



Coping Strategies among the Nandi Rural Households

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ABSTRACT

This paper demonstrates various attempts by the wives of Nandi migrant labourers to devise household surviving strategies to cope with the prolonged absence of their spouses in the colonial period (1908-1963). The study utilised the concept of Agency and a qualitative design, purposive sampling, 40 wives and 15 relatives of the migrant labourers. The socio-cultural and economic strategies that they devised included utilising their husbands' remittances, seeking additional employment, domestic trading, traditional beer brewing, cooperative cultivation, hired labour, gathering firewood, prostitution, concubinage, and elopement. They succeeded to a large extent and managed to expand plots, bought cattle among other benefits.

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1.1 Introduction

This paper examines the economic and socio-cultural coping strategies that the wives of migrant labourers devised so as to cope with the long absence of their husbands during the colonial period (1908 – 1963). The study chews these surviving mechanisms in two categories. The first class examines economic coping strategies which include the use of husbands' remittances, seeking additional employment, domestic trading, traditional beer brewing, cooperative cultivation, hired labour, and gathering firewood. The second category dissects socio-cultural coping strategies which involved prostitution, concubine relationships, and elopement.

1.2 Economic Coping Strategies

Below are the economic strategies grafted by wives of migrant labourers to survive during the absence of their husbands.

1.2.1 Use of Husbands' Remittances

Nandi migrant men's remittances were among economic coping mechanism adopted by their wives to survive. Most people who joined Kings African Rifles (KAR), Kenya Police, remitted cash through the office of the District Commissioner Nandi. The husbands whose wives were next of kin were instructed to visit the DC's office where they received a card, which served as a re-visit card on the next or each visit to facilitate monthly cash payments. On Arap Leting Kwombo Baraz, one of the migrant labourers in a European farm in Trans Nzoia who was a tractor driver for ten years and his pay was eight shillings per month (shs. 8/-p.m.) throughout his ten-year tenure. He asserts that after two months he could visit his family back home in Sarora Kipkaren farm in Nandi district with the aim of remitting money to be used at home. The money was used to buy clothes and some household items while others were used to pay for the poll and hut taxes respectively.¹

Some migrant men who worked in plantations, road works and bridge construction, remitted cash and sometimes goods to their spouses in far rural areas.

Oral accounts revealed that some labourers paid the money back home on a monthly basis and this system assisted the women at home to withstand hard economic times during the absence of their husbands.² Although money economy was not standard before 1930's, money economy in rural Nandi was not familiar because they attributed the money economy to British colonial epoch.

Oral interview with Susana Chemng'ok revealed that her husband would at times come back home with some already purchased housewares such as sufurias, cups, kettles, soap, cooking fat, and some clothes. Shops were unknown in 1920's as this was an early period of British capitalist system. With time, the labour migration gained momentum, that is after the Second World War and husbands started seeking for employment in distant places such as Trans Nzoia, Uasin Gishu, and Nyanza. Moreover, it became difficult for the husbands to come back home on a monthly basis as it used to be. It began to happen as revealed by oral sources that the only method devised to send home remittances was through friends, workmates in the same farm or industry.³ The migrant labourers could only come home during holidays and during cultural festivals around December, and hence many wives strove hard to get remittances from these men. Those husbands who worked as soldiers could only remit money through the DC's office, Provincial commissioner's office, and chiefs. The native chief could give a confirmation notice to the DC's office if the beneficiary belonged to his location. In summary, the wives of migrant labourers received cash remittance through friends and relatives of their husbands and also through colonial government's offices. Scholars elsewhere in Africa has documented this practice of remitting money through overseas offices and associates. Patricia McFadden writing on South Africa and Malawi showed that in 1960 the government of Malawi received a total of 1,652,936 pounds in remittances. The author also indicates that 879,516 pounds were received from South Africa to help families of migrant labourers to survive.⁴

One of the children of migrant labourer attests that regular monthly remittances relieved their mother of domestic insecurity and maintained the balance of authority firmly for their missing father. Some of these remittances got routes to pay family debts incurred during the absence of their father.⁵ The use of payments was very efficient, and those wives who expended wisely managed to survive the effects brought about by their absent husbands.

1.2.2 Supplementary Employment

Seeking supplemental jobs was another economic survival strategy, an agency devised by the wives of migrant labourers. It was not Nandi culture for women to work or go out of the compound; but due to consequences of the long absence of husbands, women and children were forced to do the odds. They sought some wage employment largely in agriculture and also as children's nurses and in towns as beer brewers and prostitutes. They moved from the use of migrant labour, which preceded the Second World War, accompanied by a gradual improvement of women employed in the formal sector, however, most of these jobs were in agriculture. An increase of women working outside agriculture was after the war and particularly during the state of emergency, but by 1956, this trend declined. Up until independence in 1963, there was no significant advance in women rate of employment. The bulk of women or female labour remained self-employed in small-scale agriculture, and in all branches of capitalist economy, women's earnings were uniformly less than men's.⁶

Alongside agricultural production, women continued to perform the strenuous responsibilities of food preparation, childbearing and rearing. Women had a few choices in towns besides prostitution and beer-brewing. A few positions as ayahs or children's nurses were held mostly by Nandi, Kikuyu and Ganda. One good source of income was the renting of lodging space to men in Nairobi for those who had purchased houses in Pumwani with funds gained through prostitution. Most of the Nandi women who went as far as Nairobi for prostitution managed to come back home when they were rich to prove their duty outside, and it became an encouragement for those wives who were desperate at home.⁷

Oral interview with Tap Tamus Busienei recounted that:

'When my sister whom I follow by birth came back from Nairobi those days in early 1950's, I was still a young girl of about 25 years. She came back with real subtle things like clothes, bags, chains, shoes, blankets and cooking ware like *sufurias*, cups and milking cans. When I propped her on what she was doing there in town, she told me that she was a house-help (ayah) in an Indian family. So I was motivated, and when the time came for her to go back to Nairobi, I accompanied her. At this time, my husband had joined Kings African Rifles and only came home once a year. A few coins he remitted back were not enough for two children that I had and me. So I opted for an alternative source to sort out myself as nobody cared for me in the family. I was lucky enough to find this kind of a job in Buruburu as a house-help in an Asian family. I wrestled hard to understand the Swahili language, but I later learned a little Swahili mixed with the Arabic language. I still understand a few Arabic words and can communicate in the Arabic language though I did not know how to write and read. I spent fifteen years in Nairobi working under this Asian trader and managed to save a little money

which enabled me to buy this piece of land measuring 20 acres here at Surungai village, and these cattle which have assisted me to educate my children and even sold some to construct this house. My husband also on the other side came home but settled in Kaptel with another wife whom he married while I was in Nairobi. I am now stable and healthy financially in my land, and all children have married I am now with my grandchildren'

Another informant Rusy Malosoi narrated that:

'When the situation here at home became unbearable, with the kids, lack of food, clothing for children while my husband had gone to Kitale, I decided to move out of the reserve to Kapsabet town where I engaged in sexual relationships with men in bars. Later on, I was employed as a barmaid in one of the bars and managed to multitask the two jobs. In fact, this work brought me many customers. It was like the income had doubled, i.e. from the men and the bar dues end of the month. This money made me wealthy, and later on, in early 1970's, I decided to come back home to rejoin my family where I found my family members not welcoming. However, when they saw that I have chosen to buy land, and go ahead and construct a decent house, managed to buy some heads of cows, they again decided to win me after, but I had previously got my mind to stay aside. My husband and one child decided to join me on my new farm where I had settled at the moment. I am old but robust enough to command some authority'.

Some wives of migrant labourers sought employment in coffee and tea estates between 1920's and 1930's. These women performed light activities, and as a result, they received only a meagre income to meet household needs. Oral sources asserted that women went in the morning to plug tea and coffee and returned in the evening. The elderly remained at home to offer security and cook food for the young children and even for relatives who were at work.⁸

The main employers were the colonial settlers who wanted to capitalise on these labour reservoirs. These women utilised this strategy to survive as long as their husbands were away and it made them survive successfully to supplement the entire period their husbands were absent on migrant duties. This coping mechanism was also utilised by women outside Nandi and Kenya as a country as Debora, F. B., asserts that women in Zambian copper belt were employed in light activities in farms to generate household income in the absence of their husbands.⁹

1.2.3 Domestic Hawking

Domestic hawking was one of the strategies used by women of migrant labourers while the elderly and children stayed at home to supplement remittances from their husbands. Archival reports revealed that as early as 1905 – 1920, they officially commissioned two markets at Kapsabet and Kaptumo stations gazetted as townships and market fees amounting to Rs. 297 collected for the first time.¹⁰ Women were the major participants in these trading activities. Oral source exposed that selling items involved included millet, milk, sorghum, maize, tobacco, calabashes, skins, corn, bananas, beads, cowrie shells, knives, cooking wares. They exchanged some items with other items from Kavirondo (North and Central Nyanza) like baskets, hoes, yams, fish, flour, sweet potatoes, cassava, onions, pepper, hides, and pots.¹¹

Informants narrated that the wives of migrant men walked from Kabiyeet to Kapsabet where they exchanged items like baskets, fish, pots, maize, salt, and clothes and dry beans during harvesting periods. Through this petty hawking or trading, they managed to get small profits to sustain the household.

They walked in groups accompanied by some children during market days although there was some petty hawking at village level as narrated by some informants.¹² One source revealed that:

'I used to move for two days, from Kabiyeet to Kapsabet in the company of other women to go and sell clothes. I was a cloth seller for over twenty years until I was branded '*mama nguo*' meaning the mother of clothes. I had a relative at Baraton, my aunt who used to accommodate me then the next day I could reach Kapsabet market very early. I was known for this business which enabled me to construct an Iron sheet house, being the first one in the village which has now turned brown because of rust. My children whom I educated in Kabiyeet School have constructed a modern house, this one that I am in now'.¹³

They also sold some crops cultivated in small gardens such as vegetables with a view of making some income. The spirit of domestic hawking continued up to 1950's when it gained momentum, and some women had started earning much revenue from this kind of trade. This strategy sustained these women to a reasonable extent that some of them bought plots in towns and even extended farms at home in the absence of their husbands as narrated by informants.¹⁴ This kind of survival strategy was also used in other parts of Africa as seen between 1940's to 1950's in countries like Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, Cameroon and Uganda. In these countries, women established some form of collective, group productivity and household mobilisation of resources during the migration of men to mines, plantations, and towns in search of wage labour.¹⁵ The women's and children's participation in this domestic petty trading or hawking activities was one of the contemporary features of capitalist societies.

1.2.4 Traditional Beer Brewing

Utilisation of beer brewing as a survival strategy by wives of migrant labourers was not unique in Nandi. Oral accounts revealed how wives of migrant men made regular beer as a mechanism to arrest the severe absence of their men. As early as 18th century, beer was useful in Nandi as it took a central position in most of the Nandi rituals. It was used during the marriage ceremony, initiation and blessings of all sorts. Beer drinking was part of the culture, but in between, 1940's and 1950's the process of commercialising beer chipped into the society. The type of traditional beer brewing attracted maize flour and millet as the first ingredients. This beer resembles the common *busaa* known today.¹⁶

Oral sources attest that before this period, beer was never commercial but was only ceremonial and reserved for the old. It was drunk using pipes from a common pot. It started acquiring commercial value after the Second World War, and those who had joined the war came with a different drinking fashion. They began using small calabashes and a straw similar to the current used for soda and other soft drinks.

These people saw the new fashion good as compared to the old way of using a standard pot arguing that if some disagreements aroused, then there was a likelihood of breaking the pot plus some drinking pipes not made from

plastic but a special stem of some traditional plant. So to avoid this kind of embarrassments, they started buying their beer and drunk in a way deemed to be a civilised western fashion of drinking from a bottle or glass. One informant reported that:

'The business of brewing traditional beer was a good business for me. I used to brew *busaa* here at home which I could sell twice in a week. It was every Wednesday and Sunday. The drinkers used to praise me for making the best *busaa* in the village. Per week, I could sell beer amounting up to four hundred shillings. This income was much money those days. I was in this field for 14 years, and this proved useful to my family and me to supplement little income from my husband who was a lorry driver. This money enabled me to pay fees for children, as you can see this land here, I managed to expand six acres of my own to add to the family area which was ten acres. We have now sixteen acres of which six are mine. I have a daughter whom I educated, and she managed to be among the first nurses to work here in Kabiyeet'.¹⁷

This kind of sales was the beginning of commercialising beer. Some few women engaged in this type of business to supplement their absent husbands. The commercial beer was sold in homes and not in clubs as it later came to be during post-colonial epoch and later illegalized in 1978 in Kenya by the then second President H. E. Daniel T. Moi. Informants revealed that this strategy saw some women expand plots and some bought cattle in the absence of their husbands.¹⁸

1.2.5 Cooperative Cultivation

This kind of agency was used by the wives of migrant labourers to cope with their absence. The strategy was used to complement the non-disabled men who could have been responsible for farm cultivation. This form of cooperative agriculture was known as *kipagenge* meaning unity. The wives teamed up in groupings similar to merry go round so that when they begin with farm one, they will go round in a group till they reach the last farm. Sometimes as narrated by Magdalene Melly, women could finish one farm in one day and the following day was another. This agency made it easier to work collectively and go on with usual farm work in the absence of their husbands. Village women and children were invited to join up hands and do some specific tasks such as farming activities. During this cooperative work, friends and neighbours came together and provided their labour, and as such, they cultivated family farm within the shortest possible time. On the other hand, the owner of the farm was only requested to cook food. They never involved money at the time as it was early stages of the money market. The children were responsible for herding cattle and scaring birds till they become old enough to do farm work in the fields.

Through this cooperative cultivation, the wives of migrant men supplemented the deficit of labour caused by the absence of their husbands. This strategy was a success for the women as they also were able to expand the production of food crops and the size of farms also increased.¹⁹

1.2.6 Hired Labour

Hired labour was another agency used by wives of migrant men to cope with the absence of their husbands' work. This strategy benefited by a few families who were wealthy enough through remittances sent back regularly by their migrant men. Oral sources reveal that these few families acted as African employers. The wives used the wealth they had to employ other women to provide labour for them while

they served as managers in the absence of their husbands.²⁰

One informant brought to light that:

'While my husband was away working with KAR, he used to remit back money which I always received through the district commissioner's office Kapsabet. I was the manager of the day, and evidently, I exercised my freedom and power which no woman of my calibre would enjoy. I had money, and I spend it wisely without wasting even a five-cent. I bought more cattle, employed *fundis* who built this iron sheet house, bought barbed wires and fenced the farm. I also secured two plots in the shopping centre and managed to construct houses which I rented out to people who wanted to open up shops. Even firewood would be brought up to my doorstep, and I paid the women who did the job. Even the farm work was done early enough before the onset of rains, and I could harvest maize and millet through the local men and women who could come and seek for these jobs. I was a self-made local settler until branded *chumbin* meaning British.'²¹

Young boys and girls and even other women could receive money after tilling the plots as agreed. Others could fetch firewood for such families in exchange for cash. This means of survival had many merits as it led to hired labourers finishing work on time and also the peasants could acquire farms and prepare them on time as long as husband's remittances were available.²²

1.2.7 Firewood Gathering

The wood collection was one of the strategies employed by families of migrant men to survive. Informants revealed that wealthy families used the strategy as well as poor households. The wealthy families could hire other women and children to gather firewood for them at a fee, and this work was done within a short period as firewood was just a matter of collecting and transporting to the concerned family. One informant, Bot Chepkochoi Matero had this to say:

'When life became harsh and unbearable, I decided to visit my neighbour whose husband worked as a soldier under the KAR; I requested her to let me do small jobs for her like fetching firewood for her also arranging them on the loft and others behind the granary. She later paid me one shilling for this job. At that moment, one shilling could do more than what one hundred shillings could do now. I could buy soap, salt, kerosene and matches which each one cost less than ten cents per one measure. I could also buy maize and other personal items. In the same vein, I could also save such that after several months, I could purchase a sheep which later translated to a cow and through this means, I could own my own fifteen heads of cattle and about fifty sheep. It was a good thing for a hard working wife. Others expanded their farms after selling part of their animals when the herd was large enough to cut a portion and turn to land.'²³

The money received by these women and children was used to supplement little remittances sent back home by their migrant men.

1.3 Socio-Cultural Coping Strategies

Under the socio-cultural survival strategies, the wives of migrant labourers devised specific strategies as explained below.

1.3.1 Prostitution

The earliest female participation in wage earnings comprised of women who sold their sexual rights to a ready market among Europeans, Asians, and a growing number of African townsmen. Predominantly among first prostitutes were Nandi and Maasai women, both pastoral tribes in which women had experienced a great deal of traditional sexual autonomy.²⁴ The Kipsigis had similar traditional customs but did not experience the same economic pressures as did the Nandi and Maasai in prostitution. Thus participation in prostitution cannot be ascribed directly to traditional patterns of male-female relationships. The Maasai also had a tenuous political alliance with the British at this time, of which the 'trade' reported by Meinertzhagen may have been an outgrowth.

Prostitution flourished in Mombasa from the time of early explorers and among the railway camps in the 1890's. Every railway official in Nairobi by 1902, according to Meinertzhagen, 'kept a native girl'.²⁵ However, strictly speaking, such concubinage which is not free but rather paid labour is different from prostitution. Many government officials also held African women.

By 1909, Nandi prostitutes were said to have been 'notorious from Mombasa to Kisumu'.²⁶ On European farms, Nandi women often formed semi-permanent relationships with the male settlers acting as domestic servants and sometimes as 'virtual farm managers'.²⁷

Both oral and written sources revealed that Nandi women became prostitutes as a means of survival.²⁸ One of the scholars White, Luise asserts that when the Christian missionaries began to impose alien moral values on native African structures in imperial Africa, they imposed different moral values and created disharmony and the need for men to spend extended periods away from their homes.²⁹ Following this context, prostitution ascended providing home comforts away from home or for people unable to afford the bride price.³⁰ When these women returned to their villages with money and beautiful items of Western material culture, they motivated more women to follow the calling of urban prostitution.³¹ This kind of prostitution was not driven by oppression or exploitation but by a combination of more forces which were as a result of the colonial transformation.

The informants revealed that prostitution among the wives of migrant men was common during the Second World War. They claim that during the period under review, most men were recruited to join KAR, leaving their families at home with no financial provisions. Hence these women earned their living through having sex with other available men other than their husbands. They did the business in tea farms, tall grasses, maize farms and other such places suitable for this practice.³² In broad-spectrum, prostitution did not exist in pre-colonial Nandi, but it developed ancestries during the launch of the colonial capitalist project in Kenya such as military service and commercial enterprises. This business spread quickly together with venereal diseases. During this period, some of the wives of migrant men engaged in prostitution to earn money, and it became a booming business as stated in the district report of 1913 that the 'Nandi women were notorious in camps and towns between Nairobi and Mombasa'. This strategy succeeded to a large extent such that some of the wives could boast about being rich enough to buy cows and even expand plots in the absence of their husbands; although others did not come back from town life and the community assumed that they died in the cities because they never came back.³³

One informant testified that:

'I was privileged to work for a *mzungu* those days when my husband was away on his farm. I worked as a house-help for five years then I decided to leave that job and rented my room in the shop near the *mzungu's* farm. All along the five years, I had associated well with other workers on the farm and occasionally had private relationships with some of them in exchange of two shillings. This relationship earned me a lot of money my son. As soon as I rented my room, I had already created relationships with workers in the farms who visited me frequently in my house. I could cook for them when they visited me and accommodate one overnight or even during daytime one could visit me over lunch time and stay up to evening. I occasionally visited the local bars in the evening, and there I met my clients. This business continued for over ten years, and I managed to accumulated money which later made me rich in my village when I retired in the village. I never separated with my husband, but I used to visit his home when I heard that he has come. In fact, I was richer than him. When we tabled the money, I was able to buy more cows than him and even expanded the family farm by twenty-one acres. The diseases you hear today were unheard of; otherwise, we would have perished all of us. I commanded much respect in the village till other women sought advice from me. I managed to recruit a few women secretly, and they started engaging in this business which was not recognised by the community. Most members in this field were from Kavirondo group'.³⁴

1.3.2 Concubine Relationships

Concubinage, as described by Meinertzhagen,³⁵ was a common practice among the wives of migrant men called *baetagei* among the natives. The Nandi culture permitted such a culture to happen but in secret. This practice gained momentum immediately during and after the Second World War because non-disabled men who were husbands of these wives had been recruited to join wage labour in the capitalist system. This absence left the women lonely for quite some time and hence concubinage penetrated in through this door. Archival sources reported as discussed in chapter four that the Nandi women often formed temporary bonds with male settlers acting as domestic servants and sometimes as farm managers.

An extract of district report of 13th April 1905 states that:

'It is all a bit complicated, as Mayes has half a dozen Nandi concubines in the house. I left them to fight it out among themselves ... Moreover, later I have had many complaints from natives about the way in which Mayes is robbing them of their cattle, sheep, goats and even girls... women extremely moral with strangers but not with own people. Maybe because non-disabled men go to work not taking the women'.³⁶

Some wives of migrant men resorted to having concubine relationships with settlers and eventually managed to inherit farms and other valuable properties left behind by White settlers. This method made such women wealthy during the post-colonial period to date. Currently, there is a woman who owns up to three hundred acres of land in a farm which formerly belonged to a white settler. This woman had a

relationship with a white settler and even managed to get two white daughters from the settler.³⁷

1.3.3 Elopement

Some of the wives of migrant men resorted to elope with other men to satisfy their sexual needs. According to Nandi customs, a woman was only married once and even if she eloped with another man, she could at later stage come back when she was old. This strategy was only a temporary solution to socio-economic needs of the woman. Oral sources revealed that such practices were not very common compared with other coping strategies. Very few women could elope as a strategy. They could easily resort to concubinage as it was done from within in secret as she could still stay in her house.³⁸

Oral sources³⁹ further revealed that the men who eloped with these wives were other migrant men who also had stayed out of their families for a long time. They also had no time to do so, so they resorted to elope with the wives of other migrant men because it was easier to trap this kind of a woman due to her hard economic situation. These women had similar urge as the migrant people, and so they were like unlike poles of a magnet.

1.4 Conclusion

Migrant labour opened up opportunities for women to take up little and gender-stereotyped jobs to generate income for their households.⁴⁰ This chapter demonstrated various attempts by wives of migrant labourers to devise coping strategies to survive in the absence of their husbands. It analysed their economic and socio-cultural strategies. Economically, they utilised the use of husbands' remittances, seeking additional employment, domestic trading, traditional beer brewing, cooperative cultivation, hired labour, gathering firewood. Sociocultural coping strategies involved prostitution, concubine relationships, and elopement. These plans succeeded to a large extent as some of the women managed to expand their farms, plots, bought cattle among other benefits.

¹ Arap Letting' Kwombo Baras, Op. Cit.

² Oral Interview with Arap Bartile, Agui Cheptaiwa, Bot Chepkering Busienei, Bot Chepkochoi Matero, Op. Cit.

³ Oral interview with Susana Chepng'ok, aged 90 yrs, on 12th Sept. 2015 at Chepterwai.

⁴ Patricia McFadden, "Labour Migration and the Process of Capital Accumulation within a Regional Economy: The Case of South Africa and Malawi" (M. A. Thesis- University of Dar es Salaam, 1978).

⁵ Group interview with Maria Kitur, aged 94 years, Tapkolei Chepyego, aged 86 years, Bot Tele Jesang', aged 84 years, on 12th Sept. 2014 at Chepterwai

⁶ Sharon Sticher, Women and the labour force in Kenya, 1945 – 1964.

⁷ NADAR, 1926, p. 55.

⁸ Oral interview with Chebigen Tarkwen, aged 90 years, Bot Ng'elechei Taprandich, aged 97 years on 13th Sept. 2015, at Kabose

⁹ Debora Bryceson F., 'Proletarianisation of Women in Tanzania, 'In Review of African Political Economy, No. 17, (January – April 1980), p. 16-19.' See also S. Sticher, Migrant Labourers, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 160.

¹⁰ KNA: DC/NDI/1/1/District Annual Reports 1905-1920.

¹¹ Oral interview with Climentina Leu, aged 90 years, Bot Cheptaiwa Mase, aged 103 years, at Kabose, on 13th Sept. 2015, at Kabose.

¹² Oral interview with Jepkuto Talam aged 104 years, on 14th Sept. 2015, at Samoo.

¹³ Oral interview with Esther Simbolieny, aged 101 years, on 15th Sept. 2015. At Ngechek.

¹⁴ Oral interview with Rusy Malosoi aged 107 years, on 14th Sept. 2015, at Samoo.

¹⁵ M. C. Snyder and M. Tadesse, *African Women and Development: A History*, (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995), p. 22-23.

¹⁶ Oral interview with Esther Simbolieny, aged 101 years, on 15th Sept. 2015. At Ngechek.

¹⁷ Oral Interview with Bot Borooywo Terigin, Op. Cit.

¹⁸ Group interview with Susana Chepng'ok, Maria Kitur, Tapkolei Chepyego, Bot Tele Jesang', Op. Cit.

¹⁹ Oral Interview with Bot Cheramei Mambuli, aged 80 years, on 15th Sept. 2015, at Ngechek.

²⁰ Oral Interview with Bot Borooywo Terigin, Op. Cit.

²¹ Oral interview with Jepkuto Talam (chumbin), Op. Cit.

²² Oral Interview with Bot Chebichii Tapkurgoi, Op. Cit.

²³ Oral Interview with Bot Chpkochoi Matero, Op. Cit.

²⁴ Huntingford (1953b, pp. 70-71, 74-75, and 106-107 and Fosbrooke (1948).

²⁵ Meinertzhagen (1957, p.12).

²⁶ KNA: Nandi District Annual Report, 1913.

²⁷ Meinertzhagen (1957, p. 192 and p. 231 – 232), and Clayton and Savage (1974, p. 67 -68, note 9).

²⁸ Oral Interview with Bot Milkah Kapsamitui, Bot Lenah Kapmokonjoi, Bot Jerotich Kapsamitui, Op. Cit.

²⁹ White, Luise (1990), *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

³⁰ L. White, *The Comforts of Home*, p. 70-80.

³¹ Oral Interview with Bot Taprandich Tiony, Bot Susana Toretet, Bot Grace Toretet, Op. Cit.

³² Oral Interview with Bot Cheramei Mambuli, Op. Cit.

³³ Oral interview with Climentina Leu, Bot Cheptaiywa Mase, Jepkuto Talam, Op. Cit.

³⁴ Interview with Kogo Kaptigoi, aged 97 years, on 10th September 2015.

³⁵ Meinertzhagen (1957, p. 192 and p. 231-2)

³⁶ R. Meinertzhagen, *Kenya Diary: 1902-6*, Edinburgh, 1957, p. 47 and also *Handbook of Kenya Colony and Protectorate*, London, 1920, p. 340., KNA: DC/NDI/1/1/Nyanza Province, Provincial Commissioner's Report for twelve months ending 31/03/1912.

³⁷ Oral interview with Mary Tabusambu, Op. Cit.

³⁸ Oral interview with Kogo Tamabul Selia, Kogo Cheptongilo Barngetuny, Op. Cit.

³⁹ Oral interview with Maina Lydia Mengich, Op. Cit.

⁴⁰ Sharon Sticher, *African Society Today: Migrant Labourers*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). p. 162.