



Consequences of Migrant Labour on Nandi Rural Households, 1908 – 1963

Ng'etich Benjamin Kipkios

PhD Candidate, Kisii University, Eldoret Campus, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. P. O. Box 408 – 40200, Kisii, Kenya.

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received: 26 June 2017;

Received in revised form:
27 July 2017;

Accepted: 4 August 2017;

Keywords

Consequences,
Chotaras,
Migrant-labour,
Nandi,
Rural-households,
Kenya.

ABSTRACT

This paper analysed the consequences of migrant labour on Nandi rural households from the period 1908 to 1963. It made an empirical study on the manner in which the family relationships were affected by migrant labour. The study adopted the Materialism approach, the Pull-Push theory, and a qualitative design. It employed a purposive sampling. It targeted 100 participants. The data was analysed in a comparative historical approach. The study found out that migrant labour increased the workload of wives, illegitimate children were born including chotaras, family disintegration and divorce, sexual promiscuity, venereal diseases and prostitution, and single parenthood.

© 2017 Elixir All rights reserved.

1.1 Introduction

This paper analyses the impact of migrant labour on Nandi households. It makes an empirical study of the manner in which family relationships were affected by migrant labour and discuss the ultimate consequences of migrant labour on Nandi households. The first part examined the effects of migrant labour and increased the workload of wives of migrant labourers; the second part discusses the question of illegitimate children, including chotaras whom some of the wives of migrant men gave birth to during the absence of their husbands. The third section reveals family disintegration and divorce related to the long absence of their spouses. The fourth section further examines the question of migrant labour and sexual promiscuity, venereal diseases, and prostitution among the Nandi women. Finally, the fifth part discusses the issues of single parenthood among the wives whose husbands died while at work. This section responds to the research question: What were the effects of migrant labour on Nandi rural households? It also acts in response to the specific objective of the study. As a result to assess the effects of migrant labour on Nandi rural households.

1.2 Increased workload of wives of migrant labourers

This section examines the growing workload on the wives of migrant workers whose husbands were absent for a long time. The creative role of women in the African peasant and colonial economy of Kenya is evident in various production systems present in the imperial social formation and position of women within each of these systems. Three systems of using African and immigrant Indian human resource in Kenya evolved: semi-proletarianised migrant labour on European agricultural, commercial and industrial undertakings; 'squatter' or resident labour on European estates; and independent peasant cash crop production. These systems were of the new capitalist order which depended on subsistence work performed in many African reserves.

Over time there emerged from the migrant labour system a stratum of full-time labourers derived nearly the whole of their livelihood from wage labour. This kind of full-time employment deprived the Nandi women of their husbands who migrated in large numbers leaving the women destitute. The prolonged absence, in turn, disrupted the traditionally established divisions of labour among the Nandi community. Moreso, the women were forced to do the jobs which in the past or by culture did not belong to them but done by their husbands, such as tilling the farms, building houses, herding the cattle, constructing cattle *boma* and many more others. Similarly, children who could have been herding cattle on village grounds, begun to look for other part-time jobs on European farms.¹

Oral sources revealed that, immediately after the World War II, i.e. in 1920's the workload of wives started to increase within the households. They cared for children and the cattle, while at the same time they were involved in the cultivation of small fields for millet and sorghum in the absence of their husbands. The period 1939 to 1945 saw more men join migrant labour and so the women at home were left to struggle on their own as the money remitted home was tiny or no remittance was received at all. So the basic needs of the family rested upon the efforts of the women.²

The elderly were the main guardians at home and sometimes took care of young children. Guardians were a common phenomenon among the families whose men got integrated into the imperial capitalist system. For things to work well for them, those who remained at home carried on with the activities of people who had gone to sell their labour. Wives felt the impact of work migration. Oral sources revealed that people migrated to various European farms to take part in the capitalist system. The exodus of these people had an impact on their wives and households.

The informants narrated that the workload of taking care of their families fell on the women's kinship or clan. Women had to be supported by their brothers and fathers. Households activities changed with the appearance or disappearance of members of the family³.

The wives worked hard to meet the demands of the members of their families. Farms of migrant labourers shrank in size; maize, beans, sorghum and a few vegetables were cultivated in small amounts and thus disrupting the native subsistence farming of Nandi households. Wives alone did not manage the labour demands. Every child in the house was pre-occupied with keeping cattle, milking cows and collecting firewood after working hours. The majority of families whose men had migrated to seek wages in distant places had little income to sustain their daily lives. Women performed these particular farming activities with the assistance of children and the elderly in the absence of their husbands.⁴

Informants⁵ revealed that these wives of migrant men were preoccupied with small scale farming, weeding, harvesting, collecting firewood and fetching water in the absence of their adult children and husbands who had travelled to European farms and enterprises in search of wage labour which did not sustain their living.⁶

The relatives of these migrant men attest that agricultural production, is the backbone of the African economy, was held back by the absence of the most productive and dynamic portion of the rural population. The significant impact on agriculture was the decline in men playing their part in agricultural activities in their homes. The women at home shouldered the whole burden of the rural agricultural economy. Relatives had to come in to assist in salvaging the situation.⁷

1.3 Migrant Labour and Socio-cultural and economic change

While the above arguments appear logical, the reality of such cases is often more complex as in the case of Nandi households. Most Nandi women interviewed revealed that during the long absence of their husbands, despite increased workload, they also played a much important role in family decision making. Such functions of decision making were unheard of before the exodus of their husbands.

The ability to handle family affairs on managerial and leadership level suggests that these women were able to overcome societal norms which tended to exclude them from leadership and decision making. The husband's absence for an extended period compelled the increased need for wives' participation in leadership. They managed to run day-to-day family affairs boldly. This achievement underscores the importance of putting any study of women's contribution to the household economy in its historical and socioeconomic perspective.

For one of the wives, Magdalene Melly, migrant labour for Nandi households meant being left alone in the rural areas to manage and control the daily family affairs. She took on the roles of men as the farm and family manager, validating and protecting men's rights in land ownership. Such increased workloads moulded her positively as when left at home; she proved her ability to provide for her family and also took care of household matters. Such responsibility belonged to the husbands culturally. Traditionally, the society regarded men as sole providers for their families; however, husbands' absence gave Nandi women a chance to reposition themselves and assume responsibilities not deemed theirs.

Nandi men used to beat their wives even for the slightest mistake; the women at home, therefore, enjoyed a reasonable amount of autonomy. To some women, it was a relief for sore relationships which were normal to them. An oral source revealed that the greater decision-making autonomy created by the husbands' absence, was undermined by substitute authority from different sources. This sabotage could at times be from members of the community, various male figures or relatives. In an extended family, another family member could execute considerable influence in the absence of the migrant wage labour husbands.⁸

Such influence suggests that there was still a limitation to the autonomy that Nandi women enjoyed during their husbands' absence. However, this study tends to agree that potential substitute influence of husbands' relatives was not entirely equivalent to that of their spouses; and hence Nandi women saw their autonomy increased during their husbands' absence. Referring to Nandi women's autonomy, an oral account with one of the migrant spouse's relative, argued that the women's autonomy persist in some women even after the return of their husbands. This independence, however, depended on the extent to which such autonomy had advanced.⁹

For example Mary Tabusambu one of the wives of migrant labourers had advanced to the extent of acquiring more land and cattle for the family. She said that:

'while my husband was away, I managed to buy this land alone out of the little business of selling firewood, vegetables, hides and at times hawking food in plantations. I have also constructed a house with the help of few shillings that I had accumulated. I also have 30 heads of cows and 100 sheep that I accumulated alone for ten years. Moreover, when my husband finally came home, he found me richer than even him. He initially failed to appreciate me, but with the help of tribe's men or members of his age group, he was pinned down and finally appreciated my efforts although it was difficult for a Nandi to appreciate a woman as it was a failure on the side of the man.'

These women were eager to have their husbands appreciate what transpired during their absence. Interestingly, some of them had even expanded their family plots, and the number of cattle had increased among other family properties.¹⁰ The challenges faced by Nandi women, however, forced women to be strong in decision making, something which was positive. Therefore, one of the positive effects of migrant labour on women is the strengthening of the position of Nandi women in the society.

1.4 Migrant Labour and Illegitimate children

The birth of illegitimate children among the wives of migrant men was common especially after 1936 when migrant labour among the Nandi became a common phenomenon. Young unmarried girls and wives went out in large numbers to engage in sexual relations with *askaris*, settlers, and other migrant men who had no wives of their own but had money. The annual district reports for February 26th 1936 revealed that the only way for women to get money at this period was the use of prostitution. According to this annual district report of 1936, this source contributed a considerable part of the Nandi Hut and Poll tax. It saved the male taxpayers having to work for wages or dispose of the stock.¹¹

Wives left at home for a long time lacked sexual satisfaction from their husbands and hence were forced to commit adultery or cohabit with other men available within

the village or move out to farms. One of the respondents revealed that her husband left for Hoey's farm in Trans Nzoia and returned after 15 years. At the time of his departure, his wife had only one daughter, but when her husband returned in 1960, she had four children sired by three different men.¹²

Another respondent argued that:

'When I was left alone without any money, I was forced to go out in the camps and look for money from these men in camps. At times these men as we walk around the farms could sometimes rape us and nothing could be done to them as you could not report such activity. Sometimes these men gave me some money which I used to buy some clothes and others to pay the taxes in cash. Along with this way, I managed to cohabit with a white man, whose farm I am in now and had one baby boy with him whom I am proud as he later became an assistant chief and currently has retired.'¹³

Other men went to KAR for over five to ten years. Some were shipped to Burma to go and fight for the British abroad. Those who managed to come back home found their wives with illegitimate children while others their wives had divorced them and went elsewhere. The archival sources and oral sources reveal that Nandi women were highly promiscuous, and as such, the testimony concerning adultery and extramarital relationships had its roots in Nandi culture which allows warriors to enjoy premarital sex with young unmarried girls. As the girls enjoyed free premarital sex with warriors, then in the event the men were out of their sight, then they devised alternative ways for this satisfaction.

Most of these cases of adultery or extramarital sexual relationships resulted in the birth of illegitimate children including those with light skin referred to as *chotaras* in this study. Oral sources justify that those children born out of wedlock during the British colonial wage labour system originated from the white masters. One informant¹⁴ asserts that his mother worked in a European house as a maid and that is how he was born with a light skin believed to be superior to the black one. He managed to retain a former European's land and houses although he did not manage to get the whereabouts of the settlor which he has tried in vain. Other informants narrated that all of the illegitimate children were allowed to participate in all cultural activities as children according to Nandi customs belonged to the man who married their mother even if the man did not sire them biologically.

Like a cow and a calf in Nandi, when one takes a cow, the calf also is his. A calf is never separated from a cow culturally under whatever circumstances, and so all children were equal. That is why a returning migrant labourer did not question on whose children were these. The community performed all the rituals to the children born outside wedlock like those born within the wedlock.¹⁵ Another interesting account of illegitimate children was one informant from Nandi North who narrated that:

'The elder women during circumcision and marriage told young girls to be married not to bear all children from this *man*. Because in the case of *ng'ogi* (a curse) at least one child of your own will remain when all the others have died or affected by this kind of a curse, so take care not to lose all of them, and it must continue to be a secret!'¹⁶

From the above account; it is evident that the Nandi community believed in *ng'ogi*, which is a curse that is believed to follow the roots of the husband and down to his lineage.

Therefore all the offspring sired by this husband were to be affected by the curse brought in by this man. So the remedy to salvage the fire of this family was left to the wife to at least have a child with another man other than her legitimate husband who will save the situation in case of any unknown calamity or curse following the family lineage. According to the Nandi culture, this was a way of ensuring that all children sired by this man did not inherit certain ailments or recessive genes of their father. This loophole was also a push factor to the higher population of *chotaras* in the Nandi district.

1.5 Migrant Labour and family disintegrations and divorce

Migrant labour caused divorce and family disintegration among the households of migrant men. Oral sources indicated that adultery and divorce increased in the district as in most cases wives of migrant men initiated these divorces. Although divorce was not an easy task among the Nandi, it reached a time when it was unbearable, and the women were left destitute in Nandi district. These women found life challenging and unbearable in the absence of their husbands and so sought either to divorce them or just eloped with other men.¹⁷ In support of the above statement, one interviewee Bot Chepkochoi Matero revealed that:

'During those days, when men were real men, and my husband had newly married me, I had only one child. It means that I was young, my husband just left me with my kid alone and went to work in Hoey's farm. The Lions had infested this farm, and the settler wanted people to work and kill lions among other business therein. I stayed and tried to work to make ends meet, but it was not possible to the family or the community to give me any support. Even my close relatives within the homestead did not help me but instead took away a few cattle that I had because I did not care for them well as their brother did. So I was left to beg for milk and food, and hence with time, the situation became unbearable. In this case, I returned to my parents in Kabiyeet who did not receive me well. I finally decided to elope with another man to Chepterwai who later married me, and I have ever stayed with him to date. The situation was difficult for me to cope with not forgetting the situation with my in-laws and household chores. I later learned that when my husband came, he also had remarried.'

Another informant Bot Grace Toretet exposed that:

'During the absence of my husband, I decided due to persistent household difficulties of not being cared for by my husband's brothers and parents, to elope with another man to distant farms in Sarora for twenty-one years and I heard of his coming, I decided to go back home and rejoin him. This time, I had my four children, and none belonged to my husband, but he received me with them together with ten heads of cows which I had acquired during my years out of the family. He had married other two wives but still, I retained my title as the first wife and respect, and that is why I am here today.'

Divorce and marriage breakdown was a sign of marital instability. These breakdowns among the Nandi did not result in direct divorce as marriage according to the Nandi was permanent. The Nandi believed marriage to be in principle indissoluble. About widows, they could not remarry because the late husband's brother could care for them, even the woman who did not bear children, the husband could not divorce her. The husband could marry a second wife, and hence marriage was indissoluble amongst the Nandi of

Kenya with exceptional cases of couples who proved to be incompatible with one another.¹⁸

About the above statement on divorce and marriage, Nandi women could only elope with other men for several years, and when they were ancient, they could come and rejoin their previous families. At times they could find that the husband never came back from migrant labour, believed to have died. So the old wife could come and claim all the property which belongs to her husband. Other women could come back when terminally ill and could hardly finish two months before they died. An account of the above statement was narrated to me that:

'While the husband had joined KAR in 1950 her wife left to Nairobi in 1955 and only returned recently in the year 2008 when she was 91 and terminally ill. She survived for only three weeks and then died. Her young children at the time of her departure did not ever recognise her, the villagers and her husband could recognise her. One of her sons aged sixty years tried to take her to the hospital, but it was late. However, she later succumbed to the illness. The husband received her as per the Nandi customs. She came with nothing, and her stay away was meaningless to the society and her, it was a bad story to hear.'¹⁹

Others who left their homes after a long stay of their husbands in migrant labour brought home much wealth. Like one in Sarora Settlement Scheme, by the name Bot Saramei, after she came back home, she managed to buy land measuring over 200 acres and became powerful in the village up to date.²⁰ All these disintegrations were as a result of the prolonged absence of the husbands, who had departed to pursue migrant labour in distant lands, leaving their spouses without resources and support.²¹

1.6 Migrant Labour and Sexual Promiscuity, Venereal Diseases and Prostitution

Luo and Swahili folk songs extol the beauties of Nandi women. These, therefore, serve to make accurately aware of how idealised the present day accounts of traditional Nandi marriage customs. Matson asserts that the history of Nandi customs greatly changed to the coming of Arabs, Indians, and Europeans to Nandi. By 1950's when the generation of *Sawe* was in office, attempts by Arabs were made to interfere with Nandi women and girls.²²

The coolies employed in the construction of the railway abducted Nandi boys and girls. As all the nondisabled men had gone out for labour in settler farms and other wage-related activities, the women and girls had an opportunity to engage in other activities such as prostitution and sexual promiscuity as F. J. Jackson asserts:

Apart from the squalor, the prostitutes crowded the camps, small boys, and other accessories to the bestial vices so commonly practised by Asians. Complaints by the Nandi and Lumbwa natives were frequent. The Lumbwa became so resistive than before on account of so many of their young women moved away from their homes, and harboured in those sinks of iniquity.²³

Sudanese soldiers and European administrators, particularly during the period of Nandi resistance, kept Nandi concubines, as was evidenced by even such a partisan observers as Colonel Richard Mainertzhagen:

(Commenting on the arrival of the administrator Mayes' wife from Mauritius on 13th April, 1905 he wrote :)

'It is all a bit tricky, as Mayes has a half a dozen Nandi concubines in the house. I left them to fight it out among themselves..., and later I have had so many complaints from

natives about the way in which Mayes is robbing them of their cattle, sheep, goats and even girls that I have embodied them all in a report to Baggs, the Sub-Commissioner at Kisumu'.²⁴

It is within this context that most of the girls and women had some illegitimate children sired by Europeans, Arabs, and Asians. These were the Nandi half casts referred to as chotaras in this study.

It is hardly surprising given the preceding; that there was adequate proof in government records of growing administrative anxiety about the spread of venereal diseases in Kenya colony. At the national level the Handbook of Kenya Colony and Protectorate states as follows:

'This (venereal disease and syphilis) is also, unhappily spreading. In 1915, the hospital cases were as follows: from the mountain zone, 410 (syphilis) and 316 (gonorrhoea); from Kenya and Nyanza provinces, 312 (syphilis) and 197 (gonorrhoea).'²⁵

Venereal diseases were rampant during the construction of Kenya-Uganda Railway, and its branches as most of the foreigners working in the department were men and did not come with their wives. So they resorted to African women and girls and Nandi in particular.

Archival sources confirmed that at the provincial level, one of the provincial commissioners by the name, John Ainsworth,

Provincial Commissioner of Nyanza which at the moment included Nandi district, which is the area of study at the moment wrote in his annual report for 1911-1912:

'Syphilis is unfortunately very much on the increase amongst the natives in Nandi and Lumbwa (Kipsigis), and to an extent in Kisii. It is also evident among the Kavirondo. Among the Lumbwa and Nandi, its spread was due to the immorality of the women who leave the reserve to lead a free life at various centres up and down the Railway line. The chiefs and elders have been strongly advised to prevent the women from leaving the villages and latterly, I believe; our advice is having some effect. It is, however, rather late, as the disease has already obtained a firm hold in the Nandi and Lumbwa areas. Kisii – possibly from Government stations and Trading Centres. Kavirondo – women extremely moral with strangers but not with own people. The habit developed because non-disabled men go to work not taking their wives. It would seem desirable to treat syphilis as a contagious disease requiring even more harsh treatment as regards segregation than the plague. The matter is, without a doubt, a serious one and requires close consideration'.²⁶

It is evident from the above archival report that one of the major reasons behind the massive exodus of women leaving their villages to cohabit or prostitute in railway stations and trading centres was attributed to migrant labour as stated in the annual report that non-disabled men went to work not taking their women. So they were left with none other than to migrate to the neighbourhood in trading centres and railway stations. Also, this report reveals that the women did not prostitute with their people but foreigners. This statement shows that their men were not regularly present, or other men to supplement their own were not available. The venereal diseases were also got from foreigners as this particular plague came from aliens. Venereal diseases were never African but got its legs from foreigners as it was unheard of in pre-colonial epoch.

At the district level, every official after another wrote along the following lines,

often with statistics to support opinions:

'Two prevailing diseases are calling for any particular remarks except venereal which appears to be rapidly spreading as is bound to prove the case among a tribe having social customs such as prevail amongst the Nandi.'²⁷

On prostitution, A. T. Matson makes the point clear that during the 19th century, Nandi wars with neighbouring people as Maasai and Luhya, were punctuated by truces in times of famine. During such times, women folks travelled into neighbouring areas to barter for food.

²⁸ The onset of these journeys of Nandi women paves the way for the first signs of prostitution. Thus by 1909, Nandi women had become notorious from Mombasa to Kisumu. This year also was the year which the Nandi witnessed the payment of hut and poll tax in cash, and as the nondisabled men or husbands were far away from their homes, then prostitution was a ready means of obtaining such cash. Archival data supports the above statement as the annual report for 1913 reports that:

'The most knowledgeable members of the tribe appear to be the prostitutes who have spent some time in Nairobi or elsewhere.' After that, prostitution continued to grow apace such that by 1935 it was, if anything, more widespread. A report written by the then District Commissioner of Nandi Captain F. D. Hislop contains more evidence on this subject. Another report entitled 'Report of our Enquiries Regarding Nandi Morality' and sub summed under the heading 'X': Anthropological' of the Annual Report for 1935 dated 26th Feb. 1936 and included in Annual Reports for 1933 -1947 that:

'The question I propounded to myself was why Nandi provide the greatest number of prostitutes, proportion to the figures, of any tribe in Kenya. (I am assuming this as a fact; I have never heard it disputed.) These prostitutes come from 2 sources – unmarried girls and young wives sent out as a rule, by the male relatives – father, uncle, brother – to spoil the Egyptians.' I regret to say and believe that a considerable part of the cash payment of Nandi Hut and Poll tax came from this source. It saves the male taxpayers having to work for wages or dispose of the stock. As regards the second class, wives, these are runaways, and the only reason I have ever been able to find for their running away is that their husbands beat them. Nandi husbands and wives do not love each other in the way we regard as usual; any such emotion got over before the parties come to marriage, in the promiscuous sexual life of the 'morán' and the 'ndito'. Marriage is apparently purely a material affair, and the husband is ready to beat his wife for the slightest shortcoming, usually when he is drunk. If the woman has no children, she then takes herself off and goes to the nearest settled area as a prostitute, or to live with a succession of men whom she fancies.

It may still be asked, however, why Nandi women take to prostitution so easily. My grandmother informed me that they did not do so before the Nandi war of 1906. There is a word that the *askaris* (soldiers) of that time debauched many young Nandi women and that this opened up a new vista to them. I believe that their predisposition to prostitution arises from the traditional promiscuity when adolescent. The move and the provision of opportunity to their door – namely the settled areas of Trans Nzoia, Uasin Gishu and Kisumu – Londiani, and the even richer ground of the Kakamega Gold Fields, which are full of several wage-earning natives with no women of their own. A Nandi woman, who wishes to get some money, either for her family or herself, must go outside

Nandi for it, as prostitution – that is, with the element of payment – is practically unknown in Nandi itself. Success in the profession has given rise to tradition in the matter, and hence the prostitution today. It is interesting to note that the Lumbwa sisters of Nandi are also noted for a limited propensity in prostitution than the Nandi, no doubt because of the more unfavourable situation. As an illustration of how this works, I may say there is no point in the Nandi Reserve where a person is more than some two hours reach from another district.²⁹

The previous archival report on Nandi prostitution supports the idea that the Nandi women went to prostitution because the non-disabled men or their husbands went out for an extended period to work on European farms. However, others went to join KAR as soldiers and could go for five or ten years before coming home. Some of the ex-migrant labourers confirmed that they went to work for British settlers for ten years and could come back with some money in a handbag. However, one thing that confronted them on arrival was that some of their wives had children, not of their own. Others had gone out to live with other men working in the European farms. One man, a former soldier, found his wife having sired two girls from a British Settler farmer in Ndalat hills near Turbo. The daughters were later married and had had some children with light skin colour. These kids referred by the community to as *chotaras* in this study, and most of them were born between 1930's and late in 1950's.³⁰

1.7 Migrant Labour and Single-Parenthood

Another impact of migrant labour was accidents that caused sufferings, disability and other dislocations that could lead to deaths of migrant labourers. The nature of the working conditions in the colonial enterprises caused the accidents and fatalities. The working conditions were not favourable to Africans, and also no case attracted the colonial action. Many deaths at work occurred due to poor conditions, accidents, and diseases; which led to increased single parent families and loss of relatives. The deaths of some of the migrant labourers in unknown circumstances in European farms and the Second World War for those who joined KAR resulted into single-parenthood as revealed by oral sources.³¹ One thing noted from the above explanation is that the settler farmers were after the cheap labour and profit maximisation and could not care about the welfare of the producers.

Some of the migrant labourers did not return or go back home to rejoin their families after the completion of their contracts. They established new settlements around the settler farms leaving their wives and children at home with no assistance. The non-return husbands were always the case for those who went as far as Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu. Most of them did not come back. It is believed that some of the Nandi migrant labourers went as far as Uganda behind Mt. Elgon to join other Nandis who remained in Uganda during the migration period. Some have ever settled there to date. An interview with one relative of a migrant labourer, Kitur Kili, narrated that:

'My grandfather who went to work in a European a farm in Kitale in 1950's is said to have eventually settled in Uganda. He later died there in 1980. There have been family ties between my family in Kenya and the other family in Uganda to date'.^{32,33}

Therefore, it is evident that those who decided not to come back and settled in the nearby European farms decided to marry other wives.

Migrant labour also had psychological effects on the sons and daughters who missed their fathers for many years while others whose fathers perished at work missed them forever.

1.8 Conclusion

This paper assessed the effects of migrant labour on Nandi rural households. It surveyed and analysed the various economic and sociocultural consequences on families. Migrant labour increased the workload of wives of migrant labourers as they shouldered many responsibilities which were held by their husbands before the European capitalist epoch. The birth of illegitimate children, including the *chotaras* or light skinned children, was another consequence. The long absence of husband caused some wives to commit adultery or cohabit with other available or distant men who at times led to the birth of illegitimate children. Family disintegration and divorce also were a product of the long absence of men. Some wives of migrant men sought divorce or eloped with other men since they could no longer tolerate the absence of their husbands. Alongside this long stay of their husbands, as the women tried to sort out the lack of their spouses, venereal diseases, prostitution, and sexual promiscuity arose. Many young wives and unmarried girls got trapped into this immoral activity which brought much loss to the families as the cure of these diseases was not readily available as the hospitals were view. Migrant labour also had some psychological effects on children who missed their fathers for many years while some of the mothers of these kids became single mothers in the event their husbands died while at work.

¹ Oral Interview with Arap Boiywo Chemong'ony, aged 96years, Arap Barng'etuny Kipsang, aged 90 years, on 29th August 2015, at Mogoiywo.

² Oral interview with Jemesunde KapBoiywo, aged 90 years, Jany Kapsugut, aged 93 years, Bot Boroiywo Terigin, aged 95 years, on 30th August 2015 at Kapsabaot.

³ Kogo Kaptigoi, aged 97 years, Bot Lucia Kap Balos, aged 107 years, Kogo Kamuraria, aged 109 years, Kogo Kap Machi, aged 106 years, interview carried out on 10th Sept, 2015 at Chepkiep.

⁴ Oral interview with Kogo Kapmang'et, aged 95 years, Bot Lenah Kapmogonjoy, aged 104 years, Bot Milka Kapsamitui, aged 90 years, Bot Esther Kapsamitui, aged 92 years, Bot Jerotich Chemng'ok, age 91 years, Tamar Sang', aged 89 years, on 9th Sept, 2015 at Kakawet.

⁵ Group interview with Arap Chepng'ok Kiberen, aged 89 years, Kipkerebet Arap Kuto, aged 85 years, Kipkemboi Moso, aged 90 years, Kibarusio Busienei, aged 85 years, Arap Kutto Kipchumba, aged 92 years, Arap Maritim Muzee, aged 94 years, on 10th Sept 2015 at Kamamut.

⁶ Kogo Kaptigoi, aged 97 years, Bot Lucia Kap Balos, aged 107 years, Kogo Kamuraria, aged 109 years, Kogo Kap Machi, aged 106 years, interview carried out on 10th Sept., 2015 at Chepkiep.

⁷ Group interview with Arap Chepng'ok Kiberen, aged 89 years, Kipkerebet Arap Kuto, aged 85 years, Kipkemboi Moso, aged 90 years, Kibarusio Busienei, aged 85 years, Arap Kutto Kipchumba, aged 92 years, Arap Maritim Muzee, aged 94 years, on 10th Sept 2015 at Kamamut.

⁸ Oral interview with Truphosa Bot Kendagor, Op. Cit.

⁹ Raphael Kemboi, Op. Cit.

¹⁰ Oral interview with Kichwen Ng'elechei, aged 96 years, Elijah Terer, aged 91 years, on 20th July 2015, at Koiban.

¹¹ KNA: DC/NDI/1/4: Annual District Report, dated 26th February 1936 (included in the Annual Reports for 1933-1947)

¹² Oral interview with Chebutei Kapkwalei, aged 103 years, Sarah Samoei Lokori, aged 103 years, on 5th Sept., 2015 at Kemeloi.

¹³ Oral interview with Tapkole Chepsiror, aged 108 years, on 5th Sept., 2015 at Kemeloi.

¹⁴ Oral interview with chotara, Kipel Arap Burukei age 70 years, on 6th Sept., 2015 at Kimong'.

¹⁵ Joint interview with Bot Chepkering' Kap Busienei, aged 89 years, Bot Cherotich Kap Chonginio, aged 95 years, Truphosa Bot Kendagor, aged 99 years, Koei Bot Cheptum, aged 101 years on 7th Sept., 2015 at Loochin.

¹⁶ Interview with Bot Boroiywo, Op. Cit.

¹⁷ Oral Interview with Bot Chepkochoi Matero, aged 90 years, Bot Tap Randich Kap Tiony, aged 95 years, Bot Susana Toret, aged 105 years, Bot Grace Toretet, aged 98 years, on 8th Sept., 2015 at Kapchepnyogoson.

¹⁸ Oral Interview with Bot Esther Choge, aged 94 years, Arap Bitok Katikwal, aged 90 years, on 7th Sept., 2015 at Kimong'.

¹⁹ Oral interview with Kogo Cheptongilo Barng'etuny, aged 101 years, on 7th Sept., 2015 at Kiptangus.

²⁰ Kogo Kapng'elechei Bot Chebeni, aged 92 years, Kogo Kapcheboba Bot Rael, aged 96 years, on 8th Sept., 2015 at Litei.

²¹ Oral Interview with Bot Ibengat kap Burukei, aged 99 years, Kogo Kap Mang'et, aged 97 years, on 11th Aug., 2015 at Kaplemur.

²² Matson A. T., Nandi Resistance, Nandi Resistance to British Rule 1890 -1906,(Nairobi, East African Publishing House, 1972.) p. 47.

²³ Jackson, F. J., Early Days in East Africa, London, 1930, p. 325, (Chapter on 'the Railway and the Indians).

²⁴ Meinertzhagen, R., Kenya Diary: 1902-1906, Edinburgh, 1957, p. 57.

²⁵ Handbook of Kenya Colony and Protectorate, London, 1920. P. 340.

²⁶ KNA: DC/NDI/1/1, Nyanza Province, Provincial Commissioner's Report for twelve months ending 31st March 1912.

²⁷ KNA: Quarterly Reports, 31/12/1909.

²⁸ A. T. Matson, Op. Cit. p. 25-29.

²⁹ KNA: DC/NDI/1/4: Annual District Report, dated 26th February 1936 (included in the Annual Reports for 1933-1947)

³⁰ Joint Oral interview with Tungutwet Kipkoech Kesio, aged 100 years, Bot Some Kap Mulot, aged 89 years, Tap Tamus Busienei, aged 92 years and Arap Chepng'ok Kitur, aged 108 years at Chumek village.

³¹ Interview with Bot Kendagor, Op. Cit.

³² Interview with Kitur Kili, Op. Cit.