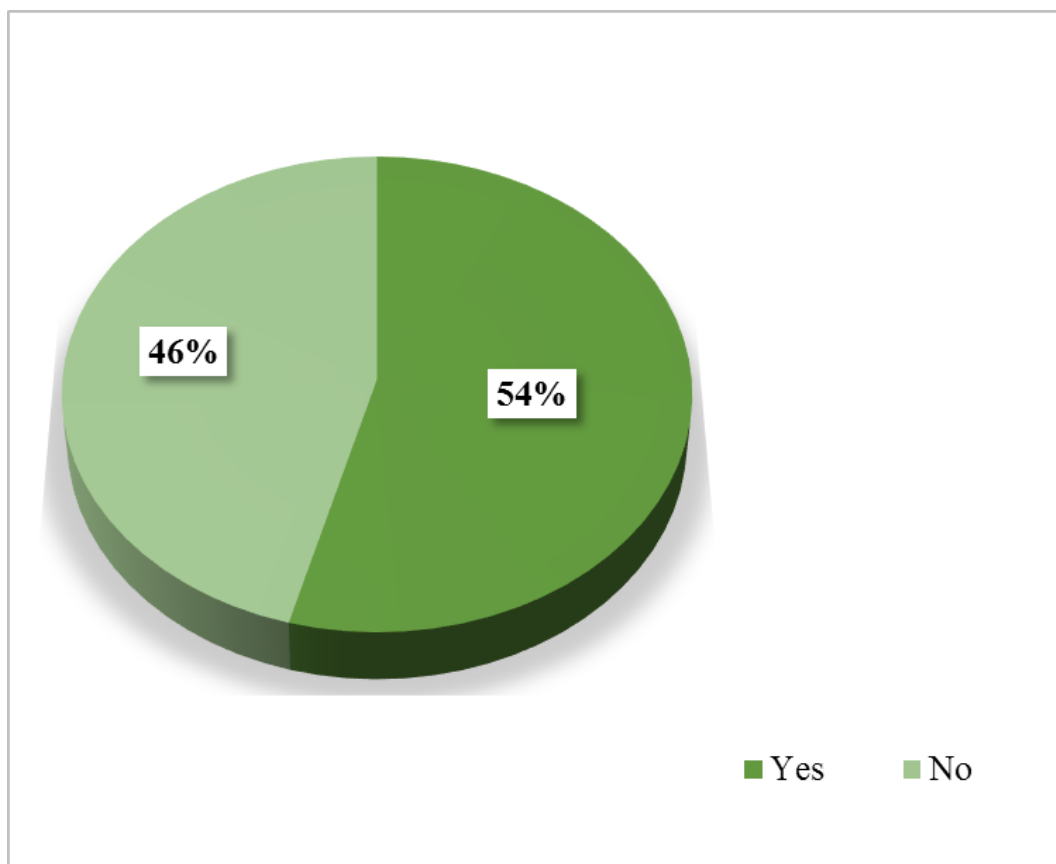


Figure 4.14: Tobacco Improved Welfare Status

Source: Field Data (2010)

On whether tobacco had improved the welfare status of the respondents, 54 percent (115) indicated that there was improvement, while 46 percent (97) disagreed as shown quantitatively in Figure 4.14 above. Thus, it is indicative of the fact that tobacco is a viable cash crop in Kuria Sub-Counties.

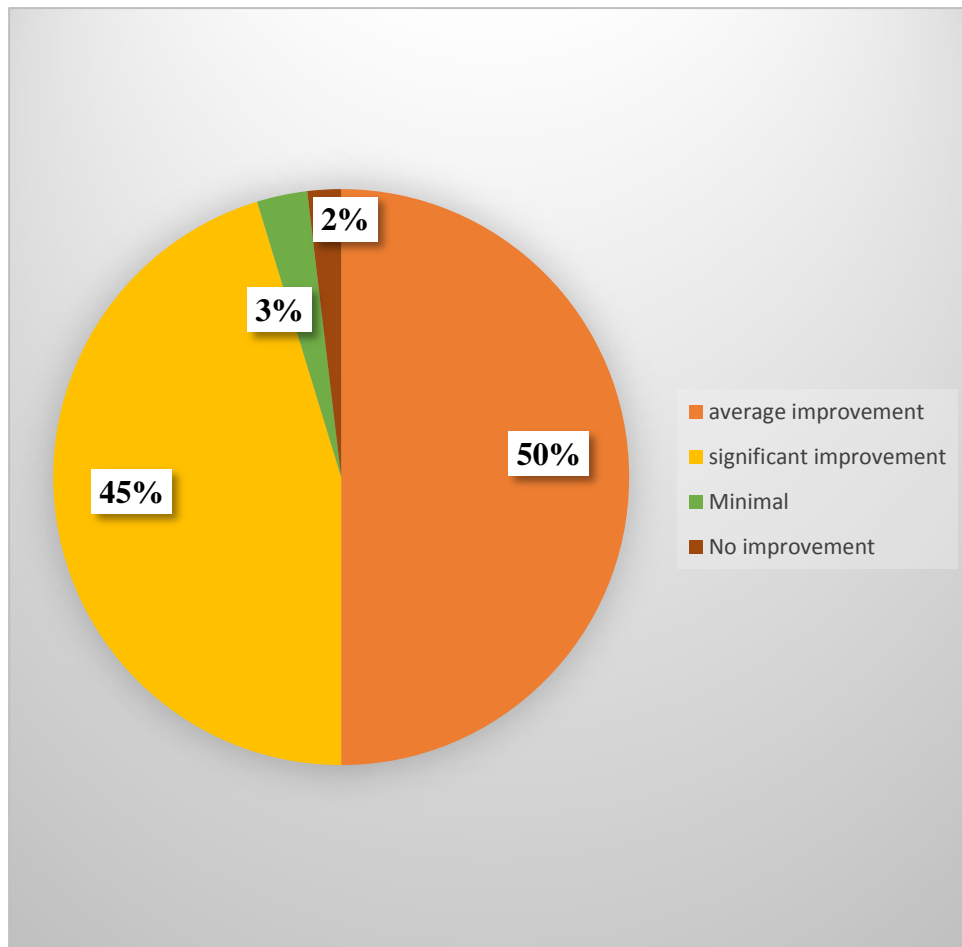


Figure 4.15: Extent to which Tobacco Income Improved Socio-Economic Status

Source: Field Data (2010).

The question on how tobacco had improved socio-economic status of the household was also addressed in this study. Figure 4.15 above shows quantitatively the distribution of the responses. Some of the responds 50 percent (108) indicated average improvement, while 45 percent (101) indicated significant improvement, 3 percent (2) and another 2 percent (1) asserted that improvement was minimal. The above illustration shows that tobacco income played a significant role in the household economy, for instance, majority of the respondents agreed that tobacco brings in some income. Besides, the issue to be addressed in the next illustration (Figure 4.16) shows how such incomes affected the households' satisfaction levels in the welfare of tobacco farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties.

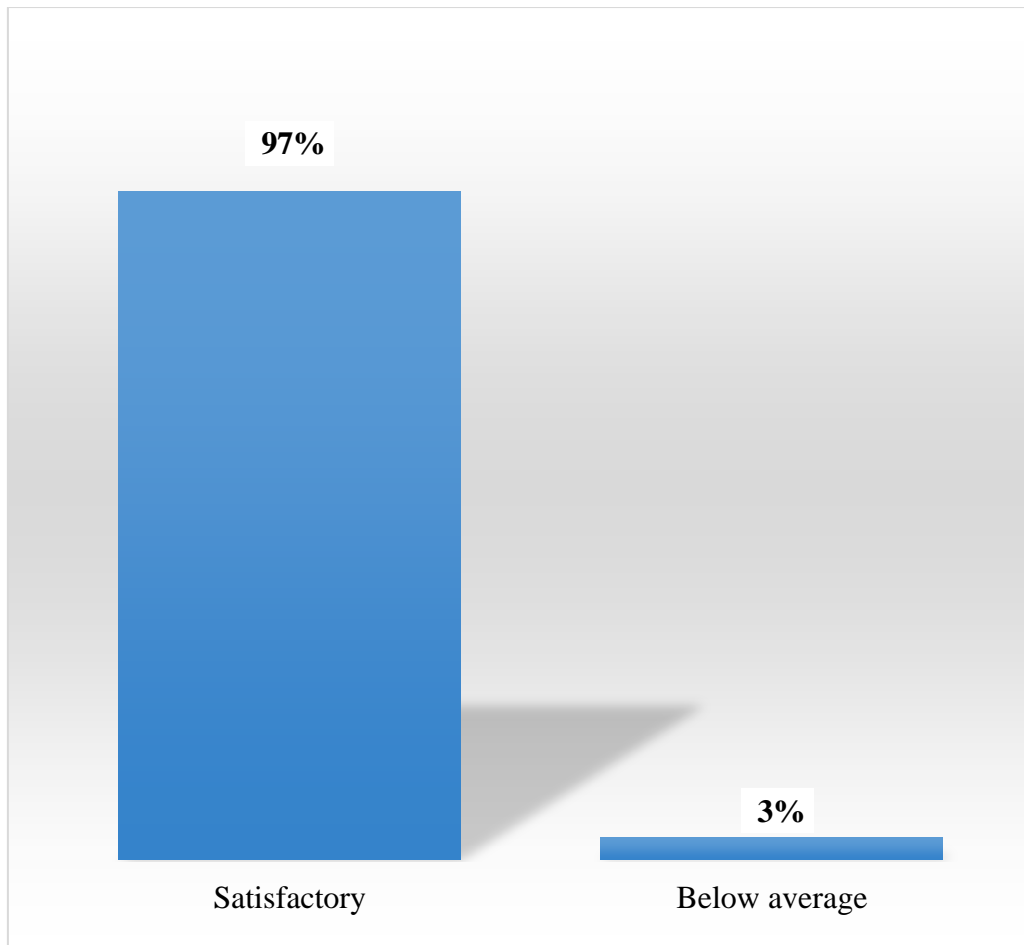


Figure 4.16: Level of Welfare Status

Source: Field Data (2010)

Figure 4.16 quantitatively shows the responses at the level of welfare benefits at the household. Many respondents 97 percent (205) felt satisfied with the earnings. While 3 percent (7) explained that it was below average. Majority of the respondents felt satisfied by the amounts earned from tobacco, however, the corresponding welfare aspects could be in question.

Box 4.10: Household Resource Utilization

Date: Wednesday, 12th January 2011
Area: Bukira West - Nyamaharaga
Size of the group: 8 participants
Highest Educational levels: Diploma
Lowest educational level : Seconadry Certificate
Age bracket: 21- 63 Years
Gender: Both male and female participants
Findings:
“Amang’ana ga abasacha na abakari ngatondoye bokong’u enkaga ya komaherra oboome bumuugi”
Gender is a significant dimension in resource entitlements in the household.
“Abatetani abaaruru mbana obokong’u igoro ya amang’ana kichimbiria chirikumbati”
Most couples have problems participation in tobacco income spending in their households.
“Abasacha mbo baimerereye amang’ana gichimbiria kumigi geebo”
There is widespread male dominance in controlling and spending tobacco cash.
“Abakali babora ichinguru gukunyoria enchera ya kogota ichimbiria chirikumbati kumigi geebo Kuria hano”
There is so much female inabilities to make inroads into tobacco income handling and spending witnessed in Kuria.

Source: Field Data (2011)

Box 4.10 above is a collection of qualitative responses from tobacco farmers regarding the utilization of household resources. In all, 4 responses (translated into English from Kuria) emerged from the FGD cluster (both men and women were involved) that indicate clear male dominance in this scenario. Box 4.11 (ahead) also demonstrates the realities of this gender factor in terms of household welfare constraints. Men exercise a lot of discretion in the utilization of tobacco income, most of the time at the expense of their female counterparts as

illustrated in the responses above. This is an issue that should be addressed by all stakeholders respectively.

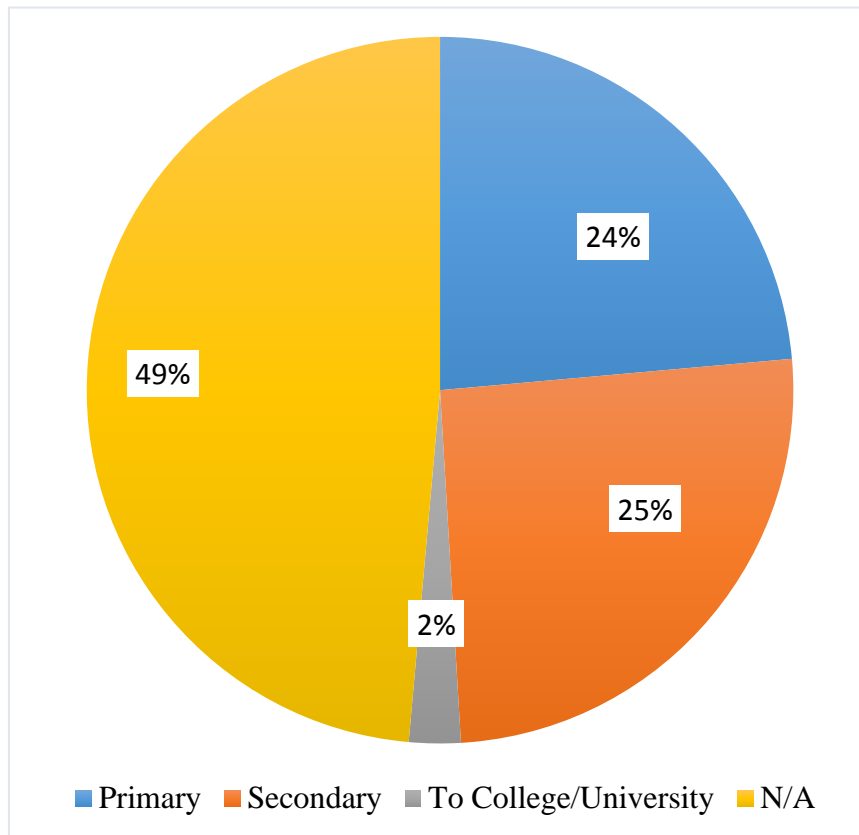


Figure 4.17: Tobacco Incomes and Educational Status

Source: Field Data (2010)

Figure 4.17 above quantitatively shows how tobacco income affected educational status. In this case, the improvement referred to was reflected basically in primary school at 24 percent (50) and secondary school at 25 percent (54) levels of academic attainments. So far, only 2 percent (5) of youngsters managed to transition to college or university levels. However, the majority 49 percent (103) of the respondents had not benefited from tobacco, especially in the aspect of educational improvement. Therefore, there was low educational attainment in general, except at the lower levels with majority completing at both primary and secondary schools respectively in Kuria Sub-Counties.

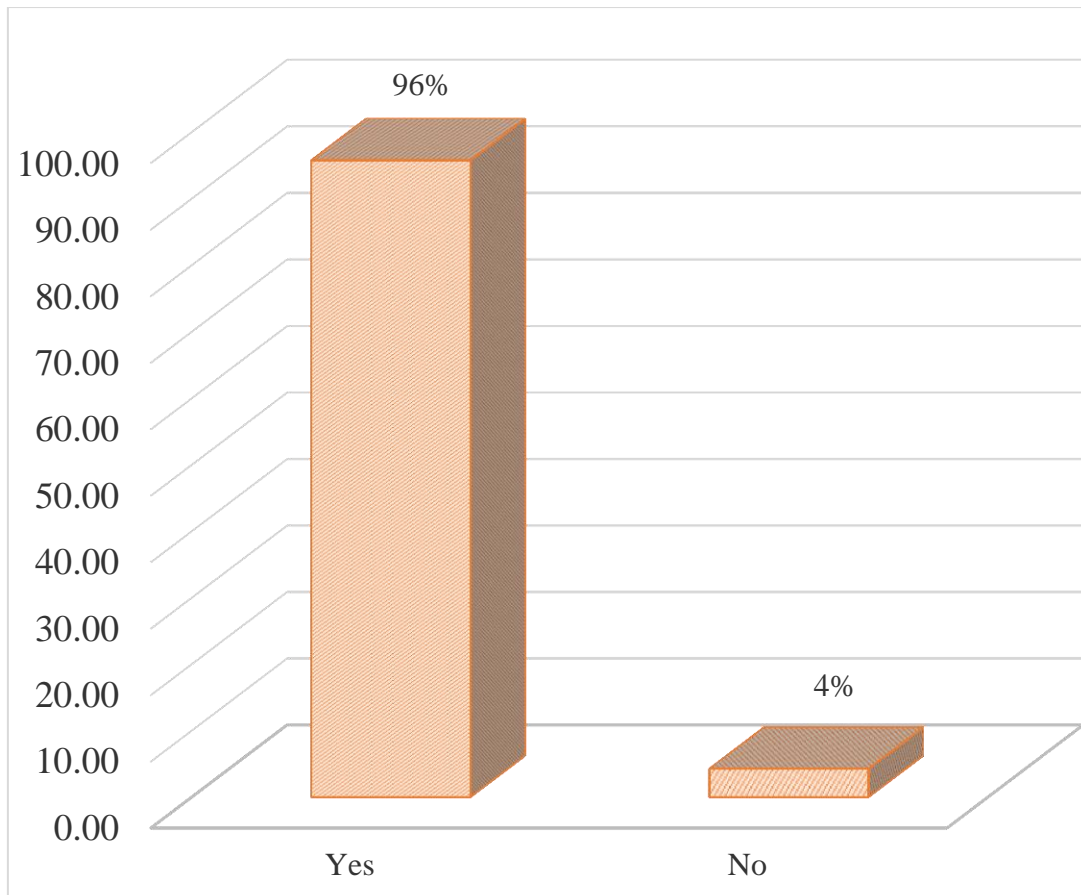


Figure 4.18: Health Status was affected by Tobacco Farming

Source: Field Data (2010)

In this segment, health status of farmers was affected by tobacco farming as shown quantitatively in Figure 4.18 above in which respondents were affected in diverse ways; in this case, 96 percent (203) agreed that they had been affected. Only a meager 4 percent (9) indicated that they had not been affected during their farming activities. The basic outlook is that tobacco affects farmers' health in various ways in Kuria Sub-Counties. Thus, it seems that tobacco farming had health implications amongst farmers in the area a case that deserves further academic investigations.

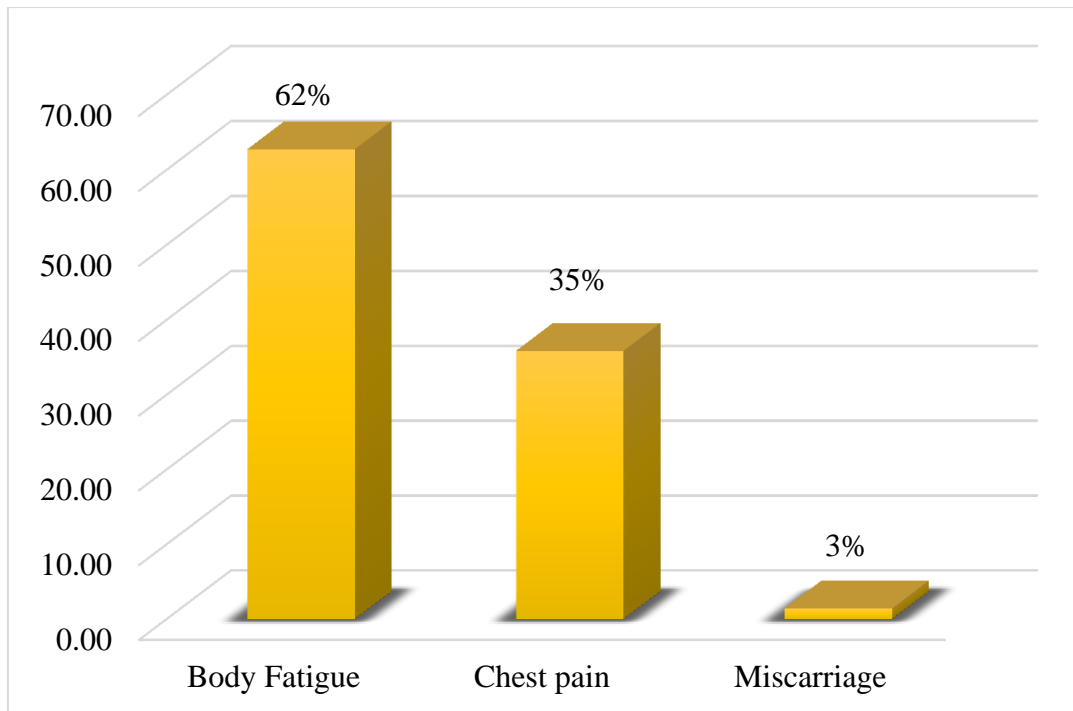


Figure 4.19: Health Effects of Tobacco Farming

Source: Field Data (2010).

Figure 4.19 quantitatively shows how health was affected by tobacco farming. Majority of farmers suffered from fatigue 62 percent (133) due to long hours of labouring in tobacco farms. In addition, chest pains 35 percent (76) was the second significant health problem. Another 3 percent (3) indicated that they had experienced miscarriages. The above statistics are indicative of the intense work involved in tobacco farming, the major complaint being fatigue, followed by chest pains, which still align with the issue of intensive labour in tobacco farms. Thus, it can be generalized as one of the struggles associated with tobacco production in Kuria society.

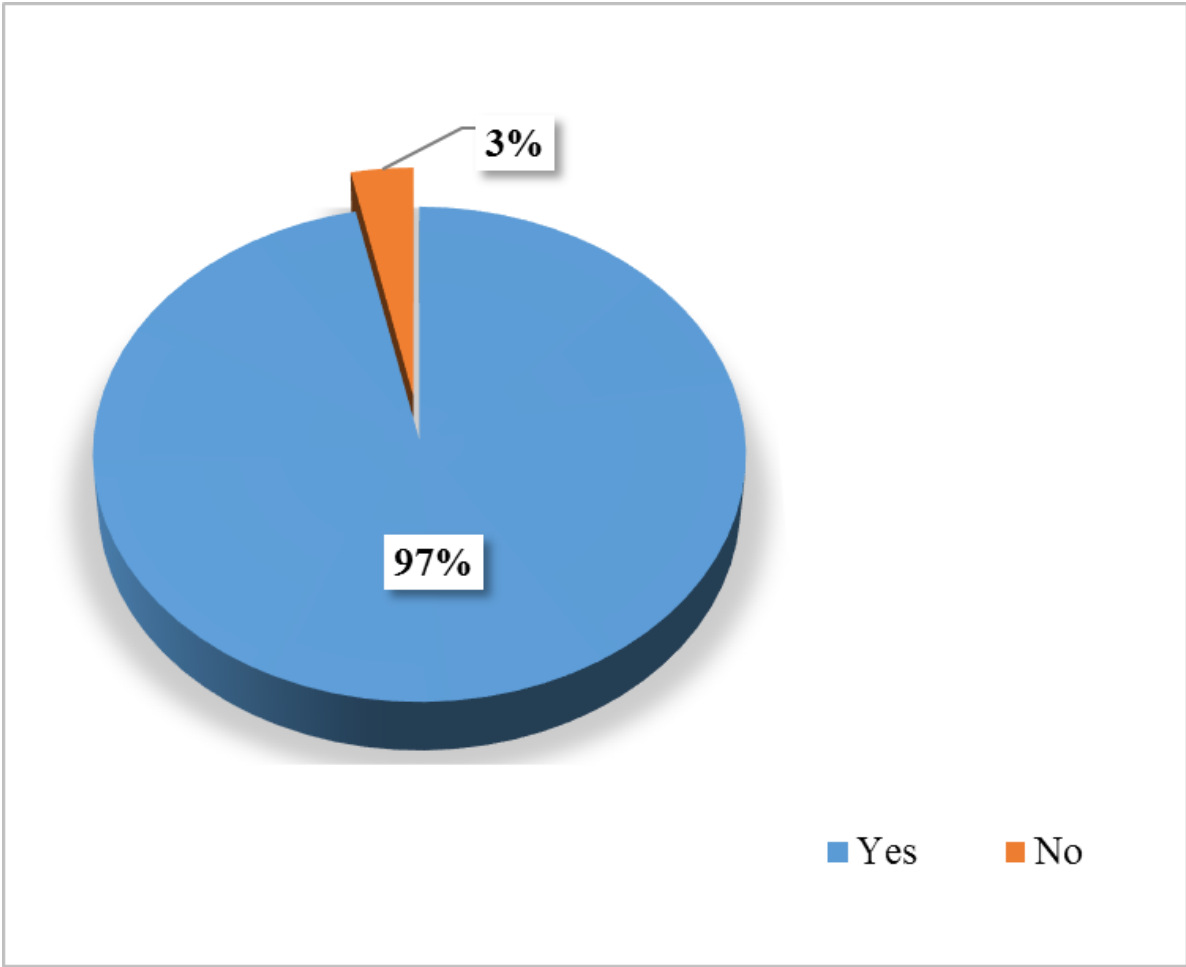


Figure 4.20: Injured at Work

Source: Field Data (2010)

As shown quantitatively in Figure 4.20 above, some 97 percent (205) of the respondents were hurt at work, while some 3 percent (7) indicated that they had not been injured. Injuries seem to be a common problem relating to tobacco production, in fact, an overwhelming majority of farmers indicated that they were hurt in various ways in the farms. One observation made during data collection was that farmers were never in “farm gear” at various stages of tobacco husbandry. This therefore exposed them to such injuries.

Table 4.12: Nature of the Injury

	Frequency	Percent
Cut or bruises	206	97
Chemical poisoning	4	2
N/A	2	1
Total	212	100

Source: Field Data (2010).

The nature of the injury is as indicated quantitatively on Table 4.12, that some 97 percent (206) had been hurt at work. In this case, the major injuries were cuts and bruises; while some 2 percent (4) indicated that they had experienced chemical poisoning in tobacco production. While 1 percent (2) did not respond to the question. As indicated above, the specific injuries were in the form of cuts and bruises, which further explains that farmers were usually not protected during tobacco farming activities. This also has implications on tobacco multinationals, for instance, they had a duty to educate and equip farmers with the right information and gear in order to perform tobacco farm work safely.

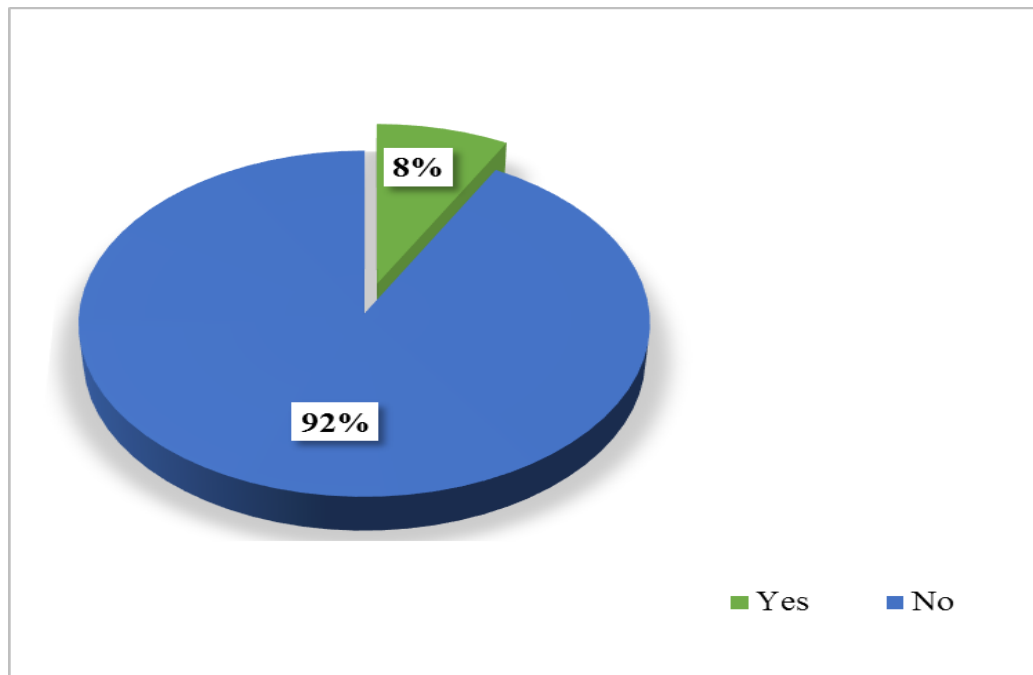


Figure 4.21: Got Medical Attention

Source: Field Data (2010)

Figure 4.21 above quantitatively reveals that 92 percent (195) of the respondents did not get medical attention. As a result they persevered, while 8 percent (17) indicated that they got

medical attention after injuries. The above statistics indicate the state of apathy experienced by tobacco farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties. This is because majority of the injured cases persevered, thereby not seeking medical attention. Two issues arise here, for instance, it could be lack of access to medical facility or lack of financial facilitation to such services. This is indicative of implications on welfare parameters amongst the tobacco farmers at household level.

Table 4.13: Reason for Lack of Medical Attention

	Frequency	Percent
Lack of medical facilities	4	2
Persevered	192	91
N/A	16	7
Total	212	100

Source: Field Data (2010)

The above Table 4.13 illustrates quantitatively that many farmers deliberately decided not to go to hospital until and unless the injury is more pronounced. Majority 91 percent (192) they just persevered, while 2 percent (4) was not able to access medical attention. Another 7 percent (16) just ignored it. In this scenario, farmers chose to persevere with the injuries incurred at tobacco farms, a sign that they were used to such problems. Conventionally, this is indicative of a state of lack of health values in household welfare imperatives.

4.5 Differentials between Female and Male Headed Households among Tobacco Farmers

According to the study, male headed households were 91 percent (193) while the female headed households were 9 percent (19). All the respondents 100 percent (212) revealed that their children were working in tobacco farms. In fact, it was a common practice to have children work in tobacco farms, some at the expense of their schooling time, especially during the pick season of tobacco production. Thus, in some way, children at the household level were affected by tobacco production in both male and female headed households.

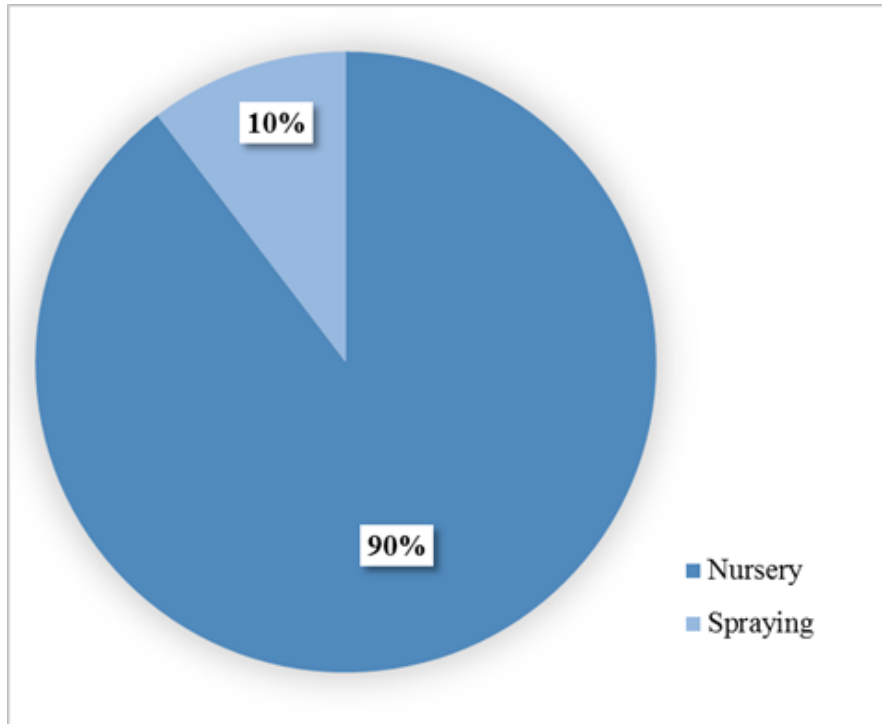


Figure 4.22: Type of Work Done

Source: Field Data (2010)

According to Figure 4.22 above, the type of work done was also under scrutiny. In both male and female headed households, 90 percent (190) of their time during this stage of the crop husbandry, farmers worked in nurseries while the rest worked in spraying the seedlings. Some 10 percent (22) worked in spraying pesticides in the farms. The above illustration quantitatively describes the type of work undertaken by the tobacco farmers during the time of the study; the major activity was nursery preparations and pesticide spray of the seedlings in the farms. Thus, at the time of the research, it was the beginning of tobacco farming cycle. This is further presented in plate 4.2 below, capturing such farming activities in a photographed image.



Plate 4.2: A Male Farmer Tending to his Tobacco Nursery in Kuria Sub-Counties

Date: Monday, 20th January 2010

Photographer: Principal Researcher

Source: Field Data (2010)

The above plate 4.2 captures and demonstrates the beginning of tobacco production season, starting with nursery preparations. A male farmer is photographed tending to his tobacco nursery by the riverside. Rivers are commonly used for such activity as a source of regular supply of water. Tobacco husbandry is a delicate farm activity that calls for many hours of concentrated tobacco nursery tendering.

Box 4.11: Perception of Household's Socio-Economic Welfare

Date: Friday, 14th January 2011

Area: Bugumbe West - Maberera

Size of the group: 12 participants

Highest Educational levels: Diploma

Lowest educational level : Seconadry Certificate

Age bracket: 19- 69 Years

Gender: Both male and female participants

Findings:

“Abasacha mbo bakomaherwa iga mbana ichinguru chakorenda imingi geebo getakanyora inchara kobakuria. Siboono, abaaru tebagokora buuya hai”

Men are regarded culturally as bread winners amongst the natives of Kuria Sub-Counties, they have to ensure that their households are well fed, but many of them fail to perform this duty.

“Abakari nkomahwa bare iga, mbo baana egasi ya komaherra abanto kumigi buuya”

Women are culturally perceived to be in a gender position which entails good service and care for all household members.

“Abasacha abamwi tebakwimukia egasi ya korenda imigi geebo buuya hai, tebaana ichinkoro ichinchiya ichakorenda kubaanto baabo hai”

Some men are blamed for not taking their positions and roles as heads of households seriously, they are irresponsible in their attitudes towards household welfare.

Source: Field Data (2011)

Another qualitative presentation is given in Box 4.11 above. The FGD exercise in which both men and women participated, it yielded 3 responses from all respondents (translated into English from Kuria) that basically allocate socio-economic roles to both genders. Indeed, men are considered not only as heads of households, but also as breadwinners for households, which is considered as a masculine duty. Thus, women were expected to perform the feminine nurture and care roles in the household, which are enormous.

Table 4.14: Average Daily Working Hours

Statistics	Value
Mean	13.81
Median	14.00
Mode	14
Kurtosis	.118
Std. Error of Kurtosis	.333
Minimum	10
Maximum	16

Source: Field Data (2010)

The time input in tobacco production is presented quantitatively above. The average daily working hours in both male and female headed households were between 10 and 16 hours as shown in Table 4.14 above. The above figures illustrate the intensity of labour input in tobacco farming. Typically, it varies in intensity during the various stages of tobacco production. It is also important to indicate that minimum and maximum hours illustrate the amount of heavy work undertaken by the tobacco farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties throughout the farming cycle.

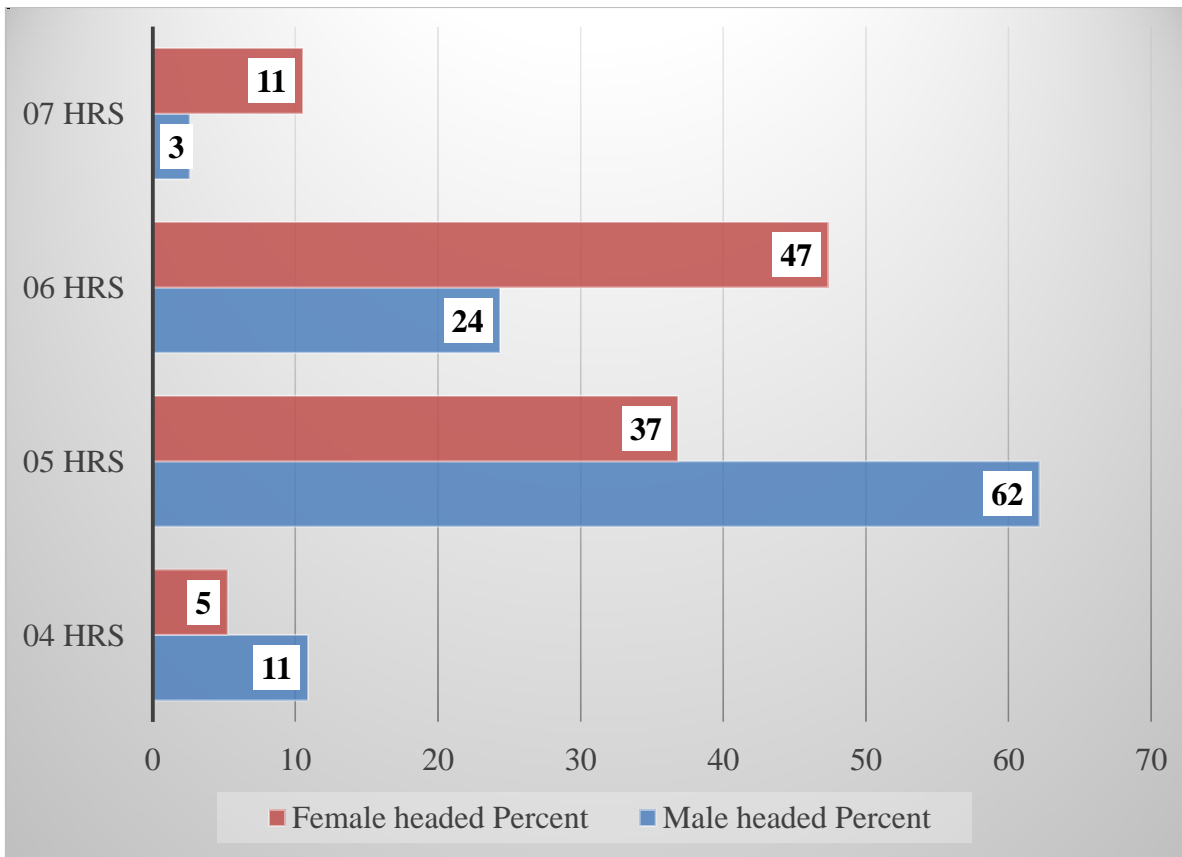


Figure 4.23: Time at which Work Starts in Tobacco Farms

Source: Field Data (2010)

Figure 4.23 above quantitatively shows the time the respondents started tobacco work amongst both male and female headed households which have remarkable differences, for instance, in female headed households 11 percent (10) began working at 7am, 47 percent (40) began working at 6am, 37 percent (32) began working at 5 am and 5 percent (4) began working at 4 am. On the other hand, in male headed households 3 percent (4) began working at 7am, 24 percent (30) began working at 6 am, 62 percent (78) began working at 5 am and 11 percent (14) began working at 4 am. The above illustrations show that work starts earlier in the day in the male headed households as compared to female headed households which were more relaxed in this regard. Generally, tobacco is a high maintenance cash crop. Thus, farmers must rise early to begin work in tobacco farms.

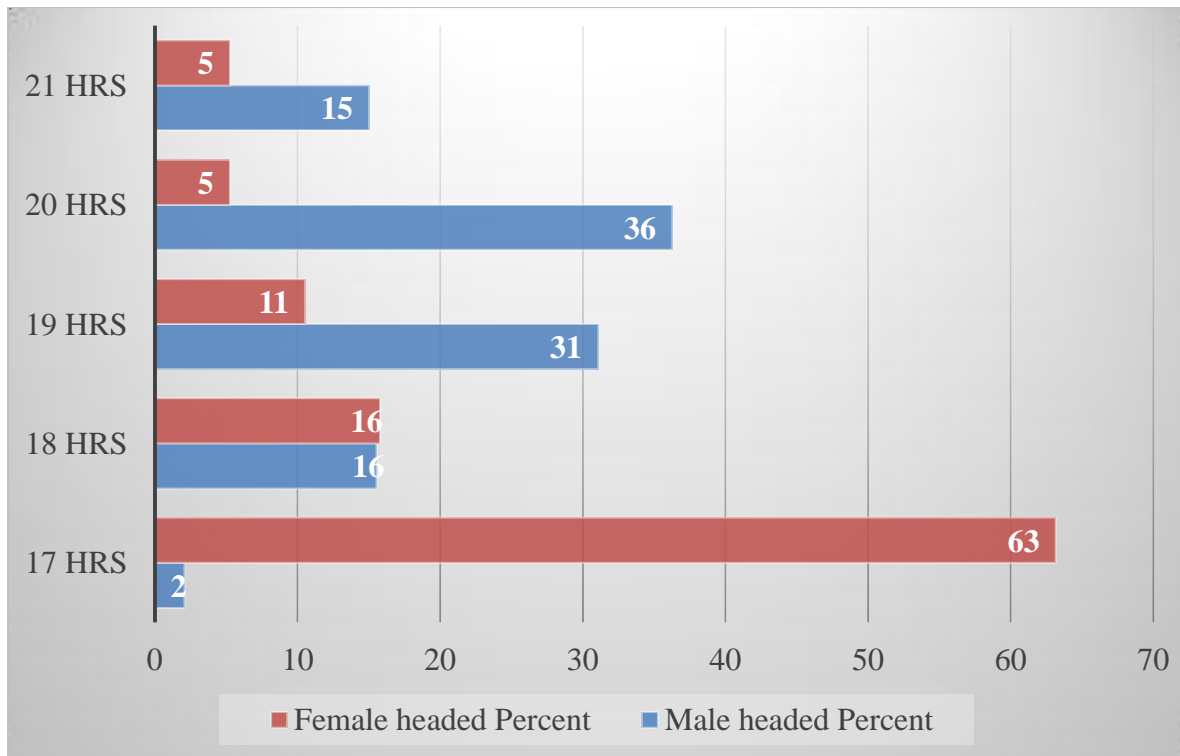


Figure 4.24: Time Taken to Finish Work for Male and Female Headed Households

Source: Field Data (2010)

Figure 4.24 above is quantitatively illustrative of the work incurred in tobacco production. Generally, it was time consuming; most of the farmers started working very early and finished quite late. For instance, in male headed households 15 percent (19) finished their farm work at 9 pm, while 36 percent (45) finished their work at 8 am, whereas 31 percent (39) finished work at 7 pm, another 16 percent (20) finished their work at 6 pm and 2 percent (3) finished their work at 5 pm. Besides, the scenario in female headed households is different, for instance 5 percent (4) finished their work at 9 pm, another 5 percent (4) finished their work at 8 pm, while 11 percent (10) finished their work at 7 pm, whereas some 16 percent (14) finished their work at 6 pm and 63 percent (54) finished their work at 5 pm. Thus, labour input in tobacco production is without doubt quite intensive in the male headed households, especially considering that majorities finished work late as compared to female headed households in which majorities finished their work a bit early.

Table 4.15: Nature of Tobacco Work

	Frequency	Percent
Heavy	185	87
Average	27	13
Total	212	100

Source: Field Data (2010)

Table 4.15 above illustrates quantitatively that the work was heavy, 87 percent (185) of the respondents agreed with this assertion, whereas, 13 percent (27) indicated that the work was average. Majority of farmers view the work as heavy. Both genders and types of households concurred in this regard. Hence, farmers had no option but to put in more hours to meet the demands of this cash crop. For instance, below is a photo (Plate 4.3) of a female farmer in her new tobacco field that is undergoing tobacco season's initial preparations. Such scenarios are common in the region.



Plate 4.3: A Female Farmer Nurturing her Tobacco Farm in Kuria Sub-Counties

Date: Wednesday, 1st September 2010

Photographer: Principal Researcher

Source: Field Data (2010)

The plate 4.3 above shows a female tobacco farmer moving through her new tobacco farm with a machete. There are some stages of the crop husbandry that are considered feminine thereby involving intense female labour input. For instance, in this stage of tendering the seed bed soils, women are obliged to do most of the work.

There was 100 percent (212) indication from all the respondents that the reason for engaging in tobacco production was basically for household income requirements. The main player in this regard being the household head who had the discretion on how much land had to cultivated and overseeing the various farming activities throughout the tobacco production season. 100 percent (212) of the respondents agreed that gender affected the distribution of tobacco income in which case men dominated their women counterparts. Gender division of household labour was common in Kuria Sub-Counties. These factors majorly affect women (Supported by Box 4.1 and Box 4.8) who play a major role throughout tobacco production cycle.

Box 4.12: Female versus Male Headed Households

Date: Friday, 14th January 2011

Area: Bugumbe West - Maberera

Size of the group: 12 participants

Highest Educational levels: Diploma

Lowest educational level : Secondary Certificate

Age bracket: 19- 69 Years

Gender: Both male and female participants

Findings:

“ Imiigi geno gimerereywe na abakungu buya gere, kugira nkuirusia bare kimwi korenda abaanto baabo ”

Majority of female headed households had better welfare due to their selflessness, thereby benefiting their household members in terms of their good care.

“ Abakungu baano baimerereye imigi geebo nkoreta bare emegoko kobanto baabo gokobarenda buuya ”

Female headed households benefited more in household welfare and their members were happy.

“ Imiigi geno gemerereywe na abasacha ngena obokong’u gontahana ya gotomera ichimbiria chirikumbati, bakabo tibakuchinyoria buuya hai ”

Male headed households experienced tobacco cash spending dominance over their women.

“ Nkuigwa tore iga, abasacha abamwi nkong’osa bare kurwa ka enkaga ya kuguria irikumbati, korri bagende korea ichimbiria ahara hano batakomahwa na abaanto abimiigi geebo ”

There are some reported cases of male desertions during harvesting and sale seasons, they prefer to spend such cash in seclusion and with great freedom from their household members.

Source: Field Data (2011)

Box 4.12 above has 4 qualitative summaries of regional excerpts (translated into English from Kuria). The FGD exercise involved both men and women in the discussion cluster and all of them were facilitated and encouraged to participate equally. Welfare essentials came into limelight especially in terms of comparison between male and female headed

households. Female headed households emerged to be benefiting more than male headed households in terms of welfare imperatives. On the other hand, Figure 4.26 illustrates quantitatively the differentials in welfare aspects between the two types of household heads. It agrees with the previous standpoint. Thus, the two approaches have complimented each other in this sphere.

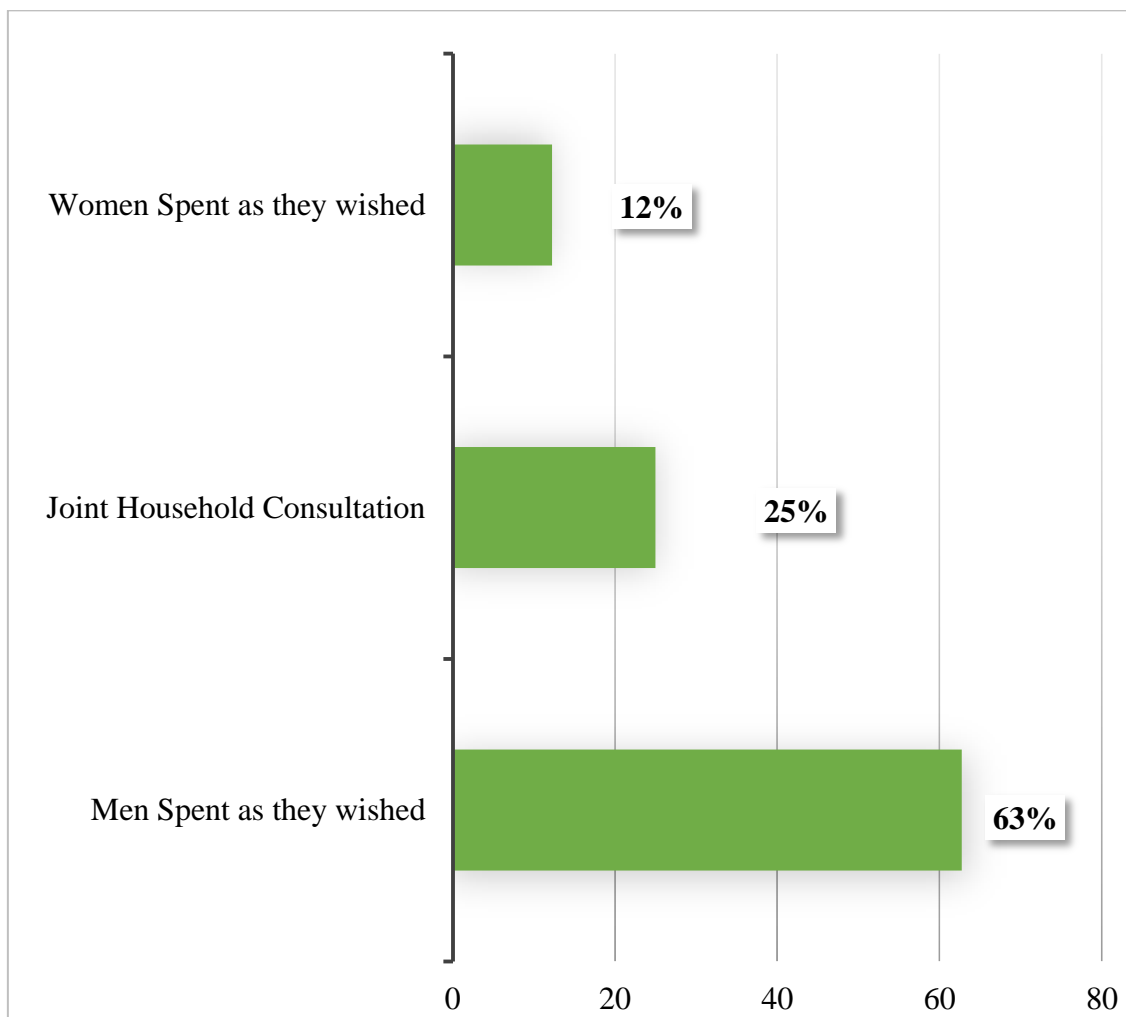


Figure 4.25: Gender and Household Expenditure

Source: Field Data (2010)

Figure 4.25 above illustrates the expenditure of tobacco income in the households in Kuria Sub-Counties. 63 percent (133) of the respondents agreed that men spent money as they wished, whereas some 25 percent (53) asserted that the income was spent on joint household consultation and another 12 percent (26) indicated that women spent money as they wished. Further, tobacco income spending attitude clearly shows that men enjoyed more freedom in

this regard. In most scenarios, men disadvantaged their female partners who in fact offer the larger share of labour input during the entire farming season.

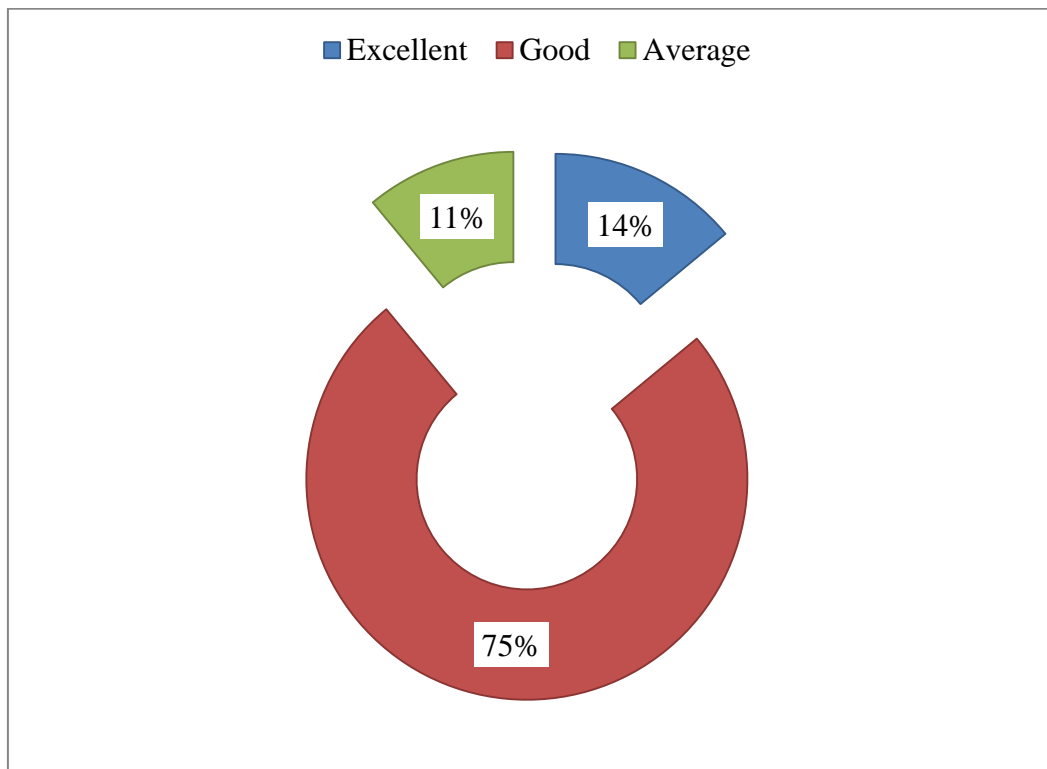


Figure 4.26: Female Headed Households' Rate of Welfare in Relation to Income

Source: Field Data (2010)

Figure 4.26 above quantitatively illustrates the level of female headed households in welfare dimension, especially in relation to the tobacco income. Majority of the respondents, 75 percent (160) indicated that female headed households had good welfare considerations. Some 11 percent (23) indicated that it was excellent and 14 percent (29) confirmed that household welfare was average. The above illustration indicates that female headed households had better welfare standards. The general picture that emerges in this presentation is that they care for the household welfare more than any other financial priority.

Box 4.13: Labour Input versus Welfare Considerations

Date: Monday, 17th January 2011

Area: Nyabasi West - Nyamutiro

Size of the group: 8 participants

Highest Educational levels: Degree

Lowest educational level : Seconadry Certificate

Age bracket: 24- 67 Years

Gender: Both male and female participants

Findings:

“Abakungu nkwimerera bare emeremo bunyohu hakai, mbana ichinkoro chakomaherra abanto baabo buuya”

Female headed households enjoyed more rationality in regard to labour input and had good welfare parameters.

“Imigi gimwi geno gimerereywe na abasacha ngokora gere emeremo emeru bokong’u, abaru tebakotomera ichimbiria chirikumbati kuirigania abanto baabo hai”

Some male headed households experienced strict labour controls and less welfare for their households due to value differences in tobacco income expenditures.

“Ichinyumba chino chimerereywe na abakungu tichisokerwe hai, ngoserwa chire ninyora china emegoko igekomaherwa buuya nabo”

Female headed households were perceived to be insecurely organized in cultural dimensions and were usually looked down upon amongst the Kuria people even if they enjoyed better welfare.

Source: Field Data (2011)

Box 4.13 above is a collection of qualitative summary of regional excerpts of an FGD exercise (translated into English from Kuria) that sought to compare labour input versus welfare discretion between male and female headed households. In all, 3 responses were obtained which were elicited from both male and female participants in the discussions. In as much as female headed households were loosely organized from a cultural perspective (due to absence of a male head), they were more rational in workload handling and correspondingly better off in welfare dimensions. On the contrary, male headed households

were strictly organized and culturally approved but had less welfare considerations. Besides, Figure 4.9 in the first section of this chapter indicates that men’s labour input was 28 percent compared to 72 percent of women’s labour input in tobacco production. Besides, when it comes to decision making at household level, for instance, in male headed households, as quantitatively illustrated in Table 4.11, husbands made 77 percent of central decisions regarding tobacco income spending, whereas, women only made periphery decisions at 10 percent discretion. Therefore, this study has been able to demonstrate that there are significant differences between labour input and welfare at the household in Kuria Sub-Counties.

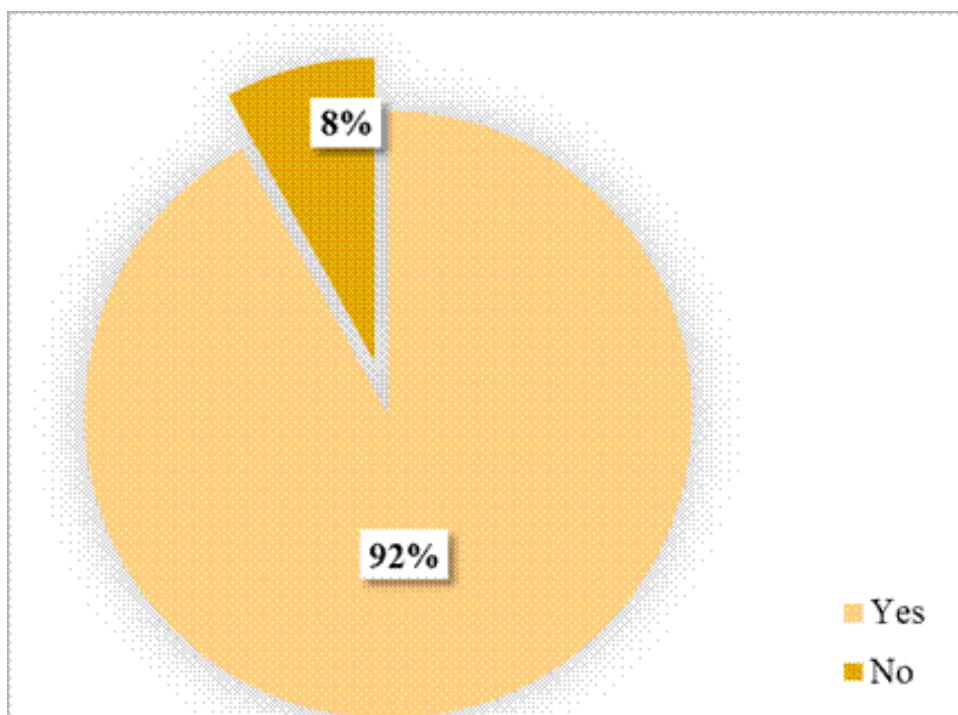


Figure 4.27: Tobacco Work Affected Leisure Time

Source: Field Data (2010)

Figure 4.27 above quantitatively reveals that 92 percent (195) of leisure time was significantly affected by tobacco work, whereas 8 percent (17) were not affected. Tobacco farming is labour intensive; therefore, as indicated above, leisure time is significantly affected. This means that farmers were not able to allocate for themselves sufficient leisure time because they spent most of the day tending to the crop as illustrated in previous sections e.g. Figure 4.23, Figure 4.24 and Table 4.15 which describe the intense working hours amongst tobacco farmers.

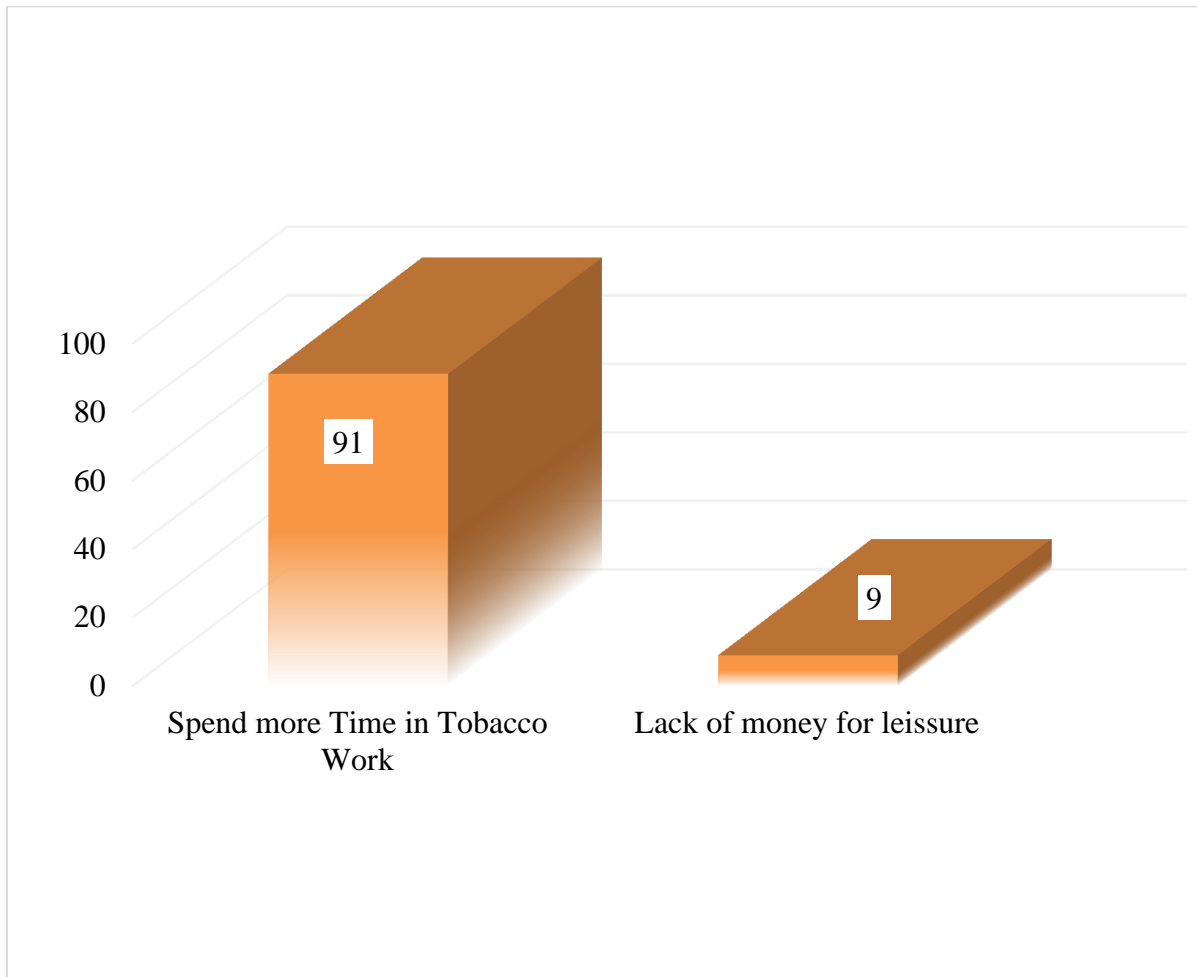


Figure 4.28: Effects of Tobacco Work on Leisure Time

Source: (Field Data, 2010)

Figure 4.28 illustrates quantitatively how tobacco work affected respondent's leisure time. Majority of them 91 percent (193) spent long hours in the farm at the expense of everything else, whereas some 9 percent (19) were not interested in leisure activities due to lack of money for leisure. Thus, leisure time lacked due to intensification of labour in tobacco farms.

Distribution of Work amongst Children in the Household

According to the heads of households, the distribution of work to the child was based on gender. All the respondents at 100 percent (212) concurred that workload was allocated based on gender differentials at household level. In these gender-labour differentials, grown children were usually assigned household duties including tobacco farming. Thus, gender division of labour is well established in the Sub-Counties.

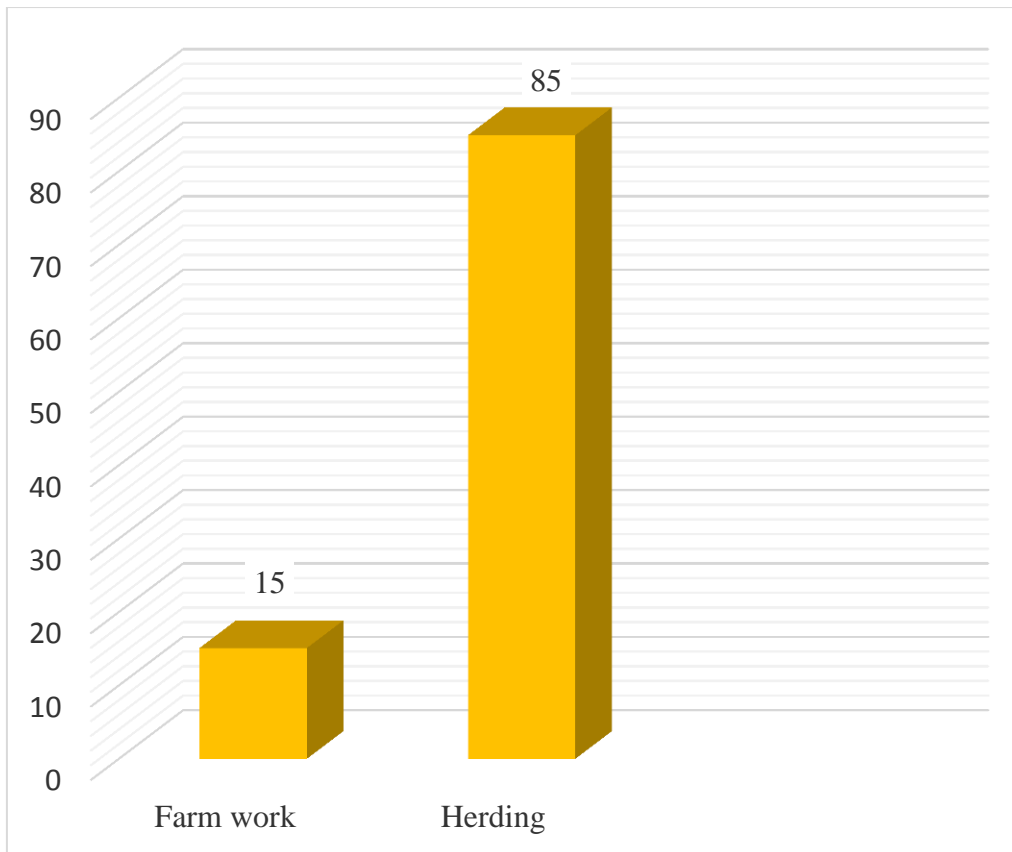


Figure 4.29: Type of Work Assigned to Boys

Source: (Field Data, 2010)

Figure 4.29 above quantitatively shows the type of work assigned to boys. Mainly herding was assigned to boys at 85 percent (180). However, farm work alone accounted only for 15 percent (32). Thus, majority of the male children performed herding as a major task and farm work as a minor contribution to the household economy. This is in line with the gender division of labour practiced in Kuria Sub-Countries in which masculine duties were emphasized for boys.

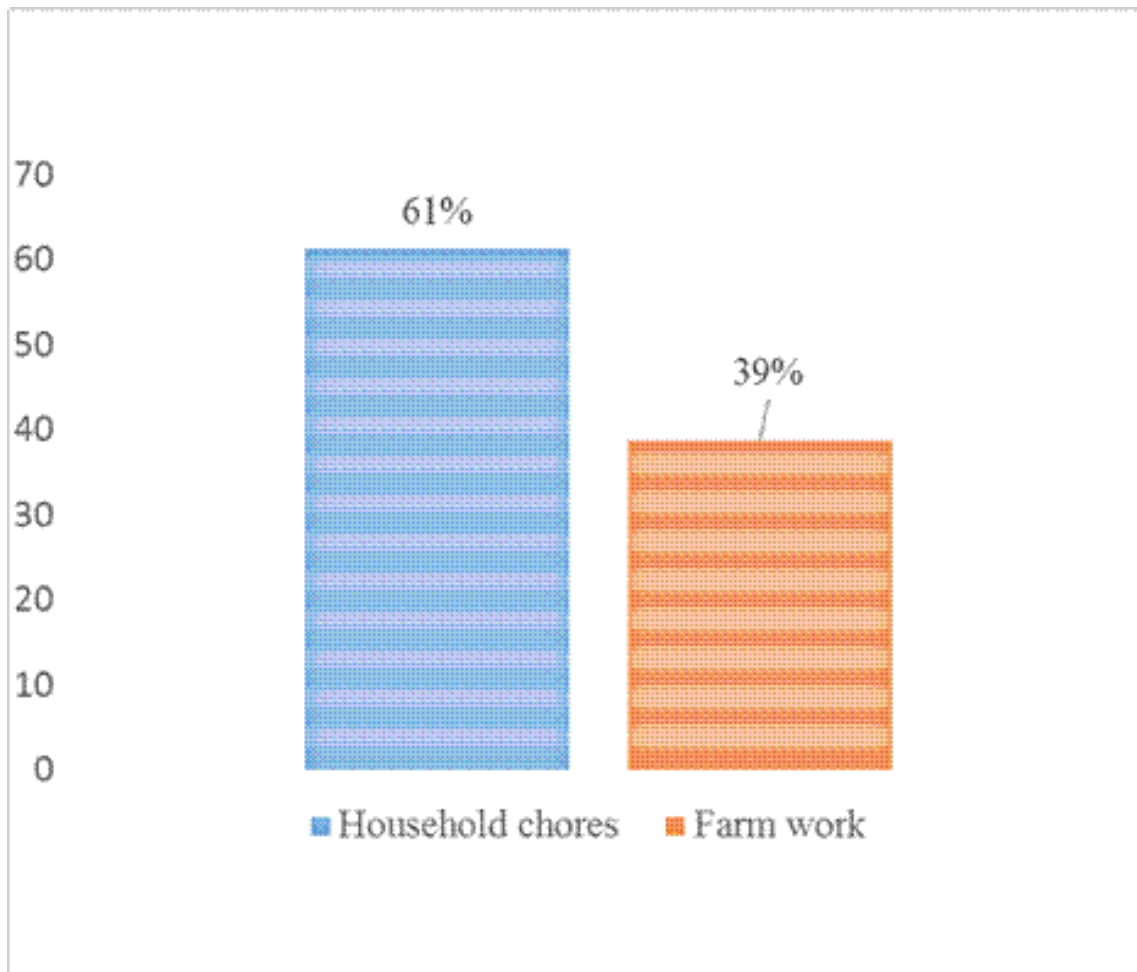


Figure 4.30: Type of Work Assigned to Girls

Source: Field Data (2010)

Figure 4.30 above shows quantitatively the type of work assigned to girls. At 61 percent (130) of the respondents indicated that girls performed more household chores than anybody else, they performed diligently in order to be culturally compatible and in another scenario 39 percent (82) of labour input was in tobacco production. In the above statistics, three gender issues are identified. Girls were assigned more household chores and average farm work. It is therefore apparent that girls played specific feminine roles in household activities.

Gender Effects on the Distribution of Work amongst Children in the Household

All the respondents 100 percent (212) agreed that children’s gender affected the distribution of work in the households’ economic activities. It was highly gendered and enforced through social sentiments such as norms and social pressure. Thus, the perception on gender and labour relations was created and perpetuated by the society, especially in reference to Kuria Sub-Counties.

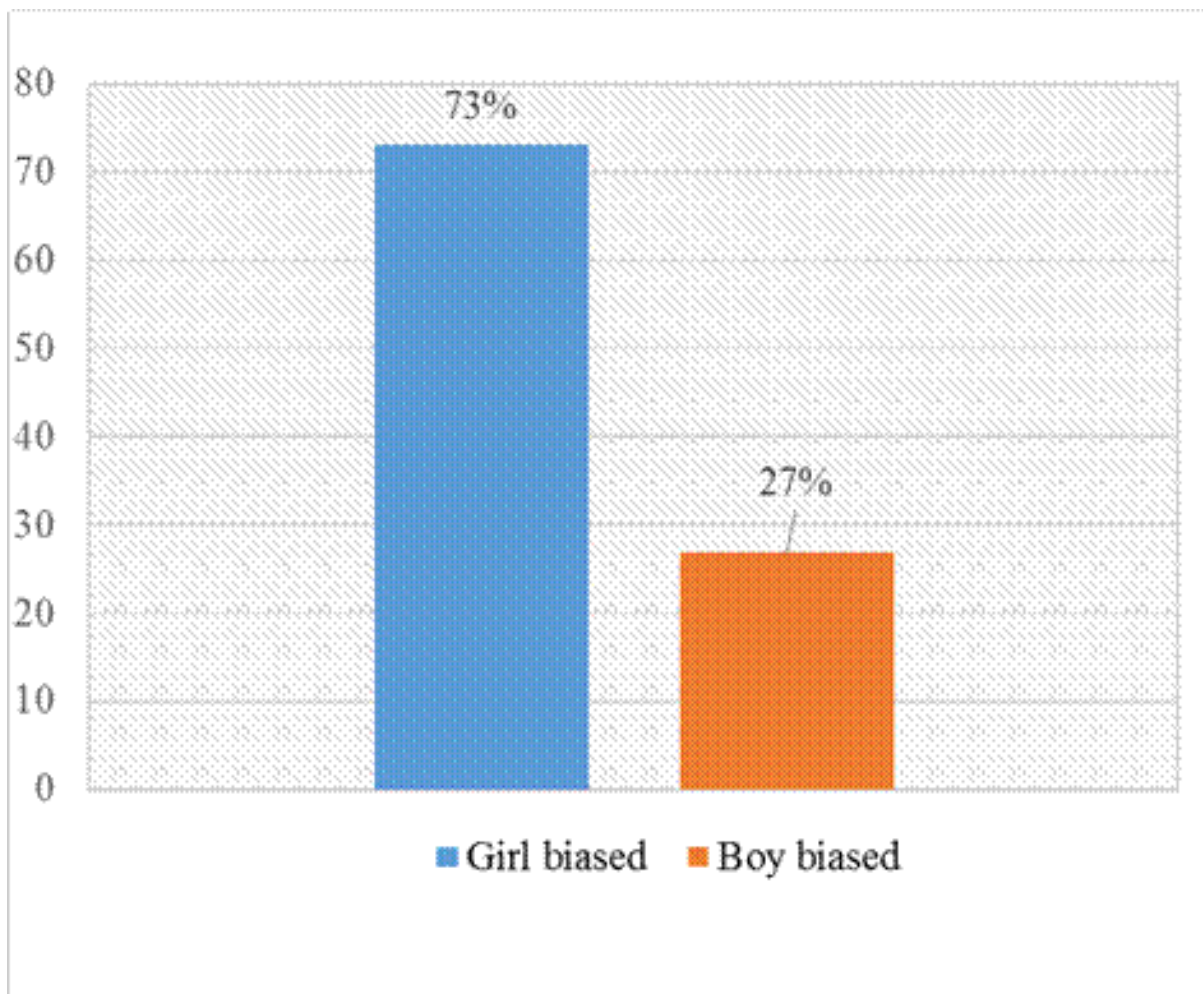


Figure 4.31: Gender Effects on Work Distribution in the Household

Source: Field Data (2010)

Figure 4.31 above quantitatively clarifies how gender affects the distribution of work. 73 percent (155) of the respondents confirmed that the distribution of workload was girl biased. On the other hand, some 27 percent (57) indicated that workload was boy biased.

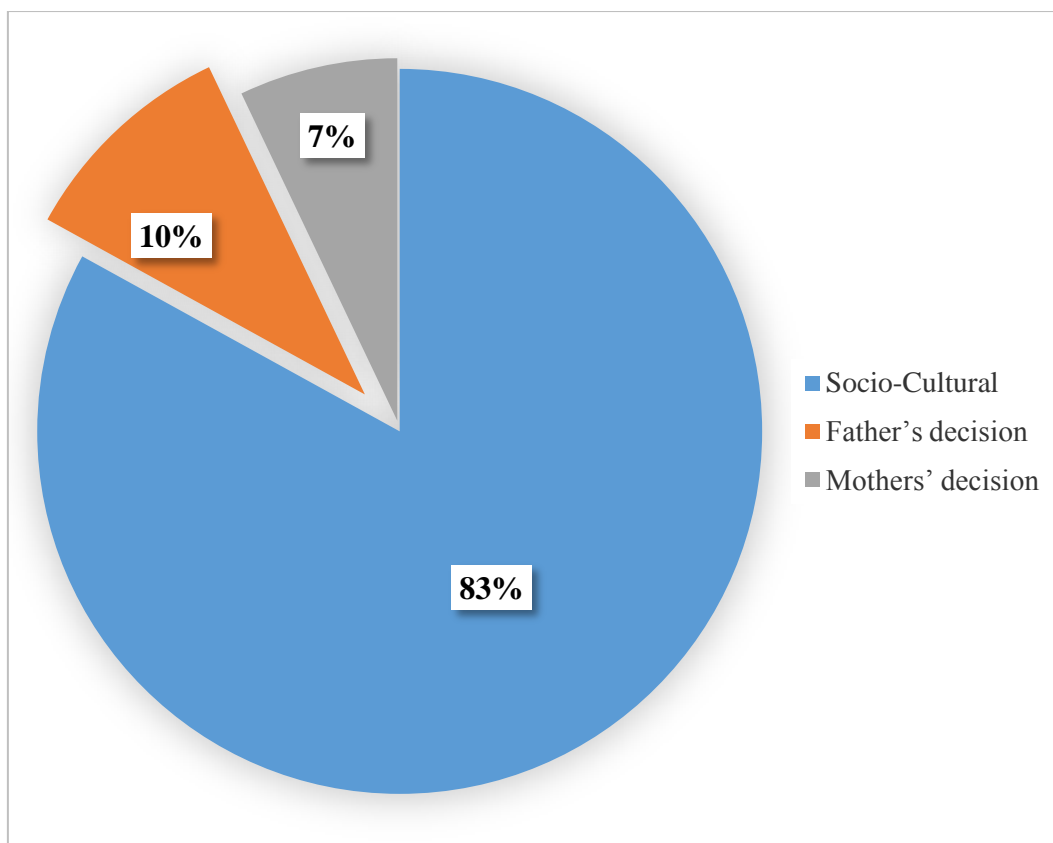


Figure 4.32: Rationale for Division of Labour

Source: Field Data (2010)

Figure 4.32 above indicates quantitatively that the rationale for the division of labour was due to several reasons; socio-cultural taking the majority 83 percent (179) father's decision took 10 percent (17), while mothers' decision was supported by 7 percent (16) respondents. The implication of the above assertions is that division of labour is deep rooted in society and enforced through gender differentials in Kuria Sub-Counties. Thus, household heads are overseers in tobacco production, whereby both adults and grown children of all genders are expected to observe it.

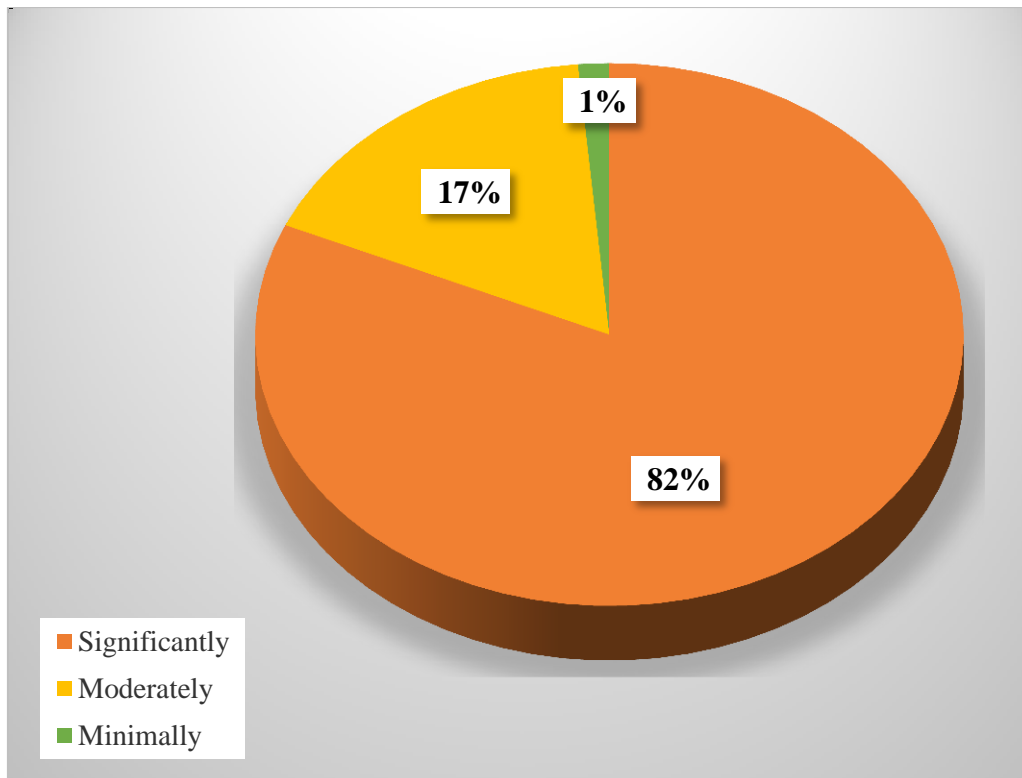


Figure 4.33: Effects of the Rationale on Children’s Gender Perception

Source: Field Data (2010)

The rationale for the division of labour according to Figure 4.33 above affected the child at 82 percent (173) moderately, 17 percent (36) significantly and 1 percent (3) minimally. The division of labour affected children in their perception of the other gender progressively. This is especially so in their attitudes towards household economy, duties and gender division of labour.



Plate 4.4: Members of a Household Sorting Tobacco Leaves in Kuria Sub-Counties

Date: Monday, 31st January 2011

Photographer: Principal Researcher

Source: Field Data (2011)

The above plate 4.4 illustrates a tobacco sorting activity in which a household of farmers work under a grass thatched shade, next to their grass thatched house in a Kuria Sub-County village. Both adults and children can be seen in the photograph. Scenes like this are quite prevalent in the region.

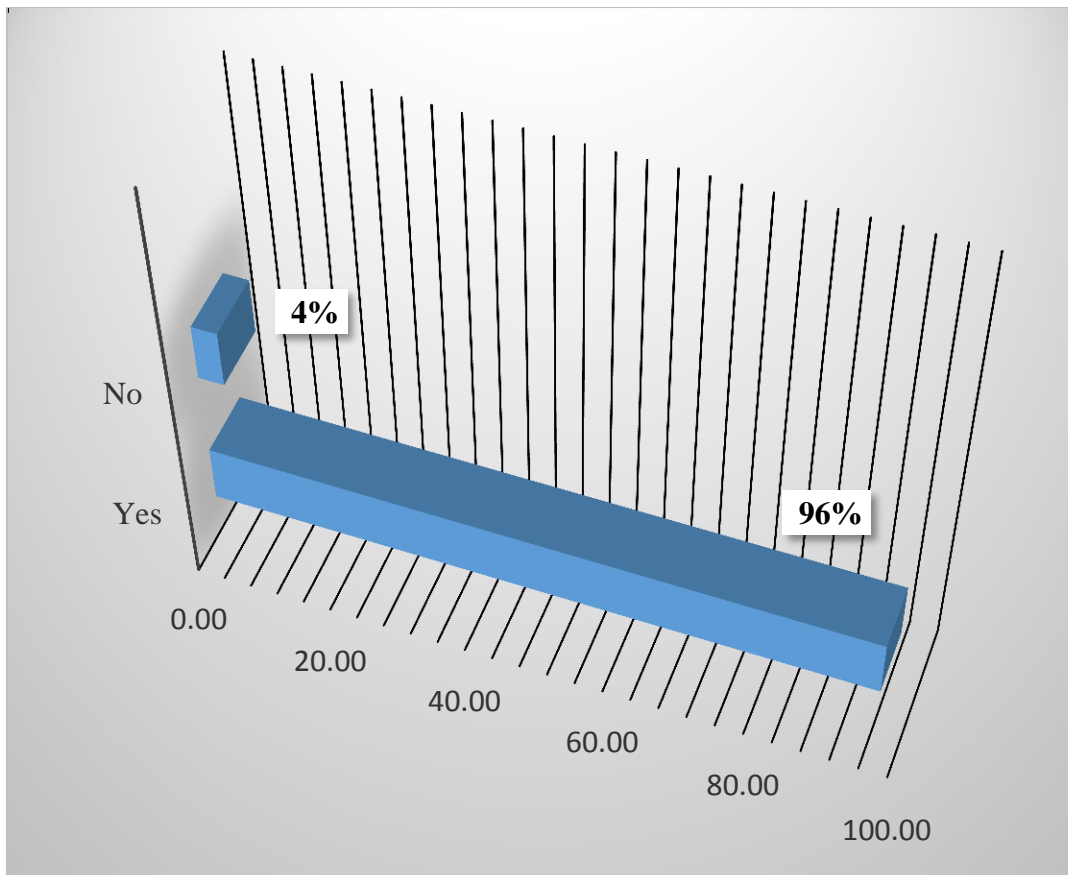


Figure 4.34: Children Benefited from Tobacco Income

Source: Field Data (2010)

Figure 4.34 above quantitatively indicates that children of tobacco farmers benefited from tobacco income. 96 percent (204) of the respondents concurred in this regard. Further, some 4 percent (8) asserted that their children did not benefit directly from tobacco income. The issue of children benefiting from tobacco income was posed to tobacco farmers, specifically household heads in order to gauge their reactions towards tobacco labour input of their children versus benefiting from the income accrued from the cash crop.

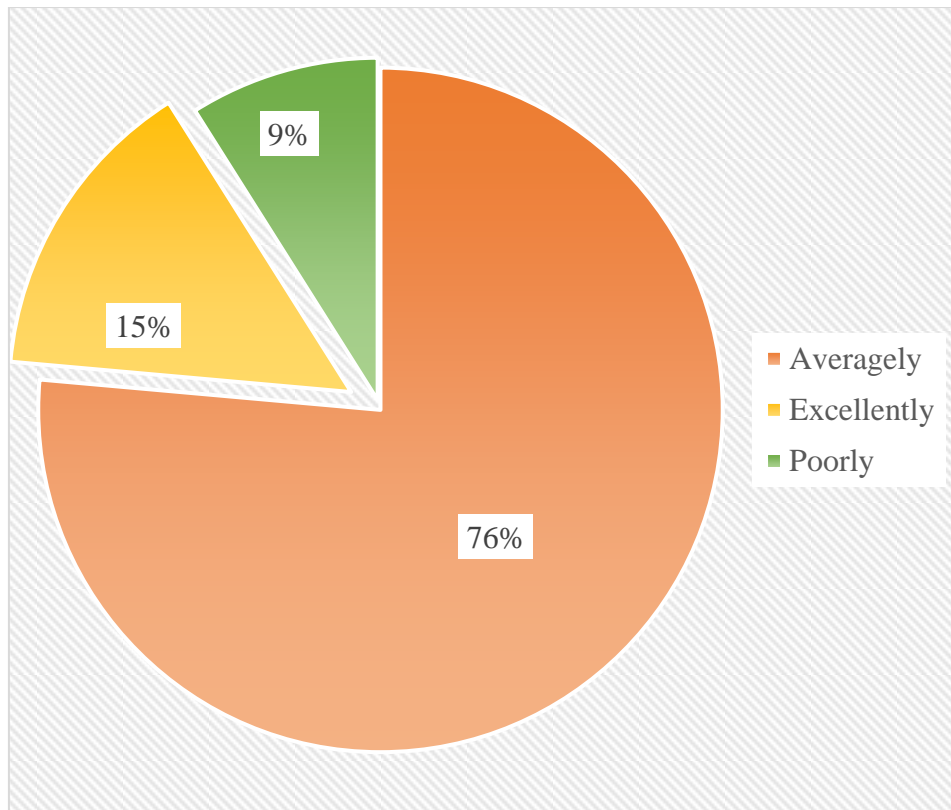


Figure 4.35: Extent of Children’s Welfare

Source: Field Data (2010)

As indicated quantitatively on Figure 4.35 above on the question about personal welfare, majority 76 percent (162) had the welfare taken care of averagely, 15 percent (31) excellently and 9 percent (19) indicated that it was poorly done. Household heads asserted that the welfare of their children was well taken care of, with majority indicating that it was done averagely. Thus, at the face value, household heads maintained that their children’s welfare was well taken care of.

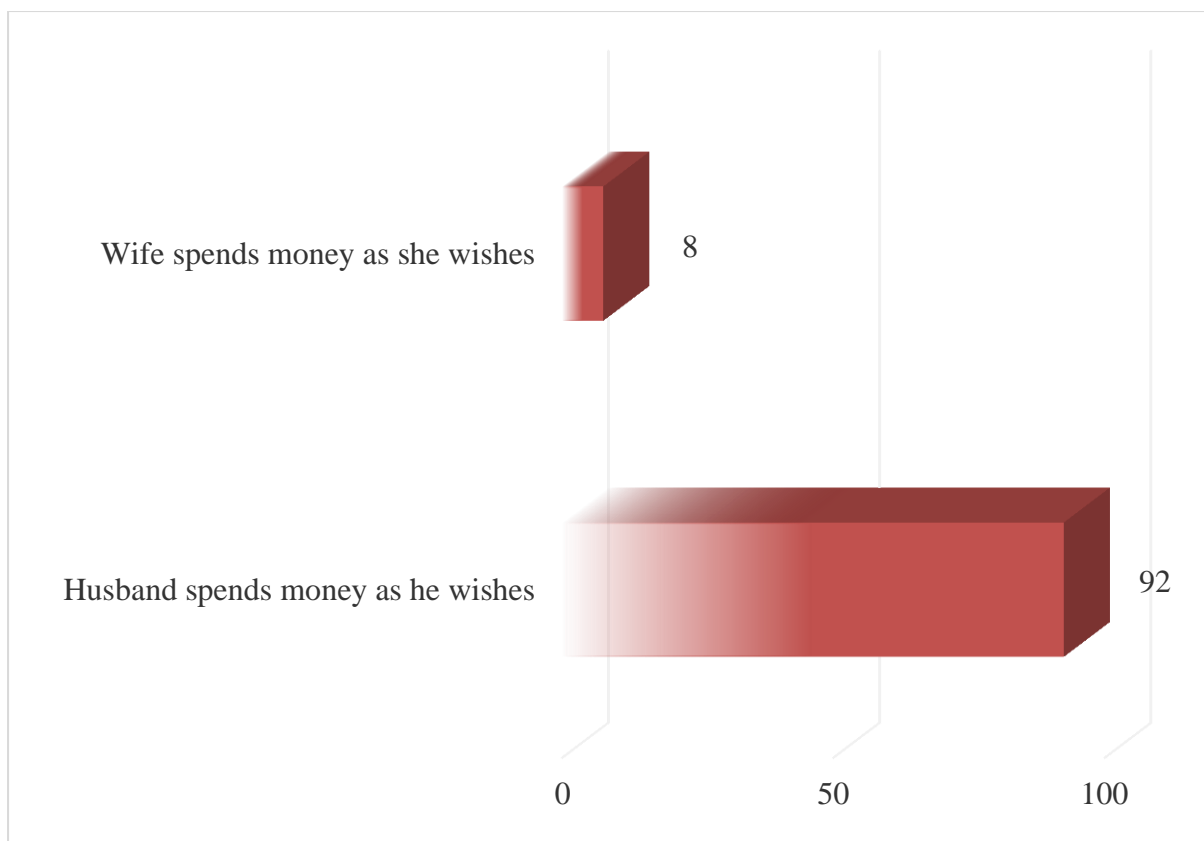


Figure 4.36: Reasons for Lack of Children’s Personal Welfare

Source: Field Data (2010)

According to quantitative Figure 4.36 above, the reasons as to why the child’s welfare was not taken care of were various, for instance 92 percent (196) of the respondents indicated that the income was spent by the male household head as he wished, with only 8 percent (16) of the respondents asserted that only the female head of the household spent the income as she wished. It is quite apparent in this rural setting that male household heads enjoyed significant discretion in income spending as opposed to their female counterparts. Therefore, the weaker section in the household economy mainly women and children did not have a voice in the household.

Box 4.14: Gender Positions and their Effects on the Welfare

Date: Monday, 17th January 2011

Area: Nyabasi West - Nyamutiro

Size of the group: 8 participants

Highest Educational levels: Degree

Lowest educational level : Seconadry Certificate

Age bracket: 24- 67 Years

Gender: Both male and female participants

Findings:

“Abaana nguturia baare bokong’u komeremo ge emogondo hamwi na ka, nkohabwa baare igiabamura na igiabaiseke guikumbati. Amang’ana ga abasacha na abakari ngosombora gare abaana bayo bokong’u”

Children were instrumental in tobacco farming and household chores. They were allocated work according to their genders. Gender relations at household affected children’s welfare in the household.

“Abasacha abaaruru tebakotomera ichimbiria chirikumbati kobaana baabo buya ka hano hai”

Male dominance in many instances, especially in the usage of tobacco money is a problem in children’s welfare in this community.

“Abakungu abarruru tebaana egambo ka hano hai, nkunyahereka bare bokongu hamwi na abaana baabo”

There is widespread female inability to raise their voices on welfare problems, therefore women and children suffer a lot.

Source: Field Data (2011)

To advance qualitative input in this study, Box 4.14 above (translated into English from Kuria) describes clearly the gender dimension in matters of children’s welfare in the household in Kuria Sub-Counties. Some 3 responses were accrued from the FGD exercise in which both women and men participated well. Clearly, men dominated tobacco farming scene, whereas females were not able to challenge male status quo, thereby entailing that children’s welfare suffered. On the reverse, children’s contribution in tobacco labour in the household is not in doubt as attested in Figures 4.29 and 4.30 above respectively. Each gender had workload assigned to it at the household. What is in question is the welfare

parameters extended to children who are a source of farm labour. Then it seems fair to underline that male dominance in decision making and income spending discretion is affecting children's welfare.

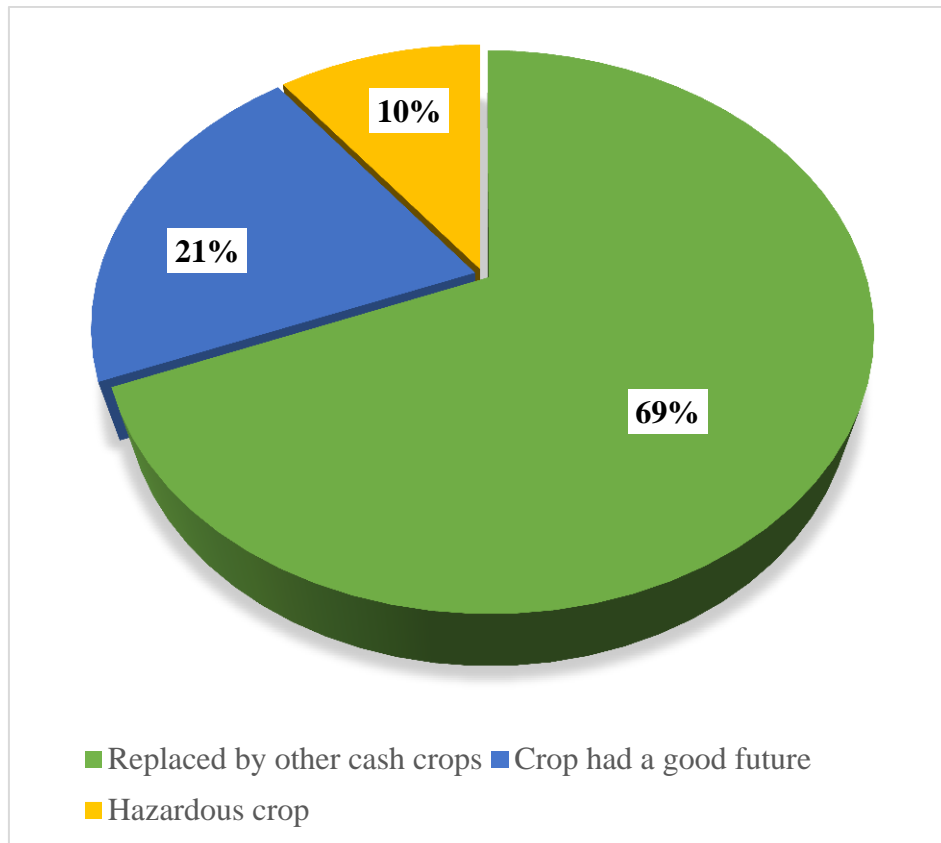


Figure 4.37: Opinion on the Future of Tobacco Farming

Source: Field Data (2010)

Figure 4.37 above quantitatively outlines respondent's opinions towards the future production of tobacco in the region. At 69 percent (146) the respondents contended that tobacco needed to be replaced by other cash crops. They did not feel that tobacco had a bright future. A few, some 21 percent (44) thought the crop had a good future in terms of earnings and others 10 percent (22) strongly felt tobacco was hazardous crop thus requiring replacement. The above illustration indicates that majority of the respondents felt tobacco should be replaced by other crops as a way of mitigating the problems incurred in tobacco farming. As will be illustrated in Figure 4.38 below in the subsequent segment the farmers feel the multinationals were exploiting them.

Table 4.16: Companies Involved in Tobacco Farming

	Frequency	Percent
Alliance one	100	47
Mastermind	64	30
BAT (K) Ltd	48	23
Total	212	100

Source: Field Data (2010)

According to Table 4.16 above, quantitatively the major company dealing with tobacco in Kuria Sub-Counties was Alliance One standing at 47 percent (100) followed by Mastermind at 30 percent (64) and BAT at 23 percent (48) being the least. Basically, three multinationals dealt with the crop at the time of the study. Each had a section of farmers that were contracted to produce tobacco crop for them.

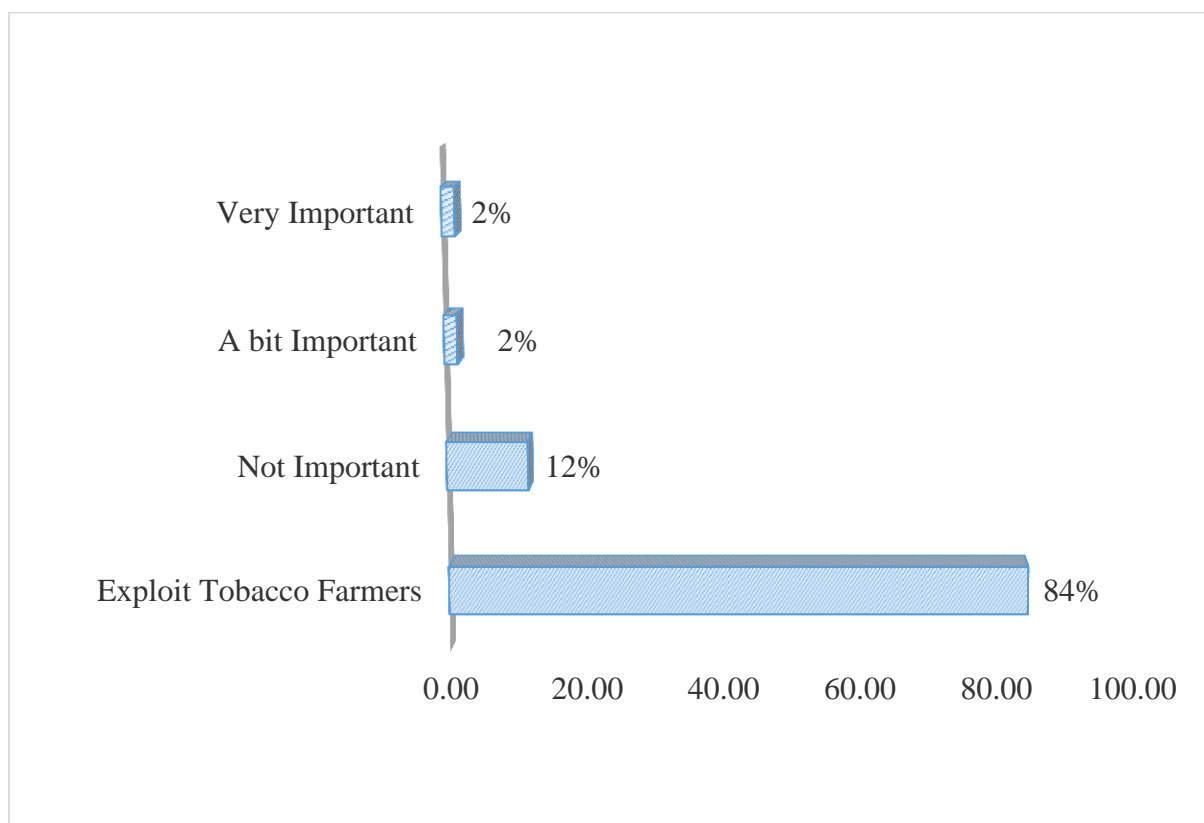


Figure 4.38: Opinion on Tobacco Multinationals' Profiteering

Source: Field Data (2010)

Figure 4.38 quantitatively reveals that 84 percent (179) of the tobacco farmers did not see the importance of the multinationals other than either exploiting farmers, whereas 12 percent (25) asserting that the multinationals did not play an important role in their household economies. Another 2 percent (4) felt that the multinationals were significant in their household economies and another 2 percent (4) indicated that the multinationals were very important in the region. The general picture that emerges out of this illustration is that tobacco farmers were being exploited by tobacco multinationals. This assertion was complimented by FGD respondents (Box 4.15) who indicated that the multinationals did not pay them well for their household economies to flourish. Thus, there appears to be an economic struggle between the farmers and tobacco multinationals in Kuria Sub-Counties.

Box 4.15: Tobacco Companies’ Relations with Tobacco Farmers

Date: Wednesday, 19th January 2011
Area: Bwirege West - Makararangwa
Size of the group: 11 participants
Highest Educational levels: Diploma
Lowest educational level : Seconadry Certificate
Age bracket: 23 – 66 Years
Gender: Both male and female participants
Findings:
“Ichikambuni chino ngucha chire gutunyahara bookong’u, tutaguchituna. Amachomba niiga gachimaheere, korri gatutuuri tonge kunyaharora hamwi na abaana baito”
 Multinational tobacco companies were middlemen interested in making profits from us. They oppress us a lot. We don’t want them. There is need for intervention by authorities to stop this exploitation.
“Abarimi birikumbati nkunyahereka tore, siboono tetona ekegokora hai”
 Farmers are exploited by multinational companies but had no alternative way out of this situation.
“Abarimi birikumbati mbana isina iyakuguria irikumbati reebo ka hano”
 There are tobacco market force related problems that all farmers face in this community.

Source: Field Data (2011)

The matter of tobacco multinationals and their relations with farmers was also discussed in FGDs. Box 4.15 above (translated into English from Kuria), indicates qualitatively that farmers perceived the multinationals as exploitative. Both male and female respondents agreed with this assertion respectively. In addition, Figure 4.36 concurs with this assertion thereby lending a significant contribution to this argument. Hence, this study can fairly suggest that tobacco multinationals had deeper unresolved contract farming dimensions with local farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties.

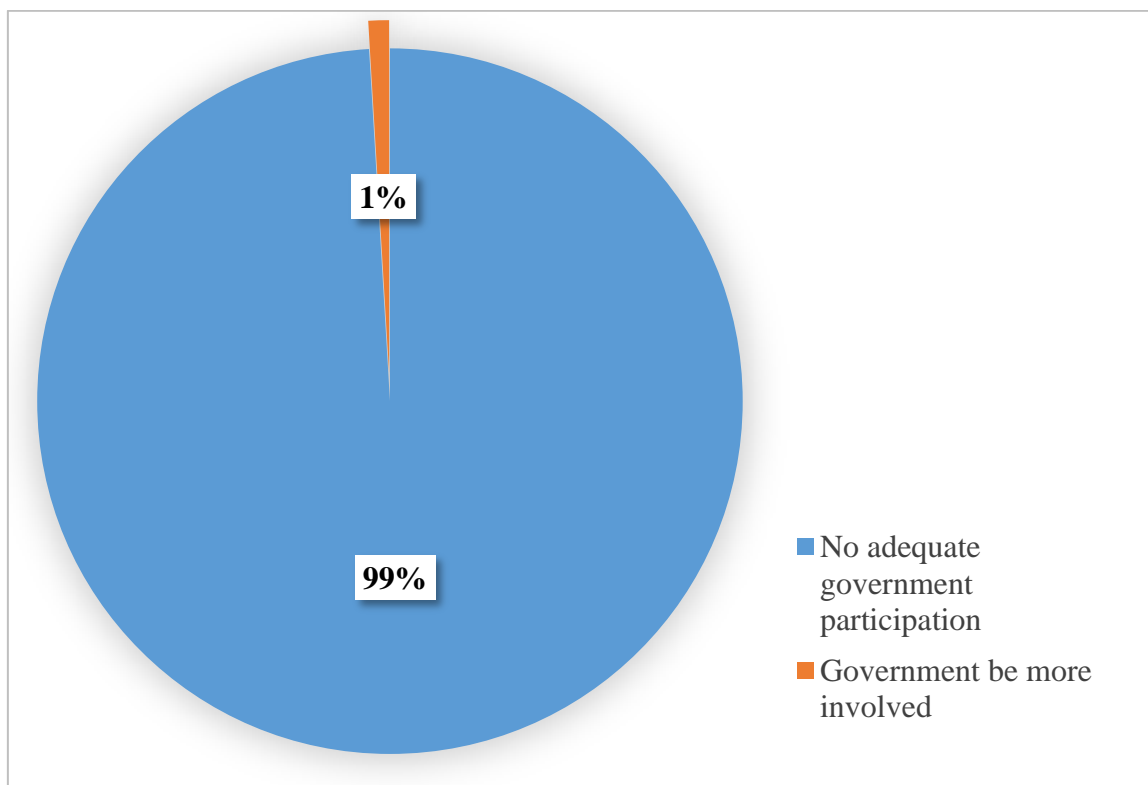


Figure 4.39: Opinion on Government’s Role in Tobacco Farming

Source: Field Data (2010)

Figure 4.39 above quantitatively indicates that 99 percent (210) of the respondents contended that there was no adequate government participation in the tobacco production industry and another 1 percent (1) one respondent asked that the government be more involved and protects them from exploitation from multinational companies. The specific image that clearly emerges from the above illustration is that the government of Kenya has insignificant role in tobacco production, especially in terms of controls on both farmers and multinationals. This is a matter that calls for academic probe in the future.

Box 4.16: Role of Government in Tobacco Farming

<p>Date: Wednesday, 19th January 2011</p> <p>Area: Bwirege West - Makararangwa</p> <p>Size of the group: 11 participants</p> <p>Highest Educational levels: Diploma</p> <p>Lowest educational level : Seconadry Certificate</p> <p>Age bracket: 23 – 66 Years</p> <p>Gender: Both male and female participants</p> <p>Findings:</p> <p><i>“Amachomba gatagokora gento keregioswi, nkonyahareka tore bokong’u hano, totakabaroche hai”</i></p> <p>Government is absent, they are unhelpful, in fact farmers have never seen any Government officers in the area.</p> <p><i>“Amachomba gatagokora emeremo geebo buya, abarimi birikumbati nkunyahareka bare bokong’u”</i></p> <p>Government is not playing its role in tobacco farming activities, especially in the intervention of the suffering of tobacco farmers as expected.</p> <p><i>“Amachomba gasache guturia abarimi birikumbati banyorre kere bagutuna more”</i></p> <p>Government should try to intervene in this issue to help farmers realize their aspirations.</p>
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Source: Field Data (2011)

Finally, Box 4.16 above, excerpted and translated into English from Kuria from FGDs, describes the peculiar situation GoK machineries find themselves in. To begin with, both female and male respondents indicated that GoK was not playing its role in this economic activity. Thus, farmers were left at the mercy of tobacco multinationals who employed exploitative schemes on the famers they contracted to produce tobacco for them. All the 3 abovementioned multinationals (Table 4.16) articulate the same characteristics in dealing with farmers. On the other hand, Figure 4.39 above adds to this postulation by outlining that GoK role was wanting in this scenario.

4.6 Discussions

4.6.1 Introduction

This section discusses the findings of this study as aligned to the three objectives envisaged earlier. It begins with the demographic characteristics of the population and eventually discussing most outstanding findings borne out of the three sub-sections of this study including the questions and responses on intra-household gender-labour relations in tobacco production and their effects on socio-economic welfare of the household, access to resources in tobacco production and their effects on socio-economic welfare of the household and differentials between female and male headed households among tobacco farmers and their effects on socio-economic welfare of the household in Kuria Sub-Counties that the study set out to find.

Basically, there will be discussions of the findings including those obtained from interview schedules and FGDs. All the assertions will be intertwined with secondary sources, for example, literature from scholarly authorities and the two theories utilized in this study in order to systematize the discussions. This is expected to bring into fore the thematic relationship between empirical findings and existing academic knowledge, thereby filling up knowledge gaps found in the study. This will be particularly instrumental in addressing the essence of the three specific study objectives. In addition, this sub-section will be helpful in strengthening the sociological perspective of this study based on diverse findings which were indicative of the intensity of gender-labour relations, socio-economic challenges in tobacco production and households' welfare parameters as the end result.

4.6.2 Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

Dynamics within the households' demographics were established and illustrated in the findings. For instance, majority of the respondents were male, while minorities were female. In addition, majority of the respondents had primary level of education, with few that had attained secondary education, while a meager number had not acquired formal education. Additionally, findings indicated that all the respondents had minimum and maximum age groups of between 20-59 years. Thus, the population in question was youthful and presumably productive in many rural activities. Further, findings illustrated that all the respondents of the study had gone through marriage, a few were widowed, while a handful were divorced. In addition, an overwhelming majority of the household heads were male and just a small number of households were female heads thereby demonstrating that Kuria Sub-

Counties were patriarchal. Majority of the households had monogamous marriages, while quite a number were polygynous. Polygyny in this case seemed to be commonly practised in Kuria Sub-Counties. This was also supported by FGD findings which indicated that polygyny was widely practiced in the region. In addition, a reasonable number of household heads were polygynous, in which case, some married due to socio-cultural prestige, others due to socio-economic reasons, while others had polygynous marriages because it was traditionally acceptable. Basically, marriage, apart from the obvious life partnership, it also ensured continued presence of farm partner in Kuria Sub-Counties. This assertion was corroborated by Mincer and Polachek, (1962) who affirmed that although men are generally considered as the family's breadwinners, wives are often compelled to supplement male earnings to ensure the survival of the household.

Moreover, majority of the respondents had children in school, with most of the children attending primary schools, while a few attended secondary schools and a meager number attended University level of education. There were those who did not attend school due to various reasons, for instance some were very young. Thus, there emerged a pyramid in education stratum, one in which majority were at the base, that is primary education and continued to narrow up quickly into University. This seems to be supported according to a study by WHO (2007) which describes that Kuria Sub-Counties in the former 'Nyanza province' that produces the largest amount of tobacco is also the poorest region in Kenya. It seems then that this poverty status had significant implications on economic advancement of the Sub-Counties.

The duration of tobacco growing varied with majority having farmed tobacco for short term duration, a few had done the farming for medium term period and minority had done tobacco farming for long term duration. A Plate has sufficiently illustrated this particular activity, whereby most tobacco farmers have been in the activity for several years. The plate displays lush green small scale tobacco farms. These findings agree with a study carried out by Holmberg et al (1991) which indicated that in the early 1990s, almost 40 percent of the Africa's land surface had been converted into cropland and permanent pasture, of particular importance is the need to understand the contribution of the various factors such as expansion of agriculture in society. Thus, tobacco farming and expansion proved to be a long term agricultural economic activity for most of the farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties.

4.6.3 Intra-Household Gender-Labour Relations in Tobacco Production

Gender-labour relations in tobacco production exhibited particularly peculiar characteristics that findings of this study confirmed. Basically, traditional Kuria labour practices entail that each gender as well as each age category performed different household economic roles. Besides, it also emerged in FGD findings that children played a major role in tobacco production. On the other hand, men also did their part of labour but largely below the contributions made by women in the farm activities. All the respondents agreed with this assertion. In fact, this factor was even augmented by the rampant polygynous arrangements in Kuria Sub-Counties as indicated by Odhiambo (1997) who asserted that, forms of women slavery in tobacco farms have been reported in tobacco growing zones. In another practice, short term marriages in the form of concubines were highly practiced. In such settings, women were exploited in terms of their labour input by their male counterparts in tobacco farming.

In addition, FGD findings indicated that one gender, women, were made to work harder by their male counterparts, thus, making them an important source of labour at household level and without corresponding welfare benefits as indicated in the findings. Moreover, this fact was echoed by Tobisson (1986) who highlighted the spectacle in rural Kuria, quoted: “the toilsome plight of Kuria women as compared to men in agricultural undertakings is in fact, widely known in Tanzania. The harshness of Kuria men was institutionalized, in the sense that it was men who make women work harder in tobacco farms”. Apparently, female labour supply was on high demand in Kuria Sub-Counties. In this regard, specific tasks that were performed by men, who mainly performed herding followed by gardening. In addition, FGD findings indicated that this was true thereby corroborating that division of labour was actively gendered in Kuria Sub-Counties amongst tobacco farmers. The findings also indicated that women performed specific tasks. For instance, women did gardening as part of their daily routines, while household chores occupied another reasonable amount of their time. They also had very little time for leisure, which indicates that they were burdened by work in the household. Also, several plates clearly exhibit this image in which women are at the centre of tobacco crop husbandry. This assertion is supported by the works of ILO (2001) which indicate that women work for long hours, stooped and for very little pay sometimes being paid only each six-month or yearly, going without education and suffering from the adverse health consequences of farming tobacco. These facts are also echoed by FGD findings which

expressed how gendered dimension affected household labour allocations and relations significantly.

Drawing from findings, the distribution of work had bias on females as opposed to male participation in tobacco production. Thus, it was women who laboured in tobacco production the most. Besides, FGD findings broadened the understanding of gender difficulties in tobacco production, especially in socio-economic fronts. This involves areas such as participating in tobacco production in gendered labour environment on long term basis, with unpleasant welfare consequences in the household, in which women were highly disadvantaged. The above assertions are supported by Evenson et al (1980) who asserts that married women's labour supply could be assumed to be determined along with that of other household members in an effort to maximize household welfare. In furtherance to the above, majority of the respondents agreed to the fact that times had changed, which could be attributed to the advent of tobacco production in the Sub-Counties since the 1960s. Also, most of the respondents asserted that tobacco affected intra-household gender-labour relations. This was mirrored in FGD findings which affirmed that cultural gender-labour input had intensified in tobacco production and with a special bias on women.

The same contentions were complimented by Gronau (1980) who in his proposition expected the supply of labour to increase with the rise in wage rate, unless the income effect of wage change outweighed its substitution effects. The effects were significant in the household. Further, tobacco labour input of men was meager compared the women. Majority of the respondents indicated that the rationale affected them significantly. These findings were also supported by the Marxist theory of dialectic materialism in which Marx postulated that under the capitalist mode of production, the struggle materializes between the minority (the bourgeoisie) who own the means of production, and the vast majority of the population (the proletariat) who produced goods and services (Marx, 1849). Thus, in this context men were the strong and women the weaker gender in Kuria Sub-Counties. Men tended to manage women's labour input. Indeed, tobacco farmers were confronted by traditional Kuria gender notions in the divisions of household labour. The findings therefore exemplified that women were the leading producers of labour force in tobacco production at household level. Therefore, there was full corroboration of this point of view between findings, literature sources and theoretical perspectives that were utilized in this study.

4.6.4 Access to Resources in Tobacco Production and its Effects on Socio-Economic Welfare

This objective focused on the resource dynamics within the household as informed by tobacco production in Kuria Sub-Counties. The findings of this study indicated various dimensions at the household level that were necessarily problematic. Further, findings revealed that majority of tobacco farmers were small scale farmers and had tobacco farms below 5 acres, while some had land sizes between 5 and 9 acres. This was corroborated by FGD findings which indicated that most of the tobacco farmers were small scale farmers and manifested in male headed households. This may be attributed to two factors: Firstly, land size holdings in Kuria were on the decrease due to land sub-divisions in which sons traditionally inherited land from their fathers. Secondly, due to the fear of handling large tobacco farms as it was labour intensive and many male heads of households do not have economic strength to pay labourers. This position was confirmed by Friedberg (1996) who argued that African rural economy was marked by strong gender decisions; each sex is assigned different workload. For example, ploughing, application of water, fertilizer, pesticide, transportation of seeds, repair of machinery are exclusively male Jobs. On the other hand, weeding, seed transplantation, unmechanized tasks, harvesting, etc are typically the domain of women. Thus, gendered household labour divisions existed significantly in Kuria Sub-Counties.

On the other hand, other studies have indicated that the market value per unit of tobacco leaf was three times higher than that of maize in this country. The picture was however reversed when the cost of inputs, such as labour were included. Maize farmers had two crops per year as opposed to one for tobacco (Kidane et al, 2014). This assertion puts in question tobacco activities in Kuria Sub-Counties as majorities were involved in tobacco farming, with less subsistence activities. In addition, most of the respondents practiced mixed farming, while the rest practiced subsistence farming. Therefore, this assertion was construed to be factual by FGD findings which found that farmers were dealing with tobacco as the major cash crop and other agricultural activities were minor. This was also supported by a literature sources which asserted that, women from tobacco estates were further disadvantaged in the access to resources. A report on the tobacco industry in India and Bangladesh exposed the realities of health, sexual and economic abuses faced by female workers (John and Vaite, 2002). Also, majority of the respondents indicated that decision making on income spending at the household was made by the husband only as opposed to that made by the wife or by both

husband and wife. This clearly demonstrates male dominance over women in regard to access to household resources. In addition, findings showed that majority of the respondents felt satisfied with tobacco earnings. On whether tobacco had improved the welfare status of the respondents, some respondents said that there was improvement, while a few disagreed. FGD findings also concurred with this assertion and further strengthened the study findings.

Further, findings showed how tobacco had improved educational status. In this case, the improvement referred to was reflected basically in primary school education and secondary school levels of academic attainments. So far, only a handful of youngsters managed to transition to college or university levels. In addition, many respondents asserted that tobacco farming had not improved education in the region. However, enrolment at primary school level was high and continued to drop progressively into the higher levels of education as indicated above. There existed gaps in education in Kuria Sub-Counties; which was clearly reflected in the low enrolments at higher levels. Majority of the respondents were primary school certificate holders or illiterate. This needs attention by all stakeholders in addressing the issue comprehensively, especially considering that the youth in this region seemed unable to access tobacco related resources to advance their welfare, especially in educational attainments.

Moreover, majorities of the respondents handling tobacco farming were supposedly affected by tobacco; both adults and children were affected in diverse ways. Majority of farmers suffered from fatigue due to long hours of labouring in tobacco farms. In addition, chest pains were the second significant health problem. Chest pains may presumably be attributed to a number of medical factors. This problem was also documented by the Campaign for Tobacco Free Kids (2001) which indicated that the chemicals used in tobacco farming had destructive consequences on maternal and fetal health, as noted in Kenyan workers and indigenous Huichole tribeswomen in Mexico, who experienced high rates of miscarriage and birth defects. In the case of Kuria Sub-Counties as indicated in the findings, the farmers couldn't access tobacco resources adequately in order to be attended in health facilities.

Further, findings indicated that majorities of the respondents were hurt at work at any given time in the crop husbandry cycle. Moreover, many of the respondents did not get medical attention. Many of the respondents deliberately decided not to go to hospital until and unless the injury was more pronounced. The level of perseverance was huge; majority of them did not get medical attention. All the above assertions were complimented by WHO (2008)

which for example indicates that in most cases the plucking of immature tobacco leaves, was unmechanized and was still done by hand. Labour intensity in tobacco production increased in the developing countries.

Thus, the labour intensity in tobacco production is in question; also, access to land resources was apparently patriarchal thereby yielding many gender challenges in Kuria Sub-Counties. This assertion was also corroborated by FGD findings which indicated that gender structures were an apparent issue in tobacco production. Also, the Marxist theory of dialectic materialism has informed the findings. For instance, there was an intersection of a number of unequal social relations based on hierarchically interrelated structures in Kuria Sub-Counties. These defined the historical specificity of the capitalist modes of production and reproduction which underline their observable manifestations (Martha, 2001). Thus, one such manifestation could be seen in health problems amongst tobacco farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties which were never taken seriously by tobacco multinationals and by extension, the farmers themselves. This coupled with many other socio-economic constraints are a testimony of the many challenges that tobacco farmers endure.

4.6.5 Differentials between Female and Male Headed Households among Tobacco Farmers

This was another key area of this study and the final objective that essentially differentiated between the male and female headed households in terms of welfare parameters. Findings of this study indicated that all the respondents 100 percent, had their children working in tobacco farms most of the time during the pick of each stage in tobacco husbandry. This was complimented by Rubert (1997) who found that work experiences, living conditions and social relations of thousands of African men, women, and children on European-owned tobacco farms in Zimbabwe were unacceptable. Further, during the study most of the farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties worked in tobacco nurseries while the rest sprayed fungicides on their seedlings in the farms. Work was usually staggered between the various stages of cultivation. However, their household welfare did not correspond to their gendered effort in tobacco production.

Furthermore, labour intensity in tobacco production was exemplified. Many of the respondents started work very early and completed it quite late, especially amongst the male headed households. Also, majority of the respondents asserted that the work was heavy. There was an emerging shift of the workload onto women and children who were the

imminent sources of labour in tobacco production. Findings of this study contended that there were gender effects on tobacco income distribution and utilization at the household. This assertion was echoed by Zarina and Davinder (2001) who indicated that the gender division of labour, unlike sexual differentiation between females and males as such, was socially constructed and was further reinforced by education, training and socialization of societal attitudes. The construction of the division of labour was based on the perception of women as being there to serve and care for the family and community at large.

The above result was also supported by FGD findings in which majority of the respondents agreed that gender relations affected household welfare. Gender intensely affected the distribution of tobacco income in Kuria Sub-Counties, particularly at the household level. For instance, many of the respondents affirmed that men spent the income as they pleased. Besides, welfare differentials between male and female headed households, especially in relation to the tobacco income began to emerge and were in fact well exemplified. Moreover, this position received support from Falkheimer (2009) who emphasized community-based approaches and informal communication systems in society. In fact, his assertions in the structuration theory integrated all organizational members' actions. Structuration theory revealed interesting ethical considerations relating to whether a social system should transform. Thus, the theory contends that the type of interrelations in Kuria Sub-Counties needed to be changed, in which case, there was need to do so. This argument was premised in the fact that times were changing in other social fronts in the contemporary era especially in Kuria Sub-Counties which were male dominated, suppressed women due local gender beliefs and practices, thereby leading to welfare inequality at the household level.

In addition, majority of the respondents indicated that female headed households had good welfare considerations. In addition, minority of the respondents indicated that such was excellent and while others confirmed that it was average. FGD findings also agreed with this finding, that female headed households benefited more in terms of household welfare. In fact, some respondents indicated that the socio-economic parameters were comparable between these two types of households. In the male headed households, members experienced more strict controls on labour and income compared to the female headed households that were more lenient in matters of labour control, income and welfare considerations. This assertion was supported by Halim and Hussain (1981) who, in a study in Bangladesh indicated that both rural women and men are active in productive work in and outside the household. Rural

women were responsible for agricultural and non-agricultural activities just like their male counterparts. They shared all activities as members of the same household or as workers/labourers elsewhere in addition to their usual household obligations. Thus, this confirmed that gender-labour relations and welfare parameters in male headed households in Kuria Sub-Counties were significantly problematic.

It also emerged from FGDs that female headed households enjoyed more rationality in regard to labour input and associated welfare considerations as illustrated in FGDs. This fact was reflected in other sources, which asserted the transformation of gender relations by empowering women to negotiate on their own behalf and increase economic influence in the household, consequently gave women more power in the household (Kantor, 2003). This was a support position which further indicated that women suffered in household labour structures in Kuria society. Further, majorities of respondents indicated that leisure time was significantly affected by tobacco work. Entire households especially amongst male headed households spent huge amounts of time in the farms and had very little or no leisure time was left at their disposal. However, men allocated themselves more leisure time compared to their female counterparts. The female headed households seem to have leisure time. All the respondents agreed that workload was allocated based on gender differentials. Besides, findings also indicated the type of work assigned to boys, which were mainly farm work and herding combined. Findings also showed the type of work assigned to girls, that were household chores and the labour input in tobacco farming was also quite heavy. It may be construed that the girl child was burdened up in household economic activities in comparison with their boy counterparts.

On the other hand, some of the respondents specified that workload was boy biased. Findings demonstrated how gender affected the distribution of work, majorities of the respondents confirmed that the distribution of workload was girl biased. This point of view was confirmed by Bernstein (1976) who found that the relations of production in the African rural context were highly gendered and that domestic modes were being destroyed through gender differentials at work, hence leaving its individual cells, the peasant household to confront capital in a direction of gender relations. Therefore, household workloads were stereotyped in Kuria Sub-Counties, to the disadvantage of women in the society.

Further, it emerged in FGD findings that this was a true point of view in Kuria Sub-Counties in which welfare of the household was challenged by patriarchal attitudes and notions.

Women were regarded as subordinates to men in all spheres of life. Findings of this study demonstrated that despite the challenges faced by farmers in tobacco production, they felt that they still benefited from tobacco income, as they had no other economic alternative. In fact, the overwhelming majorities of the respondents concurred with this perspective. Also, many of the respondents indicated that their children's welfare was taken care of averagely, some asserted that it was excellent, while a few indicated that it was poor. Thus, from an ordinary farmer's point of view, tobacco income seemed sufficient in the household economy.

Moreover, respondent's opinions towards the future production of tobacco in the region were outlined, in which most of the respondents contended that tobacco needed to be replaced by other cash crops as a way of mitigating the problems sustained in tobacco production. They did not feel that tobacco had a bright future. A few contended that the crop had a good future in terms of earnings, while others strongly felt that tobacco was a hazardous crop that required replacement. Hence, the findings of this study confirmed that tobacco was a contested crop. Accordingly, the major companies dealing with tobacco production in Kuria Sub-Counties in recent times included Alliance one as the leading tobacco multinational in the area, followed by Mastermind as the second in stake holding and BAT as the third biggest stakeholder. Thus, the hunt for tobacco crop was quite apparent in the region. No doubt, it was in pursuit of profits. According to FAO (2014) the value of tobacco leaf exports includes the value added for the handling of exports, such as grading, packaging and transporting. Comparing the unit price of a country's tobacco leaf export with the auction price from the trading floor showed that a significant portion went to intermediary processes and to middlemen. Consequently, the individual small land holder tobacco farmer typically lived in poverty. Therefore, the farmer's disadvantaged economic position was further supported by the above documentation. In fact, farmers suffered silently in this situation.

It is important to note that B.A.T was the original tobacco multinational company in the region, but was overtaken by the other multinationals amidst intense competition. However, majorities of tobacco farmers did not see the importance of the multinationals other than either exploiting farmers or were considered to be mere middlemen interested in profiteering from the farmers. This was further supported by FGD findings in which tobacco farmers expressed that the future of tobacco was in doubt in Kuria Sub-Counties.

Finally, findings indicated that an overwhelming majority of the respondents contended that there was no adequate government intervention in tobacco production. Farmers pleaded that the government needed to be more involved in this matter especially to protect them from exploitation by multinational companies. FGD findings further indicated that GoK was absent and was construed for not playing its role prominently as expected in Kuria Sub-Counties. The role of government in tobacco control was inescapable, for instance, Brazil's government had made attempts to reduce the production of tobacco, but had not had a successful systematic anti-tobacco farming initiative (FAO, 2003). Such measures could also be taken by the Kenyan government in a direction meant to mitigate challenges posed by tobacco farming in the region.

Therefore, the findings of this study combined with ideas postulated in various literature and theoretical sources have corroborated each other. Thus, substantial effort has been made to fill in knowledge gaps that emerged in the study. For instance, literature postulated that gender-labour relations were constructed traditionally at societal level, which got parcolated into the household level. This informs the division of labour respectively. On the other hand, findings established that these gendered divisions of labour were practiced significantly in Kuria Sub-Counties. Further, there were strong linkages between womens' participation in tobacco production and male dominance in household affairs. Basically, women and children emerged to be an important source of convenient labour at the household. This even meant that most men ventured into polygyny in order to multiply the number of hands needed in the intensive tobacco farm work. Ideally, gender-labour relations were made worse by tobacco production. This is because it was considered a delicate cash crop that demanded close attention all year long, in which case, men found it convenient to use household labour at no cost. Thus, the findings, the literature review and the theoretical framework strongly supported this study, particularly in regard to intra-household gender-labour relations versus welfare imperatives.

Besides, the economic status of the household, especially the access to resources and subsequent welfare were affected by the gender aspects. Male heads of the households were particularly more active towards the sale seasons of tobacco as opposed to farm work processes. They enjoyed freedom in accessing land resources, spent the income as they wished, most of the time putting their women at a disadvantage, deprivation and alienation from the income they participated in creating. Literature review concurred with the findings

of this study in this aspect, thereby asserting that tobacco farming could be a source of household welfare disparities. Welfare considerations emerged to be strongly differentiated between female and male headed households. The foundations of this rested in the patriarchal ideology in which men dominated and stereotyped women, thereby giving them a raw deal in the access to household resources, income and welfare parameters. Hence literature review and theoretical framework strongly complimented the findings of this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This section brings out the core of the study as presented in summary, conclusions and recommendations in this particular section. This is done as envisaged by Kombo and Tromp (2011) who stipulate that effective research summary is anchored on the findings of the study. This segment is also brief and brings out the contributions of the study to academia in a concise manner. Thus, the major highlights of this segment are in reference to the findings that are directly mirrored in the three objectives of this study. In addition, both theoretical and empirical conclusions are derived from the study and exemplified in this part. Aside, the recommendations of this study are drawn from the conclusions of the study and are sociologically deemed to offer useful information for policy makers, stakeholders and further scholarly studies.

5.2 Summary of the Findings

This is a three tier presentation, premised in the three objectives of this study and complimented by the findings herein. Thus, the findings address the supposition of this study as presented below.

5.2.1 Intra-Household Gender-labour Relations in Tobacco Production

This study objective was anchored in a question that sought to discern if tobacco production had significant effects on intra-household gender-labour relations in Kuria Sub-Counties. The objective informed a search for empirical data. The findings therein proved that tobacco production had significant effects on intra-household gender-labour relations and consequently socio-economic welfare at the household level. This has been illustrated in the findings of this study and has been corroborated by literature sources and theories utilized in this study as well. For instance, the distribution of household work had bias on women of which 91 percent of the respondents agreed, as opposed to men's household labour input at 8 percent, which was quite low in gender comparison. Specifically, tobacco labour input of men was meager; standing only at 28 percent compared to women at 72 percent, making them the major contributors of the tobacco labour force.

Moreover, majority of the respondents at 97 Percent confirmed that this gender rationale affected them at household level significantly. In addition, FGD findings came out strongly in support of this direction, in which majority of the respondents (men and women) agreed with this point of view. This was further complimented by Rubert (1997) who pointed out that the aspect of division of labour in tobacco production in Zimbabwean tobacco production process became burdensome especially to women who were used as a source of cheap labour while marketing was done mainly by men in a similar context.

This assertion was also confirmed by the Marxian tenets rooted in the value of any commodity being determined by the amount of labour incorporated in the commodity by the worker (Tong et al, 1989). Basically, this theory asserts that the labour of women was appropriated in relation to contemporary tobacco production in Kuria Sub-Counties. Hence, according to the findings, gender-labour relations were affected significantly by tobacco production at the household level, the chief sufferers being women who worked harder without rational corresponding welfare benefits accorded to them in the household.

5.2.2 Access to Resources in Tobacco Production and their Effects on Socio-Economic Welfare

This study raised a question: how did tobacco production affect access to resources and what are the socio-economic welfare repercussions to households in Kuria Sub-Counties? The findings of this study informed this objective comprehensively, in that there was a significant relationship between tobacco production and socio-economic challenges in tobacco farmers households. This was illustrated by the findings of this study, for instance, 98 percent of the respondents practiced mixed farming, the chief crop being tobacco while the rest, 2 percent practiced subsistence farming only. Besides, 77 percent of decision making regarding household expenditure from tobacco income was made by the husband alone as opposed to 10 percent that was made by the wife and 13 percent decisions made by both the husband and wife. This was contrary to the assertions above, in which women labored the most.

Thus, there were socio-economic struggles at the household level; an issue that was strongly manifested in FGD findings as well, in which majority of the respondents testified that socio-economic welfare of the household was imbalanced. Besides, literature amplified this fact, for instance, men were exploiting the work of women in the cash crop production. Consequently, they still left the basic costs of production of labour through subsistence

production and other activities of women. Such views were supported by (Monsted et al, 1980). Another contribution was theoretical, in whose scheme Marxism asserts that employers pay workers only for their labour power without paying them for their actual expenditure of human energy and intelligence that was taken out of them and transferred into the commodities they produced. This was necessarily exploitative (Tong et al, 1989). Hence, the households' income flow and welfare was affected significantly by tobacco production.

5.2.3 Differentials of Female and Male Headed Households among Tobacco Farmers

This study investigated the question: was there a significant relationship between tobacco production and welfare differentials between male and female headed households in Kuria Sub-Counties? This study found that there were significant differentials between these two types of households as illustrated in the findings of this study. For instance, FGD findings illustrated that the welfare of female headed households were better than those of male headed households. Moreover, the findings corroborated this assertion, for instance, 63 percent of the respondents affirmed that husbands spent the income as they pleased, another 75 percent indicated that female headed households had good welfare situation in comparison to male headed households.

Therefore, an interesting picture emerges here, that male headed households could be suffering in welfare dimensions. This was further corroborated by literature, asserting that women in Congo control the entire process of production from price setting negotiation to marketing. Women were found to hide portions of profits from their husbands by storing monies in kitchen pots (Mianda, 1996). Therefore, this was another indicator of the extent of gender differentials in socio-economic welfare in households in Kuria society.

5.3 Conclusions

This sub-section offers both theoretical and empirical conclusions as informed by the findings of this study. Both the Structuration and Marxist theories were utilized in this study and are therefore utilized to inform the conclusions of this study.

5.3.1 Theoretical Conclusions

This study utilized two theories. For instance, the Structuration theory by Giddens (1984) puts emphasis on the recursive relationship between social structure and individual players in society, in which social structures shaped individuals and simultaneously, individuals shaped

the social structures. This theory embraced the transformative power of human action by insisting that any structural theory must be concerned with flexibility and actor's interpretation of their own lives. Other recent contributors to the theory included: Ridgeway (2000), Stones (2005) and Falkheimer (2009) who offered complimentary ideas to Structuration theory. Thus, this theory offers insight into understanding the socio-cultural realities amongst the tobacco farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties. This is especially in regard to the rigid gender structures that suppress women within the household's socio-economic welfare parameters. This is a fact which has been substantiated in the findings of this study in chapter four respectively.

Basically, this theory was premised in addressing social structures that were constructed by society in order to regulate human behavior and functions. Such constructions could also be deconstructed for the purpose of changing behavior into another social direction. Findings of this study indicate that tobacco production behaviors are deliberately put in place by men at the household level and society at large to give them various advantages while correspondingly disadvantaging women. Hence, the study findings agreed with and were supported by the Structuration tenets, most particularly, that such structures were created and imposed within the household based on patriarchal ideology. This was done to enable men control their women and children effectively. This was mainly witnessed in the case of gender-labour inputs and income outputs versus household welfare.

In addition, vital contributions have been derived from the Marxist theory of dialectic materialism, a critique of the capitalist mode of production, in which the struggle materialized between the minority who owned the means of production and the vast majority of the population who owned only their labour and produced goods and services within exploitative circumstances. Further, Tong et al (1989) postulated the tenets of the theory in economic aspects of capitalism. Accordingly, capitalism was primarily regarded as a system of exploitative power relations. In the capitalist tradition, the value of any commodity that was produced for sale was determined by the amount of labour incorporated in the commodity by the worker, plus the indirect labour stored in the artificial appendages. This was an important tenet in the capitalist system that particularly explained the gender concerns of this study.

Thus, the exploitative and unequal labour relations in the economic spheres based on dialectic materialistic approach were useful tenets applied in this study to explain the uneven gender-

labour relations in tobacco production in Kuria Sub-Counties. This was one in which the powerful class (men) exploited the labour of the weak class (women) and used the income accrued from the tobacco as they wished. This theory therefore played a crucial explanatory role in this study and stands accepted. The application of these aspects appropriately corresponded to the unequal gender-labour relations practiced in rural tobacco production as well as the exploitative schemes of the multinational tobacco companies operating in Kuria Sub-Counties.

5.3.2 Empirical Conclusions

This study affirmed that tobacco production significantly influenced gender-labour relations, especially considering the socio-cultural and socio-economic factors which in due course played an important role in the utilization of tobacco income at the household level. It emerged from the findings that, the more the cultural reverence the more the gender division of labour, and the more its functional ability, the more were the significant effects on households' economic welfare aspects. This study also established that high levels of illiteracy were a testimony to the underlying socio-economic problems in Kuria Sub-Counties, especially in relation with tobacco production. In addition, the division of labour in the farms became more gender arrogant as women took on tasks traditionally reserved for men in response to declining household gender relations and sensitivity. At the same time, household duties remained gender specific and men did not take on new responsibilities. Majority of women thought of themselves to be in a worse position relative to men in regard to gender-labour dimensions.

Besides, the findings of this study indicated that gender differentials in access to household resources increased gender difficulties. Patriarchal practices dictated that men were the undisputed owners of household property, especially land. Kuria husbands also increased pressure on wives to work even harder, especially in tobacco production without associated welfare benefits. At this juncture, it emerges that the welfare of female headed households were rated highly compared to that of male headed households as clearly established in the findings of this study. Thus, empirical findings clarified that women were significantly affected by tobacco production compared to their male counterparts in Kuria Sub-Counties.

5.4 Recommendations

This section presents recommendations based on findings of the study. Basically, policy recommendations are articulated and suggestions offered for further studies.

5.4.1 Recommendations for Intra-Household Gender-Labour Relations

This study established that Kuria household labour practices entailed that gender and age were important traditional factors in the division of labour in tobacco production. It also had influence on household decision making process. The ultimate significant effect in this scenario was on socio-economic status and welfare status at household level, with skewed gender dimensions in which men were at the helm of household affairs. Thus, there is need for government of Kenya, NGOs and other stakeholders to take adequate consideration households as the pillar of society. This should essentially culminate in creating mass awareness, to demonstrate that there is need to abandon archaic cultural practices influencing work and gender processes and embrace modern values that are gender cohesive and beneficial to the entire household and society at large. This can be realizable through policy formulation and advocacy that are gender wealthy and with positive social inculcations for society. This proposition is premised in the fact that, these are the agents of socialization that can impact positively on the masses. For instance, in recent times, Kenya is witnessing historical and constitutional gender changes, which are strongly encouraged through findings articulated by this study.

5.4.2 Access to Resources in Tobacco Production and Socio-Economic Welfare

Findings of this study indicate that people in Kuria society were hard working, especially in agricultural production. This study also realized that the alarming element in this regard was the double exploitation experienced by tobacco producers. For instance, men exploited their women at household level and tobacco multinationals further exploited both of them at the household level, thereby making huge profits. The end result of this being impoverishment of peasants at the household level. Hence, this study strongly recommends that key players in Kenya's economy should be able to articulate a national position regarding agricultural production processes, which would entail looking at policies more holistically so as to address the various inadequacies founded in the socio-economic life of farmers and in the entire society. In addition, such policies should crucially look into mechanisms that may uplift the society from poverty, especially the weaker gender in society, such as the women tobacco farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties.

5.4.3 Differentials between Female and Male Headed Households among Tobacco Farmers

The findings of this study asserted that tobacco farming involved a lot of household labour, income and welfare issues. For instance, farmers worked in the farms unprotected, in dealing with pesticides, fumigants, etc. The study also established that education being the greatest socio-economic equalizer in society had not been given priority in Kuria Sub-Counties. Moreover, households' welfare suffered amongst tobacco farmers, with clear differentials between male and female headed households. Thus, the formulation of welfare policies will go a long way in improving farmers' households to be balanced and considerate in this regard. All stake holders should be encouraged and called upon to play their roles positively by socializing such values to tobacco peasants and general public.

5.5 Areas for Further Study

This study managed to address three objectives that it set out to investigate in tobacco production. Those were believed to influence household labour relations, socio-economic and household welfare livelihoods in contemporary Kuria society. Moreover, the findings of this study will go a long way in informing new knowledge in academia. On the other hand, during data collection, it was realized that there are areas of interest that need to be investigated. Such knowledge gaps need to be filled up by new knowledge. This assertion is based on the strength that, no one scholar or discipline can exhaustively cover all such areas of study in a single study effort. Thus, listed below are areas envisaged for further research.

Firstly, there is extensive need to study the dimensions of child labour, health problems and food security in conjunction with tobacco production. Further, during the study, it was realized that most of the farmers' effort go into tobacco production, almost at the expense of household subsistence and general welfare. Hence, there is need to undertake research in this aspects.

Aside, educational attainments were low in Kuria Sub-Counties, with very few individuals pursuing higher studies. Majority of the farmers had only primary school education and many being illiterate. There is also need to do study in this sphere so as to bring new knowledge explaining this phenomenon. Finally, polygynous marriages which are commonly practiced in the contemporary Kuria Sub-Counties among tobacco farmers should be studied.

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APPENDICES

Appendix i: Checklist

This section was utilized during the pilot survey in the area of study. The insights obtained in this regard informed the formulation of the study interview in appendix III respectively. The following spheres were checked:

Geographical location

Socio-economic activities

Resident population

Average family size

Average number of workers per family

Average family income

Housing units

Working population

Distribution of workers per gender and age group

Basic agricultural infrastructure

Schools (public - private, number of students)

Health centers (number, types of services)

Public administration premises

Arable land and Irrigated land

Tobacco cultivation

Area of land cultivated with tobacco

Distribution of tobacco plots per area

Number of tobacco farmers

Income from tobacco cultivation

Distribution of tobacco farmers per gender

Number of children working in tobacco cultivation

Constraints facing children in tobacco farming (gendered)

General constraints facing tobacco adult farmers (gendered)

Appendix ii: Interview Schedules

Location in Kuria.....Household number.....

This interview schedule is divided into four segments, namely: background information and the three sections for specific objectives of the study respectively. This will streamline the filling in of information thereby obtaining required data for the study.

Background Information

1). What is your gender?

Male

Female

2). How old are you?

Below 20

Between 20-29

Between 30-39

Between 40-49

Between 50-59

Above 59

3). What is your marital status?

Single

Married

Widowed

Separated

Divorced

4). Who is the head of the household?

Male

Female

5). What is the number of your family members?

None

Few

Average

Many

6). Are you in a polygynous household?

Yes

No

7). If yes, why have the polygynous marriage?

For socio-cultural prestige

For socio-economic reasons

8). What is your educational status?

Elementary level

Secondary level

Tertiary level

University level

9). Are your children in school?

Yes

No

10). If yes, at what level of education?

No formal Education

Primary level

Secondary level

College level

University level

11). If not, give reasons for not sending your children to school.

Don't know the value of education

They have to work in the farm

12). How long have you been growing tobacco?

Below 1 year

Between 1 – 5 years

Between 6 – 10 years

Between 11- 15 years

Above 15 years

Intra-household gender-labour relations in tobacco production

1). In retrospect, how was work shared in the family according to your traditional culture?

- Men performed particular tasks
- Women performed specific tasks
- Children are assigned different tasks
- Men, women and children worked as a family

2). Please indicate the time spent in tasks performed by men?

Task	Time spent in hours
Gardening	
Herding	
Hunting	
Household chores	
Leisure	

3). Please indicate the time spent in tasks performed by women?

Task	Time spent in hours
Gardening	
Herding	
Household chores	
Child care	
Leisure	

4). Do you think contemporary times have changed gender dimension in the distribution of work in the household?

Yes

No

5). If yes, how?

Its male biased

Its female biased

Its child biased

Creates family labour divisions

6). Do you think tobacco farming has further affected your intra-household labour relations?

Yes

No

7). If yes, how?

Men are made to work harder than before

Women are made work harder than before

Children are made to work harder than before

The entire family is made to work harder

Others.....

8). What is the rationale for such divisions?

Biological differences mean different assignments

Socio-culturally approved

Others.....

9). How has such rationale affected you?

Significantly

Moderately

Minimally

Others

10). Is it true that tobacco has led to concubinage/polygyny?

Yes

No

11). If yes, explain.

The easy way to solve tobacco labour needs.

It's part of the family expansion aided by tobacco income.

Others.....

12). Can you mention what bothers you most in tobacco work?

Long working hours

Can't enjoy the benefits

Access to resources in tobacco production and their effects on household's socio-economic welfare

1). What is the approximate size of your farm under cultivation?

Below 5 acre

Between 5-9 acres

Above 9 acres

2). Which are the main land use activities in your farm currently?

Mixed farming

Subsistence farming

Tobacco farming

3). What is the average annual income from tobacco cultivation?

Below (Ksh) 50,000

(Ksh) 50,000-100,000

(Ksh) 101,000-150,000

Above (Ksh) 150,000

4). Who makes decisions on how to spend the tobacco income?

The husband/Man

The wife/Woman

Both husband and wife

5). How much has the tobacco income improved your households' socio-economic status?

Significantly

Averagely

Minimally

No improvement

6). How do you rate your welfare status in relation to your efforts as a tobacco farmer?

Below average

Satisfactory

Wealthy

Others.....

7). Has the tobacco income improved your households' educational status?

Yes

No

8). If yes, explain.

Able to pay school fees effectively to secondary school level

Able to pay school fees effectively to college level

Others.....

9). Do you think your health status has been affected by tobacco in any way?

Yes

No

10). If yes, how?

Body fatigue

Chest pains

Miscarriage

Others.....

11). Have you ever been hurt at work?

Yes

No

12). If yes, what was the nature of the injury?

Cuts or bruises

Chemical Poisoning

Others.....

13). Did you get medical attention?

Yes

No

14). If not, why?

Lack of medical facilities

Lack of financial basis

Persevered

Others.....

Differentials between female and male headed households among tobacco farmers

1). Do you currently work in tobacco cultivation?

Yes

No

2). If yes, what types of work?

Planting

Weeding

Spraying

Others.....

3). On the average, what is the number of your daily working hours?

Nursery work hrs Crop pruning hrs

Transplanting hrs Harvesting hrs

Weeding hrs Curing hrs

Fertilizer application hrs Grading hrs

Insecticide application hrs Marketing hrs

4). When do you start work?

5:00 am

6:00 am

7:00 am

Others

5). When do you finish work?

5pm

6pm

7pm

Others

6). Thus, what is the nature of tobacco work that you do?

Heavy

Average

Light

7). What do you think are the reasons for you to engage in tobacco production?

To earn money

Its routine duty

Others.....

8). Do you think gender affects the distribution of tobacco income in your household?

Yes

No

9). If yes, explain.

Husband spends money as he wishes

Wife spends money as she wishes

Both spend equally through consultation

Others.....

10). Do you think female headed households' welfare could be better than male headed ones?

Excellent

Good

Average

Poor

11). Does tobacco work have a significant effect on your leisure time?

Yes

No

12). If yes, explain

Spend more time on tobacco work

Lacking the mood for leisure

Lacking the monies for leisure

Other reasons.....

13). How do you distribute work to your children?

Boys perform particular tasks

Girls perform specific tasks

Boys and girls work as equals

14). When assigning specific household tasks to a boy, what is the type of the work?

Farm work

Herding

Household chores

Others.....

15). When assigning specific household tasks to a girl, what is the type of the work?

Farm work

Herding

Household chores

16). Do you think gender affects the distribution of work to your children in the household?

Yes

No

17). If yes, how?

Its boy biased

Its girl biased

Creates significantly labour divisions among siblings

Others

18). What is the rationale for such labour divisions?

Socio-culturally approved

Father's decision

Mother's decision

Others.....

19). How has such rationale affected your children?

Significantly

Moderately

Minimally

20). Do you think your children personally benefit from tobacco income?

Yes

No

21). If yes, how is their personal welfare taken care of in your tobacco producing household?

Excellentlly

Averagely

Poorly

22). If not, explain.

It is husband who spends the money as he wishes

It is wife who spends the money as she wishes

Both parents spend money together in their own leisure

23). What is your opinion towards the multinationals profiteering in tobacco farming?

Very important

A bit useful

Not important

Exploit tobacco farmers

Others

24). Which are the multi nationals involved in tobacco production in this region?

BAT (K) Ltd

Master Mind

Alliance one

Others.....

25). What is your opinion towards GoK involvement in the tobacco industry in this region?

V. Good

Good

Fairly good

Not good

Not involved at all

Appendix iii: Focus Group Discussion Topics and Probing Questions

SECTION 1:

1. Intra-household gender-labour relations between female and male households

1. How are intra-household labour relations in this region?
2. How is the distribution of workload handled in the household in Kuria region?
3. What is the state of gender division of work and its control in the household?
4. What is the prevalence level of the practice of polygyny in this region?
5. Which are the household difficulties involved in tobacco production?

SECTION 2:

2. Access to resources in tobacco production between female and male households

1. Which are the categories of farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties?
2. What are the types of farming and livelihood activities in Kuria Sub-Counties?
3. Explain the status of household economy in this region?
4. Which are the available household resources among the Kuria people?
5. How do households utilize their resources?

SECTION 3:

3. Socio-Economic differentials between male and female headed households

1. What is the perception on household's socio-economic welfare in Kuria?
2. Which are the differences between female and male headed households in welfare aspects in Kuria region?
3. What are the gaps between labour input and welfare considerations amongst farmers in Kuria Sub-Counties?
4. How are the children's gender positions in the household? Do they affect their welfare in the household?
5. How do multinationals relate with tobacco farmers?
6. What role does the government play in tobacco production?

Appendix iv: Pilot Survey Findings

The calculated value of r for the pilot survey is shown below:

Pilot Survey Findings		
Spearman's correlation	Correlation Coefficient	.8715**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	21

**Correlation is significant at the .05 level of significance

The correlation coefficient value for the pilot survey was found to be 0.8715. Thus the collected data was useful in determining the relationship. In this regard, the data was useful in providing the necessary information for the study. Also, it indicates that the collected data was significant. The value is close to 1 and therefore reliable according to the requisite research tenets (Mbwesa, 2006). Further, according to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) a coefficient of 0.8 or more implies that there is a high degree of reliability of the data. Therefore, it is apparent that the pilot survey was dependable and was eventually useful to the research respectively.

Appendix v: Request for Study Permit

EGERTON

Tel. Pilot: 254-51-2217620

254-51-2217877

254-51-2217631

Dir. line/Fax: 254-51-2217847

Cell Phone



UNIVERSITY

P.O. Box 536 - 20115

Egerton, Njoro, Kenya

Email: eugradschool@wananchi.com

www.egerton.ac.ke

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR GRADUATE SCHOOL

AD17/0167/05

July 29, 2010

Ref:.....

Date:.....

The Secretary,
National Council for Science & Technology,
P. O. Box 30623 – 00100,
NAIROBI.

Dear Sir,

RE: REQUEST FOR RESEARCH PERMIT – MUNIKO MARWA ZEPHANIAH, REG. NO. AD17/0167/05

This is to introduce and confirm to you that the above named student is in the Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Economics, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences.

He is a bonafide registered Doctorate (PhD) student in this University. His research topic is entitled: **“Gender-Labour Relations in Tobacco Production and their Implication on Socio-Economic Welfare in Kuria District, Kenya”**

He is at the stage of collecting field data. Please issue hmi with a research permit to enable him undertake the studies.

We have enclosed all **the necessary documentation** required and a KCB Banking Slip for your necessary action.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Prof. Michael A. Okiror
DIRECTOR, BOARD OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

MAO/cm

Appendix vi: Study Permit

REPUBLIC OF KENYA



VIII

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Telegrams: "SCIENCETECH", Nairobi
Telephone: 254-020-241349, 2213102
254-020-310571, 2213123.
Fax: 254-020-2213215, 318245, 318249
When replying please quote

P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA
Website: www.ncst.go.ke

Our Ref:

NCST/RR1/12/1/SS/777/4

Date:

30th August 2010

Mr. Zephania Marwa Muniko
Egerton University
P. O. Box 536 - 20115
EGERTON, NJORO

Dear Sir,

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Gender-Labour relations in tobacco production and their implication on socio-economic welfare in Kuria District, Kenya*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Kuria West and Kuria East Districts** for a period ending **31st January 2011**.

You are advised to report to the **Director, Kenya National Archives, the District Agricultural Officers, the District Commissioners, the District Education Officers, the Medical Officers of Health, Kuria West and East Districts, the Chief Librarians, Public Libraries** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two** copies of the research report/thesis to our office.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'P. N. Nyakundi'.

**P. N. NYAKUNDI
FOR: SECRETARY/CEO**

Copy to:


The Director
Kenya National Archives
NAIROBI



Appendix vii: Study Clearance I/D

CONDITIONS

1. You must report to the District Commissioner and the District Education Officer of the area before embarking on your research. Failure to do that may lead to the cancellation of your permit
2. Government Officers will not be interviewed with-out prior appointment.
3. No questionnaire will be used unless it has been approved.
4. Excavation, filming and collection of biological specimens are subject to further permission from the relevant Government Ministries.
5. You are required to submit at least two(2)/four (4) bound copies of your final report for Kenyans and non-Kenyans respectively.
6. The Government of Kenya reserves the right to modify the conditions of this permit including its cancellation without notice.



REPUBLIC OF KENYA
RESEARCH CLEARANCE PERMIT

GPk6055t3mt10/2010 (CONDITIONS—see back page)

PAGE 4

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:

Prof./ Dr./ Mr./ Mrs./ Miss..... ZEPHANIA MARWA MUNIKO

of (Address) EGERTON UNIVERSITY P.O BOX 536-20115 ELDORET


has been permitted to conduct research in

..... Location,
..... KURIA District,
..... NYANZA Province,

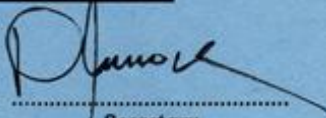
on the topic..... GENDER-LABOUR RELATIONS IN TOBACCO PRODUCTION AND THEIR IMPLICATION ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC WELFARE IN KURIA DISTRICT, KENYA

for a period ending..... 31ST JANUARY, 20. 11

Research Permit No. NCST/RRI/12/1/SS/777/3
Date of issue 30TH AUGUST 2010
Fee received ... SHS. 2000



[Signature]
Applicant's
Signature



Secretary
National Council for
Science and Technology

.....E N D.....