

THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT DIRECTORATE - ARUSHA

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Office of the A.L.D.O.
P.O. Box 3084, Arusha

28 July, 1975

END OF TOUR REPORT

OF

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MASAI RANGE DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

(August 1973 - August 1975)

1. TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>Topic</u>	<u>Page Number</u>
2. Sociological assignments (1973-1975)	2
3. Collection of Data on Masailand: The Sociological Census.	3
4. Collection of Data on Masailand: Family Histories.	6
5. Supportive activities:	6
6. Ranching Association Development and Extension	8
7. Training of Tanzanian Counterpart Staff.	9
8. Recommendations for Future Sociological Activities.	10
9. Some Concluding Observations on Masailand.	13
10. Tables:	20-21
11. Bibliography of Reports Prepared During the Contract Period.	22
12. Appendix:	
Sociological Census Revised July 1974	
Report of the Sociological Census of the Talamai Ranching Association (Kijungu)	
Initial Report of the Sociological Census of Komoloni Ranching Association	
Report of the Sociological Census of the Proposed Engaruka Ranching Association	
Initial Report of the Kitendeni (Olmoleg) Proposed Ranching Association	
Initial Report of the Tinge Tinge Area as a Proposed Ranching Association	
Population Figures for Longido Division Based on the Sociological Survey: Masai Range Project	
Initial Report of the Haberera Area as a Proposed Ranching Association	
Initial Report of the Shantarai Ranching Association	
Introduction of Improved Stock into Masailand: an Initial Assessment.	

2. Sociological Assignments (1971-1975).

Collect basic data on communities within the Masai Range Development Area,

Assist other technicians in the planning and execution of relevant aspects of their work,

Assist in the formation, registration, and extension work in ranching associations, including participation in developing viable formation and extension strategies,

assist in the training of Tanzanian counterparts and staff in the performance of activities related to the above.

Although each of these tasks has been listed separately and will be discussed separately, they all tend to be interrelated so that work in one area influences the others.

Each technician brings to his assignment a certain set of orientations, experiences, and goals which he must adjust to the actual conditions in which he works. At the onset it might be of value to briefly discuss my expectations and how these were adjusted to the realities of work in Masailand.

Having once participated in a range development project in Tanzania (Shinyanga), I was curious to see how the Masai Project was proceeding, as it shared basically similar goals and procedures for implementation but with a very different kind of people inhabiting a somewhat different ecological zone from the Sukuma and Nyanwezi. My work had been rather intensively concentrated in the dynamics of association formation, publicity, and development of responsible steering committees, leadership in one small association area. I was also fairly conversant with the local language and quite knowledgeable about the cultural patterns of the people.

In Masailand I arrived without some of this basic understanding of the Masai, especially contemporary culture. What written material exists on the people is quite dated. It tended to emphasize the more "ethnographic" as opposed to "social change" side. Part of my initial task here was to try to obtain a better grasp of the dynamics of Masai life. Similarly with language. I had no experience in Ki-Masai, and it was felt that special time for learning that language would not be feasible. I planned on attempting to master its fundamentals on my own once I had gained a greater fluency in Ki-swahili, but given the pressure of other work this proved impossible.

Conditions of work on the Masai Project differed enough from that in Shinyanga to cause me to alter my priorities and method of gaining information somewhat. The above language problem was one factor. Another was the sheer size of the area given us to operate in. In so large a

territory as Masailand, intensive gathering of data through the participant observation method alone is physically impossible for one person. Thus more quantitative methods were required. A third factor was that the project was attempting to move away from an earlier image of working solely in one or two associations and ignoring the others. In part this trend arose when residents of other areas felt they were not getting a fair share of technical inputs and experts' time. But another reason came from the awareness that developed associations could only survive if their neighbors developed as well. Thus any technician's work tended to be spread over a fairly wide territory. Another factor concerned continuity. Prior to my arrival, two other sociologists had worked on the project and had initiated a series of programs which should be continued.

The last two factors posed problems of a different sort. During the first seven months of my tour transport was very scarce. Any long term use of a vehicle by one person meant others were denied the possibility of doing any field work. Technical work, probably rightly, was given greater emphasis than the more diffuse data collection tasks of the sociologist. Thus my access to the field during this period was usually through accompanying another project member in the course of his work. This constraint proved ultimately to be advantageous, for not only was I able to get a good picture of many areas in Masailand through the eyes of an experienced technician, but I was also better able to understand the kinds of working conditions and goals of the other members of the project.

Finally a constraint was the issue of a counterpart. Ndugu Ole Kuney had been selected some months before my arrival to Tanzania, but he did not receive his posting orders until nine months after I arrived.

All of these conditions assisted in determining the course of my work over this past two years. In the next sections I will discuss the nature of this work following the four assignments given above.

1. Collection of Data on Masailand: The "Sociological" Census.

a. Background. Of all the techniques of data collection used during this two-year period, the "Sociological" Census has been the most significant. It has provided the widest possible coverage of information on the largest numbers of people. As it can be readily quantified, it lends itself to generalizations in statistical terms.

The census was devised by Dr. J. Morris during his tour as project sociologist in 1973 and was administered in two of the southern Masai ranching associations - Talarai and Sunya - but at the time of my arrival the data had not yet been tabulated and analysed. We felt that the continuation of the Census would be a valuable project for me to be involved in.

According to the requirements of the Range Development Act, the kinds of information which are contained in the Census are considered

essential in the planning of development sequences for each ranching association, *chaji cha ufundi*. Early in my tour, it became obvious that the Census was also of immediate use of District planners involved in other development projects in Masailand. Resettlement (Operation Mbarati) programs were being initiated, and our office was asked for basic information on population dynamics.

In consultation with the Project Manager and the DLDO Mnduli (at that time Masailand was contained in one District), we determined areal priorities: Kenelcnik and Engaruka were to be foci for resettlement; Engasunet, Mitwal, and Manyara were being formed into associations. Since that time all Census exercises have been based on district priorities where feasible.

The enumerators of the census were usually Form Four students who were given a brief period of training in interviewing. Since administration of the census was limited to the times when they would be available (and of course presence of funds for their salary), the exercise was conducted during school holidays. Students waiting for their examination results also worked up to April.

b. Content of the Census. The term "sociological" is a misnomer. It is sociological to the extent that it was originally prepared and later revised by a social scientist, is concerned in part with population, settlement patterns, problem perception, some information on modernization, and personal data on the informants themselves. But much of the census is taken up with more technical matters of seasonal stock movements, watering places, stock disease, use of veterinary facilities, stock sales and cultivation practices. Thus the aim of the census was to benefit a variety of technicians.

A copy of the revised July 1974 Census form is found in the Appendix. Ideally once an instrument is devised and tested, it should remain unchanged. But as the Census began to be undertaken in diverse areas and we began to analyse the data, it appeared that some revision was warranted. Questions which did not obtain useful answers were deleted and new questions added. We included a few more open-ended questions, some dealing with stock sales, and a section on personal characteristics of the person interviewed.

c. Procedure of Conducting the Census.

i. preliminary survey of the area. This usually involved a trip to the location, meeting with officials and local leaders to acquaint them with the reasons for the census and in general prepare the way for the work of enumerators. In all cases we aimed to get active local participation in the census. In this work the field staff of the area was usually crucial, for they were able to introduce us to the leaders and find some willing to assist the enumerators.

In some cases, as at Olmoleg, the teleki actually accompanied the enumerators in their visits.

Early in the work I also conducted interviews based on the Census in order to discover what sorts of problems the enumerators might encounter and what sorts of data could be best collected.

2. Training of Enumerators. Although this involved considerable planning the training program itself usually lasted three days. Students were asked to study the Census itself. Then either I or Njigi Kuney went over each part of the instrument with them individually. Then they conducted sample interviews with each other, after which the methods of asking questions were discussed. After going over the answers with each student, a general meeting was held to discuss what had been learned. In the field interviews were conducted in Ki-Kisumu, so for this reason most of the enumerators had to be Kisumu-speaking. We also tried a number of other techniques. Frankly, the most successful interviewer proved to be the person who was really interested in learning about his own culture and not afraid to ask questions.

3. Introducing Enumerators to the field. Interviewers were put into teams according to their competence and home areas. If possible Kuney and/or I went over their first day's data with them.

4. Periodic Visits. About once a week if there was available transport, I returned to the field to supervise their work and re-check each census form. In most cases the students were put in charge of an AFU who was also engaged in some other task as well. When possible Kuney or I remained with the men until they were settled.

Once the Census was complete, or we had enough information to begin analysis, we followed the following procedure.

5. Ascertaining Residence Clusters (Makundi ya maboma). Consulting with enumerators, A. F. G.s and locals, we attempted to group communities together into units called residence clusters. These displayed mainly geographical proximity and commonalities in land use. In the reports these residence clusters became the basic units for analysis of data.

6. Tabulation. All the data was entered into summary sheets for easy addition and viewing by Kuney, me, or a student supervised by us.

7. Analysis. This involved working out summaries of the information collected into tables, finding rough correlations, and generally preparing for the data in a readable form. Kuney did the analysis for Manyara and is now involved in the analysis of Sunya. I did the rest.

Our original aim was to produce a complete report of the data collected in each association. As work progressed, it became increasingly obvious that we would not be able to accomplish this in sufficient time for use by planners in the District. Thus we resorted to "Initial reports"

which contain selected items of pertinence for resettlement planning: population dynamics, grazing and watering patterns, cultivation practices, indications of special problems in the area. Towards the end of this year, it became necessary to shorten these reports even more.

Table One gives the time period for the completion of the various segments of each report. Eleven areas have been surveyed, about one-half of the proposed associations in Masailand. The Magsumet/Kitwai area will have to be re-surveyed since all the completed forms were burned along with camping equipment in a fire in the field. Of the remaining ten, Mamululu was incorporated into the Mategere report, and Sunya remains to be written up. Although the complete reports are few, all Initial Reports - save Sunya, have been completed.

Almost 1400 heads of bonas have been interviewed during this period, which means that we have information for almost 3000 families in Masailand. Table Two gives the breakdown of population of the associations in which the census was conducted. We should note that we were not always able to achieve our goal of interviewing the head of every bona in an association area. A number of reasons prevented this: inaccessibility of the bona, unwillingness of the Fias to be interviewed, no transport, etc. In most cases we were able to obtain an estimate of how many bonas were missed. By utilizing the averages from the data collected we were able to emerge with an estimate of population of these uncounted bonas. (see page 5, Initial Report of the Shambani Ranching Association, for an explanation of how the calculation was done.)

4. Collection of Data on Masailand: Family Histories.

Another project aiming to collect basic information on the Masai has involved the collection of "family histories". It began in part, as a training device to sensitize two research assistants to issues raised in the Census and to their own culture in general. Later it was expanded to include all Masai-speaking enumerators. But the more valuable purpose of these histories is to obtain a set of indepth geneological histories to counterpoint the data collected from the census, especially in assisting in our understanding of population movements into the Range Development area prior to 1960 and the reasons for these movements.

About twenty such histories have been collected. As stated in my various work reports, this exercise, although of potential value, has been adjunctive to other work simply because of its lesser value for immediate use.

Only a superficial analysis of the information so-far collected has been done.

5. Supportive Activities. For purposes of presentation in this report I have divided these into "direct" - assistance to other members of the

Project and Tanzanian administration - and "indirect" - periodic assistance given to experts and administrators on work not directly project related.

a. Direct assistance. In this area most of my efforts on the District side have concentrated on providing information for resettlement planning. In addition to each of the Census reports appended, two other reports should be included:

Report on Ranching Associations and Kata (ward) Boundaries in Manduli District. May 29, 1975.

Bona and Family Compositions in Masailand and their Relation to 10 Cell units proposed for Resettlement Villages. (In progress).

Within the project itself I have been involved supportively in four : three areas, mostly dealing with Animal Production:

"Ujamaa" Bull Ranches
Improved Bulls Distribution
Livestock Questionnaire
Livestock Census.

1. "Ujamaa" Bull Ranches. Early in my tour the Project was charged with promoting and implementing association bull ranches. My connection with this sub-project has been in research and extension strategy. In the area of research I was part of a team investigating potential sites for such a ranch, my task being to ascertain what social encumbrances existed within a proposed site. The results of the investigations at Kijungu are contained in the enclosed papers:

"Report of Sociological Findings on the Proposed Ujamaa Bull Ranch at Talamai". April 1, 1974.

Regarding extension strategies, I attended a number of meetings of Association Steering Committees in which the bull ranch notion was introduced and from that experience devised a set of steps to facilitate communication of a rather complex development plan. This is contained in:

Proposed Procedures for the Introduction of Ujamaa Bull Ranches into Masailand. October 31, 1974.

After an unfortunate experience at the Manyara Association, I decided that it was probably better that Tanzanian staff carry on this promotion exercise with the people. Since then my role has been mainly advisory.

2. Improved Bull Distribution. The Animal Production staff has had a program of upgrading livestock in Masailand. To this end it had attempted to get stock keepers to accept and care for improved bulls (usually Sahival-Boran crossbred bred in Tanzania). My role in this sub-project has been to devise a strategy for introducing this idea to members of associations (formed and potential). It is contained in:

Suggested Procedures for arranging the Distribution of Improved Bulls in Masailand. August 15, 1974.

Recently I engaged in a joint effort with E. Maluche (Animal Production Counterpart) and N. Kanyo to discuss this program. The results

are contained in a paper given to the Animal Conference of the Tanzania Society for Animal Production:

**Introduction of Improved Stock into Masailand:
An Initial Assessment. May 19, 1975.**

3. **Livestock Questionnaire.** Part of the task of measuring the degree of improvement of stock-keeping practices in Masailand involved obtaining figures on calving rates, weaning rates, etc. of herds. This information has been extremely difficult to obtain. At the request of Animal Production Officer, I conducted an informal study in Kijungu to determine what sorts of data could be readily elicited from stock-keepers. The goal was to be a questionnaire which A. F. O.s could administer to selected members of their associations. Ndugu Kuney is in the process of completing this questionnaire.

4. **Livestock Census.** At the same time that information concerning human population is being collected, a parallel census of livestock is being done. During the Animal Production Officer's home leave, and in the absence of his counterpart due to illness, I undertook the supervision of this exercise along with my own Census work in Olakog, Tinga Tinga, Maberera, and Shantara from November 1974 to March 1975.

b. **Indirect Assistance.** Frequently a number of individuals, connected with some other development work in Tanzania, doing personal research, or visitors from International agencies, come to the Project with specific requests for data and assistance. About thirty visitors have passed through this office over this two-year period. My contribution to them ranged from a morning's conference to lengthy safaris.

Three such projects deserve a bit more mention since they are indirectly related to our Masailand work: Drought Relief Project
Land Use Study
LIDA Livestock surv

In all three, I was asked to assist in a variety of ways, from serving as a field guide, acting as a resource of information, to reviewing the proposed creation of a research instrument.

Information from the Sociological census has also been used by two Tanzania graduate students working on Master's Theses dealing with the Masai area. Permission was obtained from the RLDC Arusha for them to use this data.

6) Ranching Association Development and Extension.

The Range Act is a most complex document which is rather difficult to use. An important task is to somehow unravel and simplify registration procedures for Ranching Associations in order to speed up registration as well as to lay down a plan for the keeping of adequate records in associations.

Before my arrival the Animal Production Officer discovered great discrepancies between his set of stock counts based on his stock

census and those who were on the Talamai registration lists. He did some preliminary work in sorting this problem out, but when I arrived, gave this to me to continue. After some time I was at least able to work out the variations in Masai nomenclature, but it was obvious that under the present circumstances it would be impossible to correlate the two lists. This small, but lengthy, exercise made the necessity for greater standardization of record keeping in any future chama cha ufundi.

Promotion work in the formation of associations has only involved me indirectly through some work on determining potential boundaries, the sociological census, and some of the other "public relations" oriented meetings with Steering Committees. Partly my other work precluded my direct presence in promotion work, but also it appeared that many of the refuge staff in the field were engaged in this activity and my presence was redundant.

Concerning extension work in associations, much of what has been called direct assistance to other members of the staff could be included under this rubric. However, I also, early in my tour attempted to ascertain the feasibility of using market days as occasions for extension through audio-visual aids.

7. Training of Tanzanian Counterpart Staff.

a. Counterpart Training. Ndugu Kuney and I had had a number of meetings prior to his arrival to Masai Project. When he came to Monduli I attempted to discuss with him the nature of work I had been engaged in and what I hoped we could accomplish together. We have since then shared the task of doing preliminary surveys, training enumerators, and some field supervision. He also undertook the task of preparing the Manyara and Sunya reports as well as devising the livestock questionnaire. And where it has been possible, we have jointly traveled in the field and attended association meetings.

Ndugu Kuney has also been performing various tasks for the District, particularly in the resettlement program at Manyara and a survey at Oljoro which I participated in.

Recently we initiated plans for a "tutorial" program, which would cover some of the more contemporary developments in social anthropology and sociology. Since we both have had separate duties over the past few months, little further has been accomplished in this sector of training.

b. Field Staff Training. If we look at training in a somewhat broader frame than formal teaching, there is a great deal of training opportunity for the field staff. I had hoped to make a bigger contribution to their ongoing extension maturation in the field than I have. I had planned to start a small and simple reference library on the Masai and pastoral peoples in general which would be available to an interested

by the field staff. In addition to this one-time interview, a longitudinal study should be reusucitated (one was started some time ago but never got off the ground) in which selected stock owners maintain simple records of births, weanings, deaths, etc. The field staff will have to make it a part of their routine to monitor this record keeping in their areas.

c. Improved Bull Distribution. As this program becomes more and more popular, the demand for bulls will exceed the supply. We will have to devise some means by which candidates for "Trusteeship" can be screened on the basis of who would make an ideal mfugaji who would ensure the survival of his bull. To some extent the paper assessing the program was a beginning step. We have to gather more information on individuals who have participated in early phases of the program. Then we have to initiate a systematic follow-up both to obtain information on the methods of keeping these animals as well as provide technical advice to the trustee.

d. Bull ranch formation and development. I have already discussed what I have done in assisting in the formation of bull ranches. I think a greater input for the sociological staff these days would be in the extension work associated with the ranch: social organization of the ranch, participation of association members, field days, and extension work stemming from the ranches' activities. All these are necessary to fulfill the goal of the ranch as a seminal influence on the association.

e. Management Systems. To date what assistance I have given in this phase of the work has been informal. Once management Plans are created, the sociological staff can have greater responsibilities in their implementation. I am thinking specifically here of devising simplified means of communicating the ideas of the system to associations and monitoring meeting at which these are discussed. There is a lot of room for working out some of the smaller details of members' participation in and responsibility for the management scheme in their association.

f. Ranching associations: Formation and Extension. The problems with current registration procedures and record keeping has already been mentioned. Revising registration and especially creating a viable system of record keeping in each association would be a most valuable contribution to the Project. This would include not only devising the procedure but also training a responsible member of the chair. and/or the field officer in the proper keeping of these records.

The sociological staff could also begin making more direct inputs via the field staff in the formation process of associations, election of committees, etc. This can range from periodic assistance to field staff to actually planning the strategy for formation in a given area.

Once associations are formed there is a tendency for them to grow moribund. Committees which began as powerful advocates for development begin to lose interest. Membership consequently starts to become apathetic. In areas of this type extension work needs to be initiated which will challenge members to support their committees and committees to assume responsible leadership. This can not be done in isolation: a sociologist can't just create good leaders and committed members. What is really required is an integrated attack on each association through technical inputs of a challenging nature--forcing cooperation of some sort or decision-making on the part of membership. Planners and technical staff need to be aware that each piece of extension work or technical input they may engage in can be a means of working towards the goal of a unified, self-sufficient association. Aware of the agreed upon goal that a certain number of associations be formed before the end of the Project, I am still convinced that as much effort must be placed on the maintenance of those already formed by the Project staff as those to be formed even if it means we fall short of our goal. I also feel that any formal work of registration in a proposed association should be postponed until Operation Mbarati is completed. This does not mean that groundwork cannot be going on at the same time, but that the promotion side should wait.

A word on more formal means of extension through audio-visual aids, etc. If the Project is fortunate enough to obtain the services of an extension expert, the sociological staff should be asked to work very closely with him in the preparation of extension programs so that these will be allied with other kinds of development exercises which are taking place in a given association. Preparation and presentation of these exercises is a full-time job.

g. Training. In all of the above sub-projects, the key figure on the ground is not only the field officer, bwana mifugo, but any man working with mifugo. These are in daily contact with the wana chana and thus are crucial in influencing them.

I would hope to see an assessment of the roles of these men in the field made with recommendations as to how they can be improved to provide greater job satisfaction for the staff as well as produce more fruitful results in extension. Many men become dispirited once placed in the field. Many complain that they have no transport and thus do nothing. Those who have transport often use it inefficiently. Some men find their work frustrating because they have been charged with developmental tasks but are not given clear directions as to how to achieve them. After all the formation of a chama cha ufuraji and the supervision of its development is a major task for a young man newly out of school.

One means of assisting him is to devise a fairly down-to-earth set of priorities for work which can be accomplished within the parameters of his local situation. Frequent visiting of field centers for monitoring purposes and periodic staff conferences to "talk out" problems and achievements are absolutely necessary.

The other aspect of training in its broadest sense has already been mentioned in connection with association members. It is urgent that members be educated in their own responsibilities in their associations. Technical inputs which also stimulate collective decisions or cooperation or greater participation are one means of developing this commitment. Frequent meetings of committees conducted by a field officer in which members are encouraged to make binding decisions about their development as well as to implement them is another side of the same coin. But all of these are mainly in the aimed at developing social participation and leadership. Special training courses for wana chuma at the rural training centre at "ondoi" are also very important keys to the enlivening of associations and the production of a self-sufficient organization. I anticipate that the sociological staff will be able to lend some expertise to the planning and execution of these training exercises. The sociologist should plan on spending a considerable amount of time engaged in rural training centre related activities.

b. Personal Matters. To accomplish some of the more in-depth kind of work proposed, knowledge of Ki-masai is absolutely essential. As I pointed out earlier, although this was an early goal, it proved impossible to master even the basics of the language without some degree of formal training away from the pressures of a daily work routine. Such an opportunity exists in a short-term course offered by the C.N.S. in Kenya. Six weeks out of a tour of twenty-four months is a short time indeed when the immense profits this period can produce are considered. Once I have understood the fundamentals of Masai grammar and especially tone and pronunciation, then it will be easier for me to continue in the field along with performance of other duties. Every member of this project should be given the opportunity to learn either Masai or Swahili in order for him to work more effectively.

9. Some Concluding Observations on Masailand.

This is not the place to go into a detailed analysis of the information collected in the Sociological Census and other sources, but it may be of value to briefly summarize some of the more striking results we have obtained. Each of the reports in the appendix will discuss these results in greater detail.

a. Pastoralism. Most people consider the Masai to be a people continuously on the move, following water and pasture. To some extent this is true, but they are certainly not pure nomads, and I doubt if they were even in the early 1900s, although the readily histories we collected revealed more frequent movement than that today. Most of the Masai interviewed in the Census claimed to have shifted camps about once in the past 10 years. The meaning of this claim has been discussed in the various appended reports, but it appears in general that this response indicates an emphasis on what we have called a major shift of residence while making minor adjustments. A major shift would mean transporting the whole camp (or breaking it up into dispersing families) and its stock over a considerable distance to a new area of settlement, new watering places, new pastures. A minor shift concerns reconstruction of a new camp nearby, a seasonal move, etc., none of which constitute an upheaval of patterns already in operation.

Seasonality introduced another aspect of pastoralism in Masailand. Most Masai interviewed were involved in a customary movement from wet to dry season pastures; nevertheless, they maintained a relatively permanent "main" camp. For many Masai in Tanzania, then, movement is in rather small adjustments for water and pasture around a central location where the family lives. And in many cases these main camps are within walking distance (albeit sometimes a long one) of the small market where women supply men with necessities of food and other goods.

Of course there is little doubt that the efforts of the Range project and earlier government projects in providing permanent water have facilitated the gradual stabilization of the Masai. More recently dips have also served to keep stock and their people tied to a more circumscribed area. But while these two inputs have indeed served to make the Masai more settled, they also have had the indirect effect of assisting in devastating some of the range lands where an absence of balance of stock and land use would be maintained naturally.

A similar problem occurred in Kenya with a group ranching project. After settlement, it was discovered that the land could not support the concentration of people and stock it was originally assessed to hold. One year of no rain forced the settlers to initiate their formerly more pastoral life.

The settling of a pastoral people is a dangerous exercise. We are fortunate in that the Masai have been in the process of stabilizing their migratory pattern for some time. Their very great dependence on agricultural products these days tends to make them more sedentary. And certainly their interest in dipping and dependence on new permanent water supplies intensifies this stabilization. But without extremely

careful calibration and enforcement of carrying capacity to actual stock numbers this whole process could become disastrous.

b. Agricultural Involvement. Table Three presents the data collected from seven areas on subsistence variation in Masailand. Well over one half of the population in the two districts engage in some form of cultivation. On the whole the average number of acres planted by mixed farmers/ herders is small, but nevertheless significant. Masailand, contrary to the usual opinion, is not solely devoted to stock keeping, and cultivation is not a minor aspect of land use.

Agricultural segments of Masailand are located in areas of higher potentials: many cluster around water lands and usually form nuclei for the development of small aggregates of residences and shops. At the time of this writing one can also find a number of agricultural ujamaa villages in the area.

Two observations are forthcoming. First, that agriculture is beginning to make a major encroachment into pastoral lands which means greater competition for usually scarce water supplies and land. This is particularly true where intensive farming of some of the ujamaa villages has meant a fairly large concentration of people around water supplies formerly used solely by pastoralists. The only area to my knowledge where little or no evidence of cultivation can be found is in the Mbat-Mbatani - mixed central portion of Masailand.

Second, although the majority of those engaged in agriculture are non-Masai, many Masai are beginning to cultivate on a small scale, and a few are even entering into commercial production. At Kijungu the Talandi association has established communal jamaa shambas for their use. This is an extremely important development in the lifeways of these people. The problem is that one must consider the extent to which this should be encouraged given the great need for land for stock production. Contrary to popular notions, land is indeed a scarce commodity, although the Masai would probably only acknowledge this indirectly by referring the scarcity of water.

c. Ethnic Composition. Table Four gives the breakdown of ethnic groups in the areas surveyed in the two districts. The figures are meant to be suggestive rather than definitive, for in some areas only Masai were interviewed. For example the Talandi association may contain only Masai members, but they live in an area where there is a substantial non-pastoral population which was not counted.

Over one hundred tribal groups have been recorded. The majority, as might be expected, are Masai, followed by Arusha and Chogya.

Although some ethnic diversity can be found all over Masailand, it mostly occurs in commercial and cultivation centers. In the mainly pastoral areas Masai and some Watusi predominate.

It would appear that most of this movement of non-Masai peoples into Masailand has occurred within the last ten to fifteen years. It would coincide with the increase of agricultural production, capital works, and commercial development in Masailand as well as with greater land pressures on sedentary peoples which have induced them to seek new areas for settlement.

d. Modernization. It is misleading and something of an injustice to speak in general terms about the degree of modernization expressed by an entire people. The Masai demonstrate as much variation individually and territorially as any other tribe. But since the common opinion appears to be that the Masai are very conservative as a group, I feel some discussion of what we have discovered is warranted.

What do we mean by modernization? In the Masai case we would look for use of better technical devices for the care of stock, entry into the commercial sector via cattle markets, participation in modern education, legal, and health sectors, and involvement in local and national affairs.

On the traditional side, most Masai present an image of conservatism to the outside world. They tend to dress in a particular fashion out of keeping with the rest of the country; their homes show few signs of modern influence save for cooking utensils; only a few speak Swahili fluently. They appear to be obstinate in not wanting their children in school, and demonstrate a desire to handle their own affairs without outside influence.

But at the same time Masai have adopted a great many technical innovations in the area of animal husbandry, and in some cases without the stimulus of a field staff. They are willing to pay for dips and acaricides, as well as pay the salaries of dip attendants. Associations and prospective associations have collected rather large sums of money for the construction and repair of water supplies in their areas. They have contributed money for the purchase of supplies for veterinary centers: fridges, etc. And it is not at all uncommon for a bona to possess a syringe and be actively seeking stock medicines.

Thus the Masai present a somewhat contradictory image to the outside world. On the one hand they appear to be extremely conservative in some sectors of development; in others, they seem to be developing faster than most people. And here I think we have one part of a great problem of potential misunderstanding between administrator, technician, and the people. To give it a grandiose title, we could label it "misplaced symbolic emphasis". The second contributor to this misunderstanding concerns the speed and style with which development is to occur, a lack of concert which seems to be endemic in development work. To give this an equally elaborate title, it could be called the conflict between "systematic and selective modernization."

Misplaced symbolic emphasis reveals a shared illusion about what makes Masai society workable and meaningful. It has selected the more visible characteristics of Masai culture and elevated them to core values, those which give meaning to all other aspects of life. For the most part these involve mode of dress and decoration, mobilization for warfare through age groups, and living and eating habits. Certainly all of these are particular to the Masai way of life and indeed possess a lot of emotional value for the people. But many of these manifestations could be replaced by more modern and politically acceptable items without drastically altering or changing the Masai way of life. The Age Grade system involves a more complex situation. It is my opinion that these visible symbols have become for many Masai a summary of what being a Masai means. And being, so stressed locally, they convey the same message to administrators.

Under normal static circumstances, this shared illusion would not be very significant. It would be an artistic view of a people fostered by a romantic notion of pastoralists in general. But the situation is different and the problem therefore greater.

The difference between systematic and selective development is simply that on the one hand administrators and technicians have as their developmental goal an alteration of all aspects of life of a people - total modernization - while on the other hand the people themselves (clients) usually do not share or understand what this goal means. They are fearful of total change or not aware of the values coming from modern life. In part this is because they do not have the requisite information to enable them to understand what modernization can mean to them, but also because they fear that accepting something new will destroy something traditional and valuable. In the extreme case, all that is defined as new is defined as bad, while all that is considered "traditional", whether it is or not, is defined as not only good but

something which must be preserved.

Understanding this difference in view as to how development should take place, we can appreciate the fact that most Masai demonstrate great commitment to all kinds of technical development in the stock production side, while they are not interested in educating their children or changing their life style. And we can appreciate the concern of developers who wish to see modernization occur in all aspects of Masai life and their frustration when specific areas are neglected.

When the two circumstances converge chances of miscommunication are greatly increased, for there is little space for clear mutual understanding. That which the Masai have defined to the public as their "image", which they now treasure, becomes to the planner the image of anti-progressiveness. Attacking these peripheral symbols, such as the dress code, use of red ochre, etc, only serves to intensify the problem and obscure the great strides that these people are already making.

The result is that for the most part the pastoral residents of Masailand are regarded as conservative and difficult to develop, while in fact they are participating in the modern sector more and more. This realization can prove to be very valuable in the planning and execution of any specific innovation in Masailand, for it first informs us where the barriers are, what misunderstandings may obtain, and causes us to assess the presentation of our program in this light. For example, the education problem. It is surprising how many educated Masai one can find occupying positions of local authority. In many cases they assume the responsibility of being intermediaries between their communities and the government. Their communities are aware of their value to them, yet may still be reluctant to send children to school. In part it is because they fear a destruction of "Masinness", an identity with a way of life, but also because the education structure makes it difficult for a youth to apply what he has learned. As schools in Masailand become more and more stock oriented and the value of an education becomes a conscious realization, sending children to school will not prove to be a problem at all.

e. Resettlement. If the technical needs are adequately assessed and correspondingly met, resettlement of the pastoral peoples of Masailand will not prove to be a difficult task. I have often argued that one need not even talk about resettlement with the Masai but simply speak in terms of a permanent water supply and perhaps a dip where MCF is regarded as a danger to stock, and then discuss management systems which will provide some grass all year round. If these conditions are

not, a new settlement will spring up. On the whole both needs and Khasi Districts have demonstrated great openness to working out schemes for resettlement of the Naxal which will conform to their particular way of life. Now where it has occurred, I am certain that most residents are content, and in a year or so will agree that it is a change for the better.

For resettlement and stabilization of pastoralists to be successful ultimately, greater demands will have to be made on the cooperation of the residents. They must agree to follow a management system and adhere to stock quotas. Finally they must also be stimulated to take a more active part in determining the progress of their change.

To accomplish this requires breaking down that growing pattern of misunderstanding between pastoralist, administrator and technician. This requires a field staff who have the confidence and trust of the people, planners who are both willing to be patient in some aspects of a development program but firm in others, and technicians who will have the flexibility to adjust their own images of what development should be to the realities of local life.



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July 28, 1975

-10. TABLES.

TABLE ONE. SUMMARY OF PROGRESS OF WORK ON THE SOCIOLOGICAL CENSUS.

<u>CHAMA</u>	<u>SURVEY</u>	<u>TABLETIC</u>	<u>ANALYSIS</u>	<u>INITIAL REPORT</u>	<u>FINAL REPORT</u>
Talana	6-7/'73	2-3/'74	5/'74	none	Sept. 27, 1974
Sunya	7 '73	2-3/'74	5/'74	July 1975	none
Engaruka-Kitwai	12/'73-1/'74	-	-	-	-
Engaruka	12/'73-5/'74	4/'74	6/'74	Oct. 12, 1974	Dec. 13, 1974
Koclenik	2/'74-8/'74	4/'74-8/'74	8/'74	Aug. 29, 1974	none
Nanyara	7-8/'74	8/'74	2/'75	none	Feb. 25, 1975
Kitenderi	12/'74-1/'75	3/'75	3-4/'75	Apr. 9, 1975	none
Tingatinga	1-2/'75	3-4/'75	4/'75	Apr. 29, 1975	none
Langido	2-3/'75	3-4/'75	5/'75	May 27, 1975	none
Naberera	1/'75	3-4/'75	6/'75	June 10, 1975	none
Shambani	1-3/'75	3-4/'75	6-7/'75	July 5, 1975	none
Mamalulu	12/'73	1/'74	6/'75	in Naberera report	

TABLE TWO. POPULATION SUMMARY OF BIGHT RANCHING ASSOCIATIONS.

<u>CHAMA</u>	<u>BOHA</u>	<u>FAMILY</u>	<u>MILK</u>	<u>WATER</u>	<u>BOYS</u>	<u>GIRLS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>ESTIMATED UNCOUNTED BOHA</u>
Talana	144	304	854	1045	955	883	3737	0
Engaruka	136	275	478	542	494	404	2074	15
Kitenderi	132	249	455	399	399	437	1693	13
Tingatinga	75	179	309	1075	1087	1075	4109	20
Langido	271	577	525	761	1099	903	4203	43
Naberera/ Mamalulu	90	196	329	301	416	302	1744	18
Shambani	269	547	710	769	928	735	3160	22
TOTALS	1349	2748	4511	5258	5634	5046	21688	136

TABLE THREE: SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS, BY CHAMA.*

<u>CHAMA</u>	<u>PASTORAL</u>	<u>MILK</u>	<u>AGRICULTURAL</u>	<u>WAGE/SHOP</u>	<u>NO ANSWER</u>
Talana	69	55	7	7	(only Masai responses)
Engaruka	60	76	0	0	0
Kitenderi	98	7	27	7	0
Koclenik	105	100	0	7	7
Tingatinga	27	30	17	7	1
Langido	164	56	51	41	0
Naberera	41	15	34	7	0
Shambani	59	86	139	7	4
TOTALS	747	455	251	48	12

* Totals in this Table differ from Table Two because of double entries in columns four and five (agricultural and Wage/Shop), where the III engaged in both activities.

TABLE FOUR: ETHNIC COMPOSITION IN EIGHT ASSOCIATIONS BY BONA.

<u>Place</u>	<u>Masai</u>	<u>Arusha</u>	<u>Chagga</u>	<u>Kar.</u>	<u>Pare</u>	<u>Sukuma- hyaawezi</u>	<u>Luo</u>	<u>Heru</u>	<u>Kikuyu</u>	<u>Mbulu</u>	<u>Kuria</u>	<u>Nyiranta</u>	<u>Kyusa</u>	<u>Semali</u>	<u>Ethiopia</u>	<u>Luhya</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Unknown</u>
Talatali	144	-															7	
Kemolenik	212*																	
Bararuta	88	26												5				17
Kitemioni	60	38	14	3													8	9
Kalafora	52	2	3		8	5	6										11	3
Tin-atiya	54	5	10				3											3
Kemile	142	16	15	3			4	5	3				24	7			19	33
Shanarai	78	33	14	14	10	5	18				9	9	8			4	53	19
TOTAL	668	120	57	26	29	10	24	7	5	3	9	9	8	29	7	4	188	81

(Note: this table represents population by bona net by individual. The category of "Other" concerns ethnic groups having a representation of less than four. In most cases it was a single residence unit.)

* When the Kemolenik census was undertaken there was no question dealing with ethnic group. We knew, however, that practically all the members of the chama are either Masai or Arusha. Thus the figure was placed in the center of the two categories. In the final totals, it was added with the Masai, since they are in the majority at Kemolenik.