

Hawking Against Hegemony

Fighting patriarchy through informal milk
market participation in central Kenya

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Kenyan Dairy Sector

- ↑ small holder production, ↓ efficiency
- Well-organized formal sector, but...
- ~85% of milk stays in informal economy
- Highly reliant on women's unpaid labor



Nationally Determined Contributions

- Kenya: 30% reduction vs. business as usual
- 75% GHGs from land use, mostly livestock
- Low-emission dairy development (LEDD)?

Kenya seeks to undertake an ambitious mitigation contribution towards the 2015 Agreement. Kenya therefore seeks to abate its GHG emissions by 30% by 2030 relative to the BAU scenario of 143 MtCO₂eq; and in line with its sustainable development agenda.

This is also subject to international support in the form of finance, investment, technology development and transfer, and capacity building.

LEDD in Kenya

- Intensification
 - Management practices and technologies to improve efficiency and productivity
- Commercialization
 - Formal economic networks and incentives stimulate intensification



Research Question & Theory

- *Does participation in informal milk markets allow women to circumvent the patriarchal constraints present in the formal dairy sector?*
- Hegemonic masculinity, pariah femininity (Schippers 2007)



Research Design, Site, Methods

- Analysis of two key informal market practices
 - Selling evening milk to “hawkers”
 - Working in the informal sector as intermediaries, shopkeepers and hawkers
- Meru and Nakuru Counties, central Kenya
- Mixed qualitative methods
 - Key informants interviews (55)
 - Focused group discussions (21)
 - Participant observation

Formal Markets and Gender

- Gender ideologies and norms ascribe cattle, milk and commercial enterprise as masculine
- Materialization in formal market practices
 - Patriarchal household headship
 - Male dominated leadership in formal organizations
 - Bulk payments
- (Tavenner and Crane 2018)

Selling Evening Milk to Hawkers

- Morning vs. evening milk
- Contestation over evening milk sales increasing under commercialization



Even if you sell evening milk to a neighbor, you'll have to report the money you receive to your husband...but not all of it!
(Young woman, farmer, FGD, Meru)

Women Working in Informal

- Intermediaries, purchasing milk at farm gates and selling direct to restaurants and shops

- Milk bar operators

- Night time hawkers

*Those hawkers are
dirty people – they're
not trustworthy.*

*(Young woman,
farmer, FGD, Meru)*



Discussion

- Patriarchal constraints lifted in informal markets
 - Bypassing patriarchal customs of cattle ownership and uncompensated household labor
 - Circumventing patriarchal bureaucracy of formal dairy market networks
 - Avoiding threats to patriarchal norms of headship by obscuring womens' financial gains
- Qualitative research on gender norms and practices reveals dimensions that sex

Implications for LEDD

- LEDD initiatives likely to compound hegemonic gender power relations
 - Gender safeguards?
 - Interventions focusing on gender norms?
 - Measure social outcomes alongside GHG emissions?
- Tradeoffs analyses between
 - Social and environmental targets?
 - Socioeconomic outcomes?

References

- Schippers, M. (2007). Recovering the feminine other: Masculinity, femininity, and gender hegemony. *Theory and society*, 36(1), 85-102.
- Tavenner, K., & T. A. Crane (2018). Gender power in Kenyan dairy: Cows, commodities, and commercialization. *Agriculture and Human Values*, 35(3), 701-715

Questions, comments, concerns, critiques....



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