



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

THE DIVERSIFICATION OF A PASTORAL SOCIETY:
EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT
AMONG THE MAASAI OF NAROK DISTRICT, KENYA

by

© Killian Holland
Department of Anthropology
McGill University
Montreal

A thesis
submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy.

July 1992



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file - Votre référence

Car file - Référence

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-80332-0

Canada

Diversification of pastoralism:
Education and employment among the Maasai

Naai, incoo iyiook embiotisho.
Naai, incoo kitum osotua.
Naai, tobikoki iyiook to nakop ang' oo lMaasai.
Naai, intamelono niropil too naaleng e nkishu o tungana.

Naai, tangami iyiook, niminturraa iyiook.
Naai, tipika iyiook osarorua lino nimintau iyiook.
Naai, tipika iyiook olasar le nkoshoke ino, nimintau iyiook.
Naai, tipika iyiook ngilat enanka ino narok, nimintau iyiook.

Naai, tipika iyiook olkupelia le nkoshoke ino nimintau iyiook.
Naai, tipika iyiook inaibuko inono nimintau iyiook.
Naai, tajapa iyiook too nkitikit inono naamelook nimintau iyiook.
Naai, tanapa iyiook te nkoriong ino nimintadou iyiook.

O God, give us health.
O God, give us peace.
O God, stay with us in this land of the Maasai.
O God, bring sweet and fragrant blessings to the best
of cows and man.

O God, accept us and do not throw us away.
O God, place us in your navel
and do not take us out again.
O God, place us in the flame of your womb
and do not take us out of it.
O God, place us in the folds of your black garment
and do not take us out of them.

O God, place us in the whiteness of your womb
and do not take us out again.
O God, place us under your wings
and do not put us down again.
O God, carry us under your sweet armpits
and do not put us down again.
O God, carry us on your back
and do not put us down again.

Abstract

The research investigates the determinants and effects of two key indicators of diversification, schooling and employment, on Maasai community. Quantitatively and qualitatively it shows that this community is experiencing changing patterns of education and employment, both of which represent virtually closed systems within Narok District. The intergenerational study quantitatively demonstrates increasing rates of school participation, showing how wealth influences schooling, and how Maasai now disproportionately send firstborns to school.

Qualitative material from in-depth interviews shows increasingly positive attitudes towards education, even by those who do not educate their children, and the ambiguity of Maasai responses to social change: increasing social and economic complexity, with a strong continuing role for the animal-based society and economy, even in its commercialized form where it generates jobs pursued by younger non-educated males as herders and traders. As employment beyond the home economy increases, the educated are more likely to enter formal employment and show higher rates of job mobility.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette recherche vise à étudier les facteurs et les effets de deux indicateurs-clefs de diversification dans la communauté Massaï : l'enseignement et l'emploi. Sur les deux plans quantitatif et qualitatif, l'étude montre que cette communauté subit actuellement des changements dans les secteurs de l'enseignement et de l'emploi qui, dans le district de Narok, ne nécessitent pas de quitter le district. L'étude portant sur diverses générations montre également que, sur le plan quantitatif, le taux de scolarisation augmente. Cela met en évidence l'influence de la richesse sur la scolarisation, qui fait que maintenant les Massaïs envoient plus souvent les aînés à l'école.

Les résultats qualitatifs des interviews approfondies indiquent une attitude de plus en plus positive face à l'enseignement même chez les Massaïs qui n'envoient pas leurs enfants à l'école; ces résultats montrent également l'ambiguïté de leur attitude face aux changements sociaux. La complexité grandissante des liens socio-économiques et le rôle toujours important d'une société et d'une économie d'élevage, mais néanmoins mercantile, crée des emplois de gardiens de troupeaux et de commerçants recherchés par les jeunes garçons non scolarisés. A mesure que les possibilités d'emploi augmentent au-delà de l'économie familiale, les personnes scolarisées s'engageront plus probablement vers ces emplois et on constate un taux plus élevé de mobilité dans l'emploi.

Acknowledgements

From the very beginning of my studies at McGill I have been blessed to be surrounded by so many supportive friends in the persons of my fellow graduate students in the Department of Anthropology: Yesim Turner, Louise Sperling, Teresa Gray, Jaci Winters, Deirdre Fowles, Gloria Lalonde, Fern Brunger, Jim Cincotta, and Mark Gaber (of Engineering) to mention just a few. I am most grateful to the Fathers of St. Patrick's (Monsignors Breen and Dubee, Fathers Mancini, Govenlock, Gourlay, and MacEachen), for their patience, kindness, and forbearance, and for the hospitality shown to me during the course of my studies at McGill University.

The Department of Anthropology has been generous and supportive over the years in the form of teaching assistantships, for which I am grateful. I wish to acknowledge the advice and direction given to me by the members of my committee, Professors Dan Aronson and Mike Bisson of the Department of Anthropology, Professor Tom Owen Eiseon of the Faculty of Education, and my supervisor, Professor John Galaty. I also acknowledge the untiring assistance given to me by the International Student Adviser, Mr. Lawrence Lang, in unravelling and making some sense of the various "tapes" the international students encounter and in which we often become enmeshed.

One person in the department who stands firm and constant and is a tower of strength for the students is Rose Marie Stano, the Administrative Assistant. To this lady I, as have countless students before me, owe so much that these few words appear paltry and inadequate. Many of us graduate students owe our sanity and perseverance to her ability to listen and to advise so quietly and gently. The other departmental secretaries, Betty Dyckow and Dianne Mann, have also proved to be constant, supportive friends over the years.

The return air fare to Kenya was provided by a Humanities and Social Sciences travel grant from McGill University; partial funding for the research came from an FCAR Equipe grant administered by Professor Galaty.

This research would not have been possible without the requisite permissions granted by the Office of the President, Nairobi, Kenya, for which I express my respectful gratitude. I would like to thank the Director of the Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, for affiliation during the period of this research. Another friend and fellow McGill graduate student, Geoff Clarfield, extended to me the generous hospitality of his home when I first arrived in Nairobi; to him and his kind wife, Mira, I express my sincere gratitude.

Once I arrived in Narok District, Kenya, every courtesy was extended to me by numerous officials from the District Commissioner down. I am most grateful for these courtesies and for the assistance given to me by the staffs of the District Education Office and the District Surveyor's Office in Narok, in particular. I had previously spent six years serving as a missionary among the Maasai living on the border of Tanzania and Kenya and had made many deep and lasting friendships in both countries. I still wear the metal bracelets placed on my wrist by my Maasai "fathers" in Narosura back in 1977. Many of my friends proved invaluable sources of advice and help, and they provided me with encouragement and the incentive to complete the research.

As well as my Maasai friends, many missionary colleagues were also of extreme help giving me accommodation, advice, and support, especially on those occasions when I ran out of funds and had no means of transport or accommodation. Among the Mill Hill Missionaries, I wish to thank most sincerely Bishop Colin Davies of the Diocese of Ngong for his support and cooperation during the nineteen months of this research and I would like to thank Fr. Cor Schilder, the bishop's secretary, for his graciously offered assistance during those periods when I was without transport. Another noteworthy missionary who assisted me was Father Frans Mol to whom I am indebted for his patience and kindness in allowing me to lodge at the Maasai Centre at Lemek and to use it as a base during my research. My sincere thanks also go to Dr Luke Ross of the Maasai Training Centre for

his many useful insights and suggestions and for his heart warming sense of humour.

Two Mill Hill Missionaries whom I shall never forget for their sincere solicitude and their open and warm hospitality during my frequent trips to Nairobi are Brothers Martin van Leeuwen and Jos Verhaak. From these two friends I experienced the fullest and true meaning of fraternity and hospitality. A Spiritan missionary with many years' experience of the Maasai way of life in both Tanzania and Kenya, who was one of my strongest supporters and advocates before, during, and after this doctoral research, was Professor Father Eugene Hillman C.S.Sp. To him I owe much of the inspiration for this research and for the whole idea of seeking academic credentials with a view to using them for the betterment of the lives of the pastoralists of East Africa. I am grateful to him for his insights and for the many hours of useful discussion on the problems and difficulties experienced by the Maasai of both Kenya and Tanzania.

I would like to thank the two brothers Messrs Mohamed Shabir Ismail and Iqbal for their repeated gestures of assistance especially in the area of transport; I wish to express my special thanks to Shabir and his good wife Sabina for the numerous occasions when they detected I was discouraged and frustrated and, like the true friends they are, took me out of myself and helped build-up my spirits, sense of well-being, and trust in the goodness of people. To be accepted into such a family and to feel their loving support was a privilege and an enriching experience.

Through the kindness and cooperation of a number of Headteachers and teachers, I was very fortunate to have access to the school records of various schools in the district; Lemek Full Primary, Morijo Loita Full Primary, Ilkerin Loita Full Primary, Ngoswani Primary, and Ngoringori Primary School. In addition to the Headteachers and numerous teachers from these schools, a number of other Headteachers (of both primary and secondary schools) shared some of their ideas and made suggestions for the direction of this research; especially the Headteachers of Ololulunga Arid

Zone Full Primary, Narosura Full Primary, and Olchekut Supat Secondary, Lemek.

These acknowledgements would not be complete without sincere words of thanks for my two principal research assistants, Sukumai Philip ole Ntukai in Loita and Munteleo Joseph ole Gilisho in Lemek. Those who have been engaged in doctoral research know the enormous debt we owe to our hard-working research assistants. Only I know the enormous extent of their contributions and the scope of their assistance in the development of this research. I duly acknowledge that without their help and support there would never have been as comprehensive a study as the one presented here.

With humblest gratitude, I wish to dedicate this study to the Maasai of Lemek and Morijo Loita, to the men and the women, young and old, who gave so generously of their time and their private lives to make this research possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	i-ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii-vi
Table of Contents.....	vii-xv
List of Tables and Appendices.....	xvi-xxii

Chapter One

The setting, problem, and study

1.1. Introduction.....	1
1.2. The situation/problem.....	4
1.3. Issues in pastoralism and social change: pastoralists and development.....	5
1.4. Study of education, employment, and migration among pastoralists.....	10
1.4.1. The methodology.....	10
1.4.2. Clarification of terms.....	12
1.4.3. The structure of the study	13

Chapter Two

Narok District and two communities:
A social and demographic profile

2.1. Introduction	17
2.2. The setting: Population of the study and sampling.....	17
2.3. The District and the two selected study areas.....	22
2.3.1. Lemek Group Ranch	23
2.3.2. Morijo Loita Sub-location.....	24
2.4. History of the area	25
2.4.1. The Maa speaking people	25
2.4.2. Land and people.....	26
2.5. The Maasai population: Trends and movements.....	28
2.5.1. Movement out of Narok and Kajiado Districts.....	30
2.5.2. Population movements: Comparison of Kajiado and Narok...	31
2.6. Men and women in two communities	35
2.6.1. Research data: Lemek Group Ranch.....	37
2.6.2. Research data: Morojjo Loita Sub-location.....	38
2.7. The demographic structure of the communities.....	39
2.7.1. Lemek Group Ranch.....	41
2.7.2. Morijo Loita Sub-location.....	43
2.7.3. Widows in Lemek Group Ranch.....	46
2.7.4. Widows in Morijo Loita Sub-location.....	48
2.8. Conclusion.....	49

Chapter Three

Education in Narok District

3.1. Introduction.....	52
3.2. Issues in pastoralism and education.....	53
3.2.1. Education in Narok District.....	58
3.2.1.1. Education in Narok District: Pre-Independence.....	59
3.2.1.2. Education in Narok District: Post-Independence.....	61
3.2.1.3. Education in Narok District: 1979 Census	63
3.2.1.4. Education in Narok District: The present situation.....	65
3.3. Wives and daughters with schooling: Lemek and Loita.....	67
3.3.1. Educated women in Lemek Group Ranch.....	68
3.3.2. Educated women in Morijo Sub-location.....	72
3.4. Composition of primary schools: Lemek and Loita.....	74
3.4.1. Lemek Primary School	75
3.4.2. Morijo Loita Primary School.....	76
3.5. Education in the two selected communities.....	79
3.5.1. Schooling and non-schooling: Lemek Group Ranch.....	79
3.5.2. Schooling and non-schooling: Morijo Loita.....	82
3.5.3. Comparison of those educated in Lemek and Loita.....	84
3.6. Education among various age-groups: Lemek and Loita.....	87
3.6.1. School-age population (5-19 years): Lemek and Loita.....	87
3.6.2. The 20-39 years old age-group.....	92
3.6.3. The 40+ years' age-group.....	97
3.7. Summary.....	102
3.7.1. Lemek Group Ranch.....	103
3.7.2. Morijo Loita Sub-location.....	104
3.7.3. Combined educational involvement.....	104

Chapter Four

Education within the context of the family

4.1. Introduction.....	108
4.2. Heads of households.....	109
4.2.1. Lemek Group Ranch.....	109
4.2.2. Morijo Loita Sub-division.....	110
4.3. Profiles of male and female household heads: Lemek.....	110
4.3.1. Age.....	110
4.3.2. Ethnicity.....	111
4.3.3. Education.....	111
4.3.4. Cattle.....	112
4.3.5. Land.....	113
4.3.6. Parents of household heads:ethnicity and education.....	114
4.4. Profiles of male and female household heads: Loita	116
4.4.1. Age.....	116
4.4.2. Ethnicity.....	116
4.4.3. Education.....	117
4.4.4. Cattle.....	117
4.4.5. Land.....	119
4.4.6. Parents of household heads:ethnicity and education.....	119
4.4.7. Comment.....	120
4.5. Numbers of educated offspring (persons) per family: Lemek and Loita.....	121
4.5.1. Comment.....	124
4.6. Birth order, gender, and education: Lemek and Loita.....	125
4.6.1. First-born males: Lemek.....	128
4.6.2. First-born males: Loita.....	130
4.7. Education and family wealth.....	133
4.7.1. Educating families and cattle wealth: Lemek.....	135
4.7.2. Educating families and cattle wealth: Loita.....	138
4.8. Conclusion.....	141

Chapter Five

Low school participation: Attitudes of reluctant parents and dropouts

5.1. Introduction.....	145
5.2. Attitudes towards education: Parents who did not educate their children.....	146
5.2.1. Reasons for educating boys.....	148
5.2.2. Reasons for not educating boys.....	151
5.2.3. Reasons for educating girls.....	154
5.2.4. Reasons for not educating girls.....	156
5.2.5. Reasons for not educating their children.....	160
5.3. Primary school dropouts in Lemek and Loita.....	165
5.3.1. Whose idea was it to drop out of school?.....	166
5.3.2. Reasons for dropping out of school.....	167
5.3.3. Desire to continue at that time?.....	169
5.3.4. Desire to complete education now?.....	169
5.4. Conclusion.....	170

Chapter Six

Education and employment

6.1. Introduction.....	173
6.2. Issues in education and migration for wage-employment.....	174
6.3. Those currently employed in the two communities.....	181
6.4. Education and wage-employment in the two communities.....	183
6.5. The significance of the first job.....	186
6.6. The first job: Lemek males	186
6.6.1. Summary of education and employment: Lemek.....	189
6.6.1.1. Dropped out of Primary School and employed.....	189
6.6.1.2. Finished Primary School and employed.....	190
6.6.1.3. Secondary/Tertiary education and employed.....	190
6.6.2. Subsequent employment after first job: Lemek males	191
6.7. First jobs: Lemek females.....	195
6.7.1. Subsequent employment: Lemek females	196
6.8. First jobs: Loita males.....	197

6.8.1. Summary of education and employment: Loita.....	198
6.8.1.1. Dropped out of Primary School and employed.....	198
6.8.1.2. Finished Primary School and employed.....	199
6.8.1.3. Secondary/Tertiary education and employed.....	199
6.8.2. Subsequent employment: Loita males.....	199
6.9. First jobs: Loita females.....	202
6.9.1. Subsequent employment: Loita females.....	204
6.10. Education and employment: Lemek and Loita.....	204
6.11. Conclusion.....	218

Chapter Seven

Employment locales and occupational structure

7.1. Introduction.....	223
7.2. Occupational structure of the district.....	223
7.3. Employment locales chosen by the Maasai workers.....	224
7.3.1. Who works where, and why: Lemek sample.....	224
7.3.2. Who works where, and why: Loita sample.....	228
7.3.3. Employment locales: Lemek and Loita.....	230
7.4. The employment choices of the Maasai workers.....	232
7.4.1. Raiders or traders: New economic opportunities for Maasai <u>ilmurran</u>	233
7.4.1.1. Traditional raiding patterns of the <u>ilmurran</u>	233
7.4.1.2. Changes in the role of the <u>ilmurran</u>	235
7.4.1.3. Present day trading	237
7.4.1.4. Joblessness among the young.....	239
7.4.1.5. Mistaken assumptions concerning traders.....	240
7.4.2. Cattle traders: Lemek and Loita.....	241
7.4.3. Hired herdsmen and shepherds: Lemek and Loita.....	246
7.4.4. Watchmen: Lemek and Loita.....	249
7.4.5. Other jobs: Lemek and Loita sample.....	251
7.5. Age, wealth, and duration in eight selected jobs.....	252
7.6. Conclusion.....	256

Chapter Eight

Specialized employment locales:
Work in The Mara Game Reserve and Trading Centres

8.1. Introduction.....	258
8.2. The Maasai Mara Game Reserve: Tourist Lodges and Camps.....	258
8.2.1. The two sample areas and employment at the lodges.....	264
8.3. Employment in The Mara as Rangers.....	264
8.4. Employment as herdsmen in The Mara.....	265
8.5. Educational levels of workers in The Mara.....	266
8.6. Employment in the commercial centres: Lemek and Loita.....	267
8.6.1. The trading centre at Lemek.....	268
8.6.2. The trading centre at Morijo Loita.....	270
8.7. Conclusion.....	271

Chapter Nine

A profile of the Maasai rural employed
and their attitudes towards education in Maasailand

9.1. Introduction.....	275
9.2. Profiles of the two samples	277
9.2.1. Parents' economic standing.....	280
9.2.2. Education.....	281
9.2.3. Factors impinging upon school attendance.....	282
9.2.4. Marital status	283
9.2.5. Workers' own economic standing	284
9.2.6. Years between leaving school and first job.....	285
9.2.7. Length of stay away from home.....	285
9.2.8. Place of employment for the first job.....	286
9.2.9. Reasons for wage-employment outside local area.....	287
9.2.10. School repeaters among the educated workers.....	288
9.3. Comparison of the profiles.....	292
9.4. Attitudes of the employed Maasai towards education.....	295
9.4.1. Are there changed attitudes among the Maasai?.....	296
9.4.2. Lemek and Loita.....	296
9.4.3. Education and development/change.....	299
9.4.4. Slow progress and change.....	300
9.4.5. Less positive views.....	302
9.4.6. Teachers' views on education in Maasailand.....	303

9.5. Maasai expectations of those who have an education.....	305
9.5.1. Responses from those with an education: Lemek and Loita.....	306
9.5.2. Responses from those without an education: Lemek and Loita.....	308
9.6. The achievements of those who have an education.....	310
9.6.1. The educated respondents: Lemek and Loita.....	311
9.6.2. The non-educated respondents: Lemek and Loita.....	313
9.7. Conclusion.....	315

Chapter Ten

The social consequences of education and employment on Maasai, their families, and the community

10.1. Introduction.....	319
10.2. Signs of development within the home situations.....	319
10.3. Has education made a difference in the person's life?.....	323
10.4. Has education made a difference for his family?.....	325
10.5. Has education made any difference for the wider community?..	326
10.6. Difference in economic status to that of parents.....	327
10.7. Reasons for being richer.....	329
10.8. Desired locale of employment.....	330
10.9. Views on migrating for wage-employment.....	330
10.9.1. Migrants, cattle, and Maasai status.....	333
10.10. Conclusion.....	334

Chapter Eleven

Women on women: Attitudes of female workers towards women's issues

11.1. Introduction.....	337
11.2. The female workers of Lemek Group Ranch.....	338
11.2.1. The educational status of the women.....	338
11.2.2. The jobs undertaken by the women.....	339
11.2.3. Salary uses.....	339

11.3. Women's perceptions of education in Maasailand.....	339
11.3.1. Views on involvement of Maasai in education.....	340
11.3.2. Views on changes among Maasai towards schooling.....	340
11.3.3. Views on the education of Maasai females.....	340
11.3.4. Attitudes towards education of Maasai males.....	342
11.3.5. What educated Maasai should do with education.....	342
11.3.6. What the educated persons actually accomplish.....	343
11.3.7. Education of children of these female workers.....	343
11.4. Tradition versus change.....	345
11.4.1. Girls, schooling, and clitoridectomy.....	345
11.4.2. Women's attitude towards female clitoridectomy.....	346
11.4.3. Traditional housing.....	347
11.4.4. Traditional diet.....	348
11.4.5. Agricultural shifts: <u>Shambas</u> and vegetables grown.....	349
11.4.6. Other visible signs of change.....	350
11.4.7. The subdivision of the Group Ranch.....	351
11.5. Women's views on men leaving home for wage-employment.....	351
11.5.1. Maasai migrants and cattle.....	352
11.5.2. Why some people leave home.....	353
11.6. Male attitudes towards education of Maasai females.....	353
11.6.1. Positive attitudes of the men towards females' education: Lemek and Loita samples.....	354
11.6.2. Negative attitudes of the men towards females' education: Lemek and Loita samples.....	356
11.7. Conclusion.....	358

Chapter Twelve

Conclusion

12.1 The findings.....	361
12.1.1. Factors associated with educational participation.....	362
12.1.2. The fit between attitudes and behaviour regarding education.....	368
12.1.3. Changes in attitudes towards education.....	372
12.1.4. Factors associated with education and employment.....	374
12.1.5. Influence of education and employment on broader areas of Maasai social change.....	383
12.1.6. The differences between Lemek and Loita.....	388
12.2. Trends for the future.....	389
12.2.1. The animal production sector.....	390
12.3.2. Improvements to the school system	392
12.3. The individual, the community, and uses of educational credentials.....	394

Endnotes.....	399
Bibliography.....	415
Map 1 Provinces and districts, Kenya.....	429
Map 2 Maasai Sections of Kenya and Tanzania.....	430
Map 3 Roads and Centres, Narok District (research sites).....	431
Map 4 Administrative, Narok District.....	432
Map 5 Agro-ecological, Narok District.....	433
Sketch Map 1 Lemek Centre.....	434
Sketch Map 2 Moriyo Loita Centre.....	434
Appendices.....	435

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1	Population by sex and sub-location: Narok District
Table 2.2	Population movement to and from the Districts of Kajiado and Narok (in percentages). (According to the 1969 Census)
Table 2.3	Maasai population in various Provinces of Kenya: 1969/79
Table 2.4	Population of Lemek Group Ranch by gender and selected age categories
Table 2.5	Population of Morijo Loita Sub-location by gender and selected age categories
Table 2.6	Number of gates per boma: Lemek Group Ranch
Table 2.7	Number of families per boma: Lemek Group Ranch
Table 2.8	Number of gates per boma: Morijo Loita
Table 2.9	Number of families per boma: Morijo Loita
Table 2.10	Widows and patterns of residence: Lemek and Loita
Table 3.1	School attendance (5-19 cohort): Narok Dt, 1979.
Table 3.2	Percentage of local and non-local students in Stds. 4-8: Lemek Primary School (1990)
Table 3.3	Percentage of local and non-local students in Stds. 4-8: Morijo Loita Primary School (1990)
Table 3.4	Schooling/non-schooling by five year age-groupings, gender and percentages (of gender total): Lemek
Table 3.5	Schooling/non-schooling by five year age-groupings, gender and percentages (of gender total): Morijo Loita
Table 3.6	Education levels of those over five years of age; expressed as percentages of those with an education: By locality and gender
Table 3.7	School-age populations: Schooling and non-schooling by gender and levels of schooling: Lemek and Morijo Loita
Table 3.8	School-age children (5-19 years) by ethnic group and level of education: Lemek and Loita
Table 3.9	School-age population: local Purko, local Loita, and other ethnic groups; schooling as percentages of those with an education: Lemek and Loita
Table 3.10	Age-group (20-39 years): non-schooling and schooling by levels and gender: Lemek and Loita
Table 3.11	Age-group (20-39 years): Level of education and location by ethnic group: Lemek and Loita
Table 3.12	Local Purko and Loita and other ethnic groups (20-39 years): schooling in percentages: Lemek and Loita

- Table 3.13 Age-group (40+ years): Level of schooling by gender: Lemek and Loita
- Table 3.14 Age-group (40+ years), level of schooling by ethnic group: Lemek and Loita
- Table 3.15 Local Purko and Loita and other ethnic groups (40+ years); schooling by percentages: Lemek and Loita
- Table 3.16 Percentage (rounded to nearest percentage point) educated by ethnic division, age-group, and gender: Lemek and Loita
- Table 4.1 Household heads by ethnicity and gender: Lemek
- Table 4.2 Cattle and shoat numbers by families: Lemek
- Table 4.3 Land under cultivation: Lemek
- Table 4.4 Household heads by ethnicity and gender: Loita
- Table 4.5 Cattle and shoat numbers by families: Loita
- Table 4.6 Numbers of persons educated per family: Lemek and Loita
- Table 4.7 Maternal birth order: Male and female children: Lemek and Loita
- Table 4.8 First-born sons (5-19 years) and education: Lemek
- Table 4.9 First-born sons (over 20 years) and education: Lemek
- Table 4.10 First-born sons (5-19 years) and education: Loita
- Table 4.11 First-born sons (over 20 years) and education: Loita
- Table 4.12 Firstborns' educational status: Expressed as percentages of the age-level, of all educated, and of all firstborns: Lemek and Loita
- Table 4.13 Educating families of single males (5-24 years) by selected divisions of cattle-holdings: Expressed as percentages of total families in each wealth division: Lemek
- Table 4.14 Educated males (5-24 years) by selected divisions of cattle-holdings: Expressed as percentages in each wealth division: Lemek
- Table 4.15 Educating families of single males (5-24 years) by selected divisions of cattle-holdings: Expressed as percentages of total families in each wealth division: Loita
- Table 4.16 Educated males (5-24 years) by selected divisions of cattle-holdings: Expressed as percentages in each wealth division: Loita
- Table 4.17 Education rates compared: Males (5-24 years) vs. Families (educating/non-educating), Lemek and Loita

Table 6.1	Currently employed persons, both educated and non-educated: By age-level and gender: Lemek and Loita
Table 6.2	Educated school leavers as percentage of workers or non- workers: By gender and selected age-levels: Lemek and Loita
Table 6.3	Males' first job by age-level, level of education, and type of job presented as percentages of age-levels and total worker sample: Lemek
Table 6.4	Males' second job by age-level, level of education and type of job: Lemek
Table 6.5	Comparison of first and second jobs: By educational status, job categories, and selected age-groupings, expressed as percentages of the total number of jobs: Lemek Group Ranch
Table 6.6	Females' first job by age-group, level of education, and type of job: Lemek
Table 6.7	Males' first job by age-group, level of education, and type of job presented as percentages of age-levels and total worker sample: Loita
Table 6.8	Males' second job by age-group, level of education, and type of job: Loita
Table 6.9	Comparison of the first and second jobs: By educational status, job categories, and selected age-groupings, expressed as percentages of the total number of jobs: Moriyo Loita sub-location
Table 6.10	Females' first job by age-group, level of education, and type of job: Loita
Table 6.11	Females' second job by age-group, level of education, and type of job: Loita
Table 6.12	Education and types of employment (first job): Lemek and Loita
Table 6.13	First jobs chosen: By education skills required vs. educational levels of job participants: Lemek and Loita combined
Table 6.14	Education and job mobility: Lemek and Loita
Table 6.15	Ethnicity and educational status of male workers' parents: Expressed as percentages of worker sample and of total numbers in selected categories: Lemek and Loita
Table 6.16	Education and employment of workers' fathers: Expressed as percentages of worker sample and of total numbers in selected categories: Lemek and Loita
Table 6.17	Age-levels and educational status of workers: Expressed as percentages of the total number of males in each age-level: Lemek and Loita
Table 6.18	Types of jobs used as "entry" points or turned to later: Lemek and Loita

Table 6.19	Job mobility and selected age groups: Lemek and Loita
Table 6.20	Employment rates, all age-levels: Lemek and Loita
Table 7.1	Place of employment of males of Lemek Group Ranch: By job number
Table 7.2	Place of employment of males of Morijo Loita Sub- location: By job number
Table 7.3	Locales of employment: Educated and non-educated males of Lemek and Loita by the total number of jobs undertaken: First job through to sixth job
Table 7.4	Cattle holdings of traders by selected age-levels: Expressed as percentages of total families in each wealth stratum and total population: Lemek and Loita
Table 7.5	Cattle traders by selected age-levels and employment status compared by Mean cattle-holdings: Lemek and Loita
Table 7.6	Mean age, wealth (cattle), and duration of years in first job for eight selected occupations: Lemek and Loita
Table 8.1	Employment in The Maasai Mara by work and educational levels: Lemek and Loita workers
Table 9.1	Combining selected variables: educated and non-educated male workers (wage- or self-employed): Lemek and Loita
Table 9.2	Repeaters in Lemek Primary and Morijo Loita Primary Schools: 1973-1979 cohorts
Table 10.1	Presence of various items as signs of change in the home situations of the respondents: Lemek and Loita
Table 10.2	Housing materials, thatch or corrugated-iron roofs; by educational levels of household heads: Lemek and Loita
Table 10.3	Effects of education on the educated person's own life; by various indicators: Lemek and Loita
Table 10.4	Effects of education on the lives of the educated persons' families; by various indicators: Lemek and Loita
Table 10.5	Vegetables grown in the <u>shambas</u> of Lemek and Loita
Table 10.6	Effects of the person's education on the life of the wider community in which he/she lives; by selected indicators: Lemek and Loita.
Table 10.7	Educated and non-educated workers' perceptions of differences in economic standing between themselves and their parents: Lemek and Loita
Table 10.8	Desired locale of employment: Lemek and Loita workers
Table 10.9	Reasons why workers migrate for wage-employment: Lemek and Loita
Table 10.10	Socio-economic profiles of those who migrate for wage- employment according to Lemek and Loita respondents

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 2A	Table A	Population of Narok District by gender and ages in categories, heaped to 5 year intervals
Appendix 2B	Table B	Distribution of population by district of birth and province of residence: In percentages
Appendix 2C	Table C	School attendance in five year groups: Narok District, 1979
Appendix 2D	Table D	Ethnic composition of sampled sites by selected age-levels and gender: Lemek and Loita
Appendix 2E	Table E	Educated and non-educated Okiek: Lemek and Loita
	Table F	Educational status of Okiek over five years of age: Lemek and Loita
Appendix 2F	Figure 1	Population Pyramid, Lemek Group Ranch
	Figure 2	Population Pyramid, Moriyo Loita Sub-location
Appendix 3A	Table G	Schooling by selected age categories and gender: Lemek
	Table H	Schooling by selected age categories and gender: Loita
Appendix 3B	Table J	School-age populations (5-19 years): Schooling by gender, levels of schooling, and location expressed as percentages of those educated: Lemek and Loita
Appendix 3C	Table K	Age-group (20-39 years): by level of schooling, gender, and location expressed as percentages of those educated: Lemek and Loita
Appendix 3D	Table L	Forty years and over age-group: Level of schooling by location and gender expressed as a percentage of those educated: Lemek and Loita
Appendix 3E	Table M	Schooling of local Purko and other ethnic groups: Presented by gender, locality and age-groups as percentages of (A) all those in the age-group with some schooling (B) all those in the particular age-group, and (C) the total population of the Ranch
Appendix 3F	Table N	Schooling of local Loita and other ethnic groups: Presented by gender, locality and age-groups as percentages of (A) all those in the age-group with some schooling (B) all those in the particular age-group, and (C) the total population of the Sub-location
Appendix 3G	Table O	Local Purko and Loita involvement in schooling by location and selected age-groups.

Appendix 4A	Numbers of families and numbers of educated children
Appendix 4B	Numbers of children educated by family vs. numbers of children in families: Lemek Group Ranch and Morijo Loita Sub-location (Scatterplots)
	Maasai and Okiek combined: Number of children educated by family vs. total number of children in family: Lemek and Loita (Scatterplots)
	Maasai and Okiek: Proportion educated (%) vs. number of children in family: Lemek and Loita by families (Scatterplots)
	Maasai and Okiek: Proportion educated (%) vs. total numbers of children in family (beyond five per family): By families, Lemek and Loita (Scatterplots)
Appendix 4C	Table P First-born sons (20-24 years) and education: Lemek
	Table Q First-born sons (25-29 years) and education: Lemek
	Table R First-born sons (30+ years) and education: Lemek
	Table S First-born sons (20-24 years) and education: Loita
	Table T First-born sons (25-29 years) and education: Loita
	Table U First-born sons (30+ years) and education: Loita
Appendix 4D	Table V Educated persons of Lemek and Loita: By gender, selected age-groupings, and family cattle holdings.
Appendix 6A	Table W Currently employed persons from both sample areas: By age-level and gender
Appendix 6B	List of employment locales
Appendix 6C	List of jobs undertaken
Appendix 6D	Table X Males' third job by age-group, level of education, and type of job: Lemek
	Table Y Males' fourth job by age-group, level of education, and type of job: Lemek
	Table Z Males' fifth job by age-group, level of education, and type of job: Lemek
	Table AA Males' sixth job by age-group, level of education, and type of job: Lemek
	Table BB Females' second job by age-group, level of education, and type of job: Lemek
	Table CC Males' third job by age-group, level of education, and type of job: Loita
	Table DD Males' fourth job by age-group, level of education, and type of job: Loita
Appendix 6E	Full list of jobs, educational levels, and ages

Appendix 6F	Table EE	Parents of female workers by ethnicity and education: Lemek and Loita
	Table FF	Fathers of female workers by education and previous employment: Lemek and Loita
Appendix 6G	Table GG	Types of jobs used as "entry points" or turned to later: Lemek and Loita (raw data)
Appendix 7A	Table HH	Labour force and employment estimates: Narok Dst.
Appendix 7B		Lemek: Employment, place, and years employed
Appendix 7C		Loita: Employment, place, and years employed
Appendix 9A	Table JJ	Workers interviewed in Lemek and Loita
	Table KK	List of those interviewed in Lemek and Loita
Appendix 9B		List of various jobs undertaken by the samples of respondents: Lemek and Loita
Appendix 9C		The children of married men in Lemek sample: Numbers of children per wife
Appendix 9D		The children of married men in Loita sample: Numbers of children per wife
Appendix 9E		Places of first employment: Males of Lemek Group Ranch
Appendix 9F		Ages when males began work: Lemek Group Ranch
		Ages when males began work: Morijo Loita Sub-location
Appendix 12		A list of suggested improvements for the school system in Maasailand

CHAPTER ONE

1.1. INTRODUCTION

Much of the early literature on the Maasai pastoralists of East Africa has given the impression that they have been quite resistant to change and that there has been little or no diversification in their lives. It is as if the Maasai live in a vacuum impervious to the socio-economic and political changes taking place around them. This study will address that issue and attempt to ascertain what forms of socio-economic diversification have occurred among the Maasai of Narok District, Kenya, given the pressures bearing upon them (especially land pressure). Maasai society can no longer be described as it once may have been. They are no longer merely pastoralists, "people with cattle." Often they seem to do things which have no apparent connection to pastoralism or to the pastoralist ideal in any meaningful sense. Maasai society has become a very complex, differentiated society exhibiting ambivalent responses to social changes.

This study shifts the emphasis away from pastoralism per se to some of the means and methods of diversification presently being embraced by the Maasai: schooling, wage-employment, self-employment, labour migration, farming, or commercial ranching. The study is concerned with two central areas of social change, education and wage- or self-employment, and the implications of one area for the other. Because much of the political support for education stems from its supposed link to wage-employment opportunities, it is important to examine how education is associated with wage-employment. The study is concerned with seeing if wage-employment, and economic diversification, implies a significant shift away from the livestock based economy of the district. As the data will demonstrate, much of Maasai diversification is actually within a more commercialized form of the animal-based economy.

Contrary to the results of some of the East African literature dealing with education and migration for wage-employment which have pointed to relatively high numbers of well educated and even poorly educated males leaving the rural areas and moving into the urban areas, we shall show in the course of this study that this is not entirely true for the Maasai. In the same way, some of the literature has pointed to the poor and dispossessed as the main group among these urban and peri-urban migrants. Again, we shall show that this is not the case for the sampled groups of Maasai from the two research areas. We shall also show that the numbers sometimes presented by various documents for Maasai participation in education do not do full justice to the true situation.

Ultimately, the research is an attempt to establish the articulation or relation between what some of the Maasai perceive as 'development', and their actual adaptive strategies at the grass roots' level. Specifically, we shall explore the degree to which the Maasai are taking advantage of the educational opportunities offered to their children and the degree to which they are involved in outmigration for wage-employment. There are the two juxtaposed images of quintessential pastoralism, on the one hand, and the inroads of obvious diversification, on the other hand. Two questions addressed are: Who tends to take up wage-employment? Do education, age, or economic status (cattle and land holdings) lead to varied types of wage-employment?

There are probably many development rationales among the Maasai. Perhaps there are several Maasai senses of where they are going and how they should be going about it. Some of their behaviour may appear rational; for example, there could be one feasible rationale for keeping children at home and there could be another feasible rationale for sending them to school because education has both positive and negative aspects. How the Maasai are using the school system, and how those Maasai who have come through the system are using their education, may reveal something other than the usually accepted results of an educational structure.

The principal substantive goal of this study is to understand the relationship or the processes of interaction between wealth, schooling, and migration for wage-employment, among sampled groups of Loita and Purko Maasai within Narok District, Kenya. The study attempts to ascertain who has been educated among the Maasai in two sampled areas within Narok District, what these school leavers did with their academic credentials, and how their education may have affected their families or local communities. Though the study examines the academic performances of individual males and females, these persons have to be seen within the contexts of their families and the enkang', the settlement of families sometimes referred to (even by the Maasai themselves) as the boma. This examination takes into account the family's land holdings and cattle wealth when discussing the educational attainment of individuals in the sampled sites.

To understand the nature of local Maasai involvement in education (Purko in Lemek and Loita in Morijo Loita) it will be useful to analyze the influence of educated women who, though neither local Purko nor Loita, have entered the two research sites through marriage. Where there are families comprising educated women who are non-local Purko or Loita, (or non-local non-Purko or non-local non-Loita) it will be important to see if their presence had any special effect on educational attainment.

Narok District was chosen for the study because so little is known about socio-economic diversification of the Maasai there. Much research has already been undertaken among the Maasai of Kajiado district which, lying between the two major cities of Nairobi (Kenya) and Arusha (Tanzania), has come under strong influence from the international, national, and regional economic and political sectors (cf. Map 1). Almost all the Maasai research carried out by the International Livestock Centre for Africa (ILCA) (for example, Grandin 1982, 1986; Grandin and Bekure 1982; Grandin and Lembuya 1987; Bekure et al. 1982, 1984; de Leeuw 1982; de Leeuw and Peacock 1982; Peacock 1982, 1983), as well as almost all of the literature of the Arid and Semi-Arid Land (ASAL) Project, has been

within Kajiado District and this material can too easily be mistaken as representative of the situation in Maasailand as a whole.¹

There is very little available on similar topics for Narok District. Notable exceptions to this would be some of the work carried out under the auspices of the Pastoral Systems Project, McGill University, by Doherty 1979a, 1979b, 1987; Sena 1984, 1986; Galaty and Doherty 1989.

1.2. The situation/problem

Although it is clear there is a degree of reluctance on the part of many pastoralists to accept the trappings of "modernization", numbers of Maasai have, nevertheless, left pastoralism and sought alternative forms of wage-labour in the two Maasai districts as well as in the other areas of Kenya. This is not a question of outmigration versus conservatism, as if outmigration were the only sign of social change. Nor are we considering two quite separate groups of people, since a number of Maasai who spend time away from home engaged in wage-labour continue to practise pastoralism in their home areas. Rather, there appear to be a number of apparently antithetical themes, or tensions, at work in parts of Narok District. There appears to be a degree of conservatism expressed in a reluctance to participate in education and yet there is the realization that the future of the Maasai community may lie in the hands of the educated Maasai; there is a tenacity for perpetuating the Maasai pastoral production system together with a desire to obtain wage-employment.

The Maasai are under pressure from the Kenya Government to change their life-style and become more fully integrated into the national economy, and they are also under the constraint of an ever-diminishing land-base which must support an increasing population of both Maasai and non-Maasai, a population which has nearly doubled in the past ten years. Recent calculations (Ominde 1984; Campbell 1986; Holland 1986), indicate that the livestock/carrying capacity of some areas in Maasailand has

already been exceeded, at least statistically. The fact that the Maasai still subsist in those areas would indicate that many of them are relying on sources other than their cattle for economic inputs. Eleven years ago, White and Meadows surveyed 60 Group Ranch households and 23 Individual Ranchers of Kajiado District on such topics as education, migration, wage-employment, and remittances, and found that 50% of the Individual Ranchers

depended on cash inflows from economic activities outside the livestock sector, while four ranchers in Matapatu were active livestock traders. Six ranchers earned regular salaries, five owned shops, one earned rent from leasing land to a private company, and two were very dependent on remittances (1981:115).

These findings substantiate the suggestion that many Maasai families are relying on economic sources other than their family herds.

These new demographic, and other, pressures have resulted in various changes within the Maasai local economy. Some of these changes, which may be seen as adaptations and responses, are related to Maasai perceptions and utilization of such "developmental options" as education and circulatory or temporary migration for wage-employment. Various chapters of this present study contain data which shed light on the current situation in the two sampled areas with regard to education, wage- and self-employment, and involvement in the trading centres of Lemek and Loita (as shop-owners or shop-assistants) and The Maasai Mara.

1.3. Issues in Pastoralism and Social Change:

Pastoralists and development

There is now an extensive literature on various aspects of pastoralism and development. Among other topics, this literature has dealt with the processes of increased commercialization of rangelands, the evolution of the ranches, and the implementation of numerous pastoral development projects (Galaty 1980; Sandford 1983a, 1983b; Simpson and Evangelou 1984; Goldschmidt 1981a, 1981b). Some of the literature is rather negative and pessimistic in its vision of the developments taking place in pastoralism.

For example, Hogg's (1986) depiction of "new" pastoralism, which is the product of ecological mismanagement and consequent devastation with the subsequent land degradation and the eventual impoverishment of the pastoralists, is a dramatic and depressing vision and a perception of pastoralism which is neither entirely accurate nor widely accepted.

Certainly, there are negative forces at work, for example, "forced settlement, the breakdown of the traditional framework of day-to-day social relations, and subjugation of pastoralists to external political and economic interests" (Galaty and Bonte 1991:269-70) are just some of the factors which have impinged upon the lives of the Maasai and may well have "accelerated these negative transformations". There is tension between a perception of crisis in the arid lands and the apparent lack of change among pastoralists. Negative social and economic conditions are often attributed to outside "development" initiatives which have not originated with the pastoralists themselves. Crisis conditions and generalized change are producing diversification, but what does this imply for a semi-arid region, largely dedicated to animal production? This is a question we shall address when we come to discuss participation in the educational and employment structures at the local, district, and national levels.

There are some factors which have positive and encouraging results. There are processes of change taking place in semi-arid lands, and certain responses within and outside the pastoral sector which a number of authors have recorded and discussed (Galaty et al. 1981; Swift 1979; Horowitz 1988; Kituyi 1990). Large scale ranching, increased livestock marketing, and the use of pastoral land for commercial grain production, are some of these large scale changes in pastoral areas. Galaty observed that:

Most proposals for pastoral development tie together two aims through the mediation of the market: the serving of national needs with regard to food production and export commodities by stimulating the livestock industry; and the serving of conservation requirements by reducing pressure on pastures through regularizing offtake and reducing total stock numbers (1981:10)

This vision of pastoral development seen as an increase in the amount of beef production for the national urban markets, coupled with a more efficient use of the rangelands for the good of the larger community, was the direction of development encouraged and recommended for the Kenyan Maasai by Evangelou (1984) who dealt with livestock development in the context of the Maasai in transition to a market economy. Undoubtedly, the Kenya Government is pressuring pastoralists to conform to its policy with regard to the intensive production of beef for the national market and this pressure is not restricted to the Maasai (Sandford 1976).

A number of pastoralist groups are undergoing dramatic political and economic changes involving the market and the state. These changes are themselves producing a variety of different social effects in those pastoralist societies (cf. Galaty 1981). No longer should pastoral groups and their economies be seen as separate and apart from the national or regional political and economic structures. Many of the decisions made by the pastoralists are made within the context of this wider socio-economic and political perspective:

Pastoralists today do not live between two times, two places, or two sectors, but live in a single field of complex qualities and relations. If a pastoral elder received no schooling when he was young, still 'the school' represents a part of his social field, applicable to the activities of children, and appropriated to the pastoral process as competition for children needed for pastoral labour, yet as providing access to additional resources and prestige (Galaty 1981:23).

The Maasai have to be seen within the framework of the ongoing development/underdevelopment debate, the urban-rural ties, the emergence of a peripheral elite, stratification based on education and new alternative economic statuses (especially those built upon new land rights and holdings), and integration into the district, provincial, and national economies. They cannot be seen merely as an ethnic group existing apart from this total setting, existing in some form of "intellectual or cultural zoo". It is not a matter of how conservative or resistant they were to changes in their way of life (Gulliver 1969); the Maasai are

presently part of the emerging and developing integrated national polity and economy.

This research has to be seen within the context of the Kenyan literature on underdevelopment and education dealing with a whole variety of topics ranging from "the poor" and "the squatters" of urban Nairobi (Clifford and Ross 1971; Ross 1973a, 1973b, 1975), to the rural studies of Weisner (1973) and Parkin (1975), to the macro-social material of Leys (1975), Kitching (1977), Swainson (1980), and the study on migrant labourers by Stichter (1985). The present study should be placed within the context of the study of Gorham (1980b) on education and social change in Kajiado District, and it should be seen as a continuation of the work of King (1971, 1972, 1974, 1975/6), and Sena (1986).

There have been critiques of "modernization" in the Kenyan context (for example, Obudho and Taylor 1979) which have been very perceptive in dealing with the development/underdevelopment debate in the Kenyan context. Colin Leys (1975) wrote critically of conventional modernization theories which he regarded as "sterile" tools for understanding what is happening in the Third World and specifically what is happening in Kenya. The same topics have been taken up by "the literature of critique of modernization" and the champion of this literature is undoubtedly Ngugi.

David Parkin attempted, in Town and Country in Central and Eastern Africa (1975), to present the range of factors which affect both town and country; "as well as migration there is the ebb and flow of beliefs, ideologies, and educational and occupational opportunities" (1975:24). Various authors see migration from different perspectives: Mitchell (1959a, 1959b), sees the town attracting the members of the rural population and therefore economic factors are for him the prime determinants of migration; Uchendu (1975) deals with the rural-rural migration flows; and Southall (1973), turns his attention more to the ethnic linkages, between town and country, maintained by the urban migrants.

These linkages are also the focus in the work of Hjort in Savanna Town: Rural ties and urban opportunities in Northern Kenya (1979), as well as in the work of Dahl, Suffering Grass (1980), which deal with the integration of the Borana community into the Kenyan national, political, and economic system. Dahl also discusses the development of stratification through this integration; the three related processes at work among the Borana - peasantization, proletarianization, and marginalization; and the emergence of a new "peripheral elite" (cf. Little 1985, concerning diversification, grain and livestock trade, and absentee landlords). These same processes also appear to be at work among the Maasai of Kajiado and Narok Districts. Though the speed and intensity differ from area to area, the emergence of new forms of stratification, based on education, land-holdings, and status positions in the urban and national bureaucratic structures, is becoming more and more obvious. There are even terms employed by the Maasai to express some of this; "wheat elite" and "potato Maasai" are terms used to indicate the emergence of these "new forces" at work in Maasailand.

Joan Vincent's work African Elite: The Big Men of a Small Town (1971) also tackles this question of the foci of leadership at the district level in Uganda. The "big men" operate in two political worlds, the more traditional and the urban or more sophisticated technological world of the national government and international development agencies. Basically, her work is a study of the way in which men rise to power in a polyethnic community by straddling their ethnic base, on the one hand, and the world of "alternative statuses" (ibid. p.130), on the other hand; this is also touched upon in Little's work (1985) dealing with big men and absentee landlords. However, among the Maasai, it is not quite as "black and white" as her Ugandan analysis might suggest. There is a tremendous sense of cultural solidarity among the ordinary people and there is no question that they feel bound by ties of language, religion, common values, and often common territorial rights. The Maasai are no exception to these

sentiments and have strong feelings on such issues as the effects formal western-style education has had, and is still having, on their culture. This is one of the issues to which we shall return when we deal with the responses of parents who refuse to send their children to school.

1.4. Study of education, employment, and migration among pastoralists

Maasailand is the best place to study the problems and the linkages between education, migration, and employment among the pastoralist peoples of Kenya. It is strategically situated close to major urban centres such as Nairobi and Nakuru, and there is a longer standing tradition of government (colonial/post-colonial) involvement in education and livestock marketing structures than in other pastoralist areas which appear more marginalized largely as a result of their remote geographical positions.

1.4.1. The methodology

A number of studies of migration patterns have been severely criticized for being "synchronic" and for representing almost a "still-life" taken at one particular point in time. Stichter criticized works of the 1950s and 1960s for views which were "too simplistic and over-stated", and for

having neglected cases where customs had indeed changed. ...In addition, all these studies were unduly synchronic, were snapshots at a single point in time. Perhaps a more historical approach might yield a fuller picture? (Stichter 1985:31).

Gregson too was critical, stating that very often the time dimension is ignored in migration studies:

The methodological difficulty in most discussions of the factors which cause labour migration is the absence of the time dimension. It must be shown that the rate of labour migration changes in response to changing conditions (1974:6).

Bearing in mind these criticisms, a diachronic aspect was incorporated into the study by investigating Maasai involvement in, and changes in the

attitudes towards, education and outmigration for wage-employment. These find their expression both in the wage-employment histories of individuals and in the different degrees of involvement by Maasai of different age-groups; males who are elders, those who are junior males, and those who are still warriors.²

To obtain some of the primary data, the research strategy adopted and used most often was intensive interviewing with numerous Maasai, both males and females, warriors and elders, educated and non-educated, those in wage-employment and self-employment, and those unemployed. Secondary data were gathered from the relevant documents in Government departments and archives, especially the Central Bureau of Statistics, the National Archives, the National Surveyor's Office, the Ministry of Planning and National Development, all in Nairobi; the Narok District Surveyor's Office and the Narok District Education Office. Father Mol's extensive and well catalogued Maasai library at Lemek was also a most informative source of information.

Practically speaking, the research took account of all the Maasai from two selected areas in Narok District, both educated and non-educated, and attempted to ascertain who had outmigrated from Narok. Were they part of the generally accepted statistics on educated migrants making a free choice to find wage-employment in the city, or were they non-educated pauperized pastoralists being forced out of the pastoralist production system and fleeing destitution? Though rural poverty plays a large part in labour migration, is it only in the lower levels of the informal sector that the poor and non-educated can find jobs? Is it true that

as the supply of primary and secondary school educated has increased, the opportunities in wage employment for those with lower educational attainment have diminished and have contributed to their relative decline in the migration process (Gupta 1979:44).

The study will verify or refute these views concerning the supply of primary and secondary educated workers and the diminution of wage-employment opportunities for those with lower educational attainment.

1.4.2. Clarification of terms

For the purposes of this study, we shall refer to those students who left primary school before writing the final examination as "primary school dropouts"; those students who left secondary school before writing the secondary school final examination will be referred to as "secondary school dropouts". Students who left school, primary or secondary, after having written the final examination (regardless of whether they passed or failed) are regarded as having "finished" that course level, sometimes these are referred to as "school leavers."

"Outmigrant" refers to those persons who may have left their homes and their home areas to find wage-labour elsewhere. In other words, "migration" here refers to "the movement of persons for the purposes of wage-employment" and, where necessary, the qualification will be given to distinguish those persons who may have left the district to find wage-employment further afield as "outmigrants". Generally speaking however, this term does not necessarily refer to "life-long" migration, but rather to "circulatory" or "temporary" migration whereby a person leaves home for a short period of time to find wage-employment and returns home at frequent intervals. In most cases, "migrant" will refer to persons who sought and found wage-employment somewhere within the same district and did not need to go outside for any length of time; for example, men from Loita or Lemek working in The Maasai Mara as Rangers or in the Lodges as waiters and room-stewards.

This study began with the expectation that, among the Maasai of Narok District, some confirmation would be found of the findings of the other Kenyan studies. For example, it was expected that those who had received some education (no matter how little) were more likely to leave the home areas to seek wage-employment in the urban areas of Kenya and that those who did leave home tended to take up "permanent" residence with their families in those urban or peri-urban areas; in other words, they became

permanent migrants. We shall see in the course of the study that these initial expectations were not met.

1.4.3. The structure of the study

There is a certain order and logic to the sequence of chapters and their contents: The study follows a systematic analysis moving from a general demographic view of the district, through a more specific census-like survey of the two sampled sites, to a presentation and analysis of the data from those sites on education and wage-employment. Having established who has been, or is still being, educated in the two sites (including family information relevant to educational opportunities, for example, age, gender, birth order, cattle holdings, parents' ethnicity, parental opposition or support, etc.), the study takes the analysis a step further by looking (across generations) at the wage-employment of those who were educated and contrasts this with the employment of those who were not educated. As well as the actual jobs undertaken, the study looks at the locales chosen for wage-employment; in the district, outside the district, or outside the country. Once this quantitative basis has been established, the study proceeds to support the findings by presenting more qualitative material in terms of the stated views and attitudes of the educated (and non-educated) Maasai workers from these early chapters. These views are concerned with education in Maasailand, wage-employment opportunities, and the perceived consequences and implications of these two variables at the personal, family, and community levels. Finally, the study presents Maasai women talking about women's issues - something which had not yet been done systematically - as well as some men's views on the education of women.

We now present a more detailed break-down of the contents of the chapters in the study. Chapter Two will develop a social and demographic profile of the district and the two sampled communities within it; the

material is taken from various National Censuses as well as demographic data from the initial research undertaken within the two sampled areas. This material forms part of the data base for the rest of the study.

Chapter Three will specify the educational levels of almost every member of Lemek Group Ranch as well as Morijo Loita Sub-location.' It will address the important issue of females and schooling in Maasailand (at least in the two sampled Sections) as well as another important variable, often overlooked in analyses of the educational practices of a family; the ethnicity of the wife and mother.

One obvious question that had to be investigated and answered concerned the relationship between family wealth and the education of children. One working hypothesis was that low cattle wealth and low control over the land results in a more frequent sending to school of children, and conversely high cattle wealth and greater land control results in more children being kept at home to tend the cattle and to defend the grazing areas. Are rich families less likely to send their children to school than are poor families?

The validity of a number of other hypotheses were tested: that some educated poor Maasai are being "pushed" into outmigration to become wage labourers outside the Narok District; that some educated rich (especially in terms of land and cattle) Maasai are involved in outmigration to become clerical workers or to join the civil service and professions; that other, rich, educated Maasai do not outmigrate but have become "ranchers." Thus, Chapter Four will look in more detail at the educated persons dealt with as individuals in Chapter Three, but now within the context of their families, looking at such variables as family cattle-holdings, the education of the parents, the wage-employment of the father, the birth order of those educated, and the numbers of first-born males who are sent for schooling.

Chapter Five will give some clear indications of the reasons given by those who "dropped out" of the school system at either the primary or

secondary levels. In addition, we shall take a close look at some of the reasons given by parents who have not sent their children to school.

In Chapter Six, the two important variables of education and self- or wage-employment are brought together when we investigate how those who have had an education utilized their academic credentials (both males and females in the two sampled areas) particularly with regard to their involvement in the occupational structures of the district. We shall also make some comparisons between the occupations of those who had some schooling and those who had no schooling, to see if there are any significant differences. In other words, we shall compare the employment choices of those who have finished their education, those who began and dropped out, and those who have had no education at all, to see if there are any major differences in actual jobs, places of employment, and duration of each job.

As a logical extension, Chapter Seven will investigate the actual employment locales and the occupational structure of the district. Cattle trading is a very important occupation choice for many young Maasai men and will be explored in some detail. Continuing this line of analysis, Chapter Eight will take two selected places of employment and will indicate the Maasai involvement in those places: The Maasai Mara and the retail trading centres of Lemek and Morijo Loita. Chapter Nine is important insofar as it presents a profile of the sampled workers from Lemek and Loita as well as material from interviews with most of those who found some form of wage- or self-employment away from home, either within or outside the district. Essentially these are the same workers discussed in the previous three chapters, but this chapter clarifies the workers' parents' economic standing, the workers' present economic standing, their marital status, the number of years between leaving school and taking up their first job, the place(s) of employment, and the number of years or months spent away from home in their occupations. The chapter also presents data on some of the school repeaters within these samples of

educated workers from Lemek and Loita. Chapter Nine also presents more information from the interviews with the educated and non-educated workers of Lemek and Loita on such topics as attitudes towards education in Maasailand and the expectations the community has concerning Maasai who have an education. The effects their education had on their personal lives, that of their families, and that of the communities in which they live, is detailed in Chapter Ten.

Chapter Eleven presents data on the attitudes of women towards certain women's issues, particularly the practice of taking Maasai girls out of school, subjecting them to clitoridectomy, and then marrying them to older Maasai males. This chapter also looks at women's attitudes towards traditional housing and diet, education of Maasai females, and the subdivision of Lemek Group Ranch. Some of the male attitudes towards education of Maasai females is included in this chapter since these views impinge directly upon the lives of the women. Chapter Twelve, the conclusion, summarizes the findings about schooling, migration, and wage-employment among the Maasai of the selected areas. In this final chapter, we also make tentative suggestions and recommendations for the future.

CHAPTER TWO

NAROK DISTRICT AND TWO COMMUNITIES:

A SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

2.1. Introduction

This chapter will place the study within the context of Narok District by examining the social and demographic profiles of that district. Population movements out of the two Maasai districts will be carefully examined using the 1969 and 1979 National Census' figures and particular points drawn-out to indicate the uniqueness of Narok District. For two selected sites, the chapter will also answer the question: Who has been educated in Narok District?

2.2. The setting: Population of the study and sampling

It is necessary here to introduce and explain two terms which are relevant to this study of the Maasai: "adaptors" and "non-adaptors" (these latter are sometimes regarded by some as "resistors"). The former may be regarded as those Maasai who are readily adapting themselves to the circumstances of a changed and changing political and socio-economic environment. This adaptation takes the form of diversification, participation in education, wage-employment, changes in housing, clothing, diet, etc. "Non-adaptors", on the other hand, do precisely what their "label" suggests. They cling strongly to their traditional way of life and all its cultural elements.

The Purko and Loita Sections of the Maasai are regarded (by many Kenyans, including some members of other Maasai Sections) as two groups which have held on to the traditional pastoral way of life with different degrees of success (Map 2). Of the two Sections, the Purko may be expected to be more amenable to the forces of change and adaptation because they are less isolated geographically and are more exposed to

factors of change than are the Loita. For example, the main tourist route to The Maasai Mara National Park runs through Lemek Ranch, there is the proliferation of large-scale wheat and barley farms around the Group Ranch, there is the proximity of Nakuru, Kisii, and Kericho Districts and the influence of the flourishing border markets at Mulot, Emarti, Lolgorian, and Kilgoris. What is interesting about these possible agents of change in the midst of the Purko, is that they are all "imposed", in other words, outside agencies decided to initiate them for their own good reasons regardless of whether or not the people wished for them.

The Loita appear to have held on to their traditional pastoralist way of life with a visible degree of tenacity in spite of the government's efforts to change their subsistence way of life. They live in an area which is geographically "off the beaten track". There are only two dirt roads into the area and both are impassable in the rainy season; one of these roads, climbing the escarpment beyond Narosura, is inaccessible to heavy vehicles even during the dry season (Map 3). This geographical isolation may have assisted their traditional resistance to government efforts to impose group ranching in the area. It has also protected them from many of the influences which have been present to (or imposed upon) the Purko of Lemek.

It was because of these reputations that the sample populations were drawn from these two Sections within Narok District. Though these two Sections may be regarded as "resistor" (Loita) and "adaptor" (Purko), neither of them is as involved in processes of socio-economic change as are a number of other Sections (for example, the Matapato, Kaputiei, and Keekonyokie of Kajiado District or the Siria and Moitanik of Narok District). Another major factor which determined the choice of these two groups was the fact that there appeared to be very few "mixed marriages", that is, marriages between local Purko or Loita men and women from other ethnic groups or even from other non-local Sections of the Maasai. The presence of large numbers of such wives and mothers would have made it

difficult to research and establish changes in "local Maasai" attitudes and directions. The presence of these women, especially if they were educated women, could be a major factor for change in many ways, not the least of which could be rates of educational involvement for children, particularly the female children. It is hypothesised that this is precisely the situation.

If there is verifiable evidence of major change among these groups, especially the Loita, then it may be taken as strong evidence of changes among the Maasai at large since this Section for decades has been regarded as one of the most resistant to change. We shall explore the actual differences between the two Sections and the commonalities of experience in terms of educational participation, dropout rates, wage-employment, self-employment ventures, out-migration for work, choice of jobs, employment locales, etc.

The choice of specific schools and communities among these two Sections needs some explanation. King (1972:394) had referred to a cluster of schools within the district as typical Maasai institutions and he indicated that they comprised only students from one single Section of the Maasai - the Siria, the Loita, or the Purko. Two such schools were to be chosen which would also indicate the community samples of those families living both near to, and far from, these schools. This was to be done because living near a school might mean being generally closer to "western society" or being more accessible to some of the other factors which might open up the students and their families to socio-economic change. I explored the possibility of using King's cluster of schools as geographical sample bases for the study, if these were still valid groupings:

Finally, there is the cluster of sixteen schools which unfortunately many an education officer in the district's history would regard as the typical Maasai institutions. Almost all these schools are serving the Maasai in isolation from other groups; they are for the most part situated in the lower levels of Narok District (King 1972:394).

I was looking for one or two primary schools with three main features:

a) sufficient number of years presenting candidates for the Primary Certificate of Education for those same candidates to have entered the labour market for any length of time, to have returned home to marry and to have children of school going age; b) still predominantly local Maasai in character and intake; and c) situated in an area where the local Maasai were still the majority of the population and where the numerical introduction of non-Maasai or non-local Maasai wives and mothers was not yet causing significant change in the enrolment figures of the local children. I wished to see if there were any significant changes in the attitudes of the local Maasai, Purko or Loita, when left to themselves, rather than verify changes as a result of the introduction of non-Maasai or non-local Maasai (often educated) mothers. Bearing these factors in mind, and having screened more than 150 schools, I eventually decided on the primary schools and surrounding communities of Lemek Group Ranch and Morijo Loita Sub-location.

Lemek school began presenting its own students for the KCPE in 1973. Previously, the students had to leave the area and go to another Full Primary School (Ole Sankale, on the other side of Narok Town, more than 100 kms away) to finish their education and to write the examination. This year, 1973, was also an appropriate year because it was just ten years after national Independence and one year after the publication of King's research findings and his suggestions for further research. Once I began to check the records of Lemek school, I found that very few "local students" had passed through the system and had sat for the KCPE between the years 1973 and 1979. Only 23 local males and two females actually finished their primary education at Lemek school during those seven years, and of these students nearly half had repeated the exam at least twice in that period. This indicated that there might be insufficient informants to justify taking those candidates as the sample for "outmigration for wage-employment". The logical procedure was to make initial comprehensive

surveys of the whole Group Ranch and the Sub-location and to establish, across the generations, who had been educated and who had not been educated. The next step was to ascertain who had worked, within the district or outside it, and for how long.

These community samples, as well as providing the populations of the primary study, also provided the principal informant groups for the interview schedules administered to the representatives of various categories of "workers" from both sample areas: a) those who had finished their schooling between 1973 and 1979 and had worked for any length of time, b) those who had finished their schooling before that period of time and had worked, c) those who had dropped out of school but had also found wage-employment outside the family pastoral production system, and d) those who had no schooling and yet had found wage-employment.

Because there were very few females who had finished the course in either primary school during the period 1973-1979, it was decided to record some of the women's views by interviewing women (regardless of their educational achievement) who had worked as casual labourers either at Lemek Catholic Mission or at the Ilkerin Loita Integrated Development Project (as casual workers in the Tannery or Beadwork Section). In addition, a few female nursery and primary school teachers at Lemek were interviewed; most of these are not "local Purko" but are Uasin Gishu Maasai from elsewhere in the district integrated locally through marriage.

It was also decided to interview those parents (generally the fathers) who had not sent all, or most, of their children to school. If parents had not educated any children out of five or more, or only one or two out of eight or ten children, then the parents were asked for their opinions on educating boys and girls and why they did not send their own children to school. A number of widows were interviewed to discover why their children had not been sent to school and to discover if these widows had views which differed from those of their deceased husbands. Finally, as many of the school dropouts as possible were interviewed to establish

their reasons for dropping out of the system.

We now take a closer look at the district and the two sites, to introduce the area and the people involved in the study.

2.3. The District and the two selected study areas

By 1979, the population of the district had risen to 210,306 persons (from 125,215 in 1969) of whom only 118,091 (56%) were Maasai. The District covers an area of 18,513 sq.kms. (according to the District Development Plan 1989-93 and the District Ranch Development Briefs, ILCA, 1979). To the South it is bordered by Tanzania, to the North by Nakuru District, to the West by South Nyanza and Kisii Districts, and to the East by Kajiado District. Prior to 1982 there were only three large divisions within the district, Mau, Osupuko, and Kilgoris. This proved unmanageable and the district was redivided into five Divisions: Mau, Osupuko, Kilgoris (Trans Mara), Lolgorian, and Olokurto; these Divisions are in turn divided into 30 Locations and eight Sub-locations (Map 4).⁴

A considerable portion (11,916 sq.kms. or 59% of the total area) of Narok has high agricultural potential, especially in The Mau and Trans Mara (Map 5). According to the District Development Plan: 1989-1993, there are "(t)o date, only about 90,000 ha. of arable land under crops. This is only about 13% of the total arable land" (1988:3).⁵

The fact that the Loita represent a stable and comparatively settled Section still living on most of their own communally held grazing-land may have some significance in terms of their response or resistance to socio-economic pressures to change. On the same level, the fact that the Purko are relatively (compared to the Loita) more recent inhabitants of some of the areas within Narok District in which they now live, may have some bearing on what is taking place in much of the Purko domain; for example, the individuation of the Group Ranches, the emergence of large commercial wheat and barley schemes, and the leasing of huge tracts of land for

Tourist Lodges and Camps. In the case of the Purko, there may not be that same tenacity of purpose to keep the communal bonds of the Section with its traditional lands, as one finds in Loita.

2.3.1. Lemek Group Ranch

Lemek Sub-location covers 1,947 sq.kms and contains 12,238 persons (6,218 females and 6,020 males) living in 2,029 households. Within this Sub-location, Lemek Group Ranch (approximate population 3,800), covers an area of 62,897 ha. and is currently in process of subdivision. The predominant (effectively the only) Maasai Section living within Lemek Group Ranch is the Purko Section. The Ranch formed the focus of the study. There is also a considerable community of Okiek living in the Ranch. The actual numbers and the educational levels of these Okiek could influence our understanding of the figures for the sampled areas if they are included with the Maasai. It will be interesting to clarify the Okiek numbers, their educational levels, and involvement in the wage-labour sector to see how they differ from Maasai (Appendix 2E, Tables E and F).

One of the two major roads from Nairobi, via Narok, to The Maasai Mara tourist area cuts right through the very centre of Lemek Ranch from East to West (Map 3). The journey by car along this road from Narok Town presents the observer with wheat and barley fields as far as the eye can see on both sides of the road and this for at least seventy kilometres along the Narok-Mara road to the boundary of Lemek Group Ranch. Over the past few years this encroachment by the wheat and barley farmers has begun to move along the Lemek Valley right into the Ranch.

Within the commercial centre of the Ranch, and straddling the fore-mentioned trunk road, there are 23 small dukas (shops, bars, butchery and small hotels) which serve the tourists as well as the local population (sketch map 1). The "village" also boasts a primary school which has a boarding section for boys and girls (this school was opened by the local

Catholic Mission in the early sixties). Two other small primary schools have been opened in more recent years at two other places within the Group Ranch. The Catholic Church also runs a boys' secondary school in Lemek which is intended to cater for Maasai boys throughout the Catholic Diocese of Ngong, comprising the two districts of Narok and Kajiado.

2.3.2. Morijo Loita Sub-location

As the name indicates, this area is under the control of the Loita Section of the Maasai. The Loita are a smaller Section than the Purko and are still under pressure to give up some of their good grazing-land to the more numerous Purko. In fact, this area was never formally adjudicated as a Group Ranch because the Loita refused to participate in the government plan to divide their land into Group and Individual Ranches. However, there were certain boundaries suggested by the Kenya Government for what would have been the Morijo Loita Group Ranch and these were the boundaries within which the research was undertaken, since it would have been too much to research the whole of the Morijo Sub-division.

According to the 1979 Census, there were 1,223 persons living in the Morijo Loita Sub-location (566 females and 657 males). There were 189 households within 152 square kilometres, establishing a density of eight persons per square kilometre. There are nine stores in the little commercial centre of Morijo Loita most of which are owned and run by Maasai (sketch map 2). The local primary school is one of the oldest in Maasailand and, though the numbers passing through have never been very high, has produced a number of Loita teachers and other educated workers.

2.4. History of the Area

Now that we have introduced the people and the two sample sites it is appropriate to give a brief history of the area and the people; how they actually got there in the first place.

2.4.1. The Maa speaking people

The early history of the Maa speaking people of East Africa has been very well documented and discussed by various authors (notably Ehret 1974; Berntsen 1979a,1979b; Vossen 1978,1982; Sarone 1986; Galaty 1991). According to Galaty, the later Maa segmentation and expansion out of the Central Rift Valley took place through three processes - frontier expansion, internal segmentation, and external amalgamation. The first of these stages involved the creation of particular frontiers over a period of several hundred years as various groups, known collectively as Iloikop, moved out of the Valley. At the edges of the northern frontier, by the end of the sixteenth century, the "northern Maa" Samburu-Chamus had moved away from the pre-Maasai nucleus of the central basin area.

The second divergence from the centre was that of the Laikipiak, forming a branch of Central Maa occupying the Laikipia Plateau. The third group to move away from the central Maa base was that of Iloogolala, who inhabited, from the seventeenth century, much of the southern Rift Valley and surrounding plateaux. These three major migrations involved movement northwards, westwards, and southeastwards out of the central Maa location, up and onto the various plateaux surrounding the Central Rift Valley, by Maa speakers who practised a "new" or, as we have indicated, a "more specialized form of pastoralism" (Galaty 1991:178).

Although present-day divisions of the Maasai may appear to be quite numerous and though each has an established degree of political autonomy, nevertheless these divisions may still be reducible (historically and in

practice) to four main alliances known by their dominant Section; Kisongo, Loita, Kaputie, and Purko.⁶

The period between 1800 and Kenyan Independence in 1963 was characterized by a number of catastrophic events that shaped the lives and perspectives of the Maasai of Kenya. These events were: the Maasai civil wars of 1815, the 1840s, and 1873; the rinderpest epidemic of 1890 which killed up to 70% of the cattle; the severe drought of 1891 which claimed most of the remaining cattle; then, in 1892, the weakened Maasai had to contend with a disastrous smallpox epidemic which wiped out more than 50% of the human population (cf. Bernstein 1976, Waller 1976, Ochieng 1975).

As if these calamities were not enough, in the following year, 1893, the Maasai also had to deal with the arrival of the European settlers. These colonialists found no great opposition from the depleted and weakened Maasai when they gradually annexed huge tracts of Maasai land. In July 1904, the Maasai were forced out of their lands between Lake Nakuru and Lake Naivasha and into the northern reserve in what is now Laikipia District. This 'First Move' was followed by the 'Second Move' (1911) when the Maasai were forced out of the Laikipia Reserve into what was known as the 'Southern Reserve' which was enlarged to cover approximately the same area currently occupied by the Maasai in Narok and Kajiado Districts. This second move resulted in the occupation of part of the Loita Plains by the Purko (c.1912) and forced many of the less numerous Loita to move out of the Plains and retire to the Highlands including the Loliondo Heights just over the border in Tanzania. The second sample site for this study is Morijo Loita which is nestled in the Loita Hills just to the northeast of Loliondo (Orgosorok).

2.4.2. Land and people

Land reform was one of the major national issues dealt with by the Kenyan colonial government immediately prior to Independence. The

direction taken by the government on this sensitive topic had already been outlined by the Swynnerton Plan of 1955. The two major components of this Plan, land consolidation and adjudication which provided title deeds, provided the basis upon which farmers would develop their land and invest more in cash cropping. Title deeds would be presented as collateral for loans and assistance, leading to further development.

The post-colonial government of Kenya continued these efforts at land reform and made the policy official in the Land Adjudication Act of 1963. Throughout the country there was a strong emphasis on the establishment of freehold title, and this affected the Maasai reserve (see Doherty 1987 where she gives a comprehensive and detailed account of this period and a full review of the legislation). Several of the Maasai Sections began to make vigorous claims to large tracts of land; attempts were also made to reestablish Section boundaries and a number of rich individual Maasai began to consolidate themselves in personal claims to 'private' blocks of land within the Reserve. Unofficially, this could be regarded as the beginnings of the thrust for 'individual ranches' by some Maasai.

A form of land registration in the Kikuyu areas had been completed by 1960 (even before the official Land Adjudication Act) and this process was extended soon after to Meru, Embu, Nandi, and Baringo. The available land was insufficient for all those who sought it and this was particularly true in those areas where the family plots were divided and redivided among the sons. This process produced massive population shifts of landless disenfranchised peasants who joined the stream of Kenyans migrating to seek land elsewhere in the country. One of the more obvious destinations for these land-hungry agriculturalists was the Maasai Reserve, which was seen by everyone as a huge area set apart for a comparatively small group of pastoralists, the Maasai. As early as the 1930s, there had been a constant stream of other ethnic groups into the Reserve; there had been heavy incursions of Kikuyu among the Purko living in the area of Mau Narok and in the fertile areas surrounding the

administrative and commercial township of Narok; there had also been periodic encroachments in Western Narok District by Kipsigis, Kisii, Nandi, and Luyia immigrants. None of this was new, since, as far back as the turn of the century, there had been a steady incursion of Kikuyu into Maasailand (Kituyi 1985:23 refers to "peasant infiltration"). Many of the Maasai, who fled their homes due to famine and the deaths of their cattle, sought refuge among their Kikuyu neighbours and later these Maasai returned home, some with new Kikuyu wives.'

Another form of 'legitimate' integration was the process whereby males from the Kikuyu and other ethnic groups were hired as herders or casual farm-workers by many of the rich Maasai families. These herders often settled in Maasailand, farming small subsistence plots or fields for themselves or their Maasai hosts, and thus became an accepted part of the Maasai scene. In fact, they were officially known as "acceptees" and later, at the time of land adjudication, the Kenya Government insisted on recognizing them as persons having legitimate land rights, enabling them to obtain either individual stretches of land or to become members of a Group Ranch (cf. Voshaar 1979:33-34).

2.5. Maasai Population: Trends and movements

In addition to their extensive historical land losses at the beginning of this century (two thirds of their land in Kenya) the Maasai population of Kenya have dramatically grown, having increased by 56% during the ten year period between the two Censuses from 1969 to 1979. In 1969, there were 154,906 Maasai in Kenya (77,745 males and 77,161 females); by 1979, there were 241,395 Maasai in Kenya (120,838 males and 120,557 females). The number of Maasai in Narok District, in 1969, was 83,243, and by 1979 it had risen to 118,091. This figure represented but 56% of the total population of the district which included 59,000 Kalenjin, 17,400 Kikuyu, 4,500 Kisii, and 1,500 Okiek (District Development Plan:1989-1993:11).

By ten years later, it is possible that the Maasai represent less than 50% of the population in Narok District. The figures for the 1989 National Census are not yet available. However, in Economic Survey: 1991 published by the Central Bureau of Statistics (Nairobi: 1991), some provisional and unofficial statistics are presented for the country and for Narok. This document states that the total population of Narok District in 1969 was 210,000 and this had risen to 402,000 by the time of the 1989 Census. This extraordinary increase represents the highest growth-rate of all 40 districts in the country; an annual growth-rate of 6.5% over the ten year intercensal period. The other "Maasai district" of Kajiado has the second largest annual growth-rate in the country; 5.6% (149,000 to 262,000) over the same period. The national average intercensal Growth Rate for all districts is 3.3% and for the Rift Valley Province (with 13 districts) is 4.1%. The figure for Narok is so high it could not be due to the natural birth rate, in fact, the Survey states:

The districts which have registered some gain are those which have continued to attract immigrants, while those that have lost are the ones experiencing excessive out-migration or significant declines in the district's fertility rates (1991: 31).

For the purposes of our discussion we shall rely on the published statistics from the 1969 and 1979 National Censuses and some of this material which is relevant to this present study will be presented in this chapter (cf. Appendix 2A, Table A). The last Census gives a total district population of 210,306 persons, within which there are 58,059 male Maasai and 60,032 female Maasai in the District. However, there are no figures indicating an age-breakdown for the Maasai. These overall figures for the Maasai give a sex ratio of 96.7 which is a little higher than the ratios for the two sampled areas according to the data generated during this study: 85.5 for Lemek and 79.3 for Loita. From the Census figures, the Okiek sex ratio for the District is calculated as 106.8.

The Census gives the following information for the populations of Lemek and Morigo Loita Sub-locations in Narok District:

Table 2.1. Population by sex: Lemek and Morijo Loita Sub-locations

Sub-location	Male	Female	Total	H'holds	Sq.Kms	Density
Lemek	6,020	6,218	12,238	2,029	1,947	6
Morijo Loita	657	566	1,223	189	152	8

Source: National Census, 1979

It should be noted that we did not take the whole of Lemek Sub-location as the sample area, but part of it, Lemek Group Ranch. However, we did consider the whole of Morijo Loita Sub-location; though this had not been registered as a Ranch its administrative boundaries would have been the boundaries of the proposed Morijo Loita Group Ranch.

2.5.1. Movement out of Kajiado and Narok Districts

Ominde, analyzing and writing about the 1962 Census, clearly thought that there had been considerable outmigration from the Maasai districts prior to the 1962 Census:

Analysis of the age-sex pyramids of the Province (Southern Province) show the contrast between the sparsely populated Masai districts of Narok and Kajiado and the Kamba district of Machakos and Kitui. It has already been noted that the district pyramids of total population all show the selective effect of population movements which is confirmed by the male deficiency roughly between the ages of 20 and 39 years.

Consideration of the effect on the ethnic elements in the Province indicated that the district deficiencies for Kajiado and Narok were due to outward movement of the Masai element. In Kajiado district, it would appear that the Masai movement though more intense for the age-groups 20 to 24, 40 to 44 is on the whole spread between 20 and 44 years. In contrast to the above situation the Narok movement is concentrated on the age-group 20 to 34 years (Ominde 1968:179).

It is interesting that by 1969 there were 12,702 Maasai living outside the two districts of Kajiado and Narok (i.e. 8.2% of the Maasai population). By 1979, this percentage had increased to 12.3%, and there were 29,744 Maasai living outside the two districts.⁸ This is an increase of nearly 250% in ten years, far in excess of the effect of the annual rate of population growth for the country as a whole (3.6% p.a. in 1969) over

the same period (Appendix 2B, Table B). We do not have any information on what those living outside the Maasai districts are doing for a living, though certainly many have always lived outside the Maasai districts; some, however, may have left pastoralism in the two districts to seek a living elsewhere. We shall have more to say on this topic in Chapter Six when we discuss the movement of Maasai workers from the sampled areas, for the purpose of wage-employment.

2.5.2. Population movement: Comparison of Kajiado and Narok

Rempel's analysis of the information on inter-district migration provided in the 1969 Kenya Census indicated that the population movements observed in 1969 were similar to those reported in the 1962 Census (1974:7). Rempel's Table shows some intriguing percentages for immigration and outmigration patterns for the two Maasai districts (Table 2.2), and further indicates a number of interesting phenomena which form part of the justification for choosing to study wealth, education, and outmigration (for wage-labour) in Narok District.

According to Rempel's percentages, it is obvious that there is considerably more immigration and outmigration for Narok than for Kajiado (11% of the males and 9% of the females born in Narok District actually outmigrate; this is much higher than in Kajiado where it is 6% and 5% respectively). What Rempel does not do is to analyze the ethnic composition of the migrants which means that the high percentages coming from Central and Eastern Provinces could well reflect Kikuyu and Kamba migrants entering Kajiado District and then returning home or moving on to Nairobi. Similarly, in the case of Narok, the high percentages for Central and Rift Valley Provinces may well be Kikuyu and Kalenjin migrants entering Narok District. However, the fact that 27% enter Narok District from other parts of Rift Valley Province and yet 86% outmigrate from Narok to other parts of the Province would need more careful analysis and

explanation than Rempel gives. He did not attempt to do this nor did he give the raw figures for which he presented percentages.

One of the unique aspects of the migration patterns from Narok District are demonstrated by this Table, that 86% of the outmigrants from Narok did not leave the Rift Valley Province. Though these figures indicate more of a regional than a metropolitan migration pattern, we do not know how much was related to movement towards the smaller urban centres of Naivasha, Nakuru, Kericho, etc. It may indicate a trend other than the usually accepted one of rural/urban migration. It may indicate more of a rural/rural or pastoral/pastoral pattern. Nor is it clear whether these figures indicate a movement out of the districts geographically, yet continuance within a pastoralist milieu elsewhere. It is possible that the outmigrants from Narok to other parts of the Rift Valley Province are Maasai with limited education seeking alternative farming/herding employment opportunities. Whereas 20% of the outmigration from Kajiado ended up in Nairobi, only 4% of the outmigration from Narok actually ended up in that city. There is a marked difference in these percentages and they may reflect the fact that much of this movement may be by non-Maasai. It is possible that these figures represent migrants from other ethnic groups who have lived and worked in Narok District and have now moved to another area; perhaps their area of origin. The figures alone do not clarify these possibilities. Because these figures do not specify the ethnic origins of the migrants, the actual Maasai percentage of these migrants is not easy to determine.

The results of our study certainly do not indicate that large numbers of Maasai have left the two sampled areas to migrate to Nairobi. However, Kajiado researchers have argued that considerable numbers of Maasai males have migrated to Nairobi in search of wage-employment: Meadows and White (1981) found significant differences between the labour choices of those from Individual and Group Ranches even within their Kajiado survey.

Table 2.2. Population movement to and from
the Districts of Kajiado and Narok:
In percentages. (According to the 1969 Census)

District of Kajiado						
<u>Immigration</u>						
from	Nairobi	Central	Rift	Eastern	Other	%
Male	9.9	44.9	8.5	20.3	16.4	100
Female	7.6	52.6	7.8	20.6	11.4	100
Total	8.9	48.4	8.2	20.4	14.1	100
<u>Outmigration</u>						
to	Nairobi	Central	Rift	Eastern	Other	%
Male	22.1	16.0	46.7	6.4	8.0	100
Female	17.1	22.4	45.7	3.9	10.3	100
Total	20.1	19.3	46.2	5.3	9.1	100
District of Narok						
<u>Immigration</u>						
from	Nairobi	Central	Rift	Eastern	Other	%
Male	2.8	53.6	26.7	3.2	13.7	100
Female	2.2	60.5	27.2	1.7	8.4	100
Total	2.5	57.0	26.9	2.5	11.1	100
<u>Outmigration</u>						
to	Nairobi	Central	Rift	Eastern	Other	%
Male	4.5	6.6	83.3	1.1	4.5	100
Female	2.7	6.7	88.2	0.2	2.2	100
Total	3.7	6.6	85.5	0.7	3.5	100

Source: After Rempel, H. (1974:50-51)

A comparison of the 1969 and 1979 Census figures for the Maasai indicates that there were some significant dynamics at work in at least three districts other than the two Maasai districts (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3. Maasai population in various Provinces of Kenya:
1969/79

	1969			1979		
	males	females	total	males	females	total
Nairobi	611	359	970	2500	925	3425
Central P.	582	315	897	1213	637	1850
Coast P.	286	153	439	875	634	1509
Eastern P.	176	82	258	492	362	854
N/Etrn P.	26	1	27	50	7	57
Nyanza P.	137	79	216	275	167	442
Rift V.	75024	5348	150372	114318	116808	231126
Western P.	903	824	1727	1115	1017	2132
Total	77745	77161	154906	120838	120557	241395

Sources: National Censuses, 1969 and 1979

Key: Rift V. = Rift Valley Province

N/Etrn P. = North Eastern Province

In 1969, the total Maasai population of Nairobi was a mere 970 (with an approximate ratio of males to females at 3:2), but by 1979 this figure had risen to 3,425 (with an increased male to female ratio of almost 3:1). The Maasai population living in the Central Province had risen from 897 in 1969 to 1,850 by the year 1979, and the Maasai population in the Coast Province had risen from 439 to 1,509 over the same ten year period. This meant that there were nearly 7,000 Maasai living in these three areas by 1979. These increases are more than the natural increase would suggest, but the migration patterns represented have not been studied. This could well form the basis for further research into population shifts and choice of place for settlement. One could speculate that, in the case of Nairobi, the majority of the Maasai come from the adjacent areas of Kajiado District, and are there filling a variety of employment niches ranging from watchmen to government and Aid Agency officials. In his analysis of the 1969 Census, Rempel had reported that 20% of the outmigration from Kajiado went to Nairobi, whereas only 4% of the Narok outmigration went there. The Central Province provides some Maasai with employment as herdsmen, guards, and watchmen for the cattle-ranches and

estates of non-Maasai in that Province. The Maasai presence in the Coast Province could be because some are involved in pastoralist activities (presumably hired labour working for other ethnic groups). In addition, there is a considerable presence of Maasai in the tourist industry of the coastal area, notably Mombasa. There is a sufficiently large group of Maasai working in the hotels of Mombasa to form a Maasai Support Group in that city. In the following chapters we shall present data on the movements of some of the male and female workers from the two sampled areas of Narok District. However, only one or two men migrated to Mombasa from the sampled areas.

2.6. Men and women in two communities

In this section, we shall be looking at the researched data on the population of the area under four main age-levels or clusters; namely, 0-4 years of age which is the pre-school age-group, 5-19 years, which may be regarded as the school-age population, 20-39 years, the active working-age group, and finally the 40+ years (these may be regarded as elder Maasai and just above the recognized working-age group). In addition to this clustering by selected categories, Table C in Appendix 2C gives the more traditional census groupings using five year intervals.

This study is concerned with education among the local Maasai, so our examination of population statistics concentrates on this group. However, Okiek families were included as were members of other ethnic groups who had married into local Maasai families. We drew a distinction between immigration and in-marriage to Maasai families. Where women from outside were incorporated into the local communities by marriage (regardless of their ethnic origin) we included them since they are part of the family dynamics at play within the groups and as such they were included and analyzed to show their contribution, in most cases a very positive and constructive one.

When each household was visited, we made it clear that we wanted data on all the members of the families in that boma, including those who had been born into the families and had left because of marriage, employment, or studies. Those who had left the family, had married, settled in the sampled areas, and had children, were traced to their new families and their children were listed under this new family. This means that the population figures given below are for the total Maasai populations as families in the sampled areas, and include all those women of other ethnic groups who have married into the Purko or Loita Sections. However, the figures also include the Uasin Gishu Maasai and Okiek families residing within the sampled areas, though these, like the wives coming from other ethnic backgrounds, are indicated separately in various of the following Tables and analyses. (cf. Appendix 2D, Table D, for a full list of all the ethnic groups included in the samples.)

These data should not be viewed in the same way as the National Census data which are an enumeration of all those persons living in a particular place at a given hour on a specific day. The government figures would have included single young men of other ethnic groups (as well as married men and their families) present in Lemek for purposes of work; for example, Administration or Kenya Police, workers for the Water Board, teachers, et al. We did not include these families of other ethnic groups even if these were accepted as members of the Group Ranch or the Sub-location. The government figures would not have included those Maasai young men (or not so young men) who were married and moved elsewhere or who may have left the sampled sites for purposes of wage-employment.

The data recorded in this research include all members of the families studied over time, including those children who have grown-up and left the family to get married. In almost all cases of married sons they were living close to their parents. In a later section, we shall discuss the actual numbers who have married and moved elsewhere within the same locality or outside it.

2.6.1. Research data: Lemek Group Ranch.

We look now at those persons and their families who are members of the Lemek Group Ranch; the local Purko as well as a number of Okiek families living in the area (cf. Appendix 2F, Fig. 1, Population Pyramid, Lemek).

Table 2.4. Population of Lemek Group Ranch by gender and selected age-levels

YEARS	0-4	5-19	20-29	30-39	40-59	60-69	70+	TOTAL	%
MALE	322	703	342	120	162	45	63	1757	46.0
%	18	40	20	7	9	3	3		100.0
FEMALE	315	680	548	165	263	61	20	2052	54.0
%	15	33	27	8	13	3	1		100.0
TOTAL	637	1383	890	285	425	106	83	3809	
%	17	36	23	8	11	3	2		100.0

These totals for the males and females give us a sex ratio of 85.4 for the Group Ranch, lower than that calculated from the 1979 Census figures for the whole Sub-location, 96.8. It could also represent a major shift over the intervening ten year period due to employment moves, especially since the drop off is strongest in the 20-29 years and 30-39 years age-levels. The Table indicates that 36% of the males, but 48% of the females, lie in the adult range of 20-60 years. We may expect this difference between the male and female totals to be due to male outmigration, but our data indicate there are very few males 20-59 years working and living outside the Ranch. The difference between the genders is less pronounced in the 30-39 group and in the 40-59 group. However, there is a considerable difference for both genders between the 20-29 age-level and the 30-39 group. One possible answer for the overall drop may lie in high mortality rates among the higher age-categories, especially the 30-39 group. Another reason could lie in the under- or over-statement of ages by the various informants; the difference between 29 years and 30 years is insignificant for the individual, but significant for statistics.

2.6.2. Research data: Morijo Loita Sub-location

The same qualifications apply with regard to the Maasai population of Morijo Loita as were stated previously for the Purko of Lemek; namely, that we are concerned with the Loita Maasai (and those who may have married into the Section) as well as the Okiek families in the location. As indicated, the handful of non-Maasai workers in Morijo Loita (most of whom are temporary workers, for example, teachers, clinic staff, and shop-assistants) are not included in the following statistics unless they have inter-married with local Maasai (cf. Appendix 2F, Fig.2, Population Pyramid, Loita).

Table 2.5. Population of Morijo Loita Sub-location by gender and selected age-levels

YEARS	0-4	5-19	20-29	30-39	40-59	60-69	70+	TOTAL	%
MALE	103	360	154	88	83	10	43	841	44.0
%	12	43	18	11	10	1	5		100.0
FEMALE	134	372	265	130	111	25	24	1061	56.0
%	12	35	25	12	11	3	2		100.0
TOTAL	237	732	419	218	194	35	67	1902	
%	12	38	22	12	10	2	4		100.0

The sex ratio for Loita is 79.2 which is not so very different to that of Lemek's 81.0. However, this Loita figure does differ from the Loita Census sex ratio which may be calculated as 116.1. The percentages of males and females in Loita (44% and 56%) are very similar to those in Lemek (46% and 54%), and these almost equal percentage similarities within the two places will make some of our later analyses more meaningful. The gender profiles are also very similar. In Loita, 39% of the males and 48% of the females lie in the adult range of 20-60 years (in Lemek, it was 36% and 48%). Again in Loita, the sharpest drop was among the 30-39 age-level for both genders. The drop in numbers is not explained by the paucity of males from this age-level who have outmigrated nor could outmigration be

the reason for the corresponding drop in the female numbers.

The profiles for both areas are very similar including the lower population figures for the 30-39 working-age group. If this was due to outmigration for the group this would be in accord with other rural demographic studies, but this does not appear to be the case because the data do not indicate sufficient numbers working outside the area to account for the disparity. The skewed sex ratios are due presumably to inmarriage of women, the outmigration of men (in small numbers), and natural mortality differences between the men and women.

2.7. The demographic structure of the communities

Having established some statistics for the individuals living within the sampled sites, we shall now turn our attention to the families or households, the family cattle-gates, and the bomas in the two areas. One realises that the meanings of these terms are not self-evident; the senses they convey represent, in most cases, Maasai units or accord with Maasai sociological realities (cf. Arhem 1991).

It may be important here to introduce some aspects of Maasai family and residential units. The Maasai are patrilineal and polygynous, thus "households", as the residential units of families, may be composed of a man, his several wives, and their children. The Maasai practise virilocality and often the married sons live with their wives and children in the same settlement (boma) as their father. Traditionally, young girls (often in their very early teens) are married, shortly after undergoing clitoridectomy, to elders. Serious bridewealth transfers begin during this period of marriage and continue for many years (Talle suggests that recently immediate transfers are increasing). The new family begins its own herd which is often maintained in a communal cattle-byre in the centre of the settlement. However, each family has its own cattle-gate leading into the settlement through which the family's cattle pass in and out of

the central cattle-pen. There is differential ownership of wealth within the family centring upon the relationships of mothers and their sons' inheritances from among the family herd. This means that some animals, though ear-marked for the sons of each wife and mother as part of their inheritance, are herded together with all the animals of the family herd.

On this point of wives and mothers, the fact that so many young women have been married to elders has resulted in many younger wives becoming widows. This too, has given rise to various tensions over widows' independence versus the authority of the dead husband's brother (especially where the practice of the Levirate has been insisted upon).'

The term "family" here refers to the patricentric or patrifocal unit of a father, mother/s, and their children and its variants over the domestic cycle. The term "household", as used here, is the same unit but seen more as a residential unit. In this usage, we may find several households within the same gate; the gate signifies some form of residential unity for the man, his wives and children, and, at a later stage, a few of the children's spouses and their children, if co-resident. "Household" is not the same as the woman's matricentric house; each wife constructs a small hut in a predetermined position and place within the confines of the family gate. It may, however, include a widowed mother and her unmarried children in one family, together with one of her married sons and his wives and children, in another family. Any one gate may therefore have a number of families centred around it and some of these may not even be married persons and their children. In Lemek, there are 12 older single persons living in various bomas alongside the occupants of a number of gates and these single persons represent members of families other than those of the owners of those gates (in some cases members of the extended family). These persons have been given a "family" identity since many have their own animals and are regarded as a family unit.

A "gate" is the entrance through which a family's cattle enter the encampment. These gates comprise family units and represent the

residential unity of the family: a household head, his wives and children. Sometimes the married sons will use the same cattle-gate, especially while their father is still alive and still has control of the family herd within which the married sons' cattle will still be herded. One of the reasons for including these gates as a unit for analysis and discussion is precisely this fact, that the family herds will be herded together as a unit and will be regarded as belonging to the father even though they may belong individually to various married sons and their families. The gate is maintained in the father's name until such time as he dies when it will pass to the eldest son if he so wishes.

2.7.1. Lemek Group Ranch

In this research, 3,809 persons were enumerated within the families of Lemek Group Ranch. The marital status of these persons is as follows:

Married and living together (both male and female)	=	1,177	=	31%
Married and moved away (females)	=	306	=	8%
Widows	=	103	=	3%
Widowers (at least one wife dead)	=	10	=	0.4%
Deserted husbands	=	9	=	0.3%
Wives who ran away from husbands	=	6	=	0.2%
Wife of dead brother (Levirate)	=	2	=	0.1%
Single persons (children and youths)	=	2,196	=	57%
				<hr/>
				3,809 = 100%
				<hr/>

Among the married females in the figures above, there are quite a number who married and remained within the same Ranch and even within the same boma (which appears to be a new and increasing phenomenon):

Married and living in the same ranch	=	108
Married and living in the same boma	=	13

We have no base-line information on what was the traditional practice in the past, but these figures appear quite high for young women marrying within the same boma. In Lemek, there are 174 bomas in the sample, having from one to ten gates, housing 560 families. The actual number of gates per boma is given below:

Table 2.6. Number of gates per boma: Lemek Group Ranch

Number of gates in	Number of bomas	%
1	96	55.2
2	35	20.1
3	15	11.0
4	10	5.8
5	4	2.3
6	2	1.1
7	3	1.7
8	2	1.1
9	2	1.1
10	1	0.6
360	174	100.0

This gives an average number of two gates per boma (360 gates and 174 bomas). This Mean would appear, from the raw data, to be very much the preference of the Purko of Lemek with more than 75% of the bomas comprising one or two gates (55% having just one gate). Obviously, the tendency is there to opt for small bomas made up of just one or two gates, approximately 75% of the total number.

Table 2.7. Number of families per boma: Lemek Group Ranch

Number of families in	Number of bomas	%
1	53	30.0
2	32	18.5
3	30	17.2
4	20	11.5
5	18	10.3
6	7	4.0
7	3	1.7
8	6	3.5
13	2	1.2
14	1	0.7
15	1	0.7
18	1	0.7
560	174	100.0

This reality, bomas with few gates, is reflected in the fact that so many also have fewer families making up the boma. In Lemek, 65% of the bomas are made up of 1,2, or 3 family units. The average number of families per boma is 3.2 and the average number of families per gate is one (statistically it computes to 0.6). This information is presented in

Table 2.7. In Lemek, an interesting exception to the usual boma is one made up of a wife who ran away from her husband taking with her some of her children and all her cattle.

2.7.1.2. Morijo Loita Sub-location

There are 66 bomas in the sampled area and within these bomas there are sometimes up to 13 gates comprising a total of 262 families. There are 1,902 persons accounted for within the sampled area of Morijo Loita Sub-location and their marital status is as follows:

Married (both male and female)	=	523	=	27%
Married and moved away (females)	=	256	=	14%
Widows	=	58	=	3%
Widowers (at least one wife dead)	=	7	=	0.3%
Deserted husbands	=	3	=	0.2%
Wives who ran away from husbands	=	5	=	0.3%
Wife of dead brother (Levirate)	=	1	=	0.05%
Unmarried female heading a family	=	1	=	0.05%
Single persons	=	1,048	=	55.1%
<hr/>				
		1.902	=	100%
<hr/>				

There is one middle-aged unmarried female "head" of a household with five children, however, she shares a gate with another family and therefore does not affect our calculations too much. This is an exception, but there is great similarity between the two places with regard to another phenomenon. In Loita, a number of females have also married within the same Sub-location and even within the same boma:

Married and living in the same ranch	=	24
Married and living in the same boma	=	10

Here too, there is a relatively large number of young women married and living within the same boma. This could be an indication of a change in the marriage practices of the younger Maasai males. Perhaps, they are not looking as far afield for their wives as the men did in the past. It may also reflect an attempt at consolidating a more locally based grouping of families to face up to the diminishing land base around them. This

same consolidation may also be finding its expression in the size of the bomas and the number of families in those bomas.

We shall now look at the number of families and gates in the bomas of Morijo Loita.

Table 2.8. Number of gates per boma: Morijo Loita

Number of gates	in	Number of bomas	%
1		17	25.9
2		18	27.3
3		13	19.7
4		9	13.6
5		3	4.5
6		3	4.5
7		1	1.5
10		1	1.5
13		1	1.5
191		66	100.0

These data indicate that in Morijo Loita the average number of gates per boma is three (191 gates in 66 bomas). More than 53% of the bomas have from one to two gates, and a further 20% have three gates. This means that the trend towards smaller units, noted in Lemek, is also present in Morijo Loita.

The average number of families per boma is four (Table 2.9), and the average number of families per gate is one. These figures differ very slightly from those of Lemek Group Ranch where the number of families per boma is three and the number of families per gate is one.

Table 2.9. Number of families per boma: Morijo Loita

Number of families in	Number of bomas	%
1	8	12.1
2	16	24.2
3	15	22.7
4	11	16.7
5	3	4.6
6	2	3.0
7	3	4.6
8	4	6.1
10	1	1.5
11	1	1.5
13	1	1.5
19	1	1.5
262	66	100.0

The raw data also indicate that the Loita tend to have, or to prefer, two or three families living together rather than to have the single family units favoured in Lemek. This could be related to a number of factors, not the least of which is that Lemek Ranch is in process of splitting up and therefore the land issue becomes more crucial as does the number of families working it. There is more of a tendency towards "individuation" or "individuality" and thus the emergence of smaller units (down to the individual family level) looking for living space and grazing or arable land. The Loita also live in the border area with Tanzania where there is still a degree of cattle-raiding among the various Sections of the Maasai and between the Maasai and the other ethnic groups of that area. There is some protection and defence in several families combining to live and herd together. Kituyi has also observed the change in size of bomas within his Group Ranch samples from 7-12 households down to 2-5 households even down "to solitary homes similar to what is common among neighbouring peasant communities" (1990:11). This was also an observation made by Jacobs (1978) regarding the Maasai bomas of Tanzania where the number of families had dropped from seven or nine families to two or three families). One element in the living patterns of the Maasai is the chosen residence in these communities of widows and their sons.

2.7.1.3. Widows in Lemak

The high number of widows is also an interesting factor in the dynamics of some of the decision-making involved in the educational practices of the Maasai as we shall see shortly when we deal with some of the interviews with parents who did not educate their children. Because many older men are polygamous, a number of women may be widowed at a comparatively early age upon the death of the husband.

The presence of widows in these families is an important element especially since they become the responsibility of the youngest sons upon the death of the father. From marriage onwards the new wife and mother begins to look to the future of her sons by safeguarding the cattle that are earmarked for them. Upon the death of the father, the family herd is traditionally divided among the sons, often with the bulk of the animals divided among the eldest sons of the dead man's wives. These sons are invariably married by this time and may well have taken most of their animals out of the family herd anyway. They will also have begun to build up their own family herds for their own sons. What is left of the family herd, largely representing those animals set aside for the youngest son, will become the economic base upon which the widow will now live supported by her youngest son. Traditionally, widows lived with their youngest sons, but this too appears to be changing.

Widows are important persons in Maasai society and it is worth taking the time to see how they are dispersed in the bomas in terms of their living arrangements, in other words, to see with whom they are living: within the bomas of their dead husband's brother, with their youngest married sons, with their eldest sons, or alone. Shifts in the residence patterns of the widows could be construed as changes towards greater independence of Maasai women to make certain choices in their own lives. Some of the widows' views on the education of their children are also indicative of a degree of freedom in decision-making experienced by widows.

Table 2.10. Widows' patterns of residence: Lemek and Loita

Widow stays with married:						
	Husband's brother	eldest son	eldest/ygst sons	middle sons	youngest son	living alone
Lemek	2	29	5	-	10	-
Loita	1	6	1	3	1	1

Widow stays with unmarried:						
		eldest married and youngest unmarried		with younger children		
Lemek	-	9	25	10	2	11
Loita	-	6	20	12	3	4

In Lemek Group Ranch, there are 103 widows of whom 23 are still living in the same bomas as the brothers of their deceased husbands (but not as part of his family). Only two widows have been accepted by their husbands' brothers as their "wives" in the true fashion of the Levirate.

Living with eldest sons

Thirty-nine widows are living with the eldest son who is married (but in ten cases the youngest son, as yet unmarried, is also living with the elder brother).

Nine widows are living with the eldest son who is unmarried.

Living with youngest sons

Ten widows are living with the youngest son who is married and two widows are living with the youngest unmarried son.

Living with eldest and youngest

Five widows are living with the eldest and the youngest sons who are married and share the same cattle gate.

Twenty-five widows are living with the youngest and the eldest sons, who are unmarried and are sharing the same gate (usually that of their deceased father).

Eleven widows are living with their young children or with their female children rather than with any older sons.

One very old lady is a grandmother/widow living with her eldest grandson (not included in the above Table).

One interesting phenomenon is that, in Lemek Group Ranch, there are 16 widows congregated in one small valley within the Ranch. Only one of these widows is still living in the same boma as her dead husband's

brother and this could be because her children are still infants. One reason why so many widows are living in close proximity to each other could be because these women have deliberately moved to the place after the deaths of their husbands. There is a deliberate choice operating whereby the poorer widows and their sons are congregating together in one little spot. The place is called "Morijoi" and is in a small, fairly inaccessible valley on the perimeter of the Ranch. It is certainly "off the beaten track", insofar as the path leading to it crosses the hills behind Lemek school and shopping centre. The widows have gone there from other places; a number of them are poor women who live there with their sons. One possible reason could be that not too far away there is the possibility of these sons working as contract ploughmen or casual field workers for the Kisii and Kipsigis farmers who have taken over plots on the other side of the valley. The proximity of agricultural enterprises may be an attraction for poorer widows lacking sufficient cows to feel secure in their old age and this desire to be near agricultural land gives them the possibility of sustenance.

Perhaps, it is not insignificant that the one young man who began his own little donkey-cart haulage venture in Lemek moved to this place recently with his mother. When people carry goods back and forth over the hills or take grain to be ground at the small grinding-mill 20 kms. away, this young man gets some business which helps to support him, his younger brothers and sisters, and his ageing mother.

2.7.1.4. Widows in Morijo Loita Sub-location

In Loita, there are 59 widows of whom 11 are living in the same bomas as brothers of their deceased husbands. One of these widows was accepted into the family in the fashion of the levirate: She had been the second wife of the deceased brother and she became the second wife of his brother. Because she was old and had no children, she was given a 22 years

old son from the living brother's first wife.

Living with the eldest son

Eighteen are living with the eldest son, who is married (in four cases this is the only son), and, in 12 of these cases the youngest unmarried son is also present.

Six widows are living with the eldest son, who is unmarried.

Living with the youngest son

One widow is living with her youngest son who is married.

Three widows are staying with their youngest sons who are not yet married.

Living with the eldest and the youngest sons

One widow is staying with her youngest and eldest sons both of whom are married and share the same gate.

Twenty widows are staying with the youngest and eldest sons neither of whom are yet married. It may be more appropriate in these cases to say that the sons are still staying with their widowed mother and using their deceased father's cattle gate.

In another case, one widow is with her married second-born son (together with the youngest unmarried son). The eldest son had married and moved away and so the mother is with the second-born and her youngest.

One other widow is staying with her second-born married son. Her first-born and her youngest are both married but she opted not to stay with either of them when they moved away.

In another similar case the youngest son has married and moved away, yet the widowed mother did not follow him.

One widow is living alone - her three sons married and moved elsewhere and she decided not to move with them.

Four widows are living with their very young children or with female children.

One young widow (the daughter of the sub-chief) returned home to her father's boma with her two small children.

2.8. Conclusion

Though the study is primarily concerned with education and later employment among the Maasai of the two sampled areas, these have to be seen beyond mere demographics and more within the wider district historical setting of change and education, outmigration (or the absence of it), and the different dynamics of education and subsequent employment.

One of the first observations to be made on a comparison of the marital status differences between the two samples is that a slightly higher percentage of young married women remain within the confines of the same Group Ranch in Lemek (5% of the total female population) than in Loita (2%

of the total female population). Though the percentage of local women married and living in the same boma as their parents is not very high, 0.9% of the female population in Loita and 0.6% of the female population in Lemek, nevertheless it does represent a degree of change in the marriage practices of the Purko and Loita. This figure does not explain why quite a number of men marry girls who live no more than 1,000 yards away from their own homes; the statement that a girl marries "within the same Group Ranch" does not indicate the geographical distance between her boma of origin and her new home which may be a short distance away.

Comparatively speaking (again bearing in mind the total population and sex ratios), there is a higher percentage of young Loita women (24% of the total female population) who marry and leave the location completely as opposed to the Purko young women (15% of the total female population) who leave the Group Ranch. These figures indicate that there are more Loita women marrying and leaving the area than there are Purko leaving Lemek.

Comparing the number of gates per boma for the two sites, there is an obvious difference: 55% of Lemek bomas have one gate and 20% have two gates, whereas in Loita, 26% of the bomas have one gate and 27% have two gates (in addition Loita has a further 20% with three gates). These figures indicate a shift on the part of the Purko (and, to a lesser degree, the Loita) towards smaller residential units than they had in the past when bomas appeared to be much larger. This confirms the trend noted by Kituyi from larger (7-12 households) bomas to smaller:

On group ranches, the size of the *manyatta* is shrinking to two to five households. New forms of residence where a household constitutes a separate residence unit are becoming common (1990:11)

These observations are borne out by the fact that 30% of the bomas in Lemek have just one family, 18% have two families and 17% have three families. Loita does not favour this arrangement, just 12% are single family bomas, but tends to have more two and three family bomas (24% and 23% respectively) and even four families (17%). These practices may

indicate that the Loita are a more tightly knit Section than are the Purko who may be tending more towards nucleation and the fragmentation of the extended family and a more speedy break-away of the sons from their fathers' bomas. Of course, the Loita also live on the Tanzanian border where there is much more likelihood of cattle-raids and attacks from wild animals from the adjacent Serengeti Plains. Kituyi noted this change of size in his study and linked it to the shift whereby

individual tenure in land as farms or ranches tends to reduce the size of residential groups. One study among the Kaptiei showed that residential units declined from five in the early 1960s to two households in the early 1980s (1990:70).¹⁰

Another interesting change lies in the area of marriage practices. Our research indicated that there numbers of younger men married to young women of their own age-levels (this is more obvious in the Lemek area, where the young Purko men have been promoted to the level of junior elder and have been given permission to marry). In Lemek, at least 41 men of the 20-25 years group have married women within the same age range, and a further 50 men (26-29 years) are married to women aged between 20 and 24 years of age. There are fewer younger married men in Loita because these have not yet ritually received permission to marry, ten men between 19 and 25 years of age are married to women aged 15 to 21 and ten men aged 26 to 29 are married to women aged 16 to 20.¹¹

Another area of apparent change is that of the residence patterns of widows. Our research indicates that a number of widows are obviously attempting to maintain their families around them or, in some cases, to live with their married or unmarried sons, but not to go under the authority of the husband's brother or another man. This could well augur a developing sense of independence among the older Maasai women towards marriage and the authority of the men.

Now that we have some idea of the population of the two sites by gender and age, we shall examine education in Narok District and more particularly the different rates of schooling.

CHAPTER THREE

EDUCATION IN NAROK DISTRICT

3.1. Introduction

Global assessments about educational participation can be misleading in a society like that of the Maasai, more complex than previously realized. We need to examine local variations, historical trends, and the different experiences of local communities and sub-groups. This chapter aims at a more complex and nuanced account of the Maasai educational experience by investigating the educational profile of the two sample areas, Lemek Group Ranch and Morijo Loita Sub-location.¹²

The major questions centre around the following: Are there educational differences between (a) the two sites (Lemek and Morijo), (b) the age-levels or historical periods of educational development, (c) the genders, and (d) between Maasai, mixed, and non-Maasai communities. Answering these questions will involve looking at those who attend school, those who have dropped out, and those who have finished school (assessed by candidature for the final examination at the respective level of education). Previous statements on Maasai education have been school based and thus have ignored the ethnic dimension. This study looks at it from the community perspective. We have clearly distinguished the children of local Purko or local Loita parents from the children of marriages where one of the parents, invariably the mother, is either a non-local non-Purko or non-local non-Loita (for example, a Uasin Gishu or a Kikuyu) or a local non-Purko or non-Loita (for example, an Okiek). By so doing, we raise the question of the influence of educated wives of local Purko and Loita on the education of their children, especially females. Whether or not there is any difference between the rates of schooling for the children of families where both parents are local Purko or Loita, as opposed to the children of families where only one parent is a local Purko or Loita, will become apparent in the course of the study.

3.2. Issues in pastoralism and education

There is abundant data to confirm that pastoral educational participation is much lower than that of sedentary communities. One example of this, echoing the sentiments of Herskovits (1926), is to be found in Schneider's paper (1959) on resistance to change among the Pokot of Kenya, where he wrote of "Nilotic conservatism because of the cattle complex." Nkinyangi (1981b:183) referred to low participation in educational schemes among pastoral peoples due to economic reasons; for example, their lack of the necessary monetary resources to send their children to the educational facilities such as primary boarding schools provided for them by the government. More specifically, there has been a tacit acceptance that the Maasai, in particular, have been reluctant to change their way of life and have generally opposed formal education for their children. "All research workers in the pastoral areas stress the Maasai, Paraguyu, and other disregard for modern education" (Rigby 1975:5). However, there has been some educational participation by Maasai with marked increases in more recent years (cf. Sarone 1986).

Ole Kantai (1971:xxix) is of the opinion that, since the 1961-62 drought and famine, when certain families received help from those of their relatives and friends who had been to school, Kenyan Maasai have increasingly accepted formal education. Hedlund (1971), Sarone (1986), and Kituyi (1990), all argue that changes have begun to appear in Maasai attitudes towards education but for different reasons. Hedlund (1971) relates education to the change of status and role of individual Maasai within the Kaputiei Ranch:

One can therefore speak about a newly created distinct social and economic class comprising most of the individual ranchers. Most of the members of this class have at least primary school education and have many of the Kaputiei Maasai conscious of the need for education through their economic success. That many Kaputiei Maasai at present see the relation between development and education was expressed by the formation of a school committee...now in the process of establishing a lower primary and nursery school (1971:16-17).

This same author discusses some of the obstacles preventing the children of Kaputiei from attending school and sees these as the reluctance or inability of the fathers to pay the school fees, long distances between the boma and the school, and the need for herd boys, as it is the duty of young uncircumcised boys to herd their families' cattle. Hedlund makes the valid point that it is wrong to blame the warrior system as the main reason for the low proportion of Maasai males attending school. Junior-warriors either live in a warrior-village or roam around the country with their age-mates, so it is almost impossible for them to attend school. "This is, however, not an obstacle to primary education, but to higher studies as the boys are circumcised and enter warriorhood at the age of approximately 15-18" (1971:17).

Sarone maintains that the most significant factor in increasing educational participation, in Narok and elsewhere in pastoral areas, has been the political and economic insecurity felt due to the expansion of the cash economy and wage-employment and changes in land tenure that have favoured immigration:

To remain a majority in their homelands pastoral communities had to advance educationally and enter the modern economy. Internal migration created a powerful incentive for school expansion in Maasai districts and other pastoral areas. Formal education for the Maasai is now recognized as essential to the society's ability to withstand external pressures and to borrow the rhetoric of local Maasai politicians, to participate in national development. ...The Maasai's low level of educational attainment has put them at a serious disadvantage vis-a-vis other Kenyan societies in the country in claiming the political and economic benefits which development planning promises: land titles, employment, better roads, hospitals, government maintained secondary schools, and other public services (Sarone 1986:183-84).

There are a number of difficulties here: First, there is a problem in ascertaining the actual situation of Maasai educational involvement in Narok District due to the fact that the Government figures all too often mask the Maasai involvement. In some of the primary schools in Narok District the non-Maasai percentage is as high as 97% of the total enrolment. Even the enrolment figures themselves mask the fact that many

students are enrolled and then pulled out of school for one reason or another; enrolment does not necessarily mean attendance and completion. There is also the added difficulty of abstracting the "repeaters" in the system since both Maasai and non-Maasai may be using Maasai names in order to get yet another chance at sitting the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE). These two factors alone may inflate the figures.

Kituyi, the most recent of these three writers on increased school participation, sees the changes as a result of parents' perceptions of future career possibilities and the fact that

... rich households are tempted to send children to school as a way of preparing for an alternative career in the wider economy, or more efficient stock management under new conditions; hence school competes with the herd in the allocation of youths (1990:71).

These are precisely the areas this present study will investigate, to see if there is some relation between school participation and later employment opportunities, to see if the school does in fact compete with the herd, and to see if there has been a verifiable increase in local Maasai participation in primary schooling in the two sampled areas.

In fact, the work of King (1972, 1974a, 1974b) discusses the very low Maasai participation in the educational system in the 1970s, and how the government statistics all too often mask this when they record totals for school attendance or school leavers. This problem of non-Maasai "repeaters" within Maasai schools is very relevant to the educational situation of the Maasai themselves. In this regard, King observes:

A second alternative is to transfer to one of the more "backward", often pastoral, districts. Quite often the boundary situation between districts is not particularly rigid, and there will be a small spill-over colony of Kikuyu, Kamba or Kipsigis in pastoral districts such as Kajiado or Narok. Repeaters who transfer into some of the schools just inside an area such as Maasailand find themselves in a situation dramatically different from what they have left. Instead of being one of 7,000 candidates for 700 places (the Kericho situation), he would become, in Kajiado District in 1971, for example, one of 800 candidates for 160 places (King 1974a:125).

The "places" referred to are places in the secondary schools of the district as a result of selection from the primary schools of the two

Maasai districts where the selection percentage or quota is 20% as opposed to the non-pastoralist districts where it is 10%. The thrust of his work is that Maasailand can no longer be regarded as ethnically homogeneous and any consideration of large- or medium-scale development initiatives in the district must take this into account. Narok District spans the extremes of educational resistance and of educational enthusiasm; there are places where there is an obvious increasing participation in the education system and there are places where there is hardly any participation or involvement (King 1972:390). This same author drew attention to the Maasai attitude towards education:

But there remains the core of the problem - that of the very large majority of the Maasai in Narok District who have successfully resisted modern schooling for themselves and their children over the last seventy years. A desultory system of informal compulsion has succeeded in keeping the schools in their areas functioning with a bare handful of children in each. Schools are kept alive for these Maasai under enrolment conditions which have closed them down in most other parts of Kenya (1972:391).

Elsewhere, King clarifies the true status of the Maasai within the educational statistics given for Narok:

Nothing can be done with the colonies of other tribes permanently settled in the district. They are entitled to go to their district secondary school - with the result that the Kamba and Kikuyu settled at Ngong (just inside Kajiado District), Loitokitok and Kajiado Township have the edge over the Maasai now in the three stream entry to Kajiado Secondary School and the single stream at Oloclairer, while the Kipsigis colony in the Kilgoris division of Narok District now control 60% of the double stream entry to Narok Secondary (1974b:141).

This author indicated that almost the only Maasai to take advantage of the special schools are the small but expanding educated group often settled in the townships or close by: "Members of this group have benefited from the development of wheat and from land adjudication in the district, and are increasingly profiting from the school system" (1972:391).

King traced the wage-employment of a number of secondary school leavers between 1966 and 1970 and found that almost 50% of the Maasai leavers were in training in other districts. Approximately 30% of the five cohorts were still employed inside Narok District, but most of this group were

primary school teachers, of whom a large number were untrained (1972:401). In one sense, King was setting the scene for my own research. He analyzed the statistics for a secondary school, but he did not follow the primary school cohorts back into their respective communities, nor did he interview them. However, he did pose the question of whether or not "the smallish Maasai element in the secondary schools will become a reference group for the Maasai at large?" (1972:403) This will be an interesting point to pursue in the data generated from the selected areas of Narok District some twenty years after King's research. He gives some direction when he writes:

One is to assume that really there will be no significant improvement in relevance of school to Maasai society until, in the wake of land adjudication, and possible eventual land shortage, school skills become a less useless ornament (1972:405).

In a later document, he poses the following:

The really critical question to be answered is what construction can be put on the fact that in 1971 some 48% of the Masai school students had families involved in cash cropping - most in maize, potatoes or beans, but significant groups also in wheat, pyrethrum and coffee? How is this data to be weighed if an attempt is being made to seek some of the interrelations of cash cropping, schooling and social change amongst the Masai? It is conceivable that such information, along with supplementary data on herding pattern, numbers of girls attending school, etc., could be interpreted in such a way as to show some definite trend of modernization amongst the Masai in general (1975-76:211).

This study addresses some of the issues raised above but is more community-based than school-based and examines participation rates of members of the community in the education system. The numbers of educated females in the community, the numbers of dropouts from the system, and their reasons for dropping out, as well as the parents' reasons for not educating their children, are also elements of the study.

The fact that the study is more community-based than school-based is also relevant to the findings of David Court and Kabiru Kinyanjui who have researched development policy and educational opportunities within Kenya and Tanzania and have demonstrated certain regional disparities:

Schools in most societies are the main channel of social mobility but in Africa they are the almost exclusive means of access to wage paying occupations and elite roles. ... Schools are the arena for important political competition and the demand for regional equality is the demand for more schooling (1980:5).

These authors also recommended "follow-up" to assess the quality of education given and the uses to which those educational credentials were being put in the local communities. There has been some research on pastoralists and education, notably that of Stabler (1969), King (1972, 1974a, 1974b), Court (1977), Nkinyangi (1981a; 1981b), Kerawalla (1982), and Sifuna (1986). Sarone's work (1986) is a major contribution to Kenyan pastoralist studies and is concerned with tracing changes in the Maasai attitudes towards involvement in formal education processes. This present research, picking up from his work, deals with the relationships between pastoralism, choice of area for family settlement (to be near a school for easier access of the children), labour adaptations (involvement in the family economic structure or contract herding for a salary), and outmigration for wage-employment by educated and non-educated Maasai.

3.2.1. Education in Narok District:

Before we turn our attention to some of the points raised in the literature concerning the participation of pastoralists, and the Maasai in particular, in the education system of the District, we shall present a brief history of schooling in Maasailand and finally present some material on the present educational situation in the District. What follows will serve as an introduction to the next chapter which presents original data on the rates of schooling among the two samples.

3.2.1.1. Education in Narok District: Pre-Independence

In 1903, the first elementary school for the Maasai was opened in Narok, under the auspices of the African Inland Mission (AIM) and had as its catchment area the region around Naivasha. This venture was short-lived, and collapsed, because of financial difficulties, within one year. Numerous other problems hampered attempts to establish schools for the Maasai and, by 1911, less than ten Maasai had received any schooling at all, and even this from schools outside the Maasai Reserve.¹³ The first government school opened in Kajiado in 1926 with 80 students and by 1929 this number had risen slightly to nearly 100.

The Narok based Government Maasai School (at the elementary level) was opened in 1919 with an enrolment of 96 students. Unfortunately, even the beginnings of formal education for the Maasai was based on a regrettable foundation since the school was financed from funds generated from fines imposed on the Maasai for their cattle-raiding. This school, which was really established to assist the Maasai to be more useful to themselves and to remain within their Reserve, had a workshop, a tannery, and four and a half acres of land where the Maasai were taught wheat and maize cultivation. In those early years, instruction was given only in Maasai or Swahili, never in English. The students did not sit for any formal government examinations nor did they move on to any higher level of education (for a more detailed exposition of the problem of the agricultural bias of early schooling in Maasailand, cf. Rigby 1985).

During this same period, the early 1920s, another AIM based elementary school was begun at Siyabei, just outside Narok town, and by 1924, this school boasted 30 male students. It would appear that many of these students were from families of mixed parentage, Maasai fathers and Kikuyu mothers. By this time, there were approximately 20 families at Siyabei and all but one Maasai elder had a Kikuyu wife (cf. Sarone 1986:43-44). A number of Maasai elders, who had previously been sent to live among the

Kikuyu during the famine of the last century, had returned to Maasailand and moved into the area bringing with them their Kikuyu wives, notably ole Kenaiyia and ole Kenana (for the history of schools in Narok District see Sarone 1986).

By 1926, a third school had been opened in Rajiado town (but its first Maasai school), and this because of pressure from the local community for a school of their own. A fourth elementary school was eventually opened at Loitokitok to take in the senior classes of this Rajiado school. By 1936, this Loitokitok elementary school and the Government Maasai School at Narok had been upgraded to primary school status. Those students who successfully completed the Kenyan African Primary Examination were able to go to Alliance High School near Nairobi. This upgrading of the schools was due in large part to the pressures exerted by the Maasai students themselves. At a time when other ethnic groups had several secondary schools in their home reserves, the most advanced level available to the Maasai was the elementary level at just one institution.

The enrolment in the Maasai Government School had risen slowly, from 96 in 1920, to 122 by 1940. In this same year there were 96 students in lower rural primary schools, which had been established after the Maasai put more pressure on the government to open "out-schools" or "village-schools", as they were called. One of these was Morijo Loita school which, in 1945, had an enrolment of 31 students (Sarone 1986:51). In this same year, the total enrolment in the five out-schools was 263 students (including 16 girls).¹⁴ It is likely that many of these students came from families with Maasai fathers but Kikuyu or Kisii mothers who were more interested in educational opportunities, and thus the figures apply less to the local Maasai communities as a whole (cf. Sarone 1986). This is particularly relevant when one realises the locales for four of the five schools border with other ethnic groups, as in Kilgoris, Nairragie-Nkare, Siyabei, and Morijo-Narok.

According to Sarone's history, during World War II, a number of the families migrated from Siyabei (where 95% of them had Kikuyu wives) to begin a new school in the AIM compound or area at Nairragie-Nkare and these were the first to recruit their daughters into the local Native Council "out-schools" and the Narok School. This represented the first attempt to educate Maasai girls in Narok; elsewhere the Maasai elders refused to allow the education of girls (Sarone 1986: 53). By 1960, there were 20 schools in the district with a total enrolment of 1,749 students. The 1962 Census indicates that 14% of the children in Narok and Kajiado between the ages of five and nine years had at least one year of education. This was the situation in Maasailand just before Independence.

3.2.1.2. Education in Narok District: Post-Independence

In the year of Independence, 1963, there were 26 schools maintained by the Narok County Council, with an enrolment of 3,540. Between 1963 and 1969, two missionary groups, the Roman Catholic Church and the African Inland Church, extended their influence within Maasailand through the erection of lower level primary schools. By 1969, the number of schools had risen to 46 and the enrolment to 5,587.

In terms of secondary schools, the first Maasai secondary school, which was begun in 1962, was completed in Narok town in 1963. The funding to build this school and the first group of teachers were provided by the American government. The first cohort (coming from both Narok and Kajiado districts) comprised 45 students. Two years later Kajiado got its own secondary school and then, in 1969, Narok got its second (a non-boarding) secondary school at Kilgoris which admitted 40 students. A third secondary school was added when, in 1970, the Narok County Council decided to open another school, Motonyi Secondary School, in Narok town.¹⁵

By 1971, non-Maasai already accounted for more than 60% of the Form One places in Narok secondary school; in the same year, the Maasai

representation dropped from 50% to 35% in the secondary school at Kilgoris. The selection for places in Form One, based on an assessment of the results of the CPSC, was done in Nakuru at the provincial headquarters. In spite of some difficulties, by 1973, the three secondary schools had a total enrolment of about 650 students of whom a third came from Narok. Sarone indicates that:

Approximately 1,000 students from the district wrote the primary school leaving examination in 1973. Most of those who passed obtained places in the three secondary schools; a small proportion (about two per cent) were admitted to secondary schools outside the district (1986:84).

Because the district's educational facilities were opened to other ethnic groups in 1970 by a parliamentary amendment to the Anglo-Maasai agreement which had previously kept the district closed to non-Maasai, one is left wondering about the ethnic composition of those one thousand successful candidates from the primary schools of the district in 1973.

One of the government sponsored initiatives to promote and improve primary school enrolment in the semi-arid areas of Kenya, was the Remote Areas Boarding Programme which was launched during the implementation of the 1970-1974 Development Plan. The idea was to set up boarding schools in the semi-arid and arid areas of the country to assist the pastoralist populations in those areas to improve the enrolment percentages of their children (most of which areas had 50% or less enrolment). When these schools were assessed and evaluated, the government was of the opinion that they were not cost-effective because they had been operating below capacity, and, in many cases, they had not been catering to the children indigenous to the areas for whom they were initially set up (Development Plan: 1974-1978; Part I:412 and Part II:68). Investigations done by independent researchers bore out the government's conclusions about the enrolment, Nkinyangi (1981), King (1970), Gorham (1980) and Sarone (1986), showing that

many pupils enrolled in those primary boarding schools - some time (sic) as many as 15 percent - came from non-pastoralist districts. The observed low participation of pastoralist children in the boarding school programme was partially accounted for by the relatively high costs parents were expected to meet if they decided to send their children to such schools, and by the influx of children from agriculturalist districts whose parents could more readily afford those expenses in an attempt to exploit the compensatory selection procedures introduced in pastoralist districts to enrol pastoral children in secondary schools (Ponsi 1988:6).

We shall return shortly to this topic of the influx of non-pastoralist children into the school system in the semi-arid areas and particularly into the schools of Maasailand.

3.2.1.3. Education in Narok District: 1979 Census information

Table 3.1 gives some indication of the actual numbers of those of school age in 1979 who have (a) never attended school, or (b) attended school and left, or (c) are currently attending school.

Table 3.1. School attendance (5-19 cohort): Narok Dt, 1979

	AT SCHOOL	LEFT SCHOOL	NEVER ATTENDED	NOT STATED	TOTAL
MALES					
5 - 9	4,455	72	13,774	111	18,412
10 - 14	6,801	199	6,862	169	14,031
15 - 19	3,612	1,532	5,073	49	10,266
FEMALES					
5 - 9	3,473	51	14,510	121	18,155
10 - 14	4,380	221	7,375	149	12,125
15 - 19	1,341	1,575	7,235	68	10,219
COMBINED					
5 - 9	7,928	123	28,284	232	36,567
10 - 14	11,181	420	14,237	318	26,156
15 - 19	4,953	3,107	12,308	117	20,485
TOTALS	24,062	3,650	54,829	667	83,208

Source: 1979 National Census.

Though valuable, these data do not give us any indication of the differences between dropouts from the educational system at any of its various levels and those who actually finished the primary or secondary courses of study. In spite of the fact that many Maasai boys begin their studies a little later than boys from other ethnic groups, we shall maintain the recognized division of the school-age cohorts throughout the study. This we shall do because even though they start a little older, they are still generally within the 5-19 years age-levels, and since most of them either finish the primary course or drop out of school they are still within the age parameters of the cohort when they finish their schooling. The total number of persons of school-age was 83,208. Only 28,379 persons had some education, representing approximately one third of the total school-age population for the district.

In addition to the children of immigrants into the district from other ethnic groups there are also numbers of non-migrating pupils from other districts, particularly agricultural zones bordering Narok District:

Many of the children transfer to the schools in standard five to seven to take advantage of the relatively lower mark pass on the CPE for entry into government maintained secondary schools. ...Official curbs on repetition in upper primary have resulted in various attempts to by-pass official rules. These include change of name and even migration to another district for purposes of repeating in the final years of primary school. This explains why it is no longer unusual to find a Kikuyu, Luo, Meru or Luyia child in a Narok District boarding school using an indigenous name (Narok District: Socio-cultural Profile, 1988:183).¹⁶

What is surprising is that these words suggest very little has changed over the seventeen years since King made similar observations in 1972.¹⁷ We shall show, in the breakdown of the composition of the two selected schools, that indeed this is the case.

According to the 1979 Census, the Maasai represented only 56% of the total population of Narok District. It is quite conceivable that, by 1989, this figure was even lower. Within Lemek Group Ranch, there are a few non-Maasai families present because of commercial involvement in the small stores, bars, and hotels; teachers; Water Department workers based

in Lemek; and a few families of Kenya Police officers. In Loita, there are even fewer non-Maasai families; there is a handful of teachers (without their families), and some involved in the commercial centre.

3.2.1.4. Education in Narok District: The Present Situation¹⁸

According to the District Development Plan 1989-1993, there are 190 Primary Schools and 15 Secondary Schools in the district (five secondary schools in Kilgoris, three in Lolgorian, four in Mau, and three in Osupuko).¹⁹ This is a surprisingly low number when one considers the fact that the district enrolment figure for 1988 was 27,482 students and even these the government found difficulty in accommodating and bearing in mind that the projected figure for secondary school aged children for 1993 is expected to be 34,162 (District Development Plan 1989-1993:19).²⁰ The 190 Primary Schools in the district are distributed in the following manner: 46 in the predominantly non-Maasai Mau Division, 46 in Kilgoris, 49 in the predominantly Maasai Division of Osupuko, 26 in Olokurto, and 23 in Lolgorian (District Development Plan 1989-1993:20). One possible explanation for the difference in these numbers is the fact that Olokurto and Lolgorian represent two new Divisions carved out of the other three. Population densities are higher in the other three, due no doubt to the wider ethnic catchment situation of the "border areas" (cf. Map 4).

Increasing school participation figures may well mask a certain lack of change in the Maasai communities; it is not just that students from other ethnic groups take the available places but there does not appear to be any demand for those places on the part of the Maasai parents. Why this should be so, we shall attempt to analyze in Chapter Five when we report on the findings from the interviews with parents in both areas. It may well be that some Maasai do not wish to send their children to school; they may not wish to avail themselves of the opportunities offered to them. Sarone maintains that:

One significant factor in increasing educational participation in Narok and elsewhere in pastoral areas has been the political and economic insecurity felt by the Maasai due to the expansion of the cash economy, wage employment and changes in land tenure that have favoured migration into the area. The Maasai's low level of educational attainment has put them at a serious disadvantage vis-a-vis other Kenyan societies in the country in claiming the political and economic benefits which development planning promises: land titles, employment, better roads, hospitals, government maintained secondary schools, and other public services (Sarone 1986:184).

We shall see whether or not this political and economic insecurity plays a part in the attitudes of the interviewed parents of Lemek and Loita.

Ponsi, in his analysis of selective under-enrolment in the primary schools of Kenya's arid and semi-arid districts, stated that:

The pastoralist districts - the backyard or outer periphery of the colonial economy - were left out almost completely of the process of modern educational development just as they had been excluded from the process of colonial economic development. ... Also, stubborn constraints on availing free primary boarding schools, viable variations of mobile schools and monetary resources to pastoralists, and the structural inability of the school system to adopt a more relevant curriculum or a more flexible school calendar may account in part for the persistently high rate of primary school abstention (Ponsi, 1988:4,10).

Certainly, the primary schools of the pastoralist districts, including the two primary schools of the sampled sites, have been left out of the process of modern educational development. One only has to visit them to realise how they compare to primary schools in other districts of Kenya. In this regard, the excellent study by Narman (1990) exposes the regional and district inequalities of the educational structures with particular reference to secondary and tertiary education.

We can also note that in some cases pupils originating from other districts attempt to repeat in schools on one of the eleven districts mentioned above, to improve their chances for vacancies in national secondary schools. For candidates from these disadvantaged districts, extra points are added to the primary examination score to even out regional differences. From studies on recruitment into technical secondary schools, it was obvious that many students from the major ethnical groups had a primary school examination in one of the pastoralist districts, despite the fact that they were registered for another "home" region (Narman 1990:117).

One of the reasons for this "dual registration" could be the fact that non-local and non-Maasai wives of local Maasai as well as other non-Maasai

immigrants are giving places to relatives' children. Our next step is to clarify the numbers of educated wives who may have come in from outside. Their presence is relevant to our analysis of educated males and females in the two sampled areas as well as to our analysis of their children.

3.3. Wives and daughters with some schooling:

Lemek and Loita

There are some important facts masked by the figures given above for both Lemek and Loita; a number of women were educated elsewhere and have come into the Ranch and the Sub-location as wives of local Maasai men. In addition, each site has a large Okiek community whose educational patterns differ from that of the Purko in Lemek and the Loita Maasai.²¹ The distinction between the education of the local Maasai and other groups (especially non-local females and non-local non-Purko or non-Loita females) is important if we are to make any assessment of changes in Maasai involvement in schooling in any particular area. It will be necessary to analyze the ethnic composition of the educated female populations in both areas to obtain an accurate picture of the rates of female schooling among the local Purko and Loita communities as such.

The question centres on the ways in which socially and ethnically complex family backgrounds influence the education of family members. The literature suggests that the most critical factor determining educational participation is the educational experience of the mother. Also, minority or disadvantaged groups often embrace education as a key to mobility. Here, the question is how the presence of non-local educated mothers, either Maasai or non-Maasai, bears on the education of their children, and whether minority groups such as Okiek tend to pursue schooling at rates different from those of their Maasai neighbours.

We shall undertake a deeper analysis of the figures already given for the educated females of both sample sites to establish whether or not the

figures represent locally educated women or women who were educated elsewhere and settled in the areas as a result of marriage. Since this research is an attempt to ascertain the local Purko and the local Loita involvement in schooling and to see if there has been any change over time, then not to maintain a clear distinction between the local Purko and Loita children and those of outside origin or mixed parentage would be to overlook what could be an important variable producing change and greater involvement. The data argue for the fact that the presence of mothers from certain ethnic groups is highly conducive to socio-economic change among the local Maasai and has produced positive changes in the areas of diet and rates of educational participation.²²

3.3.1. Educated women: Lemek Group Ranch

Before progressing further it is advisable to clarify the terms we shall use in the following sections and chapters when dealing with Lemek:

- Local Purko
- Non-local Purko (born outside the Ranch)
- Local non-Purko (for example, Okiek)
- Non-local non-Purko (for example, Kikuyu, Samburu, Uasin Gishu)

- And the Daughters of non-local Purko mothers
- Daughters of local non-Purko mothers
- Daughters of non-local non-Purko mothers

There are 15 non-local Purko Maasai women with some schooling who obtained their education within their families of origin elsewhere in the District and subsequently moved into Lemek as the result of marriage with Ranch members. There are also 32 women with some schooling from groups other than Purko Maasai who are married and living within the Ranch; these are local non-Purko (e.g. Okiek) and non-local non-Purko (e.g. Kikuyu, Okiek, or Uasin Gishu).²³ These 32 non-local non-Purko and local non-Purko mothers have a combined total of 36 daughters with some schooling.

Within Lemek Group Ranch there is an Okiek presence (local non-Purko) and of these families just one Okiek wife and nine Okiek daughters have had some education. In addition to these Okiek females, there are

also four Okiek/Kikuyu, one Okiek/Purko, and two Okiek/Kipsigis daughters who have had some level of schooling (the father's ethnic group is mentioned first, followed by that of the mother). There are eight educated local Purko wives in the Group Ranch together with the following:

Non-local non-Purko wives with some schooling:

Uasin Gishu Maasai wives	= 15
Purko\Uasin Gishu wife	= 1
Kikuyu wives (two of whom ran away)	= 7
Kipsigis wives	= 8

Local non-Purko wives with some schooling:

Okiek wife from within the Ranch (with schooling)	= 1
sub-total	32

Non-local Purko wives with some schooling:

	= 15
sub-total	47

Daughters of non-local Purko, non-local non-Purko, or local non-Purko mothers:

Uasin Gishu families	= 2
Purko\UGM families	= 5
Purko\Samburu families	= 1
Purko\Kikuyu families	= 12
Okiek families	= 9
Okiek\Kipsigis families	= 2
Okiek\Purko families	= 1
Okiek\Kikuyu families	= 4
sub-total	36
Total	83

This means that, of the 173 females with some schooling and living in the Group Ranch, at least 68 do not have both parents locally born Purko and a further 15 families have non-local Purko women as wives and mothers. In terms of percentages, 48% of the educated female population in Lemek are non-local Purko, local non-Purko, non-local non-Purko wives, or daughters of mothers from these three groups; the remaining 52% are local Purko females who have had some degree of schooling.

We have been using figures for all females (both wives and daughters). It may be of some value to summarise the figures just for the educated wives:

Of the 55 wives with some schooling,

- 32 are non-local non-Purko or local non-Purko wives and
- 15 are non-local Purko wives; there are just
- 8 local Purko wives (from within the Ranch) with some schooling
- representing 15% of all the educated wives in Lemek.

The total number of Purko wives with schooling is 23, and (65%) of these came from outside the Ranch. This fact underlines the need for clarifying the origins of the educated females in the sample; only eight out of 55 are educated local Purko women.

We can take this a step further to establish the marriage patterns of these educated women: Do they marry educated or non-educated men, teachers or traders, men who worked away from home or men who never left home?

Wives' ethnicity, husbands' education, jobs, and locales:

- 5 Kikuyu wives/married to educated Purko men who worked as
 - Administration Policeman in Kilgoris;
 - Administration Policeman in Nyeri;
 - veterinary officer in Narok and Mau Narok;
 - veterinary officer in Narok;
 - clerk in Kilgoris.
- 2 Kikuyu wives/married to educated Okiek men who worked as
 - clerk in Narok and Head of Security, The Mara;
 - veterinary officer in Narok.
- 1 Maasai/Kikuyu wife/non-educated Purko man who never worked.
- 3 Uasin Gishu Maasai wives/educated Purko men who worked as
 - Kenya Army (Eldoret);
 - clerical work (Lemek Mission);
 - barman (The Mara)
- 1 Uasin Gishu Maasai wife/educated Uasin Gishu man who worked as
 - trainee hotel manager in The Mara and clerk (Nairobi)
- 7 Uasin Gishu Maasai wives/non-educated Purko men who worked as
 - watchman (The Mara);
 - watchman (Lemek Mission);
 - shopowner (Group Ranch);
 - two men worked as cattle traders; and
 - two men who did not work at all.
- 3 Uasin Gishu wives/three non-educated men who never worked at all
 - (two Purko and one Uasin Gishu man).
- 1 Maasai/Uasin Gishu Maasai wife/educated Purko
 - cook in Narok and later a room-steward in The Mara
- 4 Kipsigis wives/four non-educated Purko men who had never worked;
- 1 Kipsigis wife/non-educated Okiek man who had never worked.
- 1 Kipsigis wife/educated Okiek shopowner.
- 2 Kipsigis wives/two men who worked as cattle traders
 - (one educated and one non-educated).

- 1 Okiek wife/an non-educated Okiek man who never worked.
- 11 Purko wives/eleven non-educated Purko men who had never worked.
 - 1 Purko wife/non-educated Purko man who worked as a watchman (Lemek).
 - 5 Purko wives/five cattle traders (three non-educated/two educated).
 - 2 Purko wives/two educated Purko teachers.
 - 2 Purko wives/two educated Purko clerks (Narok).

Thirteen husbands of these 53 women have been employed in occupations which involved movement or migration. All the husbands of the Kikuyu wives (including the Okiek husbands) had worked in places outside the Ranch, for example, Kilgoris, Mau Narok, Nyeri, and Narok, and four of the educated husbands of the Uasin Gishu Maasai wives had worked outside the Ranch. In these cases there is a clear relationship between the husbands' jobs and locales and the women they subsequently married.

On the other hand, the eight husbands of the Kipsigis wives had neither worked nor moved around (except of course for the movements of the two cattle traders and this could be related to their marriages since they would have gone to cattle markets in or near Kipsigis' settlements). The data indicate that all the Kikuyu women and some of the Uasin Gishu women appeared to be married to the better educated Purko and Okiek males who were also employed in the better jobs and who had moved around at some point or other. With one or two exceptions, the rest of the women, Purko, Kipsigis, and the remainder of the Uasin Gishu, were married to non-educated men, most were not involved in wage-labour (but some were cattle traders or watchmen).

Looking at the cattle and shoat holdings of the husbands of all 53 wives: the range of cattle was from 5-600 (Mean of 169 cattle and Median of 100 animals), and the range for the smallstock was from 0-800 (Mean of 145 shoats and Median of 100). These figures indicate that these women, generally, were not married into the poorer families of the Group Ranch because they had married teachers, Rangers, veterinary officers (dip attendants), clerks, and cattle traders, who are among the more wealthy in both areas.

3.3.2. Educated women: Morijo Loita Sub-location

We shall use the same terms we used for Lemek adjusted to suit the Loita situation:

Local Loita
 Non-local Loita (born outside the Sub-division)
 Local non-Loita (for example, Okiek)
 Non-local non-Loita (for example, Rwandan, Kikuyu, Samburu, Uasin Gishu)
 Daughters of non-local Loita mothers
 Daughters of local non-Loita mothers
 Daughters of non-local non-Loita mothers

There are 11 educated local Loita wives in the Sub-location together with the following educated wives and daughters:

Non-local non-Loita wives with some schooling:

Uasin Gishu Maasai wives	= 2
Kikuyu wives	= 6
Rwandan wife	= 1
Mluyia wife	= 1
Loita/Kikuyu wives	= 2
Loita/Samburu wives	= 2

Local non-Loita wives with some schooling:

Okiek wives from within the Sub-location	= 2
--	-----

sub-total	16
-----------	----

Non-local Loita wives with some schooling:

	= 12
--	------

sub-total	28
-----------	----

Daughters of local non-Loita or non-local non-Loita mothers:

Okiek	= 5
Loita/Kikuyu	= 16
Loita/Rwandan	= 2

sub-total	23
-----------	----

Total	51
-------	----

Thus, of the 109 females with some formal schooling living in Morijo Loita Sub-location, 39 are either non-local non-Loita or local non-Loita wives, or daughters of women from these two groups. An additional 12 educated women are non-local Loita from other parts of the District. Forty-seven percent of the total educated female population in Morijo

Loita is made up of non-local Loita, non-local non-Loita, and local non-Loita wives together with the daughters of the women from these three groups. This means that only 53% of the total educated female population may be regarded as local Loita females who also represent 6% of the total female population of Morijo Loita. Looking only at the figures for the educated wives in the above figures we find:

14 non-local non-Loita or local non-Loita wives, and
 12 non-local Loita wives in the Sub-location. There are also
 11 local Loita wives representing 30% of the educated wives
 in Loita Sub-location.

Viewed differently, we can say that 50% of the educated Loita wives came from outside the Sub-location. Comparing the percentages for the educated local Purko or Loita females of Lemek and Loita respectively (4% and 6% of the total female populations), there is a greater percentage of females with some schooling in Loita than in Lemek. In addition, the above figures for the local educated wives (Purko or Loita) represent 15% of the educated wives in Lemek and 30% in Loita, a further indication of the difference between the two areas and an interesting one insofar as we are looking at the actual figure for the wives who are local women.

Finally, as we did in the case of the educated married women of Lemek, we shall look at the husbands of the educated wives in Loita to see if there is any similarity in the occupational profiles of these husbands:

4 Kikuyu wives/married to educated Loita men
 three Rangers (The Mara)
 one teacher

2 Uasin Gishu Maasai wives/married to non-educated Loita men
 farmhand (Kitale)
 watchman (Kitale)

1 Rwandan wife/married to a university educated Loita teacher
 1 Mluyia wife/married to an non-educated Loita cattle trader

2 Okiek wives/two non-educated Okiek men - one a cattle trader and
 the other never worked at any time

22 Loita wives/married to four Loita Rangers with some education
 /married to nine Loita teachers with some education
 /married to two non-educated Loita cattle traders
 /married to one educated Loita who never worked
 /married to four non-educated Loita who never worked
 /married to one educated Okiek shop assistant
 /married to one non-educated Okiek cattle trader

As in the case of the Kikuyu women married into the Lemek families, the Kikuyu women here also married the better educated Loita who were working in good jobs, as Rangers and teachers. In Loita, the Uasin Gishu, Mluyia, and Okiek wives were married to non-educated men with less prestigious jobs; cattle traders, watchmen, and a farmhand. The husbands of the two Uasin Gishu wives had both worked outside the district, in Kitale. More than 50% of the 22 Loita wives (similar to the Kikuyu wives) were married to educated men in good jobs who had moved outside the area or the district for wage-employment as Rangers or teachers.

If we look at the cattle and shoat holdings of the husbands of all 32 women, we find a range of cattle from 0-300 (Mean of 85 cattle and Median of 70), and a range of shoats from 2-250 animals (Mean of 64 and Median of 40). These holdings are smaller than the Lemek families and parallel the difference discovered between the two sites in terms of animal numbers.

The significance of the figures and the percentages presented above concerning the different groups of wives and daughters will become more apparent as we explore the schooling rates for various age-levels in Lemek and Loita; especially the rates for the educated females within these sections of the communities. The data on the wives and daughters were introduced at this point to help us clarify the ethnic backgrounds of the students in the different age-levels. But first we shall analyze the composition of the primary schools in Lemek and Loita to get some sense of the numbers of local students.

3.4. Composition of the schools: Lemek and Morijo Loita

One of the substantive goals of this research has been to clarify the actual Maasai participation in the school system. As a first step towards this goal, we shall analyze, in some detail, the student composition of the Full Primary Schools in each of the sampled communities to obtain some idea of just where the current students come from, the Group Ranch (in the

case of Lemek). the Sub-location (in the case of Morijo Loita), other parts of the District, or from outside the District altogether.

In 1989, the primary school at Lemek (which has boarding facilities for boys and girls) had the following student composition for Standards 4 to Standard 8 inclusive:

3.4.1. Lemek Primary School

Std.4: 45 students of whom 27 were "local" (i.e. from Lemek Group Ranch);
18 came from elsewhere within the district
(Narok, Morijo and Mulot) and from outside
it (Nairobi).

Std.5: 38 students of whom 18 were from the Group Ranch, and
20 were from various places within the district
such as Nairragie Enkare, Narok, Mulot, and
The Maasai Mara.

Std.6: 39 students of whom 12 were from the Group Ranch,
27 were from other places outside the Ranch
including some from places within the
district (Narok, Talek and The Maasai
Mara) and from places outside the district
such as Nairobi, Voi, and Nakuru.

Std.7: 46 students of whom 6 were from the Ranch, and
40 were from other places: some from within
Narok District: Narok Town = 7 Talek = 4
N/Enkare = 4 The Mara = 1 Nkoban = 2
and some from places outside the District:
Kitale = 1 Murang'a = 3
Naivasha = 1 N/Enkare = 4

Std.8: 31 students of whom 3 were from the Group Ranch and
28 were from places such as:
Koiyaki = 1 Melelo = 2
Emarti = 1 Mekenya = 1
Talek = 1 Anendo = 2
Melili = 1 Melelo = 2
The Mara = 2 N/Enkare = 1
Mekenya = 1 Narok Town = 5
Murang'a = 1 Kiambu = 1

This meant that, of a total of 199 students in Stds. 4 to 8,
66 were "local", from the Group Ranch and
133 were "outsiders" (a mixture of Maasai
from other parts of the District, and
non-Maasai from other Districts).

The above information may be summarized in the following Table:

Table 3.2. Percentage of local and non-local students in Lemek School: Standards 4-8.

Standard	Total students	Local students	Non-local students	Percentage of local students
4	45	27	18	60
5	38	18	20	47
6	39	12	27	31
7	46	6	40	13
8	31	3	28	10
Total 199		66	133	Average 32%

This Table shows clearly that the percentage of local students drops dramatically from Standard 4 to 8. The point to be taken from these figures is that there is an increase in the numbers of outsiders in the higher classes and a dramatic drop in the numbers of local students. The average percentage of local students is only 32% in each class.

This inquiry does not pursue the question of the number of "repeaters" among all these cohorts, nor does it pursue details of just how these students came to be in the school at Lemek. Certainly, some few would be the children of non-Maasai workers in the Ranch and others could well be related to some of the non-Maasai teachers. In a later chapter, we shall discuss the issue of repeaters among the Maasai when we come to deal with those who passed through the school between 1973 and 1979.

3.4.2. Morijo Loita Primary School

The primary school at Morijo Loita is a day school and has no boarding facilities, though two or three of the male students are living in some form of "makeshift" living accommodation and work occasionally as cleaners and cooks for those teachers who live within the school compound. This lack of boarding facilities means that the majority (almost all, in fact)

of students come from the locality and continue to live at home and are therefore local Maasai or children from the one or two non-Maasai families who run stores in the retail trading centre of Morijo Loita. This is quite different from the prevailing situation in Lemek which, because it offers primary boarding facilities for boys and girls, attracts students from across the district and beyond. However, the boarding fees (together with extra uniforms, blankets, sheets, mattresses, utensils, etc.) put it out of the reach of many Maasai children who have perhaps had to fight and struggle to get even the basic school fees (plus building fees, services fees, etc., etc.).

Thus, at Loita, the situation is quite different:

Std.4: 6 students, 5 of whom were Loita from the sub-location and 1 was a Loita from outside Morijo sub-location.

Std.5: 7 students, 6 of whom were local Loita and 1 was Maasai from another area.

Std.6: 14 students, 12 of whom were from Morijo Loita and 2 were Maasai from elsewhere.

Std.7: 11 students all of whom were from the settlements within Morijo Loita sub-location.

Std.8: 11 students, 10 of whom were from Morijo Loita and 1 was a Maasai from Tanzania.

In this school, of 49 students in Stds.4 to 8.
44 were from Morijo Loita Sub-location, and
5 were Maasai from other places (4 from
the district and 1 from Tanzania).

The information given above may be summarized as follows:

Table 3.3. Percentage of local and non-local students in Morijo Loita School: Standards 4-8.

Standard	Total students	Local students	Non-local students	Percentage of local students
4	6	5	1	83
5	7	6	1	86
6	14	12	2	86
7	11	11	0	100
8	11	10	1	91
Total	49	44	5	Average 89%

Though a number of the children came from families of mixed ethnic parentage, almost all the students of Morijo Loita primary school actually came from that Sub-location. The average number of local students in each class was 89% which is clearly much higher than Lemek. In the Loita school, the local numbers increased over the standards and only one Maasai male from Tanzania broke the 100% local rate for the top two classes.

This school, in a supposed "conservative" area, has more local Maasai students in Standards 7 and 8 than does Lemek. This may reflect the general lack of penetration of Loita by non-Maasai, but the difference may also point to the effects of turning a local primary school into a boarding-school (opening it up to any who can pay the comparatively high fees), which tends to attract repeaters from other and more distant parts of the district and even from other provinces of the country. These primary boarding schools were introduced to serve the nomadic pastoralist populations, but over the years a number of them (including Lemek) have ended up serving the non-pastoralist groups.

Prior to 1973, Lemek school had a "school boma", or "inkangitie oo nkera", located nearby which provided lodging for the Maasai children who attended the school. The students stayed there together with some of their mothers and some lactating cows which provided for their daily nutritional requirements. This type of living arrangement discouraged non-Maasai (and even non-local Maasai) from using the school system since there was little accommodation available other than a place in this boma. The school boma was disbanded around 1973 when the school at Lemek was upgraded to Full Primary School status and the boarding facilities were opened. There was a degree of pressure upon the parents to disband the boma and to utilize the boarding-school and in those early days the fees were kept low to encourage the local Maasai to enter the school.

3.5. Education in the two selected communities

We now turn our attention to those educated within the two communities, Lemek and Loita. We shall examine the different rates of schooling in both places according to age-levels and gender, and we shall further investigate the ethnic composition of those who have had some schooling.

3.5.1. Schooling/non-schooling: Lemek Group Ranch.

In the previous chapter, we presented the Purko population (including outside women married to Purko males) and the Okiek families in Lemek by selected age-levels, and now we identify those who had some schooling and those who had no schooling within these groups. At the moment, there are three primary schools catering for the children of Lemek Group Ranch. Two of these were opened in recent years and still do not possess Full Primary School status (i.e. teaching to Standard 8, when the pupils sit for the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education, the K.C.P.E.).

For the purposes of this research, it was decided to regard the extremely young children (0-4 years of age), who are sent to the three nursery schools in the Ranch, as part of the non-educated group. It appears that many parents who sporadically send their children to these nurseries have no intention of sending them later to primary school; they assume they have fulfilled their obligation of sending one child to school by the sending of a toddler to the nursery.²⁴ The comments of the nursery school teachers who were interviewed gave a strong sense of frustration on this matter and supported the decision not to regard these infants as part of the schooled population. Because of the pre-school ages of the children involved, these nurseries have to be located very near to the communities if the parents are to allow their children to attend. Lemek Ranch is on the edge of The Maasai Mara (the geographical name of the area within which is The Maasai Mara Game Reserve) with all its wildlife and

consequent dangers. Because of the small number of children involved (113 in Lemek and 29 in Loita), the decision not to include them within the numbers of those involved in the "formal and regulated school system" should not affect the results in any dramatic way. The figures for the schooled or unschooled by age-levels are presented in Table 3.4 which gives a clear indication of the major difference between the education of males and females within the Group Ranch: 81% of the total male population, including the 0-4 years age-level and 92% of the female population had no schooling. If we exclude the 0-4 years category, the combined total of males and females over five years of age without any schooling represents 84% of the population and of these, 76% of the males and 90% of the females over five years of age had no schooling. These are very significant percentages.

Within the school-age population (5-19 years) of Lemek, 31% of the males and 16% of the females have had, or are still having, some schooling. However, if we omit the 5-9 group and take the 10-24 age-levels as the school-age population since many Maasai youngsters do not begin school until they are nine or ten years of age, then we get a slightly higher percentage of males, 34%, and 13% of the females with some schooling. Over the years, there has obviously been an increase in the percentage of males given an education ranging from 4% of the 50-54 years age-level to 41% of the 10-14 years age-level. However, women have been educated at less than half the rate of the males.

Table 3.4. Schooling/non-schooling by five year age-levels, gender and percentages (of gender total): Lemek

Males					
Ages	No schooling	%	Some schooling	%	Total
0 - 4	322	100	-	-	322
5 - 9	231	79	62	21	293
10 - 14	131	59	92	41	223
15 - 19	124	66	63	34	187
20 - 24	142	73	53	27	195
25 - 29	114	78	33	22	147
30 - 34	53	76	17	24	70
35 - 39	45	90	5	10	50
40 - 44	30	91	3	9	33
45 - 49	55	92	5	8	60
50 - 54	53	96	2	4	55
55 - 59	12	86	2	14	14
60 - 64	32	97	1	3	33
65 - 69	12	100	-	-	12
70 - 74	23	100	-	-	23
75+	40	100	-	-	40
Subtotal	1419	81%	338	19%	1757
Females					
0 - 4	315	100	-	-	315
5 - 9	224	82	51	18	275
10 - 14	165	82	37	18	202
15 - 19	180	89	23	11	203
20 - 24	269	89	34	11	303
25 - 29	229	94	16	6	245
30 - 34	81	98	2	2	83
35 - 39	77	94	5	6	82
40 - 44	85	99	1	1	86
45 - 49	88	97	3	3	91
50 - 54	58	100	-	-	58
55 - 59	27	96	1	4	28
60 - 64	42	100	-	-	42
65 - 69	19	100	-	-	19
70 - 74	9	100	-	-	9
75+	11	100	-	-	11
Subtotal	1879	92%	173	8%	2052
Total	3298	87%	511	13%	3809

(cf. Appendix 3A, Table G, for a breakdown by levels of schooling)

These figures tell of a marked increase over time of both male and female involvement in education. The percentage involvement of the male population has grown from 22% for the 25-29 group, through 27% and 34% for the next two age-levels, to 41% of the 10-14 years age-level. There is a drop in the figure for the 5-9 group, but this is not so surprising since many Maasai parents do not regard this early age as the age for their children to attend school. In many ways and for many reasons, ten years of age is nearer the starting age for many children and the 10-14 years age-level is more representative of the latest cohorts to begin their education. Though the females' rate of involvement is much lower, their percentage involvement rises from 6%, through 11%, to 18% for the 10-14 years age-level.

3.5.2. Schooling/non-schooling: Morijo Loita Sub-location

We have already established a demographic profile of the second area, and now we shall outline the educational profile; those who have had some schooling in this second area. Table 3.5 gives an indication of those who have had no schooling and those who have had some formal education, by gender: 73% of the male population and 90% of the females have had no formal schooling. Those with schooling are 27% of the males and 10% of the females. Educational rates are higher for Loita than for Lemek.

Within the school-age population, 31% of the males and 13% of the females, have had some schooling. The percentage of school-age males with an education is exactly the same for both places, 31%, but the school-age females with some education is slightly different; 16% in Lemek and 13% in Loita. The percentages for the school-age females with some schooling are not as impressive as those for the school-age males.

Table 3.5. Schooling/non-schooling by five year age-levels,
gender and percentages (of gender total): Morijo Loita

Males					
Ages	No Schooling	%	Some Schooling	%	Total
0 - 4	103	100	-	-	103
5 - 9	114	83	23	17	137
10 - 14	70	60	46	40	116
15 - 19	65	61	42	39	107
20 - 24	49	53	43	47	92
25 - 29	44	71	18	29	62
30 - 34	31	69	14	31	45
35 - 39	30	70	13	30	43
40 - 44	20	56	16	45	36
45 - 49	9	69	4	31	13
50 - 54	20	77	6	23	26
55 - 59	6	75	2	25	8
60 - 64	6	100	-	-	6
65 - 69	4	100	-	-	4
70 - 74	17	100	-	-	17
75+	25	96	1	4	26
Subtotal	613	73	228	27	841
Females					
0 - 4	134	100	-	-	134
5 - 9	137	94	9	6	146
10 - 14	90	81	21	19	111
15 - 19	98	85	17	15	115
20 - 24	124	86	21	14	145
25 - 29	106	88	14	12	120
30 - 34	53	84	10	16	63
35 - 39	63	94	4	6	67
40 - 44	31	80	8	20	39
45 - 49	26	93	2	7	28
50 - 54	26	96	1	4	27
55 - 59	16	94	1	6	17
60 - 64	19	100	-	-	19
65 - 69	5	83	1	17	6
70 - 74	13	100	-	-	13
75+	11	100	-	-	11
Subtotal	952	90	109	10	1061
Total	1565	82	337	18	1902

(cf. Appendix 3A, Table H, for a breakdown by levels of schooling)

One of the most striking statistics to be gleaned from the figures reported in Table 3.5 is that 82% of the total population (including the 0-4 years age-level) has had no formal schooling. However, if we exclude the 0-4 years category, the combined total of males and females over the age of five years without any schooling is 1,328 (of a total population of 1,665), and of these, 69% of the males over five years of age and 88% of the females over five years of age have had no schooling.

Of the males in the 5-19 years age-level, 31% have had some schooling, and 13% of the females in the same age-level. If we alter the school-age groupings to take into account the late starters, 10-24 years, then the percentage is much higher, 61% of the males and 16% of the females. As in Lemek, the percentages rise from 23%, for the 50-54 years age-level, through 29% (25-29) to 47% for the 20-24 years age-group. Then there is a drop to 39% and 40% for the next two age-levels. Among the female population there has been a steady increase from 12%, through 14% and 15%, to 19% of the 10-14 years age-level.

3.5.3. Comparison of those educated in the Lemek and Loita locations

The two locations were similar with regard to the percentages with schooling from the 10-14 years group. However, there was a difference between the two sites for the 20-24 years group; in Lemek 27% of the males had some schooling and in Loita 47% has some schooling. In both sites there was a steady increase in the percentages of those with some schooling over the age-levels.

Table 3.6 reports a comparative survey of the school status of the populations in both sampled sites ranging from those with no schooling to those who have finished university. The numbers and percentages represent the total Maasai populations over the age of five years but do not include non-Maasai living in the areas as teachers, shopkeepers, and Water

Department officials. The same Table indicates that, in Loita, 31% of the male population (over five years of age) has had some education, but only 24% of the males of Lemek have had some schooling. Similarly, the 12% of females in Loita with some schooling is slightly higher than the 10% educated females of Lemek, and this in spite of the fact that there are more non-local Purko and non-local non-Purko wives integrated into the Lemek female population than there are in Loita (30 as opposed to 10).

Table 3.6. Education levels of those over five years of age, expressed as percentages of all those with an education: By locality and gender

	MALES				FEMALES			
	LEMEK No.	%	LOITA No.	%	LEMEK No.	%	LOITA No.	%
primary/still	205	60.6	104	45.6	98	56.7	34	31.2
primary d/out	73	21.6	56	24.6	57	32.9	53	48.6
prim./finished	23	6.7	30	13.2	8	4.6	7	6.4
sec./still	9	2.7	15	6.6	4	2.3	6	5.5
sec. d/out	12	3.6	7	3.1	1	0.6	3	2.8
sec./finished	12	3.6	8	3.5	4	2.3	4	3.7
TTC/still	1	0.3	1	0.4	-	-	-	-
TTC/finished	1	0.3	6	2.6	1	0.6	-	-
Med./still	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1.8
Univ./finished	2	0.6	1	0.4	-	-	-	-
subtotal	338	100.0	228	100.0	173	100.0	109	100.0
Schooling	338	23.6	228	30.9	173	10.0	109	11.8
No schooling as a percentage of all those over 5 years of age								
5+ years	1097	76.4	510	69.1	1564	90.0	818	88.2
Total	1435	100.0	738	100.0	1737	100.0	927	100.0

Key:

Primary/still

Primary/finished

Primary/dropout

Secondary/still

Secondary/finished

Secondary/dropout

TTC = Teacher Training

Med. = Nursing School

Univ. = University²³

The presence of these wives, and the fact that a number of educated females are the daughters of marriages between Purko fathers and non-Purko

(or non-local Purko) mothers, impinges upon the figures from that area. We shall demonstrate and analyze these points in the following section.

If we leave aside the pre-schoolers (0-4 years), there appears to be a slightly higher percentage of males without schooling in Lemek than in Loita (76% vs. 69%). The situation is similar with regard to the women where there is also a slightly higher percentage without any education in Lemek than in Loita (90% vs. 88%).

If we turn our attention to those who began and actually finished the primary course (and those who went into secondary or tertiary education) we find a very striking difference between Lemek and Loita for the total males (as percentages of those with some level of education): 17.8% of the males finished in Lemek and 29.8% of the males finished in Loita. The figures for the females are lower, 10.4% in Lemek and 20.2% in Loita.

For those who dropped out of primary school, taking the percentages of all who attended school, the rates are highest for the female students of both Lemek and Loita (32.9% and 48.6% respectively). This high dropout rate for females in Loita supports the fact that Loita experienced a rise in female school participation earlier than did Lemek; since most girls do not finish their schooling, but do gain several years of schooling, this increase in female participation takes the form of a higher dropout rate than Lemek. The rates for male dropouts in Lemek and Loita are considerably lower (males 21.6% and females 24.6%). The high dropout rates for the females should be understood within the context of the very low schooling figures where 89% of all females over five years of age from both sites have had no schooling at all.

There are two ways of looking at the numbers of students still attending primary school a) as a percentage of the total number of persons over five years of age with some schooling, which is reported in Table 3.6 and b) as a percentage of the total number of persons within the school-age population (5-19 years). With regard to the first; we can say that of all those in Lemek with some schooling, 61% of the males are actually

still in the process of receiving it in primary school and 46% of the males in Loita over five years of age with some education are still attending primary school. For the females there are 57% in Lemek and 31% in Loita still receiving their primary education.

We shall discuss the second viewpoint in the next section where we analyze the educational levels of specific age-levels including those who are attending primary school as percentages of the various age-levels.

3.6. Education among various age-levels: Lemek and Loita

The first major group to be examined in more detail will be the school-age population (5-19 years), then the working-age segment of the population (20-39 years), many of whom will form the focus of the wage-employment sample to be discussed later. The third group will be all those who are forty years or more (40+ years).

3.6.1. School-age Populations (5-19 years): Lemek and Loita

We are particularly interested in the involvement of the school-age population (5-19 years) of the two areas and so these years have been presented as a single unit.²⁶

There are 1,382 school-age children (703 males and 679 females) in Lemek Ranch and, of these, 31% of the males and 16% of the females have had some schooling. The total school-age population of Loita is 732 (360 males and 372 females) and, of these, 31% of the males have had some schooling and 13% of the females have had the opportunity to attend school. It is both interesting and surprising to find the percentage similarities between the two areas for this age-level.

Table 3.7. School-age populations: Schooling and non-schooling by gender and levels of schooling: Lemek and Morijo Loita

	Lemek				Loita			
	males		females		males		females	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
no education	486	69.0	569	83.7	249	69.2	325	87.3
subtotal	486	69.0	569	83.7	249	69.2	325	87.3
primary/still	197	28.0	98	14.4	96	26.6	33	8.9
primary d/out	12	1.7	9	1.3	6	1.7	10	2.7
primary/finished	1	0.3	1	0.2	1	0.3	-	-
secondary/still	6	0.9	3	0.4	8	2.2	3	0.8
secondary d/out	1	0.1	-	-	-	-	1	0.3
subtotal	217	31.0	111	16.3	111	30.8	47	12.7
Total	703	100.0	680	100.0	360	100.0	372	100.0
Combined male/female	1383				732			

In absolute figures, there are three times the number of females still in primary school in Lemek as there are in Loita (98 as opposed to 33) and, as percentages of the total population, there is a 36% higher rate in Lemek than in Loita (14% as opposed to 9%). Table 3.7 reports the various levels of education as percentages of the total age-level, but another way of looking at the dropouts in this particular age-level is to see them as percentages of all those who have had some schooling in the age-level: 5.5% and 5.4% for the males of Lemek and Loita respectively, and 8.1% and 21.3% for the females of Lemek and Loita. Previously, we looked at dropouts as percentages of all those over five years of age, but the above percentages represent the dropout rates just from this particular age-level. (Cf. Appendix 3B, Table J, which presents the above information minus the figures of the non-educated.)

Returning to our previous discussion about primary participation: in Table 3.7 above, the figures for those still attending primary school are

different to those in Table 3.6 because the latter gives all those over five years of age with schooling whereas the former presents data only for the 5-19 years age-level. Viewed as percentages of the school-age population, 28% of the males are still attending primary school in Lemek and 27% in Loita; 14% of the school-age females are still attending primary school in Lemek as opposed to 9% of the school-age females attending in Loita (Table 3.7). The difference in the percentages for the educated females still attending school could be due to the presence and the influence of the larger numbers of non-local educated Purko wives, and the non-local non-Purko wives in Lemek; there are fewer non-local Loita and non-local non-Loita wives and mothers.

In addition to having some idea of the level of schooling by gender of this section of the population, it is very important that we also have some idea of the ethnic composition of the relevant educated or non-educated sections of the school-age population. We shall continue to use the same terms as before: Local Purko or Loita, non-local Purko or Loita, local non-Purko or Loita, and non-local non-Purko or Loita. Though we are looking at the 5-19 years age-level, which is normally regarded as the school-age group, there are some young non-educated married women who are non-local Purko or Loita included in the figures. This group (non-local) refers to young women from outside the sampled areas who are married into local families; their children are either local Purko or local Loita.

In spite of the fact that we are analyzing the 5-19 years age-level, it should be kept in mind that some of the persons listed below are already married. In Lemek, there are 99 non-educated married persons in this age-level; there are also six educated and married Purko and two educated and married Uasin Gishu Maasai.

Table 3.8. School-age group (5-19 years) by ethnic group and level of education: Lemek and Loita

	No educ.		Primary		Secondary	
	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta
<u>Both parents</u>						
<u>Local or non-local</u>						
Purko or Loita	928	444	256	102	4	4
<u>Local non-Purko/Loita</u>						
Okiek	75	57	22	13	-	1
<u>Non-local non-Purko/Loita</u>						
Uasin Gishu	2	-	3	-	-	-
Kipsigis	2	-	-	-	-	-
Samburu	1	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Children of Mixed Heritage</u>						
Pko or Lta/Kikuyu	2	18	12	18	5	5
Pko or Lta/UGM	27	2	10	-	-	-
Pko or Lta/Samburu	4	27	1	5	-	-
Purko/Kipsigis	7	-	4	-	-	-
Loita/Rwandan	-	1	-	3	-	2
Loita/Okiek	-	5	-	1	-	-
Loita/Arusha	-	4	-	1	-	-
Okiek/Pko or Lta	4	15	1	3	-	-
Okiek/Kipsigis	1	-	2	-	-	-
Okiek/Kikuyu	3	-	5	-	1	-
Okiek/Luyia	-	1	-	-	-	-
TOTALS	1055	574	316	146	10	12

Note: In the above Table, 'Pko or Lta' refers to situations where the father is either Purko or Loita depending on the area. 'UGM' refers to Uasin Gishu Maasai. 'Mixed' refers a) to the children from marriages between local Purko or local Loita men and non-local non-Purko or non-local non-Loita women; b) to the children of local non-Purko or local non-Loita (in this case, Okiek) men and women from other groups (Loita, Purko, Kipsigis, Kikuyu, or Luyia).

Among the married Purko women of this age-level in Lemek, there are two from outside the Ranch with some primary education (non-local Purko). These two women have been omitted from the figures in the above Table. In Loita, there are 72 non-educated married persons and there are five educated married Loita; in addition, there is one educated married Loita/Kikuyu and one educated married Loita/Samburu. There are no married Loita women of this age-level in Moriyo Sub-location coming from outside.

We shall collapse the categories of those with an education presented in Table 3.8 into two major groups:

- a) local Purko (for Lemek) or local Loita (for Morijo) where both parents are local, and
- b) "other" representing all the non-local non-Purko, non-local non-Loita, local non-Purko, local non-Loita, and the children of mixed heritage, then the preceding data may be re-organized even further to demonstrate the difference between local Purko and Loita Maasai and those with outside or more complex origins, such as the Okiek, the Uasin Gishu Maasai, Kikuyu wives, and children of mixed ethnic marriages:

Table 3.9. School-age population: Local Purko, local Loita, and other ethnic groups; schooling as percentages of those with an education: Lemek and Loita

	PRI. %	SEC. %	TOTAL %
<hr/>			
	Lemek Group Ranch		
Local Purko	79	1.2	80.0
Others	18	1.8	20.0
<hr/>			
Total	97	3.0	100.0
<hr/>			
	Loita Sub-location		
Local Loita	65	2.0	67.0
Others	28	5.0	33.0
<hr/>			
Total	93	7.0	100.0
<hr/>			

These figures obviously make a difference for our reading of the general statistics for the two areas and for our understanding of local Maasai participation in schooling.

LEMEK GROUP RANCH

In Lemek, those educated of local Purko parents (262) represent 80% of all those educated within this age-level (328). This is not a particularly high figure considering that Purko represent 86% of the total population of this age-level. The educated of non-local non-Purko parents

and the educated children of mixed heritage together represent 66 persons or 20% of the total educated in the age-level. This is a fairly high education percentage considering the non-local non-Purko only represent 14% of the total age-level population.

MORIJO LOITA SUB-LOCATION

The educated local Loita (106) represent 67% of all those educated within that age-level (158). These local Loita are 75% of the total population of the age-level. The educated non-local non-Loita and the educated children of mixed heritage total 52 persons and represent 33% of all those educated within the age-level (158), yet they represent only 25% of the total population of the group. Again, the non-local group in Loita has a fairly high percentage educated.

If we compare the educated local Purko and local Loita percentages with those of the educated non-local non-Purko and non-local non-Loita percentages then we find a difference between the two sampled areas: The percentage of the educated local Purko of Lemek is 80% of those in the age-level with some education. The figure for the educated local Loita of Morijo Loita is 67% of those with an education. The percentage of educated non-local non-Purko and children of mixed heritage of school-age is 20% of the total percentage educated and the figure for the educated non-local non-Loita and children of mixed heritage of school-age is 33%. The key findings are that, in this age-level, non-locals appear to be educated at a higher rate than local Purko or Loita; the non-locals in Loita have a much higher percentage educated than the non-locals in Lemek.

3.6.2. The 20-39 years old age-level

The second category we shall investigate (Table 3.10) is the group included within the 20-39 years age-bracket. These are the young men and women have had time to finish their schooling, establish themselves in a career situation and begin their own new families.

The most immediate point of comparison, in terms of the different rates of schooling for the age-levels, is that the near equality between the two places in the previous group (Lemek with 24% educated and Loita with 22% educated), has now lessened. In total, this indicates that 165 out of 1,174 members of this age-level in Lemek and 137 of the 637 members of the same age-level in Loita have received some schooling. Comparatively speaking, the difference is between 14% of the age-level in Lemek and 22% of the same age-level in Loita.

Table 3.10. Age-level (20-39 years): non-schooling and schooling by levels and gender:
Lemek and Loita

	Lemek				Loita			
	males		females		males		females	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
no education	354	76.8	656	92.1	154	63.7	346	87.6
subtotal	354	76.8	656	92.1	154	63.7	346	87.6
primary still	8	1.7	-	-	8	3.3	1	0.2
primary d/out	53	11.5	45	6.3	33	13.6	33	8.4
primary finished	20	4.1	6	0.9	22	9.1	4	1.0
sec. still	3	0.7	1	0.1	7	2.9	2	0.5
sec. d/out	11	2.4	1	0.1	6	2.5	3	0.8
sec. finished	9	2.0	3	0.4	7	2.9	4	1.0
TTC still	1	0.2	-	-	1	0.4	-	-
TTC finished	1	0.2	1	0.1	4	1.6	-	-
Univ. finished	2	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-
medical school	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.5
subtotal	108	23.2	57	7.9	88	36.3	49	12.4
Total	462	100.0	713	100.0	242	100.0	395	100.0
Combined male/female	1175				637			

(cf. Appendix 3C, Table K, for a breakdown by levels of schooling)

There is obviously a significant difference between the two areas for this particular age-level and, when viewed in relation to the school-age

populations of the previous section, this indicates a considerable change over time. In another sense, these may also be regarded as differences between these two Maasai Sections (Purko and Loita) since the two Sections represent population majorities in their respective localities. To "isolate" these Sections in this way is part of the rationale for our ethnic distinctions for the respective educational involvements.

If we examine Table 3.10 and compare Morijo Loita with Lemek, we see they are very similar in a number of cases. However, 12% of females have some schooling in Loita compared to 8% in Lemek. This is a considerable difference and though the other figures are less dramatic, they indicate a change in participation levels compared to the previous age-level.

The Table above shows that 77% of the Lemek males (within this age-level) and 92% of the females are without any formal schooling. On the other hand, 64% of the Morijo Loita males and 88% of its females are without any formal schooling. These figures indicate that, for this age-level, Loita has a greater percentage of both educated males and females than does Lemek; in this instance, a difference of more than fifty percent for each gender. It should be noted that this is the second of the three age-levels to be better represented in Loita than in Lemek.

As one would expect, the numbers of those still attending school has dropped for this older age-level and the dropout figures are higher all round, especially for the females of the age-level. The dropout rates were 49% and 38% for the males of Lemek and Loita respectively, and 79% and 67% for the females of Lemek and Loita. These figures show higher dropout rates for this particular age-grouping in Lemek than in Loita.

The previous age-level (5-19 years), the school-age children within the two sites, was quite homogeneous, but this present age-level (20-39 years) is much more diverse since it also includes a number of women from elsewhere incorporated into the two communities. The figures do not tell us the actual ethnic composition of this "working-age" group. More specifically the figures do not indicate the ethnic background nor the

educational levels of the wives of the 20-39 years old males.

Table 3.11 will help us clarify the ethnic composition of the age-level in both places. It is worth noting that there are seven Samburu wives living in Loita and these are all living within a short distance of each other in one specific area. One rich old man has six wives three of whom are Samburu; one of his sons has a Samburu wife and three of their close neighbours have Samburu wives; presumably these marriages resulted from reciprocated visits between the two groups.

Table 3.11. Age-level (20-39 years): Level of education and location by ethnic group: Lemek and Loita

	no educ.		some prim.		some sec.		TTC/Poly		Un. Med	
	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta
<u>Both parents</u>										
<u>Local or non-local</u>										
Purko/Loita	894	430	81	66	21	19	1	4	1	2
<u>Local non-Purko/Loita</u>										
Okiek	69	46	10	10	1	3	-	-	-	-
<u>Non-local non-Purko/Loita</u>										
UGM	11	-	13	2	2	-	-	-	1	-
Kikuyu	1	1	5	4	1	-	1	-	-	-
Kipsigis	10	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Samburu	4	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mluyia	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mwarusha	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rwandan	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
<u>Children of mixed heritage</u>										
Maa/Kikuyu	2	1	2	6	2	5	1	1	-	-
Maa/Samburu	3	10	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Maa/Kipsigis	3	4	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Purko/UGM	6	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Okiek/Purko	7	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	1010	500	124	92	27	29	3	5	2	2

In Lemek, within this age-level, there are nine educated non-local Purko women who have married local Purko males; in Loita, there are also nine educated non-local Loita women married into the Sub-location. In

both cases, the numbers of these educated women have been omitted from this Table. This helps us to ascertain the percentages of those who are educated and have both parents local Purko or Loita.

The information from the previous two Tables may be summarized in Table 3.12 which breaks down the figures for different levels of education by locality and distinguishes between the local Purko or local Loita and other ethnic groups.

Table 3.12. Local Purko and Loita and other ethnic groups
(20-39 yrs); schooling in percentages:
Lemek and Loita

Lemek Group Ranch					
	PRI. %	SEC. %	T/P/M %	UNIV. %	TOTAL %
Local Purko	52	14	0.6	0.6	67
Others	28	3	1.3	0.6	33
Total	80	17	1.9	1.2	100
Loita Sub-location					
Local Loita	52	15	4.7	-	71
Others	20	8	0.8	-	29
Total	72	23	5.5	-	100

T/P/M = Teacher Training College/Polytechnic/Nursing School

LEMEK

In Lemek, the local Purko (both parents local Purko) are 86% of the total age-level, and the educated local Purko represent 69% of all the educated in the group. These educated local Purko make up just 10% of the total population of the age-level. The non-local non-Purko are 14% of the age-level; educated non-local non-Purko (52) are 4% of the total age-level and yet have 31% of the total number of educated persons in that age-level. Again, non-local non-Purko represent a disproportionate percentage of those with some education.

LOITA

The local Loita account for 83% of the total population of the age-level. But there are 91 educated local Loita representing 71% of the total educated in the age-level. The non-local non-Loita are 17% of the total age-level population, but they are 29% of the total number of educated persons in the age-level. Here too, the non-local non-Loita represent a disproportionately high percentage among the educated, though lower than the percentage of educated non-locals in Lemek.

Obviously, the local Loita pursue education at a slightly higher rate than the local Purko, 71% as opposed to 69%. One expression of this is the fact that Loita produced six times more the number of teachers than did Lemek. Though the percentage of educated non-local non-Purko is higher than the non-locals in Loita, in both areas the non-locals pursue schooling at a higher rate than the locals.

3.6.3. The 40+ years age-level

The third group to be profiled in the sampled areas is that of the 40+ years age-level. This group is the most senior of the three groups we are analyzing and, as we shall see in Table 3.13, also represents the least educated. This age-level (40+ years) represents 16% of the total populations in both Lemek and Loita. A comparison of the males in the age-level without any schooling in the two areas indicates quite a significant difference (95% in Lemek and 79% in Loita). This is the converse, of course, of the dramatic difference in the educational levels for this age-level: 5% of the males in Lemek and 21% of the males in Loita. (cf. Appendix 3D, Table L, for figures minus the non-educated.)

It is interesting to see that the most striking difference between the educated males of the two areas is to be found among this older age-level. This would indicate that, in the past, there were more educated Loita from Morijo than Purko from Lemek, but as time went on (and therefore as we

move into the 20-39 years age bracket) fewer Loita and more Purko were sent to school. It could also be the result of the more intensive Government interest in the Loita in the past which produced more educated persons among this older age-level (cf. section 2.4).

Table 3.13. Forty years and over age-level: Level of schooling by gender: Lemek and Loita

	Lemek				Loita			
	males		females		males		females	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
no education	257	95.2	339	98.6	107	78.7	147	91.9
subtotal	257	95.2	339	98.6	107	78.7	147	91.9
primary d/out	8	3.0	3	0.8	17	12.5	10	6.25
primary finished	2	0.7	1	0.3	7	5.2	3	1.85
sec. finished	3	1.1	1	0.3	1	0.7	-	-
sec. d/out	-	-	-	-	1	0.7	-	-
TTC finished	-	-	-	-	2	1.5	-	-
Univ. finished	-	-	-	-	1	0.7	-	-
subtotal	13	4.8	5	1.4	29	21.3	13	8.1
Total	270	100.0	344	100.0	136	100.0	160	100.0
Combined male/female	614				296			

In Lemek, 99% of the female population of this age-level is without any schooling, compared to 92% in Loita. This difference is also reflected in the fact that just 3% (or 18 persons) of the combined male and female population (614) for this age-level have been educated in Lemek, whereas 14% (42 persons) of the combined population (296) of the age-level have been educated in Loita.

The Table above also indicates that, of those who went to school, fairly high percentages never finished the course. The primary school dropout rates for this age-level are not so different for the males in

both places (for Lemek it is 62% and for Loita it is 59%). The rates for the females are different (60% in Lemek and 77% in Loita).

There is a higher primary school finishing rate for the males of this age-level of Loita over those in Lemek (41% as opposed to 38%), but the finishing rate for females in Loita is considerably lower than their counterparts in Lemek (23% as opposed to 40%). No females of this age-level in Loita attended secondary school and only one female attended and finished secondary school in Lemek.

Table 3.13 indicated that within this age-level there are 18 persons (13 males and 5 females) with some formal schooling in Lemek and 42 (29 males and 13 females) in Loita. The following Table 3.14 clearly spells out where the major differences lie in terms of the ethnic composition of these educated persons; there were more Loita Maasai with some level of primary schooling in Loita than there were Purko Maasai in Lemek (11 as opposed to 29) and this accounts for much of the difference between the two places.

In terms of educated women of this age-level from elsewhere, there are four non-local Purko women who married into the Ranch and there are three educated non-local Loita women who entered Morijo Loita Sub-location through marriage; these seven have been omitted in the Table below.

Table 3.14 indicates the ethnicity of those in this age-level and shows that, in Lemek, of the 14 persons with some schooling, only 11 are local Purko (where both parents are local Purko). In Loita, of the 39 persons with schooling, 30 are local Loita.

Table 3.14. Age-level (40+ years), level of education by ethnic group: Lemek and Loita

		no educ.		some prim.		some sec.		TTC		Univ.	
		Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta
<u>Both parents</u>											
<u>Local or non-local</u>											
Purko/Loita	530 222			8	26	3	2	-	1	-	1
<u>Local non-Purko/Loita</u>											
Okiek	54 24			1	5	-	-	-	1	-	-
<u>Non-local non-Purko/Loita</u>											
Uasin Gishu	7 -			1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kikuyu	1 2			-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kipsigis	1 1			1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Samburu	1 4			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nandi	1 1			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Children of mixed heritage</u>											
Loita/Kikuyu	- -			-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Purko/Nandi	1 -			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	596 254			11	34	3	2	-	2	-	1

Previously, we noted that some of the women had come from places outside the Panch and Moriyo Sub-location and had entered as the wives of local men. In Lemek and Loita, there are fewer educated women (wives) of non-local non-Purko or non-local non-Loita ethnic origin to be found in this age-level, and there are fewer educated children of mixed marriages within this age-level. The men of the younger age-levels appear to be marrying more educated non-Purko and non-Loita women than did the men of the older age-levels. In a later chapter, we shall explore the spatial movements of the younger men who had wage-employment to see if there is any relationship between migrant workers and ethnic inter-marriage.

Some of the previous information for this age-level may be summarized in the following Table:

Table 3.15. Local Purko or Loita and other ethnic groups (40+ age-level) schooling by percentages: Lemek and Loita

Lemek Group Ranch					
	PRI. %	SEC %	TTC %	UNIV. %	TOTAL %
Local Purko	58	21	-	-	79.0
Others	21	-	-	-	21.0
Total	79	21	-	-	100.0
Loita Sub-location					
	PRI. %	SEC %	TTC %	UNIV. %	TOTAL %
Local Loita	67	5	2.5	2.5	77.0
Others	21	-	2.5	-	23.0
Total	88	5	5.0	2.5	100.0

In the 40+ age-level, Morijo Loita has a greater percentage of the total population of the age-level with schooling than does Lemek (13% as opposed to 2%). Breaking this down into ethnic educational percentages: the educated local Purko in Lemek represent 79% of all those educated in the age-level, and the non-local non-Purko are 21%. On the other hand, in Loita, the educated local Loita represent 77% of all those educated in this age-level and the non-local non-Loita are 23% of all those educated in the 40+ age-level. If we look at these educated persons by ethnicity as percentages of all those educated within the age-level, we find that there is a slightly higher percentage of local Purko educated than local Loita (79% as opposed to 77%). On the other hand, there is a higher percentage of non-local non-Loita educated than non-local non-Purko (23% over and against 21%).

3.7. Summary

Let us now attempt to summarize some of the more important elements of what we have discovered so far (Table 3.16). One way to look at the educational profile is by means of the three age-levels.

Table 3.16. Percentage* (rounded to nearest percentage point) educated by ethnic division, age-level, and gender: Lemek and Loita

AGE-LEVEL (5-19 YEARS)									
	Lemek			Loita			Both Sites		
	m %	f %	total %	m %	f %	total %	m %	f %	total++ %
Local									
Purko/Loita	30	13	22	28	11	19	30	12	21
Others	36	33	34	39	18	29	38	26	32
Total	31	16	24	31	13	22	31	15	23
AGE-LEVEL (20-39 YEARS)									
	Lemek			Loita			Both Sites		
	m %	f %	total %	m %	f %	total %	m %	f %	total %
Local									
Purko/Loita	22	4	11	34	10	19	26	6	14
Others	35	29	31	48	27	35	40	28	32
Total	23	8	14	36	12	22	28	10	17
AGE-LEVEL (40+)									
	Lemek			Loita			Both Sites		
	m %	f %	total %	m %	f %	total %	m %	f %	total %
Local									
Purko/Loita	5	1	3	20	7	13	10	3	6
Others	7	3	4	33	15	22	15	8	11
Total	5	2	3	10	8	14	10	4	7

Explanation:

This Table makes use of data from Tables 3.5, 3.8, 3.11, and 3.14.

Local Purko or Loita: Where both parents are Purko or Loita.

Others: All other persons where neither parent is a local Purko or Loita, where one parent is a non-local non-Purko or non-local non-Loita, where the parents are local non-Purko (Okiek), or the children of mixed heritage.

Male/female: presented as percentages of the total for that gender category within the ethnic section of the particular age-level.

* The number of educated persons presented as percentages of the total number of persons in that gender of the age-level according to the division - Local Purko or Loita/other.

++ Totals: Educated as percentages of total male and female populations across both sites.

3.7.1. Lemek Group Ranch

In Lemek, just 10% of the total population registered within the Group Ranch have some schooling, of which non-Purko make up nearly one-third. Of the Purko group, three-quarters are males and one-quarter females. The numbers of educated non-local Purko females who have entered the Ranch from elsewhere make up 15% of that total number.

In Table 3.16 there is a striking difference between the three age-levels with respect to combined male and female percentages of local Purko with some schooling: 3% for the eldest group, 11% for the middle group, and 22% for the school-age population. In contrast, the educational involvement of the "others" (non-local non-Purko, local non-Purko, and the children of mixed heritage) jumped from 4% for the eldest group to 31% for the middle-range and then a slight increase again to 34% for the youngest age-level. This reflects the presence of the educated non-Purko wives through the marriages of this middle-level age-level, and the education of the daughters of mixed marriages indicated by the 34% among the youngest age-level. (Appendix 3E, Table M, presents raw figures as percentages of the educated in each age-level, the total in the age-level, and the total Ranch population.)

3.7.2. Morigo Loita

Again using the data from Table 3.16, we can see that, in Morigo Loita Sub-location, just 18% of the total population have had some schooling; those whose parents are local Loita are 71% of the total with schooling and those who fall into the "other" category (local non-Purko, non-local non-Purko, and the children of mixed heritage) are 29% of the total educated. Thus, approximately two-thirds of the total educated are local Loita and one-third are members of the "other" groups.

The figures may be broken down to demonstrate that among the local Loita population, 29% of the males and 9% of the females had some schooling. We should also bear in mind that 12 of these educated women also came into the Sub-location from outside areas.

According to Table 3.16, the percentages for the educated Loita across the three age-levels does not follow exactly the same pattern as that in Lemek. The oldest age-level, in Loita, has a much higher starting percentage, 13%, which increased to 19% for the middle-range and remained a constant 19% through to the youngest age-level. The involvement of the group "others" showed more fluctuation: 22% for the oldest group, jumping to 35% for the middle group and then dropping to 29% for the youngest. (Appendix 3F, Table N, presents percentages of the educated within the age-level, the total in the age-level, and the total of the Ranch.)

3.7.3. Combined educational involvement

These combined totals are taken together to provide some indicators of Maasai educational involvement across the two sites. There has been a gradual and regular increase from a 6% involvement of the oldest group, through 14% for the middle-range group, to a 21% involvement of the youngest age-level (Table 3.16). Educated local male Maasai (combining both sites) represented 10% among the oldest group, 26% among the middle

level, and 30% among the youngest age-level, a very definite and clear increase over time. The educated local female Maasai, again combining the Maasai of both sites, are fewer in number and present lower percentages: 3% among the oldest, 6% among the middle level, and 12% among the youngest. However, there is a very marked and regular increase for the females; the percentages double across each age-level.

These percentages confirm the findings reported in Tables 3.4 and 3.5 that there has been a steady increase in the percentage involvement of students from Lemek across the age-levels: it rose from below 10% to 22%, 27%, 34%, and 41% for the 10-14 year old cohort. Among the Loita males too, there was an increase but it fluctuated more: 25% involvement for the 55-59 years old group, through 45% for the 40-44 group, 29% for the 25-29 year olds, then 47%, 39%, to 40% for the 10-14 year olds. The Lemek increase has only meant that it has caught up more recently with the Loita level of involvement which has been consistently high all along.

Another interesting finding is that non-local non-Maasai, non-local Maasai, or local non-Maasai are more involved comparatively in education than local Maasai and thus inflate participation rates, but their rates are still not impressive, hovering around 30% or so of their own communities; the relative involvement of non-local non-Maasai, non-local Maasai, or local non-Maasai in education is greater in Lemek than in Loita. The involvement of persons from these groups is least among the oldest age-level, which may indicate less inter-marriage by this group of 40+ males (cf. Appendix 3G, Table O: Purko and Loita schooling by location and selected age-levels).

Looking just at the 10-24 years age-levels in both sites, we see that 34% of the males in Lemek and 61% of the males in Loita have some education. The females' rate is much lower, 13% in Lemek and 16% in Loita. Another interesting statistic appears when we compare the percentages of those still attending primary school (as percentages of all those with some schooling): male rates - 61% for Lemek and 46% for Loita;

females - 57% for Lemek and 31% for Loita. These same persons, those still attending primary school, represent 28% of the males of the school-age population in Lemek and 27% of the males of the same group in Loita (the rates for the females are 14% in Lemek and 9% in Loita).

We may summarize the findings as follows: The major differences between Lemek and Loita are greatest for the oldest group (3% as opposed to 14%), and diminish over time (the school-age groups indicate 24% for Lemek and 22% for Loita); the differences interact with the other two categories. The three age-level profiles clearly indicate a trend towards greater levels of education over time, across all the groups; however, Loita jumped from a 14% to a 22% participation earlier than did Lemek and remained relatively stable, while Lemek has achieved that level only recently. This means that the actual history of educational development in each area is important and is reflected in these shifts across the various age-levels (cf. Chapter Two, section 2.4.)

Quite clearly, Maasai females in both sites are educated at far lower rates than males; though here too, there has been a slight increase over time ranging from 3%, through 6%, up to 12% among the latest and most recent age-level. There are a number of interesting points to be made here: Firstly, it is obvious that Lemek is actually worse in this regard (not educating females) than Loita, and secondly, the effect of mixed marriages and incoming females on educational statistics in Lemek is far greater than in Loita. Of all females over five years of age, only 10% in Lemek and 12% in Loita have had any education. These percentages indicate that the females were educated at just under half the rate of the males in both places; 24% and 31% of males over five years of age with some education in Lemek and Loita respectively.

In this chapter, we have analyzed in some detail the levels of involvement (or non-involvement) in the educational system of persons of all ages in Lemek and Morijo Loita. This information is crucial to our argument that the Maasai have become involved in the educational processes

within the district, however, as we shall show in Chapter Five, this involvement has been with some hesitation and with some reservations. In the next chapter, we shall take our argument a step further by looking more closely at these same educated persons but within the context of their families, indicating such things as birth-order, the average number of children in each family with some schooling, and the number of first-born sons sent to school. These are important variables in ascertaining the profiles of those who were sent for schooling in the two sampled sites.

CHAPTER FOUR

EDUCATION WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE FAMILY

4.1. Introduction

In Chapter Two, we presented demographic data generated during the research on individuals and families within the two sampled areas, and in the last chapter we analyzed the education levels of individuals within the same areas; the unit of analysis was the individual within the context of the age-level or ethnic group. In this chapter, we shall look more closely at the heads of households and educated children within the context of the families which sent them to school. A central or key question which this chapter addresses is: Does the family nexus of economic life and decision-making influence school participation? To answer this question, the data on the variation in family structure, family wealth, family size, ethnicity and education of the mothers involved, education and wage-employment of the fathers, land holdings, etc., need to be put in relation to school participation at the family level. On this same topic (education and wealth), we shall explore the reasons why some parents do not educate their children and why some of those children who do get the opportunity of an education drop out of the school-system.

There are dangers and pitfalls in talking about "the Maasai" and "Maasailand" as if there is such a homogeneous grouping that lends itself to conjectures and conclusions valid across all locales within the two districts. There are dangers inherent in painting the Maasai picture using broad brush strokes of assumption and analysis.

4.2. Heads of Households

The Maasai family acts as a coordinated unit in many areas of activity, not the least that of the pastoral economy. Precisely because they work together as a unit it is important to look closely at various aspects of the Maasai families in the two sampled areas, looking at elements of their economy especially cattle wealth, land holdings and use, and decision-making processes. Even if the interests of the husband and wife differ to some degree, nevertheless they work together as a unit.

4.2.1. Lemek Group Ranch

In the Ranch, there are, as we pointed out in the second chapter, 174 bomas containing 560 families.

Of these 560 families,
472 are headed by males:
 442 by married males
 10 widowers
 9 deserted husbands
 11 single males;
88 are headed by females:
 84 widows
 3 wives who ran away
 1 unmarried female head.

One point to be noted at the outset is the relatively high percentage of married people without spouses (due to death or splitting-up), which places more complex economic demands on those making educational decisions since more of the children will be needed to look after the family herd and to do other domestic work. This topic will be dealt with in more detail shortly.

4.2.2. Morijo Loita Sub-location

There are 66 bomas in the sampled area containing 262 families.

Of these 262 families,

218 are headed by males:

207 by married males

7 widowers

3 deserted husbands

1 single male (aged 53);

44 are headed by females:

42 widows (first wives)

1 wife who ran away (second wife)

1 unmarried female head.

Now that we have clarified the actual status of the household heads in the researched areas, we present data on age, ethnicity, education, cattle wealth, land-holdings, mothers' ethnicity and education, fathers' education and wage-employment for the household heads in both places.

4.3. Profiles of the male and female household heads: Lemek

In the following sub-sections we look at the male and female household heads from a number of different viewpoints. This is done to develop a socio-economic profile of these household heads.

4.3.1. Age

The ages of these household heads range from 20 to 95 years, giving a Mean of 45 years and a Median of 44 years. Within this range of 20 to 95 years, that for the females is 25 to 85 years. Among the male household heads, 180 are between the ages of 20 and 30 years, a further 50 are between the ages of 31 and 35 years, 160 between the ages of 36 and 50 years, and 132 are over the age of 50 years. The female heads (84 of whom are widows) come mostly from the older age-level; 81 are over 40 years of age and seven are between 20 and 39 years of age.

4.3.2. Ethnicity

As one would expect, the vast majority of the household heads in the Group Ranch are Purko and the second largest group is Okiek. The ethnicity of the male and female household heads is presented in the following Table:

Table 4.1. Household heads by ethnicity and gender: Lemek

Ethnicity	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Purko	419	88.8	77	87.6	496	88.6
Purko/UGM	4	0.8	-	-	4	0.7
Purko/Kikuyu	2	0.4	-	-	2	0.3
Purko/Nandi	1	0.2	-	-	1	0.2
UGM	2	0.4	3	3.4	5	0.9
Okiek	41	8.8	6	6.8	47	8.4
Okiek/Purko	3	0.6	-	-	3	0.5
Samburu	-	-	1	1.1	1	0.2
Nandi	-	-	1	1.1	1	0.2
Totals	472	100.0	88	100.0	560	100.0

The female heads of households (who were previously married to Maasai men) have the following breakdown: 77 are the daughters of Purko parents, six are Okiek daughters, three are Uasin Gishu Maasai, one is Samburu, and one is Nandi. We have already analyzed the effects of the ethnicity of the parents on the education of the children so there is no point in repeating that information here.

4.3.3. Education

Among male household heads in Lemek, 416 had no education at all; 42 had some level of primary education (26 had dropped out of primary school before finishing, 16 finished the primary school course but did not continue any further); 12 moved into the secondary system but went no further (seven finished the course and five dropped out of the secondary system); and two men graduated from University.

The situation among the 88 female heads is striking in that not one had any education at all. This differs from Loita where at least some female household heads had some education.

4.3.4. Cattle per household

It is important for us to have some idea of the economic status of the individual families in terms of cattle and it is also important to have some sense of the average size of the family herds in the Group Ranch. This is because the arguments used about educating the children or not educating them hinges all too often on the family cattle-holdings and the herding needs of the families involved.

Table 4.2. Families' cattle and goat numbers; Lemek

	Number of families with cattle	Number of %	Number of families with goats	Number of %
<u>Poor</u>	15	0	37	0
	71	1-10	54	1-10
	63	12-20	40	12-20
Subtotal	149	26%	131	24%
<u>Medium</u>	89	23-50	126	25-50
	71	54-90	49	60-90
Subtotal	160	29%	175	31%
<u>Rich</u>	205	100-300	203	100-300
Subtotal	205	37%	203	36%
<u>Very rich</u>	46	350+	51	350+
Subtotal	46	8%	51	9%
Total	560	100%	560	100%

The number of cattle per household range from 0-800 animals (a Mean of 127 cattle and Median of 70). Twenty-six percent of the families had 20 or fewer animals, 29% had 20-90 animals, 37% had 100-300 animals, and just 8% of the families had more than 350 head of cattle. In a subsequent section we shall relate these cattle-holdings to the education levels of persons from these households.

Arhem reports that 15% of the households in Ngoringoro have less than 10 head of cattle, while less than 5% have more than 300 head of cattle. The per capita ratio among the Ngoringoro Maasai had fallen from about 13 in 1960 to 6 in 1978 (1985:67-68). These percentages are mirrored by our own data: 15% of the households with 10 or fewer and 8% in the very rich category.

The percentages for the shoats were as follows: 24% with 20 or fewer, 31% had 25-90 animals, 36% had 100-300, and 9% had more than 350 shoats. The Mean for the shoat-holdings was 131 (Median of 65).

4.3.5. Land

Another factor to be borne in mind when discussing family wealth is the amount of land held by the family (or being cultivated by them). The amount of land being cultivated by each family ranged from zero to 800 acres (Mean of 19 and Median of 2 acres). The Median gives a more accurate picture, since the majority appear to have just one or two acres, and just a handful of very rich families have extremely high acreage in one special part of the Group Ranch, due largely to the business skills of one patriarch of the family. The land holdings of one family are so large as to skew the arithmetic Mean for the rest of the Ranch members.

Table 4.3. Land under cultivation: by numbers of families

Number of families	Land under cultivation	
118	No land	-
85	0.25	- 1 acre
209	1.25	- 15 acres
29	16	- 25 acres
3	50	- 70 acres*
26	100	- 400 acres*
2	600	- 800 acres*
<hr/>		
Total	472	

* Much of this land is outside the Group Ranch.

This breakdown indicates that 43% of the household heads had just one acre or less and a further 44% had from 1.25 acres to 15 acres. Only 6% had 100 or more acres and much of this land (the large tracts) are in such places as the perimeter of The Mara and the border with Kisii or Kericho. The high numbers of families with 100+ acres are due to a small number of rich families who have impressive acreage and these families are polygamous resulting in numerous married sons sharing the family acres.

4.3.6. Parents of household heads: ethnicity and education

It may be instructive to examine in more detail certain variables related to parents of the above household heads; for example, the ethnicity and education of the mother of the household head as well as the education and wage-employment of the father of the same household head (this information is also given even for the very, very old household heads - as far as it could be ascertained by interviewing):

Household heads' mothers' education

Household heads' mothers	male heads	female heads
Purko and non-educated	414	76
Okiek and non-educated	42	6
Other and non-educated	9	5
unknown	7	1
<hr/>		
	472	88

One interesting point here is that not one of the mothers, of either the male or the female household heads, was educated.

Household heads' fathers' education

Household heads' fathers	male heads	female heads
Purko and educated	2	-
Purko and non-educated	417	76
Okiek and non-educated	43	6
other and non-educated	3	5
unknown	7	1
	<hr/> 472	<hr/> 88

In this case too, there were only two of the fathers of the male heads with any schooling - the rest were all non-educated.

Household heads' fathers' education and wage-employment

Household heads' fathers	male heads	female heads
educated and employed	2	-
non-educated and employed	6	-
non-educated and unemployed	457	87
unknown	7	1
	<hr/> 472	<hr/> 88

Generally speaking, the fathers of the household heads were both non-educated and had never been in wage-employment. There were just two exceptions to this, where the fathers were both educated and had been involved in wage-employment. On the other hand, there were six non-educated men (fathers of household heads) who had worked for a salary.

We shall be looking at some of these variables more closely in the next chapter where we shall be analyzing the relationship between education and wage-employment for the married and single persons in both places. But there are some observations that can be made even here. What is the significance of the fact that so few have any education or are involved in wage-labour? Presumably, there is a gap between the realities for household heads (who are usually older and are in command economically) and the younger set involved in education and wage-

employment. In the next chapter, we shall see if this is true for those who are educated and involved in wage-labour (and in terms of their marital status, whether single or married).

4.4. Profiles of the male and female household heads - Loita

4.4.1. Age

The ages of the male household heads range from 19 to 99 years (a Mean of 47 years and a Median of 41). The range for the females is 25 to 95 years. Among the male household heads just one man is 19 years old, 36 are between the ages of 20 and 30 years, and 29 are between the ages of 31 and 35 years, 81 are between 36 and 50 years, and 71 are 51 years of age or older. The female heads (43 were widows) came mostly from the older age-level; 39 were over 40+ years and five were between 20 and 39 years.

4.4.2. Ethnicity

The ethnicity of the male and female household heads is presented in the following Table:

Table 4.4. Household heads by ethnicity and gender: Loita

Ethnicity	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Loita	190	87.2	34	77.3	224	85.5
Loita/Kipsigis	4	1.8	-	-	4	1.5
Loita/Samburu	2	0.9	-	-	2	0.8
Loita/Kikuyu	1	0.5	-	-	1	0.4
Okiek	21	9.6	6	13.6	27	10.3
Kikuyu	-	-	3	6.8	3	1.1
Samburu	-	-	1	2.3	1	0.4
Totals	218	100.0	44	100.0	262	100.0

The one Samburu and three Kikuyu female heads of households are widows who were previously married to Loita males.

4.4.3. Education

Among the 218 male heads, 165 had no education at all; 44 had some level of primary education (26 had dropped out of primary school before finishing, 18 finished primary school but did not continue any further); four moved into the secondary system but went no further (two finished the course and two dropped out of the secondary system); four finished secondary school and went on to finish Teacher Training; and just one man graduated from University. This means that 24% have some education, and of these, 12% have completed the full primary course or beyond.

There are fewer females with an education among the female heads; 42 had no opportunity for any education, one finished her primary schooling, and one other began, but dropped out of, the primary school system. This gives us a total of two women with any education out of the 44.

4.4.4. Cattle

Most families have cattle, shoats, and some land being cultivated. The following Table presents the families of Loita divided into the same four groupings of Table 4.2. Similar to the situation in Lemek, the numbers of cattle in the Loita households ranged from 0 to 800. Forty percent of the households had 20 animals or fewer, 33% had between 25 and 90, 22% had 100 to 300, and 5% had 350 or more animals. There is a Mean of 89 head of cattle per family (a Mode of 20 cattle and a Median of 30 cattle).

Table 4.5. Cattle and shoat numbers by families: Loita

	Number of families with	Number of cattle	%	Number of families with	Number of shoats	%
<u>Poor</u>	12	0		16	0	
	48	1-10		49	1-10	
	45	15-20		39	11-20	
Subtotal	105		40%	104		40%
<u>Medium</u>	58	25-50		76	21-50	
	29	60-90		19	60-90	
Subtotal	87		33%	95		36%
<u>Rich</u>	58	100-300		63	100-300	
Subtotal	58		22%	63		24%
<u>Very rich</u>	12	350+		-	-	
Subtotal	12		5%	-	-	-
Total	262		100%	262		100%

Loita families are generally poorer than those in Lemek, in both cattle and shoats. While the greatest proportion of Loita families is found among the poor and the smallest among the rich, the highest proportion of Lemek families is found among the rich, the smallest among the poor. In Loita, 40% of the families had 20 or fewer animals, 36% had between 21 and 90, and 24% had between 100 and 300 animals. The shoat holdings in Loita were surprisingly low, ranging from 0 to 300 animals, whereas in Lemek the numbers went beyond the 350 range. There are probably more goats in Lemek because it is lower, hotter, and drier, and thus better suited for these animals. No family had more than 300 shoats, unlike Lemek where some had up to 2,000 shoats. The Mean for Loita was 60, the Mode was 20, and the Median was as low as 30.

4.4.5. Land

The amount of land being cultivated by each family ranged from 0 to 4 acres giving a Mean of 1 acre. There certainly appeared to be far less cultivation taking place in Loita than in Lemek. The scramble for the land has not yet begun in Loita and there is still a sense of communal grazing-land and a sense of the land belonging to the Section rather than to individuals. The Loita have successfully resisted the government's attempts to adjudicate and register their land in Group Ranches. Whether or not this will be to their advantage or disadvantage once their land comes under pressure from immigrants looking for agricultural land remains to be seen. Already there is tension and litigation between the Purko and the Loita concerning the boundaries of their respective areas around the region of Naikarra and Leshuta where the Purko wish to extend their territory into land regarded by the Loita as theirs.

4.4.6. Parents of household heads: Ethnicity and education

We now look at the parents of the household heads in Loita to establish the education and the ethnicity of their mothers, and the education and wage-employment involvement of their fathers.

Household heads' mother's ethnicity and education

	male heads	female heads
Loita and non-educated	187	35
Loita and educated	3	-
Okiek and non-educated	20	5
Kikuyu and educated	2	3
other and non-educated	6	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	218	44
	<hr/>	<hr/>

In general, the mothers of both the male and the female household heads in Loita were non-educated. There were only three educated mothers of Loita male household heads in the Sub-location. All the Okiek mothers of the Okiek household heads lacked any schooling.

Household heads' father's education

	male heads	female heads
Loita and educated	1	-
Loita and non-educated	197	35
Okiek and non-educated	20	5
Kikuyu and educated	-	3
other and non-educated	-	1
	<hr/> 218	<hr/> 44

Again, generally speaking, the fathers of the Loita and Okiek heads of households were non-educated. There was just one Loita exception.

Household heads' father's education and wage-employment

	male heads	female heads
educated and employed	1	3
non-educated and employed	3	1
non-educated and unemployed	214	40
	<hr/> 218	<hr/> 44

The majority of the household heads, both male and female, were non-educated and had never been involved in any wage-employment.

4.4.7. Comment

In Lemek, on the fathers' side, there are more employed but non-educated fathers than there are educated and employed. The same holds good for the fathers in Loita, where there are also more non-educated but employed men than there are educated and employed. However, as one would expect, the vast majority of the fathers were both non-educated and unemployed. When we look at the situation among mothers in Lemek (as widows and household heads), all the women are non-educated, regardless of their ethnic background. In Loita, there are at least three female heads of households who come from Kikuyu backgrounds and their fathers are both educated and employed.

Now that we have profiles of the family heads and the families within the samples, it is time to look at the numbers of educated persons who actually came from these same families.

4.5. Numbers of educated offspring (persons) per family: Lemek and Loita

The following figures represent persons over the age of five years and further represent the educational status of families at a particular point in time; the time of the research. There are certain methodological problems connected with analyzing the Maasai families; one problem is to find a way of keeping the family together as a unit in spite of the fact that, at a certain point in time, mature children will leave it to begin their own families. Some children will remain single and stay with their parents, some sons may marry and stay with their fathers, some daughters may marry and remain in the same boma, or within the Group Ranch, or they may marry and leave the area altogether. Widows may decide to live with their single sons, with their youngest married sons, with their eldest married sons, or they may decide to live alone.

"Families" here are taken to mean those families of origin where one (or both) of the aged parents is still living. This means that "children" refers to all those born to that family, and "over five years of age" may well include all those persons who are now married adults with families of their own.

For the purposes of this part of the study, the basic nuclear family was used as the unit of research. Each nuclear family was recorded - the husband, his wife or wives, and all the children born to them. This was fairly easy with regard to the younger men and their families. However, when it came to recording the families of the older patriarchs, there were several problems. The elderly parents would still be alive and in many cases their unmarried children would be living with them, but most of

their older daughters would have left home to be married elsewhere and many older sons would have moved to begin their own families - often close to their parents.

To avoid the danger of counting people twice, those sons and daughters who were married were recorded in their own families together with their own children. However, a second set of figures was generated which returned these married sons and daughters to their families of origin, together with their unmarried siblings, if there was a need to find statistics concerned with family size, birth order, or rates of education. In this way, we were able to ascertain which daughters had married and moved out of the area and which ones had married and remained within the same Ranch or Sub-location. We were also able to analyze the ethnic composition of the families through the mothers and their children.

It may be useful to recall that there are 560 recorded families in Lemek and 262 recorded families in Loita. The following Table presents the numbers of persons educated in these families of Lemek and Loita:

Table 4.6. Numbers of persons educated per family:
Lemek and Loita

Lemek			Loita	
Number of persons educated	No. of families	including	No. of families	including
no person educated	169	10 Okiek	68	6 Okiek
1 person	121	11 Okiek	78	11 Okiek
2 persons	56	7 Okiek	31	2 Okiek
3 persons	22	2 Okiek	14	-
4 persons	11	-	7	1 Okiek
5 persons	7	-	6	-
6 persons	4	1 Okiek	1	-
7 persons	3	-	1	-
8 persons	1	-	1	-
9 persons	-	-	1	-
11 persons	-	-	1	-
Total	394		209	

Note: A breakdown of the figures is given in Appendix 4A, including the numbers of Okiek families and their educated children. Appendix 4B presents scatterplots of the figures for Lemek and Loita.

The apparent disparity in the number of families between the Table above and the figures recorded earlier in the research is due to the fact that the only families counted in the above material are those with some children over the age of five years. Families with no children and families with no children over five years of age (the school-going age) were not counted.

The first point to be noted is the high percentage of families educating only one or two children (45% in Lemek and 52% in Loita). A striking point appears when we look closely at those families in which high numbers of persons were, or are being, educated: There are virtually no cases of local mothers educating their children in high numbers comparable to those of the non-local mothers. In the previous chapter we demonstrated the influence of mothers' ethnicity on overall differential education rates of the children in Lemek and Loita. And now, we see how this emerges at the family level. Invariably, we find that the ethnicity of the mother is a determining factor in the family education rates, especially where there are greater numbers of children being sent for schooling from the one family:

Lemek

Number of children educated	Mother's ethnicity
5 children educated out of 5 children = 1 family	(Kikuyu)
6 children educated out of 6 children = 1 family	(Kikuyu)
6 children educated out of 7 children = 2 families	(Kikuyu)
8 children educated out of 8 children = 1 family	(Kikuyu)

Loita

Number of children educated	Mother's ethnicity
5 educated out of 5 children = 1 family	(Rwandan)
5 educated out of 11 children = 1 family	(Kikuyu)
6 educated out of 10 children = 1 family	(Kikuyu)
7 educated out of 9 children = 1 family	(Kikuyu)
8 educated out of 9 children = 1 family	(Kajiado Maasai)
9 educated out of 10 children = 1 family	(Maasai/Kikuyu)

This is not to say that the fathers' influence is not there also, especially since many of these fathers will be educated men who may have engaged in wage-employment outside the area and subsequently married women from other ethnic groups.

4.5.1. Comment

The preceding information indicates that, in Lemek, there were 431 persons (offspring) educated within a total of 225 families (those families having educated persons over the age of five years) giving an average of two persons educated per family. On the other hand, we can also calculate another average estimated from the number of families with no children educated together with families having educated children: 394 families giving an average of one educated person per family.

In Loita, there were 281 persons (offspring) educated within a total of 141 families (having persons over the age of five years with some schooling) and this again gives an average of two persons educated per family. The total number of families with no one educated together with those families with some person/s educated is 269, again giving an average of one educated person per family.

These figures show that the two places are identical, with regard to the average number of children from each family for an education, regardless of which grouping we take; two persons, if we only take those families which are educating children, and one person if we combine the non-educating and educating families. A possible reason for the fact that for this latter grouping only one child per family, on average, is sent for schooling has already been noted in the third chapter; one educated child was the minimum per family imposed by the colonial government. Perhaps the present figures underline the continuance of that sense of obligation to send at least one child for an education which is still felt by many older Maasai parents. One possible reason for the continuance of this sense of obligation is the fact that some sub-chiefs (though not all) still exert pressure on parents to send their children to school. It is also true that some of the older parents send one child because they remember that this was the ruling or the law and they obey it even though in their area it may not be imposed.

We have already established the influence of the mother's ethnicity on the education patterns of the children in the two sites (Chapter Three). The information above is presented to underscore the manner in which this influence manifests itself in the actual numbers of children from their families being presented for schooling. The figures speak for themselves especially if we compare them with the figures for the Maasai in the other categories (cf. Appendix 3E).

In this particular aspect of family influence on educational practices, Lemek is identical to Loita. The women married into the Maasai families have made significant differences in the numbers of children from those families being sent to school. This clearly indicates the very strong influence these mothers are having on decisions concerned with the education of the children. It also indicates the changes being effected by these mothers on the attitudes within Maasai society towards education.

One observation may be made here, that paternal family size influences educational levels. We can state that, as expected, the number of children educated in a family increases with family size, but this increase is far from proportional (cf. Scatterplots 1 and 2). This supports the notion that those families which educate children strive for a certain number (and the previous data indicate that this, on average, may be as low as two), and that there may be little incentive to send further children to school when that number is reached. This is a complex question since large families have more children in older age brackets, when education was less accessible; the figures in the section on birth order and education will throw some further light on this topic.

4.6. Birth order, gender, and education: Lemek and Loita

Traditionally, the pastoral family depended heavily upon the young boys in the family to herd and the young men to guard the family herd. Sons are important to the family as an economic unit. The very young boys

often begin by herding the small stock and, as they get older, progress to cattle herding with their older brothers and friends. Once they become warriors, it is their task to guard the herds against attacks from wild animals and cattle thieves. The responsibility for herding the family cattle will often pass along the line of male children within the family which means that the opportunity for an education is slim for a boy who is the only male born to the family. There are very special labour demands put upon the first few children born within a family and these labour demands are important to our discussion of educational involvement and birth order within the Maasai family.

Birth order is also very important in Maasai culture with regard to the division of the family inheritance (cattle) and with regard to the economic responsibilities associated with looking after the other members of the family (especially the widowed mother) upon the demise of the father. There is an issue here which is also relevant, namely, the competition between wives to enlarge the size of the herds which will eventually be handed over to their sons (and especially the youngest son who will look after his mother in her widowhood) because women's economic security lies with their own children. This competition thus divides the women's interests and decisions from those of their husbands or co-wives (especially if they become widows). Though there is just one first-born male (in the paternal line), there are also other first-born male children born to each wife within that family (in the maternal line).

This present analysis was undertaken to see if there is any truth to the often repeated statement that the Maasai are reluctant to send their first-born sons to school (regardless of whether or not they are first in the paternal line or the maternal line), but prefer instead to keep them at home to herd their family's animals. For this enquiry we shall take into account each woman's first-born son.

To put this discussion in perspective, we should recall that, in Lemek, there were 511 persons or "offspring" (338 males and 173 females)

ranging from first-born males or first-born females to the ninth-born child (a male) who were allowed to go to school (Table 3.4). In Morijo Loita, there were 337 persons (228 males and 109 females), again ranging from first-born males or females to the eleventh child (a female), allowed to attend school (Table 3.8). However, the following Table presents the maternal birth order of children within those families and omits those whose birth order is unknown for whatever reason. In some cases, the birth order is not known because the person came into the sampled area as a married woman, in other cases, the person may be so old that it is not realistic to pursue their birth order.

Table 4.7. Maternal birth order:
Educated male and female children:
Lemek and Loita

Birth order	Lemek		Loita	
	male	female	male	female
First-born	67	27	48	15
Second "	79	25	48	11
Third "	64	22	27	11
Fourth "	36	19	29	14
Fifth "	33	9	21	9
Sixth "	17	11	14	6
Seventh "	12	7	9	2
Eighth "	4	2	8	2
Ninth "	1	-	3	2
Tenth "	-	-	-	1
Eleventh "	-	-	-	1
Total	313	122	207	74

We now have some idea of the birth order of those who were educated and we shall analyze this even further to establish who are the first-born males sent for schooling. We shall not analyze the first-born females in this way since we are interested in supporting or refuting the belief that first-born sons are not sent to school but are kept at home to herd the family cattle.

4.6.1. First-born males: Lemek

We can establish, from the researched data in Lemek, the numbers of first-born male children who were sent for schooling, even though they may be the second, third, fourth, or even the fifth children in maternal birth order. In other words, there could have been three female children born to a particular mother before the birth of her first male child. Our data indicate that among the educated males of Lemek there were 117 educated first-born males:

67 first-born children who were the first males born to a mother,
 27 second-born children who were, in fact, the first males born
 to a particular mother,
 19 third-born children who were first-born males,
 2 fourth-born children who were first-born male children, and
 2 fifth-born children who were the first male children born to their
 mothers.

Table 4.8. First-born sons (5-19 years) and education: Lemek

	Non firstborns	%	Firstborns	%	Total	%
Non-educated	324	70%	162	67%	486	69%
%	67%		33%		100%	
Educated	137	30%	80	33%	217	31%
%	63%		37%		100%	
Total	461	100%	242	100%	703	100%
%	66%		34%		100%	

One conclusion to be drawn here is that with 31% of the overall population having some education, a slightly higher proportion of the educated are firstborns (33% firstborns are educated) than are non-firstborns (of whom 30% are educated). Although firstborns represent 34% of the overall population, they are represented by a somewhat higher proportion of the educated (of which they constitute 37%) than of the non-educated (of which they are 33%).

If we take all the age-levels above 19 years together and perform the same calculations, then the findings are reported in Table 4.9:

Table 4.9. First-born sons (above 20 years) and education: Lemek

	Non firstborns %		Firstborns %		Total %	
Non-educated %	414 68%	83%	197 32%	84%	611 100%	83%
Educated %	84 69%	17%	37 31%	16%	121 100%	17%
Total %	498 68%		234 32%		732 100%	

In this case too, with 17% of the overall population having some education, a slightly lower proportion of the educated are firstborns (16%) than are non-firstborns (of whom 17% are educated). Similarly, while first-born sons are 32% of the total population, they are represented by 31% of the educated (and 32% of the non-educated firstborns).

These figures indicate a modest negative relationship between being a firstborn and being educated, which is different to the stronger positive relationship in Lemek for the younger school-age group (5-19 years). This shows that overall there has been some change over time. Though there may have been some degree of discrimination in the past against the education of firstborns (which was especially stronger in the 20-24 years and 25-29 years cohorts; see Appendix 4C, Tables P, Q, and R), there now appears to be a percentage increase in the present school-age firstborns allowed to attend school.

4.6.2. First-born males: Loita

When we look at the figures for Loita, the point that immediately strikes one is the high number (73) considering the size of the population:

- 48 first-born children were also the first-born males born to a mother,
- 17 second-born children were the first-born males to be born to a particular mother,
- 4 third-born children were first-born males,
- 1 fourth-born child was a first-born male and
- 3 fifth-born children were first-born males.

Table 4.10. First-born sons (5-19 years) and education: Loita

	Non firstborns		Firstborns		Total	
		%		%		%
Non-educated	167	71%	82	66%	249	69%
%	67%		33%		100%	
Educated	69	29%	42	34%	111	31%
%	62%		38%		100%	
Total	236	100%	124	100%	360	100%
%	66%		34%		100%	

In Loita, for this age-level, the percentage involvement was much the same at that in Lemek. With 31% of the overall population having some education, a higher proportion of the educated are firstborns (34% which is just one percentage point higher than in Lemek) than are non-firstborns (of whom 29% are educated). Loita too has a higher rate than Lemek when we look at the educated firstborns as a percentage of overall population; they represent 34% of the population, but are represented by a higher proportion of the educated (of which they constitute 38%) than are the non-educated (33%).²⁷

If we look at the firstborns across all age-levels for those over 20 years of age, a slightly different picture emerges. Table 4.11 reports the data:

Table 4.11. First-born sons (over 20 years) and education: Loita

	Non firstborns		Firstborns		Total	
		%		%		%
Non-educated	172	67%	89	74%	261	69%
%	66%		34%		100%	
Educated	86	33%	31	26%	117	31%
%	74%		26%		100%	
Total	258	100%	120	100%	378	100%
%	68%		32%		100%	

With 31% of the overall population over 20 years of age having some education (which is nearly twice the rate of Lemek), a lower proportion of the educated are firstborns (26% firstborns are educated, than are non-firstborns (of whom 33% are educated). On the other hand, although the firstborns represent 32% of the overall population, they are represented by a lower proportion of the educated (of which they are 26%).

The negative firstborn effect on education is much stronger in Loita than in Lemek when we compare the firstborns across all age-levels over the age of 20 years. In Loita, the first-born sons are slightly under-represented among the educated where they are 26% as opposed to the overall percentage of the population having some education which is 31%; the educated non-firstborns are 33% of all educated.

Table 4.12 reports the percentages of firstborns across all the age-levels and demonstrates clearly the changes over time with regard to the education of firstborns from a negative to a positive effect.

Table 4.12. Firstborns' educational status: Expressed as percentages of the age-level, of all educated, and of all firstborns: Lemek and Loita

Lemek Group Ranch						
Age-level	Total in age level	Total first born males	% of age level	Total educ ated first borns	% first borns of all educated	Educated firstborns as % of all firstborns
5-19	703	242	34%	80	37%	33%
20-24	195	77	39%	11	21%	14%
25-29	147	76	52%	15	45%	20%
30+	390	81	21%	11	31%	14%
Totals	1435	476		117		

Morijo Loita Sub-location						
Age-level	Total in age level	Total first born males	% of age level	Total educ ated first borns	% first borns of all educated	Educated firstborns as % of all firstborns
5-19	360	124	34%	42	38%	34%
20-24	92	35	38%	12	28%	34%
25-29	62	20	32%	4	22%	20%
30+	224	65	29%	15	27%	23%
Totals	738	244		73		

If we compare the school-age populations in both areas, the positive firstborn effect on education is slightly stronger in Loita than in Lemek. There may well be more of an incentive in Loita to educate the firstborns since these will be the young men on whom the burden of responsibility will fall to support the family and make decisions. The Loita, as we shall see are very conscious of the role of the educated sons in bringing development to the family and to the community (cf. Appendix 4C, Tables S, T, and U for data on specific age-levels especially the 20-24 years and the 25-29 years where there is a very strong negative relationship between being firstborn and getting an education).

Once these first-born males (in either place) begin primary school there are a number of domestic pressures which impinge upon their continuance in school. Two of the most often repeated reasons offered for the large numbers of male dropouts from the primary school system are, a) the family need for herders and, b) the circumcision ceremonies. We shall see, shortly, whether or not these are the principal reasons for the high attrition rates. The first of these reasons is closely associated with the family's cattle holdings so this will be our next topic.

4.7. Education and family wealth

We shall see if the actual numbers of cattle per family affect their educational ratios. There are two different hypotheses about the influence of wealth on education: One, that the rich need labour and have less need for educational benefits; two, that the rich can afford school fees, and are more politically attuned to the requirements of the modern day. We shall see which of these is correct. Corollaries may be added to the above hypotheses: That some rich families find their needed labour by employing herders from among poorer families thus leaving their own children free for education; that under certain conditions, according to Sperling (1987), there can be tremendous labour needs, *vis-a-vis* herding, even among the smaller and poorer families especially in the dry season.

We shall now present the data on the cattle holdings of the parents of the single school-age males (5-19 years) who are actually being educated, as well as cattle holdings of those over twenty years of age. We shall restrict ourselves to an analysis of the educated males since the family cattle holdings are said to affect the education rates of the sons in the family. If the family has a large herd of cattle, then the father may insist on a number of sons remaining at home to look after them. It has been suggested that the first-born sons particularly are expected to perform this task. Are the richer families sending fewer children to

school than the poor families? How does the wealth of families sending children to school compare to the wealth of all families? What role does wealth play in facilitating or inhibiting school participation?

The number of cattle is one of the best indicators of wealth among the Maasai and, from numerous discussions in both Lemek and Loita, it appears that a family with less than 20 head of cattle is regarded as poor, and a family with more than 20, but less than 90, is in the middle-range, whereas a family with 100 or more is rich; very rich families are those with 350 head of cattle or more. Surprisingly, very few families in both places have these larger numbers (cf. sections 4.3.4 and 4.4.4).

Methodologically, there appears to be little point in tracing the cattle-holdings of those who are married, since these persons will have begun to build up their own family herds and the figures for those cattle-holdings may bear little resemblance to the figures which might have been valid at the time they were sent to school. For this reason, we shall only pursue the cattle-holdings (of the parents) for what is effectively the age-levels of those most likely to be still attending, or just left, school.

The following Table gives the cattle-holdings for the single males on the presumption that the figures given still represent their parents' holdings; this is especially true of younger men in the actual school-going age-levels (5-19, 20-24 years). These figures for educated males for two selected age-levels of Lemek are given in the following Table 4.13. The Table also presents the overall cattle-holdings of all the families according to the wealth divisions (poor, medium, rich, very rich) presented in Table 4.2, and the educating families as a percentage of those totals. Statistically, there is no real association between cattle holdings and education of single males (5-24 years) in Lemek or Loita.²⁸

There are 262 single educated males coming from 185 families in Lemek. In terms of the numbers of males being educated per family: 126 are educating one male, 45 are educating two males, 13 are educating 3 males,

and one family is educating seven males. The educating families (185) represent one-third of the total number of families in the Ranch (560).

Table 4.13. Educating families of single males (5-24 years) by selected divisions of cattle holdings: Expressed as percentages of total families in each wealth division: Lemek

Cattle holdings	Total families by holdings (Table 4.2)	% of total families	Numbers of educating families	% of educ. families	Educ. families as % of total families in each category
<u>Poor</u>					
0-20	149	26%	41	22%	28%
<u>Middle-range</u>					
25-90	160	29%	55	30%	34%
<u>Rich</u>					
100-300	205	37%	66	36%	32%
<u>Very rich</u>					
350+	46	8%	23	12%	50%
Totals	560	100%	185	100%	33%

We shall use the data of this Table in the following sections as we discuss the cattle holdings in relation to the numbers of males of various age-levels who have been educated (cf. Table V, Appendix 4D, for data on cattle holdings of educated persons in Lemek and Loita, 5 years and over).

4.7.1. Educating families and cattle wealth: Lemek

There are 217 single males with some education in the 5-19 years age-level and there are a further 45 educated single males in the 20-24 years group coming from a total of 185 families. If we make an analysis of their parents' cattle holdings, then we find the range is from 0 to 800 animals. Families having more than 100 head of cattle are educating 89

students; 32% of the males in this age-level. There are just three males coming from families having no cattle at all and, at the other end of the wealth spectrum, there are five educated males coming from families having 800 cattle. Thirty percent of the middle-range families are educating their sons, and 22% of the poorer families (with 20 or fewer cattle), are educating their males. The Lemek figures give a Mean of 159 head of cattle (per family of educated single persons in the 5-19 school-age group) and a Median of 100 head of cattle.

If we examine the figures for the cattle-wealth for all the families in the Ranch divided according to the same wealth categories (Table 4.2), we find that 45% of the families are in the rich/very rich bracket, 29% are in the middle-range, and 26% are in the poor-range (0-20 cattle). Comparing these two sets of percentages, we can say that, though 45% of the families are in the rich group, 48% of the educating families are in this section of the community representing a slight overrepresentation in that wealth category. The middle-range families are almost evenly balanced with the percentage of families in the category (29%) and the percentage of families educating sons from the same category (30%). However, there is a difference in the poor category where there is a smaller percentage of parents actually educating their sons (22%) than there are families in that wealth bracket (26%); the poor are underrepresented in their stratum.

This comparison clearly indicates that the wealthy are educating their sons at a higher rate than either the poor or the middle-range groups, and more so in Lemek than in Loita. There appears to be a tendency for a greater than to-be-expected percentage of educating families to come from the richer wealth stratum. This finding goes against the expectation that the rich families are keeping their sons at home and are not educating them. These differences are even more striking when we compute the educating families as percentages of all the families in each wealth stratum. The poor educating families represent 28% of all the families in

that stratum, 34% come from the middle-range, 32% from the rich, and 50% from the very rich stratum. The Mean for the four strata is 36% of educating families; all except the very rich fall below this Mean.

We shall now look at educated males as percentages within the various cattle wealth categories and we shall compare them to the percentages of males within those categories to get some sense of the rates of education by various divisions of wealth. In this case, we are looking at all the males in the age-levels between 5-24 years, single and married. In Lemek, there are only eight young men who are married within these age-groupings.

Table 4.14. Educated males (5-24 years) by selected divisions of cattle holdings: Expressed as percentages in each wealth division: Lemek

Cattle holdings	Total males in category (Table 3.4)	% of total males	Number of educated males	% of educ. males	Educated males as % of total males in each category
<u>Poor</u>					
0-20	188	21%	52	19%	28%
<u>Middle-range</u>					
25-90	271	30%	79	29%	29%
<u>Rich</u>					
100-300	334	37%	113	42%	34%
<u>Very rich</u>					
350+	105	12%	26	10%	25%
Totals	898	100%	270	100%	30%

The value of these figures lies in the fact that they represent the rates of education for males reckoned according to cattle wealth. We have already looked at the rates of educating families, and now we look at the individuals within those families, 270 males from 185 families. Comparing the percentages for the total single males in each category and the

percentage of educated single males, we see that the poor are underrepresented as are the middle-range and the very rich, but the rich (having 100-300 cattle) are overrepresented.

However, looked at from the perspective of the educated males as percentages of the total numbers of males (aged 5-24 years) in each wealth category, we find that the poor educated males represent 28% of all males in that category, 29% of the males in the middle-range are educated, 34% of the rich stratum, and 25% of the 5-24 year old males in the very rich stratum are educated. With a Mean of 29% educated for these strata, we can see that the proportion of educated is lower for the poor and the very rich categories, on a par for the middle-range, and slightly higher than expected for the rich group (two percentage points).

4.7.2. Educating families and cattle wealth: Morijo Loita

Since the Loita are often regarded as holding on to traditional values more persistently than some of the other Sections, it will be interesting to see if traditional family wealth, in terms of cattle, is greater than among the Purko, and to see if the need for young herders has affected the rate of schooling or the rate of dropouts from the education system.

There are 111 single males in the 5-19 years age-level coming from educating families and there are a further 42 males coming from the 20-24 years group coming from 123 families. The largest number of educated males (51) came from the poor stratum of the Loita population, those having 20 or fewer cattle and the smallest number (8) came from the richest stratum of the Sub-location. We should bear in mind however, that given Loita's smaller livestock holdings, families are skewed downward on the absolute scale of wealth (cf. Table 4.5 reporting that 40% of the families have 20 or fewer head of cattle) with more families in the poor stratum and fewer in the rich strata. This gives a Mean of 93 head of cattle (per family of each single educated person in the 5-19 school-age

group) and a Median of 38 head of cattle.

In Loita, there are 153 single educated males being educated from 123 families: 102 families are educating one male, 13 are educating two males, 7 are educating three males, and one family is educating four males.

Table 4.15. Educating families of single males (5-24 years) by selected divisions of cattle holdings: Expressed as percentages of total families in each wealth category: Loita

Cattle holdings	Total families by holdings (Table 4.5)	% of total families	Numbers of educating families	% of educ. families	Educ. families as % of total families in each category
<u>Poor</u>					
0-20	105	40%	51	41%	49%
<u>Middle-range</u>					
25-90	87	33%	42	34%	48%
<u>Rich</u>					
100-300	58	22%	22	18%	38%
<u>Very rich</u>					
350+	12	5%	8	7%	66%
Totals	262	100%	123	100%	47%

Looking at percentages, we see that 41% of the educating families lie in the poor stratum, 34% in the middle-range, and 25% in the rich/very rich strata. What is interesting is that these percentages are almost identical to the percentages of the actual numbers of families in the Sub-location within those wealth strata: 40% poor, 33% middle-range, and 27% rich/very rich. This would indicate that there is an approximate normal or to-be-expected percentage representation of educating families at all three levels of cattle-wealth.

However, looked at from another perspective, we can see that the educating families, as percentages of the total of all families in each

wealth stratum, represent high percentages at each level. The educating families in the poor category are 49% of all the families in that stratum, the educating families in the middle-range are 48% of all families, and 38% of the rich families and 66% of the very rich families are educating families. Overall, the 123 educating families represent 47% of all the families in the Sub-location.

We shall now examine the figures reported for the educated males as percentages within each wealth division and as percentages of the total number of males in each category. In Loita, there was only one married male within the age-levels 5-24 years.

Table 4.16. Educated males (5-24 years) by selected divisions of cattle holdings: Expressed as percentages in each wealth division: Loita

Cattle holdings	Total males in category (Table 3.5)	% of total males	Numbers of educated males	% of educ. males	Educated males as % of total males in each category
<u>Poor</u>					
0-20	167	37%	64	41%	38%
<u>Middle-range</u>					
25-90	142	31%	50	33%	35%
<u>Rich</u>					
100-300	101	22%	30	20%	30%
<u>Very rich</u>					
350+	42	10%	10	6%	24%
Totals	452		154	100%	34%

The situation in Loita is different to Lemek insofar as the poor and the middle-range categories have slight overrepresentation for the educated males of these age-levels (four percentage points difference for the poor group and two points for the middle-range). The rich and the

very rich are slightly underrepresented in Loita regarding education of males coming from the 5-24 years age-levels.

The fact that the educating families represent a much higher proportion of total families in Loita than in Lemek implies that the educated are spread out among more families in Loita, and concentrated in fewer families in Lemek (185 as opposed to 123). Perhaps there is a conscious policy in Loita that each family should have an educated child (certainly the comments from the interviewed parents presented in Chapter Nine confirm this suggestion) and in Lemek the split between educated and non-educated, as rich and poor, tends to be more pronounced. This spread of the educated persons and the educating families is demonstrated by the following Table which brings together data from six previous Tables:

Table 4.17. Education rates compared: Males (5-24 years) vs. families (educating/non-educating), Lemek and Loita

	Lemek				Loita			
	persons (Table 3.4)	%	families (Tabs 2.7/4.12)	%	persons (Table 3.5)	%	families (Tabs 2.9/4.14)	%
Non- educated	628	70	375	67	298	66	139	53
Educated	270	30	185	33	154	34	123	47
Total	898	100	560	100	452	100	262	100

This Table illustrates very clearly that a relatively higher percentage of households are represented educationally than are individuals, and that the educated are spread more widely among households in Loita than in Lemek.

4.8. Conclusion

We should bear in mind that the economic wealth divisions, or wealth strata, used in this chapter are, to some degree, arbitrary determinations based upon figures given by various and numerous informants. We should

also bear in mind that we have been discussing both the rates of educating families and individual males. As pointed out earlier (Table 4.13), these educated persons are single, therefore the calculations have been made using the cattle holdings of their parents since they are "being educated" by their families.

In both Lemek and Loita, the percentages of educating families (30% and 34%) in the middle-range sending young men to school are very similar especially since both are just one percentage point above the to-be-expected percentages in their category. In Loita, in spite of the fact that the percentage of richer educating families (25%) is lower than the percentage of poorer educating families (41%), the poorer families are slightly overrepresented for their category and the rich/very rich are slightly underrepresented in their categories. Of the rich families in Lemek, 48% are educating young men compared to 22% of the poorer of the Lemek families who are sending their sons to school. However, when we compare these percentages of the educating families with the percentages of all the families in each wealth stratum, we find that in Lemek the educating rich/very rich families are overrepresented in their strata (by three percentage points), and the poorest educating families are underrepresented in their stratum (by four percentage points). The educating families represent a much higher proportion of total families in Loita than in Lemek (47% vs. 33%), and the poor are overrepresented and the richer families are underrepresented.

According to the compared percentages, the rich families, especially the Purko families, are sending their children to school and do not appear to be keeping them at home for whatever reason. Educational participation is positively correlated with family wealth, contrary to the expectation that the wealthy would tend to keep their children at home to herd. As we shall see in Chapter Nine, many parents have strong views about the future advantages to be gained by educating their sons. The educating families as percentages of the families in the different wealth strata appear to be

much higher in the Loita sample (ranging from 38% to 66%) than in the Lemek sample (ranging from 28% to 50%).

One of the major paradoxes running through the material is that Lemek is supposed to be the more exposed or touched place and Loita is supposed to be the more removed and traditional place, and yet Loita actually has more educated persons and reached higher percentages of educated persons earlier than Lemek. There is a possibility that the Loita have more determination to improve themselves, and the lives of their children, and the community at large than do the Purko of Lemek. If they are often reminded that they appear to be lagging behind the rest of the Maasai or the other ethnic groups, this could well be a sufficient incentive for them to press ahead with more zeal than the Purko who are not under this form of pressure.

In both areas, the strong influence of the non-Maasai mothers is apparent especially in those families which have educated large numbers of children; on the other hand, among the Maasai families, there is a similarity related to the practice of sending just one or two children to school regardless of the number of children in the family. A higher percentage of poorer families in Loita have educated their children than the richer families of the area; in Lemek, a higher percentage of richer families sent their children to school (Tables 4.13 and 4.15).

The data (cf. Appendix 4C, Tables P to U) also report that the first-born sons were under-represented more in the past than among the present school-age cohorts in both areas, at least to the extent that the 25-29 and the 20-24 age-levels were under-represented. If there was any discrimination against educating first-born sons this appears to have changed. In Lemek, the percentage of firstborns among the 5-19 years age-level is 34%, and the percentage representation at school for this group is 37%. While 33% of all firstborns are educated, only 30% of the non-firstborns are educated and only 31% in general. In Loita, the age-level percentage of firstborns is 34%, and 38% of all the educated males in this

age-level are first-born sons. Here too there is a positive relation between being firstborn and being educated; 34% of firstborns are educated, 29% of non-firstborns are educated and 31% of all males in the age-level are educated. We can say that there is a positive firstborn effect on education and this is stronger in Loita.

Viewed across all the older age-levels (i.e 20 years and over), in Lemek, though the firstborns are 32% of the population only 31% of all those educated are firstborns. The firstborns as a percentage of all those with an education is 16%, which is again lower than the educated non-firstborns (17%) and that in general (17%). Similarly, in Loita, the firstborns represent 32% of the population (of all those over 20 years), but only 26% of all those educated are firstborns, again a less than expected representation. Though 26% of the firstborns are educated, 33% of the non-firstborns are also educated as is 31% of the general male population for that age-level.

These findings are counter-intuitive insofar as the rate of sending firstborns to school is now higher in Lemek and Loita but only for this one age-level (3-19 years). The firstborn effect is not there for the older age-levels (except for the 30+ group in Lemek, for which data see Appendix 4C, Table R). Loita is reputed to be the more conservative of the two areas and the expectation was that firstborns would be kept at home to herd the cattle according to traditional practices. The contrary appears to be true; the firstborns are well represented in Loita for this younger school-age group (Tables 4.10 and 4.12).

In the next chapter, we shall take this analysis a step further and examine reasons given by parents for educating or not educating their sons and daughters. We shall also explore the whole question of school dropouts; those who began in the educational system and dropped out of it before completing the course. We shall examine some of the reasons given for dropping out, for example, to take care of the family herds or to get circumcised or married.

CHAPTER FIVE

LOW SCHOOL PARTICIPATION: ATTITUDES OF
RELUCTANT PARENTS AND DROPOUTS

5.1. Introduction

In spite of the fact that there appears to be an increase in the numbers of younger Maasai children attending school in the two areas, the fact still remains that most children are not sent to school. When we realise that only one or two children per family are being educated, which means on average one in six children, we have to be concerned about the reasons why their parents are not sending them to school. This chapter addresses that issue as well as the overall attitudes those same parents have towards the whole topic of education in Maasailand. In one sense, these views represent the attitudes of the parents with school-age children towards the education of those children. The material of the previous two chapters represents the actual situation in terms of the numbers of children (and others) with some schooling. The anomalies between some of the stated attitudes and the actual practices should now become apparent. Why do parents not educate their children? The chapter will present interview material to address this issue from parents and school dropouts themselves.

The writers of the District Development Plan 1979-1983 suggested that the principal obstacles in the path of increased school participation among the Maasai were

the problem of tradition coupled with ignorance and misconceptions in that the parents do not understand why a child should go to school instead of looking after the cattle. Moreover, looking after cattle brings in quicker returns than the prolonged educational investment which is not pertinent to rearing livestock. This becomes more realistic to them since primary education is hardly geared to local needs of the nomadic life. ...There is the problem of apathy and unreadiness to change quickly. ...Lastly, there is the question of moranhood which tends to distract children from schools (1980:58-59).

In the following section, we shall examine the reasons presented by some of those parents in the two sites who have not educated their children to see if we can come to any conclusions about their decisions not to become involved in the educational system. We shall look, not so much as what parents do (which we already examined when we looked at the figures for those with an education), as what they say about education and their children's involvement in the education structure of the district. In one sense, this material provides qualitative support for the quantitative trends described in the preceding chapter.

5.2. Attitudes towards education:

Parents who did not educate their children

Those parents who had sent to school at least one child out of five were not interviewed, but parents who sent no children at all (out of five or more), or who sent less than one for every five, were interviewed to ascertain their attitudes towards the education of boys and girls and to document their attitudes towards education in general.

In Lemek, 136 males and 36 females were interviewed and in Loita, 65 males and 22 females. The marital status of these persons was as follows: Lemek - 130 male heads of households, 36 widows, five widowers, and one husband who had been deserted by his wife; Loita - 59 male heads of households, 22 widows, five widowers, and again, one husband deserted by his wife. Most of these parents were not educated. In Lemek, 171 of the parents were non-educated and just one parent had some schooling (a primary school dropout); in Loita, 74 non-educated and 13 educated parents (ten primary school dropouts, two who had finished the primary course, and one secondary school dropout).

What is particularly relevant to this sampling is the fact that so few of these parents had ever been engaged in wage-employment; 16 from the Lemek sample and 18 from the Loita group.²⁹ This point is relevant

because, in Chapter Ten, we shall present the views of another sample of persons (some married and some unmarried) with regard to the education of boys and girls in Maasailand. This second group will be taken specifically from those who have worked and more specifically those who have worked away from home for any length of time.

In what follows, it is important to bear in mind that all four questions were open-ended. The categories used in the responses are those which emerged from the processing; both positive and negative. First, the parents were asked to give their attitudes towards the education of boys and girls, then they were asked how many of their own children had been schooled and why they had not educated more of them or all of them. Open-ended questions allow us better to see the ideas, fears, hopes, frustrations, and aspirations of the people among whom we work. The material provides an opportunity to air the contrasting ideologies of education found in Maasailand, to reveal the rationality of each, and to end up with some anthropological explanation of school participation rates which differ dramatically from those in other parts of the country. To do this we have adduced evidence other than what is actually said; this is where the quantitative data come in to bear on the problem.

This material will help us build a strong and qualitative profile of the attitudes and stances of Maasai on education. Once we have presented the data, we shall summarize them to ascertain what particular direction this qualitative material has taken. Later in the thesis, especially in Chapters Nine, Ten, and Eleven, we shall look at the views of other Maasai, both males and females, towards education, wage-employment, and other related topics.

5.2.1. Reasons for educating boys

The wide range of reasons given by these parents why boys should be educated is presented below:

	Lemek	Loita
Boys will help you in the future (buying cows etc.).	63	57
Boys will get employed after school and will help their families.	34	1
We have seen those families with educated boys and they have helped them a lot.	19	8
Boys will build a strong Maasai society; for we are behind in development.	8	-
Boys will be future leaders; beginning businesses and developing areas and communities. It is the pen and book, not the spear and the shield anymore.	9	5
It helps all the people in development.	5	5
Boys are the only ones who will help their parents in the future.	6	1
We have seen that education helps us	3	7
The world is developing; boys need to be able to read and write.	3	2
	<hr/> 150	<hr/> 86

The respondents were not restricted in any way and could give as many reasons as they saw fit. Of the many forms used by the respondents, one which more or less sums up all the sentiments has been chosen as representative of that group and is included in the above summary. (This same process is used in the other summaries within this section). If we take these responses as percentages of the total, we find that 87.2% (Lemek) and 98.8% (Loita) of the non-sending parents gave positive reasons that boys should be educated. This is very much a case where the praxis and the expressed reasons do not match. The range of positive reasons for educating boys suggested by the interviewed parents may be grouped under two headings, helping the family and development¹⁰

	Lemek		Loita	
	Responses %		Responses %	
Educated boys will help their families	125	73	74	85
Educated boys will help development	25	14	12	14
	<hr/> 150	<hr/> 87	<hr/> 86	<hr/> 99

These figures, representing the positive responses, are expressed as percentages of the total number of responses (172 in Lemek and 87 in Loita). The actual wording of some of the interview comments is extremely interesting as an indicator of the underlying attitudes of many of these parents. (In the comments presented below, the numbers given after the age of the parent are the numbers of children sent for schooling out of that parent's total number of children aged five and over.)

It is obvious from the interviews that there is a high expectation boys will assist their parents and their families once they are educated and working, especially through the construction of modern houses for their parents and families. This was linked to the presumption that many would get wage-employment after their education. But the fear was stated too, that those who do not get a job will just loiter around Maasailand and will refuse to herd the animals because that task will then be beneath them. An interesting observation surfaced that we shall explore in the next chapter; some non-educated found jobs anyway and were able to help their parents despite a lack of education.

B39: Aged 66, none out of 12 children

It is good to educate boys because I have seen what those with an education have done for their families. It is also good to educate girls because they too, will be able to help their parents in the future. I have not sent any to school because I do not have any money to educate them and yet some have been employed anyway and have earned money to help us here at home.

B102: 60 years, none out of five children

Those boys who have got employment after school have helped their families. But those who will not get jobs will be useless as they will not want to look after animals and will just loiter here at home. The girls, if they get an education, will not want to be married to the Maasai young men especially the illiterate ones.

As we shall see later, this fear of the changed attitude of the educated young Maasai woman came up repeatedly in the reasons why the Maasai girls should not be educated. The following comment is typical of some of these fears:

B77: aged 50, has four wives, and sent only one of his ten children for an education.

Educated boys will teach us more and better ways of farming so as to grow crops and is another very good job. It is good to educate girls; they will also help and will marry educated boys for they say "we must marry our own age-group and not the elders."

There is too, the realisation that the Maasai are lagging behind in matters of education and development and that the only hope for the future is to have young men and women educated so they will become future leaders of Maasai society:

B81: 60 years, one out of seven

It is good to send boys to school because it has become a motto for all Maasai since they have been left behind by the other tribes in Kenya for their refusal to get educated and now they have seen that they lag behind in development.

B108: 40 years, none out of seven

Education is our only hope today for development.

B76: 60 years old, one out of ten

Boys will become our future leaders and girls too, and they will help their parents and new families.

We should note however that, in spite of these fine words, this parent sent only one child to school out of 15 (ten are of school age). This apparent contradiction between actions and words runs throughout this section. In fact, there is an ambivalence about the whole topic of education in Maasailand; a tension between a realisation of the advantages it brings to the individual and to the community, on the one hand, and the fears and hesitations the Maasai have regarding the perceived negative consequences of education in the family and community, on the other hand. Some parents openly stated their opposition to the education of boys.

5.2.2. Reasons for not educating boys

The reasons offered for not wishing to educate Maasai boys may be reduced to this one point: The parents see no value in education, and see no good coming from it because those with an education have done little or nothing to help their parents or the Maasai community at large.

	Lemek	Loita
Education has done no good for families; it is a waste of time and money.	12	-
Not seen any good of it; educated have not helped parents or development of Maasailand.	6	1
Educated boys may not come back to return the money spent on their education.	2	-
I am against education and was forced to send even the one I did send.	1	-
Useless to educate boys, they have not helped us and they go against their education even when we do send them.	1	-
	<hr/> 22	<hr/> 1

The figures represent 12.8% (Lemek) and 1.2% (Loita) of the total recorded responses. Quite obviously, there is virtually no stated opposition to the education of boys in Loita, unlike the 22 parents who oppose the idea of sending boys to school in Lemek. It is ironic that only one parent, out of the 87 interviewed in Loita, is on record as opposing the education of boys, and yet all 87 parents were being interviewed for that very reason; the non-education of their male and female children. It is interesting that the chiefs, sub-chiefs, and their councils, in this area are quite active in the pursuit of their community responsibilities. The discrepancy between the statements of the parents and their practice could be attributed to the fact that they have been exposed to the political rhetoric, the correct language of educational development, as a result of the push for the enforcement of educational ideology in Loita, in particular through Ilkerin.

Some of the reasons given by the Lemek parents are enlightening:

B76: 60 years, none out of five

It is not good to educate boys because I see no point in it.
It is a waste of time and money.

B30: 75 years, none out of seven

Many educated boys do not help their parents in any way.
I see no point nor benefit in educating any of my children.

B66: 80 years, none out of seven

It is not good to educate boys. I have not seen any value in it and also I have seen many who are educated who have not helped their families. I do not see any reason to send boys to school. They had better remain at home and look after my cattle.

The fact that the colonial government, and later the Kenya Government, forced the Maasai to send at least one child for an education, still galls some of the elder Maasai parents and they stated that they only educated their child under duress:

B128: 70 years, one out of 19

It is not good to send even the boys to school. I have not seen what good those who have been sent to school have done to help their parents. What they have done to us is to bring us debts from far places and forced us to sell our cows. I have not sent more than one because the one who was educated has done nothing to help us and even that one I was forced to send by the government.

The resentment of the Maasai parents to the lack of aid and assistance given to the parents by the educated boys was also echoed by one of the younger Okiek parents:

B183: 40 years, none out of six (Okiek)

It is not good to educate boys. The educated ones here have done nothing to help their parents and yet they get good jobs and still come back home with nothing.

The experience of some is expressed by one young parent when he observed that sometimes the educated boy does not return home or leaves for wage-employment and breaks all contact with his family:

B65: aged 80, none out of eight

I do not see any benefit in educating either boys or girls. I know of one boy fully educated by his parents who no longer know his whereabouts. Instead of wasting time with an education girls should be married as soon as possible to get a good bride-price.

Some of the parents also commented on the culture clash that takes place once the boy is educated:

B73: aged 22 years, none out of four

I haven't seen an educated boy add even one cow to the families' herds, but they spend money on clothes and good radios, and this is not worthy of them.

B83: 60 years, none out of seven

Once you educate a boy he will forget our traditional customs and also forget us because I have seen many educated boys who are not helping their parents at all.

The anomaly between the rhetoric and the reality, which is evident in Loita, is also evident in the next Lemek case where the parent had fine reasons for the education of boys and yet did not educate any of his ten children. He thought it was good to educate boys and good to educate girls, yet he had sent none of his 14 children (10 are of school age) to school and when it came to the question of his personal views about education and why he had not sent any of his children to school, he said:

B66: aged 75, none out of ten

I do not see any goodness in education. Those with an education will go away and get employed and will leave their families to suffer. And who will look after my animals? But I see some of my sons sending their children to school.

This elder observed the changes taking place around him, and saw that his own sons were sending their children to school, but to what extent that change of attitude is widespread has yet to be seen and verified.

5.2.3. Reasons for educating girls

Again, in the case of reasons given for educating girls, we find a major difference between the stated attitudes and the practice of the parents concerned. Thirty-seven percent of the parents interviewed in Lemek, and 53% of the Loita parents, were in favour of educating girls. However, they had done very little towards achieving this goal.

	Lemek	Loita
They will do what men do in business and in development; become leaders.	37	36
It is good for educated girls to marry educated boys and build for future.	15	1
Educated girls will also help in the day to day life with men.	5	8
Girls have the right to get what they need, such as an education.	4	1
The time will come when no one will want to marry illiterate girls; education helps them avoid becoming social parasites.	1	-
Educated girls bring money from the person who marries them, and I will benefit from that.	1	-
	<hr/> 63	<hr/> 46

In quite a number of cases the respondents linked the education of girls with the whole question of wage-employment and the benefits to be obtained by the working woman's salary.

B81: 75 years, one out of eight

It is good to educate girls because we have seen women of all types doing work and also earning salaries just as men do.

B97: 45 years, one out of five

Girls can help equally in building the families and I have heard of female District Commissioners and women holding other senior positions.

One or two mentioned, not wage-employment, but the benefits from bridewealth:

B46: aged 95, three out of nine

Educated girls will help us get more cows and buy a good shamba to cultivate to get more money for our future needs.

Only one respondent observed that many women of other ethnic groups fill the ranks of the primary school teachers in the various schools of Maasailand. This respondent suggested that educated Maasai women might eventually take over this worthwhile task. Here again the salary came into the comment.

B136: 60 years, two out of 11

It is good to educate girls because I have seen many other tribes teaching our children and even some few from ours teaching and earning salaries like men and these salaries can help their parents.

At least two respondents (one of whom was Okiek) expressed some form of remorse at the fact that they had not realised the full value of education, especially for the young women:

B13: aged 80, five out of 25

Most of our girls were married and away before we realised how good education was.

B49: aged 75, one out of eight (Okiek)

I was very foolish before and after sending one girl to school I was very annoyed with myself for not having sent them all, but it was too late since they are all older now and are married women.

Two respondents begrudgingly allowed that girls should be educated, but added a negative comment:

B107: 52 years, two out of seven

Girls have equal opportunities with boys, but they are the weaker sex.

B97: aged 32, one out of six

Education for girls is good but cannot be compared to boys because girls are a weaker sex even in our tradition.

Some widows' views

It was interesting to record the views of some widows concerning the education of their children now that the husband and father had died. In some cases the widows had strong views about education. Certainly, the widows gave the female perspective on the education of the younger Maasai

girls and, in one or two cases, this was coupled with enlightening insights into the fears and hesitations of Maasai women in general.

B151: widow aged 60 years, four out of 14

There will come a time with changing society whereby nobody will want to marry an illiterate girl. This would be a burden to me if my daughter would not get married. Education will help them to care for themselves and avoid being social parasites.

B105: widow aged 50 years, one out of six

Schooling for girls is very important since education has no sex and the job opportunity is the same as well.

5.2.4. Reasons for not educating girls

It is worth noting at the outset that the numbers of parents opposed to the education of girls was far higher in Lemek than in Loita (63% as opposed to 47%) which was rather surprising given the wider exposure of Lemek to the whole national ideology of education and development.

To get some idea of the spread of views and attitudes towards this important aspect of education we present the range of responses:

	Lemek	Loita
Girls will get married and you will get nothing back.	39	26
I have not seen any girls employed; they just drop out and get married.	16	4
Girls will only help their own new family, not mine.	16	2
Girls will run away and get married elsewhere.	7	2
Many drop out and, even if they finish, often forget their parents.	7	1
Once educated they will forget their parents and we get no bride-price because they marry without our consent.	9	3
Girls get pregnant before finishing education.	5	2
Most educated girls will not be married by Maasai and many of them become prostitutes.	4	-
It is bad to educate girls. It is bad training and leads to misbehaviour and fornication.	2	1
Girls are not equal to men and will later just go away; I have not seen their deeds.	4	-
	<hr/> 109	<hr/> 41

The above reasons for not educating girls may be summarized under four main headings:

	Lemek	%	Loita	%
They will run away and get married	91	52.9	37	42.5
They will fornicate and get pregnant	7	4.1	3	3.5
They will forget their parents	7	4.1	1	1.1
Other reasons	4	2.3	-	-
	109	63.4	41	47.1

The 109 negative responses in Lemek represent 63% of the total responses from that sample; the 41 in Loita represent 47% of the responses from that area. More parents in Lemek are against the education of girls than in Loita and this is borne out by the actual numbers of educated females in the two areas (cf. Chapter 3).

One of the most recurrent topics raised in the reasons for not educating Maasai girls was the fact that once educated the young women "forget their parents and their traditions" and lose respect for the decisions of the elders.

B83: aged 60, none out of seven

To educate girls is the least thing I would do. I would be just throwing my money away for nothing because I cannot benefit from them. In fact, there is no benefit from educating either boys or girls.

B66: aged 48, one out of eight

There is no value in educating girls because it is obvious once they receive an education they will forget their parents and go to unknown places, hence I will have lost a lot of money on them.

B73: aged 45, none out of seven

It is not good to educate girls; they will just forget us and I will not get any bride-price from an educated girl. If girls get educated they will just be married to their own choice of husband and run away and will ignore our own way of traditional weddings.

B150: aged 50, two out of 14

It is a waste of money to educate girls; you will not benefit and eventually they forget us parents.

These fathers see a disrespect for elders particularly taking the form of educated girls making their own choice of a marriage partner - which is regarded as a very bad thing by these parents.

B154: aged 70, one out of seven

Educating girls is bad because an educated girl will have the tendency of making her own decisions, for example, in marriage she will choose a person of her own choice who may not pay you bride-price. He may not even be a Maasai.

B82: aged 49, one out of six

Educating girls involves instilling bad behaviour into their minds and could even make them disrespectful to their parents, for instance marrying the person of their own choice who may not be ready to pay the bride-price. Educated children will drain away my riches and reduce the number of my cows. Educating the girls will be of no benefit to me.

B108: aged 40, none out of six

When girls are educated to the higher levels, they will not like to be married by a primitive elder like the illiterate ones. Instead they will be married by men of other tribes.

The fact that the educated young women would use up a lot of money in their education and then go off to marry some man from another area and only use their education to support and assist their new families was another major reason offered for not wishing to educate their daughters.

B56: aged 45, none out of seven

Educating girls is a complete waste of time and money; the girl is the last person I would ever educate since she would only help the family of her husband thereby forgetting her original family.

B62: aged 90, four out of 30

Girls would just bring problems to her family claiming many things in the course of her education - yet she might not compensate her parents but only be instilled with a lot of benefits for her husband's family. To educate girls is a complete waste of time.

Once they leave home, the parents feel it is very difficult to get anything back - even a plug of tobacco.

B67: aged 55, one out of eight

I am against educating girls because they end up getting married and moving away and you never even get tobacco from her!

B133: aged 45, one out of seven

Girls, no! They get married to unknown guys and you don't even get tobacco from them.

However, there was a more serious complaint about the educated Maasai young women, that once they get an education not only do they abandon their cultural traditions but many become pregnant and have to drop out of school. The complaint was made by some of the parents (and in a number of cases younger parents) that education leads to bad behaviour, fornication, and even prostitution among some of the educated young Maasai women.

B102: aged 55, one out of six

Girls have no better brains than boys and can easily be cheated (especially in sex) and can surrender any property easily even if they are educated.

B128: aged 70, one out of 19 (he was also against boys' education)

It is not good to educate girls because they will do nothing to help us as they just go and get pregnant before even finishing their primary schooling.

B183: aged 40, none out of six

Not good to educate girls, they will only waste their time in school without being married by their husbands for they don't even finish their schooling before becoming pregnant which is another crime.

B141: aged 35, one out of five

Not good to educate girls because I have seen many getting early pregnancies without even finishing school. It is also a great waste of property.

B61: aged 30, none out of three

Educating girls only cultivates bad behaviour in them which leads to fornication and their running away from their families.

B105: aged 48, two out of 15

Most of the girls if they are educated will not be married by the Maasai and a lot become prostitutes.

B134: aged 60, two out of ten

Not good to educate girls; we have never seen educated girls in Maasailand working to help their parents, but they go and live in town to be prostitutes.

Some of the widows' views

Some of the widows interviewed indicated that they are not in favour of educating girls. This is rather surprising since three of them were younger women still in their forties and one would have expected them to feel differently. One or two widows had strong views and gave a variety of reasons, not the least of which was this tendency to become pregnant while still at school:

B119: widow aged 40 years, two out of seven

It is not good to educate girls because I have never seen an educated girl with a job. All are either dropouts, married and left the area, or become pregnant before finishing school.

B66: two widows aged 70 and 48 years, none out of four and none out of six

It is a waste of money to educate girls because they just get married half way through schooling and even those who do finish end up forgetting their parents.

B153: widow aged 40 years, two out of seven

Not good to educate girls since you would only educate a girl to be a benefit for her new husband's family - this means it is a great loss for me.

The major problem appears to be the fact that investing in the education of girls holds no promise of future returns for the parents because the girl will be taken out of school, circumcised, married, and will leave the parental home. Any value gained from her education will go to the benefit of her new home and family. These are the voiced attitudes of the parents which have obviously sustained the low involvement rates of the Maasai female population in both sites (92% in Lemek and 90% in Loita).

5.2.5. Parents' reasons for not educating their children

After the parents had been asked for their general views on the education of boys and girls, they were asked why they had not educated their own children.¹¹ The variety of reasons given may be grouped under seven major categories:

	Lemek		Loita	
	Number	%	Number	%
Needed to herd cattle	78	45.3	51	58.6
Previously did not appreciate it	25	14.5	10	11.5
No value/advantage in education	21	12.2	-	-
Expensive fees	28	16.3	15	17.2
Children are under age	13	7.6	10	11.5
Husband against it (now deceased)	4	2.4	-	-
Students despise culture	3	1.7	1	1.2
	<hr/>		<hr/>	
	172	100.0	87	100.0
	<hr/>		<hr/>	

It is apparent from these responses that the need for herders is uppermost as a stated parental reason for not sending children to school; 45% in Lemek and 59% in Loita. Quite a number of Lemek parents stated that they saw neither advantage nor value in education at all. The third most quoted reason for not sending children to school was that the fees are too expensive. In fact, 58 Lemek parents (28 specifically, and a further 30 mentioned it in conjunction with the need for family herders) and 18 Loita parents mentioned expensive fees one way or another.

Fifteen percent in Lemek and 12% in Loita said they had not appreciated the value of education in the past, but they do nowadays.

The above responses may be further broken down:

	Lemek	Loita
I have no one to look after the cattle.	48	48
It is too expensive and I need them to look after my animals.	30	3
Previously, I did not appreciate education.	25	10
I only have a few animals; fees are expensive.	15	8
The children are under age.	13	10
I have not seen the advantages of an education; those with education are no wealthier than us.	14	-
I do not have enough money to educate all my children; though I see the point of education.	10	7
Education makes children despise their traditions and to despise the advice of elders.	3	1
Expensive, and no guarantee that s/he would buy more cows after an education.	3	-
Education has done nothing to help us; educated ones tell us to dig shambas and to divide up the Group Ranch; no grazing left.	3	-
I am against education: I sent one because I was forced to do so by the chief.	4	-
When my husband was alive, he was against education; now I send them (widow).	4	-
	<hr/>	
	172	87
	<hr/>	

It is surprising how many parents commented that in the past they never appreciated the value of education (25 in Lemek and ten in Loita):

B64: 80 years, one out of seven

I did not send all because we were against it in our culture, but now we have seen what it means for our people and so my sons and daughters are sending their children to school. But I wonder who will look after their animals for them?

In fact, the other members of this family have not educated anybody at all: none out of five, none out of four, none out of two, and one married daughter with none out of four. These parents are like many of the other parents who still do not see any value in education for boys or girls:

B79: 55 years, none out of 14

I have sent none to school because those who have sent them have used a lot of money and later they come back just to look after the animals. It is better not to send them in the first place.

B103: 45 years, none out of seven

It is better to educate only some and to leave some because when bad luck comes all the educated children get lost in the towns but you will still have some at home who will be caring for the family.

B118: 32 years, none out six (Okiek)

It is not good to send either boys or girls, neither of them will be of any help to their parents in the future. The boys are really not much help to their parents and girls just get married and will not help you in the future. I have not sent any to school because they will just all be the same even those who are educated.

A number of the comments obviously came from bad personal experiences which tended to give added weight to the statements:

B163: 80 years, three out of 17 (Okiek)

I was against education in the past, but I was forced to send them to school and then regretted this after I saw what my son did for me.

(This man's son had taken more than his share of the family herd, had sold the cattle, and used the money to pay for liquor parties with his friends.)

B174: 70 years, three out of 27

They will not benefit me in the future and will just use up my property for nothing. I sent the first one and he just refused school and the other two I have been forced to send by the government.

This matter of the "force" exercised to make the Maasai educated at least one child per family has been mentioned already. This old man is no doubt referring to the compulsion he experienced in the past (cattle fines and verbal criticism at elders' meetings). A number of the parents actually criticised the chiefs and the education officers for not forcing the people to educate their children, even one child.

The fact that some educated youngsters give the impression that they despise their culture and traditions is a factor in this question of their parents' views towards education:

B63: 45 years, none out of five

Educating children makes them despise their traditions and in most cases to neglect the advice of the older generations.

In addition to the idea of loss of Maasai culture and traditions, there is also the idea that these educated young men and women are agents for negative social and economic change in Maasailand. They are seen as pushing for extensive cultivation and the break-up of the Group Ranch or the Sub-location and as such they and education are seen as threats:

B73: 66 years, none out of 15

We grew up with only our cows and have seen no goodness in education. Educated people have dug or ploughed the whole land so that now there is nowhere left to pasture our livestock. I have not seen one educated girl who has done anything in our Group Ranch; they seem to get married before finishing school. My children will look after my animals and if I die then they will be able to send their children to school but not mine.

B82: 80 years, none out of seven

I am against education for boys and girls. Those who have an education have done nothing for our society and they are telling us to dig shambas and to share out the Group Ranch.

Widows' views

Some widows indicated that now their husbands are dead they are sending their children to school, though belatedly:

B89: widow, four out of ten

I had no say when my husband was alive. Now I will send them when they are old enough; they are still too young.

B81: widow aged 60 years, none out of eight

My husband was against the right of sending children to school, but now that he has passed away I have already sent two to the nursery after his death. (In spite of this assertion, there was no record of her two children attending any school or nursery.)

B98: widow aged 48 years, two out of eight

I had no say while my husband was alive but now I will send more of them when they are able since now they are still young.

The eldest son in this particular family said:

My father was against education and it was really hard to advise him. I have sent two children to school already and I plan to send two more next year. Girls should have an equal opportunity with boys in education and work because Kenya does not have any discrimination based on sex.

Some widows also commented on the difficulty of sending children to school because of school fees, which can be as high as Kshs. 3,000 per annum for each child (and this for a day scholar not a boarder). This may not seem high, but if it is multiplied by 15 or 20 (or more) then it can be perceived as an enormous burden by a polygamous family.¹²

B165: widow, 2 out of 7

I have not sent all because it is very expensive to send all the children because you cannot afford to pay all the school fees, clothes, shoes, books, and other needs like contributing to harambees; all these are a must for each child.

Once the children have overcome the initial hurdles and obstacles and have begun their schooling, the next difficulty for them is to remain a student. We have already shown the high percentages of school dropouts, those who do not finish the primary course of education or the secondary course, in both areas. Now we shall present material gathered from interviews with many of these persons.

5.3. Primary school dropouts in Lemek and Loita

A major concern of the Kenya Government has been the enormous wastage of human potential in terms of the dropout rate from all levels of education, but especially from the primary schools. The Narok District Development Plan 1989-1993 discusses the question of school dropouts, but uses the term also to include those who drop out between primary and secondary schooling:

The dropout rate is very high as students move from primary to secondary schools. ... However, dropout rates vary from place to place. The dropout rate is 10% in high potential areas. But it is as high as 60% in the marginal areas such as Loita Plains, Mosiro, Angata Naado, and Suswa. This is attributed to the nomadic way of life of those living in the marginal areas (undated:20).

This use of dropout is not quite the same as that taken for the purposes of this study, as we have already explained in the first chapter. If we keep in mind that the national average was 35% for dropouts for the period 1974-79, then the 60% figure for some of the pastoral areas indicates the enormous difference between these areas and the rest of the country.³³ However, the dropout figures do not indicate how many of these students actually re-register elsewhere. We would be particularly interested in knowing the figures for repeaters in the educational system of Narok District. Obviously, in some cases, the parents may immigrate into Narok, but in other cases the parents merely arrange for their children to attend school in the Maasai areas.

The Economic Survey 1991 (Nairobi: Kenya Government, 1991: 175-76) gives figures for the primary school dropout or attrition rates (now used for those beginning but not finishing the course) for the whole country for the period 1980-1990.³⁴ In 1980, the national primary attrition rate for males was 0.6 and for females was 0.7 and by 1990 this had changed to 0.5 for males and 0.6 for females. This is a considerable change from the 35% attrition rate given for the 1974-79 period and shows an increase of 60%. If this is the difference nationally, then one can only presume that

the difference in the arid and semi-arid pastoralist areas will have changed in a comparable manner because the pressures and the difficulties experienced by the people living in the semi-arid areas are greater than those experienced by people living in urban or agricultural areas:

The drop out rate is 10% in the high potential areas. But it is as high as 60% in the marginal areas such as Loita Plains, Mosiro, Angata Naado and Suswa. This is attributed to the nomadic way of life of those living in the marginal areas (District Development Plan: 1989-93:20).

In Lemek, according to our own data, primary school dropouts numbered 130 and secondary school dropouts 13 (across all age-levels). Of these 143 persons, 96 of the primary and nine of the secondary dropouts were interviewed and their responses are given below:

5.3.1. Whose idea was it to drop out of school?

	Lemek	Loita
1. My own idea	38	28
2. Father's idea	46	42
3. Mother's idea	11	2
4. Both parents' idea	6	7
5. Brother's idea	4	1
6. Father and teacher		4
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	105	84
	<hr/>	<hr/>

In Lemek, 64% say they left school because of parents' (or someone in loco parentis) wishes and 36% left of their own volition. The situation in Loita indicated that 67% say they left in response to parental pressures and 33% decided to leave school without any outside influence. There is very little difference in the two samples for either reason. These statements may not reflect the true reality of the situation (what the dropouts say were the reasons and what the reasons really were could be quite different), but at least they represent the responses given by those who dropped out of the school system.

5.3.2. Reasons for dropping out of school

As in the case of the parents' interviews, the questions were open-ended and the respondents were free to give whatever reasons they wished - they were not given answers from which to choose: Lemek Loita

Because of parents' financial problems	32	19
Person did not wish to continue	19	6
Left to get married	14	15
Forced to leave by parents	11	11
Left to look after family herds	7	3
Left to be circumcised and become warrior	6	2
Wished to leave to find employment	4	4
Became pregnant	4	5
Left to care for family after father's death	3	7
Left to begin cultivating	3	-
The person him/herself was sick	2	2
Maasai, at that time, had no use for education	-	3
Not quick to understand, hard for me at school	-	3
Blindness/bad eyes, difficult for me to study	-	2
Father is Okiek, and has no cows for fees	-	1 ³
Family moved to new area - no school there	-	1
Totals	105	84

These reasons may be regrouped:	Lemek		Loita	
	Number	%	Number	%
Family reasons	53	50.5	42	50.0
Personal wish	19	18.1	6	7.1
Change of status*	24	22.9	22	26.2
Employment factor	7	6.6	4	4.8
Difficulties at school	-	-	5	5.9
Other	2	1.9	5	6.0
	105	100.0	84	100.0

* Change of status: this is presented here as a convenient heading for such conditions as pregnancy, entrance into circumcision or clitoridectomy rituals, or marriage.

Among the respondents were 9 secondary dropouts who gave the following

reasons:	My parents' financial problem/no school fees	5
	I wished to find employment	3
	I did not wish to continue	1
	Total	9

One of the reasons often thought to be the principal one for the high attrition rate among Maasai boys is that of leaving to be circumcised and

joining the ranks of the warriors. In fact, from the samples in Lemek and Loita this does not appear to be a very important stated reason at all: 6% and 2% respectively (in most cases, this reason may have been combined with other reasons). This is even more surprising for Loita where one would have expected the percentage to be higher because of the apparent and assumed adherence to traditional culture. More girls left primary school in Loita because of pregnancy (6%) than did boys leaving to be circumcised (2%). The percentage of girls leaving school in Lemek because of pregnancy was somewhat lower (4%), though this is still a fairly high proportion of the school-going female population and could well have established in the minds of many parents specific bases for not sending their daughters to school (these reasons we shall see in the next section). The question of early marriages for the girls also appears to be one of the major causes for their dropping out of the school system before they have finished the course.

It is worthy of note that only seven in Lemek and three in Loita gave, "care of the family herds", as their reason for dropping out. It is more than likely that young boys who are destined to be the family herders are not even sent to school in the first place. This is indicated by some of the parents' responses in the section dealing with those parents who did not send their children to school (section 5.2.). It may also be indicated by the birth order of the males who are actually sent for an education. In a number of cases these boys are lower down the scale in terms of birth order which may indicate that others are doing the herding ahead of them, or that they had already done their period of herding when the family decided to allow them to go to school. The later ages at which some boys begin school, especially in Loita, supports this suggestion.

The fact that fees were not forthcoming from their parents (for whatever reason) was quite obviously the over-riding reason in any one category, especially in Lemek (31% in Lemek and 23% in Loita). "Fees" here include such items as building fund levies, activities' fees,

practical subjects' fees, and sports' fees, many of which do not appear in the discussions on school fees: These are part of the "hidden fees". In addition, there are other expenses for such items as textbooks, uniforms, stationery, transport, school trips, etc.

5.3.3. If you had been given the chance, would you have wished to finish your schooling at that time?

This question was posed to get some sense of whether or not the person left school against their wishes.

	Lemek		Loita	
	Number	%	Number	%
Yes	65	61.9	61	72.6
No	40	38.1	23	27.4
	<hr/>		<hr/>	
	105	100.0	84	100.0
	<hr/>		<hr/>	

In both areas, the majority of those who dropped out of school said they would have continued had they been given the opportunity. In Loita, nearly 73% said they had wished to continue with their schooling.

5.3.4. If you get the chance now would you like to complete your education?

When the respondents were asked this question it was understood we were not suggesting they return to primary school. It was a question of ascertaining their attitude towards, for example, adult literacy classes.

	Lemek	Loita
Yes	44	19
No	40	26
Yes, but I am too old now	-	7
No, I am too old	6	12
No, I do not have husband's permission	1	4
No, I am now married	9	12
No, I am already employed	5	1
No, I am now clever enough	-	3
	<hr/>	
	105	84
	<hr/>	

In Lemek, 42% of those who dropped out of primary school said they would like to complete their education but 58% said they did not wish to do so. In Loita, 31% of those who dropped out said they would like to complete their schooling and 69% did not wish to complete it.

5.4. Conclusion

Generally speaking, boys were seen as potential helps to their parents, but not so the girls. Ninety-nine percent of the Loita responses were in favour of educating boys and the majority of these responses (85%) related the boys' education to the betterment of their families. Yet these were the very parents who did not educate their children. The Loita appear from the comments to be much more family and community conscious of the future rewards of their sons' education.

Once the children began school, the most often stated reason for dropping out was the financial difficulty their parents were having with regard to the payment of school fees. Leaving to look after the cattle or for circumcision were not given as strong reasons for leaving school. The parents in both areas are struggling to overcome the financial obstacles to the education of their children rather than any "cultural obstacles."

In many ways the selection of comments represent the full range of views and the dichotomy between the stated attitudes of the parents, on the one hand, and their educational practices, on the other hand. Many seem to favour education for both boys and girls, and yet hardly any of them have sent their children to school, either boys or girls. Most of them saw no discrepancy between what they were saying and what they were actually doing; very few indicated that they saw the value of education and showed any sign of regret or remorse that they had not sent more (or any) of their children to school.

This paradox has to be judged within the context of the perceived world of the Maasai who are a people dealing with a predicament not entirely of their own making; they see the negative aspects of education, the real social and economic costs, and the rare benefits. Quite clearly, the Maasai are struggling with these perspectives, each having its own cogency. There is a major difference between the two ideologies at work here and the questions about attitudes towards education often tap into both of them; the personal and family decisions about education may turn less on values asserted than contingencies and family predicaments experienced. However, this is not to say that these Maasai parents are wrong in their assessment of what they see around them nor in their responses. Through the interviews it is possible that we were tapping into ideology as well as the stated attitudes of the respondents. There are several ideologies at work in this situation; there is the national development ideology of the government (which obviously includes education) and there is the local traditional Maasai ideology. Since the Maasai know that the researcher is a representative of "education", this may well have elicited that ideology, and yet through the apparent anomalies we may have arrived at the real individual attitudes of the persons interviewed. It is true, of course, that it may also have elicited the recorded complaints.

What the Maasai have seen and experienced over the past twenty or more years has convinced them that there is not the same weight or value attributed to education in their eyes as in the eyes of the government or politicians (cf. Sarone 1986). Many Maasai appear to sense that they do not need an education to succeed in the world of wage-employment and that formal western style education has introduced negative and sometimes even destructive forces within their local traditional culture. For example, many see the connections between education, salaried employment and alcoholism among some professionals; some also see young men who "eat up" their father's cattle through school fees and then get a job and pocket

their salaries; still others observe what they believe has happened to a number of young Maasai women who get an education and then argue with their parents about their futures including their marriages to men of their choice. These are just a few of the negative aspects of western education perceived by the parents interviewed. If these are their sentiments, who is to say that their responses to the offer of education are out of place and meaningless? This is not to say that their perceptions may be entirely correct either. It has not been proved that the Maasai culture has been destroyed by those who have received an education. This part of the ideology could be incorrect if it is economic and political forces from outside which are having a negative and destructive effect on the culture. If this is the case, then perhaps only through an educated group may the deleterious effects be combatted and diminished.

In the next chapter, we shall take our analysis into the second stage and look at those who have some schooling and have engaged in some form of wage-employment, both within the district and outside it, as well as those who have had no schooling and yet have also found wage-employment. In essence, we shall be looking carefully at those who have had an education and how they have used their academic credentials both within the district and elsewhere. We may find that some economic opportunities in the district do not depend on education alone, a possible explanation of why schooling rates still remain comparatively low.

CHAPTER SIX

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

6.1. Introduction

The first five chapters of this study explored the frequency and sociological profile of school participation, and investigated the social and economic factors and attitudes shaping education decisions. This chapter takes this information a step further and examines the effect of education on the wage-employment choices of these people within the two sampled sites. This takes us closer to our second focus point of the study, how some of the educated Maasai used their academic credentials.

Education and wage-employment are becoming more critical to the future of many pastoralists as they diversify their options in the face of decreasing land available for pastoralism. It is clear from previous studies (Fallon 1962; Campbell 1979; Holland, 1986) that the traditional livestock economy alone cannot support the Maasai, nor for that matter the district population, and thus economic diversification in the district and for households is imperative and is, fortunately, occurring. Given the need for cash and the inability of the livestock economy to sustain the population, the question of what role education plays in opening up wage-employment options for the Maasai is an important one to be addressed. This research is even more relevant since much of the political support for education stems from its supposed link to employment opportunities and therefore it is important to examine how education is associated with wage-employment.

A second key question to be addressed is whether or not the different forms of wage- or self-employment being pursued, and therefore economic diversification, imply a shift away from the livestock-based economy of the district. These questions are extremely important since Maasai society is not so easily described as it once may have been. The Maasai are no longer simply pastoralists, "people with cattle." They do many

things that often appear to have no connection to pastoralism or to the pastoralist ideal in any meaningful sense. Increasing school participation has had an important impact on the Maasai way of life, on those who go to school and on their families and communities. There are a number of questions related to these central points: Who tends to take up wage-employment? Do education, age, and economic status (in terms of cattle and land holdings) lead people to choose different types of wage-employment? How do Maasai tend to be involved in wage-employment, as opposed to other ethnic groups, given the occupation structure of the district? Is there any correlation between the ethnicity and education of the parents and the wage-employment of their children? Is there any relationship between education and previous wage-employment of the father and wage-employment of their sons? These are some of the issues taken up in this chapter and developed in subsequent chapters.¹⁶

6.2. Issues in education and migration for wage-employment

There is a general assumption, derived from, and substantiated by, a number of migration and educational studies in Western societies (Thabault 1971; Shaw 1975; Kosinski 1977), that migration and migration distances in the Third World increase with education. In its most simplified presentation, formal schooling is seen as one of the major causes of young people leaving rural areas to find wage-employment in urban areas. In this situation, education is held partly responsible for rural decline, and going to school is seen as a preparation for migration to the city, a way out of rural poverty and unemployment. This is an over simplification and a rather crude conceptualization of what may be taking place in the rural areas of Africa (Gould 1981). One author, Fafunwa, argues that, in Africa,

it is the hiatus between the formal and the traditional education that pushes young people out of agriculture and sends them to the big towns and cities to join thousands of unemployed applicants for jobs that do not exist (1973:64).

Unfortunately, we have virtually no information on the occupations or the circulatory (as opposed to the life-time or permanent) migration patterns of pastoralists in general, and the Maasai in particular, in terms of intra-district, inter-district, rural/urban or rural/rural moves undertaken for wage-employment. In addition, little or nothing has been researched or written on the wage-employment of Maasai women. This study will address these issues and make some contributions to our knowledge on these important topics. The question of the educational levels and the involvement of women after their schooling is closely linked with another issue which has received very little attention in recent research within the body of available Maasai literature, the whole question of "dropouts" from the school system. This study, in Chapter Five, should clarify some of the reasons why Maasai students drop out of school, and some of the attitudes of the Maasai of the two selected areas in Narok District towards the perceived advantages of having an education as opposed to not having an education when entering the labour market.

There is too, a paucity of East African literature dealing with the correlation between education and migration for wage-employment among nomadic pastoralists both within and without the pastoral system of production. However, there is a body of literature dealing with education and outmigration patterns among the more settled communities of East Africa (cf. Sheffield 1978; Swatman 1976). This literature suggests that many outmigrants are people with some education and with little or no land who wish to advance economically in the wage-employment structures to be found in the urban and peri-urban areas. This is true particularly in the case of the Rift Valley province. Rempel states that:

the pattern of migration corresponds to the availability of education opportunities available in Rift Valley Province. For the total Province the availability of primary and secondary opportunities is below average in all cases. ... Therefore, the movement among the less developed districts is primarily people with limited education seeking alternative farming opportunities (1974:58-61).

Rempel (1976) has described the type of man who migrates, as well as the push/pull determinants of his migration pattern. Evidence has shown that there is a disproportionate number of younger men with higher education migrating from rural areas in Kenya because "the propensity to migrate to an urban center increases substantially with education" and there is "conclusive evidence for this propensity" (Rempel 1976:9). However, Rempel did not investigate any pastoralist peoples in this study of more than one thousand migrants.

The relationship between education and migration has been borne out by other authors, for example, Desh Bandhu Gupta on the findings of the International Labour Organization (ILO):

The single most important cause of migration, then, may be education. As the wage and salary structure in Kenya favours those with formal education, and as the expected returns from education implicit in the earnings' gap between different categories of education is high and geared to being satisfied mainly in the urban sector; it is not surprising to find 'the chance that someone with nine years or more of schooling will migrate is about five times greater than for someone with less education and over twenty times greater than for someone without schooling' (ILO 1972:47)(Gupta 1979:43-44).

Gupta, citing the ILO findings that considerably high numbers of migrants had fairly well established educational backgrounds, goes on to state:

Eighty-four percent, 89% and 85% of the migrants between the ages of fifteen and twenty-two years for the Nyanza, Rift Valley, and Central Provinces respectively had an educational attainment of Std.7 or more; 63%, 40%, and 53% of the migrants between the ages of twenty-three and sixty from these provinces respectively had an educational attainment of Std.7 or more (Estimated from Rempel and Todaro, 'Labour Migration,' pp.223-24, Tables 28.4(e) and 28.4(f) and quoted in Gupta 1979:44).

These percentages indicate a rising level of education for all three Provinces over time, particularly in the Rift Valley which, according to these figures, has gone from being the lowest of the three to being the highest (40% to 89%); Narok District lies within this Province.

Some of the early literature on migrants in Africa (Banton 1957; Mayer 1971) presented a basic spectrum within which people migrated from the rural to the urban setting; a conceptualization of rural/urban living.

This division is no longer accepted as representing the present reality, and now there is some agreement on the impact of capitalist wage-labour on migration and the overlap between the rural/urban groupings whose members move in and out to form the "national labour force" (Rempel 1971a, 1971b, 1974; Southall 1973; Lloyd 1973; Stichter 1982; Cummings 1985; Gould 1985).

Ochendu, in a perceptive article written nearly 20 years ago, challenged the traditionally accepted "dual economy" model as being inadequate to deal with the complex processes of economic transition:

It is no longer fruitful, in the discussion of migrant labour, to treat ethnic groups in the new African states, as if they constituted 'independent' economies. The fact is that these populations are now part of 'incorporated' national economies. ... The economic consequences of migrant labour should therefore be viewed in the total context - at national, regional and local levels (1975:177).

The actual degree to which the Maasai of Narok District have been incorporated into the national economy has yet to be shown. Unfortunately, in some works, the Maasai only appear as exceptions rather than as part of the generality. For example, Leys (1975) makes only three references to the Maasai; the words "pastoralist", "migration", and "migrants" do not even appear in the index of his work on Underdevelopment in Kenya: The Political Economy of Neo-Colonialism 1964-1971 (1975). Though the non-appearance of the Maasai may not be so surprising in this work on the more agricultural based groups of Kenya, the virtual lack of mention of migration is less understandable. Kituyi (1990) is another author who more or less ignores the question of migration for wage-employment in the socio-economic transformation of the Maasai.⁷ This is surprising since this work discusses the "socio-economic transformation of the pastoral Maasai" within the context of the Kenyan national economy.

We need to have some knowledge of the degree of economic and political participation a particular ethnic group may have in the modern state if we are to have a valid understanding of the effects of the pressures that state may be exerting on the preservation or integration of cultures and ethnic identities and ties (cf. King 1971a, 1975-76; Court 1979; and

particularly Weisner's (1973) study of the strong urban-rural ties of the Luyia living in Nairobi). Education and participation in wage-employment are indicators of the degree of integration or participation in the modern state's economic and political structures. On the other hand, participation in the processes of education may also be seen as a way of enhancing and empowering cultural identity, for example, the Irish schools of the nineteenth century.

Most, if not all, East African migration studies concentrate on outmigrants from the agricultural communities, for example, Parkin (1972) on the Giriama and again (1978) on the Luo; Vincent (1982) on the Teso; Mwaria (1983) on the Kamba, and Matsuda (1984) on the Maragoli, to mention just a few. Almost all the East African studies on migration have indicated the "push" and "pull" factors involved in these movements of people (notably Rempel 1976). Generally speaking, there is a consensus that economic factors are of paramount importance in these East African migration patterns. Migrants move away from economically deficient areas to other more economically viable areas either urban or rural, (Mitchell 1959a, 1959b; Gulliver 1967, 1968; Elkan 1967; Gugler 1969). Migot-Adholla states something that is wrong as often as it is correct, that

migration for wage labour operates as a means of maintaining the standard of living which the migrants have come to regard as essential...[and] suggests that given comparable circumstances only the relatively badly off will migrate for economic reasons (1973:7).

Sharon Stichter sees the insufficiency of land as one of the most important factors driving labourers into the migration flow: "most migrants to Kenyan cities seek wage-employment not from a complete lack of land or of prospects of getting it, but because the amount of land available is insufficient to support them and their families" (1982:145). In her comprehensive study of Migrant Laborers (1985) she deals in some detail with the long-standing debate over economic versus non-economic causes for migration. Stichter presents the Maasai as an example of those African groups which are fortunate in wanting

very little from the capitalist economy and of being willing to trade only goods, not services, for those things. ...The only form of labor which the Maasai were willing to supply was military, and that was in the form of wage labor" (Stichter 1985:24).

This is one of the six occasions when Stichter refers to the Maasai in this context of migrant labour and always as exceptions to the rule. For example, she sees the Maasai ilmurran as independent and not needing outside wage-employment because they already have a viable economic role within the pastoralist production system and with the cessation of cattle-raiding they did not need to turn to wage-labour as did other young men. In addition, the Maasai had viable alternative investment strategies and options, unlike some ethnic groups, since they were able to invest in cattle and were not involved in "the rush to acquire new commodities of Western capitalist society" (Stichter 1985:47).

On this point, there is some evidence to demonstrate a definite change in the viability of the economic role of the ilmurran: As will be shown in Chapter Seven, Stichter is wrong, with the cessation or diminution of cattle-raiding, many of them did turn to self-employment in the form of cattle-trekking and trading, occupations which, though clearly self-employment, frequently involve others in the form of registered and, more often than not, unregistered cooperatives, hired trekkers (by the better-off traders), and hired truckers. Though the Maasai still have some of these viable alternative investment strategies and options through their herds, nevertheless they are turning to the land, more and more, as an alternative form of investment.

There is a dearth of literature dealing with the movement of East African nomadic pastoralists in and out of pastoralism, in spite of occasional references to nomadic pastoralists in general, and to the Maasai in particular. Significant exceptions to this are the contributions of Dahl 1980; White and Meadows 1981; Sperling 1987a, 1987b; Doherty 1987; Galaty and Doherty 1989; with regard to the causes for outmigration and its consequences for the migrants and their families in Maasailand.

There is one interesting aspect of Kenyan internal migration which has not yet been explained in the literature and one which actually goes against many of the assumptions presented in much of the migration literature, namely, the fact of the unusually high outmigration from Nairobi. Ominde states that:

the "out" rate for Nairobi is so high (it) should be taken as strong evidence mitigating against such simple explanations of migration as those concerned with wage and income gaps as well as those which pose and highlight urban amenities and opportunities (Ominde 1984:71).

He goes even further to suggest that

the heavy volume of migration from Nairobi should be taken as a strong indication of the inadequacy of attempted explanations of migration which give undue weight to the "pull" factors of Nairobi. These data clearly suggest that the "push" from Nairobi is nearly as great as its "pull" and, indeed, when one takes into account the differences in the number of potential migrants to the city and from the city (persons born in Nairobi vs. those born outside Nairobi) the conclusion is that the "push" is markedly stronger than the "pull". That is, whereas only three people in a hundred born outside the city move into it, seventy one people in a hundred born in the city move from it (Ominde 1984:77).

It appears that 75% of those outmigrating from Nairobi go to Nyanza, Western, and Central Provinces. According to Ominde, this is an urban-rural migration pattern and is one of such importance that it should not be overlooked by planners in Kenya, where more migrants move from one rural area to another rural area than leave either rural or urban areas for urban or rural areas respectively. It is likely that the unemployed and the poor eventually return to the rural areas where they may have a better chance of finding a roof and some food. There is also the fact that many infants born in Nairobi are often sent out to the rural areas to be raised by their grandmothers rather than be raised in the city by their working (or unemployed) parents.

We shall now look more closely at the persons from the two sampled sites who are currently working.

6.3. Those currently employed in the two communities

Before we look at the education and employment situation in the two communities, taking into account all the age-levels who have ever worked, it may be of interest and value to look at the ages of those who are currently (1989-90) employed. The following Table compares the percentages of the people of each area who are currently employed (either wage- or self-employment). We shall also look more carefully at their ages and gender to ascertain if there is any commonality in the profiles of the two sample areas. The higher percentage of younger workers in Lemek in the 5-19 years group (over the corresponding group in Loita) could well be accounted for by the presence of casual labour opportunities for young men at the Lemek Maasai Centre in the local Catholic Mission.

Table 6.1. Currently employed persons both educated and non-educated: by age-level and gender: Lemek and Loita

Age-level	Employed males		Percentage of total males*		Employed females		Percentage of total females*	
	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta
5-19	16	4	2.3	1.1	1	-	0.1	-
20-29	84	43	24.6	27.9	5	5	0.9	1.9
30-39	39	36	32.5	40.9	3	3	1.8	2.3
40-59	18	20	11.0	24.1	1	3	0.4	2.7
60+	4	1	3.7	1.9	-	-	-	-
Total	161	104	11.2	12.4	10	11	0.6	1.0

* These figures are given as percentages of the total number in each respective age-level.
(cf. Appendix 6A, Table W, for data on those currently employed in relation to raw totals for each respective age-level.)

The presence of the Ilkerin Integrated Development Project on the edge of the Morijo Loita sub-location has not had quite the same effect upon the employment opportunities of the younger Loita males. The Project is more than 23 kms away from the major residential bases of Morijo Loita and it does not provide the same kinds of casual job opportunities for males as does the mission complex based in the very centre of Lemek Group Ranch.

There are also more opportunities available in the Lemek area for young men wishing to herd and shepherd for richer Maasai within the Ranch, the Loita Plains or on the edges of The Maasai Mara. In Chapter Four, we noted the differences in the cattle holdings within the two sites where there are more animals per family in Lemek Group Ranch than in Morijo Loita, and there are richer Maasai families quite prepared to employ less well off Maasai as herders and night-guards.

If we look at current workers as percentages of the total number of males in each age-level, then in the percentages of the two older age-levels there is a considerable difference between Lemek and Loita; for the 40-59 years old group, Loita is more than twice that of Lemek. They are also higher for the working Loita males (20-29 years and 30-39 years) than for the corresponding Purko males.

In some respects this is surprising since one would expect more males from Lemek to be working because of their wider exposure to the wheat farming in the adjacent areas, the agricultural zones surrounding the northern boundary of the Ranch, and the presence of the main trunk road running through the Ranch leading to The Maasai Mara tourist areas. The Loita are in a more inaccessible area which is less amenable to the above mentioned pressures and is generally less exposed to the wider range of job opportunities available to the Purko of Lemek. Nevertheless, the data indicate that there is a higher percentage of Loita currently involved in employment than Purko from Lemek, particularly in the 20 to 59 age bracket which is, effectively, most of the male adult working group.

One possible explanation could be linked to the fact that, possible agents of change, though frequently present in the lives of the Purko (the wheat farms, the general agricultural thrust of that part of the district, the trunk road to The Mara, and the ongoing contact with tourists, food suppliers and army convoys), are often "imposed" on them and their area from the outside and ultimately may have less impact than expected because they do not come from the local people themselves. On the other hand, in

spite of the fact that the Loita are apparently removed from many of these influences and are supposed to be very traditional and conservative, they have an underestimated and unrecognized ability for seeking out and pursuing advantageous opportunities of education and employment. There were a number of educated and employed Loita Maasai in key positions as far back as the early sixties, for example, one man was aide-de-camp to the late President Mzee Jomo Kenyatta.

One significant point here is that it is not the 20-29 years age-level but the older men who represent the largest cohort of those employed. The 30-39 years age-level has the highest percentage of currently employed males in both sampled areas (33% in Lemek and 41% in Loita). The 40-59 years group in Loita provides almost the same percentage of currently employed males as the 20-29 years group at Lemek, which again is a surprise given the difference in the exposure of the two areas and the fact that here we have the older group in Loita not only still working but equalling the percentage of younger Purko workers.

6.4. Education and wage-employment in the two communities

Now we shall look at the numbers and percentages of persons from the two sampled areas who were educated and found wage-employment across all the age-levels; those who are working, those who worked in the past, and those who have never worked. We shall also establish from this analysis the residual numbers of those who have an education and have not been employed in a salaried job. This knowledge is important for our investigation if we are to discover who has been educated and what they have done with their education.

Table 6.2. gives figures for the males and females of both sites who left school (either as a dropout or regular school leaver) with some education, as well as the numbers among this group who have taken up some form of wage-employment. These data indicate that 59% of the males with

an education in Lemek, and 73% in Loita, at some point in time, have entered the job market in one occupation or another. The percentages are lower for the females of both sites, 17% in Lemek and 16% in Loita, and are more similar.

Table 6.2. Educated school leavers as percentages of workers or non-workers: By gender and selected age-levels: Lemek and Loita

	Males				Females			
	Lemek		Loita		Lemek		Loita	
	Numb.	Number	Numb.	Number	Numb.	Number	Numb.	Number
	educ.	workers	educ.	workers	educ.	workers	educ.	workers
5-19	14	3	7	-	10	-	14	-
20-29	74	43	45	33	49	5	29	6
30-39	22	17	27	25	7	4	14	4
40-59	12	9	28	20	5	3	12	1
60-69	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
70+	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Total	123	73	108	79	71	12	70	11
Workers as percentage of all those with an education								
	59%		73%		17%		16%	

The Table indicates that 41% of the educated males in Lemek and 27% of the males with an education in Loita have not used their academic credentials to enter the salaried labour market.¹⁰ We cannot say that these men and women have not used their education to help themselves or their families because we do not know all the ways in which their education may have helped them acquire certain skills and insights which they have used in their daily lives and contacts. However, it does mean that these men and women have remained at home in the traditional pastoral economy (there are no commercial ranches in Lemek Group Ranch) and have not become involved in any outside wage-employment nor have they become involved in any form of self-employment. If the comments of some parents is a gauge of attitudes towards the contributions of educated unemployed men, then some of the educated may be less involved in the traditional pastoral economy than they were before their education (cf. Chapter Ten).

Now that we have some knowledge of the percentages of those who are educated and who have not entered the wage-employment structures of the district, we shall take a closer look at those persons from the two sample areas who did obtain some form of employment (either self-employment or wage-employment). We shall be looking at their ages, gender, educational status, the jobs they took, and the areas in which they worked (within the same Ranch or Sub-location, within the same District, outside the District, outside the country, etc.). We shall also be interested in the number of years spent in each job and the cattle holdings of those who undertook specific jobs, for example, cattle traders and herdsmen; two forms of employment which are reputedly pursued by the non-educated and, in the case of the herdsmen, by the poor.

We should now look at those from the two sampled areas who have been engaged in some form of employment (either self-employed or wage-employment working for others). For an initial breakdown of wage-employment among the males, it is sufficient to use just three employment categories: cattle traders, herdsmen, and "other" (this final category will be expanded as we proceed with the analysis). The categories of cattle trading and herding have been included to recognize the large numbers of non-educated Maasai in these jobs. However, this recognition does not underestimate the creativity and the originality of large numbers of Maasai who, though non-educated, have found other economic niches for themselves in the local, district and national economies. This we shall see as we go deeper into our analysis of the different locales and forms of self-employment and wage-employment undertaken (cf. Appendices 6B and 6C for full lists of places and jobs undertaken).

6.5. The significance of the first job

Tables 6.3 and 6.7 will give the first jobs for each age-level and the number of persons from each group that ever sought and found self- or wage-employment. This first choice is important in that it may be a job widely used as an entry-point into the job market. For example, we may pose the question: Is cattle trading a first choice of employment that often leads to other more diversified employment outside the pastoralist sector or do men enter at that point and remain within it? Other important questions are related to locale: Do Maasai workers choose locales near to home for their first jobs, or do they choose jobs far from home? If Maasai choose initial jobs near home, is this proximity of locale maintained or do workers tend to move further away from home in subsequent jobs?

A point of clarification is required here; in the case of Maasai teachers, for much of the following discussion, even though they remain in the same job they are recorded as teachers in a second job when they are transferred to a completely new locale, which in some cases may be the other end of the District. This transfer is tantamount to a "new job" (cf. Appendix 6D for Tables X to DD, indicating shifts from third through subsequent jobs to the sixth).

6.6. Lemek males' first job

First of all, we examine the total number of males in Lemek who have been employed, at one point or another, presented according to their highest levels of educational attainment. This does not include males who have only been employed within the domestic pastoral economic unit. Because this examination distinguishes between those who entered "pastoral related" occupations and those who entered non-pastoral related jobs, it may help to clarify one or two of these occupations.

"Cattle trading" refers to a form of self-employment which is generally a full-time occupation concerned with the buying and selling of cattle. Many, but not all, purchases are made at various markets scattered around the district and the cattle are then trekked across country to the major and more lucrative sales yards and markets near Nairobi. Most of the time, the same men do the trading and the trekking, but not always. A person may buy and sell cattle without actually trekking them across country to the markets. In fact, Evangelou found that 75% of the interviewed traders in the Kajiado sample employed herdboys to do their trekking:

Traders operate individually when buying stock, but following purchase there is a high degree of coordination in the actual movement of animals to markets. In the KGR (Kajiado Group Ranch) sample area, traders will often group purchased cattle at customary sites and have them trekked by herdboys to Emali, with arrival timed for the day of the market. This coordination results in lower operating costs for the traders as well as reducing the risks associated with trekking (1984:219).

Some authors use the terms trading and trekking to refer to the combined activities of the same person (for example, Galaty and Doherty 1989). For the purposes of this study we shall follow this usage and we shall refer to those young men who work as herder-trekkers as herders or herdsmen to distinguish them from the cattle traders. We shall discuss cattle trading in more detail in Chapter Seven.

"Herdsmen" is used here to distinguish between the regular pastoralist activity of herding the family herds and herding for someone else for some remuneration as a hired worker. This work may also involve trekking the cattle across country to and from various markets and collection points. Sometimes this work is undertaken locally, particularly in the case of the very young, and sometimes some of the older men travel as far away as Kitale and Nakuru.

The jobs have been grouped together under the general headings of "cattle trading", "herding", and "other" for the purpose of distinguishing between the numbers involved in these forms of self- or wage-employment

which are closely related, in many ways, to the pastoral economy, as opposed to the other non-pastoral related forms of employment.

This third heading of "other" includes a range of jobs such as, clerical work; teaching; various work in the Lodges of The Maasai Mara; work as a watchman; Ranger; veterinary services (e.g. dip attendant); the uniformed services (Army, Police, Administration Police, etc.); casual labour, especially in Lemek Mission or The Mara; and different forms of self-employment (other than cattle trader), etc. Some of these jobs are seen to require at least a partial education and others do not require any education (cf. Table 6.13, p.208). Table 6.3 reports on the relationship between education and the first employment choices of the Lemek workers:

Table 6.3. Males' first job by age-level, highest level of education, and type of job; presented as percentages of the age-level and of the total worker sample: Lemek

Age-level.	No Educ			Pri/DO			Pri/F		Sec/TTC /Univ	Total of worker sample	% of age- levels: Totals from Table 2.4
	CT	Hdr	Oth	CT	Hdr	Oth	CT	Oth			
5 - 19	1	13	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	17	2.4
20 - 29	26	9	25	3	2	14	-	9	15	103	30.1
30 - 39	22	3	17	1	-	1	1	8	6*	59	49.2
40 - 59	11	-	11	-	1	2	-	2	3	30	18.4
60 - 69	-	1	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	5	12.0
70+	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	3.1
subtotals	60	26	57	4	4	20	1	19	25	216	15.2
Totals	143			28			20		25	216	
%	66%			13%			9%		12%	100%	

* This number of six persons includes two university graduates.

The following employment categories are used in the Table:

CT = cattle trader; Hdr = herdsmen; Oth = other work

Explanation of Education Levels:-

No educ: no education at all TTC: Teacher Training College

Pri/DO : dropped out of primary school

Univ : university training

Pri/F : finished the full primary course

Sec/ : secondary schooling (dropped out or finished)

Some of the jobs have changed their entrance requirements over the past ten or fifteen years, for example, the Administration Police and the

Kenya Army, in the past, accepted persons with little or no educational background. Clearly, the younger non-educated males were engaged as herdsmen because they lacked both the economic resources to begin cattle trading and the education to enter many other occupations. However, once we get to the 20-39 years age-level, we find that more of the non-educated are involved as traders rather than as herders. Though cattle trading and working as a hired herder appear to be the principal occupations of those with no education, 57 of these men with no education found employment in other jobs (which we shall examine shortly). In other words, the non-educated were not (and are not) restricted merely to the first two occupations. Though there is a significantly lower level of employment for older age-levels, it is interesting to see that these older Maasai had found any employment at all.

6.6.1. Summary of education and employment: Lemek

Since we are looking primarily at those who were educated and what they did with their academic credentials, this may be a good time to summarize those two variables in terms of initial employment for the Lemek sample. We shall organize "education" under three headings; those who dropped out of primary school, those who finished primary, and those who had some secondary/tertiary education (whether finished or dropped out).

6.6.1.1. Dropped out of Primary School and employed

Among the males who had some education, dropped out of primary school, and eventually found some initial employment, there were four cattle traders and four herdsmen. But there were 20 primary dropouts who found wage-employment in other categories, as casual labourers, Rangers, watchmen, or in the Kenyan Army and Administration Police Force.

6.6.1.2. Finished Primary School and employed

There were 20 males who finished primary school and then found initial employment. Of these workers, one chose to be a cattle trader, one is in jail and 18 found "other" jobs (for example, two barmen in Narok, three self-employed shopowners in the Ranch, two clerks in Narok, two local casual labourers, two manual labourers, one worked as a cook in Narok, one was a Ranger, one a waiter in The Mara Lodges).¹⁹

6.6.1.3. Secondary or Tertiary Education and employed

The final group of persons is made up of those with secondary or university education. Of this group, 25 males found work in the other categories: two shop assistants in the district and one in Nairobi; eight were involved in various forms of clerical work (including the two university graduates, one as a trainee hotel manager in The Maasai Mara and the other an assistant farm manager in the district), another of the clerks worked in The Mara and four worked elsewhere in the district; four men worked as dip attendants and one of these was actually an assistant "supervisor" for dips in the district; three joined the uniformed services; three became teachers; one worked as a driver in The Mara; and one man engaged in manual labour as a mason. Not one of these secondary school educated men worked as a cattle trader or herder which indicates that these forms of pastoral related employment do not attract those with "higher" educational levels nor do they use them as entry points into the job market.

6.6.2. Subsequent employment after first job: males

There is a marked difference between the numbers of those who engaged in a first job and those who continued to find a second job. The figures for the second jobs are presented in Table 6.4:

Table 6.4. Males' second job by age-level, level of education, and type of job. Lemek

Age-level	No Educ			Pri/DO	Pri/F		Sec/TTC/Un	Total
	CT	Hdr	Oth	Oth	CT	Oth	Oth	
5 - 19	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	3
20 - 29	4	3	14	5	-	4	8	38
30 - 39	2	1	8	-	1	7	3*	22
40 - 59	-	1	3	3	-	1	3	11
60 - 69	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	4
subtotals	7	6	27	10	1	12	15	78
Totals	40			10	13		15	78

* including two university graduates.

(Full Tables for the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth jobs of the males of Lemek Group Ranch are given in Appendix 6E.)

We have already mentioned some of those who progressed from their first to a second job. Among the herdsmen, one 60 year old had worked locally for seven years and then became a self-employed seller of tobacco which he has been hawking around the area for almost nine years now; one of the younger herdsmen, aged 19, changed his employer, after working for one local person for two years, and has been working for another two years in a second job but still as a hired herdsman; a third local herdsman worked for three years and then became a cattle-trader for his second job.

Of the nine who herded cattle away from home for their first job, one changed employer and continued to herd cattle away from home for his second job, another became a watchman/herdsman for his second job again away from home. A third opened his own store, as well as taking up

farming with some seriousness, both of which "jobs" he has been engaged in now for more than twelve years.

There were five cattle traders, two herdsmen, and 23 men still working in "other" second jobs, but none of these were working as watchmen in a second job. One man had initially worked as a watchman in the local primary school in Lemek but had left to take up a second job as a cook in the same school and has been there now for six years; one man stayed in The Mara and took up casual labour there as his second job; another local watchman left the Mission and went to find his second job as a farm-hand in The Maasai Mara.

Viewed from the perspective of the involvement of the different age-levels in a second job, it appears that of the 5-19 years old age-level, only one male with no education, one male who had dropped out of primary school, and one secondary school dropout proceeded from a first to a second job. Within the 20-39 years age-level, six males who had no education took up cattle trading, four opted for herding cattle as a second job, and 22 non-educated males took other second jobs. Of the primary school dropouts (in the 20-39 years group), five engaged in "other" jobs for this their second form of wage-employment. Eleven males who had finished primary entered jobs in the other category, as did 11 males with secondary education (including two who university graduates).

Among the non-educated males in the 40+ age-level in Lemek, one man worked as a cattle trader, one as a herdsman, and five men engaged in other activities for their second jobs. Among those who had dropped out of primary, four men were working in second jobs in the "other" categories, whereas only one, who had finished his primary schooling, was working in this category for his second job. Three males who finished their secondary schooling were involved in second jobs; one was self-employed and two were involved in other activities.

This may be the point to make some comparisons between the first and second jobs for the Lemek sample using the data from Tables 6.3 and 6.4:

Table 6.5. Comparison of the first and second jobs:
By educational status, job categories, and
selected age-levels, expressed as percentages of the
total number of jobs (216): Lemek Group Ranch

	Job 1 %	Job 2 %
<hr/>		
Educational status		
educated	34	49
non-educated	66	51
<hr/>		
Total	100%	100%
<hr/>		
Job categories		
cattle traders and herders	44	18
other jobs	56	82
<hr/>		
Total	100%	100%
<hr/>		
Age-levels		
20-29 years	47	47
30-39	27	28
40+	26	25
<hr/>		
Total	100%	100%
<hr/>		

There was a significant increase in the percentage of jobs undertaken by the educated workers when they moved from their first to their second jobs (34% to 49%). On the other hand, the percentage dropped in the case of the non-educated moving from their first to their second jobs (66% to 51%). There was also a drop from the higher percentage of first jobs undertaken by educated workers in pastoral related activities and the considerably lower percentage of jobs pursued in a second pastoral related job (44% down to 18%). There was a high percentage of initial jobs taken up within the "other" category and this percentage of jobs increased even further when the second jobs were undertaken (56% to 82%). There were no significant percentage differences in the third category between the younger and the slightly older age-level when it came to a comparison between the first and second jobs undertaken.

There are three important results that appear from the above comparison:

- 1) There is a tendency for a higher proportion of educated men to pursue a second job, indicating either a higher level of discontent among the educated workers and/or a higher degree of job mobility as a result of education; and
- 2) the related finding that cattle trading and herding represent a much lower proportion of job 2; thus, people take up cattle trading or herding first and either stay with it or leave it, but do not move into it later.
- 3) People in occupations other than cattle trading and herding appear to have much greater job mobility after their initial job.

Third and subsequent jobs

By the time we come to the third job (see Appendix 6E), the numbers have dropped even more: down to 25 persons. Among the non-educated, there was just one cattle trader working out of Lemek and nine in "other occupations" (five casuals at the Mission, one watchman in The Mara, one self-employed and two in other jobs within the Group Ranch). There were just 15 persons with some education who had opted for a third job; five as casual workers in the Mission, three elsewhere in the Ranch (one as a cattle trader, one as a self-employed tailor, one doing some manual work), three in The Mara (waiter, barman, and a Ranger), two elsewhere in the District (one as a farmhand and one worked on road construction), one worked as a cook outside the district, and one university graduate worked as a clerk for UNDP in Nigeria. Half of these 25 persons were still working in this third job; two traders, one watchman, and 11 working in the "other" categories.

As one would expect, the numbers had dropped even further for the fourth job, down to just eight men; two non-educated males (one did casual work in the Mission and one in The Mara) and six with some level of education (two were self-employed, two engaged in casual labour in the

Catholic Mission and The Mara, one university graduate worked as a clerk in the Ministry of Labour, Nairobi, and one other person worked as a cook in the Republic of South Africa). In this group, there were just three men still working in the "other" job category.

There were no non-educated persons working in a fifth or a sixth job, but there were three persons with some education who undertook fifth and sixth jobs. Fifth job: one cattle trader and one watchman both working within the Group Ranch, and one university graduate worked as a clerk for UNEP in Nairobi. Sixth job: one person who had worked in Lemek Mission, one university graduate currently working in Nairobi as the Deputy Director of the National Association for the Blind, and one self-employed person still working in Lemek Group Ranch (a rather innovative young man who had started his own donkey-cart haulage business). In other words, there are just two men from Lemek Ranch still working in a sixth job.

6.7. First job: Lemek females

The female workers did not have as wide a variety of jobs as the males, and so for these the three categories of casual labour, teacher, and "other" will be used. All the jobs undertaken by the female population will be given in a later section (also cf. Appendix 6E for a breakdown of ages, educational levels and jobs undertaken).

Only 62 females across all age-levels found wage-employment, and 48 of those non-educated found that employment in the local Mission as casual workers. One woman worked putting up fencing within the Group Ranch and one young girl was taken to Nairobi as an aya.

Table 6.6. Females' first job by age-level, level of education, and type of job: Lemek Group Ranch

Age-level	No Educ		Pri/DO		Pri/F		Sec/TTC		Total
	Cas	Oth	Cas	Oth	Tch	Oth	Tch	Oth	
5 - 19	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
20 - 29	18	-	1	-	2	1	1	-	23
30 - 39	12	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	16
40 - 59	14	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	18
60 - 69	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
70+	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Subtotals	48	2	2	2	4	1	2	1	62
Totals	50		4		5		3		62

Explanation: Education Levels:-

No educ: no education at all

Pri/DO : dropped out of primary school

Pri/F : finished the full primary course

Sec/ : secondary schooling (dropped out or finished

TTC : Teacher Training College

Un: : University training.

Employment categories used in the above and following Tables:

Cas: Casual labour (particularly Lemek Mission)

Tch: teacher Oth: other work

Of the 12 educated women who found initial wage-employment, six were teachers (three within the Ranch and three in other places within the district), one had been an Administration Policewoman a long time ago, two had engaged in casual labour in the Mission, and three had other jobs.

6.7.1. Subsequent employment after first job:

Lemek females

Three non-educated women found a second job as casual workers in the Mission and a further three women with some education found a second job; two as teachers and one self-employed store-owner within the Ranch (Cf. Appendix 6E for the full Tables of females' second and third jobs). The only female in the sample who engaged in a third job was in the 20-39 years age-level, had finished Primary School and was a teacher.

Having completed this analysis of education/non-education and employment for Lemek, we shall do the same for Loita before summarizing and comparing the two places, in order to gain an overall picture of the employment situation in Narok District.

6.8. Loita males' first job

We shall use the same three categories for the males' first jobs; cattle trader, herdsman, and "other" jobs. This distribution of males in first jobs is not so dissimilar to that of Lemek. The greatest number of workers was in the 20-39 years age-level, and the greatest number of employed persons was in the non-educated self-employed cattle-trader group (with a number similar to that of Lemek). In fact, for almost all educational levels, the numbers of persons and the categories of first jobs were very similar to those in Lemek.

Table 6.7. Males' first job by age-level, level of education, and type of job; presented as percentages of the age-level and of the total worker sample: Loita

Age-level	No Educ			Pri/DO			Pri/F		Sec/TTC /Univ	Total of worker sample	% of age- levels: Totals from Table 2.5
	CT	Hdr	Oth	CT	Hdr	Oth	CT	Oth			
5 - 19	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1.1
20 - 29	16	5	2	4	1	8	-	8	12	56	36.4
30 - 39	30	1	6	2	-	7	3	9	4	62	70.5
40 - 59	14	1	3	3	-	5	1	6	5	38	45.8
60 - 69	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	20.0
70+	-	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	4	9.3
subtotals	63	10	14	9	1	21	4	23	21	166	22.5%
Totals	87			31			27		21	166	
%	52%			19%			16%		13%	100%	

Explanation: CT: cattle trader Hdr: herders Oth: other work
 No educ: no education at all Pri/DO : dropped out of primary school
 Pri/F : finished the full primary course
 Sec/: secondary schooling (dropped out or finished
 TTC : Teacher Training College Un: University trained

An area of difference between the two sites was that of non-educated males working in the "other jobs" category and, as we pointed out in the discussion on the presence of Lemek Mission, this could very easily be accounted for by the fact that the Mission employed considerable numbers of both males and females over the years in a variety of casual jobs. Though the Loita males and females do not appear to have quite the same employment opportunities as those living in Lemek, in some ways the first employment choice of many of the non-educated male Loita are much the same as that of the non-educated Purko of Lemek, namely self-employed cattle-trading. As in the Lemek situation (Table 6.3), though there was a significantly lower level of employment for the older age-levels, 40+ years of age, there were actually more men employed from those groups in Loita than there were in Lemek.

6.8.1. Summary of education and employment: Loita

Now, we shall look closely at the levels of education of the sampled Loita workers and what they did with their education. This we shall do with particular reference to their initial choice of employment.

6.8.1.1. Dropped out of Primary School and employed

Among the males falling under this category, there were nine cattle traders and just one herdsman, and, as in Lemek, there were 21 primary dropouts who found employment in "other" categories (four became Rangers, four were dip attendants, two became watchmen, six took up various individual occupations, in addition, one worked in the Lodges, one joined the uniformed services, one undertook manual work, one engaged in clerical work, and one was self-employed).

6.8.1.2. Finished Primary School and employed

Twenty seven males finished primary school and found first jobs and of these, four chose to be cattle traders, and 23 found other jobs (six became Rangers, four joined various uniformed services such as the Army, Police, National Youth Service, and Administration Police, three became teachers, four took up various individual occupations such as shop assistants, drivers, and tour guides, and various individuals took up work as a dip attendant, watchman, clerk, and one other was a self-employed storekeeper.

6.8.1.3. Secondary or Tertiary Education and employed

In this group, again almost the same number as in Lemek, 21 found work in jobs other than cattle trading or herding (11 were teachers, four clerks, four in other occupations, one worked in The Mara, and one was a watchman). Quite obviously the presence of 11 teachers and four clerks in this group is an indication of the different forms of employment obtained by those with a secondary or university education and provides their entry point into the teaching and clerical professions.

6.8.2. Subsequent employment after first job: Loita males

As in the case of the Lemek males, the numbers of Loita males in a second job was also much lower than those who had initially entered the job market. These figures are given in Table 6.8:

Table 6.8. Males' second job by age-level, level of education, and type of job: Loita

Age-level	no educ		Pri/DO	Pri/F	Sec/TTC/Un	Total
	Hdr	Oth	Oth	Oth	Oth	
20 - 29	2	1	2	5	7	17
30 - 39	1	2	3	4	1	11
40 - 59	-	1	2	-	2	5
60 - 69	-	1	-	-	-	1
subtotals	3	5	7	9	10	34
Totals	8		7	9	10	34

In Loita, no young man took up cattle-trading as his second job; it was either his first choice or he did not start at all. Thus, the number dropped from 73 to a zero for the second job choice. Only three men took up herding for their second jobs and of these just one was still working as a herdsman. There was a regular involvement with jobs within the "other" category though not as many were involved in these as second jobs, just 31 males (15 were still working).

As we did for Lemek, we shall now make some comparisons between the first and second jobs for Loita using data from Tables 6.7 and 6.8:

Table 6.9. Comparison of the first and second jobs:
By educational status, job categories, and selected
age-levels, expressed as percentages of the total number of
jobs: Morijo Loita Sub-location

	Job 1 %	Job 2 %
<hr/>		
Educational status		
educated	48	76
non-educated	52	24
<hr/>		
Total	100%	100%
<hr/>		
Job categories		
cattle traders and herders	51	9
other jobs	49	91
<hr/>		
Total	100%	100%
<hr/>		
Age-levels		
20-29 years	34	50
30-39	37	32
40+	29	18
<hr/>		
Total	100%	100%
<hr/>		

This comparison presented much the same patterns of percentage differences for the first two categories as were found in Lemek. Among the educated workers we see a higher percentage of second jobs and among the non-educated a lower percentage of second jobs; in pastoral related jobs a fairly high percentage initially and severe percentage drop for the second job in these cattle related activities. On the other hand, just as we found in Lemek for the initial "other" jobs in relation to the subsequent jobs, there was a dramatic increase from 49% to 91% of the jobs, which suggests active job mobility. When it came to the third category, the younger and older age-levels, there had been no significant difference in the Lemek sample, but, in the Loita sample, there was a significant difference between them with more of the younger age-level opting for a second job than the older age-level.

This comparison between the first and the second jobs in Loita also indicates that:

- 1) educated Loita have more job mobility and obtain subsequent jobs;
- 2) there is much less involvement in cattle trading and herding in subsequent job shifts;
- 3) quite a number of the 20-29 years age-level is, or has been, involved in job changes, probably due to expansion of the wage economy recently.

Third and subsequent jobs

One man found a job as a herdsman for his third job and is still working in this job: 11 men found other third jobs and six of these are still working in those jobs. Once we come to the fourth job there were no traders or herdsmen, but three men found work in different categories (other) and of these, two were still working in their fourth job.

6.9. Loita females' first job

For the females of Loita, we shall use the three basic categories of casual labour (at the tannery of the Ilkerin Project), teacher, and "other". It is obvious from the Table that few women undertook any jobs in Loita. Three non-educated women found casual employment and 11 with some education found other employment. Among these 11, there are two young women who are still studying at a Nurses' Training College in Kilgoris; because this involves practical nursing within a hospital they have been included with the working group.

Table 6.10. Females' first job by age-level, level of education, and type of job: Morijo Loita Sub-location

Age-level	No Educ	Pri/DO		Pri/F		Sec/MTC	Total
	Cas	Tch	Oth	Tch	Oth	Oth	
20 - 29	-	1	-	1	-	4	6
30 - 39	1	-	3	-	1	-	5
40 - 59	2	-	1	-	-	-	3
subtotals	3	1	4	1	1	4	14
Totals	3	5		2		4	14

Explanation:

No educ: no education at all
 Pri/DO : dropped out of primary school
 Pri/F : finished the full primary course
 Sec/ : secondary schooling (dropped out or finished
 MTC : Medical Training College
 Cas:Casual labour (Ilkerin tannery) Tch:Teacher Oth:other work

Only five female primary dropouts found first-time employment; one as a teacher, two became self-employed (store owners) and two found other employment (one as a medical assistant at the Project and one in the Project's canteen). Two females finished primary and found employment; one became a teacher for her first job, and one took up employment with the veterinary department. One woman finished secondary school and took up clerical work for her first job; another woman dropped out of secondary and took up casual work at the Project.

6.9.1. Subsequent employment after first job:

Loita females

Four educated women found employment as teachers for their second jobs:

Table 6.11. Females' second job by age-level, level of education, and type of job: Loita

Age-level	Pri/DO	Pri/F	Sec/MTC	Total
	Tch	Tch	Tch	
20 - 29	1	-	1	2
30 - 39	1	1	-	2
Totals	2	1	1	4

This indicates that only four educated females found employment in a second job as teachers. No non-educated female went on to a second job within any category.

6.10. Education and employment: Lemek and Loita

The data lead us to ask the obvious questions: Is education associated with the type of employment pursued? Are there certain jobs for which just a little education is required or for which education is a small help but is not essential? Are there some jobs which are borderline in terms of educational requirements? We shall attempt to answer these questions by recasting the data for Lemek and Loita in a variety of different forms:

Table 6.12. Education and types of employment (first job):
Males of Lemek and Loita

	No Education		Some Education		Total	
	Lemek	Loita	Lemek	Loita	Lemek	Loita
Pastoral jobs						
CT/herders	86	73	9	14	95	87
Veterinary	1	-	7	5	8	5
Skins/hides	1	-	-	-	1	-
Watchmen	4	3	-	3	4	6
Subtotals	92	76	16	22	108	98
Non-pastoral jobs						
Teachers	-	-	4	14	4	14
Rangers	2	1	3	10	5	11
Uniformed						
Services	1	3	5	5	6	8
Clerical	-	-	12	6	12	6
Watchmen*	7	-	1	1	8	1
Casual labour	25	1	8	2	33	3
self-employed	8	1	3	2	11	3
other jobs	8	5	21	17	29	22
Subtotals	51	11	57	57	108	68
Total employed	143	87	73	79	216	166
% employed of all males	8%	10%	4%	9%	12%	20%
Never employed	1,276	526	265	149		
Grandtotal	1,419	613	338	228		

* These were watchmen working in non-pastoral situations, for example, four non-educated men and two educated men were working as security men for various Lodges in The Maasai Mara.

Before beginning a discussion on the data of this Table it may be an appropriate time to recall the fact that, in Lemek, 59% of males with some education took up some form of employment; the figure for Loita was 73%. There was a much higher percentage of men involved in the labour market in Loita than in Lemek. There were a number of men involved in two or three

other pastoral related occupations as well as those involved in cattle trading and herding. One man was a self-employed hides and skins' dealer and 13 men were working in the veterinary services (most commonly as dip attendants) and a further ten worked as "watchmen" which, in most cases, implied some involvement with cattle or sheep interests.

Clearly, there is a very strong association between lack of education and employment in the "pastoral" occupational sector, both as self-employed traders and wage-employed herdsman. If it is true that many non-educated men are turning to cattle trading and herding on a long term employment basis and if this represents a strong move towards the further commoditization of cattle, through these labour forms, then perhaps this direction should be supported by local government and development agencies since it is obviously involving and supporting large numbers of Maasai men and their families.

There is too, a clear association between lack of education and the pursuit of casual work both in the Mission and in The Maasai Mara. Conversely, there is a strong association between education and wage-employment in the "other" sectors for both sample areas: those from Lemek and Loita with an education tend to opt for non-pastoral related first occupations. The difference in the numbers between the educated and the non-educated in these non-pastoral occupations is less striking in Lemek Group Ranch than in Loita, but this is obviously due to the casual labour possibilities for the young men at the Mission. If this opportunity were removed, the figures would, no doubt, reflect the same situation as Loita.

There is a clear association between educational achievement and involvement in the teaching profession, clerical work (in which profession, as one would expect, there were no persons without some education), the uniformed services, veterinary services, and work as a Ranger. One interesting group are those who may be regarded as self-employed (apart from cattle traders) because a considerable number of these people had no educational background at all and yet they found

different and sometimes creative forms of self-employment.⁴⁰

Another way of approaching this topic of employment choices and the educational levels (or absence of them) of those who obtain them is presented in Table 6.13. In this instance, we explore the first jobs of both the educated and the non-educated from Lemek and Loita (presented as a combined total). This is a way of looking at the employment choices in terms of those which require no education (even if having some education makes you a better worker in that category), those which require some education, and those which obviously do not require it (in which people with and without an education are involved).

It is clear from Table 6.13 that there are some jobs which require little or no education, such as cattle traders, herdsmen, watchmen, casual and manual workers, catechists, cobblers, assistant chiefs, and various categories of the self-employed. There are some jobs for which education is a help but not a requirement; shopowner, barman, cooks, catechists, tailors. Kenya Army, and Administration Police (at least in the past). Then there are jobs which require a certain level of education, for example, clerical work and teaching, Rangers, National Youth Service, dip attendants, and shop assistants.

Table 6.13. First jobs chosen by education skills required
vs. educational levels of job participants:
(Lemek and Loita combined)

	no educ	primary dropout	primary finished	secondary tertiary	total workers
<u>Little or no education</u>					
cattle trader	123	13	5	-	140
herdsman	36	5	-	-	42
watchman	14	3	1	1	19
casuals	31	6	5	-	42
self-employed*	5	-	-	-	5
various**	7	-	-	-	7
subtotals	216	27	11	1	255
<u>Education not an important requirement</u>					
shopowner	3	1	3	-	7
Admin Police	2	1	1	1	5
K. Army	1	1	-	2	4
barman	-	1	2	-	3
cook	1	2	1	-	4
catechists	1	2	-	-	3
nursing	-	-	-	-	-
/assistant	-	1	1	1	3
tailors	1	-	1	-	2
other ***	-	6	3	8	17
subtotals	9	15	12	12	48
<u>Some education</u>					
secretaries	-	3	2	11	16
teachers	-	1	3	14	18
Nat. Youth	-	-	-	-	-
Service	-	-	3	-	3
Rangers	3	6	7	-	16
dip attendant	1	5	3	3	12
shop assistant	1	2	6	5	14
subtotals	5	17	24	33	79
Totals	230	59	47	46	382

self-employed*: 3 shoemakers, a carpenter, a hides and skins' dealer.
various**: 3 assistant chiefs, a Chairman of the Group Ranch,
a mason, a room steward, and one KANU Youth Winger.
other***: a tour guide, a Water Dept. worker, a farm foreman,
a prisoner in jail, et al.

The Table also indicates that there are a number of jobs which have people from all educational levels; shopowners, shop assistants, dip attendants, the Administration Police Force, and barmen. However, it does not appear as if these educational levels are critical to their involvement in these latter jobs. These initial job choices are ways in which men of Lemek and Loita have utilized their academic credentials.

Another question may be posed in terms of the relationship between education and job mobility: Does education offer the opportunity of further job mobility?

Table 6.14. Education and job mobility: Lemek and Loita

	Numbers of workers in each job									
	Job1		Job2		Job3		Job4		Total	
	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta
No educ.	103	79	30	6	8	2	2	0	143	87
Some educ.	35	53	23	16	9	7	6	3	73	79
Total	138	132	53	22	17	9	8	3	216	166

Since we are dealing with those who found jobs, first through to a fourth, this Table is only concerned with those who have jobs and the rest of the population is irrelevant here. It is clear that having some education is strongly associated with more frequent job changes.⁴¹ In fact, no non-educated male from Lemek worked in a fifth or sixth job, and only two men found a fourth job. Among the non-educated Loita, only two men found a third job and no one worked in a fourth job. However, it is also true that in the transition from the first to the second job quite a number of the non-educated in Lemek also found some form of meaningful employment (almost as many non-educated as educated males found second jobs - 40:38). The difference was striking in Loita; 26 educated found a second job but only eight of the non-educated found a second form of employment.

In addition to the above questions concerning the workers themselves, there are a number of obvious questions that could be posed concerning the relationship between their parents' ethnicity, education and previous employment, and the subsequent employment of their children (the sampled

workers): Does the parents' ethnicity and education have any influence on the subsequent employment of their children? Does the father's educational level have any influence on the later employment of his sons?

Table 6.15. Ethnicity and educational status of male workers' parents; expressed as percentages of worker sample, total in selected categories, and total male population: Lemek and Loita

Lemek Group Ranch								
Ethnicity and Education	Father				Mother			
	No. of wor kers	% of wor kers	No. in cate gory	% of popu lation	No. of wor kers	% of wor kers	No. in cate gory	% of popu lation
Maasai/educated	4	2	65	4	2	1	17	1
Maasai/non-educated	196	91	1536	87	192	89	1522	86
Okiek/non-educated	12	5	137	8	13	6	136	8
Other/non-educated	4	2	8	1	9	4	49	3
Totals	216	100%	1746	100%	216	100%	1724	98%
Moriyo Loita Sub-location								
Ethnicity and Education	Father				Mother			
	No. of wor kers	% of wor kers	No. in cate gory	% of popu lation	No. of wor kers	% of wor kers	No. in cate gory	% of popu lation
Maasai/educated	7	4	104	12	3	2	38	5
Maasai/non-educated	141	85	641	76	131	79	653	77
Kikuyu/educated	-	-	-	-	4	2	22	3
Kikuyu/non-educated	-	-	-	-	4	2	8	1
Okiek/non-educated	-	-	-	-	18	11	77	9
Okiek/educated	18	11	20	3	-	-	-	-
Other/non-educated	-	-	-	-	6	4	30	4
Totals	216	100%	765	91%	166	100%	828	99%

Note: eth: ethnicity ed: education

Maasai: Purko or Loita depending on the site.

* The final column represents the totals for each category (containing workers) as percentages of the total male population. The shortfalls below 100% are due to the fact that some categories in the total population do not contain workers but have been accounted for within the total population.

To answer these questions we shall examine the total sample of workers from each area and establish the ethnicity and education of their mothers as well as the ethnicity, educational status, and employment backgrounds of their fathers:

Unquestionably, the majority of the male workers in both areas have parents who are local Maasai and non-educated. This indicates that the lack of education on the part of their parents did not inhibit these men from obtaining employment. Whether or not the fathers of these workers were ever involved in the wage-sector will now be investigated and presented in Table 6.16:

Table 6.16. Workers' fathers by education and employment; expressed as percentages of worker sample, total in selected categories, and total male population: Lemek and Loita

Father's education and employment	Lemek				Loita			
	No. of wor kers	% of wor kers	No. in cate gory	% of popu lation	No. of wor kers	% of wor kers	No. in cate gory	% of popu lation
educ./employed	4	2	46	3	7	4	116	14
non-educ./employed	14	6	148	8	3	2	90	10
non-educ./not employed	198	92	1538	88	156	94	629	75
Totals	216	100%	1732	99%	166	100%	835	99%

In Lemek, 91% of the male workers had non-educated Maasai fathers and 89% had non-educated Maasai mothers; 92% of the fathers were non-educated and had never been employed. Only 2% of the workers in the Lemek sample had fathers who were educated and had been engaged in either wage- or self-employment. Among the Okiek community in Lemek, 6% of the male workers had non-educated Okiek parents.

In Loita, 85% of the male workers had fathers who were non-educated Maasai and 79% had uneducated Maasai mothers; 94% of the male workers had fathers who were neither educated nor had they been employed. As in the case of Lemek, there was also a low percentage of the Loita sample who had

fathers who were educated and had worked, just 4% of them. Within the Okiek community, an unexpectedly high 11% of the male workers had educated Okiek fathers but the same number had non-educated Okiek mothers.

Ironically, it appears that, in Lemek, fathers in the Maasai Educated category are disproportionately underrepresented in the employed category, 2% compared to 4% in the entire population for fathers; the percentage for the Maasai Educated mothers is proportionate to the overall population in that category. Somewhat surprisingly, Non-educated Maasai are slightly higher in proportion than their overall percentage for fathers (91% vs. 87%) and for mothers (89% vs. 86%), but in both these cases the numbers may not be great enough to be significant. The Non-educated Okiek parents are both underrepresented, but the Non-educated Others, both fathers and mothers are slightly overrepresented.

Again, and equally surprisingly, in Loita the Maasai Educated category is disproportionately underrepresented, as classified according to both parents (4% vs. 12% for the fathers and 2% vs. 5% for the mothers). The Maasai Non-educated is disproportionately overrepresented for the overall population (85% vs. 76% for the fathers and 79% vs. 77% for the mothers). The Okiek Educated are overrepresented in the fathers' category (11% vs. 3%), and the Okiek Non-educated are slightly overrepresented in the mothers' category (11% vs 9%). Thus, in Loita, children of Educated Maasai are less present in the worker category than are children of Non-educated Maasai; children of Educated Okiek are also more present. The children of Educated Kikuyu mothers are slightly underrepresented among the workers, and those of Non-educated Kikuyu mothers are slightly overrepresented among the worker category in Loita.

In Lemek, those with Non-educated/non-employed fathers are slightly overrepresented among the workers, though here too, the differences may be too slight for significance. The Educated/employed and the Non-educated and employed fathers are slightly underrepresented. But, in Loita, those with Educated/employed and Non-educated/employed fathers are definitely

underrepresented, whereas those with Non-educated/non-employed fathers are strikingly overrepresented (75% vs. 94%). Overall, it is true to say that there appears to be a positive correlation between the lack of education and involvement in wage-employment on the part of parents and the subsequent employment of some of their male children.

These are very interesting findings, as they are counterintuitive. It is not a question of the children of the few Educated/employed falling out of the sample and leaving for better jobs elsewhere. The recorded data include all the children of the families in the two sampled areas. In fact, this was another rather surprising finding, the paucity of men who leave the areas either because of work or marriage. Even if the men leave for extended periods of time, invariably their families and their cattle are left behind close to the family home.

The female workers are not included in the above Tables, but if we look at their numbers we find that 76% of these workers had parents who were non-educated Maasai and 81% had fathers who were both non-educated and had never worked. Of the female workers of Loita, 57% had non-educated Maasai parents and the same number had fathers who were neither educated nor employed (cf. Appendix 6F for Tables EE and FF giving data for the females).

The majority of the parents of the workers, in both sites, are obviously non-educated and have never worked in the wage-employment sector. On the other hand, in Lemek, 10% of the workers' mothers came from groups other than local Purko, and in Loita double this percentage, 20%, of the workers had mothers from groups other than local Loita with a strong representation, 11%, from among the uneducated Okiek mothers.

Another way of examining the ethnicity and educational status of the workers' parents is to view them as percentages of the total numbers within the respective categories. In Loita, for example, the 18 Okiek workers whose fathers are Okiek Educated are actually 90% of the total number of males in that particular category, i.e. Okiek Educated. Among

the educated Maasai parents the percentages are relatively low, indicating that having educated Maasai parents does not improve the chances of employment for local Maasai. In fact, the percentages were higher for workers coming from families where both parents were Maasai and uneducated; in Lemek more than twice the rate (6%:13%) and in Loita more than three times the rate of the uneducated (7%:22%). In both places, having non-Maasai mothers, whether educated or non-educated appears to improve the chances of employment. This is particularly true in Loita, where 50% of males with non-educated Kikuyu mothers found employment, 23% of the workers with non-educated Okiek mothers found employment, and 20% of the males with mothers who came from other ethnic groups also found jobs. Also in Loita, 90% of the males with educated Okiek fathers found employment. In Lemek, the male workers from non-Maasai families (also non-Okiek and non-Kikuyu), represent 50% of the males coming from that particular group of persons, again indicating an improved chance or likelihood of being employed.⁴²

Having examined the family backgrounds of the workers of Lemek and Loita, we can now move on to see if there is any relation between age and employment and the types of jobs used as entry points into the job market.

Table 6.17. Age-levels and educational status of males with employment: Expressed as percentages of the total number of males in each age-level: Lemek and Loita

	Lemek No ed	Lemek Some ed	Total	%	Loita No ed	Loita Some ed	Total	%
Young								
5-19	14	3	17	2	4	-	4	1
20-39	102	60	162	35	60	58	118	49
Older								
40+	27	10	37	14	23	21	44	32
Total	143	73	216	15	87	79	166	23

Note: The percentages are workers as percentages of the total number of males in the various age-levels, both educated and non-educated (using the data from Tables 3.4 and 3.5)

The question may be posed: Is there a tendency for employment to increase with the age-levels? The data in Table 6.17 answer this question. These figures indicate that employment has increased over time, in other words, across the generations. If we regard the older age-level as the first to become involved in wage-employment chronologically, then, as we move into the groups 39 years of age and below, there is a dramatic increase in the numbers involved in the occupational structure of the district. As one would expect, the young men in the school-age category are not yet involved in wage-employment to any noticeable degree. Numerically, the most involved is the working-age group between the ages of 20 and 39 years, but what is surprising, perhaps, is the fact that the older age-level practised some form of employment in earlier years when the opportunities and the occupational structure of the district may have been quite different. In this regard, there is an 18 percentage points difference between the older groups of Lemek and Loita, and a 14 percentage points difference between the younger men in the two areas.⁴¹ However, there is an even higher percentage points difference between the generations in the same area; Lemek has 21 percentage points difference and Loita has 17 percentage points difference between the age-levels.

As we shall see, when we approach these data from another point of view, the percentage involvement of the educated and non-educated workers of particular age-levels, the highest percentage involvement is among the 30 to 39 years group for both Lemek and Loita. This leads us to a question concerning the types of jobs found later in the employment histories of the educated and the non-educated: Are certain jobs turned to later, or do certain jobs merely offer "entry points" but are not turned to later? Table 6.18 presents the relevant data.

Table 6.18. Types of jobs used as "entry points" or turned to later: Expressed as percentages of the total numbers of initial and subsequent jobs: Lemek and Loita

Pastoral Related Employment						
	Job1		Job2-Job3		Total	
	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Trading	41	55	10	-	30	44
Herdsman	17	6	7	9	13	7
Veterinary	4	3	3	3	4	3
Watchmen	2	5	3	-	2	4
Skins/hides	1	-	-	-	1	-
sub-total	65	69	23	12	50	58
Non-Pastoral Related Employment						
	Job1		Job2-Job5		Total	
	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Other jobs	35	31	77	88	50	42
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: The figures have been adjusted to make sure that no person is counted twice across the rows since they are the same persons taking up subsequent jobs. (Cf. Appendix 6G, Table GG for raw data for above jobs.)

There is a strong tendency for "other" or non-pastoral jobs to be found beyond job 1, and this is correlated with higher mobility for the educated in obtaining subsequent jobs. It is also correlated with the fact that once the non-educated males enter into cattle trading they tend to stay in that occupation for some time." More than 60% of initial jobs for the men of both areas were found in pastoral related occupations (nearly 70% for the Loita), and then nearly 80% of subsequent jobs were found in non-pastoral related jobs.

The response to the question, "Do certain age-levels demonstrate higher job mobility than others?" should shed further light on our analysis. This question refers especially to the younger/older division but may be extended to other groupings:

Table 6.19. Job mobility and selected age-levels:
Lemek and Loita

Age-levels	Job1		Job2		Job3		Job4		Job5		Total	
	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta
Young:												
5 - 19	14	4	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	17	4
20 - 29	65	39	23	11	11	4	3	2	1	-	103	56
Older:												
30 - 39	37	51	17	7	2	3	2	1	1	-	59	62
40 - 59	19	33	7	3	3	2	1	-	-	-	30	38
60+	3	5	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	6
Total	138	132	53	22	17	9	6	3	2	-	216	166

Note: Since we are dealing with those who found jobs, first through to a fifth, this Table is only concerned with those who have jobs and the rest of the population is irrelevant here.

If we subject these figures to analysis (chi square) we find that there is a degree of association at certain levels of significance.⁴⁵ We know from the previous sections when we compared the first and second jobs for two age-levels that there is some difference comparing the percentages for the 20-29 years group with the 30-39 years group. We should bear in mind here that a) the younger the age, the less likelihood the person will have had the opportunity to engage in more than one job because of youth and lack of opportunity and b) that the record of jobs undertaken and our recording of this history does not indicate the ages at which individuals undertook the various jobs in their personal employment profiles.

The actual employment rates for these various age-levels may be shown in Table 6.20:

Table 6.20. Employment rates, all age-levels: Lemek and Loita

Age-level	Employed	%	Total Population	% Employment Rate
5-19 years	21	6%	1063	2%
20-39 years	280	73%	704	40%
40+ years	81	21%	406	20%
Total	382	100%	2173	

The Table demonstrates clearly that the highest rate of employment is found for the middle-age level, both for historical reasons and because this is the most active age. It is not without just reason called "the working-age group." Though the 5-19 years group is the school-going age-level nevertheless there are a few boys, mostly from the poorer families of Lemek, engaged in wage-labour as herders for richer families.

6.11. Conclusion

If we look carefully across all the age-levels from 20 years of age upwards (using Tables 6.3 and 6.6), we see that there were 129 males and 49 females from Lemek who were non-educated and yet found some form of wage- or self-employment in terms of what we have called their "first job." It will be more significant to use percentages for this comparison; percentages of the total number of persons aged 20 years and over. Of the non-educated males over 20 years of age, 21% found employment as did 5% of the non-educated females over 20 years of age. Of the total non-educated employed males, 46% were engaged as cattle traders, 10% were employed as herdsmen looking after someone else's cattle, and 44% were employed in "other" categories.⁴⁶

If we examine the analysis for Loita across all age-levels from 20 years upward (using Tables 6.7 and 6.10), we find that 32% of the non-educated males over 20 years of age found employment and 0.6% of the non-educated females over 20 years of age found work. There is a 28 percentage points difference between the two sites involvement in cattle trading among these males; in Loita, 74% of the non-educated employed males were involved in cattle trading, while 10% of these non-educated young men were employed as hired herdsmen, and 16% of the non-educated males were employed in the "other" categories of employment.

The same pastoral related possibilities for the non-educated males were taken advantage of by the Loita as the Purko in Lemek. Looking at

the non-educated Loita males who found employment, 83% took up one or other of the two pastoral related occupations for their first job; a figure considerably higher than the 56% of Lemek (these percentages are for the 20 years and over age-levels). These figures clearly demonstrate the strong association between a lack of education and involvement in pastoral related jobs.

There are some differences between the non-educated and educated who found employment from the two sampled areas. In Lemek, 21% of males aged 20 years and over without an education found meaningful employment as opposed to the 58% of the educated males over 20 years of age who found employment. On the other hand, in Loita, 32% of the non-educated men over 20 years of age found employment of one kind or another, and 68% of the educated males over 20 years of age found employment, considerably higher percentages for both groups than Lemek. In part, this could be due to the early mission and government interest in the area and the early attempts at involvement of young Maasai males in the educational system.

There was a difference too, among the females in the two areas: Lemek, 5% of the non-educated females aged 20 years and over found employment (mostly as casual labourers slashing grass at the local Catholic Mission) and 19% of the educated females over 20 years of age were also employed. Loita had 0.6% of the non-educated females over 20 years employed in casual work (in the local Mission enterprise of the Ilkerin Project's tannery), and 18% of the educated females over 20 years of age were also employed. These figures indicate that Loita had higher percentages of employment for both educated and non-educated males, but lower percentages for the educated and non-educated females. Though there were six educated women teachers from Lemek and only two educated women working (initially) as teachers from the Loita sample, we should recall that a number of the educated women in Lemek were not local Maasai.

Looking at the age-levels and the degree of involvement in the work sector, it should be obvious why we agree with those demographic

researchers who indicate that the 20-39 years age-level is the most active in terms of employment (Ominde 1968, 1984; Rempel 1974). This was especially true in Loita, though the number in Lemek was also high. There were fewer young males of the 5-19 years age-level employed as cattle traders or herdsmen in Loita than there were in Lemek (4 vs. 17). But this is to be expected since this is the school-age group and one would not expect to find them in the labour market.

Many young men are involved in cattle trading and other pastoral related occupations so much so that one could almost regard these jobs as a stage between warriorhood and full eldership, a sort of junior elder's world. A world in which the single young man can move around at will without the obligations of a family. There are so many men involved in cattle trekking that the further commoditization of cattle and smallstock in Maasailand through these jobs is inevitable and careful attention should be paid to the development of these livestock related occupations.

Recalling the data in Tables 6.3 and 6.7 referring to the percentages of workers in each age-level, we can see that the 20-29 years groups reflected the fact that this age-level is the one just finding its way into the job market and the 30-39 years group (the middle-range group) is the one firmly established in the occupational structures of the district shown by the figures, 49% and 71% of the age-level engaged in wage-labour. In the same way, there is a tapering off as the men get older, 18%, 12% and 3% for the three older age-levels of Lemek and 46%, 20%, and 9% for the three older age-levels of Loita. We should remember that we are accounting for the first job undertaken which means that in the cases of the older age-levels this first job was undertaken some time ago when perhaps there were fewer opportunities available and little encouragement or incentive from the people in the home areas. Thus, the 46% employment rate is a high percentage for Loita (40-59 years), as is the 20% involvement for the 60-69 years old age-level. What is surprising here is that the older age-groups (40+ years) were involved in any form of

employment at all, especially since 9% in Lemek and 17% in Loita found employment in non-pastoral related activities. We shall return to this point of pastoral and non-pastoral related occupations shortly.

Surprisingly, in both sites, the children of educated Maasai parents are disproportionately underrepresented in the employed category. The offspring of non-educated Maasai parents, again for both sites, are slightly higher in proportion than their overall percentages. Thus, the offspring of educated Maasai from both sites are less present in the worker category than are the children of non-educated Maasai. It would appear that the ethnic/educational influence on employment is negatively associated with having educated Maasai parents, but positively correlated with non-educated Maasai parents. Similarly, in both sites, the children of non-educated non-employed fathers are overrepresented in the work-force (with a very high overrepresentation in Loita, 75% vs. 94%).

The Purko and the Loita are consciously and deliberately choosing different forms of economic diversification within the occupational structures of the district and the country as a whole. There is a level of economic integration on the part of the Loita which is underestimated and clouded by mistaken impressions about their resistance to change and their stubborn and conservative holding-on to their traditional pastoral way of life. The data we have presented on involvement in education and employment bear out the fact that the Loita are well ahead of the Purko on both counts. Table 3.6 of Chapter Three shows that the percentages of educated males and females is higher for Loita than for Lemek; while Table 6.17 of this chapter clearly indicates the high levels of employment especially for the 30 to 39 year old Loita.

One question which could be posed by way of conclusion to this section of the analysis is: Does there appear to be a common employment profile, from the standpoint of education, or are there important differences between Lemek and Loita, perhaps related to differences in the education profiles established earlier? It is obvious that for those with no

education, two of the employment possibilities are, working as a cattle trader (which could be regarded as some form of self-employment), or working as a hired herdsman for some of the richer Maasai families. Of those with no education who engaged in a first job 60% took up one of these two pastoral related occupations in their first job. (cf. Appendix 6E, for a presentation of ages, educational attainments and types of employment). However, the interesting point is that these occupations represent a lower proportion of the second job choices which means that those who choose that category stay in it or leave it, but they do not turn to it later as a second job choice. On the other hand, a higher proportion of those with an education do move into second jobs and beyond. It is clear from the data that the educated have more later (secondary) job mobility and are also less involved initially in the cattle-trading and herding occupations, particularly in Loita. Clearly, having an education is associated with finding subsequent jobs many of which are in the "other" category. These are some of the points we shall look at more closely in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EMPLOYMENT LOCALES AND OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURES

7.1. Introduction

In this chapter, we shall explore the following questions: What is the occupational structure of Narok District? What are the principal occupations sought by the educated and non-educated males and females of the two sampled areas? Where do these workers find this wage-employment, within the district or outside it? What is the role of the local Mission in Lemek and the Integrated Project at Ilkerin? What influence do the employment opportunities of The Maasai Mara have upon the occupational choices of the Maasai of Lemek and Loita? This chapter should provide more evidence to answer the question posed previously: Does employment and economic diversification imply a shift away from the livestock-based economy of the district?

7.2. Occupational structure of the District

The occupational structure of the District has been described by the district development planners:

Employment in the District can be classified into public sector, large-scale farms, small-scale farms, pastoralism, self-employment in businesses and wage-employment (Narok Dist. Development Plan 1989-93:31).

Table HH in Appendix 7A gives the total employment figure for the district as 29,341 which represents 25% of the total labour force. Of this number, 13,336 are pastoralists, which means that another figure for the labour force (minus the pastoralists) is 16,005 for all ethnic groups within the district. The figure for the pastoralists is a strange one; it seems an unusually small figure for the total number of Maasai involved in the pastoral economy and no explanation or definition is given. It would be interesting to know the Maasai involvement in the other categories listed within this Development Plan, but it may be reasonably presumed

from our research that the Maasai are not involved in most of them in any significant numbers. This official breakdown does not include many of the key categories of Maasai employment presented in this present study.

7.5. Employment locales chosen by the Maasai workers

We shall now look more closely at our data with specific reference to the areas where the Maasai of the two samples found wage-employment. As well as having some idea of the educational levels (which we discussed in a previous section), we should also have some idea of where these workers went to find wage-employment and the jobs pursued.

7.3.1. Who works where, and why: Lemek sample

There are three major areas of centralized employment utilized by the workers from this sampled area: Lemek Group Ranch, The Maasai Mara, and the Catholic Mission at Lemek. All three are in the district and represent substantial employment opportunities for both male and female workers.

The following Table presents the various places in which the educated (E) and non-educated (O) male Maasai of Lemek Group Ranch found self- or wage-employment. The places have been grouped under two main headings representing geographical places; within the district and outside the district. The Table lists the total number of jobs undertaken; first job and second job through to sixth job.

Table 7.1. Place of employment of males of Lemek Group Ranch:
By job number

Places	Job 1 0 E	Job 2-Job 6 0 E	Total jobs	% of total jobs
<hr/>				
<u>Within the District</u>				
Lemek Group Ranch	85 21	25 12	143	43
Lemek Mission	34 8	12 10	64	19
The Maasai Mara	13 12	9 16	50	15
other places	10 26	5 16	57	17
<hr/>				
subtotals	142 67	51 54	314	94%
<hr/>				
<u>Outside the District</u>				
Nairobi	- 2	1 5	8	2
other places	1 4	- 6	11	4
<hr/>				
subtotals	1 6	1 11	19	6%
<hr/>				
Totals	143 73	52 65	333	
<hr/>				
Grandtotals*	216	117	333	100%

E: workers with some education 0: workers with no education

* Totals of jobs for educated and non-educated workers.
(cf. Appendix 7B for the complete list of jobs, places, and
number of years in each job.)

In addition to the males who found employment, 62 females worked in a first job (six of whom went on to a second job):

- Job 1: 48, non-educated, worked casually at the Mission
One, non-educated, worked in the Mission (tailor)
One, non-educated girl, worked in Nairobi (the aya)
- Two, educated, worked in the Mission (casual)
Three, educated, worked within the Ranch
Seven, educated, worked elsewhere within the District
- Job 2: Three of the above non-educated worked in the Mission
Three of the above educated worked in the Group Ranch
- Job 3: One, educated, again worked in the Ranch

The most interesting point to be made here is that just eight persons (seven males and one female, the 13 year old girl taken to Nairobi to work as a maid/babysitter) moved outside the district to find their first employment. This is a very significant and informative fact. Out of the

total number of jobs ranging from the first to the sixth job, 94% were found within the district and only 6% were found outside it.

The figures clearly indicate the importance of local employment for the workers of Lemek Group Ranch, since only seven males were employed outside the district in their first jobs. The figures also mean that, out of a total of 333 jobs occupied by all the workers across all age-levels in Lemek Ranch, only 19 jobs were found outside the district. This is somewhat remarkable given the trends indicated by some of the literature presented earlier.

It is clear that the presence of the Maasai Training Centre at Lemek Mission has made a difference to the wage-employment options of many of the local Maasai men and women. A number of men and women have not needed to go very far to find some form of labour, both casual and long-term. There has been regular and seasonal casual work for many women slashing grass in the extensive grounds of the Mission, the Maasai Training Centre and the secondary school. Forty eight of the females found casual work at the Mission or the Mission-run Boys' Secondary School at Lemek. This is the only major employer of women in the whole area.

Over the past ten or twenty years there has been much activity there in terms of building mission houses, a secondary boarding school for boys, a church, a convent and a clinic (now being enlarged to become a small hospital) as well as contract labour for many young men assisting in the building of numerous primary schools and teachers' houses within the general area of the Mission. These opportunities for casual and manual labour have therefore affected the circular migration patterns for quite a number of the young men who got their first taste of wage-employment at the Mission and then moved further afield to find more rewarding and secure employment.

For the purposes of the discussion, all of those who took up cattle-trading are regarded as being based in the Group Ranch, and, in fact, this was the case except for one man who has been living and working as a

trader in Tanzania. The commercial centre in the Ranch also provided employment for some, insofar as they owned properties there which were being rented out to various individuals, as we shall see later when we come to discuss the commercial centre at Lemek.

Of those who found work in The Maasai Mara, the numbers are about even for the educated and the non-educated (12 educated/13 non-educated in the first job, 11/7 in a second job, 3/1 in a third, and 2/1 for a fourth); for other work within the District, the educated group tended to move further afield (26 educated /10 non-educated in the first job, 14/5 in a second job and two educated in a third job).

Apart from these three centres of employment, 36 men and six women found initial employment in other parts of Narok District (26 educated men, six educated women and ten non-educated men). The educated group also tended to be the ones who found employment outside the district. Nairobi attracted two educated persons for the first job and then two educated/one non-educated for a second job, and one educated person for a fourth, fifth, and sixth job. Other parts of the country provided initial employment for four educated persons, then three of them in second jobs, and finally, one in a third job.

7.3.2. Who works where, and why: Loita sample

In the following Table, the location of employment is indicated for the workers from the Morijo Loita Sub-location:

Table 7.2. Place of employment of males of Morijo Loita Sub-location: By job number

Places	Job 1 0	E	Job 2-Job 4 0	E	Total jobs	% of total jobs
<hr/>						
<u>Within the District</u>						
Morijo Loita	66	23	2	8	99	46
Ilkerin Project	4	10	3	7	24	11
The Maasai Mara	1	11	2	9	23	11
other places within	8	21	2	5	36	17
<hr/>						
subtotals	79	65	9	29	182	85%
<hr/>						
<u>Outside the District</u>						
Nairobi	1	5	-	2	8	3
other places outside	7	9	1	8	25	12
<hr/>						
subtotals	8	14	1	10	33	15%
<hr/>						
Totals	87	79	10	39	215	
<hr/>						
Grandtotals*	166		49		215	100%

E: with some education 0: with no education

* Total jobs for educated and non-educated workers.

There were also 14 females who worked in a first job and four of these eventually found a second job:

Job 1: Three, non-educated, worked at the Project

Six with some education worked at the Project
 Three with some education worked in Morijo Loita
 Three with some education worked elsewhere in Narok District.

Job 2: Two with some education worked at the Project
 One with some education worked at Morijo Loita
 One with some education worked elsewhere in Narok District.

Again, it must be noted that a very high percentage of jobs (from the first to the fourth) were found within the district itself, 85% of all

jobs. Only 15% of the total number of jobs (215) were found outside the district. More Loita found initial jobs outside the district than did the Purko (12 as opposed to 7) but more Purko moved into subsequent jobs outside the district than did Loita (12 jobs as opposed to 11).

As with the Purko, there are three main employment bases for the Loita of the Morijo sample: Morijo Loita sub-division itself, the Integrated Loita Project at Ilkerin, and The Maasai Mara. Just as we saw among the Purko of Lemek, those Loita who worked as cattle-traders did so from their home-bases in the location and this job accounted for many of those who found their initial employment in Loita itself, 89 men and three women.

The Maasai Mara again provided wage-employment for 12 men in their initial jobs and a further 29 men (21 educated and eight non-educated) found their first jobs elsewhere in the district. A number of educated men (nine) found employment as teachers and this accounted for the fact that there were a number of men working in places outside the district. Other educated men found employment in the uniformed services, as Rangers (but not working in The Mara), and as watchmen. There were also a number of non-educated men (seven) who found work outside the district as watchmen, herdsman, farmhands, Kenya Army, and the Administration Police Force.

In Loita, the presence of the Ilkerin Integrated Development Project some 23 kms from the Morijo Loita centre has had some impact on the employment of the local Maasai. Though it has not provided the same number of job possibilities as has the Mission at Lemek, 14 men and nine women found initial wage-employment there. Part of the boundary of the Morijo Loita sub-location is adjacent to the perimeter fencing of this Project and yet if one looks at the number of male Maasai from the Morijo Loita area involved or employed there, one will find very few (14 in a first job situation) compared to the large numbers of workers employed within the Project as a whole.

The reason few Morijo Loita women have been employed in the tannery or the beadwork enterprises of the Project may be that quite a number of the bomas are too far away to allow them to travel there on a daily basis. A number of women do work regularly at the Project, but these come from other parts of Ilkerin (especially those living nearer to the Project and those coming from bomas on the other side, the north-western side of the Project) and do not form part of the catchment group for this study. This having been said, we should note that 11 out of the eighteen employed women from the sampled area who had found any employment had done so at the Project. Three women worked in the tannery and returned home each evening, and other women were living and working within the confines of the Project as canteen workers, teachers and clerks. (cf. Appendix 7C for complete list of employment, places, and years).

7.3.3. Employment locales: Lemek and Loita samples

It is important at this point in our analysis to look more carefully at the locales of employment across the two sites, both to point out the similarities and the differences: the localities and trading centres (Lemek and Morijo Loita towns) and Lemek Group Ranch versus Loita sub-location, the local Mission enterprises (Lemek and the Ilkerin Project), The Maasai Mara, and the diverse "other" range of occupations and places. We shall do this by taking into account all the jobs undertaken by the workers in the two sampled areas:

The most striking element which appears from this comparison and analysis is the fact that so few of the Maasai found work outside the district. Only 9% of all jobs were found outside Narok District whereas 91% were found within the district. Ninety-four percent of the jobs found by the Lemek males were within the district, as were 85% of all jobs of the Loita males.

Table 7.3. Locales of employment: Educated and non-educated males of Lemek and Loita by the total number of jobs undertaken: From first job through to sixth job

Occupation locale	Lemek workers	Loita workers	% of all jobs for both sites
<u>Within District</u>	%	%	
In locality	43	46	44
Mission (Lemek/Ilkerin)	19	11	16
The Maasai Mara	15	11	13
Other places in District	17	17	17
Subtotal	94%	85%	91%
<u>Outside District</u>			
Nairobi/and other places	6%	15%	9%
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%

The Table above immediately brings out the fact that there was greater employment in missions and The Mara by the workers of Lemek, and there was greater outside employment by the workers of Loita. It is obvious that these Maasai are not streaming out of the district to find jobs far from home nor are they involved in many jobs far from the pastoral mode of production and its spinoff activities.

The two localities provided more or less the same percentage possibilities of employment (43% and 46%), and the other places within Narok District were comparable in the percentage places they provided for the workers (17% in both cases). Lemek Mission provided 19% of the jobs in Lemek and Ilkerin Project provided 11% of those taken-up by the Loita. These two bases are positioned differently *vis-a-vis* the catchment groups which make up the two samples. On the one hand, the Mission is in the very centre of the Group Ranch and, on the other hand, Ilkerin Project is on the perimeter of Morijo Loita Sub-location just outside the sub-location boundaries. However, there are quite obvious differences, of which the most striking is that the Project is almost a small town in

itself with a huge labour force and many different enterprises being run from a central administration. The Mission at Lemek is much smaller in scale so has less employment and hiring potential than the Project. The Project, however, consciously attracts young educated Loita looking for employment near their homes (though sometimes the jobs available could be carried out by those with lesser qualifications), for example, one secondary school educated young man who lived within the sampled area of this research was given a job in the Project dispensing petrol with a hand-pump for the numerous vehicles of the Project. The Mission, on the other hand, primarily provides employment for those with little or no education (almost all the available jobs are casual or manual labour). The fact that so many Maasai find jobs in these two places may indicate the desire of some Maasai to work closer to home despite lower quality jobs and salaries.

7.4. The employment choices of the Maasai workers

We have investigated the chosen locales of the workers, and now we shall look more closely at the occupations found by the Maasai from the two sampled areas. It is obvious that large numbers of males were actively engaged in various jobs related to the pastoral economy as cattle traders and trekkers, herdsman, security guards for commercial ranches, hides and skins' dealers, dip attendants, etc. Because of the heavy involvement of numbers of non-educated males in certain pastoral related occupations, such as trekking and trading, we shall spend a little time discussing some ethnographic material related to these occupations as they were and as they have evolved in Maasailand.

7.4.1. Raiders or traders?

New economic opportunities for Maasai ilmurran

Participation in cattle trekking and trading is not, by any means, a new activity among the Maasai. But there is quite obviously a more marked and determined shift towards this activity by the young Maasai men. It represents a very definite involvement in the national economy and an attempt on the part of a large segment of the non-educated Maasai male population to find themselves a new and expanded economic niche. There were at least 65 men in Lemek and a further 60 in Morijo Loita who were involved in cattle trading as their first form of employment (others took it up as a second or third job after having pursued some other work as their first or second choice). The amount of time invested in this activity varies from man to man, but generally speaking one can say that their involvement is full-time. This shift towards trading should be viewed not merely in purely economic terms, but in the context of socio-cultural changes taking place among Maasai ilmurran.

7.4.1.1. Traditional raiding patterns of the ilmurran

In the past, the ilmurran were expected, after their promotion in the eunoto ceremonies, to organize themselves and to raid other groups of cattle-keeping peoples for the purpose of obtaining cattle to augment their family holdings and to replenish those lost to drought or disease. The more daring and fruitful the raids, the more prestige accrued to the young warrior. This activity was but one aspect of emurano (moran-hood) and involved leaving home for long periods of time and living together in the bush following a spartan life style. It also produced a degree of camaraderie, and resulted in the young men acquiring distinction at home (especially among the girls) because of their prowess and daring, etc. There was a high degree of danger involved in the raiding, both from wild

animals and from the group protecting its cattle; there was also an element of competition and rivalry between the individual olmorrani and his peers.

Another element of emurano was the fact that the warriors were expected to safeguard the lives of the herders as well as protect the herds themselves from raiding parties, impikasi. This activity, raiding to rebuild the herds by taking from the herds of others was not seen as "theft" in the western accepted sense of a misdemeanour or crime. Galaty and Doherty have stated that:

stock-theft is the playing out of a culturally recognized scenario which is seen as a strategy of ambition or need, rather than as a moral or social flaw (1989:17).

Over the years, the warriors' sustained or continuous living in the emanyata oolmuran (or in the emanyata eunoto, or the emanyata olnq'eshar, or the emanyata olorika) has declined in a number of places, particularly involvement in the first of these, the "warriors' village". ' The whole process of warriorhood through to the final stages of entry into elderhood appears to have been contracted or hastened into a much shorter period of time. This is but one indication of the effects of national and local government pressures on the Maasai to get rid of the process and period of "warriorhood" altogether. Some of these pressures have come from ridicule and criticisms of being "primitive", "backward", and "resistant to change and development" published in the national press and discussed on the national radio; pressure to send their children to school applied through local government chiefs and administrative officials; pressures due to rapid population growth in the district and the corresponding diminution of the available grazing land and other resources (salt licks for the cattle and dry land grazing areas). Some of the pressures come from within Maasai society itself, from elders, from politicians, and from those who wish to see the Maasai dropping the trappings of what they see as outdated traditions and embracing modern practices of education and employment.

However, there is little evidence to support the fact that moranism is yet finished. In fact, the opposite is patently and visibly true. In 1990, there were two huge Loita imanyat olorika near Ormesutie, Loita, comprised of almost 250 huts. This is "the settlement of the stool" which is the name of a ceremony observed by some of the iloshon (Sections) of the Maasai as a final blessing before the young men settle down to the responsibilities of Maasai elderhood (cf. Mol 1978:102ff;151).

In addition to the closing ceremonies for one age-level among the Loita, Purko young men have recently completed the ceremonies and the rites related to the initial moves towards the "opening of the left hand side of their age-level". This will mean that the elders and the iloibonok (ritual experts or medicine-men) will give their permission for the new age-level to begin to be circumcised according to tradition. Already, all over Maasailand, one may see small groups of ilaibartak (newly circumcised youths) in their black shuka (toga like sheet) proudly wearing their olmerisian (stuffed birds' headdresses), hunting birds and shooting play arrows at the young women and girls. Though there appears to be a shortening of the periods at various levels of the process, the full ritual cycle is still followed by both Loita and Purko.

7.4.1.2. Changes in the role of the ilmurran

Countless are the occasions when various government officials, both Maasai and non-Maasai, have called for the dismantling of the ilmurran system. In the past, perhaps there was reason enough for certain negative attitudes towards the ilmurran and their activities especially cattle-raiding. However, the vehemence of the verbal and written attacks upon the system often leave one wondering just what is at the base of the negativism and the determination to crush this Maasai cultural phenomenon.

There have been changes in the role and the function of this warrior group. One of the most obvious is the apparent diminution in the number

of recorded cattle raids. The civil law penalties for cattle theft are quite prohibitive, 14 years imprisonment, in some cases, and the death sentence if accompanied by violence. The chances of "getting away with it" are so remote as to make the effort and attempt almost worthless.

What is now emerging is a greater economic involvement of the warrior age-level in commerce and cattle trading. This involvement is closely related to a number of inter-related socio-economic changes in the Maasai way of life. There has been a distinct shift towards smaller and smaller herds appearing to be the norm for many Maasai families, at least in parts of Narok District. This, in turn, is related to the decrease in available grazing-grounds and the diminishing need for the presence of the warriors as guards. The Maasai are losing valuable grazing areas all over Maasailand particularly on the border areas as well as pockets of land within the two districts which are being sold and leased as the process of individuation increases and spreads.

As the need for warrior-herders diminishes, there is an increasing trend to use girls and young women as herders and herdsmen. With the extension of the family diet to include more and more grain and vegetable foods grown in the family bustani (garden) or shamba (field), the ilmurran are becoming more and more "domesticated" than was previously the case and these days some of them may be found digging and weeding in the family garden. The presence of some of these fundamental changes and pressures, particularly the diminished grazing-grounds and herd size, are slowly bringing about changes in the Maasai parents' attitude towards education. In spite of the relatively low Maasai enrolment in the primary schools in parts of Maasailand, there has obviously been an increase in the numbers of younger children being sent to school and in the number of young men who are circumcised and then return to school to finish their education. For example, most of the 200 young men attending the diocesan secondary school at Lemek belong to the warrior group. They were circumcised and then returned to school to continue their education instead of joining

their age-mates remaining in their home areas.

Though it is still true that the warriors wander off to visit other homesteads or villages and to call on friends and age-mates in other areas, there certainly appears to be a strong tendency now to keep within sight of the family boma for much longer periods than they did in the past. One interesting situation that is also emerging in parts of Narok Maasailand is the fact that many young men are marrying girls who are their neighbours, living within the same Group Ranch, and, in some cases, even girls from within the same village or boma. This could well be related to two factors; that many of the young men no longer travel over great distances to graze their animals nor do they come in contact with as many families, and therefore eligible brides, as they did previously; and secondly the fact that in some of these cases there is a low bridewealth involved. This lack of mobility, of course, does not apply to those young men who are actively engaged in cattle trekking and trading within the district who do tend to cover great distances.

7.4.1.3. Present day trading

The young men no longer engage in cattle raids (at least not as blatantly) and many are actively engaged in cattle trekking and trading across the whole of Maasailand. Galaty and Doherty have pointed out the similarities between this activity and that of the ilmurran of the past:

Cattle trekking represents a mechanism for young men to accumulate capital and to build up a herd, much as raiding once did. To obtain the initial financial support with which to begin trekking, young men may approach a political patron, may sell existing stock in anticipation of later gain, affiliate with an established trekker, or even take a loan from the Agriculture Finance Corporation. ...The cattle trekker usually invests in heifers and bull-calves for breeding purposes with the aim of using the market to build up his family herd and rejoin pastoral activity (1989: 30-31).

Quite a number of these traders go away from home for long periods of time and cover huge stretches of terrain. Many cross into the neighbouring districts within Kenya and some even go across the interna-

tional border and trade in Tanzania. They lead a very simple way of life and most of the time they are living together in the bush as a "company" not too dissimilar to the empikas, the raiding group of old. There is a degree of camaraderie in the face of dangers, both from wild animals and from thieves along the way (including the dangers of meeting up with corrupt officials and others who are looking for bribes, etc.). Evangelou noted this same phenomenon among the traders he interviewed:

Traders operate independently in the buying and selling of livestock, despite a camaraderie and group identity even beyond that found generally among Maasai (1984:219)

Competition and rivalry are still present in this modern equivalent of "raiding" and those young men who are successful come through the system with a name for being wise and competent businessmen. The profits still accrue to their families in the form of cash or newly purchased animals for their own family herds.

Indeed, in my Lemek sample, 56 of the 70 traders interviewed saw cattle trading as a substitute for the practices of traditional moranism and mentioned the following as some of the similarities: Getting animals through hardship; spending most of the time away from home; involvement of the younger men who are in competition with each other in trading; the profit element is present in both trading and traditional raiding but the former does not have the risks and the fighting of the latter; "footing it" over long distances in what are sometimes strange and foreign places; both jobs are done for prestige and esteem and both are exposed to many dangers; both jobs involve risks and quick riches for those who are successful; both tasks are done for personal profit and their families.

These facts confirm the findings of Evangelou who interviewed a number of traders some years ago:

... the attraction of trading is more than economic, as most traders view it as also simply a way of making life more enjoyable than it would be otherwise, 'staying at home looking after cattle.' Contributing to this positive aura, cattle trading is one of the few forms of regular employment which does not compromise the Maasai life-style. One's cultural identity is fully retained, and for young men even enhanced (Evangelou 1984:220).

This same author discovered that the primary reason given by the traders for their involvement in trading was their response to consumption demands, with food purchases most commonly mentioned. The second reason given was to obtain money to purchase cattle for the increase of their personal herds.

7.4.1.4. Joblessness among the young

In a sense, the age-level, 20-35 years, is changing its own economic niche in Maasai society and in the larger Kenyan society. In an article entitled: "How to tackle the problem of moran joblessness" (Nation 26/4/87) Mohammed ole Sekenkei wrote:

logic will certainly dictate that to be a moran is at least more honourable than to be a houseboy, a watchman or a vagabond in Nairobi.

What was enlightening from my survey was the fact that very, very few men, young or old, had ever worked in Nairobi in any capacity, let alone as a houseboy, watchman, or vagabond. Ole Sekenkei sees the problem of moranism as a reflection of joblessness: "you cannot discuss moranism in Maasailand without making a reference to joblessness and vice versa." In certain ways, this is perfectly true, the new ilmurran are without jobs at both the traditional cultural level, and at the economic, wage-generating level. All too few of them are lacking an education adequate enough to enable them to enter the competitive job market. In this sense, Sekenkei's statement and observations are both valid and pertinent.

On the other hand, these are also the same young men (generally within the 20-35 years age-level) who also find wage-employment either in their own areas or, if necessary, in other areas of Kenya. The data indicate, for example, that 41% of the 30-39 years age-level of Loita have been or are currently employed in one form of salaried non-traditional job or another. The data also indicate that very few of Maasai of Narok District actually migrate to the urban areas of Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru, etc., but quite a number "migrate" to the Game Lodges of The Mara or join the Game Rangers or the local Administration Police; both of which groups work for the Narok County Council. Of nearly 4,000 people in the Lemek Group Ranch, only eight went to Nairobi for work. On the other hand, trading is presenting an alternative source of employment for a large number of young and poorly educated Maasai men (cf. Evangelou 1986; Watson 1958).

7.4.1.5. Mistaken assumptions concerning cattle traders

There are a number of assumptions about the young men involved in this trekking and trading which should be clarified. The data we have presented indicate that not all are young, poor, idle, non-educated, and unmarried (which is the impression given by some government officials and administrators). There is also a distinct hierarchy at work within the trekkers - an extension of the age grades and sets - since there are older and well established trekkers coming from senior age-levels who pass on ideas and information and skills to the younger, less experienced trekkers (cf. Evangelou 1984). It is our contention that trekking and trading provide peer group and cultural support not only for the warrior age-group in what is a period of pressure and transition for the young Maasai, but also provides a cultural and economic niche for the junior elders in the period immediately preceding or just after marriage. There appears to be some similarity with the newly circumcised Xhosa young men of the Transkei who enter the ranks of the migrant mine-workers (Mayer 1971).

7.4.2. Cattle traders: Lemek and Loita

Our data in Chapter Five showed that significant numbers of non-educated young men are actively involved in trekking and trading and that these are generally between the ages of 20 and 35 years of age. Nearly 63% in Lemek and 39% in Loita come from comparatively rich homesteads having 100 or more head of cattle. A number of these young men are attracted to the work because of the hazards and the shared challenges rather than for reasons of poverty or destitution. There is obviously too, the keen desire to get sufficient money to be able to raise their families' standard of living and to increase their own personal wealth and stock or herd numbers. In a certain sense there is also a form of peer group pressure and cultural pressure on the young man to engage himself in such an occupation rather than to become involved in the more dangerous task of cattle-raiding. A considerable number of men across the district have been, and still are, involved in the pastoral activities associated with trading and we shall now take a closer look at this occupation in our two sample areas.

There were 60 non-educated and five educated men from Lemek Ranch who had or were still engaged in cattle-trading as their first occupation (of these 65 men, 51 were still working as traders in this their first and only job. The ages range from 18 years to 57 years. Sixty four of the traders worked out of Lemek Group Ranch and the only one who did not do so was a person who had just two head of cattle. This man left Kenya and worked for six or seven years in Tanzania as a cattle-trader. His family was so poor that his sons' and daughters' circumcisions had to be postponed because they did not have sufficient wealth to provide the necessary meat and beer for the festivities. Eventually, when the father did return, his children were circumcised only because they were invited to join the children of another boma in the vicinity; in this way the father only had to provide partial offerings of meat and beer.

In Loita, 75 men were involved as cattle traders (of these traders 37 were still working in this their first occupation). In spite of the unusual case noted above, one of the assumptions often repeated about cattle traders is that they are the poorest of the Maasai desperately trying to reestablish themselves in pastoralist society by buying and selling cattle to build up their own herds. Forty traders in Loita and 49 traders in Lemek had more than 50 head of cattle and some ranged up to 800. Only 9% of the traders in Lemek had 20 or fewer animals, and 23% of the Loita men had 20 or fewer head of cattle.

Table 7.4. Cattle holdings of cattle traders by selected age-levels: Expressed as percentages of total families in each wealth stratum and total population: Lemek and Loita

Lemek Group Ranch									
Cattle	Age-levels				Total	%	Popu	%	Traders as %
	15-19	20-29	30-39	40+	traders		lation		of families in
							total		each stratum
1-20	1	2	2	1	6	9%	143	29%	4%
30-70	-	10	7	1	18	28%	142	28%	13%
100-300	-	14	11	3	28	43%	177	36%	16%
400+	-	3	4	6	13	20%	33	7%	39%
Totals	1	29	24	11	65	100%	495	100%	
Moriyo Loita Sub-location									
	15-19	20-29	30-39	40+	Total	%			
0-20	-	7	6	4	17	23%	88	47%	19%
25-90	1	7	16	5	29	39%	58	31%	50%
100-300	1	4	10	10	25	33%	33	18%	78%
350+		2	2	-	4	5%	8	4%	50%
Totals	2	20	34	19	75	100%	187	100%	

Note: The data reported in Tables 4.2 and 4.5 were used to compute the percentages in the final column of the above Table.

It should be noted that because the addition of the traders themselves would have skewed the percentages, the numbers of traders were deducted

from the numbers of heads of household in each wealth stratum. If the traders had been included then their presence would have biased the cattle holdings and made it difficult to verify or deny the very characteristic we were looking for - the cattle holdings of cattle traders in relation to the holdings of families in each wealth category. Most families only had one cattle trader coming from each family; in Loita, there were only four families with two men working as traders and, in Lemek, there were only three such cases.

Table 7.4 indicates the numbers of traders who come from the poorest end of the wealth spectrum and the numbers from the middle- and upper-ranges of that spectrum. These data show that the highest percentage of traders comes from, or has moved into, the richer wealth levels in Lemek where 63% of the traders come from the two highest wealth levels. Because these two wealth categories represent 43% of the total population, we can see a strong overrepresentation of traders in them. For Loita, the effect is the same but at a lower level, 38% of the traders come from the two highest wealth levels, in contrast to 22% of the normal population, a 16 percentage points difference and a strong overrepresentation. In Loita, 39% of the traders come from the middle-range wealth category (again representing a higher than expected rate).⁴⁸

The wealth of the cattle traders may also be viewed within the context of the numbers of families within each wealth stratum. Looked at from this perspective, some interesting observations may be made. In Lemek, 39% of the total number of households in the very rich stratum have traders; similarly, 16% of the households in the rich stratum have traders, and a further 13% of the families in the middle-range have produced cattle traders. The 6 traders coming from the poorer group of Maasai represent only 4% of the total number of families in that stratum who have traders. In Loita, the percentages are much higher; 50% of the very rich group, 78% of the rich stratum, and a further 50% of the middle-range group have traders. Traders' families are 4% of the total in the

poor stratum in Lemek and 19% of the total poor families in Loita.

The ages of these men ranged from 18 to 57 years among the Lemek traders, and 19 to 67 years for the Loita group which worked mostly out of Morijo Loita itself (71), but one was working elsewhere in the district and one was working outside the district (cf. Table 7.5). Two of the cattle traders opened their own stores in Lemek; one after four years as a cattle trader, and the other after three years of trading. Whether or not they obtained the capital to do this as a direct result of cattle trading is not clear. Certainly, both men came from families which are regarded as "rich" by Maasai standards even before they began to work as cattle traders. The discussion here focuses on the actual economic standing of the traders at the time of the research (1989-90); it is not a question of whether wealth influences them in choosing trading as a career choice.

We have already commented on the arduous nature of cattle-trekking and trading and certainly it is not an occupation which the very young men adopt for any length of time, probably for the above reason. This is borne out by the statistics which indicate that the average age for the traders is 32 (Lemek) or 34 (Loita) years of age. On the other hand, Evangelou (1984:214) found that the traders in his samples came from young men in their twenties. Another reason for this later age-level is the fact that a certain amount of capital is needed to start in the cattle trading business and many, if not most, young men lack this initial capital. This question of the Maasai ability to apply successfully for loans and credit is very relevant to the two issues of land and cattle. One of the purposes behind the granting of title-deeds to land, which could be presented as collateral, was to facilitate applications for loans. In the absence of title-deeds, a number of men sometimes borrow from their families and friends and then work off their debt over a period of time. Another strategy is for a small group to form a cooperative and appeal for a loan from the government. There are no such cooperatives in

Lemek Group Ranch and only in 1990 did some of the traders in Morijo Loita and Ilkerin form themselves into registered cooperatives. This cooperative development in Loita was occasioned by the realisation that the World Bank was investing in a Project to improve livestock marketing in the district. One of the ways to obtain credit for trading was to be registered as a cooperative. The most common way for many young men to enter the world of cattle trading is to start with just a few animals and to trek them to market together with others, gradually building up their capital and their purchases.⁴⁹ Apart from establishing a more formal cooperative group, the traders very often group together to form a loose kind of mutual-aid society in which they lend money and time to each other.

Not all traders reinvest their profits in new stock. Many are now banking much of their profit or trying to invest it in land purchases. It is very difficult to say if trading is a lucrative business. Generally speaking, though the traders encountered are not educated, they are not among the poorest of the Maasai. The fact that only 4% in Lemek and 19% in Loita come from the poor stratum would indicate that most are not poor.

Table 7.5. Cattle traders by selected age-levels and employment status compared by Mean cattle-holdings: Lemek and Loita.

	Mean cattle-holdings					
	20-29 years		30-39 years		40-59 years	
	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta
All men in age-level:	150	94	138	90	119	95
All traders in age-level whether still working or left trading:	165	110	188	113	232	111
All traders still working as cattle-traders in their first job:	165	136	187	173	232	155

The data help us get some sense of how the cattle holdings of the cattle traders compare to those of other men. The first row of figures

indicates the cattle wealth of all the men in each respective age-level. The comparison shows that the traders are wealthier than average, and the richest among the traders are those who are still working as traders in their first job, especially the traders of Lemek in the 40-59 years group (for whom the Mean is 232 head of cattle). The wealth appears to increase over the age-levels, but the fact that the older men who are still working as traders are among the richest in terms of personal cattle-holdings is not so surprising since these men have been working longer and have therefore had time to acquire more animals for their family herds. In the same way, the figure for the traders as a whole for that age-level in Lemek yields an equally high Mean of 232 head of cattle. One only has to glance down the columns to see that the Mean is quite high for all the traders in both places. Obviously, the younger men will have fewer animals since they will just be starting their own herds, but even in this case the figures for the traders are higher than the figures for their peers across the age-level and not so very far behind their elders. The difference between Loita and Lemek is less for traders than for ordinary folk. Overall, these data hardly support the image of traders are "poor Maasai" struggling to reestablish their herds.

7.4.3. Hired herdsmen and shepherds: Lemek and Loita

Another important occupational choice made by some of the men, both non-educated and educated, was to make themselves available as hired herdsmen or shepherds for richer Maasai within the Ranch and for other sheep and cattle owners outside the Ranch, and, in some cases, even outside the District (cf. Sperling 1984, for a detailed discussion on the labour recruitment practices among the Samburu of Kenya). This occupation does not need any ethnographic introduction since it is the most obvious choice for Maasai pastoralists looking for wage-employment. Traditionally, though it was not directly done for monetary gain, the Maasai have always

exchanged young men within families and groups in order that those families who needed young herders have a sufficient labour pool from which to draw for their herding needs (cf. Sperling 1987a). As we shall see, those who tended towards this occupation were the younger men in both areas, in fact, in Lemek particularly, one or two whole families of poor youngsters were working for richer Maasai in the Ranch to get money for clothes and food and generally to support their younger brothers and sisters. An example of this family hiring would be the following case where the family holdings are 10 head of cattle and 20 shoats: The family is comprised of an elderly man, his three wives, and their children. The father sends six sons to work as hired herdsmen in the surrounding area. The ages of these young men range from 20 to seven years of age (20, 18, 11, 9, 9, 7). This same father also allowed one of the daughters, aged 13 years, to be employed in Nairobi as an aya for another Maasai family.

This practice of employing very young boys as herders means that the ages of the 30 hired herders from Lemek ranged from seven years to 60 years and, in fact, 17 of them were 20 years of age or below. Though there was also a wide age-range among the Loita herdsmen, 14 to 75 years of age, there were only 11 men working as hired herdsmen, which could reflect a difference in the socio-economic situation within the two areas where there appeared to be more "poverty" among some of the families in the Group Ranch (cf. Tables 4.2 and 4.5). More than 46% of the families in Lemek Group Ranch had 50 or fewer cattle.

This aspect of the poor Maasai allowing their children to be hired as herdsmen for the rich Maasai, or older men themselves working as herdsmen, is one of the reasons why a number of Maasai indicated that this was a task for the poor. In the case of Lemek, the Median for the cattle wealth of the herdsmen was as low as 10 (Mean of 40), and Loita was lower with a Mean of 16 head of cattle.⁵⁰ Youngsters were employed near their homes but some of the older men preferred to work away from home (especially in the area of Kitale) if they had to resort to this form of wage-employment.

It is hard to pin it down, but there may be a stigma attached to those families constrained to send their children out as hired herders for richer families. Generally speaking, it is not seen as an attractive occupation, but a kazi haina maana (a job having no point). It appeared to be more acceptable as a full-time job for youngsters and for very old men, but not for men in the working-age group (15-40 years).

The number of years spent working as herdsmen for those in Lemek ranged from one year to ten and the number of years spent in herding among the Loita as a first job ranged from one to 17 years. The interviewed herdsmen got their payments in a variety of ways and often this depended upon their own personal choice. Some got cash payments, others got occasional gifts of small stock, and still others, especially the children, worked and got nothing personally, but their parents got food, meat, and milk from the employer.

In Lemek, there were 26 non-educated and four educated herdsmen; 19 of them worked within the Ranch, 11 of them worked away from home (five in The Mara, herding for one of the principal chiefs, five in other parts of the district and one outside the district). Of these 30 men, 18 were still working in this first choice of job and eight of them continued into a second job as we shall see shortly.

The difference between the numbers of educated and non-educated men working as herdsmen was much the same for Loita where there was just one herdsman with some education and 10 others who were non-educated working in their first jobs. Two men worked in the Project, two in Morijo Loita, one in The Mara, four in other places within the district and two in places outside the district (mainly in Kitale). At the time of our interviews, there were six herdsmen still working in this their first job.

The cattle wealth of the Lemek herdsmen was, as one would expect, quite low. Some had no cattle, but one had as many as 400 head of cattle. The Mean for Lemek was 40, the Median were 10. The cattle-holdings of the Loita herdsmen were even lower than those of the Lemek herdsmen, ranging

from 0-60 head of cattle which also reflected the differences in cattle-holdings generally (the Mean was 16 head of cattle). The Median for both sites was 10 head of cattle.

7.4.4. Watchmen: Lemek and Loita sample

This is perhaps the category about which most "myths" have been generated regarding both the numbers of men involved in the work and the place where they are reputed to go for employment. There are many stories and comments among Kenyan urban householders about the "honesty", the "ferocity" and the "hardiness" of the Maasai watchmen in Nairobi and elsewhere who are reputed "to strike first and ask questions afterwards." Often, the impression is given that there are great numbers of Maasai males making their way to the urban centres of Kenya, notably Nairobi, to take up this type of work (cf. Kituyi 1990). This view was not supported by the data nor by personal contact with a number of "Maasai" in Nairobi. It was not the purpose of this research to investigate the migrant groups in the city of Nairobi, but on numerous occasions, particularly when it was not possible to work in the research areas, contact was made with various men working as watchmen in that city. Many of those contacted were Maasai from Kajiado district and others were not Maasai but were Samburu or WaRusha (from Tanzania just across the border), but are called "Maasai" by the city dwellers. Quite a number of the Samburu refer to themselves as Maasai and this is accepted by their employers. Not one watchman was met who claimed to have come from Narok district, nor did our data from Lemek or Loita identify any such people. This could well be an excellent area for future research - to follow up the migrant Maasai workers in Nairobi and develop some cases studies on them and their families (cf. Aronson 1978).

In terms of a first job, there were eleven non-educated men and one school dropout from Lemek who worked as watchmen (according to their own

classification) within Narok District. Three had worked in Lemek Mission, two elsewhere within the Group Ranch, two on the Loita Plains (adjacent to the Ranch), two outside the Ranch but within the District and three had worked as watchmen in The Maasai Mara. Seven of the watchmen are still working in this first job, including two men working as watchmen in The Maasai Mara. Not one had worked as a watchman in Nairobi or in any other urban area of the country. In fact, as with the herdsmen, most of these men working as "watchmen" were actually herdsmen or shepherds under another name. Often they worked as night guards for cattle and sheep ranches in other parts of the district or elsewhere; some worked as guards on various sub-chiefs' ranches on the edge of The Mara where the threat of attacks by wild animals is a real and ongoing risk.

Just seven men from Loita were working as watchmen for their first form of employment (three non-educated and four with some education). Two men worked in the Project, one in The Mara, two in other places within the district, and two outside the district. Two of the watchmen working locally moved into a similar second job but this time they also moved away from home (one man spent two years in The Mara, then four years on the ranches in Kitale and then moved back to The Mara where he has been working for the past four years).

The number of years spent in this first job as watchmen by the Purko men from Lemek ranged from one year to nine years and the number of years spent in this category of job by the handful of Loita men ranged from one year to 12 years. The ages for both the Lemek and the Loita watchmen ranged from 23 to 50 years. The cattle wealth for the Purko watchmen again was low for almost all cases, ranging from 2-42 head of cattle and the range for the Loita men was from 0-30 cattle (cf. comparative data on page 253).

7.4.5. Other jobs: Lemek and Loita

In Lemek, there were 46 non-educated males and 63 educated males who found first jobs other than those of cattle-trader, herder, or watchman. Not many stayed in their first job (in this category) and at the time of the research only 36 were still working in what they had chosen as their first occupation.¹¹ Lemek Mission as a centre of employment has provided casual employment for both men and women. Over the years, 44 men have found various forms of employment within Lemek Mission, mostly (31) as casual labour (one young man started in casual labour, then worked as mission cook, progressed to mission driver, and finally worked again as a casual labourer). Another young man with no education followed almost the same path. He began as mission cook, befriended some Asians in Nairobi who helped him to get a driving licence there, then he returned as a driver for one of the chiefs for one year and finally got his present job as a driver for one of the Lodges in The Maasai Mara.

Ten workers started their first job in the Mission (eight as casual workers, one as a tailor and one as a cobbler) and later found a second or third job locally; for example, the tailor began his own little business in the local centre, but the cobbler became a herdsman for his second job and then returned to the Mission as a casual labourer for his third. There were seven non-educated men who started in the Mission and then found their second jobs away from home mostly as casual labourers in The Mara (on the building sites of the new Lodges), though one became a waiter in the Lodges for his second job.

Some of the other first jobs undertaken locally, within the Group Ranch itself, by these non-educated males were: self-employed dealer in hides and skins, two store owners, catechist, self-employed carpenter (still working after 15 years), assistant chief, chairman of the Group Ranch, and contract ploughman. Among the first jobs found away from home, there were five Rangers (three with an education and two without), working

in The Maasai Mara and nine (six educated and three non-educated) working in tourist Lodges in The Mara.

In Loita, 11 non-educated men and 56 educated men had worked in first jobs other than the three categories of traders, herdsman, and watchmen, and, of these, 59 were still working.³² Three were self-employed and eight were in the Uniformed Services (Kenya Army and Police) and 11 were Rangers working in The Maasai Mara. One non-educated older man has been working in Kitale as a member of the KANU Youth Wing for the past four years and another older non-educated man had worked in the past as an Administration Policeman (for 16 years) and then as a driver for two further periods of eight years and ten years. The only university graduate encountered in Loita had worked as a teacher in his first job, then he worked in one of the Kenya Breweries' offices for his second job, and then returned to secondary school teaching for his third job (in which he is still engaged).

7.5. Age, wealth, and duration in eight selected jobs

Now that we have covered a number of jobs in which the workers of the two sampled areas were engaged, we shall attempt to get some sense of the profiles of the different types of person engaged in these varied forms of employment through such indicators as age, cattle wealth, and duration of stay in their first job (which also implies some form of job mobility).

Of the 65 men who began work as cattle traders in Lemek, 52 were still working in that first job; of the 75 first-time traders in Loita, 37 were still working in this their first and only choice of employment. There are obvious differences between the types of persons who worked as herdsman or teachers, but some of the occupational contrasts are interesting since they appear to be similar for the two sites.

Table 7.6. Mean for age, wealth (cattle), and number of years in first job for eight selected occupations:
Lemek and Loita

	Cattle traders		Herdsman		Watchmen		Teachers	
	Lemek	Loita	Lemek	Loita	Lemek	Loita	Lemek	Loita
Age Mean	32	34	22	29	36	31	35	37
Wealth Mean	183	110	40	16	15	10	345	87
Duration Mean	6	6	3	4	4	5	9	10
	Rangers		Clerical workers		Vet/Dip attendants		Uniformed Services	
	Lemek	Loita	Lemek	Loita	Lemek	Loita	Lemek	Loita
Age Mean	31	36	36	33	32	34	35	41
Wealth Mean	233	72	125	89	94	93	250	117
Duration Mean	6	6	4	7	4	5	6	8

Age: The herdsmen are the youngest workers in both sampled areas where they are represented by workers in their twenties whereas the other categories are shown as men in their thirties (or in one category in their forties). After the herdsmen, in Lemek, the Rangers are the next youngest, followed by the cattle traders and dip attendants, then the uniformed servicemen and the teachers, and finally, the oldest groups are the watchmen and the clerical workers. In Loita, the watchmen follow the herdsmen as the second youngest group, then come the traders and the dip attendants (as in Lemek) followed by the Rangers, then the teachers and finally the uniformed services as the oldest group."

Wealth: In both places, the poorest workers were the watchmen and the second poorest groups were the herdsmen. Then there was a difference between the two places; in Lemek, the next poorest were the dip attendants, then the clerical workers, followed by the traders, the Rangers, the uniformed personnel, and finally, the richest group, the teachers. The teachers are among the richest because they earn good salaries and many appear to invest their money in their cattle-holdings and in modern housing. In Loita, the Rangers were among the poorer groups, coming after the herdsmen, then came the teachers, the clerical workers, the dip attendants, the traders, and finally, the uniformed servicemen who were the richest among the working groups. The cattle traders were certainly not at the lowest end of this scale of wealth and were, in fact, richer than the herdsmen and watchmen in Loita. The Lemek profile indicates more wealth than the Loita profile, showing a possible regional wealth difference which has also been indicated elsewhere in this study.⁵⁴

Duration in first job: There was great similarity between the two areas with regard to this variable. Those showing the shortest duration in the first job from both sampled areas were the herdsmen, followed by the watchmen and the dip attendants. In Lemek, the clerical workers showed the same low or short duration period as these two latter groups. This could be due to the fact that those men who became clerks were educated and often this type of work is regarded as "suitable" employment for one with some education, especially Form Four or Form Six school leavers. However, all too often, the person finds that there are other job possibilities open to them and once they have looked around the job market, and made one or two contacts, they tend to change jobs fairly quickly (for example, the university graduate who has had at least six jobs a number of which could be classed as clerical work). There could also be present within this group a good deal of job dissatisfaction and

the desire to keep striving for a better job. The title "clerical work" covers a host of 'non-manual' occupations, for example, the title of Revenue Clerk for the Narok County Council often implies some form of Ranger-cum-Gatekeeper-cum-Ticket Collector at the gates of The Maasai Mara Game Reserve. With regard to cattle traders and Rangers, the two areas again showed a similarity of order, insofar as the traders and the Rangers came next on this scale of duration. The group showing the longest duration in their first job choice from both samples was the teaching profession.¹⁵

It is apparent that the occupations singled out here have quite different profiles and are pursued by different persons. In both sampled areas, the herders tend to be the youngest, the poorest and the least likely to stay in their first job for any great length of time. Generally speaking, this is also true for the watchmen of both areas, except for the fact that, in Lemek, the watchmen are among the oldest group. The teachers tend to be among the oldest, richest, and longest working from both samples.

The fact that the herders show the shortest duration could well be influenced by the age factor, since, if herders are among the youngest workers as we have demonstrated, they would not have had the same time to accumulate a number of years in their jobs. On the other hand, the data represent the histories of jobs across all the age-levels or generations and therefore the herdsman from the older generations will have had the same opportunities as the other workers to complete their desired periods of occupancy in their chosen occupation.

The reason why the younger men only work as herdsman for short periods of time could be related to the fact that, at a certain point in time, as they come to the age for circumcision, they are pulled out of their jobs, circumcised, and then they are expected to join the ranks of the warriors. As we have seen, a number of young men move between herding and cattle trading which is now becoming a very acceptable occupation for the warrior

age-levels. The duration of employment tends to be a little higher in Loita perhaps because they are more "cut off" than the Lemek Maasai and there are fewer job opportunities locally available to them and therefore they tend to hold on to them for longer periods once they get a job.

7.6. Conclusion

With regard to age, wealth, and duration of stay in the first job, the data indicate that herders are the youngest, then watchmen, and traders are the oldest (in Lemek the watchmen were older than the traders). Watchmen were among the poorest, followed by the herders, and the traders were among the wealthiest in both sites. The traders stayed the longest in their first job and the herders spent the shortest time. The profiles for Lemek and Loita were similar in these regards, but there was higher wealth in Lemek and the greatest proportion of families in Loita were found among the poor.

There are several interesting findings in this chapter. One finding is related to the cattle traders and their economic standing in the communities. Cattle trading is positively correlated with wealth, contrary to the notion that only the poor turn to trading while the rich stay at home. In Lemek, cattle traders are drawn from (or gradually move into) the richer wealth levels; the highest percentage of traders came from the richest group (63%), which only represents 43% of the population, giving a 20 percentage points difference and stronger representation than expected. In Loita, the percentage coming from the richest group (38%) was 16 percentage points above the rate for the total population, 22%, and again showed a greater than to be expected representation. Looking at traders as percentages of the numbers of families in each wealth category, we see that 78% of the total families in the rich stratum and 50% of the families in the very rich stratum of Loita have traders compared to 16% of the rich and 39% of the total very rich families of Lemek who have

traders. These percentages of traders' families were confirmed by the fact that the Mean cattle holdings for traders was high across all age-levels in both sites.

A second important finding is related to the employment locales of the workers of the two sites. Of all jobs across all age-levels for the workers in Lemek, 94% were found within the district; 85% of the workers in Loita (again across all age-levels) found employment within the district. When all the jobs are combined for both sites and all age-levels, the data indicate that only 9% of these jobs were found outside the district. Only eight workers from Lemek ever went to Nairobi to find employment. However, quite a number did go to The Maasai Mara for employment. We shall now look at this important employment locale as well as the two retail trading centres of Lemek and Morijo Loita.

CHAPTER EIGHT

TWO SELECTED EMPLOYMENT LOCALES:
WORK IN THE MARA AND TRADING CENTRES

8.1. Introduction

In Chapter Six, we discussed the numbers of men and women who had found work, in one capacity or another, in The Maasai Mara. At that point in the study we did not discuss, in any great detail, the actual jobs undertaken nor the specific places of work. This chapter will discuss the nature of Maasai employment, especially in The Maasai Mara, the biggest employment centre in Narok District outside of Narok Town itself. It is important to our study of education and employment among the Maasai to understand the degree to which they are involved in either the tourism industry or the commercial centres of Lemek and Loita. To ascertain this involvement we shall address such questions as: What are the jobs available to, or currently occupied by, the Maasai? What percentage of Maasai are represented in the total labour forces of the various Lodges and Camps? What are the numbers or percentages of Maasai women working in the tourist industry within The Mara? Where do these Maasai men and women come from? Are Maasai employees in The Mara educated or non-educated?

8.2. The Maasai Mara Game Reserve: Tourist Lodges and Camps

There are 15 major Lodges and Camps in The Maasai Mara; we were able to get Maasai employment information on 12 of them.¹⁴ The following information comes from a number of visits, discussions, and communications with the various personnel managers in the respective Lodges and Camps. The information does not come from personal contact with the work forces of the Lodges. Essentially, what we have are reported, but unconfirmed, numbers of Maasai employees furnished by the personnel managers of the various Lodges and Camps:

Lodge

1. Total work force = 120

Maasai = 45 (24 permanent male staff, 1 permanent female;
20 male casual workers).

This is broken down as follows: 6 security guards or watchmen, 4 room stewards, 1 cook, 2 kitchen helpers, 2 receptionists, 4 waiters in food and beverages, 2 cleaners, 1 carpenter, 1 electrician, 1 driver, 1 female working in the laundry, and 20 casual male ground staff.

2. Total work force = 94

Maasai = 38 (37 permanent and 1 casual) males and no females.

This is broken down as follows: 4 ground staff, 7 security/watchmen (1 of whom is a casual), 6 room stewards (1 of whom is the head steward and comes from Kajiado), 6 workers in the kitchen (including 1 assistant chef), 1 receptionist, 1 dining room waiter, 1 bar waiter, 1 working as head of the laundry, 4 in the workshop, and 7 drivers.

Of this group, 29 are Maasai from Narok District (8 from Ololulunga, 10 from Kilgoris, 1 from Lemek, 10 from Narok itself). One man is a Maasai from Kajiado, 2 are from Emarti, 1 is from Mau Narok, 1 is from Naivasha, and 4 are really Kipsigis from Talek. One interesting point is that all 7 drivers actually come from Narok town itself (Maasai?).

3. Total work force = 51

Maasai = 18 males and no females.

This includes: 4 ground staff (casual workers), 6 security, 2 room stewards, 1 cook, 2 assistant cooks, 1 tour guide, 1 waiter, and 1 laundry worker.

4. Total work force = 93

Maasai = 59 (44 permanent males and 3 permanent females, 12 casual male workers).

5 permanent and 4 casual ground staff, 2 security, 1 gatekeeper, 5 male room stewards and 2 female room stewards (neither of whom I believe were Maasai), 2 cooks, 2 assistant cooks, 2 kitchen helpers, 1 carpenter, 1 plumber, 1 tour guide, 14 waiters (plus 1 casual waiter), 3 laundry staff (one of whom was a female) plus 1 male casual worker in the laundry, 1 supervisor, 1 mechanic, 4 car washers, there were also 6 men (casual) building workers/labourers.

In this particular Lodge, 10 of the workers also doubled as Maasai dancers to entertain the hotel guests and it was here that one could see that a number were not Maasai at all. Maasai dancing and song are such as not to facilitate mimicry by other ethnic groups. The "dancers" also had to sing their own accompaniment and were quite obviously ill at ease and unaccustomed to this whole art form.

5. Total work force = 141

Maasai = 38 (32 permanent males, 5 casual male workers and 1 casual female trainee).

These numbers may be broken down as:
 2 groundsmen and 1 assistant head groundsman (shamba man), 2 security men, 7 permanent male staff as room stewards plus 3 males as casual staff the rooms and 1 female casual worker, 1 pastry chef (Maasai/Kikuyu) and 1 cook, 2 assistant cooks, 1 chief accountant (Maasai/Kikuyu), 1 receptionist plus 1 male casual worker as a messenger, 2 barmen, 3 bar waiters, 6 dining room waiters, 2 male laundry workers, and 1 doctor working in the clinic.⁵⁷

Another male casual worker doubled as public relations' man and lecturer on topics of Maasai culture. This young man, dressed as an olmurrani, though with wig instead of the oltaika (the braided hair drawn into three long pigtails) of the warrior, had the task of greeting visitors in the car park and welcoming them to the Lodge. He also gave advertised talks at set times to the guests on various topics concerning the rituals and ceremonies and beliefs of the Maasai people. In this way, he had met and befriended numerous rich clients overseas, some of whom paid his airfare and expenses to go on a trip to the United States where he subsequently appeared on various American television shows.

As in the case of so many of the other Lodges, a number of workers doubled in their capacities as part of the Maasai dancing-troupe which performs for the entertainment of the visitors. In this Lodge, two men from reception, three from the dining room staff and two Rangers, provided the entertainment personnel.

6. Total work force = 106

Maasai = 48 (33 permanent and 15 casual workers).

15 casual workers/groundstaff plus 1 permanent garden worker, 3 security, 9 kitchen workers, 3 receptionists, 4 dining room waiters, 4 bar waiters, 3 laundry workers, 3 drivers, 1 maintenance worker, 1 canteen worker, 1 shop assistant.

Of the above workers, at least 17 do not have Maasai surnames but have Kipsigis or Kisii family names

7. Total work force = 83

Maasai = 14 (7 permanent males and 1 permanent female staff, 6 casual male staff).

1 casual groundstaff/maintenance, 3 permanent security guards, 4 stewards (3 permanent and 1 casual), 2 kitchen helpers (1 permanent and 1 casual), 2 casuals as laundry staff, 1 male casual worker who had the task of chasing away the monkeys from the fruit and vegetable garden, 1 female (permanent staff) in the curio shop.

The family of the young lady working in the curio shop originally lived in Ilkerin but moved to Entasekera. She is a Loita but not from the sampled area. In addition, one of the 3 housekeeping stewards is also a Loita from Nkopen. The other six permanent staff members all come from Kilgoris and at least three of these are not Maasai. There are 3 Rangers working at this Lodge employed by the Narok County Council.

8. Total work force = 143 (111 permanent and 31 casual)

Maasai = 56 (45 permanent and 10 casual males and just 1 casual female worker).

3 groundstaff, 12 permanent security and 4 casual security workers, 6 permanent male room stewards and 1 female casual worker/room steward, 3 supervisors (1 in charge of security, 1 in charge of the room stewards and 1 in charge of the boilers), 2 cooks, 1 assistant cook, 2 permanent cleaners and 1 male casual, 1 receptionist, 1 working in accounts, 1 chief steward and 1 barman plus 2 bar waiters, 1 assistant supervisor in the laundry, 4 permanent laundry workers and 1 casual laundry worker, 1 storekeeper in the maintenance section, 1 permanent porter and 4 casuals - 3 working as boilermen.

Quite a number of the workers in this Lodge (at least a dozen) are either not Maasai at all or are Maasai of mixed heritage. In fact, the manager said, " As long as 'they' have the correct ID or work permit,

showing a Maasai name, that is enough for me!" Presumably this statement was made because there is some regulation in the hiring legislation for the Lodges which indicates that local people, from the district at least, are to be given preference when new workers are being employed.

9. Total work force = 136

Maasai = 40 (39 males and 1 female)

4 groundsmen (including one man whose job it was to chase away the baboons from the gardens), 3 security men, 5 male and 1 female room stewards, 1 housekeeper and 1 assistant housekeeper, 3 cooks, 3 cleaners, 4 restaurant waiters, 1 assistant head waiter, 1 barman, 1 bar waiter, 4 boilermen, 2 laundrymen, 4 drivers, 1 tour guide, 1 accounts' clerk.

Again, if the family names are anything to go by, then approximately twelve workers are not Maasai from the district.

10. Total work force = 98

Maasai = 14 (all permanent)

1 groundstaff, 4 security, 1 cleaner, 3 drivers, 3 receptionists, 1 waiter, 1 supervisor. Most of these workers also doubled as dancers for the customers' entertainment. All the above workers came from places nearby.

11. Total work force = unknown

Maasai = 53 (31 permanent, 21 casuals and 1 contract worker).

7 groundstaff (1 permanent and 6 casuals), 8 security (2 permanent and 6 casuals), 6 room stewards, 3 cooks (1 permanent, 1 casual and 1 on contract), 1 casual cleaner, 7 builders (1 permanent and 6 casuals), 4 drivers (3 permanent and 1 casual), 2 tour guides, 2 clerks-cum-receptionists, 7 waiters, 3 laundry staff, 1 assistant manager, 1 working in vehicle maintenance, 1 shop attendant.

12. Total work force = unknown

Maasai = 43 (42 permanent and 1 casual worker)

4 groundstaff, 5 security, 1 gatekeeper (casual), 6 room stewards, 2 cooks, 4 assistant cooks, 2 kitchen helpers, 1 carpenter, 9 drivers, 1 receptionist, 2 waiters, 1 laundry worker, 4 vehicle maintenance, 1 car washer.

These figures presented from the Lodges and Camps of The Mara give a total of 289 Maasai males and six Maasai females working as permanent staff plus 73 Maasai males and two Maasai females working as casuals in the Lodges. This means that, of a total known work force of 1,065 workers (if we exclude Lodges 11 and 12 since the total work force number is unknown), there are 370 "Maasai" workers (approximately 35%).

However, there is evidence to support the view that some of those identified as Maasai workers are probably not Maasai. Part of this evidence is the lists of surnames furnished by the personnel managers of these Lodges and Camps. Many of the names are quite obviously Kipsigis or Kisii and one can presume that the names reflect the ethnic background of the father rather than the mother. When we were analyzing education and the effects of the maternal ethnic background on the rate of educational involvement, the mother's ethnic background was an important variable in our analysis. Analyzing the numbers of Maasai males who found employment in The Mara, we are less interested in the mother's ethnic background and more interested in the father's ethnicity. We have already noted the significance of the names used by some of the workers when presenting the data on the Lodges (cf. Lodge numbers 2, 6, 7, 9, and especially the manager's comments reported under Lodge number 8). The view is also supported by the observations of a number of Maasai workers themselves who commented, in various conversations, on the fact that quite a number of the workers in The Mara purport to be Maasai when, in fact, they are not.

The fact that a number of men, particularly those with mixed Maasai backgrounds, found employment in The Mara, will emphasize Maasai ethnicity is not so surprising when one realises the difficulty of obtaining any employment in Kenya especially in those districts where a quota system is in operation. To establish the existence of this practice is pertinent to our enquiry if we are to analyze the actual numbers of Maasai from the district (and particularly our two sampled sites) who are working in The Mara Lodges and Camps.

8.2.1. The two sampled areas and employment at the Lodges

Now that we have looked at the employment figures taken from The Mara (the host area), we shall turn our attention to the two sampled sites (the donor areas) to ascertain the numbers of men from those sites who actually found employment in the Lodges and Camps.

The figures from Lemek Group Ranch indicate that the total number of Lemek males who worked in their first jobs, in the Lodges, was 12 (six with some education and six without any education) and two of these returned to The Mara for their second jobs, one as a Ranger and another doing casual labour. Another 13 men took up some form of work at the Lodges for their second jobs. Finally, four other men took up various jobs in the Lodges for their third and fourth employment choices. This means that the total number of Lemek males who worked in the Lodges is 29 (16 with some education and 13 non-educated).

If we look at the Loita sample, the data indicate that just ten men from Loita (nine educated and one non-educated) worked in the Lodges in either their first, second, or third job choice. Two of these educated men took up second jobs in The Mara Lodges.

Combining the totals of the two sampled areas, we can say that 39 males from both places worked in the Lodges of The Maasai Mara. We can further say that of these 39 males, eight found only casual labour there (mostly on the building sites in and around the Lodges). Of the 370 people reported in the previous section as Maasai working in the Lodges, 331 come from outside the two sampled areas.

8.3. Employment in the Mara as Rangers

Apart from work in the Lodges, The Maasai Mara also provides employment opportunities through the Narok County Council for work as Rangers and Game Reserve Gatekeepers. The research data indicate that

nine men from Lemek Group Ranch (seven educated and two without any education) worked as Rangers in The Maasai Mara. For eight of these men it was their one and only job in The Mara, and for one man it was actually his second job there.

The figures for Loita are much the same; eleven men worked as Rangers. For nine of these men it was their only job undertaken in The Mara, and for two men (both of whom had worked as tour guides), it was their second job in The Maasai Mara. The fact that only eleven Loita had chosen to become Rangers is something of a surprise when one realises that the Narok County Council actually send a recruitment vehicle and officers into the very heart of Morijo Loita to encourage young men to become Game Rangers. The vehicle moves from one settlement to another as part of the recruitment drive and the officers attempt to sign up new trainees; there was such an effort towards the end of the research period in Loita.¹⁸

8.4. Employment as herdsmen in The Mara

This section on The Mara as a local of employment would not be complete without mention of the number of men who work, or have worked there, as herdsmen. A number of the chiefs and richer Maasai have cattle and small stock grazing grounds on the edges of The Mara where a small number of men have found employment as hired herdsmen. From Lemek, just six men worked as herdsmen in The Mara: one educated man in his first and only job, and five non-educated men. Loita provided just one non-educated herdsman who worked in The Mara for his first and third job.

Though this work is not included within herding, mention should be made of the one man who worked as a "farmhand" in The Mara. There are several very large wheat farms on the perimeter of The Mara and this man found employment in one of those as a casual farmhand. Though he was the only male of the two sites to have such employment in the area of The Mara, there were a number of young men living in Lemek Group Ranch who

found employment in casual work as farmhands working for the Kisii and Kipsigis farmers bordering the Ranch.

8.5. Educational levels of workers in The Mara

So far, we have discussed those who received an education and those who found employment in various locales including The Maasai Mara. It will be enlightening to see the educational levels of those who worked as drivers, watchmen, clerks, room stewards, and waiters in the Lodges as well as those who worked as Rangers and herdsman. A word of caution is needed here; for the purposes of this analysis we will not distinguish whether it is first, second, third, or fourth job. However, we can say that 23 educated men from Lemek have found work in The Maasai Mara and the Lodges, and 21 non-educated men have also found employment there in the following jobs. The numbers from Loita are quite dramatically different; two non-educated men and 18 men with some education have found employment in The Mara.

Table 8.1 Employment in The Maasai Mara by work and educational levels: Lemek and Loita workers

	No ed		Pr.D/out		Pr.fin		Sec.D/out		Sec.fin.		Univ.fin.
	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk
<u>Lodges</u>											
clerical	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	1
watchmen	5	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
drivers	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
casuals	6	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
other	2	-	1	1	5	4	2	-	-	1	-
<u>Herdsman</u>	5	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Rangers</u>	2	-	3	3	3	4	-	2	-	1	-
<u>Totals</u>	21	2	6	4	12	9	3	3	1	2	1

This Table reports that 23 non-educated and 41 educated men found employment in The Mara at one time or another.⁹⁹ Those with no education

found employment principally as watchmen and casual labourers in the Lodges, and as herdsmen in The Mara. Those men who had some education (dropouts from the primary school system) found employment as Rangers or stewards in the Lodges; those who had finished their primary schooling and those who had secondary or tertiary (one only) education, found employment in the Lodges as clerical workers, tour guides, shop assistants, waiters or head-waiters; one man was head of security in one Lodge. However, a number of men with good education (having finished primary or dropped out of secondary school) also found employment as Rangers. These are some of the employment choices of those with an education from the two sites; the ways they use their academic credentials in the occupational structure of the district and principally in the tourism industry of The Mara.

For the watchmen, casual labourers, and herdsmen, an education is obviously not a necessity, which it is for some of the other jobs, for example, clerical work. Surprisingly enough, it does not appear to be a necessity for work as a driver; in addition to the single non-educated driver noted above, there is at least one other non-educated driver from Lemek (who did not work in The Mara) indicating it is possible to obtain a licence without an education.

8.6. Employment in the commercial centres: Lemek and Loita

Another of the possibilities for the local populations of Lemek and Loita is to become involved in one way or another in the commercial centres in their respective areas. The local retail trading sector is an important employment option; we shall see if the Maasai have taken advantage of it and the degree to which they are involved in it.

The question may be posed: What about the little stores scattered around Maasailand outside the established centres, do the local Maasai run them or are they run by outsiders? The limited response we can make from the data of the two sampled areas under review is that there are not that

many small stores scattered around those two parts of the country. Perhaps there are more individual entrepreneurs engaged in this form of enterprise elsewhere in Narok District where there is a paucity of stores in a regular commercial centre, but because there are a number of stores available to the people in Lemek and Loita commercial centres, there does not seem to be the incentive to open others in competition. Nevertheless, we should note that there are two small boma-based stores in the Lemek Ranch and there are two such stores in Morijo sub-location.

8.6.1. The Trading Centre at Lemek

There are 14 "units" at the centre - some of these units are single shops and others are divided into two or three separate and smaller sections used as bars, shops, and butcheries, etc. (cf sketch map 1):

- Unit 1. One of the three sections is rented to a Kipsigis tailor.
- Unit 2. The unit is rented to a Kipsigis general retailer.
- Unit 3. One of the three sections, owned by a sub-chief, rented to a Kipsigis.
- Unit 4. The unit is rented to a Kikuyu who uses it as a house.
- Unit 5. This comprises two sections owned by another sub-chief whose Kikuyu wife is running a store in one of the sections.
- Unit 6. There are two sections owned by the chairman of the Group Ranch who was using one as a bar in which his son worked for a while as a shop assistant; the other was being rented to a Kikuyu business woman from Thika (an area north of Nairobi). Later in the year, this lady also began renting the bar and is now running both the bar and the store.

The same lady has also rented several hundred acres of good land from one of the local rich Maasai families (cf. section 4.3). The patriarch of this family has five wives and thirty children, a number of whom are married and living nearby. The family has extensive land holdings in The Mara (one son has 600 acres there) and just outside the Ranch (another son has 800 acres in that area) as well as a general retail store in Lemek centre. One young married grandson also runs a very small but profitable store adjacent to his home about 10 kms from Lemek centre.

- Unit 7. This unit is locally owned and run as a shop - clothes and curios. The woman who runs it is Maasai/Kikuyu from a place near Narok but her husband is a local Maasai.
- Unit 8. This unit has three sections owned by a local Ogiek man. He himself is running one section as his own shop, and is renting the other two sections - one to a Somali shopkeeper and one to a Kikuyu shopkeeper.
- Unit 9. This unit of two sections is owned by a Maasai from The Mara (where he still lives). He is currently renting this unit to a Kikuyu who has a shop and a bar.
- Unit 10. This is a large unit of three sections and all are owned and run by a Kikuyu - a shop, a butchery and a small hotel.
- Unit 11. There are two sections to this unit owned by one of the sub-chiefs (the same family renting the shamba to the lady from Thika). The sub-chief is renting one section to a Somali for a store/butchery and the other section to a Kikuyu for a bar. In 1990, the sub-chief was running the duka himself and renting the bar, but in the course of the year he also began to rent out the duka.
- Unit 12. A Maasai from an area just outside the Group Ranch owns this unit and rents it to a Kikuyu who lives there.
- Unit 13. This is not a building as the other units but is more of an open shed for the stretching and drying of skins and hides. It is a business run by one of the principal chiefs of the area.
- Unit 14. This is the oldest structure in the centre and was also built and owned by the same principal chief. It is no longer used as a store but has been rented out as regular housing accommodation.

Of the twelve units comprising twenty four sections which are shops and bars proper, it appears that only three of them are locally owned and run, one by the Kikuyu wife of the Maasai owner, one by the Maasai/Kikuyu wife of a local Maasai, and one by a local Ogiek man (cf. units 5, 7, and 8). One young man was working for his father (the chairman of the Group Ranch) in the family bar, but even he has left this job. In spite of the fact that so many of the properties are owned by, and were constructed by, local Maasai families, not one local Maasai is employed in any of the 19 sections being used for commercial purposes. Whether this is because the local people do not wish to do so is not clear. Certainly there are some very capable and reasonably educated males in the Ranch who could work in any of these dukas.

8.6.2. The Trading Centre at Morijo Loita

There are nine units (comprising 13 sections) in the trading centre at Morijo Loita. Some units are single sections, others are double, or triple sections, similar to the arrangement in Lemek (cf. sketch map 2).

- Unit 1. This unit, owned by a local Maasai who works for the Dairy Board in Narok, comprises two sections, one of which is rented to the Ilkerin Project (one of the expatriates working there as a veterinary consultant also sells livestock medicine, etc.), and the other section is rented to a local Maasai for use as a shop.
- Unit 2. A single section unit, owned by a local Maasai and rented to a Maasai teacher for use as a shop. One room behind the shop is rented to another local Maasai as a hotel (serving cooked food and beverages).
- Unit 3. A single section unit, owned by the late NCC councillor of the area and run by his family as a hotel, serving snacks, etc.
- Unit 4. This unit comprises three sections and is owned by a Kikuyu businessman. Two sections are run by the owner as a shop and a bar, and the other section is rented to the local Women's Group and houses a small posho (grinding) mill.
- Unit 5. There are two sections to this unit owned by a local Maasai. One section is rented to another local Maasai and the other is used by the owner as a small posho mill.
- Unit 6. A single section owned by a non-local Maasai (from The Mau and rented by him to three people. The front part is rented to a Maasai dip attendant, and the two rooms at the rear are rented to two teachers, one a Kisii and the other a Kipsigis.
- Unit 7. Owned by a local Maasai family. The mother, a Kikuyu, and the family members run it as a shop.
- Unit 8. This unit was also owned by the late councillor for the area. It is not a building as the other units, but is more a covered rack or store for hides and skins.
- Unit 9. This is a single section owned by one of the local primary school teachers. He neither rents nor uses it, but leaves it empty.

There are several interesting points about the Loita trading centre. Only two units are owned by people who may be termed "outsiders"; unit six is owned by a Maasai from The Mau who rents, but does not use the premises, and unit four, the largest unit in the centre, is owned and run by a Kikuyu who also rents one of the three sections to a local women's group. In other words, of the eight units which are hotels, bars, stores, or mills, six are locally owned. The existence of these two small

grinding-mills for the maize which is grown locally is some indication of the development and growth of small subsistence agriculture taking place among the Maasai of the area.

8.7. Conclusion

There appears to be more local involvement in the trading centre at Moriyo than at Lemek. Of the nine units in the Loita centre, three are owned and run by local Loita Maasai (excluding the hides and skins' rack which is run by the same family as unit three), and one of these three sections is a small posho mill. There is more renting of the premises to local Maasai than in the Lemek case, and more teachers are involved either as owners, renters, or lodgers.

One may presume that, in Lemek, either the local Maasai owners do not wish to rent the commercial premises or there is no demand to do so. Why this is the case is not clear. Once the premises have been rented to the Kikuyu, Kipsigis, or Somali business people, these new owners prefer to run the business themselves or to introduce their family members rather than to employ local Maasai. Another interesting aspect of these stores and bars is that so many of them are owned or run by assistant chiefs or Ranch officials.

One of the reasons why so few of the local Maasai tend to enter ventures such as the local retail business is because of the enormous difficulties involved in running such an enterprise when surrounded by a network of immediate family, extended family, relatives and friends. It is extremely difficult for Maasai to run shops in their home areas where it is hard to refuse credit and even harder to collect it once given. Quite obviously, a certain degree of education is required if one is going to open and run a store and many Maasai may not have the required educational background to enable them to do this even if they wished to do so. The same educational restriction may be inhibiting the involvement of

some Maasai with regards to job opportunities in The Mara. Many Maasai are not educationally qualified for some of the jobs available in the Lodges and therefore neither seek nor get them.

If we turn our attention to the labour force working in The Mara, especially in the tourist industry centred in the various Lodges and Camps, we can see that though 35% of the total labour force in the surveyed Lodges are reputed to be Maasai, there are still several points worth making and commenting on. Another way of looking at the employment opportunities for Maasai in The Mara Lodges is to see the 370 employees as a percentage of the total Maasai population of Narok District (using the 1979 Census); 0.3% of the Maasai of the District. On the other hand, if we take the men from the two sampled sites who worked in the Lodges as a percentage of the total number of persons from both sites, then we find that 0.7% of the Maasai from the two sampled sites were employed in the Lodges; twice the district rate, though still small in absolute terms.

There is a strong possibility that many of those recorded as Maasai employees working in the Lodges are, in fact, persons from other ethnic groups who now live within the district and are therefore entitled to first choice for employment within their district, i.e. Narok District which includes The Maasai Mara. Those living in and around the border areas (with other adjacent districts) get the necessary work permits and are able to find employment in the tourist hotels and lodges in The Maasai Mara. If we look carefully at the Administrative map for Narok District, it is also obvious that the whole north-western side of The Maasai Mara borders on at least eight locations and sub-locations which comprise Uasin Gishu, Siria, Moitanik, as well as Purko Sections. It is more than likely that members of these Maasai Sections are also represented in the labour force of the Lodges and Camps under review.

Work in the tourist industry by way of the Lodges and work as Game Rangers in The Maasai Mara are often presented by local and national government officials as two forms of employment involving considerable

numbers of Maasai. The impression given is that the wildlife and tourism industry is providing significant employment opportunities for the local Maasai populations. This is presented as a given fact which in some way compensates the Maasai for the loss of their grazing lands to the spread of tourism and wildlife. However, a total of 56 workers is not a high number when we consider that we have been including the men from all age-levels, nor is it a striking total if these are the two forms of employment which the Maasai men are supposed to be entering in fairly large numbers. The numbers from the two samples do not bear out this optimism about the industry.

The reason for presenting the job histories of the workers from both Lemek and Loita is to get some idea of the numbers of men who worked in The Mara in one particular capacity, who may have left that job and moved elsewhere, and then subsequently returned to The Mara to take up another occupation. Knowledge of the degree to which initial employment was found in The Mara helps us to ascertain if that occupational locale provides an entry point into wage-employment for a significant number of workers. In fact, those who found employment as Rangers or in the Lodges, represent 15% of the total workers from the two sampled sites.

There are other jobs created by The Mara, in the hotel industry, research stations, and tourist curio shops outside the Game Reserve gates, etc. But these lie outside the Lodges and Camps which are supposed to provide greater employment possibilities than these smaller enterprises. Personally, I do not think the numbers of these ventures or the employment figures involved are of any great significance. Certainly, the image of gas stations, numerous curio shops, fast food restaurants, etc., which are part of the tourist-trap scenario elsewhere, are not valid in The Mara. It would be true to say that the hotel industry has cornered the whole market in that area, largely because of the geographical inaccessibility of that part of the country, especially in the rainy seasons.

In their own district and home areas, formal employment and commercial trade has provided only modest sources of employment for the Maasai. Interestingly, even in the area of employment, the informal sectors associated with the livestock sector continue to play an important, if not a predominant, role.

CHAPTER NINE

A PROFILE OF THE MAASAI RURAL EMPLOYED
AND THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARDS EDUCATION IN MAASAILAND

9.1. Introduction

Now that we have a) completed a survey of the two sample areas and obtained information on the educated segments of the populations and the numbers of those who have worked either at home or away from home, and b) obtained information on the places where these people worked, we shall present a profile of the employed from the two areas prefatory to reviewing their attitudes on a number of issues. We shall focus our attention upon the educated men and women who were engaged in wage-employment and those who, though non-educated, also found wage-employment. The immediate task will be find out who they are, where they came from, and what they did (cf. Appendix 9A, Tables JJ and KK).

The word "migrated" is not used here, because, in many ways, these Maasai have not migrated away from home for employment, or, if they have moved away for any appreciative length of time, they have returned to what they regard as their home. Perhaps the only one person who could be regarded as a true migrant, in the sense of almost permanent residence away from home, was the man from Lemek who has stayed away for seven years without returning and only returned home to be present at the circumcision rituals of his sons and daughters. No attempt was made to interview any large numbers of those who had no education and had been, or were still, working as cattle traders. However, at one point in the research, a meeting was held with 73 traders in Lemek Group Ranch to interview them individually and get their views and opinions on a number of points.

This chapter is a response to some important questions such as: How is employment associated with aspects of workers' domestic lives and family structure? How do the employed differ from the non-employed? What factors are associated with people gaining employment; types of jobs, wealth conditions, time after school, age, and distance to job? How do they tend to perform in terms of time spent in each job? What difference does education make in whether or not one gets wage-employment or creates self-employment and the nature of the employment pursued? It will be very interesting to see if Lemek and Loita differ significantly in the measures examined. Do they, in fact, present different profiles of the employed?

The basis for the following material comes from numerous interviews with some of the educated and non-educated men and women who have worked away from home for various lengths of time, in different places, and in a variety of capacities (see Appendix 9A). It is necessary at this point to clarify the difference between this workers' sample and the sampled parents introduced in the fifth chapter. The major difference between the two groups lies in the fact that the previous group were chosen because they had not sent their children to school. Those parents represented a group which were neither educated (in Lemek, only one educated parent out of the 172 interviewed; in Loita, 13 educated out of the 87 respondents), nor had they worked in any significant numbers (in Lemek, 16 workers out of 172 parents; in Loita, 18 workers out of 87).

There was another difference between the sample of parents called upon in Chapter Five and this present group of adult workers. Seven of the 16 Lemek parents who had not educated their children had worked as stock traders and this was a group which had been deliberately left out of the worker sample for this chapter (largely because they were neither educated nor had they worked away from home); 11 of the 18 Loita parents had also worked as traders. Thus, the profiles of the two sampled groups used in these separate chapters are quite different even at the level of educating their children.

What appeared from the initial Lemek survey on employment was that, if we left aside the two major categories of employment for the non-educated, namely cattle trading and herding, then there were differences between the two samples under the third heading of "other" forms of employment.

In Lemek, there were 121 men who found initial employment within the wide range of jobs categorized as "other"; 57 of these were non-educated and 64 were educated males. In Loita, 79 men found occupations other than cattle trading and herding; 14 were non-educated and 65 were educated. Almost all the educated men, from both samples, found their initial employment in the "other" categories. In addition, the first jobs of 40% of the non-educated men of Lemek was in this category and the rest found it in pastoral related work. In Loita, 16% of the non-educated men found their initial jobs in the "other" category, and 84% found their first jobs as stock traders or herdsmen. It is obvious that there is a correlation between lack of education and initial choice of pastoral related occupations, but what is enlightening is the fact that, in Lemek, so many of this non-educated work force obtained "other" occupations of one form or another. Lack of an education does not appear to be a deterrent. Even the lower figure for Loita is impressive given that Loita appears less open to occupational opportunities than Lemek. The fact that so many non-educated engaged in these other jobs was sufficient cause to include some of them in the study (see Appendix 9B for lists of first jobs).

9.2. Profiles of the two samples

The focus of our study of occupations undertaken by the two samples is to ascertain how the educated used their educational credentials. But, in addition to obtaining this information, we can also ask ourselves: What sociological differences, in particular, age, wealth (cattle and land), and duration of work, are associated with the various occupations of these Maasai. This knowledge will help us answer a wider related question: How

do these occupations fit differently into the society and serve different social and economic needs?

In Lemek, 108 men were interviewed (62 educated and 46 non-educated men; 100 Purko, 6 Okiek and 2 Uasin Gishu males), and 4 females. These were the only married females who had been employed at one time or another in their careers. In fact, three of the four females interviewed were Uasin Gishu and not Purko.⁶⁰ In the Morijo Loita group of respondents, 73 males were interviewed (58 educated and 15 non-educated men; 56 Loita, ten Okiek, five were Loita/Kikuyu, and two were Loita/Kipsigis), and four females. Of the four women (three were married and one was single), one was Maasai, one was Okiek, and two were Maasai/Kikuyu.

It may be useful at this point to combine some of the variables from the two samples to make comparison easier. We compare education, parents' economic standing at the time the person was sent to school, the marital status and economic standing (cattle and land) of the respondent, the time spent between school and employment, and the duration of the first job.

Table 9.1. Combining selected socio-economic variables; educated and non-educated male workers (wage-employment):
Lemek and Loita

		Lemek	%	Loita	%
Respondents with education		62	57	58	80
Respondents without education		46	43	15	20
Parents' economic standing at time the respondent went to school*	rich	32	52	23	40
	medium	22	36	24	41
	poor	8	12	11	19
Actual number of cattle:					
Range		0-700		0-500	
Mean		179		139	
Median		125		50	
Marital status	married				
	1 wife	= 44		= 26	
	2 wives	= 8		= 13	
	3 wives	= 3		= 1	
	4 wives	= 2		= 1	
		-----		-----	
		57	53%	41	56%
	single	51	47%	32	44%
Respondents' present economic standing*	rich	10	16	19	26
	medium	46	74	33	45
	poor	6	10	21	29
Current farming activities:					
Existence of a <u>shamba</u>	yes	83	77	65	89
	no	25	23	8	11
	Range	0.5-70		0-4 acres	
	Mean	4		1.3	
Age when person began wage-employment	Range	13 - 50 yrs		16 - 53 yrs	
	Mean	23		24	
Years between school and work	Range	1 - 15 yrs		1 - 26 yrs	
	Mean	3		4	
	Median	2		2	
Duration of first job	Range	1 - 18 yrs		1 - 26 yrs	
	Mean	4		6	
	Median	3		4	

* Economic standing: The respondents were asked if they or their parents were poor, middle-range, or rich in terms of cattle. The information above represent the responses give by the men themselves.

We shall now discuss the contents of the above matrix in more detail in an attempt to produce a socio-economic profile of the workers from the two sampled areas. This will serve as background for the section presenting their views and attitudes towards education in Maasailand.

9.2.1.1. Parents' economic standing

When the 62 men of Lemek who received an education were asked about their parents' economic standing when they were sent to school as children, 32 said their parents were rich, 22 said their parents were "medium" in wealth, and just eight said their parents were poor at the time they sent them to school. At the time of their schooling, according to the responses of these educated workers, the numbers in their parents' herds ranged from 0-700 head of cattle.

In Loita, at the time when they were sent to school, 23 respondents stated that their parents were rich in cattle, 24 were medium, and 11 were poor. As with the Lemek sample, the respondents generally implied that at the time they were sent to school, their families were much better off than they are at the present time. The major losses of animals in the 70s and 80s due to drought and disease were given as the reasons for these differences. The actual numbers of cattle in their parents' herds (information also given by the respondents) ranged from three cases of no cattle at all to three cases of 500 head of cattle. Just one person stated that his father had 2,000 animals when he was sent to school.

A high percentage said their parents were rich in Lemek, 52%, and in Loita most said they were in the middle-range, 41%. However, the stated Mean indicate 179 head of cattle (Lemek) and 139 head of cattle (Loita).

9.2.2. Education

In Loita, 80% of the respondents were educated, and in Lemek 57% had some education. Of the 108 Lemek respondents, 62 had received some education and 46 were non-educated; of the 62 with education, 43 had written the KCPE and 19 had dropped out of the system before the examination. Again, of the 43 who wrote the final exam 25 went on to secondary school where eight reached Form 2, three reached Form 3, 14 reached Form 4, and two went to university. The reasons given for wishing to continue with a secondary education were reducible to two main reasons: to advance in education (18) and to get an education so that the person could get a good job later (7). The young men went to various secondary schools - eight went to Narok, 11 went to Rajiado, two each went to Thika, Sotik, and Molo. The nine who dropped out of secondary school gave absence of fees (7) as the main reason and being forced to leave by the father (2) as another reason.

Of the 73 males in the Loita sample, 15 had not received any education and 58 had received some formal education. Forty-two students wrote the KCPE and 16 dropped out of the system before doing so; 18 males went on to various secondary schools. Of these 18 students, ten went to Narok High School, one went to Nyeri, one went to Gilgil, another to Kabarnet, two went to Nairrage Enkare, two went to Nairobi, and one went to Gilgil. Eleven of those who went to secondary school gave, as their reason for going, their desire to advance in their education, five stated that education would get them good jobs later, one felt that his education would be a big advantage to him in the future, and one said that he wished to go to university. Of those who obtained a secondary education, nine dropped out in Form 1, two went as far as Form 2, six went to Form 3, and one went to Form 5. Those who dropped out of secondary school in Loita also gave as the major reason lack of school fees.

9.2.3. Factors impinging upon school attendance

In Lemek Group Ranch, 35 men regarded the family home as being near to the school, and 27 men felt that the home was far from the school. In fact, just 42 of the men had attended primary school in Lemek, 11 at Ololulunga (about 50 kms away), and one at Aitong about 15 kms away from Lemek. However, eight had attended school well away from Lemek (six attended primary school in Narok, one in Kilgoris, and one as far away as Loitokitok in Kajiado District). When asked if the boma had ever been moved near to a school to facilitate the children's attendance, 47 said it had been moved and 30 said it had not been moved. In some cases, the responses concerning the shifting of the family home referred to the attendance of siblings rather than the respondents' own attendance at school; 43 said that at least one of their siblings had also received an education, but 65 said they were the only ones in the family allowed to go to school.

Thirty-seven men of the Loita sample indicated that the school was quite near their homes and 21 felt that it was far from their homes: most of the students had attended Morijo Loita Primary School (53), two had attended the Ilkerin Project Primary School, one had attended in Kajiado, one at Lemek, and one at a Narok school. Eight indicated that their boma had been moved closer to a school for the sake of the children.

When asked about the ease or difficulty in getting permission to attend school, among the educated workers of Lemek, 51 found it easy to get permission to go to school and 11 found it hard, 25 said it was their own idea to go to school, one only said it was his father's idea, two said it was the chief's idea, 23 said it was the idea of both parents, 11 said the parents were against it but the chief and his council had forced their parents to let them go.

Among the 73 men of the Loita sample, 47 said that at least one of their brothers or sisters had attended school (26 said no sibling had been

given the opportunity to go to school). This reply also reflected the difficulty some had in getting permission to attend school. Thirty-six found it hard to get permission and only 22 found it relatively easy. Unlike the situation in Lemek, only one man in Loita said it was his own idea to attend school, one said it was the local school principal's idea, 12 said it was the father's idea, six said it was both parents' idea, and 12 said it was not their parents' idea but that of the chief; 26 said it was the idea of the chief and his council. This means that, in most cases, the idea for education came from outside the family circle and, in at least 38 cases, implied some form of compulsion or coercion from the chief and his council. This coercion, in the past, took the form of cattle fines and verbal harangues at elders' meetings, but in a number of places these forms of pressure have diminished and some of the complaints about the chiefs, made by a number of respondents, is that they are not doing their work properly. The argument holds that if they were doing so, then more children would be attending school. Those parents who only sent their children to school because of the chief's pressure are generally elderly parents referring to the coercion of the past (section 5.2.5.).

9.2.4. Marital status

There were 57 married men and 51 single males in the sample. Forty-four of the men only had one wife, eight men had two wives, three men had three wives, and just two men had four wives (cf. Appendix 9C). It appears that, in only eight of those families, men admit that their wives have some say in the decisions about the education of the children (49 of the men said their wives have no say). Of the 73 Loita males, 41 were married (26 men had one wife, 13 had two wives, one man had three wives, and one man had four wives) and 32 were single (cf. Appendix 9D). Twenty-four wives had some say in the family decision-making process about which children would be educated (17 wives were not consulted on these matters).

9.2.5. Workers' economic standing

When the Lemek workers were asked to estimate their economic standing at the moment, ten said they felt they were rich (in terms of cattle), 46 said they were "medium" in this respect (74%), and six men stated that they were poor. However, as well as cattle, it is obvious that many of the Maasai are now engaged in some form of subsistence agriculture: 83 of those interviewed said they had a small garden or a larger shamba (77%), but 25 said they had neither. The actual size of the shamba ranged from a half-acre to 70 acres (Mean of 4 and a Median of 2). Only one family was involved in extensive land-leasing to an outsider for the purpose of growing wheat, and even this only began in the middle of 1990. Prior to that time, nobody in Lemek Group Ranch or Morijo Loita was involved in substantial leases of land for commercial purposes. The large-scale commercial wheat and barley farms of other parts of Narok District had not yet encroached upon these two areas, though they were gradually moving along the Lemek Valley and had come to the boundaries of the Ranch.

When questioned about their personal economic status, 19 of the Loita said they were rich, 33 were medium (45%) and 21 stated they were poor in terms of cattle and small stock. Eighty-nine percent said they cultivated a garden or shamba, and the largest was only 4 acres cultivated by one man (Mean of 1.3 acres). One of the greatest differences between Lemek and Loita lies in cultivation and overall attitudes towards land. The Purko of Lemek were extremely conscious of the shortage of available arable land and numerous disputes over the sub-division of the Ranch had begun to arise. The Loita of Morijo Loita were not too perturbed about the issue of cultivation and the whole topic of sub-division had not arisen because they had successfully fought off the government's efforts at imposing Group Ranch adjudication committees on the local people and they were still grazing wherever they wished (with the exception of the fenced land within the Ilkerin Project).

9.2.6. Years between leaving school and first job

In the Lemek sample, there was a range from one to eleven years in the length of time between finishing school and starting the first job; in one case a man began his first job 15 years after having left school. Of the 62 men who had schooling, 27 began their first jobs one year after leaving school and a further 11 men began working two years after leaving school. In other words, 61% of the Lemek school leavers began their first jobs within two years of leaving school.

Similarly, among the Loita sample, the period between leaving school and the first job was relatively short. Twenty-four spent one year between school and first employment, six waited for two years before commencing work, three for three years, and seven for four years before their first wage-employment (these were 55% of the total number). These figures give a Median of two years for each sample.

9.2.7. Length of stay away from home

The length of stay away from home is also of interest since it appears that Maasai males do not like to stay away from their homes for extended periods of time. Looking at Lemek Group Ranch, two men could be regarded as staying away almost completely (and they stated as such), but at least 78 said that they sometimes returned home: six returned once a week, 19 once a month, 15 every three months, six every four months, ten every six months, and 22 once a year. However, even those who stated that they stayed away completely, were available at their homes for the interviews. In other words, "completely" for these men meant staying away from home for longer than a year.

The fact that not every worker in the two sampled sites was interviewed was not because these other men stayed away permanently and therefore were not available for interviews, though some did not return home during the

period of the research (cf. Table 9.1 of this chapter). Rather it was a question of logistics (travel and accommodation) and the availability of time. Some of these men only came home for either a few days at a time, or a for a week's holiday, and it was just not possible to meet with them all, especially since the two sites were five hundred kilometres apart.

The full range of years spent in the first job is from 1-18 years. Thirty people spent one year in their first job and another 21 spent two years in their first job situation (seven spent three years, 14 spent four years, and another 12 spent five years). These figures compute to a Median of three years spent in the first job. The second job was much the same in terms of the range of years, 1-18 years (57 cases) whereas the third job was reduced to a range of one to nine years and 20 cases.

Among the workers from Morijo Loita, seven of those who did leave home stayed away almost completely and 46 of the men regarded themselves as coming home sometimes: 15 came home annually, 13 came home twice a year, 11 came home every three months, three came home every four months and four returned home once a month.⁴¹ As was the case with Lemek, where 53.7% of the initial work force had moved out of their first job after three years), it was clear that quite a number of the Loita men did not stay very long in any one job. Eight men stayed one year in the first job, 17 workers stayed for two years, ten stayed for three years, five remained in the first job for four years, and eight men continued with their first jobs for five years. This meant that 50% of the work force from Loita had left their first jobs after three years. The figures for the time spent in the first job give us a Median of four years for Loita.

9.2.8. Place of employment for first job

To complete these profiles of the workers from the two sampled sites, perhaps we may be permitted to recall the findings of Chapter Seven. Ninety percent of the interviewees, and most of those who had worked but

had not been interviewed, found their first employment somewhere in the District; nearly 50% had found it within the Ranch or the local Mission (cf. Appendix 9E for full lists of places). The Maasai Mara had given first employment to 23 men as Rangers, revenue clerks, gatekeepers, security men, room stewards, waiters or barmen, drivers, tour guides, herdsmen, watchmen, casual labourers, and one trainee hotel manager.

In addition to those who found jobs in Morijo Loita itself (14), in the Ilkerin Project (12), and in The Maasai Mara (11), 18 Loita found their first jobs elsewhere within the District. A further 18 found this first job outside the District, including three in Nairobi, three in Kajiado, and one in Mombasa.

9.2.9. Reasons for pursuing wage-employment outside the local area

Seventy-five of those interviewed in Lemek Ranch gave as their reason for leaving home their need to find a job which they could not do locally and 19 linked this job search with the need to support their families. One person said he left home "to improve" himself; 13 persons did not leave home for any length of time, nor was their work place far away.

In Loita, 40 gave as their reason for leaving home the fact that they needed to go further afield to find a job, seven related this fact to the needs of their families, and two said they left home because they wished to live by themselves. One person left because he had quarrelled with his father and had to leave, one enlisted in the Kenya Army (a long time ago), one left to improve himself, and one said that as a teacher he is often transferred even if he does not wish it. Twenty felt they had never left home; they had never travelled far to work.

9.2.10. School repeaters among the educated workers

Among the 62 educated male workers interviewed in Lemek, there were quite a number who had repeated the Standard Seven or Eight final examination, and in some cases more than twice. This is why these data were not presented earlier in the study. The material comes from the cohorts investigated in more detail (1973-79) as part of the investigation into education and subsequent employment rather than from a mere survey of the education levels within the areas and from repeaters in general.

It was difficult to get the pre-1973 information since the admission cards for that period at the Ole Sankale Primary School (to which the Lemek students were sent) were not available. In fact, the reverse side of some of these cards were being used as flash cards or teaching aids.

The year 1973 was chosen primarily because it was the first year Lemek Primary School presented its own candidates for the CPE, and secondarily because the students who had finished in that year were more likely to have completed their total education (if they had secondary or tertiary education), to have become involved in the wage-employment sector (if they had so wished), and to have married and begun a family of their own. The choice of this year (ten years after Independence) also gave a ten year period after the research and analysis of King, and seemed an appropriate grace period before reassessing the educational situation for signs of change. Choosing 1973 also meant that the school-leaver cohorts would range over a period of sixteen to ten years, thus giving time for some observable use of their academic credentials. Originally, the plan was to follow up these leavers and find out how they had used their education, but when the total number for seven years of school leavers turned out to be only about 20 persons the strategy was changed (cf. section 1.4.1.) to embrace other school leavers.

The following Table summarises the numbers of repeaters in the two schools within Lemek Group Ranch and Morijo Loita Sub-location:

Table 9.2. Repeaters in Lemek and Morijo Loita Primary Schools: 1974-1979 cohorts

Year	Total Candidates		2nd repeat		3rd repeat		4th repeat		5th repeat		Total repeaters		% repeaters	% repeaters
	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lta	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta
1974	15	20	5	9	-	-	-	-	5	9	33	45		
1975	22	11	8	5	-	4	-	-	8	9	36	82		
1976	12	12	3	1	1	4	3	-	4	8	33	67		
1977	12	16	5	4	2	1	1	1	7	7	58	44		
1978	11	13	1	5	1	2	-	1	2	8	18	62		
1979	19	6	3	2	1	-	1	-	4	3	21	50		

Lemek Primary School began producing its own candidates for the KCPE in 1973, and so the cohorts for that year and the following seven years were scrutinized to ascertain the repeaters in those years. We are particularly interested in the local Maasai repeaters, and not repeating students from other parts of the country.

Repeaters: Lemek Group Ranch Primary School

- 1973 - 11 candidates, at least one was a repeater from 1972.
- 1974 - 15 candidates, 5 were repeating it for the second time.
- 1975 - 22 candidates, 8 were repeating it for the second time, (including 1 Kikuyu, 1 Kipsigis and 1 Mluyia student).
- 1976 - 12 candidates, 3 were doing it for the second time (including 1 Kikuyu student) and 1 was doing it for the third time.
- 1977 - 12 candidates, 5 were writing it for the second time (including 1 Kikuyu student) and 2 were writing it for the third time.
- 1978 - 11 candidates, 1 was writing it for the second time and 1 was writing it for the third time.
(This class of 11 candidates also included 6 Kikuyu students and 1 Kipsigis student - the only 3 females were non-Maasai).
- 1979 - 19 candidates, 3 were writing it for the second time and 1 was writing it for the third time.

In 1979, there were three male students from Ilkerin near Morijo Loita who were also repeating; one was writing the exam for the second time, one for the third time, and one was writing the exam for the fourth time. In

most of the cases quoted above, the repeaters used two, three, four, even five different Maasai names at various times in their repeater histories. Apparently this was to avoid detection once the candidates' names were submitted to the District Education Office. Hardly anybody maintained the same name throughout their process of repetition and it was only by sitting down with teachers, research assistants, and others that it was possible to trace some people through the system. What was something of a surprise and amazing coincidence was the fact that we were able to retrace three students, across a gap of two or three years and the geographical distance of about 300 kms from Lemek school where they were repeaters, back to their original school at Ilkerin. Nobody remembered them at Lemek, partly because they had Loita not Purko surnames and partly because they were not local Maasai. The connection was made once the same names reappeared in the Morijo Loita school lists.

Repeaters: Morijo Loita Primary School

In terms of repeaters at the Morijo Loita Primary School, in the 1973 to 1979 cohorts, there were approximately 30 students who repeated at least twice:

In 1973, of 14 candidates (it is not clear how many were repeaters)

1974 - 20 candidates, 9 were repeating for the second time

1975 - 11 candidates, 5 were repeating for the second time
4 were repeating for the third time

1976 - 12 candidates, 1 was repeating for the second time
4 were repeating for the third time
3 were repeating for the fourth time

1977 - 16 candidates, 4 for the second time
1 for the third time
1 for the fourth time
1 for the fifth time

1978 - 13 candidates, 5 for the second time
2 for the third time
1 for the fifth time

1979 - 6 candidates, 2 for the second time
1 for the fourth time

In 1979, there were three students from Ilkerin School repeating and writing the examination in Lemek Primary School (under which heading these repeaters have been recorded). There is a much higher percentage of repeaters at Loita, and there are more repetitions than in Lemek. What this indicates is a strong desire, on the part of those students who repeat, to obtain either a pass in the KCPE or to obtain a sufficiently high pass mark to enter the secondary school system. In a number of cases, where the initial attempt did not produce such a mark, the same student repeated the examination until such time as the required mark was attained.

What should be clear from the above data, even though they cover only six cohorts of students from two primary schools, is how repeaters in the system can skew statistics such as enrolment figures, the numbers of students sitting for the KCPE, and even the figures on success rates. We have already commented on this practice which appears to be much more of a problem in the pastoral areas than in the more settled agricultural areas of the country.

The fact that there are considerably more repetitions in Loita is interesting precisely because, unlike Lemek, the repeaters in that school are local Maasai children. The presence of the boarding facilities in Lemek is obviously a strong factor in this phenomenon; conversely, the absence of such facilities in Loita is a deterrent for outside repeaters at the local school. The persistence of some students, seven at least doing the examination four or five times, is an indication of the strong desire many young Loita men have for an education and for the opportunity to continue to secondary school. The data on local Maasai repeaters from Loita, which include those who left Loita and travelled 300 kms to Lemek boarding school, underline the inadequacy of stereotyping the Loita as resistors. Ten years later, in 1989, this practice of Loita students crossing over to Lemek boarding school to study was still a reality. A number of Loita parents deciding that their children would have a better

chance of a secondary school place if they studied at a boarding school.

9.3. Comparison of the profiles

Let us return now to the variables we have presented for the two samples. If we compare the variables, some interesting points appear: The Loita respondents' parents had fewer cattle than their Purko counterparts at the time the young men were sent to school; Median holdings for Lemek were 125, whereas the Median for Loita was only 50. At the time when they were sent to school, 52% of the Lemek respondents and 40% of the Loita, regarded their parents as being rich. On the other hand, 19% of Loita and 12% of the Purko felt that their parents were poor at that time. The stated present economic standing of the respondents would indicate that the Loita still regard themselves as poorer than the Purko. However, the percentage had risen to 29% of the Loita stating that they are economically poor at the moment, as opposed to 10% of the Purko. Seventy-four percent of the Purko and 45% of the Loita regard themselves as being in the middle-range with regard to their present cattle holdings.

In terms of marital status, the majority in both places have just one wife. This could be expressive of a trend, but it could also be because a number of the respondents were younger working men who may in the future take more wives. Nevertheless, we should bear in mind these interviews were conducted with men across the whole age-range and therefore the fact that the majority have just one wife is indicative of a move away from larger polygamous families.

Although the raw figures are greater for Lemek than for Loita, there is a greater percentage of the respondents in Loita than in Lemek with a shamba or at least a small garden for agricultural purposes (89% in Loita and 77% in Lemek). In Lemek, the range was from 0.5 to 70 acres (Mean of four acres), and in Loita, the range was from no land at all to just four acres (Mean of one acre). These are fairly significant percentages when

one considers the fact that, in the past, hardly any of the Maasai would "break the soil", not even to bury the dead. These small (sometimes not so small) cultivated plots represent some degree of change in the attitudes of the local Maasai towards cultivation and the land.

The ages when the two different groups began work was not so different nor was the range of ages: Lemek 13-50 years, and Loita 16-53 years (cf. Appendix 9F for the full list of ages). In both groups, the Mean age when the men began work was between 23 and 24 years of age. In Lemek, there were nine cases at 18 years, 12 cases at 19 years, 12 cases at 20 years, and a further eight cases at 21 years of age. In Loita, there were nine cases at 18 years of age, five at 19 years, five at 20 years, and 13 cases at 21 years of age. The age when they began work was much later for the four women of the Loita sample who were 20, 29, 30, and 31 years of age when they began working; the Median in Lemek was 21 and 22 in Loita.

There was also a great similarity between the two areas in terms of the number of years between leaving school and initial wage-employment (a Median of 2 years for both samples). In most cases, it was a only a period of one or two years. This would indicate a certain eagerness on the part of these men in both groups to become engaged in wage-employment; those who wish to become involved waste little time in doing so.

Perhaps one of the most interesting points that emerged from a perusal of the years spent in each job among those who are non-educated is that some of the longest service periods are within this group of Lemek workers; 18 years, 15 years, 12 years, 11 years, two who worked for ten years, and two who worked for nine years. However, among the educated there were one or two exceptions to the usual one to three years' periods, with one assistant chief serving for 18 years, a waiter working in The Mara for 15 years and a dip supervisor who has worked for ten years in the same job. Generally speaking, the length of stay in a job was much shorter among members of the educated group, perhaps reflecting greater job mobility or even some form of discontent coupled with a realization

that because of education there is an increased opportunity for occupational change. On the other hand, some of the longest periods in the same jobs were to be found among the educated Loita males who were teachers; four teachers were still teaching after 26 years, 20 years, 20 years, and 15 years respectively. In three cases, the teaching profession was their first choice of employment and obviously they had not left it. This phenomenon of a lengthy duration in first jobs should not be so surprising among civil servants and bureaucrats who tend, generally speaking, to remain within their occupational structures for extended periods of time.

Twelve men who had finished their primary schooling also entered other forms of employment in which they were still involved after a number of years, for example, a farmhand (12 years) and some Rangers (two men had served for 11 years and a third Ranger for ten years in this his second job). This trait was also apparent among a number of the primary school dropouts who entered an initial job and remained there for quite some time. A watchman and a worker for the Water Department had both been working for their respective employers for ten years and were still working. Over all there is a sense that the Loita men tended to remain in their first jobs for longer periods and even when they changed jobs a number stayed in their new jobs for more time than did the Purko of Lemek.

To summarize the data and construct a profile of the sampled workers: The majority of the workers were educated and married, came from relatively rich backgrounds but now regard themselves as being in the middle-range, were involved in subsistence cultivation (2 to 4 acres), began work at 23 or 24 years of age two years after finishing school, and stayed in their first job for three or four years.

Now that we have, to some degree, clarified the sociological and economic background of the employed who were interviewed, and have examined the socio-economic profiles of these workers, we shall look at some of the material gathered from the various conversations and

interviews with them. This material will shed light on the attitudes of these men and women towards the diversification of which they are a part.

9.4. Attitudes of the employed Maasai towards education

The following sections present the views of the above sample of male and female workers on some of the topics previously raised with the older parents encountered in Chapter Four. However, this present material is different from a number of standpoints, not the least of which is that it represents attitudes from both single and married men and women who are, for the most part, educated and employed.

It is particularly important to seek out the attitudes towards education of those who have been educated and employed. These educated workers have seen the link between education and employment, know the outside world, and can assess the market value of skills. They represent the locus of changing attitudes and practices regarding education for Maasai, particularly because they will have seen the relevance of education in the occupational structures of the district, the country and, in some cases, even other countries. They have already begun the process of change by their involvement in the employment structure. The previous sample (Chapter Five) represented parents who obviously had not appreciated the value of education, at least insofar as they had not educated their children for whatever reasons. Later, it will be interesting to compare the two sets of attitudes for differences or similarities.⁶²

9.4.1. Are there changed attitudes among the Maasai?

Are there visible changes in the attitudes of the Maasai of Narok District towards education in general? There are many angles from which one could view this question. All too often the enrolment figures for certain areas are presented as if these alone represented changes in attitude and of themselves proved increased involvement. However, as Sarone points out:

educational research in pastoral areas has usually focused on government policy at the educational level. This approach has tended to ignore local perceptions and attitudes towards schooling in rural areas. More specifically, it has often neglected the consequences and implications of educational participation for the pastoral way of life (1986:24).

When the respondents were questioned on local perceptions and attitudes towards schooling, most thought that there had been some change in the attitude towards education within Maasailand. The words used below are almost entirely taken from the comments as they stood - very little has been done to change the wording or the sense of what was said.

9.4.2. Lemek and Loita

Perhaps, the most important point to appear from the discussions with the Lemek sample of educated and employed persons was agreement that there has been some visible and assessable change in the attitude towards education. This can be seen in the presence of more children at school now than in the past (30 respondents mentioned this point), and in the fact that parents send their children to school freely, not because they are being forced to do so by the government (24):

Long ago, the Maasai hated education. But today they like it, particularly myself. I regret that I was not educated when I was younger. (Respondent aged 26, no education and currently a Ranger working in The Mara.)

One or two respondents stated that even the rich are sending their children to school and many families now move their bomas close to the school to make it easy for the children to attend it (however, one Okiek father who suggested that this was happening had not actually done so for his own family). In Loita, more people thought that education was progressing much more slowly. "Education is becoming more and more important to us in Maasailand" (22) and is "becoming better known to the Maasai" (10)" though there is very slow progress"(24). In fact, only two persons in Loita stated that education was progressing rapidly.

Education has improved, but we can only speak of basic primary education - forget the other levels!

Quite a number of respondents in Loita felt that the attitude in Maasailand has changed (48) and that some of the indications of this are that parents are no longer forced but send children voluntarily (14) and that they now help build schools and pay school fees, even boarding school fees (11). Two persons stated that in their generation there were certainly fewer secondary students than there are nowadays.

Among the Lemek group, there was much the same sentiment expressed in the fact that though the Maasai were previously against education, now they agree to it (15) and are even assisting in the building of new schools (13) and contributing to local harambees (8).⁶¹

In the early 60s, the Maasai used to say "No" to education but now they are doing well improving their schools, even secondary schools. Their motto now is: A book for the shield, and a pen for the spear. (24 year old primary school headmaster who had finished Form 4)

The Purko saw all this as being due to the good relationships that exist between parents and teachers which result in harambees, etc.(3). They also noted that more of the teachers are Maasai (6) and are therefore better able to help the Maasai children than are the teachers from other areas. The Loita made much the same observations concerning the fact that the Maasai have many of their own teachers nowadays and this helps the Maasai to send their children voluntarily because a number of the parents are themselves teachers so they know about the value of an education.⁶²

This was quite a valid and pertinent observation coming from Morijo Loita where a good number of men and women have indeed taken up teaching as a profession.

Some Loita observed that, in the past, the Maasai were silly about education and thought that their children would get lost (4), some Maasai even escaped to Tanzania to avoid sending their children to school, but that attitude has changed (2). Nowadays, even the ilmurran go to school for adult education classes (3), as do old men (2). In fact, both adults and children are now ready to receive education (2), and those who never received an education are saying that they now wish to be educated (2); but generally these older Maasai would like to see more children in school than previously. Many regret not having been educated (1) and do not wish their children to experience the same problems of communication they experienced because of their illiteracy (1).

I regret having dropped out of school in standard two. I feel that the idea of the Maasai way of life depending mainly on one thing - cattle - is not good any more. It is high time the Maasai changed their way of life and begin to sell their cattle to educate their children. If the Kenya Government policy of demarcating all the land is followed through, where will the Maasai put all their cows then? So it is high time to educate the children for other ways of life in a new Kenya. When I went to standard one, the uniform cost just 10 shillings, now it is more than 200 shillings which is a problem for big families with lots of school age children. Things are changing and will continue to change, so the Maasai should also change especially about the education of their children. (38 years old, dip attendant)

The Loita respondents felt that education is improving now (8) and fast becoming important for everybody (3) as an important tool in life (2). It is such an important key to success (1) that they should put more effort into education (1) and educate boys and girls (2), though it does appear as if some have begun to send their daughters to school (1). A few people indicated that they felt there 'would only be real change when they send both boys and girls to school.'

9.4.3. Education and development/changes

At least five respondents observed that though some educated people have effected some changes in Loita such as modernizing the way of farming and changing the clothing worn by members of their families, the Maasai should raise more funds to build more schools and better class-rooms for the children. These respondents felt that though there were changes, the Maasai were not doing enough to improve education in their own areas.

Three supportive comments from Lemek directly linked education with development with such comments as: "Education is very important because we are behind in education and underdeveloped in Maasailand." Others (again, at least three persons), pointed to changes in attitude exemplified by the attendance of adults at adult literacy classes and the fact that many more children finish the course these days; in the past, they dropped out before finishing the full primary course. Nevertheless, in spite of good will and a change of attitude, there are still problems in this area:

Before the Maasai were forced to send their children to school, nowadays they send them of their own accord. But some are forced to drop out just after primary school because they lack school fees to continue with their education.

Some Maasai now see the benefits of education in terms of modern housing and boreholes provided by their educated children who have obtained wage-employment and modern technology (9), and so now they allow their children to attend school (3):

In the past, the Maasai worried about wealth, fees, uniforms, etc., and did not see any feedback or advantage. Now, they see the child might be able to stand on his or her own and even help them, unlike those who never went to school.
(21 years old, Form 4 and TTC)

Education is now generally seen as something that will help everyone (5) and is good because of the employment the educated will be able to get after they have completed school (3).

It is improving since we have seen what those with an education have done for their families. What held us back was the lack of understanding of its advantages. (60 years, non-educated, herdsman)

Things have changed, because the Maasai have seen what those with an education earlier have done with it to help their families and the community. (Aged 60, no education but worked as an Administration Policeman)

Some respondents noted the changes in attitudes towards education and related these to changes in the prevalence of "moranism" in Maasailand. The statements indicate that, in the opinion of the respondents, parents are sending their sons to school rather than permitting them to be circumcised and join the ranks of the warriors:

They have indeed changed their ideas about sending their children to school, as they have done away with moranism. (Aged 50, no education but owns a store)

There is no longer any moranism in any age-group, as it is school first and work later. (Aged 35, no education and worked in The Mara)

It is interesting that these comments come from two comparatively younger men who obviously see the diminution of the period of warriorhood as closely related to the changes in the attitude towards education of the young men - one decreases and the other increases. If the warriors are no longer expected to remain in the warriors' village for any length of time, and if they are no longer expected to follow all the traditional practices of the warriors, then the presumption is that they will attend school.⁶⁵

9.4.4. Slow progress and change

Some Purko felt that though there had been some change, but that it is a slow process and may even be hindered by the Maasai themselves (14) many of whom have not yet accepted education (6).

Education is still very slow because people do not send their children to school and therefore they give other tribes chances to educate their children.

Education in Maasailand has been hindered by the Maasai themselves as they used to ignore it and ran away from school. This meant they were left behind. It has changed now, so that there are no parents who want their children without an education. (30 years of age, a teacher who had successfully completed Form 4)

In Loita too, a number of Maasai expressed hesitation and even scepticism about the apparent changes by indicating that, while some Maasai have changed their views, others have not changed their ideas on education (5):

There are still some primitive areas in Maasailand where they do not yet know the importance of education.

Some may have changed their attitude, but this could be because there has been a lot of disease around and many cows have died - there are not as many cows as there were before, so they don't need many boys as herders.

In the past, the Maasai (according to a number of Loita), did not emphasize education and now they do (11) but it is still very poor and backward in Maasailand (11). One of the reasons is that "those concerned with education are turning it into a political issue" (3) and even "those who were concerned about improving education in Maasailand before are now turning away from it and getting more involved in politics instead."

There are lots of good and bad things about education in Maasailand. Loita has often been neglected, for example, we have had 3 teachers sometimes for 8 classes. Very little help has been given with regard to books and equipment, etc. Often too, the Maasai themselves do not want this form of education. All too often, the chiefs are weak in education matters. If they forced it a bit more as well as the teachers and the parents, then we might make some progress. But some chiefs and people fear work. If you push and try to help them, they think "why are you doing this?" and become very suspicious of you and your motives. (Statement made by one of the teachers)

It was also observed that certain specific groups within Maasailand could themselves also hinder progress:

Education in Maasailand is still behind as some other tribes are developing well and the rich are the hindrance of development in Maasailand. (Twenty five years old finished Form 2, and worked as an Administration Policeman)

There are very few Maasai in secondary schools (2) because many parents lack fees and pull the children out after Standard Seven (3) and even "when Maasai young men go to school it is all very childish for them as ilmurran; only later, if they go into the National Youth Service do they really learn to live as young men should." (3) "It is not a good thing for ilmurran to be supervised by women, even if they are teachers!" (2)

9.4.5. Less positive views

Some felt that education is still not important; some children go to Form Four and still end up jobless (4) and so, many Maasai ask themselves important questions about the value or the importance of education. One person actually spelled out his fears or observations that sometimes those without an education have done better than those with an education and he felt that education does not make any difference:

I have educated two of my children and they have not done as well or better than I did and though I had no education at all I was able to get employment and I was able to build up the number of cows in my family herd. I do not see any use in this education at all.

One person was under the impression that many Maasai are prepared to send most of their children, though quite a number insist on keeping just one at home to herd the cattle. On the other hand, some respondents rightly observed that many parents are still keeping children at home in large numbers and students still drop out of school in large numbers (5).

Education in Maasailand has not changed a lot, for many boys after Standard 7 or 8 just drop out of school and that holds us back in education. Some parents are sending their children up to those standards and are then unable to pay school fees for further studies. (Twenty-five years old, finished Std. 7, a bannan)

One respondent articulated the fears of many Maasai (reported elsewhere in this study) concerning the deleterious effects of education on the cultural behaviour and morals of young Maasai:

The changing of the Maasai attitude towards education is very hard. The Maasai love their children very much that they would like to part with them for the purpose of education. But they think education spoils children and turns them to develop strange behaviour like lacking manners, the girls putting on very smart clothes, the boys hating cattle, and they generally become very hard to understand.

The practice, reported by Sarone (1986), of allowing only the less favoured children to attend school, was referred to by one young father:

You know, the Maasai marry a lot of wives: they are polygamists, so if a man is told to bring his child to school, he takes the children of the wife he hates most, because at least they do not love them all. He does not send the children of his favourite wife. But nowadays, they are changing. There are some who like educating their children and there are those who will never change their minds. Maybe their children will educate their own children instead. (Aged 38, no education and worked as a dip attendant)

Only four Purko and three Loita definitively stated that there was no visible change in the attitude towards education in Maasailand:

There is no change. It is hard for the Maasai to change their attitude towards education, they are too busy looking after their cattle to worry about such things and they will be left with nobody to herd for them.

In reality, the Maasai are still ignorant of education. They send the children to school for three or four years and then pull them out of school; very few send the children for the full seven or ten years.

It was observed that some Maasai still have to be forced by the chief to send at least one of their children to school indicating that

not all the Maasai have changed their attitude towards education. The Maasai educate their children just because they are still being forced to do so by the authority. Only a few have changed their attitude especially the educated ones because they know the goodness of education. (65 year old)

In spite of this comment, there is little evidence of families in either Lemek or Loita being forced to send children to school.

9.4.6. Teachers' views on education in Maasailand

Quite apart from the difficulties and problems of the parents and students in the education structures of the district, many of the teachers also voiced their problems and difficulties and these are not unrelated to those of the parents and students. Many of the teachers mentioned that among their problems as teachers in Maasailand are the following: the presence of inexperienced and untrained teachers (postings in semi-arid areas are sometimes viewed as punishment postings), and headteachers who appear to be transferred if they become too efficient. There are many surprise transfers of teachers, whereas they should be left in schools for

set periods of time to give consistency and continuity. Many wonder how serious the administration is about Maasai education when it constantly transfers teachers from one school to another, from one area to another, even from one district to another, especially at exam time.⁶⁶

The number of moves for teachers does not help stability in the school system in Maasailand. I have had four transfers in just over four years. Why is it that whenever a school gets a headteacher who is doing well, that person is suddenly transferred for no apparent reason, and usually just when the students are preparing for their KCPE?

Other criticisms of education in Maasailand from the teachers' standpoint touched upon the fact that it is hard for the teachers to get their salaries and sometimes they have to leave school for one or two weeks at a time to collect it in Narok. The shortage of textbooks for the students and teachers' books for the staff was also raised by a number of these primary school teachers:

We are supposed to teach various subjects, but the students do not have the books and neither do we. What are we supposed to do when the books are changed every year? We cannot afford to buy them out of our own money, nor should we have to anyway.

There was a recognition by one or two teachers that alcoholism is a problem for some teachers who waste their salaries on liquor. There was agreement that little or nothing is done to prevent alcoholism on the job. The school inspectorate is not taken seriously by the administration, and they are given neither suitable transport nor funding, etc. The teachers and students suffer not only from a lack of textbooks, but inadequate accommodation in terms of classrooms, desks, blackboards, chalk, paper, or lighting (generally speaking). In quite a number of places, the teachers' accommodation is totally inadequate and unsuitable for married teachers and their families and does not attract new teachers for the schools among the pastoralists.

Four teachers pointed to the lack of motivation in some students because they know they will not be allowed to continue to secondary school. This has an effect on their primary school work and attendance:

Some of the students are told by their fathers that they will only let them attend school for a number of years and then they will have to come home to help the family. Because these boys know that they will not get to secondary school they lose some heart and they do not work as hard as they could. That makes our job hard too, because we have to keep pushing them.

A number of teachers (3) sympathized with parents about the problem of school fees and service charges, but felt that the schools had to charge various "fees" so that they could continue. One teacher said:

If the school does not get the money from the parents like this, then how will it survive? It certainly will not get it from Nairobi.

These school fees, in spite of supposed universal free primary education, are daunting for parents with ten, fifteen, or twenty children. The total inadequacy and unavailability of school text books for both teachers and students and the fact that constant, almost annual, changing of texts precludes any family from purchasing and passing on the books to other members of the family make sure that children in these less privileged areas never get a fair chance of attending school. In fact, one can go so far as to say that it is an impossible dream for many children to even think of attending school in the present situation in Maasailand. Though there has been an increase in the percentages of those with an education across various age-levels, the overall attendance rates are extremely low (cf. section 3.5).

9.5. Maasai expectations of those who have an education

Having obtained some idea of the views of these two groups of educated and employed Maasai on the state of education in Maasailand, the next step was to find out what their expectations were concerning those who had actually received an education and then to find out if the reality in the areas coincided with these expectations. All the respondents were asked to indicate what they felt persons with an education "should do"; in other words, what their expectations were of those people with an education and how they felt they should use their academic credentials.

9.5.1. Responses from those with an education:

Lemek and Loita

There were many responses indicating that the educated should stay in Maasailand and teach their friends and others the value and the worth or goodness of education (39) and they should help those without any education to develop the area (20). In other words, there was a stated desire to see a social or community gain and not just a personal one. This could take the form of showing them how to plough, how to construct spray-dips, how to select good veterinary drugs, or how to construct better housing because, as one man said, "We are no longer nomads!"

In Loita, the emphases were much the same as for the Lemek group, namely, helping the poor and the illiterate to improve their lives (23) especially by being an example to them, and trying to help each other (19). Seventeen persons felt that the educated should help the whole Maasai community, not just themselves or their families.

The Maasai are still very much behind, illiterate, and since there are now a few educated Loita they should encourage the rest of the Maasai to educate their children. They should sell their cattle and raise money to build better classrooms for the children instead of the cattle dying for nothing without making use of them. During the dry season a lot of cattle die because of the drought - the Maasai should sell their cows for education purposes within the community. (30 years old, watchman at Kitale)

The point was made that they should be an example by sending their own children to school (12) and assisting those families who do not have enough money to pay school fees (5). They should also be strong about encouraging Maasai students to stay in school until the last class because

it is good to finish one's education and if you do not get an education these days then you get problems later.

Quite a number of respondents (13) said that those lucky enough to get an education should encourage students to remain in Maasailand after their schooling to help the Maasai community by running stores or as teachers. The educated students should be encouraged to stay and not migrate (7).

They should stay, help the Maasai and be an example to others.
(Many replied in this fashion.)

The educated should be more serious about talking about the goodness of education and make this area look as if it is an area for the people who have had an education.

If the educated had stayed and worked here they could have made this place very different to what it is now!

Some Purko respondents agreed with the Loita that the educated had a responsibility to advise the Maasai students to choose the right careers to help them and the Maasai community because these educated persons themselves should be "an example of an employed person and help others get jobs" (5). The educated should set an example by educating all their own children (15) without any discrimination (5), and by using their education to strengthen their own families (5). Here too, comments about family planning arose when three persons said the educated should study family planning to develop their own families. It was also stated that educated people should stay in Maasailand and tell their friends about the value of education and development.

People with education should teach the rest all the ways of development like growing food crops and renting their lands to enable them to get more money to send their children to school. (24 years of age, Std 4, shop assistant)

The ones with an education should try to teach all people to educate their children as it is the only good thing they ever got from their parents. (18 years, Form 2, clerk)

The Loita respondents were much more "community" conscious than were the Purko respondents and this is mirrored in their responses.

The educated Loita should develop their houses and bring modern ways of life to the community (6).

A number of practical suggestions about how this could be achieved were suggested by various Loita: by finding better teaching equipment, schools and teachers for the local school (6), by making sure that those with higher education get jobs (2) and by working their shambas more than the non-educated ones (1). One person also indicated that once they get an education these persons should attempt to repay their families for the expenses incurred by their families in their education.

Some educated Maasai just go and live in towns and forget about their families and the Maasai community.

All educated Maasai should return and settle in their own land instead of moving to town for employment.

One or two of the Loita were aware (for a variety of historical reasons) of the political aspects of the whole issue of education in Maasailand and this appeared in such comments as:

Educated people should avoid political differences and help all Maasai in development.

Once again, the interesting difference between the influence of those with an education and those without an education was indicated by the rather shrewd observation that, "Sometimes the non-educated have done better than the educated."

9.5.2. Responses from those without an education:

Lemek and Loita

When the same question was put to those Purko who were non-educated, the responses were much the same as those from the educated sample. The emphasis again was on teaching others what they had learned (11), about helping their families (11) by building better houses and buying good grade cattle (10). The point was made too that there is an obligation on the educated ones to help develop the community (8) by being an example to others and by helping them (8), and especially by encouraging them to send their children to school for their future development (8) and discouraging the parents from keeping their children at home to herd cattle (2).

There was a sense that the educated Purko should teach the people how to cultivate in a more productive and economical way (3), and teach about family planning (1). A practical financial aspect came into the discussions when it was suggested that the educated persons should get loans to improve themselves and their families (2), organize harambees to help the poor with their children's school fees, and approach the Narok Council to obtain bursaries for the poor to educate their children (2).

The ones with an education should strive hard into a higher standard of living since Kenya is on the run.

In Loita, the emphasis was on helping not only their families but also the poor in the area (7) by bringing development to the area (5) and by encouraging the Maasai to send more of their children to school (6).

The people should bring development to this location. Things like buying more cows is not development at all. They should build better houses, dig boreholes, and teach bulls how to plough in the fields. Also they should educate the rest of the Maasai how to educate their children. They should help poor children who are in school. They should have some money contribution monthly or yearly for emergency education cases; for example, those who are invited to secondary schools and they have no transport to go to school. They should stay and work in Maasailand because people understand them easily. They come from the community and know the language.

They should educate their own children also. Because some refuse to educate their children and people are discouraged because they say: If the educated people who know the importance of education refuse to educate their own children, then there is no need for education. (30 years of age, non-educated watchman at Kitale.)

Various individuals noted that the educated Loita should help the youth especially and they should buy cattle to repay their parents for the fees spent on them (2). They should also sell some of their own cattle to help build classrooms for the poorer families and students (1).

One very interesting point which appeared in the Loita responses, but not in Lemek where perhaps one would have expected it, was the repeated reference to the need for the educated people to urge the Maasai to diversify and not to depend on cattle alone:

People should try hard to bring development to Maasailand and improve the community as a whole. Because some educated Loita sometimes turn out to be drunkards and they forget even to buy their own clothes with their salaries. Especially in our local community, they should teach the people to depend on other things apart from cattle, like farming, digging shambas, planting every possible thing, because most people in the area only plant maize. The ones with an education should stay and teach people to depend on things other than just cattle. (36 years, non-educated and worked in The Mara.)

Another strong point mentioned in a variety of ways was that the educated Loita should remain in the area to assist in its development by example and participation:

The educated Loita should stay in Maasailand and work there as an example to others (3) and should even introduce lessons in schools to advise boys and girls not to leave Maasailand for the big cities (1).

We should introduce lessons to advise boys and girls not to leave Maasailand after their education to live in big cities instead of coming back here to be good examples. That is why Maasai will never improve, because the educated people are not a good example to the community. If that improves you will start seeing girls coming back to Maasailand after school and getting married to their own people and boys will come back to their community to find Maasai girls to marry. Also the teachers will be local people from the area - and nurses and agricultural officials. It would be easier if the Loita educated boys and girls tried to solve this problem, instead of getting educated and disappearing to Mombasa or Kisumu to work there as a teacher or a nurse while people need you back at home. (65 year old Okiek, an Administration Policeman in Wajir and a driver for the Narok Council.)

The past experiences of some of the older Maasai with the "bad example" of various educated and well placed Maasai in terms of excessive drinking was also a point that emerged in some of the responses:

They should not start smoking things or introducing themselves into these worldly misbehaviours. And they should also not start criticizing the Maasai by stopping them from following their culture, or stopping them themselves. They should also come back home and help their families by buying cattle and solving problems like poverty in their families. (65 years, non-educated driver and Administration Policeman)

This is a reference to some of the educated Maasai political leaders who have criticized the Maasai for not changing and developing quickly enough.

9.6. The achievements of those with an education

The two sampled groups were asked what they saw those with an education actually achieving. This was asked to find out if the educated did what has been suggested they should accomplish, to see if there was any realization of the expectations stated previously. The question gave rise to the following comments:

9.6.1. The educated group of respondents: Lemek and Loita

In fact, a few people noted that the educated people in the area have done nothing at all to help themselves, their families or the community at large (6).

People with education have done nothing to help their families; they are just the same as everyone else.
(24 years, Standard 5, worked in The Mara)

Most do not use their education, they reach Standard Seven and then go home; because they have no jobs they just stroll around jobless.

Quite a number of Purko (22) said that educated Maasai help their families but not the community, with just a few exceptions:

Often the salaries are so poor, they can just barely help their own immediate families.

Those with education have only helped their families with animals and food and clothes. They are too busy and do not have enough to help their extended families, let alone the community.

Mostly they only help their families, and only sometimes the community.

Some have helped their families and the community, but most do not do so.

Among the Loita too, there was some bitterness expressed by the fact that many of those with an education have done nothing (9) or have only taken care of their own families (23). Again, there is this sense that many of those with an education have only derived a personal benefit (and in some cases they have extended this to include the immediate family) and have not helped the community at large which somehow feels abandoned or betrayed almost.

On the other hand, some even felt that the educated Loita do not even do the minimum by helping their own families:

Some with education just go and live in towns and forget about families and the Maasai community.

My impression is that many do not help even their families but just themselves. They seem to lead two lives in two different places, at work and when they visit home. (This comment came from a policeman.)

Some support themselves and no one else!
Those who end up in big offices do not help the poor!

However, there were some Purko who felt that some educated people have helped their families in a variety of ways, such as better housing (52 mentions of this fact), by the use of tractors for ploughing (20), by purchasing good animals (34), by advising about drugs for the animals (12) and building family dips (11), by introducing changes in the family diet (12), by buying wazungu (European) clothing, and by the use of vehicles (11).⁶⁷

Some respondents noted that the educated people send more of their children to school (25) and some have built up businesses (7). Four people thought that some of the educated ones had acquired individual ranches from the Group Ranch Committee.⁶⁸

Four Loita addressed the problem of excessive drinking among the educated Maasai with such observations as "some become drunkards and help nobody" or "too many of our educated leaders drink too much and then they can do nothing to help anybody least of all themselves." Though many of the Loita are keenly aware that quite a number of the educated have worked, or still do work, for the community in their capacities as teachers, nurses, dip-attendants, etc., they are also very conscious of the problems of some educated Maasai with good salaries developing drinking problems, etc. This was also a problem in Lemek, where some have lost good jobs as a result of drinking problems and some have lost their health and even their lives, but this was neither referred to as frequently nor addressed as directly as it was in Loita:

A number of those educated who did not become drunkards (and smokers) have helped the people - many need more help themselves because of their bad drinking.

Some do and some do not; Most of them go and get lost with their education and go and end up as drunkards and make nothing of their lives.

On a more positive note, some felt that the educated have at least sent their own children to school (6), and have built shops so that the local people do not have to go far to buy items they need (1) and some of

the educated people help the Loita community when boundary disputes arise by giving advice and reading the difficult letters and notices, etc. (3). There was also a sense that it is the educated ones who have brought some helpful changes into the area by the use of corrugated iron or tin roofs and by the use of cookers or stoves which burn less firewood (3). These innovations are regarded as "helpful", rather than just "different tastes" or expressions of "Western consumerism". This is certainly the sense under which these contributions to the lives of the local Maasai women are recorded and judged.⁶⁹

Reference was made to the fact that many of the educated Loita are becoming teachers and the good effect this has in Maasailand:

Nowadays, the Maasai with education are becoming teachers and taking over from the Kikuyu teachers in our schools. It will only improve once we get more Maasai teachers to teach in out-schools.

Some people now say "I wish I was educated so I could be a teacher, nurse or doctor."

Generally speaking, the responses were negative and somewhat bitter statements about the lack of leadership and involvement of the educated Maasai. Many also referred to the rather "selfish" attitudes of those with an education.

9.6.2. The non-educated group of respondents: Lemek and Loita

The most striking difference between the responses of the educated and non-educated groups was the lack of negative criticism or bitterness in the responses of the non-educated groups, though the Loita did feel some dissatisfaction. The non-educated Purko respondents had virtually no negative comments to make at all. They emphasized the fact that the educated bought animals for their families (23), built better houses (25), sent their children to school (14), began ploughing and planting various crops (8), and bought vehicles for their own use (4). Eight people felt that the educated have indeed helped their families and the community.

A variety of topics were mentioned as indicators that the educated people are contributing to changes in the community attitudes towards such things as health (3), diet (2), clothing (1), veterinary drugs and regular dipping practices (5), the acquisition of foreign languages (1), and the prompt payment of substantive bride-wealth for educated young women (1).

Five persons in this group stated that educated Purko have been able to acquire land from the Group Ranch Committee and are in the vanguard of those demanding the subdivision of the Ranch.

The educated ones are the ones demanding subdivision of the Group Ranch to enable us to borrow loans to help us in development. (22 year old, non-educated but worked in Narok)

Even these moves towards subdivision are not regarded in a negative light since subdivision has the positive effect of enabling the individual Maasai to present land leases as collateral for bank loans and credit.

One person felt that the educated are richer than the non-educated because they know how to get money and one other person linked this to the fact that many of those with an education are able to become teachers with good salaries. Among the Loita, one person thought that the educated people were responsible for building new schools and three people thought the educated Loita had built stores in the community. In the areas around Morijo Loita centre there are some small stores actually built adjacent to some bomas and run by family members. In spite of these observations, the general sentiments and indications were that the Loita felt dissatisfied with what they have seen among the educated Loita so far.

Seven people made the following comments which are summaries of what was felt and said: "Some have helped, some have not - it depends on the mentality", and "some have used it to help their families and the community" (6). The recognition of those who have community oriented occupations was referred to by one or two people: "Some help because they have specific jobs and work in the community" and "others have built shops to help us" (1).

The negative aspects were there again in some observations, "some educated Loita turn out to be drunkards" (3) and "very few help the community, most just help their families only" (6):

Some show good example, others do not. Some help their families and the community, and others do not. Some have helped their families from having no cattle to having cattle, etc., and have filled their homes with property like animals, veterinary medicines, clothes, and food for the people. Some are useful to the community such as teachers and nurses. But some of them use their salaries in drinking and not taking care of their families. Others make use of their education by exploiting Maasai people by trying to sell land or by refusing to attend schools. Some people are useful and some are very useless. (Aged 65, Administration Policeman and driver)

One man expressed regret at the fact that he was non-educated and wished he could reverse the events of history:

Because I have travelled I have seen that people have progressed because of their education. I am sad because I have not been educated and I wish I could change that situation - when I settle back at home I shall take adult literacy classes but for now I have to work to get money to get married. The Maasai know that education is very important and is the key to future success. (36 years of age, non-educated but worked in The Mara.)

This view, which one might have expected from a person who had travelled to obtain wage-employment, was unusual among the other employed Loita and Purko. Though some may have felt this way they did not express it in as many words.

9.7. Conclusion

Much of the material in this chapter reflects the profound and often quite justified ambivalence felt by the Maasai for educational participation. To this extent, and for this very reason, it is a key chapter of this study precisely because it is a record of the stated views of a large number of educated men and women who have, to a large extent, experienced and combined both the educational and employment structures in their own lives. The views of these men and women should carry more weight than those of the non-educated and never employed (wage-employment)

parents presented in the fifth chapter because, if changes are going to occur in Maasailand *vis-a-vis* attitudes and responses to education and wage-employment possibilities, it is from this group of educated and experienced persons that these changes are most likely to originate and spread. Most of these respondents were married and educated workers who came from relatively rich family backgrounds (according to themselves). Now they see themselves as belonging to the middle-range stratum and almost all of them are involved in some form of subsistence agriculture.

The views expressed indicate that the Maasai feel that they are in a dilemma, since they lose either way; they are in danger of losing their regional position or losing their children and the support those children would be expected to offer for their way of life and their economic continuance as pastoralists. The ambivalences, the hesitations, and the apparent scepticism of the Maasai are present in many different ways in most of the comments presented in this chapter.

There was a feeling that indeed there had been visible and assessable changes in the attitudes of the Maasai towards education, but there were also statements about the continued reluctance on the part of so many to send their children to school. There are more schools and more children in those schools, but there are also many parents who send their children for a few years and then pull them out of school to herd cattle or to get married. The Loita particularly appear to be very sensitive to the politicization of education as an issue and have seen various people turn their energies and attention away from education and redirect it into the political arena. They have also seen education become almost a political football at the feet of various politicians both at the district and national levels, and ultimately, when factions use schools as political tools or weapons, it is the children who suffer through lack of financial or infrastructural support.

It was the Loita too, who sensed and articulated the deleterious effects western education practices seem to be having on their children.

This negative feeling towards education was focused particularly on the education of Maasai females who were seen as being "spoiled" by their education. The ambivalence towards education and female education in particular came through very clearly in the responses from both areas. Some of these were positive towards the education of females, seeing women as persons having the same rights as men *vis-a-vis* education and employment opportunities. Other responses, of which there were a considerable number, linked females' education with the erosion of parental authority and culture.

Educated girls were seen by many as potential prostitutes or as women who would run away from home and, disregarding their parents' wishes with regard to future husbands, would marry men of their own choice (usually men of other cultural groups). This is seen as a threat to the culture and the authority of the parents over their daughters; it was also linked by a number of men with their exclusion from any discussions about bride-wealth and future assistance to be expected from their future sons-in-law. Educated women are seen as people who get lost, disappear from home, forget their parents, and adopting foreign cultures forget their own culture. One man declared that the education of girls was a complete waste of time and money and another man declared dramatically: "educated girls start claiming they are the same as men!"

Quite apart from these stated views on changes in the attitudes of the Maasai towards education in Maasailand, there are also the two further sets of observations about what the educated should do with their academic credentials and what the respondents see the educated to have done. It is also in this area that the ambiguities and the ambivalences towards educational participation appear.

The responses from both areas are clear statements about the expectations the Maasai have with regard to educated men and women. There was no doubt that the major expectations centred around their remaining in Maasailand and helping their families and local communities. This help

would be in the form of example and participation - building better houses, sending more children (especially their own) to school, developing the local communities, encouraging students to stay in Maasailand after their schooling, and demonstrating new farming techniques.

One theme which runs repeatedly throughout the Loita responses is the strong sense of community which is not present in the Lemek responses. There is a recurrent observation in Loita that there are indeed personal or individual benefits to be gathered from education but there is the constant call for more evidence of community or social gains or benefits from it. Several interesting points came from the very community conscious Loita respondents: one of these points was the need for the educated Maasai to push for wider economic diversification and the need for the Maasai to look beyond just cattle. It was also this group that drew attention to the fact that, in the past, a number of educated Maasai have fallen victim to excessive drinking and have not been good examples to the young. Both areas indicated that there were numbers of educated Maasai who did nothing for their families or for the local communities. It was the Loita again who were extremely critical of the educated and pointed out that there were many who did not even do the minimum by looking after their own families. The non-educated Purko saw the educated persons in their area helping their families in all the ways presented above. But the non-educated Loita were quite dissatisfied with what they had seen in the lives of some educated men who had become drunkards and others who did not bother to help anybody except themselves.

It is not the task or the function of the researcher to judge the validity or the veracity of these observations, comments, and misgivings; these are the aspects and implications of education which the interviewed Maasai regard as true and they see these comments having some foundation in reality. Certainly, the personal experiences of some of the parents have given rise to the hesitation they, and other parents, have towards a more active involvement of their children in the education system.

CHAPTER TEN

THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT
ON MAASAI, THEIR FAMILIES, AND THE COMMUNITY

10.1. Introduction

In this chapter we investigate responses of Maasai workers about how their own education influences their lives, their families, and the communities in which they live. This is the perspective of Maasai looking at his or her particular situation and reflecting upon what is perceived. This chapter will attempt to answer such questions as: Has education influenced their lives and in what ways? Has their education influenced or changed the lives of their families and if so, in what particular ways? Are there any observable signs of change in their family situations? More widely: Has their education made any difference for the wider communities in which they live? Do the respondents see any direct link between their education and subsequent employment? And what are their views concerning migration for wage-employment among those who actually left for wage-employment?

10.2. Signs of change/development in the home situation

Most of the interviews took place at the home, and, in most cases, the bomas had already been visited once or twice previously, so we had some idea of what visible or assessable signs of development or change were present in the homes. Without wishing to engage in a detailed survey and analysis of the material culture of the Maasai, what we are discussing here are changed consumer preferences which may or may not reflect changed minds and attitudes coming out of a changed culture. Certainly, the visibility of changed housing and furnishing materials, such as wooden doors and padlocks, tin and thatched roofs, items of furniture (for example, tables, chairs, cupboards, and beds), radios, and motor vehicles,

may be taken as deliberate choices representative of consumer preferences even at the very basic level of material goods. These and other items are seen as indicators or signs of change within the home. It is not within the scope of this study to take this analysis further. However, it is worth noting that very little has been written on the material culture of the Maasai; much has been written on the livestock economy, political structure, the ritual, the ceremonies, and the land issues, but hardly anything on how the Maasai actually live in terms of clothing, bedding, shelter, food, cooking and eating utensils, footwear, weaponry, ornamentation, personal and public or social health practices, sanitation and medicinal practices, etc. Notable exceptions are Klumpp 1980, on Maasai body ornaments; Winter 1980, on shields; Kipury 1983, on oral literature.

The respondents were asked to state what they regarded as visible signs of change in their own homes. The Table below refers to the number of occasions a given indicator was mentioned by a respondent.

Table 10.1. Presence of various items as signs of change in the home situations of the respondents: Lemek and Loita

	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Combined totals	
	educated	non-educ	educated	non-educated		
No signs	14	27	15	12	41	27
Signs						
thatched houses	13	14	5	1	27	6
tin roofs	21	10	6	1	31	7
furniture	21	-	10	-	21	10
radios	20	-	9	-	20	9
dam	17	1	4	-	18	4
spray dip	3	3	-	-	6	-
doors/locks	10	-	22	-	10	22
vehicles	5	-	2	-	5	2
shop	2	8	1	1	10	2
boreholes	1	3	1	-	4	1
planted trees	1	-	-	1	1	1

The Table reports clearly that the educated workers attest to a considerable number of indicators of change in their homes. However,

there are a number of respondents who were educated and engaged in wage-employment and yet mentioned no signs of visible change in their homes.

One of the most striking areas of change was that of housing. Though the respondents only accounted for 33 thatched and 38 tin-roofed houses (Table 10.1), the researcher's personal observations indicate that there are 48 tin-roofed houses spread over 41 bomas, and 119 thatched houses spread over 63 bomas in Lemek (Table 10.2). In Loita, there are 14 tin-roofed houses over 10 bomas, and 86 thatched houses spread over 40 bomas. Looking at these adaptations in terms of the homes of the educated or non-educated household heads of both sites, we find that the non-educated are the most likely to have constructed thatch or corrugated roofs on their houses. The difference between the educated and the non-educated in this regard is the more striking in Lemek Group Ranch.

Table 10.2. Housing materials, thatch or corrugated-iron roofs: By educational levels of household heads: Lemek and Loita

Lemek		Loita	
corrugated-iron roofs		corrugated-iron roofs	
male educated	= 9	male educated	= 6
male non-educated	= 31	male non-educated	= 8
female non-educated	= 8		
totals		14	
thatched roofs		thatched roofs	
male educated	= 12	male educated	= 28
male non-educated	= 78	male non-educated	= 58
female non-educated	= 29		
totals		86	

Apart from the indicators mentioned above, the presence of barbed-wire fences was another indicator of change in one of the sites (but not noted by any of the worker respondents). Generally speaking there was very little fencing in much of the Ranch but it was present, inching its way

along the Lemek Valley towards The Maasai Mara, in the area bordering the wheat fields of the commercial farmers along the Valley towards Ololulunga, Ngoringori, and Narok. One rich local Maasai family had already begun to fence certain prime areas even before the Ranch was officially subdivided and had begun to attract farmers from as far away as Thika. Only two respondents mentioned fencing as a sign within their own home area as a visible sign of some change in their life-style. In the case of one family in Lemek, a spray dip, borehole, chicken-wire fencing for the shamba, and at least four bicycles had all been provided for the family by a former local missionary and so had little or nothing to do with the actual developmental endeavours of the family concerned.⁷⁰

There were a number of additional signs or indicators of change in certain places which should be mentioned at this point. Among the Okiek living in the Lemek Group Ranch, one family had already built several cement-block houses and was running a small business (including the use of a light pick-up vehicle). This family was in the process of constructing another large house using stone blocks. The family was also installing a large water tank and planting trees around the whole compound. In fact, this family epitomized the attitude of most, though not all, of the Okiek living within the confines of the Group Ranch. One man articulated it:

We regard ourselves as equals with our brothers and sisters the Purko living in Lemek. We feel as much a part of the Group Ranch as they do and when it comes to subdivision, we want to be present at the discussions since we want to look to the land for our children and their children. We do not live in the forest any more and we want what is ours because we are Maasai and we are Kenyans.

Among the Loita respondents, one man mentioned that he had introduced field irrigation in his home shamba and this had been copied by his neighbours. I did not see this field, so I do not know the extent of this irrigation scheme. He himself works not too far away from home most of the time. He had a very interesting story to tell of his early days as a student. His father did not wish him to go to school, but he ran away from home to go to a nearby school anyway. After a while, his father,

finding out where he was staying, arrived to bring him home. So he ran away again, this time further away from home, and found another school. The father found out where he was a second time and went in search of him to bring him home again. The boy ran away from his father a third time and repeated the process of finding a school. Again, the father came after him and tried to drag him home and again he resisted. This process was repeated a fourth time and each time the school sought was further and further away from the original home and the original primary school. Eventually, he ended up in a school on the other side of Narok where he finally finished his schooling in peace because by this time the father had given up. Throughout this whole saga his maternal uncle was paying for his schooling even in the teeth of the father's rage.

Unfortunately, this kind of tension and conflict between a Maasai father and his young son does not pass lightly, and, as a result, the two men did not speak to each other for almost twenty years. Only in the past five years has some kind of acceptable peace and working arrangement been forged between the father and son. In one sense, this story leads in to the next topic, the difference education has made in the person's life.

10.3. Has education made any difference in the persons's own life?

In both areas, the responses indicated similar effects or ways in which their education had affected and improved the workers' personal lives. Again, the questions were open-ended and thus the categories that appear below are taken from the actual responses of the persons concerned:

Very few of the educated workers from both sites stated that their education had no effect on their lives; only nine persons. What is of interest here is the fact that six of the nine reasons given are results of employment rather than education. Though the question was directed towards the effects of education on their lives, respondents gave

indicators related to their employment (which, in their minds, could be traced directly to their educational qualifications).

Table 10.3. Effects of education on the educated person's own life: By various indicators:
Lemek and Loita

	Lemek 4	Loita 5
no effect		
effects:		
can now read and write	12	14
knowledge of other languages	41	13
health/diet/clothing	48	22
housing	22	-
bought animals	5	1
able to communicate with other tribes in Kenya	7	1
employed because of education	6	3
have wider knowledge of world	2	6
able to earn a living instead of having to sell my cows	-	4

Some of the verbal explanations that went to clarify these points are of interest: Two men in Lemek felt that now they have more knowledge about veterinary services, and another two felt that they had a higher standard of living than their parents. One man said he now knows how to use a gun, another how to run a shop, and one person feels he is more self-reliant than his parents were or than he would have been without an education.

The ability to run a store was also mentioned by a man in Loita. Another Loita said he was so old that he had forgotten what little he had learned in school so it does not have any effect in his life. One young man said that it has changed his attitude towards marriage and the raising of a family; now he would only marry an educated female. One man said that education had made him a modern person and improved his behaviour.

Under the previous question, a number of Loita mentioned housing as a change in the home situation, but under this question referring to changes in the personal life, housing was not mentioned at all by the Loita.

The three female teachers in Loita said that their education had helped them get the jobs they have; one said she will be able to assist her own children in the evenings which will help them be cleverer than the rest.

10.4. Has education made any difference for the person's family?

Here too, as in the previous question, the indications were that the educated persons felt their education had some effect on their families, especially finances or experience related to their subsequent employment. In Lemek, one university graduate stated that his education had made no difference to his family and had not resulted in any change for them (this may be confirmed from general observation of the home). One person said that he helps to translate documents when necessary, another has better knowledge of drugs for his livestock, three men see a link between their education and the fact that they regularly dip their animals, and one person now uses fencing on his land. Only six persons mentioned that they had begun to keep chickens and these may be the only persons actively engaged in poultry keeping in the area. Though fifteen men in Lemek mentioned the use of a tractor for ploughing, there was not a great deal of evidence to support these statements. In fact, no more than two or three shambas showed evidence of tractor ploughing.

Table 10.4. Effects of education on the lives of the educated persons' families; by various indicators:
Lemek and Loita

	Lemek	Loita
no effects	13	16
effects:		
clothing	1	-
health/diet	34	21
bought them some animals	6	10
other family members now educated	7	11 ⁷¹
housing	21	-
languages	15	-
now ploughs his <u>shamba</u>	15	-
keeps chickens	6	-

In Lemek, only one person mentioned European clothing as a conscious change in his home, his family, and his life-style. Though more than one person was wearing non-traditional dress in the Group Ranch, only one person actually gave "dress" as a sign of change in his home.

One person, in Loita, said that people imitate his actions particularly when it comes to the irrigation scheme he has developed for his shamba; two people said they help people fill in various forms, e.g. for pensions; one person said he helps his family specifically with money.

Of the 108 respondents at Lemek, 93 said they had a garden or an actual shamba; in Loita, of the 73 respondents, 65 said they had a shamba. The items grown in the shambas covered a wide range of vegetables:

Table 10.5. Vegetables grown in the shambas of Lemek and Loita

	Lemek	Loita
Maize, beans and cabbage	4	2
Maize	47	4
Maize, beans, cabbage and potatoes	6	11
Maize and beans	21	11
Maize, beans and potatoes	2	32
Maize, beans, potatoes and tobacco	-	3
Wheat	3	0
Potatoes only	-	1
Beans only	-	1

Maize and beans obviously represent two staple elements in the diets of the Purko and Loita of both areas. There appears to be a trend towards small communal plots in some parts of Loita where the young men work in small shambas as a cooperative little group.

10.5. Has the person's education made any difference for the wider community in which he lives?

There was no doubt expressed by educated respondents of both areas that there had been no influence on the wider communities in which they lived. This was in sharp contrast to the appreciation of the changes their education had on their own and their families' lives.

Table 10.6. Effects of the person's education on the life of the wider community in which he/she lives: by selected indicators: Lemek and Loita.

	Lemek	Loita
no changes or effects on the community	49	35
positive effects on the community		
helps the community as a teacher	3	5
helps the community through other jobs	8	7
helps the community by giving advice	2	11

In Lemek, the same university graduate stated that his education has not affected the community in any way. But a number of respondents noted that they now had jobs through which they were able to help the community, jobs being seen as extensions of their previous education: shop owners (2), teachers (3), a mason/carpenter (1), dip attendants (3), a tailor (1), Administration Policeman and assistant chief (1). Two men said they help by way of advice.

Some of the respondents in Loita also claimed that they were helping the local community because they were working in community related jobs such as medical assistant (1), shop owner (1), vice chairman of the community council (1), assistant chief (1), Narok City Councillor (1), working for the Water Department (1), teachers (3 females and 2 males), assisting the chief and the local KANU office (1). Some respondents help the community giving advice when necessary (7) especially in matters to do with ploughing the fields and gardens (4).

10.6. Difference in economic status to that of parents

An interesting difference occurred between the two groups regarding whether or not individuals felt that they are richer now than their parents were in the past. Most of those in Lemek, both educated and non-educated, said that they were not richer; most of the educated in Loita felt they were richer than their parents:

Table 10.7. Educated and non-educated workers perceptions of difference in economic standing between themselves and their parents: Lemek and Loita

Any difference	educated		non-educated	
	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta
Yes	22	34	16	4
No	40	24	30	11
Totals	62	58	46	15

There was no doubt of the ways the 38 respondents in each area felt richer than their parents:

	Lemek	Loita
more animals	27	23
housing	7	-
job/salary	4	15

Not one person in Loita mentioned "housing" as one of the ways in which they felt richer than their parents. This is a reflection of the fact that there are fewer thatched or tin-roofed houses in Loita than in Lemek (cf. Table 10.1). In Lemek, some mentioned having vehicles, chickens, or double the number of cattle their parents had. Two persons mentioned that they now have their own "individual ranches" and therefore can borrow from the bank, and three more mentioned that now they know how to develop and they have a shamba. One person said he was richer only in terms of having had an education, not in terms of material possessions, but this type of broader comment was generally not forthcoming since the respondents tended to deal with more tangible and countable items.

On the other hand, five Loita mentioned having a wider knowledge of the outside world together with the ability and knowledge to cultivate. Three men mentioned the fact that they possess a local store and this makes them much richer than their parents ever were; one man has a taxi, and two mentioned that they have an education and are more learned than their parents. In Loita, four persons mentioned the fact that they were richer in terms of knowledge only.

10.7. Reasons for being richer

There were only two major divisions here, education and salary. The question was open ended and asked the workers why they felt they were richer than their parents (if indeed they felt this). This question elicited responses which made distinctions between education and employment, and so the appearance of these two major categories and the actual balance of responses was interesting. The following two categories were drawn from the range of responses given:

	Lemek	Loita
because of an education	15	13
because of job/salary	15	13

Of the fifteen in Lemek who mentioned job/salary, thirteen had no education and therefore could not state this as a reason for their increase in riches. Nevertheless, they had found gainful employment. Other reasons offered were good herding practices and more property in terms of land and cattle. One man said he is richer because he works harder than his parents did, two others said that they have seen ways to overcome various obstacles through their education. Still others stated that they were richer because they have no need to sell their cattle during a drought (2) and this keeps their wealth safe within the herd.

One noteworthy explanation was given by a 65 year old Okiek male, married with one wife and six children, who had no education but had nonetheless worked as an Administration Policeman and a driver:

My parents had no cattle before, now I have many and a wife and six children; I am therefore much richer than my parents ever were. My people used to live in the bush and had no permanent homes. They would stay in the forest, kill animals there and stay there. If they heard there were animals in a particular place they would shift there and stay there for sometime until they would shift again to another place. Since hunting was banned, they began cultivating land and beekeeping and sold those things and bought cattle instead. The people are changing nowadays. Some have begun educating their children, others have shambas. They have also come to live happily with everybody because before they never mixed with people who were not "Ntorobo". My father had no cattle at all, and I was brought up mainly with honey and meat. So that is why I feel that I am richer than my father because he had no property before.

This old man has two acres of cultivated land, eighty head of cattle and forty shoats. He worked from 1945 to 1961 as an Administration Policeman, and then from 1962 to 1970 as a driver in Narok, and finally he worked as a driver for a medical team in Narok from 1970 to 1980 when he retired. He has six children, three of whom have an education; one female and one male have both finished Standard Seven, and one male dropped out of school at Standard Three.

10.8. Desired locale of employment

Because most of these respondents had moved away from home for wage-employment at some time or other, like the old man just quoted, they were asked where they would prefer to live and work.

Table 10.8. Desired locale of employment:
Lemek and Loita workers

	Lemek	Loita
At home	83	57
Anywhere there is a job	5	12
In Narok District	1	1
In a town centre	16	-
In The Maasai Mara	3	1
Away from home	-	2
Totals	108	73

Obviously, most of the Purko interviewed preferred to live and work at home, though sixteen wanted to live and work in a town centre. The Loita also preferred to live and work at home, nobody wanted to opt for a town centre, but a number agreed to work anywhere for the sake of the job.

10.9. Views on migrating for wage-employment

Since many, if not most, of the respondents had actually moved from their homes for the purposes of wage-employment it was interesting to ask them for some opinions on the whole idea of having to do this.⁷²

When asked the reasons why people leave home, because they are poor, because they wish to improve and develop themselves, or for both reasons, there was a strong conviction in the minds of the Purko of Lemek that people leave to improve and develop themselves. The Loita agreed with this, but a good number also felt that people were also poor and left for both reasons:

Table 10.9. Reasons why workers migrate for wage-employment:
Lemek and Loita responses

	Lemek	Loita
Because they are poor	14	15
Because they wish to improve and develop	80	36
For both reasons	14	22
Totals	108	73

There was absolutely no doubt about the reasons why these Purko men had moved away from home: "There is no work in the rural areas and so you have to try for a job in the urban areas" (60); "It is good to move away and look for a job" (23), and "you have to migrate if you want to support your family" (13). In fact, "you have to move from place to place to find work" (4) and since "only the educated Maasai, who are few in number, are migrants, the illiterate have to stay in Maasailand" (2). The data we have presented support, to some extent, this perception that the non-educated (24 from Lemek and 17 from Loita) do not migrate for wage-employment (cf. section 7.3.3).

Eight men felt it is a bad thing to migrate, but these eight negative responses came from people working at home or nearby; six of the men had never worked away from home and had no experience of this situation.⁷ The responses from the Loita were very much the same as the Purko of Lemek. The general sentiment was that "it is a good thing to go and look for a job" (25), however, "there is both a good and a bad side to it" (5). Quite a number linked the need to migrate for work to their obligation to support their families: "You have to do so to support a family" (16). "If I do that then I do not have to sell my cows" (2), since "this is the way

to get rich" (2) and "we have to do it because of our poverty" (3). This appreciation of the costs involved was stated, in another way, by one man who said, "Many do not realize it, but it actually costs more to live away from home" and "a change is always good because you get work, meet new people, and do new things."

On the other hand, 26 Loita men stated that it is a bad thing to have to leave home for employment.¹⁴ At least 16 of the 26 had been involved in some form of migratory labour and therefore they were in a strong position to have some views and opinions about the subject.

One or two individuals felt that "it is bad, but sometimes it is the only thing you can do", but "it is especially bad to go and not return." If the person migrates for any length of time and deprives his or her home area of their expertise and input then "it is bad because it will retard development here in Maasailand itself.

The respondents were asked the question: "Who migrates?" This was posed to establish their views on the wealth, age, gender, and education levels of those who migrate for wage-employment. The Purko felt that both rich and poor, young and old, educated and non-educated, men and women, leave home for employment. However, though the Loita agreed that rich and poor, educated and non-educated, men and women, leave for work, they also indicated that it was largely the young men and women who migrated or left home for work.

Table 10.10. Socio-economic profiles of those who migrate for wage-employment according to Lemek and Loita respondents

Lmk Lta			Lmk Lta			Lmk Lta			Lmk Lta		
Rich	2	2	Young	30	46	Educated	12	12	Men	30	36
Poor	28	29	Old	3	3	Non-educated	3	1	Women	-	-
Both	78	42	Both	75	24	Both	93	60	Both	78	37

When asked if any of their friends had ever left home because of their education and had never returned, 104 in Lemek and 58 in Loita said it had never happened to them (four in Lemek and 15 in Loita said it had

occurred). Eighty five of the Purko and 65 of the Loita felt this was not a good thing. In both places just four people expressed the doubt that this could be a good or a bad thing since the person who had left might well find a good job in their new area. In Lemek, 19 thought it was a good thing and, in Loita, only four agreed with this course of action.

10.9.1. Migrants, cattle, and Maasai status

When the question of the status of those who leave Maasailand was pursued, and the respondents were asked if these people were still Maasai, even though they had left the area, the answers were in the affirmative in both sites (Lemek 101 and Loita 62). Very few in both places said these people are not Maasai (seven in Lemek and eleven in Loita). The position was pressed a little further: Is it possible for a person to live outside Maasailand with no cattle, but have cattle being herded in Maasailand, and still be a Maasai? The responses were almost the same; 101 in Lemek and 66 in Loita agreed, 7 in both places disagreed saying it was not possible.

However, there was a difference of opinion between the Purko and the Loita when it came to the question of a person living permanently outside Maasailand and having no cattle at all. In this case, 61 Purko and 23 Loita said that person is no longer a Maasai; on the other hand, 47 Purko and 48 Loita stated that he was still Maasai. Two Loita agreed that such a person is still a Maasai, but "a dead one". Two of the other words used were "ilkiriko" and "ilmada", with the translated meaning of "people with no property" due to negligent behaviour. Clearly, many of the Maasai are making a distinction between those who have cattle and those who do not, and according to these respondents, those who do not are no longer Maasai.

10.10. Conclusion

Most of these workers who moved away from home for various periods of time are still very much rooted in their home areas and within their own cultural setting. Their involvement in formal employment structures is out of a perceived necessity and often with some reluctance. The effects their employment (and education) has had on their homes and families' lives appear to be quite small. There were few indicators of dramatic change in the bomas visited and even the respondents themselves only drew attention to a limited number of indicators of change in their families; notably housing, door locks, furniture and the presence of radios.

In terms of a change in economic status, only the educated in Loita felt that they were richer now than their parents had been in the past. This is an interesting point in itself since all the others, both educated and non-educated workers felt that they were poorer than their parents (also compare the findings presented in the ninth chapter). One observable difference between the living situation of the older parents and these younger workers is the presence today of small gardens or shambas adjacent to almost all the homesteads in Loita and Lemek. Seventy-seven percent of the Lemek respondents and 89% of the Loita said they had shambas.

According to these workers, the main areas of improvement in their families' lives, as a result of their own personal education, lay in clothing, diet and health improvements, and housing. The purchasing of additional animals for the family herds was not seen as something which represented change, particularly by the Purko workers. Virtually none of the men from the two areas saw their education as having had any effect at all on their local communities. Again this is an interesting observation on their part and one which could be pursued further in a follow-up study.

Perhaps, one of the most interesting points to emerge from the results of the interview schedule was the fact that the respondents understood "education" to mean "employment" when asked about the effects

of their education on their personal lives, the lives of their families, and those of the wider communities in which they lived. Most of the positive effects and changes that these men indicated were the results of their involvement in the occupational and wage structures of the district. Indirectly, one could trace their employment to their previous education, but this was not clearly referred to nor indicated by the men themselves.

Though there are observable changes in the homes, the clothing, and the diet of the Maasai of Lemek and Loita (particularly in the case of Lemek Group Ranch), it is very difficult to know the full range of these changes. There are more houses with thatch and corrugated iron roofs in Lemek than in Loita (Table 10.2) and there is more evidence of western-style clothing in the Group Ranch than in Morijo Loita, but these items alone do not necessarily indicate wider changes. These may merely represent selective changes in consumer preferences which may or may not reflect changed minds and attitudes coming out of a changing culture. Certainly, the visibility of changed housing materials, furniture, doors, radios, and vehicles, may be taken as deliberate choices of various material goods. However, from the point of view of our analysis, these have little or nothing to do with whether the person is educated or not educated since they may be found in the homes of both.

In short, education and employment have made definite changes in the lives of the Maasai of the two sampled sites and their families. It is true that many of the recorded changes are as likely to be present in the homes of non-educated men who have never been involved in wage-employment as they are in the homes of educated and employed men. However, the recorded changes in the homes and families of the educated workers is sufficient to say that there is some difference between their lives and the lives of the non-educated workers in both sites (Tables 10.1 - 10.7).

Perhaps there are other more dramatic changes in the personal lives of the workers outside their home communities, but the changes in their lives as they live in their home bomas is discernable and represent considerable

changes to the traditional Maasai way of life. One can hardly state unequivocally that education is the dominant factor related to employment for many of the Maasai males of these two sites; there are quite a number of non-educated workers who are not deterred by their lack of academic credentials. This lack of education and non-involvement in the wage-employment structures of the district has not kept numbers of Maasai from adopting social changes mentioned above.

Traditions have obviously changed in Maasailand: children are being sent to school in greater numbers and there are many store-purchased commodities visible in the bomas where there have been changes in some elements of Maasai material culture. One expression of this is the appearance of western-style clothing, even if worn only when making trips to town. There are changes in the techniques of animal production and there appears to be an increase in the livestock and smallstock sales across Maasailand. The bomas are smaller in size, more permanent in nature (more sedentary), and linked to greater diversification into subsistence cultivation. This having been said, there is also resistance and cultural resilience among Maasai articulated by the interviewed workers and parents.

There are two realities which have to be finely balanced here: Continuing low levels of education and employment compared to other districts, but profound changes taking place, which in part show up in increased rates of education and employment, commodities, rate of livestock sales, techniques of animal production, use of clothes (more out than at home), diversification into cultivation in some areas, and more sedentary homes.

A number of these elements directly or indirectly affect the lives of the women of these two sampled areas. In the next chapter, we shall take this analysis a step further by asking Maasai women to address some women's issues and to express their opinions on a number of topics not unrelated to the changes taking place in Maasailand.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

WOMEN ON WOMEN:

ATTITUDES OF FEMALE WORKERS TOWARDS WOMEN'S ISSUES

11.1. Introduction

The focus of this thesis has been the two central areas of social change, education and employment, and the implications of one area for the other. One of the major findings disclosed by the research was the paucity of females who have come through the educational system, the present low percentages of females in the schools, and the minimal number of women, either educated or non-educated, who have ever been employed.¹³ In order to get a broader female perspective on a number of issues, it was decided to interview those women of Lemek, regardless of their educational levels, who had worked at the local Mission.

This chapter will address some of the same questions which had been put to the males of the sampled areas, but in this case the respondents are the women. The data will answer such questions as: Do the women of the Group Ranch prefer traditional housing over more modern forms of housing, such as thatched houses or mud houses with corrugated iron roofs? What are the preferences of the women with regard to diet; would they prefer changes in the traditional dietary practices or not? What are their views on the practice of taking young Maasai girls out of school, making them submit to clitoridectomy, and then marrying them off to older Maasai men? What are the views of the women with regard to the subdivision of the Group Ranch, and do they agree or disagree with their husbands on this matter?

Basing ourselves on the same assumption (as we did for the male workers), that changing attitudes will begin in a particular group and spread from them, this chapter investigates the attitudes of working women to see if there is any indication of changed attitudes among them towards various aspects of Maasai women's lives.

11.2. The female workers of Lemek Group Ranch

Apart from the previous interviews conducted among male workers, there were a number of women who had worked at the Mission who were also interviewed. A total of 53 married women were interviewed in Lemek, 49 of whom had worked as casual labourers at the Lemek Mission or on the construction of the Mission sponsored secondary school for Maasai boys. This sample was composed of 44 Purko women, one Loita woman, six Uasin Gishu, one Samburu and one very old Nandi woman; their ages ranged from 20 to 75 years. All the interviewed women were married; 31 were first wives, 17 were second, four were third wives, and one was a fourth wife. The age at which they were married differed; some were quite young, 15 years, and others as old as 26 years (Mean 18 and Median 20 years).

11.2.1. The educational status of the women

Of the 53 women, 47 were non-educated and six had some schooling. Two of these women who had come into the Ranch through marriage (one a Uasin Gishu Maasai and the other a Purko) had dropped out of primary school at Standard Five on the orders of their fathers and both of these women had wished, at the time, to continue. Four of the 53 women had finished primary schooling and of these, three were Uasin Gishu Maasai who had married into the Ranch from elsewhere, and one was a Purko Maasai woman who came from Ololulunga, also outside the Ranch. Three of the educated women found it easy to get permission to attend school, and three found it difficult. When asked if they knew who had made the decision that they should go to school, three said the original idea came from themselves, that they had urged and encouraged their parents to let them go to school, two were aware that the decision had been made by both parents together, and one woman was convinced the decision had been made by her uncle, in loco parentis.

11.2.2. Jobs undertaken by women in this sample

Forty eight of the women, the majority, had worked as casual labourers, slashing grass at the Mission or at the site of the Mission built secondary school.¹⁶ The women were employed on an irregular basis and in many cases this would have been for a matter of weeks only. However, one woman worked for two years as a tailor for a women's group; another woman was a shopkeeper for six years in Aitong, on the edge of The Maasai Mara; a third educated woman was employed for four years as a primary school teacher in Mulot on the border with the Kipsigis; and two educated Uasin Gishu women were employed as nursery school teachers in Lemek Group Ranch itself, one woman for five years and the second for two years.

11.2.3. Salary uses

The 51 women almost unanimously declared that they had spent their salaries purchasing food and clothing for their children (only two women mentioned that they had used this money to help pay school fees). Twenty three women had purchased smallstock with some of their money and 30 had used it on what they termed "personal items" which included such things as soap, beads, food utensils, and tools for shamba work.

11.3. The women's perceptions of education in Maasailand

It was interesting to obtain the perceptions and the impressions of this group of non-educated women, precisely for those two reasons - they are women and they are non-educated. The men in the previous sample group had their own ideas of what was taking place in Maasailand with regard to education, who was being educated, and who should be educated. Now we have what is largely a non-educated female perspective on the same situation.

11.3.1. Women's views on the involvement
of the Maasai in education

With regard to Maasai involvement in education, twenty seven were of the opinion that it was still very low (six of these added that many Maasai were still against sending their children to school). However, twenty six were more optimistic and hopeful about education in Maasailand (ten saw progress, nine more saw Maasai parents sending more children to school, three were aware that education was "the key to success in the modern world", one hoped that through education good jobs would be available and the necessity to sell cattle would be eliminated, two women saw education giving communication skills to be used to the advantage of the Maasai in their dealing with the other tribes in Kenya (and especially those living in Maasailand) and one mother argued that education would bring more cattle and better farming techniques.

11.3.2. Views on changes among the Maasai towards schooling

In spite of the fact that 27 saw Maasai school participation as low in response to one question, 44 women, in response to another question, felt that there was change in Maasai attitudes towards the education of children (29 respondents credited many of the Maasai parents for sending their children to school); on the other hand, four saw no change, four saw Maasai parents being forced reluctantly to send their children to school, and one mother was afraid many children are sent to school and then pulled out of the system before they finish.

11.3.3. Views on the education of Maasai females

In some ways it is hard to reconcile these responses with stated attitudes towards the education of Maasai females in general: 20 women

thought it was good to educate girls and a further 14 thought it was good because these educated young women would be able to achieve exactly the same as the educated boys in terms of employment and assistance offered to their families. Nineteen women indicated that it was a waste of time and money to educate Maasai girls (ten stated that no educated Maasai girls ever got jobs, seven were of the opinion that it was not good because "they just run away from their parents", and finally three women felt that "they waste your property and later leave you without anything to eat").

When this idea of the education of girls being a waste was pursued, the responses were quite enlightening especially when one realises that these were mothers giving the comments. The majority (34) were of the opinion that the education of Maasai young girls was not a waste of time and money: 11 hoped that they would be able later to develop and help their new families, eight also hoped that they would be able to help their parents as well as their new families, six said that educated Maasai girls should be able to do all the things that educated Maasai boys would do in terms of employment and salaries. Three mothers looked to their own future comfort and hoped that their educated daughters would marry rich Maasai and build comfortable mabati houses for them; six women were strong in their statements to the effect that Maasai girls have the right to an education, it should not be seen as a favour.

Of 19 negative responses, 14 women clearly saw the education of girls as a waste, since "they will just get married and move away", and three more mothers were of the opinion that it was indeed a waste because, "they just use up your property and then leave you with nothing and you cannot get help from their husbands who won't even give you old snuff!" One old woman declared it was a waste to send them to school because she had not seen any who had finished school and got a job, and another woman was inclined to think that "girls will not listen to their mothers once they get an education."

Finally, it is worth noting the views of two educated Loita women on this topic of education for female Maasai:

It is a good thing. I am an educated female and a nursery teacher and I have seen, and experienced, the advantages of an education. It got me this good job and a salary.

It is great because I am a teacher and I know that with an education Maasai women can help their children and family sometimes. Both boys and girls can take care of their families if they can get an education and then a job - but girls are better at looking after the family than the boys.

11.3.4. Attitudes towards the education of Maasai males

The women's views on the education of boys was quite positive: 38 of them hoped that boys would be more of a help in the future and would bring more wealth to the family, 13 stated that it was good to educate the boys because they would help their families later and two women drew the connection between education of boys and the fact that these would be the future leaders of the Maasai community.

11.3.5. What educated Maasai should do with their academic credentials

Once the Maasai get their education, they have a responsibility to teach other Maasai families the value and the goodness of schooling (in the opinion of 22 of these mothers); the educated Maasai should also set an example by sending their own children to school (23 responded thus), by buying more cattle for the family herds (five more women) and by helping the development of the area particularly by finding more markets for the local livestock (three respondents).

11.3.6. What these educated persons actually accomplish

Only one woman was negative about the actual achievements of the educated Maasai in the area. The rest gave indications that the educated Purko had indeed looked after their families with the purchase of drugs for the animals, clothing and food for the family, cars, corrugated-iron for roofs, the construction of stores, and the payment of school fees.

11.3.7. Education of the children of these women

In their own home situations, the decisions concerning the education of the children are said to be made by the father alone in 27 cases and by both parents in 26 families. However, the situation does not appear to be quite as clear cut as it would at first appear. In a number of those cases where both parents are involved, the degree of consultation differs and, in some cases, both parents come to the decision but really it is the man's final decision that carries the day. Only 20 women said that usually they are in agreement with the decisions passed and a further 33 indicated there is often disagreement: "But we are under our husbands' authority and so we have no other choice."

It is the husband who is the sole owner of his children and thus has all authority to choose and decide whether children should be educated or not. I myself do not play any role. I am only here to be seen and not heard in such decision-making.
(45 years of age)

The wives from 21 families said that they disagreed with their husbands concerning these decisions about which children should be educated. A further five women disagreed with their husbands because they refused to educate any of the daughters, three husbands refused to educate any children at all, and two men wanted to keep the boys at home to look after the family herds. Two women expressed disagreement with their husbands in this regard, but, as one said, "after all, the children are not mine!" This is a simple and straightforward statement, but its

implications are extraordinary for a mother.

When asked if they felt that women should have more say in these decisions, 39 expressed the opinion that they should not have more say and that things are fine as they are at the moment; three of these women stated that they should not have more say because they "are ruled by their husbands." Fourteen women wanted more involvement in the decision-making process, one woman declaring that they had no say at all at the moment.

If they had their own way in the matter would they educate more of their children than are being educated at the moment? Forty three said they would educate more (only ten said they would not do so), and, of this number, 31 said they would attempt to educate all their children if they had their own way. Twenty-two mothers said they would only educate some of their children: 15 said they would educate the sons, three said the daughters, three more said they would only educate one son and one daughter, and one mother said she would educate only one son but all her daughters.

The reasons given by these parents for not educating all of their children were quite varied: the majority (20) insisted that the children were too young; another group of 12 threw the responsibility back on the father, "it is essentially the father's decision"; yet another group insisted that they could not educate them all since they did not have enough money for school fees.⁷⁷ Six of the women kept some of the children at home to look after the animals, and two had kept their first-born daughters at home to assist them in the domestic chores. Three women honestly stated that they had not educated all their children because in the early days they had not appreciated the goodness of education and what it could do for the Maasai.⁷⁸

The future employment factor was an important reason for many of these mothers in sending their children to school (37 of the cases mentioned this hope). A further six mothers incorporated the term "development" in their reasons for educating their children:

We educate our children to make them better and useful citizens in the future. They will be able to enrich themselves and develop the area as well as their families.

We send them to school to develop their homes and teach the community all the different ways of agriculture like ploughing the shamba to get more food apart from livestock rearing. (60 years of age)

Three of the mothers saw education as "a substitute for moranism, a new way of getting more cattle", and seven of the women sent their children to school to learn to read and write, to improve themselves, to buy animals, and in the future to build modern houses for their mothers.

11.4. Tradition versus change

The education of Maasai females is, perhaps, one of the most striking areas where there has been little or no change in the persistent cultural attitudes towards the status of women.⁷⁹ There are a number of reasons for this situation and it is not the focus of this study to try to understand nor to explain them all. However, the following material will touch upon some aspects of the creative tension between traditional practices and attitudes and a number of changes slowly appearing in the lives of the Maasai women of the two sampled areas.

11.4.1. Girls, schooling, and clitoridectomy

One of the most enlightening issues raised in the interviews was that of whether or not girls should be taken out of school at puberty, circumcised, and then given in marriage. This practice is, perhaps, the most important reason why those girls who have been given the opportunity to go to school in the first place are suddenly denied the chance to finish their primary schooling and all too often end up as a Standard Four or Five dropout (cf. section 5.3.2.). Since this is a woman's issue, it is valuable to get the women's views on certain aspects of the problem (two authoresses who have written on other women's issues are Talle 1988

and Llewelyn-Davies 1978,1981);.

11.4.2. The women's attitude towards female clitoridectomy

The attitudes of the sampled women towards the practice of parents taking their daughters out of school to be circumcised and then married was rather mixed and sometimes clearly ambiguous. When asked if the custom of circumcising young women was a good or a bad custom, only one woman said it was a bad custom. Twelve said it was good, 20 stated that it was good and necessary since young females cannot be left as girls but must be initiated into womanhood as a prelude to marriage, and eight linked these two factors by stating that unless they were circumcised no one would wish to marry them as uncircumcised females. Twelve women said it was good to circumcise them since it is the custom or the law of the Maasai to do so.

When the women were asked if it was acceptable for the girls to be pulled out of school to be circumcised and then married, 12 replied affirmatively with no qualification, five more agreed because they felt that, circumcised or not, "they will just be married and it will be a sheer waste of money", and one mother said that the girls should be circumcised and leave school since they used up a lot of money for their education. Eleven women said this should not happen but the girls should be circumcised only after their primary schooling was completed. One mother suggested this would help attract "the rich elite"; in other words, her daughter would have a better chance of marrying someone with money if she had completed her education when a better brideprice could be requested. Eighteen mothers indicated that the young girls should be circumcised and then allowed to return to school to finish their education before being thrust into marriage. Six went further and suggested they be circumcised after their primary schooling was complete and that the young women be allowed "to marry on their own decision."

Effectively, we can say that only one woman came out against female circumcision as such, and all the others agreed to it in principle, the only differences being in the reasons used to justify or support its continuance and the timing of the ceremony in relation to schooling. It is interesting that the women were not against the practice but rather expressed concern that young women were having their schooling interfered with. This is related perhaps to the attitudes within the society towards the emergence of "adult" men and women. To the extent that the society sees the following of certain rituals as prerequisites for entrance into adulthood, to that extent the members (in this case the women) will accept their participation in those rituals as necessary and binding. It is really a question of whether they see adulthood as a necessary social construct or whether they see it as something which can occur naturally without the ritual. The Maasai women expressed their acceptance of the ritual because without it the females would remain "girls" and not "women" of marriageable status. They had no objections to the practice, but 66% of the women wanted to see the timing changed to allow the young women the opportunity to obtain the full primary level course of education. Ultimately and paradoxically, these decisions and suggestions are linked to the future possibilities for the adult Maasai women in marriage and in the occupational sector, for without basic educational skills there is little more available to them than casual labour and without circumcision their marital prospects are diminished.

11.4.3. Traditional housing

Two other topics touching upon traditional practices were touched upon, namely that of housing and diet. When it came to the question of whether or not these women preferred to live in the traditional hut made of cow dung or in some other kind of house, overwhelmingly they opted for some other form of housing: 45 preferred mabati (corrugated-iron) housing,

three wanted thatched houses, three wanted stone houses, and only two women wished to continue living in the traditional type of Maasai house. When asked why they wished to live in these other types of dwelling, invariably (40) the answer was that these other materials would last much longer and there would not be any leaks from the roof. Five women mentioned that these dwellings would be much more comfortable to live in; one woman used the words "more civilized"; three felt that thatched houses were cheaper to maintain than the mabati ones; and two women argued that stone houses were "just much better than any of the other types."

Only in 34 cases was the husband said to be in agreement with the wife on this matter of housing and in 19 cases the wives claimed there was disagreement. The most common reason given for this unwillingness on the part of the husband is that of expense: "He is not prepared to sell cows to buy the materials" or "He says he does not have enough animals to do so since it is very expensive." The paucity of non-traditional houses in the whole of the Ranch is evidence that there is a huge gap between preferences and reality. Part of that reality too, is the fact that some of the women know that there is a type of housing they would like, but they also know the family may not be able to afford the outlay (where the transportation costs would be almost the same as the price of the items), and therefore eventually they will agree with their husbands on this matter.

11.4.4. Traditional Maasai diet

As in the case of housing, the majority of the women prefer some change to the family diet: only six women still preferred the traditional food, seen as meat, milk, uji (thin maize porridge), and occasionally, blood. When it came to listing the foods now eaten at home, it was clear that 16 women still eat what may be regarded as food close to the traditional diet: meat, milk, uji, and ugali (a cooked maize dough or

pudding made by boiling water and ground maize meal). Four women ate these foods plus rice, millet, sweet potatoes, and chapatis (in some areas these are pancakes made of unleavened wheat flour, but in many areas of Maasailand they are made of ground maize-meal). Eighteen more women added beans and some form of green vegetable, cabbage or sukumawiki (literal translation, "push the week", a type of spinach which is intended, as its name implies, to get the person through the week). Fifteen women also added potatoes to the list of foods currently eaten at home; milk, meat, ugali, rice, beans, potatoes, and cabbage or sukumawiki.

When questioned about the foods they would prefer to have at home, most of the women (30) showed a preference for meat, rice, beans, cabbage, potatoes, and, surprisingly, eggs. Nine women wanted meat, rice, ugali, chapatis, and sukumawiki; seven more women wanted this selection of foods plus millet, peas and beans. Five women added karanga (peanuts) to the list, and two women included githeri (a Kikuyu dish made up of mashed potatoes, onions, peanuts, peas, and maize). Part of the reason why there is this enthusiasm for these non-traditional foods is because many Maasai these days have been exposed to most of the above foods and in many cases they have been found to be more than merely palatable. This range of foodstuffs also indicate the willingness and the readiness of the Maasai to embrace new items given the opportunity and the encouragement, once they are convinced that such an embrace is beneficial to them.

11.4.5. Agricultural shifts: Shambas and vegetables grown

The existence of plots of land, in which these women could cultivate various vegetables, was the next point to be discussed. Thirteen women did not have any plots at all but 11 of the informants had a shamba (field) or a smaller bustani (garden) ranging in size from a quarter of an acre to ten acres. The vegetables grown in these shambas more or less coincided with the food preferences of the women involved: 22 grew just

maize, nine grew maize and beans, seven grew maize, beans, potatoes and sukumawiki or cabbage, one grew maize, beans, sweet potatoes and millet (the Nandi wife), and one grew pilipili (chili peppers) and onions in addition to the above range of vegetables. Three women stated that they grew tomatoes in addition to some of the above items. If these women were not able to grow these vegetables in their own gardens (and if they had the money to do so), they would be able to purchase them in the local shopping centre at Lemek which regularly gets supplies of potatoes and cabbages from the Kipsigis farmers in the area of Mulot.

In 33 families, the mother is the only person who works in the shamba, and in seven homes the mother and her children work in it; 18 of the husbands also lend a hand occasionally.

11.4.6. Other visible signs

Thirty-two of the women were prepared to state that they had other signs of change in their homes or in the boma, and 21 said there were no visible signs of change. The most common (23) sign of some change was the presence of wooden doors and padlocks on their homes (even on the traditional cow-dung house). In fact, the carpenters at the Mission did a fairly regular trade in small wooden door-frames, doors, and locks. Seven mentioned mabati or thatched housing; beds and mattresses were mentioned by only two people, as were furniture and radios. It is quite surprising how few radios are visible (or audible) in these two areas of Maasailand. During two years of research and daily-living among the Maasai which also entailed travelling over considerable distances, radios were encountered in Maasai homes on no more than three occasions (in spite of the numbers quoted in the responses). While the price of radios is not high, the sporadic availability and recurrent cost for batteries makes them less desirable for regular use.⁸⁰

11.4.7. Subdivision of the Group Ranch

The Group Ranch was in the process of being subdivided (which process was halted in 1990 because of differences of opinion between the elders and the younger men). Because this subdivision would most likely affect the lives of the wives and mothers living within the Ranch, their opinions were canvassed on the issue.⁸¹

Fifteen women said they were against the subdivision of the Group Ranch and 38 said they were in agreement with subdivision. Those against it felt that subdivision would affect them negatively: ten were afraid that it would result in less grazing for the animals, two anticipated far more work and difficulty in finding wood and water, and three women felt they would eventually have to reduce the size of their herds as a result of the subdivision.

Of the 15 cases where the women opposed subdivision, eight of them said they had similar opinions to those of their husbands on the issue, and seven of them felt it should not be subdivided and declared that they held this view in opposition to their husbands who wanted it. Among the 38 wives who agreed with subdivision, 37 said they had the same view as their husbands and just one woman had a husband who disagreed with her on the matter.

11.5. Women's views on men leaving home
for employment

In order to get the cash to implement some of the above achievements, a number of Maasai men feel constrained (as we have seen in the previous chapters) to leave home and to work elsewhere for a salary. Since this affects the home and the wife, it is appropriate to get the views and the opinions of a number of Maasai women on this increasing phenomenon.

Only one woman felt that it was not a good thing for the men to leave home to get employment elsewhere, while 52 of them agreed that this is a good thing. On the question of whether or not it was a good thing for woman to do, there was an almost equal division or difference of opinion, 28 were for the idea and 25 were against it. When asked if it was a good thing for men to go away for long periods of time and to leave their wives at home, 20 were opposed to the idea and 20 said it would be acceptable for the men to be away for long periods only if they took their wives along (in other words it is not a good thing for them to leave their wives at home); 13 wives were prepared to say it is a good thing to do.

When questioned about members of the family or friends who may have left Maasailand as a result of their education and had never returned, only three could quote instances of this happening. However, 45 of the women were inclined to think that this could be a good thing since persons who do this might have found good paying jobs outside Maasailand. To the question, "Are these people still Maasai?", 42 said they were still Maasai and 11 women said they were not Maasai any longer.

11.5.1. Maasai migrants and cattle

This question of the relationship between having cattle and being "a Maasai" was pursued further with this group of female informants, just as it was pursued with the group of male informants in both sampled areas. The question was posed: Could a person live outside Maasailand with no cattle, but still have his cattle maintained and herded in Maasailand, and still be a Maasai? Only one woman said this was not possible and 52 women agreed that person is still a Maasai. However, when the situation was changed slightly to cover those who live outside Maasailand permanently and have no cattle at all either in Maasailand or elsewhere, then 21 women felt that such a person was no longer a Maasai and 32 agreed that he was still Maasai (though "a dead Maasai" according to six respondents).

11.5.2. Why some Maasai leave home

Forty-one of the women felt that those who left Maasailand for work did so to improve and develop themselves and their families and not because they were poor (only 12 felt this was the main reason for leaving). With regard to the types of people who leave: 44 said that both rich and poor people left for work (nine said only the poor left); 47 women indicated they thought both young and old were involved (six said only the young did so); and all respondents agreed that both men and women, educated and non-educated, left the area to get employment elsewhere. These opinions are hardly supported by the evidence gathered about the people who did leave the Ranch for wage-employment but these were the perceptions of the 53 women interviewed on the subject.

11.6. Male attitudes towards education of Maasai females

Now that we have presented the material from the women, it may be an appropriate place to give the views of the male workers (the same men interviewed for the material in the previous three chapters) about the education of Maasai females. Rather than present these male views earlier, it was decided to hold them for this chapter to put them side by side with the women's views about the education of Maasai females.

The issue of whether or not Maasai young women should be given an education is one which is often discussed by the young men, and by the older people too, particularly when the topic comes around to marriage and bride-wealth. The men's views are not irrelevant here since these are the ones who decide whether or not their daughters will go to school. In some cases, these Maasai men were very strong in their opposition to the education of young Maasai women. But first, the positive views.

11.6.1. Positive attitudes of the men
towards females' education: Lemek and Loita samples

Generally, the responses were very positive regarding female education, with such comments as "they have the right to an equal education as men" (26) and "they will promote development in the future" (22). Others felt that "they will help change the community lifestyle" (18) or that "they will be able to help their future families" (13) as well as "helping their parents just as boys do" (12). A number felt that "they will be able to help because they can be employed anywhere later" (12). That educated Maasai women have a role in the community was expressed by such comments as:

Educated women can become teachers and help the community especially to get rid of illiteracy among women. Women can help build up our Maasai society especially if they become teachers or nurses - perhaps even Ministers or as President. Why not? But this can only be achieved if girls get an equal education as boys.

Forty-two Loita respondents thought educating females was "a good idea" and eight thought it was "very important." A number stated that there should be no discrimination in education and that girls should have an equal chance in being sent to school just as the boys have (6). Seven men felt that "they should be able to do what men do" and the same number thought that "education is very helpful, the educated girl could become a teacher or a nurse or a secretary, and Maasailand needs these." Other respondents agreed with this relationship between educating females and the future work they could do, "it is a good thing, girls now work and help their families and all of us as a community" (6).

Most of my children are daughters and most of them are now educated (Form 2 dropout, teacher, and then clerk for the Dairy Board)

A few men agreed that "everyone should have the chance for a better life since it will bring development to us all" (3). Another comment linked the education given to females with the good they would achieve later after marriage:

Education is good if it helps them be richer and bring up their children better (2); in fact, educated women can teach their families a new way of living in a good community (3) and some educated women even get better jobs than we men (1). It is very important. My own wife is educated and is a teacher here and she is helping the family with her salary. It is good for girls to go to school.

This point of the relationship between education, marriage, and the assistance the educated wife would provide for the family was clearly stated by the Loita men and, to a lesser degree, by the Purko males.

Since many boys are now educated and they do not want non-educated Maasai girls - it is important to educate our daughters.

It is good because educated boys can then marry educated Maasai girls and they will not have to look for wives from other tribes (6).

One man put this very strongly when he said:

It is good to educate our girls because the boys will get them in marriage from their own community and avoid the intermarriages with women from other tribes. This will reduce the cultural conflict that often exists between wives and husbands when educating the children and especially the daughters.

Some respondents were specific about their own likes and dislikes with regard to marrying educated or non-educated Maasai young women:

It is good, because I, for example, do not wish to marry a non-educated girl. (Comment made by two males: one a 27 year old teacher who had successfully completed Form Four, and the other a 21 year old shop-assistant who had dropped out of Standard Seven)

In the past, Maasai men used to marry more than one wife, but now they just marry one. This shows that the Maasai girls will also at some time miss husbands to marry them. When I was working in Kitale I saw that the people there had no discrimination between boys and girls - so I also want to educate my daughters if possible. (30 years old, no education and worked as a watchman/herdsman in Kitale)

Some Purko specifically indicated the relationship between education, marriage and future employment: "Boys like to marry educated girls then both can be employed" (4).

A number of the Loita respondents made a connection between educating their daughters now and the help they hoped to get as a parent, in the future, once the young women have married:

If my daughters are educated it will be a help to me because when married they will help just like sons (3)
that is why I have educated two of my daughters (2).

One intriguing point emerged in Lemek, and I must admit I do not know how it came to be there. Nine respondents mentioned the relationship between education and young women within the context of family planning:

They will be able to help in family planning.
It is good to educate girls to enable them to know more about family planning due to the increasing population in the world.

As well as the positive attitudes and comments, there were also a number of negative comments expressing a variety of misgivings and hesitation about the advisability of educating Maasai females. These views are presented in the next section.

11.6.2. Negative attitudes of the men

towards females' education: Loita and Lemek samples

The idea that educating Maasai young women was bad was expressed by 11 males and the idea that education "spoils" girls was voiced by several men; for example, the following statement by an Okiek father aged 65 years, who had no education but had worked, and had sent to school one daughter and two sons out of his six children:

Education spoils girls and you get nothing in return from them. My own daughter got married to someone I did not choose, she chose him herself and this is against Maasai custom. I wanted to choose for her like all my other daughters, but she wouldn't wait for that and got married without my knowledge. This is a shame for her and even for me. And what made her do all this was her education. I know of educated daughters given out by their fathers, but not many. If a Maasai man is engaged to a girl he starts working hand in hand with that family until he marries her and that continues throughout. But if you put your girl to school she doesn't want to be engaged until she finishes school and then she gets engaged to somebody she loves but not somebody who is decided by the father. Then suddenly she gets married without even her family gaining anything from the new husband. And if she happens to get employment, she will only be helping her husband with her salary.

Another father (aged 36 years, no education but had worked in The Maasai Mara) used the term "spoil" when he stated:

You should not educate girls because that spoils them. If girls are educated and become very clever or bright, then they start claiming that they are the same as men. Also, if they get employment and get married, they start undermining their husbands. They also choose husbands for themselves instead of following the customary way of being engaged to somebody chosen by the father. All these disadvantages happen when you educate girls - it is not wise therefore to educate them. Instead they should stay at home, look after cattle, and help their mothers. And then you can give her out to somebody you have chosen who is also capable of helping you in the future.

Others used expressions such as "it is a bad thing to do, because they will get lost"; "they disappear from home" and "forget that they were brought up by their parents." Two respondents complained that once they get married and if they are employed they will not help their parents, but only someone else (presumably the husband).

Some girls get an education and disappear without helping their parents. They are convinced to leave home to go and work in towns and get illegitimate children and bring them to parents and this is a problem for them. Many adopt foreign cultures and forget their own. (28 years old teacher who had completed/gone through Form Four and a Teacher Training College)

In Lemek, some of the negative comments touched upon more serious fears and misgivings about the education of young Maasai women. Fifteen Purko respondents indicated strong negative feelings in views which ranged from very striking statements about what young women do once they have an education:

I don't want my daughters to become harlots! This is what happens to girls with education.

If they get an education, they will not want to get married and will become prostitutes.

to other statements about relations with parents;

After leaving school, they do not benefit their parents, they just go and loiter in towns. (comment from a 23 year old male)

They will not buy any property for the parents, rather they will only buy good clothes and utensils. They just get married and move away. They will do nothing to help us later. (This comment was made by two informants)

A few men just dismissed the idea as a complete waste of money:

It is just a misuse of money. It is not good, since they are not as clever as boys and there will be no work for them later. It is useless to educate them. (This statement from a 20 year old male)

On the other hand, six Loita respondents stated that it was neither good nor bad to educate young women, however "though it is not a bad thing to educate them, they may then get married by other tribes which is a bad thing."

Echoing the statement of the educated female who indicated that sometimes the educated women are better and more reliable with regard to the support and the help offered to their families, the following comes from a 38 year old who dropped out of school at Standard Two and worked as a dip-attendant:

It makes no difference nowadays, you can also educate boys and they disappear into the big towns and get married and live there. Before, only girls used to disappear from home and get married to people of their own choice. But nowadays you find some girls supporting their families more than the educated boys.

It is good to educate both, and then wait and see who will be interested in helping you. About girls getting married to other tribes because of their education, it was only due to lack of educated boys in the Maasai community. But now many boys are being educated and I hope the girls will get married to these Maasai boys.

One very enlightening comment was made by an old man in Loita when he pointed out that

many fathers do not want to educate their daughters because they do not wish to appear ignorant in front of them - it is very hard for an older man to be confronted by an educated and brighter young woman.

This statement, perhaps more than many others, sums up the generational differences and tensions that are present not only within Maasai society but within many other societies.

11.7. Conclusion

It was interesting to see that many of the men interviewed were in agreement concerning the education of Maasai females, at least in principle. However, the data furnished by the research in both areas indicate that, in practice, these same men are neither encouraging nor sending their young daughters to school. Some of the men referred to

their belief that education spoils these girls, and some went even further to suggest a causal relationship between the education of Maasai females and their entrance into the world of prostitution or harlotry.

Fifty-three women interviewed were unequally divided about the status of education in Maasailand; 33 of these felt that it was a good thing to educate Maasai females and 20 thought it was a waste of time and money. These expressed views are important precisely because they come from Maasai women themselves and the opinions reflect where the women are *vis-a-vis* their appreciation of themselves, their present status in Maasai society, and, more importantly perhaps, the future of young Maasai women, their daughters and grand-daughters.

However, there was more unanimity and more of a positive attitude, among the women, towards the education of males. When it came to the question of whether or not these wives and mothers were in agreement with the husbands' decisions concerning the education of their children, 20 were in agreement with their husbands and 33 often found themselves in disagreement with them; at least this is what they stated. What was not clear was whether this disagreement was articulated at home or just silently felt by the mothers concerned. To be in disagreement with their husbands does not necessarily mean that the wives were given opportunities to express their difference of opinion.

The Maasai women of the sample had strong views about the type of modern housing they would like to live in and the type of foods they would like to cook and eat at home. On these topics the women had less reservations about stating their preference for change. The women showed various degrees of unanimity when it came to their views on various traditional practices related to diet and housing. For example, only two women preferred to live in traditional Maasai houses whereas 45 wanted to live in houses with corrugated-iron roofs (three wanted thatch and three more wanted to live in stone houses). Similarly, when asked about diet, only six wanted to keep the traditional foods, the rest wanted changes.

One important and interesting topic of agreement concerned the practice of clitoridectomy. This was one of the very few occasions when Maasai women have been recorded as passing any comment, observation, or suggestion on what is perhaps one of the most important rituals in a young woman's life. Almost unanimously the women agreed it was not a bad custom but that it was a good thing to do. The young women could not be left as girls but had to be initiated into womanhood as a requirement for marriage; this is the practice, the custom, and the law of the Maasai. The women did not disagree on the practice itself so much as its timing. Most of the women (66%) had reservations about the advisability of the practice interfering with the education of the young women. There were differences of opinion about the timing of the ritual; some felt the girls should only be circumcised after school and some felt they should be circumcised and then allowed to return to school to finish the course.

CHAPTER TWELVE

CONCLUSION

12.1. The findings

We have previously had little information on how the Maasai use their academic credentials in the occupational structures of the district or the country. Some of those researchers who have investigated these topics are Gorham (1980) and the work of King (1972, 1974a). This study is a response to the wider question: What changes are taking place in semi-arid lands with regard to educational involvement and employment choices, and what are the forms of response within and outside the pastoral sector especially in terms of jobs pursued? Specifically, the study has been concerned with two central areas of social change, education and employment, and the implications of each area for the other; for example, the relevance of schooling for choices of employment and the relevance of parental education and employment to attitudes towards education in Maasailand.

One of the contributions this research has made concerns our knowledge of the involvement of pastoralists, in this case the Maasai, in both the educational and the occupational structures of the district and beyond. The changes have been recorded over the different age-levels in terms of school involvement and perseverance to the end of the course. Changes have also been recorded in the occupations in which these pastoralists were engaged and the involvement of the different age-levels over a period of time. There are numerous indicators which could have been the focus of this study, but there is little doubt that education is a key indicator and is often presented by the government as such. Unfortunately, as we have demonstrated in this research, there are a number of dangers if we merely present statistics without first looking carefully at various hidden factors, two of which are, the "hidden ethnicity" at work in the community, and the presence of "school repeaters" in the programme.

In this conclusion, we shall approach a number of the above topics systematically under six main headings: (1) factors associated with educational participation or non-participation, (2) the fit between attitudes and behaviour, especially regarding male and female education, (3) factors associated with education and employment, (4) the influence of education and employment on broader areas of Maasai social change, (5) the differences between Lemek and Loita, with some speculation about why these differences exist and why the initial assumptions about remote/near, acculturated/traditional, differences have been cast into doubt, and (6) some trends for the future.

12.1.1. Factors associated with educational participation/non-participation

It is true that there have been increases in the numbers of children enrolled in the various outlying schools of Maasailand (within Narok District) as represented by these two sampled areas, but these increases and the total enrolment figures are still dramatically lower than those in many other districts, particularly the more settled agricultural districts. Though it appears to be true that educational participation among the Maasai is influenced by some common predicaments of pastoralists living in arid, semi-arid, and thinly populated lands (cf. Ponsi 1988), it is also true that the Maasai within the two sites have increased their percentage educational involvement in spite of these predicaments and obstacles (cf. Sarone 1986). The continuing resilience of domestic economies, with their high labour demands (cf. Sperling 1987a), also have their effect on the educational participation of these pastoralists of the semi-arid areas.

One of the most striking sets of figures to emerge is the steady increase in the number of educated across the age-levels. In Lemek, the figure for males rose from 4% (50-54 years), through 10%, 22%, 27%, and

34%, to 41% for the 10-14 year olds. The females' rate too, indicated a steady increase from 6%, through 11%, to 18%. In Loita, there was less of a dramatic climb largely because they were educating at a fairly high rate much earlier than Lemek; the figures for the males were 23% (50-54 years), through 29%, to a high 47% (20-24 year olds), then a decrease to a 39%, and a 40% for the 10-14 year old age-level. The females showed a slight increase over the years, going from 12%, through 14% and 15%, to 19%.

If we look at the figures generated by the research in terms of percentages of persons over five years of age, we find that 24% of Lemek males over five years have some schooling, 31% for Loita. Ten percent of the females over five years of age in Lemek have some education compared to 12% for Loita. There is a seven percentage points' difference between Lemek and Loita for the educated males and a smaller two percentage points' difference for the educated females. The numbers of males are not that impressive and the numbers of females sent for schooling in both areas are incredibly small. What is surprising is the fact that overall there are more males educated in Loita than in Lemek Group Ranch and quite a number of these are among the older age-levels.

We can take the breakdown of the educated persons in each sample a step further and look specifically at the school-age populations. An analysis of the school-age populations (SAP) is important since this is the group which demonstrates definitive changes in parental attitudes towards education. In both Lemek and Loita, 31% of the males in the SAP have received some level of education; in Lemek, 16% of the females in the SAP have some education, and 13% of the females in the SAP in Loita have some schooling. The picture changes significantly if we extend the schooling age from 10-24 years. In this case, Lemek has 34% of the males and 13% of the females within those age-levels with some schooling; Loita, however, has 61% of the males of those ages and 16% of the females with some schooling. Loita has almost twice the rate of educated males for those ages than does Lemek, though the female rate is not so dissimilar.

The situation is even more interesting when we look at the numbers of males and females of school-age within these two locales who are currently attending school; 91% of the males in Lemek with some education are in the category "still at primary school" and 87% of the males in Loita with some education are still attending primary school. The figures for the females are also interesting; 88% of the females in Lemek and 70% of the females in Loita with some education are still at primary school. These high percentages represent real changes in the attitudes of the Maasai towards the education of children within this important school-going age-level. However, the fact that large numbers have dropped out of the school system in the past does not augur too well for these young people actually finishing their primary education. To enrol is one thing, to finish is something else again. The male dropout rate is 22% among the Lemek males and 25% among the Loita males; Lemek females, 33% and Loita females, a high 49%. Loita experienced a rise in female school participation earlier than Lemek, and this is reflected in higher (49%) female dropout rate.

It has been demonstrated that the parents who keep their children out of school do so for a variety of stated reasons, not the least of which is herding. The data (Table 4.8) show that fewer children are being kept home for herding, and in fact first-born sons, previously allocated herding tasks, are now being sent to school in proportions beyond their numbers. With 31% of the (5-19 years) population having some education in Lemek, a slightly higher proportion of the educated are firstborns (33% firstborns are educated) than are non-firstborns (of whom 30% are educated). Although the firstborns represent 34% of the overall population of this age-level (5-19), they represent a somewhat higher proportion of the educated (37%) than do the non-educated (33%). Looking at firstborns across all the other age-levels in Lemek, while they are 32% of the total population, they are only 31% of the educated. Looking at the total of those educated, 16% of firstborns are educated, but 17% of non-firstborns and 17% in general, are educated. There was, in the past,

a negative effect of being firstborn when it came to education, fewer seem to have been educated except for the 30 years and over grouping in Lemek which alone showed some positive effect (cf. Table R of Appendix 4C). However, now there is a positive relationship between being a first-born son and being educated in Lemek. Similarly for the school-age group in Loita (Table 4.10), 31% of the overall population has some education, but the firstborns represent an even higher proportion of the educated (34%) than this figure and than their counterparts in Lemek. Though the Loita firstborns are 34% of the overall age-level population, they represent an even higher proportion of the educated (36%) than the firstborns in Lemek, and higher than the non-firstborns of Loita. There is an even stronger positive relationship between being a first-born son and being educated in Loita than in Lemek for these younger age-levels, and stronger in both sites for the 5-19 years group than for the other older groups.

Even if there was some form of discrimination in the past, the current cohorts of students show a better than to-be-expected percentage of educated firstborns among them (33% in Lemek and 34% in Loita). Loita, in spite of its reputation for conservatism and traditionalism, has a better percentage representation of firstborns than does Lemek. Though there was a strong discrimination in Loita against educating firstborns among the older age-levels (cf. Table 4.11), nowadays, there is a modest to strong positive firstborn effect, not a negative one, contrary to some expectations that firstborns are still being kept out of school.

Nevertheless, only one in six children is being educated, and though it may be difficult to accept that herding demands are the reasons for the lack of educational involvement, especially since the cattle wealth of the families concerned would not appear to require high numbers of herders and guards (cf. Table 4.2), Median cattle holdings in Lemek were 70 animals and in Loita 30 animals, this was one of the reasons given by the interviewed parents for not sending their children to school, 45% of the responses in Lemek and 59% in Loita (section 5.2.5.). Sperling (1987a)

found that, with necessary herd splitting and use of different paths of grazing, especially in the dry season, there was tremendous labour need within families, especially smaller and poorer families.

In spite of these stated reasons for not educating their children, when one looks carefully at the other comments concerning education in Maasailand, then one begins to sense some of the other deep-seated reasons for not committing their children to the processes of western education. The herding reason appears to be presented because it is more convenient and acceptable.

The reality is that educational participation is positively correlated with wealth, at least in the case of Lemek, contrary to the expectation that the wealthy would keep their children at home to herd. In Lemek, the wealthier families are educating their children at a higher rate than the poorer families, and much more so than in Loita. If we look at the percentages of educating families in each wealth stratum in Lemek, then we see that 48% are from among the rich/very rich compared to 22% from the poor. This figure of 48% is a slight overrepresentation of educating families for that economic stratum (which has 45% of the total families), and 22% is an underrepresentation at the poor level (which has 26% of all families). In Loita, the poorest are slightly overrepresented and the rich are underrepresented; 41% of the poorer families are educating their children (the poor constitute 40% of all families) compared to 25% of the rich families (who represent 27% of all families).

There is another way of looking at the educating families, as percentages of the total numbers of families in each wealth category. In Lemek, 50% of all the very rich families are educating families, 32% of all the rich families are educating, 34% of the middle-range, and 28% of all the poor families are educating families. In Loita, the percentage involvement is considerably higher, 66% of all the very rich families are educating families, 38% of the rich, 48% of the middle-range, and 49% of the poor families are educating their children. This means that there is

a higher percentage involvement in all the wealth categories of Loita than in Lemek and overall (comparing Tables 4.12 and 4.13) these figures represent a higher proportion of total families there than in Lemek (47% compared to 33%). In Loita, a higher percentage of families educate at least one child than in Lemek, although the numbers of persons educated are comparable. This implies that the educated are spread out among more families in Loita, and concentrated in fewer families in Lemek; this is borne out by the data; there are 185 educating families in Loita and 123 educating families in Lemek. This was also confirmed by comparing educating households and educated persons (Table 4.16). We found that, in Loita, a relatively higher percentage of households is represented educationally than are individuals, and the educated are spread more widely among households in Loita than in Lemek, where the difference between individuals and households was only three percentage points.

When we examined the percentage representation of the educated males aged 5-24 years in both sites, we discovered that, in Loita, it was the poor and the middle-range educated males who were overrepresented. In Lemek, only the rich were disproportionately overrepresented (51% compared to 49% of all the young men of those ages in Lemek).

However, we should remember that some of these rich and very rich families are made up of educated and employed men who have married non-local wives. The presence of numbers of educated Maasai and non-Maasai wives and mothers, who have arrived in the areas as the result of marriage, has also made quite a difference in the educational practices of their respective families. In Lemek, only 52% of the educated females are local Purko females, the other 48% is made up of females who are either non-local non-Purko, non-local Purko, or local non-Purko; 15% of the educated wives are local Purko women. The percentages for Loita are much the same, 53% are educated local Loita females and 47% come from groups other than local Loita; 30% of the educated wives are local women. The data clearly show that the presence of non-Maasai, particularly Kikuyu,

mothers is associated with dramatic changes in the numbers of children (including females) being sent to school. This change could be related to a difference of attitude in the persons concerned with regard to their ethnic groups' emphases on the individual, schooling, and possible later job opportunities as opposed to persistently less emphasis among the Maasai on the achievements of the individual and the stronger emphasis put on the family and the community. The Maasai, at least those researched in the two areas, appear to be more involved in education to the extent that they see themselves having an obligation, as a family, to send at least one child to school for an education.

12.1.2. The fit between attitudes and behaviour regarding education

The data confirm that many families sent no children to school or sent just one or two. In the past, education was not seen as being critical for the future welfare of the family or the community at large and therefore there was no urgency about sending children. Though this attitude has changed, as some of the interview material indicates, the educational practices may not yet have kept pace with changes in attitudes. The main reason for not educating their children among the Purko may be summed up by the statement that a number of parents see no good in education and see no value in it because those with an education have done little or nothing to help their parents or the Maasai community at large. Rather than any sense of cultural loss, the other practical reason given by the parents in both communities for not educating their children was financial; the whole question of fees, etc.

Two hundred and sixty parents were interviewed because they had not sent their children to school, and yet, in Loita, only 1% of these parents was opposed to the education of boys, and in Lemek only 13%. Similarly, with regard to the education of girls, 37% of the interviewed parents in

Lemek and 53% of the interviewed parents in Loita were in favour of educating Maasai girls, in principle, but they were not doing it in practice. The main reason for this support for the education of sons was the expectation that they would help their parents in the future (73% in Lemek and 85% in Loita) once they got good jobs. This expectation was linked with the fear that if these boys got an education, but did not get a job, then they would not fit back into the pastoral scene. Some of the parents felt that they might just loiter around Maasailand and refuse to herd cattle. In a similar fashion, hesitation towards the education of females was linked to a fear of change in attitude towards their culture, the marriage customs of the Maasai, and the ongoing relationships they should have with their families. A considerable percentage of interviewed parents in both places (53% Lemek and 43% Loita) were afraid education would push the girls towards running away from home to get married (though nowhere was evidence given to support this fear). This "running away" was not used figuratively but indicated a fear that the educated girl would take the law into her own hands and literally run away from home to marry the man of her choice at the place of her choice and at the time of her choice.

The data presented in Chapter Five clearly demonstrated that most of these non-sending parents are not opposed to the education of sons, but still they do not send them to school. This dichotomy between stated views and educational practice is present throughout the study. Some of the parents do have misgivings and fears, they do have misapprehensions and hesitations, and they do have personal experiences and observations which cause them to be cautious and slow to send their children to school. Nevertheless, regardless of what they actually say, the facts indicate that there has been a steady increase in the numbers of young people sent to school.

There is a sense, sometimes voiced strongly and sometimes in muted tones, that pastoralists, and the Maasai particularly, are still resistant

to change and development and are stubbornly holding on to their traditional way of life. There appears to be a tension between being Maasai and being Kenyan (cf. Kituyi 1990); some Kenyans have the idea that the Maasai are too traditional and conservative and refuse to change their ways. The writers of the District Development Plan 1979-1983 blamed the ignorance and the misconceptions of the parents for the low school participation rates among the Maasai. To these reasons the same writers also added apathy, the unreadiness to change quickly, and the continuance of moranhood, as further obstacles to educational development in Maasailand. Sarone ole Sena addressed these issues in his research (1986) and this present study has attempted to continue that discussion and to take it some few steps further.

The decisions the Maasai make are based upon their world and their understanding of the situation. Sarone made the point that they pause and judge carefully and should not be blamed for the decisions they make. The Maasai make decisions on what is presented to them. These decisions are based upon their interpretation of events, situations, and advantages. The Maasai have looked and do not yet see the promised effects and good values of education for them, and in some cases, this is based upon personal experience. Why send their children to school if it will lead to both cultural and economic losses, especially in the case of girls? With regard to boys, a number of parents foresee that their sons may look after them in later life, providing them with some security and better housing. They hope that the educated young men will stay in the community and help it to develop and at the same time they fear that the educated young women will reject their families and customs and will run away from home.

Within this conceptual and cultural analysis of Maasai reluctance to educate their children, the conclusions supported by the research are that questions of value and culture, questions of economic and labour costs, as well as further questions of social losses of people (whether real or imagined) to the outside world, all contribute to Maasai hesitations

concerning the education of their children.

In some ways, the real dilemma of concerned developmentalists and educationalists, sensitive to the cultural needs of the Maasai, may be illustrated by the recurring dilemma of the fictitious Captain Picard of the Star Ship Enterprise (in Star Trek: The Next Generation, a fictional television epic which uses metaphor and allegorical situations to present a particular philosophy and ideology based on peaceful coexistence, mutual respect of peoples, and a sensitive concern for the beliefs, laws, and cultures of others) when confronted by the possible outcome (positive and/or negative) of his crew's contact with another culture: Should they or should they not interfere with the natural progression of a people towards its own destiny; should they expose a people to a degree of technology and knowledge to which that people have not yet aspired; should they influence the rate of education in a culture if the elders, the decision-makers, are against that education process, at least in practice? The "Prime Directive" in that sensitively conceived television series cautions against unthinking contact with peoples, against the unsolicited hastening along the technological advancement continuum of people who may not be emotionally, spiritually, or psychologically prepared for such a hasty grafting of cultures. Though we are not dealing with a fictitious culture or people, and though the cultural preparation of the recipient-people concerned is not that of the Star Trek material, the same caveats are in place and the same dilemmas appear. It is quite possible that some of the Maasai parents, in their own way, see and appreciate what is being offered to them, for example western education and employment possibilities, but they may not be able to integrate those offerings, in the ways in which they are presented, into their cultural fabric, the warp and woof of which does not allow such a culturally insensitive and unintegrated patching.

As well as this cultural analysis viewpoint, there are also the economic and social factors influencing educational participation:

Economic factors, such as the loss of economic labour inputs and the social costs incurred through the loss of family members through increased participation in the educational system and subsequent job opportunities outside the domestic economy. The Maasai family is a tightly knit domestic unit in which all the members have defined tasks. If boys and girls, young men and women, are taken out of this domestic economic unit and are separated from it by attendance at school, especially a boarding school, then there are losses to be borne and difficulties to be overcome by the family concerned. In spite of these family-felt social and economic difficulties, and perhaps because they are counterbalanced by positive factors of prestige and additional incomes from wider job opportunities, the data have shown that there has been a steady increase in the rate of participation across the age-levels. This was most noticeable in Lemek which has only recently caught up with the relatively high rate of involvement of the Loita. In spite too, of the belief that the Maasai keep back their first-born sons to look after the family cattle, the data indicated that firstborns are better represented in the current younger primary school cohorts than they were in the past. This is one area in which noticeable changes in attitudes towards education are apparent.

12.1.3. Changes in attitudes towards education

Most of the persons interviewed felt that there were changes in the attitudes of the Maasai towards education: children are now sent voluntarily and the parents no longer send them because they are compelled to do so. However, there was a feeling that this change is only slowly taking place and many still do not send all their children. Many of the Maasai expressed feelings of a dual loss in terms of those Maasai who are educated, both a cultural and an economic loss. The persons interviewed were relatively negative in their comments, which apparently stem from an ideology which is both hesitant and wary of the promised advantages of

widespread education. Some of the rich and educated Maasai are seen as obstacles to development and the improvement of the Maasai people in general, others are viewed as men who have wasted their education by becoming drunkards and using up their families' wealth, and still others are accused of having only used their education to help themselves and their families often at the expense of the Maasai in their communities. The failures perceived in the educated has not endeared education to the Maasai at large, and to the Loita in particular. The comments of King, written twenty years ago, could just as easily reflect the current hesitancy of many parents:

There seems in fact no reason why Siria, Loita or other Maasai parents should patronize educational institutions until it has been demonstrated that the quality of life and stock can be dramatically altered for the better through a development programme to which formal education appears to have some direct relevance (1972:407).

The Maasai have specific expectations of those who have an education. Generally these expectations centre on the fact that people with an education should assist the community by sharing the benefits of education, by helping those without an education to develop the area. There was a strong sense of community needs among the Loita, even more than among the Purko of Lemek. The Loita appear to be much more community and politically conscious than the Purko. They were also more aware of the political involvement and the interference of powerful Maasai - the "big men" of the district - in the development of education in Narok District.²² In both places, Lemek and Loita, there was the expectation that educated Maasai should stay in Maasailand and help the Maasai as a community, but this feeling was very strong in Loita.

There is one area within which there has been very slow change, the education of females. There was some ambivalence on the part of the men towards the education of Maasai females. Often their words implied they were in favour of educating the females, but when one looked at the actual figures for females and education the picture appeared very different: It was a case of negative actions speaking louder than positive words. Those

men who did speak out against education for females used such arguments as their fear that education spoils them, turns them away from their culture and the advice of their parents, and turns them into harlots or prostitutes. Some men felt that educating girls undermines the authority of the parents, the elders, and the educated girls' husbands. It also gives these girls the idea that they are equal to men. One recurrent theme on this topic was that of the costs involved, since after her education the young woman would merely leave home and go to another family in marriage with no benefit or profit for her parents who put her through school. The costs of educating girls is one factor Maasai use to justify asking higher bridewealth for educated girls (cf. Talle 1938).

Even the women have some ambivalence about females and education. Sixty-two percent are in favour of educating girls but when it came to a discussion of whether it was a good or bad thing to pull girls out of school for clitoridectomy and marriage, they were almost unanimous in declaring this to be a necessity (because of marriage), a custom or practice to be followed, a law to be obeyed. However, 66% of the women did declare that though they had no problem with the practice they did have problems with the timing and they were against it interfering with a girl's education.

12.1.4. Factors associated with education and employment

Looking at the parents of those from the two sampled areas who had obtained wage-employment or some form of self-employment, it was found that most parents were non-educated and had never been involved in wage-labour. With regard to the ethnic/educational influence on employment, it would appear, remarkably, that employment is negatively associated with having educated Maasai parents, but positively correlated with non-educated Maasai parents. Ironically, it appears in the case of both parents, that the category of Maasai Educated is disproportionately

underrepresented in the employed category (2% compared to 4% in the entire population for fathers in Lemek and 4% compared to 12% in Loita). On the other hand, Non-educated Maasai fathers and mothers are slightly higher in proportion than their overall percentages for fathers in the population (91% vs. 37%). In this regard, the Okiek of Lemek are underrepresented, whereas the Okiek of Loita are overrepresented. The category "Others" is slightly overrepresented in Lemek but proportionately represented in Loita.

In Loita, again surprisingly, the Educated Maasai category is disproportionately underrepresented, as classified according to both parents. Non-educated Maasai is overrepresented as a category for both parents among the workers; the Educated Okiek are overrepresented in the father's category, the Non-educated Okiek in the mother's category. So, in Loita, children of Educated Maasai are less present in the worker category, children of Okiek more present.

Other counterintuitive findings were related to the influence of the father's education and previous employment on the children's employment. There is a clear positive correlation between parental lack of education and involvement in wage-employment, and the future employment of their children. In Lemek, Non-educated and Non-employed fathers were slightly overrepresented among the workers. In Loita, Educated/employed and Non-educated/employed fathers were underrepresented while those with Non-educated/Non-employed fathers were very definitely overrepresented (with a 19 percentage points difference). It may be suggested that the children of the few Educated/Employed are falling out of the sample, since they may be leaving the areas for better jobs elsewhere, but the data do not support this suggestion since virtually no person has left permanently for employment, and even those who have left for extended periods of time were encompassed within the research.

Once they had left school, the men of both areas wasted little time in entering the job market. One interesting statistic indicates that 57% of

all the educated males of Lemek who have left school have been involved in either self- or wage-employment, or both; the figure is higher for Loita, 73% of all males who have left school have been involved at one time or another in one or other of these two forms of employment. Another interesting set of percentages related to the percentages of workers who were educated, Lemek (34%) and Loita (48%). This indicates that, in Loita, almost as many non-educated as educated men found employment of one kind or another.

The number of years between school and first employment gave a Mode of one year for both sampled areas, and a Median of two years for both areas. In Lemek, more than 60% of the workers found their first job within two years of leaving school; in Loita, more than 50% found their first job within two years of leaving school.

There is a common belief that many non-educated Maasai are working in Nairobi and other big cities as night-watchmen and security guards. If one tries to get data on these night-watchmen, one finds that a number of them are Samburu or WaArusha and Sonjo from Tanzania. Other watchmen are Maasai from the area around Loitokitok or the peri-urban areas such as Ongata Rongai in Kajiado District. Not one person from the two sampled sites had ever worked as a Nairobi night-watchman (or in any other urban area for that matter).

Though the study follows the circular and temporary migration patterns of some Maasai of Narok District and explains, to some degree, the reasons for these phenomena, nevertheless it does not fully explain the increase in the numbers of Maasai in the various Census areas quoted in previous chapters (note especially Tables 2.2 and 2.3, Appendix 2A Table A, Appendix 2B Table B). This is not merely a question of taking into account those Maasai who may never have left the plateau region (for example, the Uasin Gishu Maasai), but rather it is a matter of looking at the intercensal increases which appear to be higher than the normal birth rate would justify (see Chapter Two). This research indicates, as did

that of Meadows and White, that very few Maasai are involved in permanent or life-time outmigration for wage-employment. If there are Maasai migrating in any great numbers, then it would be an interesting study to research their places of origin and their length of stay in the host areas. They are certainly not coming from the sampled sites of Lemek Group Ranch or Morijo Loita Sub-location (nor, incidentally, are they coming from Megwarra, a third area researched but not included in this presentation because of space considerations).

In fact, if the results of this study are any indication of the degree of "outmigration" from the two surveyed areas of Narok District, then very few Maasai have left the district in the past 30 years. Very little similarity was found between the Maasai migration experience and those reported in other studies on migration from rural/agricultural communities (Etherington 1967; Rempel 1971; Migot-Adholla 1973; Elkan 1967; Gupta 1979; Mwaria 1983). Fewer Maasai were involved in permanent or even long term migration to urban areas, fewer still were involved in any purposeful migration to Nairobi for wage-employment. Hardly any women at all had left the area for education or for wage-employment, and many men who had obtained "extensive" education (completed primary or secondary) had returned to their home areas for employment as teachers or veterinary officers (dip attendants, etc.). The education/employment picture did not appear to be the same as that presented for other parts of the country (Fafunwa 1973; Gould 1981, 1985).

With regard to the locales of employment, almost all the employed Maasai of the two sampled areas found their employment within the district boundaries. In fact, 91% of all jobs across all age-levels, were found within the district; among the initial jobs of the workers of Lemek, 94% were in the district, and 85% of the initial jobs of the Loita workers were in Narok District. This is one of the most remarkable findings of this research: the virtual absence of labour migration from the two samples. There was a discernable paucity of jobs pursued outside the

district. If there is any sense that pastoralists are streaming out of semi-arid land districts, then they are certainly not coming from the two sampled sites in Narok District which appears to be an almost closed occupational system for Maasai, although it is open to others in certain specific fields. It is not within the focus of this research to pursue those fields in which other peoples are involved, but one or two could be mentioned here. Numbers of non-Maasai are involved in the commercial businesses within the district, notably within the town of Narok. In this same town there are practitioners of numerous trades and crafts, such as masons, builders, mechanics, bakers, plumbers, glazers, electricians, and painters, and most of these are not Maasai. There are also quite a number of non-Maasai involved in commercial farming in the district.

In addition, most of the workers in tourism related occupations in The Maasai Mara are non-Maasai. The Maasai Mara, overall, provides employment for a considerable number of Maasai, but the actual combined percentage from the two sampled areas who had found work in The Mara was not that impressive, 11% of the total work force of the Lodges. Maasai males are 35% (accepting the possibly inflated figure of 370) of the total work force in the Lodges. The total Maasai work-force reported by the Lodge managers is only 0.3% of the total Maasai population of the district; on the other hand, the Maasai workers from Lemek and Loita represent 4% of that total work-force of the Lodges. To that extent the local workers of Lemek and Loita are fairly well represented among the workers in the Lodges. There is also a clear association between lack of education and the pursuit of casual labour both in The Maasai Mara and in the Mission complexes; conversely, an association exists between education and the pursuit of other occupations outside the pastoral sector.

If we look at the educational status of those from Lemek who found employment in The Mara, we find that 48% had no education whatever and almost as many non-educated as educated found employment in The Mara. The percentages were quite different for the males from Loita who worked in

The Mara, just 10% of those from Loita who worked in The Mara were non-educated. Knowledge of the fact that non-educated persons can and do find wage- or self-employment could be a factor in the attitudes of the Purko towards schooling. The Loita, though not as swept up in the move towards individuation of land and the emphases placed upon the individual and his or her education and employment options, are aware as a community of the changes taking place in Maasailand. The data show that very early on they were putting more children through school (including females) and only recently have the Lemek Purko reached parity with the Loita. The fact that so few non-educated were involved in employment may well have provided the necessary encouragement for the Loita to continue sending their children for an education so that they would be able to take advantage of the changed economic situation confronting them; a long-term economic planning strategy.

Various Tables (6.3, 6.6, 6.7, and 6.10) clarify the relationship between education and types of jobs pursued. In Lemek, 60% of the non-educated males initially found a pastoral related job and 84% of the non-educated males of Loita found initial employment in pastoral related jobs (for comparable information on Samburu involvement in pastoral related employment, cf. Sperling 1987a, 1987b).

Table 6.18 reports on the clear association between the type of occupation pursued as an entry point into the labour market and subsequent jobs. In both sites, more than 60% of the initial jobs were found in pastoral related occupations (nearly 70% in Loita) and then nearly 80% of the subsequent jobs found by the men of Lemek were in non-pastoral related occupations and nearly 90% of the subsequent jobs found by the males of Loita were also in non-pastoral related occupations.

Another important finding of the study was that, for both sites, cattle traders are drawn from (or possibly move into), the richer wealth levels. For Lemek, 63% of cattle traders occupy the two highest wealth levels, versus 43% of the total population in those same categories

(giving a 20 percentage point difference). For Loita, the effect is the same but at a lower level, as 38% of the traders occupy the two highest wealth levels, in contrast to 22% of the normal population in those levels (a 16 point difference). At the lowest wealth level there is a 20 percentage point underrepresentation difference in Lemek, and a 25 point difference in Loita. Cattle trading is positively correlated with wealth, contrary to the notion that only the poor pastoralists turn to trading while the rich stay home. It may be suggested that perhaps their wealth comes from their success as traders. This could be the case for some of the older men, but for others, and perhaps the majority if the average youthful ages are anything to go by (Median of 30 years), who are only starting in this career, the short duration of their involvement (the Mean duration is only 6 years for both sites) could not fully account for their cattle wealth. One may assume they began reasonably wealthy.

One related question that may be asked is: Does employment and economic diversification imply a shift from the livestock-based economy of the district? We do not have any base-line figures for the number of men involved in the past in cattle-trading and other pastoral related jobs, but the data show that the livestock economy is presently generating a considerable number of jobs, especially for the non-educated who work as cattle trekkers and traders, herdsmen and watchmen, in the veterinary service as dip attendants and supervisors, and in the sales of hides and skins. In Lemek, 43% of all first jobs went to non-educated workers in pastoral related jobs and a further 7% of these first jobs went to educated workers; Loita had a higher percentage, 46% of initial jobs were undertaken by non-educated workers in pastoral related occupations, and a further 13% went to educated workers (cf. Table 6.12). Thus, it appears there is a strong association between lack of education and employment in the pastoral sector and this supports the notion that the labour factor in livestock production is being commoditized, in various ways, and should therefore be supported as such. This is not to say that pastoralism did

not always support jobs such as traders, herdsmen, hides and skins' traders, and veterinary services (cf. Sperling 1987a for Samburu data).

Across the age-levels, there is a tendency for employment to increase with the rise in age. In fact, there is a significantly higher employment rate among the older men in both sampled areas. It is the 30-39 years' age-level which provided, and still does provide, the most active working population in both sampled areas. In Lemek, 49% of this age-level was employed at one time or another, and in Loita the figure was even higher, 71% of all the men in that age-level had worked.

When we looked at the actual percentages of those still working across all the age-levels, we found the percentages were still the highest among the working-age males (20-39 years) in both Lemek and Loita: 33% of these 20-39 year olds from Lemek and 41% from Loita were still working. This is interesting since it indicates that the older men not only found wage- or self-employment, but many of them are still holding their jobs. It is somewhat surprising that many of these older men (including now the 40+ age-level) actually found jobs at all and the fact that so many of the older men of Loita are still working is indicative of their desire (and possibly their need) for involvement in wage-employment. The study shows that the highest rate of employment is found among the middle-age level and this could be for historical reasons and because it happens to be the most active and economically secure age-group.

The research, in both sampled areas, indicated there was a strong correlation between education and job mobility. This was especially true of the Loita sample but for both sampled groups there was much less involvement in cattle trading and herding following subsequent job shifts. This job mobility was reflected too in the duration of occupancy in the first and subsequent jobs: the non-educated men spent much longer periods of time in their first job (sometimes as long as eleven, twelve, fifteen, or even eighteen years), whereas the educated men tended to remain in their jobs for shorter periods (on average from one to three years).

Generally speaking, in all cases of employment of educated men, the duration of the first job was short (a Mode of one year in Lemek and two years in Loita, and a Median of three years in Lemek and four years in Loita). One profession which provided an exception to this for the educated men was that of teaching. In this case the teachers tended to stay in their profession for long periods, but they had many transfers from one part of the country to another, which in some cases was almost like a change of job.

The issues of the length of time in a particular job and job mobility are closely related to the question of whether or not certain jobs are used merely as entry points into the occupational structures of the district or the country, or whether or not they are turned to later. It appears that there is a strong tendency for jobs other than those related to the pastoral sector to be found beyond the first job, and this is obviously correlated with the higher job mobility for the educated workers in obtaining these subsequent jobs.

Though the phrase "migration for wage-employment" has sometimes been used in the study, there is a high degree of what may be termed a "casual" or "manual" labour aspect to many of the jobs. In many cases, the persons stayed in the job for a short period of time before moving to something else. Regardless of the number of jobs, in the final analysis, they have almost all returned to their home areas, to their families, and to their herds. Very few are currently working at any great distance away from home, and virtually none may be regarded as having made the option for "permanent migration." This is an important finding since it goes against some of the expectations presented in the literature on migrant labour among more settled agricultural peoples.

The research indicates that the Maasai, from the two sampled areas, are not "outmigrating" from Narok District in any significant numbers to find wage-employment in the modern sector. Because of the Kenyan Government's quota system whereby jobs available within each district must

be offered to residents of that district, many young Maasai, and some not so young, are able to find jobs adequate to their educational levels and financial needs within the district. Very, very few men from the surveyed areas have had to move outside the district boundary to obtain wage-employment. The data demonstrate that those who have moved any distance away from home for employment purposes have moved back again just as soon as the opportunity to do so arose. Though other parts of Narok District were not researched in the same detailed and systematic way, it is likely that the District is providing adequate employment opportunities for local people, in spite of immigration from other districts.

The received literature shows that for many other Kenyans, education is a bridge from economically distressed areas to wider economic networks. In contrast, many Maasai of Narok District still occupy their land and still have cattle and there are still many jobs available to them within their home district. However, it may be that their level of education keeps them within this tighter geographical region and this may be coupled with their desire to stay near their homes to be with their families and cattle. The stated preference is for jobs as near to home as possible.

12.1.5. Influence of education and employment on broader areas of Maasai social change

Processes of sedentarization, involvement in education, temporary migration for wage-employment, commoditization, dietary shifts, individual and corporate entrepreneurial ventures are just some of the socio-cultural changes taking place within the pastoral way of life. The choice of these strategies is closely related to a variety of changed circumstances, not the least of which is diminution of available land and water resources. There could be a causal relationship between these elements, expressed in different ways.

A number of these changed economic circumstances also include new and

"non-pastoral" economic options at the local, district, provincial, and national levels. A number of pastoralists make decisions about forms of action which take place outside what would normally be considered to be the domain of the pastoral production system. These are choices and actions which reflect an involvement with, and a response to, the district and national economies and socio-political structures, and which pastoralists are incorporating into the pastoral way of life. This means that, in a certain sense, activities such as education and migration for wage-employment may be viewed as options for development. There is tension between the traditional and change; these are not contradictions but represent perceptions of social change from within the Maasai community. The Maasai are doing many different things, often outside the pastoral domain, and their responses are complex; yet there remains a very strong tendency within the domain of wage-labour, and by the educated, to find pursuits relevant to animal husbandry. The young men involved in trekking and trading, the buyers and sellers of hides and skins, those few who buy cattle and smallstock medicines in the centres and then sell them to their families and friends for a small profit, the young man who has established a small donkey-cart business in Lemek, are among those who have created economic niches for themselves combining something old and something new. These are just a few of the enterprises that have a certain dynamism to them and ones which will probably grow and develop.

The material on the two retail trading centres of Lemek and Loita demonstrate the fact that a high percentage of small businesses in Maasailand (outside the town of Narok) are being run by non-Maasai. This could be an indication that the Maasai are not interested in running these businesses. It could also be an indication that they are not educationally prepared for business and that they experience too many problems and difficulties to make it a viable and worthwhile venture. This non-involvement could also be due to the fact that most of the local Maasai either do not have the initial capital to begin such a venture, or are not

prepared to take the risks involved in such diversification. The data clearly pointed to the fact that most of the shopowners in Lemek, those who owned the plots and the premises, were local Maasai from the richer families or from among the sub-chiefs (nearly 50% were owned by sub-chiefs, and another 22% were owned by rich local families). These persons were collecting rent from a number of non-Maasai who were actually running the shops, bars, and hotels in the centre. The situation in Loita is different because 78% of the premises are owned and run by local Maasai or are rented to local Maasai and used for a variety of purposes. Only one section is owned and run by a non-Maasai. In Loita, some of the teachers and local district councillors are involved in one or two of these commercial ventures.

It is obvious too, that there are strong moves towards social and economic changes within the Okiek communities of the two sites. Some of the Okiek families in Lemek are involved in small businesses and many adult Okiek have staked a strong claim to land in the subdivision of Lemek Group Ranch. A number of Okiek families appear to be more wealthy (in cattle and shoats) than their Loita and Purko neighbours. It is quite likely that there is a very strong sense of direction and upward mobility present in the Okiek community precisely because traditionally it has been looked down upon (dare we say "despised") by the Maasai pastoralists, since the former were hunters and gatherers who lived in the forest and had no cattle. In these changing times, many of the Okiek have moved away from their forest environment and have established themselves within the Maasai areas and some live alongside the Maasai within their bomas (cf. Kratz 1986, 1988). This is a trend which will probably get stronger as the land-base diminishes in the Maasai and the Okiek areas. As I have shown, they have a very definite attitude about where they have come from and where they wish to go in the future. There is an important factor here which should not be overlooked, as more and more Okiek establish themselves as co-Ranchers with their Maasai brothers and sisters, the land

pressures will be increased and intensified.

In one respect, education and employment are not leading to relief of the major land pressure problem. Though there is a degree of economic diversification, not necessarily linked to education, this does not appear to be helping the Maasai get off the land or get away from their dependency on cattle and grazing-land. Educated people are staying in the district, near their homes in many cases, and some are involved in pastoral-related activities. But, viewed from another point of view, education is relieving some of the pressures to the extent that high percentages of non-educated men are involved in cattle trekking and trading, and the educated men do not enter these pastoral related occupations but clearly move into the "other" categories. However, education is not leading them into employment which takes any of them far from home, their grazing lands, or their cattle.

There is another way of viewing education and pastoral related employment: From one point of view, the increasing commercialization of pastoralism results in sales outside, that bring income into the district, partially distributed to hired herders and trekkers, who themselves (with their dependents) thus are theoretically able to subsist without relying directly on herds (cf. Meadows and White 1981). Thus, if "employment" and "education" are correlated with a more diversified, commercialized economy, this could result in more people being "carried" on the same land, on the same size herd, albeit one that is, in market terms, more "productive", than a subsistence herd. So, it is not necessarily bad, regarding land pressure, that educated Maasai stay near home, if their activities represent commercial and diversified pursuits. Another view is that commercialization of pastoralism and privatization of pastoral resources may accelerate production (cf. Evangelou 1986), thus placing new burdens on the land; more meat for Nairobi is bought at the cost of degradation in Narok and Kajiado. In a sense, this is an empirical issue that would be quite interesting to pursue.

The most obvious effect of education was the fact that it gave the schooled opportunity to enter the job market and gave them increased job mobility. Other areas of influence were, according to the men and women themselves, improved language skills, increased facility in communicating with people of other ethnic groups, better health and diet, and changes in clothing and housing. These were much the same areas of change within their families which had been influenced by their education; clothing, health, diet, housing, and improved veterinary practices, together with an increased awareness of the advantages of agricultural work and produce. However, only 3% in Lemek and 1% in Loita said that their education had indirectly helped them (through self- or wage-employment) to buy new animals for their herds. One university graduate declared that his education had made little or no difference or change in the lives of members of his family and community.

There were very few observable signs of change across both sampled areas. There were some signs of change in forms of housing in a few homesteads (comparatively speaking), but these could not be correlated with education or employment either locally or away from home. In both places, there was a strong desire expressed for a change of housing and diet. But, in terms of observable numbers of corrugated-iron roofs and thatched roofs, there were really not all that many to be seen; it is far from being a widespread sign of change. On the other hand, the presence of numerous small plots of cultivated land was a more obvious sign of change, in production as well as in the form of dietary intake of home-grown maize and other vegetables. Seventy-seven percent of the workers interviewed in Lemek said they had plots under cultivation, and 89% of the interviewed Loita workers admitted to some degree of cultivation. The presence of these plots also pointed to change in labour activities, although the research indicated that it was mainly the women and children who worked in these small shambas (fields) or bustani (gardens).

The growing presence of these small subsistence plots is certainly one of the most obvious and visible signs of change in most parts of Maasailand. Though small in itself, it is an indication of several significant trends, towards more sedentarization, changes in cooking and diet, a different attitude towards the land and "the breaking of soil", and a different perspective on family and group holdings. Personal observations during this research and several years of missionary work among the Maasai would lead this researcher to estimate that between 80% and 85% of all Maasai households are engaged in some form of subsistence agriculture in plots of various sizes.

12.1.6. The differences between Lemek and Loita

Overall, Lemek is wealthier than Loita, but it is undergoing more rapid differentiation and is more heterogeneous than Loita which is poorer and has less differentiation. The effects of wealth and education seem more diffused in Loita, among families and groups, rather than focused in individuals.

One of the initial expectations of this study was that Lemek, with its apparent exposure to tourism because of its position adjacent to The Maasai Mara, its proximity to commercial wheat and barley schemes, and the fact that a major trunk road runs right through its centre, would be ahead of Loita in terms of involvement in the educational structures of the district. The data indicate otherwise, in fact, quite a number of the findings went against expectations and were counterintuitive.

One of the possible reasons for the fact that Loita is relatively ahead could be the fact that the school in Morijo is much older than the school in Lemek. The school was built by the colonial government and represented the interest of the administration in that particular area with its heavy concentration of iloibonok and their families.⁹ Perhaps, our expectations for Lemek arise from the above mentioned socio-economic

changes which were "imposed" from outside. But what has taken root in Loita has been made on their own, has come from within the communities, namely, their choices of direction indicated in education and jobs obtained, especially self-employment and their various entrepreneurial pursuits including involvement in the local retail trading ventures.

Loita which has not yet experienced land individuation, had higher percentages of educational and employment involvement among older and working-age groups than did Lemek. In fact, there was a 16 percentage points difference between the two places for the educational involvement of the 40+ age-level (cf. Table 3.15). Yet Lemek is experiencing subdivision of the Group Ranch and the people there are very aware of the need for the younger generation to have an education and greater diversification in their economic options.

12.2. Trends for the future

The results of this study are a demonstration that non-directed areas of development, based largely on individual choices (for schooling, for pursuing diverse occupations), have perhaps a more profound influence on the lives of local inhabitants than major projects and investments, particularly those which have encouraged greater involvement of the Maasai in commercial ranching and agricultural production. In spite of this, it is also quite remarkable to what extent government, tourism, and the local Missions, are involved in providing more formal jobs to the local Maasai, and how, outside these areas, spinoffs from pastoralism are critical.

There are a number of areas touched upon in this study which may be viewed as possibilities for future support and encouragement.

12.2.1. Animal production sector

One of the ways in which the Maasai could be assisted in the whole of Maasailand is for development personnel and planners to devise ways in which new forms of employment could be created in the areas. What is important is that job creation be linked with an emphasis upon showing the benefits of an education and showing how this can help the local community to develop and to advance. The visibility of educated Maasai working locally does more to encourage education than verbal exhortations. Some initiatives could focus on the animal production sector and others on the education sector.

The study has clearly demonstrated that, contrary to expectations, the Maasai are not simply to be understood in terms of pastoralism and yet that their complex, changing future is intimately related to pastoralism. Whereas other scholars have emphasized the spread of agriculture, the flight from pastoralism, sedentarization, migration for wage-employment, etc., this research has indicated that the Maasai (at least of the two sampled areas) are moving out of one limited form of pastoralism into another type of pastoralism marked by market production, related forms of wage-labour, Ranches, commercial middlemen, etc. It appears that the economic futures of many families depend upon pastoral related entrepreneurship, and therefore more support should be given to developing the animal production sector since it provides both meat and spinoff employment for quite a number of people, not the least of whom are the producers, stock traders, trekkers and herders, and the dip attendants across the district. Some suggestions are in order concerning the support that should be given to these pastoral related jobs, especially cattle trading. Generally speaking these enterprises should be encouraged rather than frustrated. Some of the ways in which this sector could be supported are through better stocked stores selling veterinary supplies, syringes, medicines, apparatus, etc.; the construction of better stop-over or night

bomas for the trekkers on the traditional routes across the district; the demarcation of trekking corridors across lands (which are now fenced and guarded) in order that the trekkers and traders get their animals to market using the shortest possible routes.⁸⁴

It has been suggested by some (notably the World Bank and the Livestock Marketing Board) that an increase in the number of internal markets and/or auction yards would facilitate marketing so that the trekkers would not have to make the long journeys to Nairobi and elsewhere and perhaps more of the producers would be encouraged to sell their animals at the gate. However, this suggestion may well undermine the struggling Maasai cattle traders in Narok District since their competitive advantage lies in their ability to use local networks to procure animals and their willingness to trek them across the district. An increase in these markets would undercut the traders and move trade to outsiders with trucks. If the conditions are radically altered then the advantages these Maasai entrepreneurs have may also be altered or even lost. Certainly, the traders would not benefit if transport for the cattle were motorized since these vehicles would almost definitely be owned and run by persons other than the traders themselves.

Perhaps, the placement of a number of weigh-bridges at key points (markets or stock-yards) would help fair-sale pricing as would the circulation of up-to-date information on cattle prices (live weight and carcass) which could be done through radios in the schools, Missions, and clinics. The establishment of Maasai-run butcheries on the district borders or near trunk roads leading into the cities might generate new jobs and increased sales of animals. The Maasai may not have much experience with clothing and vegetables and may not be interested in running stores selling such items, but they have knowledge of animals and butchering and would be more inclined to sell meat than clothes.

Improved credit and loan facilities should be made available for the men functioning as traders and trekkers and mobile banking facilities

should be initiated and run across Maasailand. These might alleviate some problems experienced in other sectors of interest, such as assisting teachers to collect their salaries (which means they would not have to spend days and days journeying to the towns to collect and cash their cheques), and assisting parents to withdraw cash for their various needs.

12.2.2. Improvements to the school system

Certainly, if we are to be faithful to the principles of dialogue with the local people in matters which are of concern to them, then the expressed misgivings, hesitancies, and apprehensions of the Maasai parents concerning education need to be taken into account. In some ways, it does not matter if these are entirely true or false, they are the perceptions of the parents of the school-age children of the two communities and as such they should be of concern to policy-makers and educationalists.

This research has not been about schools, but rather about the young people who attend, their parents who send them to school, and the communities where they are located. Nevertheless, a number of suggestions were made during the research, and in the numerous conversations with parents, teachers, and chiefs about how the conditions for the teachers and students in the outlying Maasai schools could be improved (see Appendix 12). Narman, after his analysis of the provision of educational facilities for pastoral peoples, clearly indicates where he thinks the need is most urgent:

Our assumption, therefore, is that pastoralists, voluntarily or involuntarily, will be influenced by policies determined on a more central government level... the basic educational standards must be raised considerably. ... To participate more fully in all aspects of a changing society, a drastic improvement of secondary and tertiary education must be emphasised (1990:121).

I would suggest that the need is even more cogent in the domain of primary education. Unless these primary schools, which title is officially translated into Swahili as shule ya msingi, "foundation

schools" or "schools of the base", are improved, developed, and extended, there is little point in improving the secondary or tertiary levels of education. As it is, very few Maasai students are able to pass through the primary system successfully to move into the higher levels of education. This has less to do with their intellectual capabilities than with the inadequacies of the system and the structures which govern their educational lives and futures.

Many Maasai wonder how serious the administration is about Maasai education when it constantly transfers teachers from one school to another, from one area to another, and even from one district to another. Hidden (school) fees and the constant changing of the school texts, militate against full and comprehensive primary education in most of the pastoralist areas. The financial burden, in spite of supposed universal free primary education, is daunting for parents with many children.⁸⁵ The total inadequacy and frequent unavailability of school text books for both teachers and students, and the fact that constant, almost annual, changing of texts precludes any family from purchasing and passing on the books to other members of the family, make sure those children who do attend school in these less privileged areas gain a less meaningful education. In spite of the fact that there has been a steady rise in the percentage of young people being sent to primary school, very few Maasai children enter secondary or tertiary education as our data show.⁸⁶

Curricula changes could begin to emphasise the contributions which the educated male or female Maasai would eventually make towards the community and could inculcate in the students the communitarian aspects of education which are lacking in the existing curriculum, emphasising, as it does, the competitive nature of personal accomplishment and academic credentials through the possession of certificates and diplomas.⁸⁷ Involvement with, or service to, the community is hardly ever stressed or touched upon in the subjects taught and thus it is that some students gradually move away from active participation in their communities and even, in some cases,

distance themselves from their families."⁸

On the other hand, we may speculate that other ethnic groups, for example the Kikuyu, view education less as a "family" responsibility and more as an individual need in relation to that person's future in the employment world. This is not to say that "individualism" is the primary or only element in this perspective; it is also an appraisal of realistic economic prospects made by the family on the individuals' behalf. These differences in attitude and emphasis could have repercussions and effects on motivation and attrition rate. Perhaps the two groups are responding in different ways because of the different cultural and social settings of each; one very individualised and the other still very community conscious. The land issue also enters into this equation. Whereas the other ethnic groups do not have any more available land to fall back upon, many of the Maasai feel that they still have the land to return to and this influences their attitudes towards the urgency (or lack of it) of educating their children. Some groups, for example Kikuyu, Kipsigis, and Kisii, have been subdividing small family plots for several generations; each time the plot becomes smaller as individual sons and their families take possession of their inheritance. Education for their children is the gateway to wider and more secure economic possibilities which will make them less dependent on their small family plots.

12.3. The individual, the community, and uses of educational credentials

What is actually taking place among the Maasai is a purposeful selection and rejection of suitable strategies from among a number of options available to individuals within their own districts. In long term analysis, this selection may be directed towards preservation of the Maasai pastoralists' way of life. There is a type of "dual effect" of education at play within Maasailand (Narok District) whereby young people

acquiring marketable skills and utilizing them within the national economy negotiate their academic credentials in the district and national arenas to assist the Maasai at large to negotiate land disputes and to gain economic development benefits, while others are perceived as using their educational qualifications for their own personal aggrandizement in pursuit of their "personal and private" careers in the urban areas. These are people who have opted out of giving local assistance and of becoming involved in local politics which could be one way of assisting the advancement of the Maasai as a community. While there is no stark contrast between helping others and political advancement, because giving help locally is a key way of gaining political and social prestige and no real political advancement is possible without rendering local assistance, nevertheless, the Maasai are sufficiently politically aware and astute to realise that some educated politicians have used education as a political football or have dangled it as a carrot before them only to remove it once they get into positions of power and authority.

In the introduction to this study we suggested that if verifiable evidence of major change could be found among the Loita this could be taken as strong evidence of change among Maasai at large since the Loita have the reputation (whether justified or not) of being the most resistant to change. Evidence of many changes have been found and presented in the course of this study, reflecting the resolution of a range of dilemmas and conflicts which confront the Maasai. Almost all educated Maasai are caught in the dilemmas of conflicting motives, values, and traditional ways of behaviour (cf. Galaty and Doherty 1989). Not the least of these dilemmas concerns the tension between the individual and the community, particularly in matters related to land; most, if not all, Maasai are seeking land more as individuals (or families) than as a larger group. The dilemma is also present in their assessment of education and its benefits for the individual and the community. Education implies the personal advancement of the educated person as an individual who may or

may not assist his or her family. On the other hand, some of the interviewed teachers stated that their personal advancement is also beneficial to the community.

In spite of the fact that some Maasai hold one or more, or even all, of the options related to collectively-held land, individual ranches, education, subsistence pastoralism, etc., there may well be appearing some form of an individual "family survival strategy or mentality" centred upon the acquisition of sufficient land for the family herds. This strategy appears to be cutting into the very fabric of the solidarity of the various Sections of the Maasai. Even though Lemek is largely Purko and Morijo Loita is largely Loita, there is a developing awareness that, in the very near future, it is the family as an economic unit which will be fighting for its survival in the face of diminishing land and resources. At the moment, because land is still available in Narok District, most of the men in the surveyed areas wished to remain at home looking after the family herds and "keeping an eye on the shifting political debates about the future of their land."

In some ways, these tensions and dilemmas may be reducible to the tension between the good of the individual and the good of the community. Traditionally, the Maasai have emphasized the community, but now there are many pressures upon them to shift away from this towards an increased awareness of, and an emphasis upon, the value of the individual (the individual person or even the individual family). The presence of non-Maasai wives and mothers may be contributing to this acceptance and pursuit of another set of values and emphases.

In one sense, there is a certain semiotic at work; many of the comments presented in the study, especially those of the Loita, indicate a desire to preserve collective or community elements in spite of the pressures towards a more individualistic viewpoint *vis-a-vis* education and the role of the individual within the system. The Kikuyu and others appear to be more individualistic with regards to education and

opportunities in life. In the past, it was likely that women from other ethnic groups who were married into the Maasai Sections would not have been educated (many might have been married at a time when female education was not as widespread in other areas as it is nowadays), but now many of these women are educated, as we have seen, and their presence in the Maasai communities does make a considerable difference once they have their own children of school age.

When we look carefully at the factors inhibiting school participation among Maasai we have to take into account their perceptions of social and cultural benefits and non-benefits of schooling; the economic costs such as school fees, hidden charges, and labour losses; and the poor quality of education offered in the remote pastoralist areas. All these factors have been raised at different points in the study and most significantly in the recorded comments and views of the Maasai parents, both educated and non-educated, who had not sent their children for schooling. The Maasai comments express their fears, apprehensions, and their well founded scepticism of the value of education and involvement in the wider economic and political sectors. As we discovered, some of them actually noted that a number of educated Maasai have made little or no contribution to their families, to their local communities, or to the wider Maasai community. Some of the Maasai have ventured to say that the educated are no better off than those without an education and that education makes little or no difference. Many Maasai have seen the deleterious effects of education, employment, salaries, and contact with the urban dwellers of the larger cities of Kenya, on members of their local communities, and they have not been impressed. On the contrary, these experiences have taught them to be hesitant and sceptical about the whole venture. Some will pay lip-service to the value of these changes, but they are really not convinced of the validity of the argument, and from their standpoint they may have good reason for their perspective.

In conclusion, to summarize the findings of the study, we may say that the research has investigated the determinants and effects of two key indicators of economic diversification, schooling and employment, on pastoral Maasai community, long described as resistant to change. Comparing two sites in Narok District, subject to different degrees of development influence, the intergenerational study quantitatively demonstrated increasing rates of school participation in both locales, with considerably higher percentages in the present school-age cohorts than in previous groups. Reversing previous trends, wealth increasingly influences schooling, and Maasai now disproportionately send first-born sons to school.

As rates of participation in employment beyond the home economy increase, those with some education are more likely to enter formal employment, and show higher rates of job mobility. But, importantly, the study demonstrates the continuing importance of the pastoral economy in generating jobs pursued by younger males with little or no education, in particular herding for wages and self-employment as middlemen in livestock marketing. The former tends to be pursued by individuals from poorer families, the latter by those from richer families.

Qualitative results from in-depth interviews show increasingly positive attitudes towards education, even by those who for economic and cultural reasons they describe have refused to send their children to school. The study quantitatively and qualitatively shows that this pastoral district, and the pastoral community within the district, is experiencing changing patterns of education and employment, as a rate slower, however, than other non-pastoral districts and sectors within the district itself. Porous from the outside, education and employment represent virtually closed systems from within Narok District. The study shows the ambiguity of Maasai responses to social change: Increasing social and economic complexity, with a strong continuing role for the animal-based society and economy, even in its commercialized form.

ENDNOTES

1. There are at least 34 major items of research (dissertations, theses, researched articles, papers, reports, books, etc.) having the words 'Kajiado District' somewhere in their titles, and there are at least another 35 dealing with Kajiado District which do not mention the district in the title. There are still others which, though purporting to deal with the whole of Maasailand, actually have Kajiado as their focus and only peripherally touch upon the situation within Narok District; for example, Mukhisa Kituyi (1990) Becoming Kenyans: Socio-economic Transformation of the Pastoral Maasai and P. Evangelou (1984) Livestock Development in Kenya's Maasailand: Pastoralist Transition to Market Economy. On the other hand, there are no more than 15 items which mention Narok in the title - at least 5 mention Kajiado and Narok together and deal with Foot and Mouth Disease in the two districts (cf. Holland 1989). This gives some indication of the differences in terms of available research data between the two districts and should also give some indication of the dangers involved in generalizing across Maasailand on the basis of what has been discovered in Kajiado District. I bear in mind this caveat, when generalizing from my own findings across the whole District.
2. This term "age-level" is used throughout this study rather than the more widely used term "age-group" which has a specific usage in the extensive scientific literature dealing with population or demographic studies. The choice is made to avoid any participation in the discussion regarding East African age-set organization, most notably the Maasai, which is apparently still taking place. Age-level in this research refers to the clustering of persons according to five year groups, 0-4, 5-9, etc.
3. Lemek Group Ranch has been adjudicated and formally set up as such. However, Moriyo Loita Sub-location has never been formally adjudicated as a Group Ranch. The Loita have repeatedly objected to this form of land adjudication. For the purposes of this research, the boundaries of the sub-location were taken as the boundaries of what could have been regarded as Moriyo Loita Group Ranch.
4. The District Development Plan 1989-1993 indicates that there is a proposal to split Osupuko Division to create a new Division called Narosura with a new Divisional Headquarters at Narosura trading centre. There is a considerable difference between the existing Divisions: Osupuko has an area of 10,756 sq. kms., Mau has 3,260 sq. kms., Kilgoris has 1,323 sq. kms., Olokurto 2,145 sq. kms., and Lolgorian has 624 sq. kms.
5. The total area of the district is 1,608,700 ha. and of this a 120,000 ha. are reported to be under crops (Narok District Harambee Show Report in the Daily Nation 10/8/89). This figure (7.5%) seems to be exceedingly low (and much lower than the 13% quoted by the District Development Plan of 1989-1993), compared to what is actually visible in the various areas of the district - Kilgoris, Mulot, Siyabei, Emarti, Olokurto, and even the Lemek Valley, to mention just a few.
A person travelling by car from Nairobi to The Mara, via Narok, is confronted with vast stretches of ploughed land immediately after entering the district boundaries. Once one turns off the old Nairobi/Naiivasha road at Mai Mahiu to the town of Narok itself and beyond, the observer will encounter thousands of acres of commercial grazing, wheat and barley fields. On the other side of Narok town, journeying towards the Mara along the road to Lemek, the observer will encounter wheat and barley fields as far as the eye can see on both sides of the road. This agricultural use of the land is such that one will not see a cow or a Maasai for

more than seventy kilometres along this road. There is more of a likelihood of seeing planes spraying the fields than Maasai herdsmen and their charges. The wheat and barley farms have now reached as far as Lemek Group Ranch which itself is under process of subdivision.

6. According to Jacobs (1972:83), the Loita expanded, about 1800 A.D. from the Rift Valley up the western escarpment to the Loita highlands. In the process, they expelled the Iloogolala and pushed the Siria back as far as the Mara River. In the north, by the nineteenth century, there were three dominant groupings - Uasin Gishu, Laikipiak and Purko. About 1870 A.D., the Purko together with the Laikipiak decimated the Uasin Gishu. What was left of this group was scattered: Some were married into the Purko, others escaped as refugees and settled among the Nandi, the Chamus and the Baluyia, and some were moved by the colonial government initially to Eldama Ravine and later to the Trans Mara where they still live together with the Moitanik.

For a more detailed and exhaustive explanation of the early history of the Maasai Sections, please refer to the chapter by Galaty, " Pastoral Orbits and Deadly Jousts: Factors in the Maasai Expansion", in J.Galaty and P. Bonte (eds.) 1991.

7. It is not the purpose of this study to give a detailed history of this period, especially since several distinguished writers have produced excellent material on the period, for example Mungeam 1966, Sorrensen 1968, Davis 1970, and Doherty 1987, to whose works the reader is referred.

8. Some government documents have worked on the assumption that all those who were Maasai and were living outside the two Maasai districts of Kenya at the time of the national Census were "outmigrants". Ominde arrived at his figures for outmigration from Kajiado and Narok (the two Maasai districts of Kenya) by "subtracting the total for the home district from the national total and expressing the resulting figure as a percentage" (1968:136). There is an obvious pitfall in this process since there is a proportion of those living outside the districts who have never actually lived within either of the two Maasai districts at any stage of their lives.

9. To the best of my knowledge this has not involved a new "marriage" nor has it meant a sexual relationship with the dead husband's brother.

10. Note, in this regard, Kituyi 1986:41; Grandin and Lembuye 1987:1.

11. The actual figures are as follows:

Lemek			
males aged	married to	females aged	
41	20-25 yrs		20-25 yrs
50	26-29 yrs		20-24 yrs

91

Loita			
males aged	married to	females aged	
10	19-25 yrs		15-21 yrs
10	26-29 yrs		16-20 yrs

20

12. In 1934, the Government passed the Grant-in-Aid Rules which allowed the Local Native Councils to invest in Primary Schools in their local areas. The building of the very first primary school in the Lemek area about 1938-39 was as a result of these Rules. This school existed only one year and disappeared at the outbreak of World War II.

Lemek Primary School

This school was built in 1961 by the Catholic Church (Narok Mission, Rev. Fr. Hans van Pinxteren) with church money and was opened in 1962. It is still a Catholic sponsored school. The first buildings consisted of two classrooms and a teacher's house. Building has continued throughout the years as further needs arose and over the years the Government has helped with various building grants. The Boarding Facilities were built in 1978-79.

Moriyo Loita Primary School

There was an original primary school built also as a result of the Grant-in-Aid Rules, it too seems to have dropped out of use during the war years. The present school seems to go back to the late fifties and was built by the Kenya Government. It is not a harambee school, but is one of the D.E.B. schools (built by the District Education Board).

13. Sarone ole Sena has dealt adequately with the history and development of education in Narok District, especially in the first three chapters of his doctoral dissertation (1986). This section owes much to his research and analysis. Gorham (1980) has researched development and education in Kajiado District, and the relationship between education and group ranches in the same district has been covered by the work of Davis (1971), Halderman (1972), and Meadows and White (1981).

14. According to Narok Annual Report, 1945, the number of lower primary schools had increased to five:

School	Enrolment
Siyabei	47
Moriyo Loita	31
Kilgoris	60
Nairragie-Nkare	56
Moriyo-Narok	69
	<hr/> 263 <hr/>

15. Seven years later this school merged with Narok Secondary School to become the present day Narok High School.

16. Kenya has the policy of having a pass-mark relative to the educational expectations and realistic appraisal of educational attainment for certain districts in the country. Because there are special difficulties involved in the acquisition of education in the border areas, which are also the semi-arid areas inhabited by the pastoralist populations, extra points are added to the primary examination scores to allow for regional differences and to ensure acceptable numbers of students from these disadvantaged districts pass through the system. There are also set "quotas" of students from the district and regional levels who are allowed to pass through the system to the next level. It is not easy to get documented evidence of the actual numbers, but it is approximately 85% local passes and a further 15% of passes from outside who are permitted into the secondary schools of the district. In 1990, the local Member of Parliament publicly decried the fact that in Narok District, the quotas were reversed and 85% of the secondary school students were coming from outside.

The Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education, Mr. Benjamin Kipkulei, said that Form One selection for the national schools would be made strictly on merit. He said the quota system does not mean that selected students must belong to the ethnic group originating from a particular district; rather, quotas should be based on merit. He said there had been problems in the past with headteachers insisting on selecting students belonging to local ethnic groups, disregarding others who had performed better. He also said that the district quota distribution would be strictly adhered to (The Nation, newspaper 3/1/92).

The Maasai have long objected to the fact that students come in from other districts and repeat their primary school certificate examination (the C.P.E.) in schools in Maasailand. These students often do extremely well, especially since they may be repeating the examination for the second or third time, and then they are part of the "quota" chosen from the area to be given places in the national secondary school system. The Maasai have been complaining for years about this apparent abuse of their school system and the fact that the quota system (set up to help underprivileged areas) seems to have lost its efficacy.

17. A further example of lack of change in this particular area could well be the complaint of the Narok County Councillor Samson ole Tuya printed in the Kenya Times (daily newspaper, of 2.12.1989: "only 14 out of the 113 students in the local polytechnic are from the local Maasai community."

18. The present structure for schooling in Kenya is known as the 8-4-4 system. These numbers refer to the years spent at each level of the system: eight years of primary schooling culminating in the certificate of primary education examination, followed by four years of secondary schooling which ends with an examination for the Junior Certificate, and finally four years of university education. Over the past twenty years or more there have been various combinations of years spent at these various levels of primary, secondary and tertiary education. In 1966, the primary education period was changed from 8 to 7 years and the Certificate of Primary Education (CPE) was introduced replacing both the Common Entrance Examination, which had been administered at the end of Standard four, and the Kenya Preliminary Examination, which was given at the end of Standard Eight. There were seven years at the primary level, three years of junior secondary, followed by a further two years of advanced or senior secondary and only then did the student proceed to university. This was changed again, and, by 1989, the present structure of the 8-4-4 (years) was introduced which has elicited quite an amount of criticism from various educationalists.

19. In 1990, only 138 Primary Schools in the District presented candidates for the KCPE. This which would indicate that there are many schools which do not yet go up to Standard 8.

20. The actual secondary enrolment figures and locales are enlightening:

Location	Student Enrolment
L. Mwili	889
Keekonyokie	174
Uasin Gishu West	570
Siria West	135
Naikara	40
Mulot	40
Lemek	40
Emarti	29

1917

21. According to the 1979 Census there are 1,528 Okiek living in Narok District (cf. Appendix 2C, Tables C and D, for a comprehensive breakdown of the Okiek numbers and educational levels).

22. This may be the time to indicate the rationale and system behind the categories used in various parts of the dissertation. When we speak of "Maasai", generally we are referring to the Section of the Maasai presently occupying that particular area (Purko in Lemek and Loita in Moriyo Loita); when there is the name of another ethnic group standing alone, this invariably refers to a married female from another ethnic community married to a Purko or Loita.

Where there is a combination separated by a slash (/), we are referring to the children of parents from two ethnic groups where the first name is that of the father's ethnic group and the second is that of the mother's ethnic group (for example, Purko/Kikuyu). One or two exceptions to this system relate to the Uasin Gishu where sometimes both husband and wife are Uasin Gishu Maasai and therefore the whole family is Uasin Gishu Maasai; and the second exception refers to the Okiek, again where there is a family situation and both parents are Okiek.

The rationale behind this system of identifying parentage was that it was felt necessary to identify and trace these children of mixed ethnic parentage in order to establish the different rates of educational involvement between, on the one hand, the children of Purko parents in Lemek and Loita parents in Moriyo Loita, and on the other hand, the children of mixed parentage (either non-local Purko or Loita mothers, or non-Maasai mothers).

Maa/Kik = children of Purko or Loita father and Kikuyu mother.
 Okiek/Maa = children of Okiek father and Purko or Loita mother (depending on the site).
 Okiek/Kip = children of Okiek father and Kipsigis' mother.
 Okiek/Kik = children of Okiek father and Kikuyu mother.
 Loita/Rwa = children of Loita father and Rwandan mother.
 Maa/Samburu = children of Purko or Loita father and Samburu mother.

23. According to the data of this research, there are 15 educated Uasin Gishu wives in Lemek Group Ranch none of whom were born in the Group Ranch. There are two educated Uasin Gishu wives in Loita neither of whom were born in the Sub-location.

24. The colonial administration had tried to insist that every family send at least one child for an education. This insistence was continued by the post-colonial administration and many of the local officials are still urging the Maasai to send at least one child to school.

25. "Primary/still" indicates that the person is still attending primary school; "Sec./still" indicates the same involvement at the secondary school level; "Pr./finished" means the person has completed the primary school courses and has sat for the final examination, the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE). In the same way, "Sec./finished" refers to those persons who have finished the required secondary school courses. In some cases this will have been at the Form 2 level, in other cases Form 3, Form 4 or even Form 6. Just as the number of years required for the completion of primary schooling has been changed by the Kenya Government over the past twenty years, so too, has the number of years required to finish secondary schooling. For the purpose of this research "finished" implied presentation as a candidate for the requisite examination and did not imply a pass or fail result.

"Primary d/out" and "Sec. d/out" are used to identify those persons who did not finish (in the above sense) their respective courses and levels of education, but dropped out of the system before completion and before sitting the final examinations.

"TTC" invariably indicates those persons who have successfully undergone primary and secondary education and have continued to a Teacher Training College. "Med." is used for those very few cases where the person went to a School of Nursing (again after successful completion of their secondary education). Finally, "Univ." is, as its abbreviation indicates, the code for those two persons who have been through the university system.

26. This information was obtained by a careful analysis (using the SPSS programme) of the census data obtained from the interviews with members of the different families during visits to the various bomas in both sampled areas.

27. Testing for some statistical association between firstborns and education in both Lemek and Loita (using the data in Tables 4.8 and 4.10), we obtain a chi-square for Lemek of 0.83. We need a chi-square of 3.841 at 1 df at the 0.01 level of significance; our computed chi-square is below this figure, therefore there is no real association between the two. Similarly, in Loita, the chi-square is 0.81 and we need a chi-square of 3.841 with 1 df at the 0.01 level of significance. Again, there is no real association between firstborns and education in Loita for this age-level.

28. If we collapse the data from Tables 4.13 and 4.15 into three rows and two columns and subject the material to chi-square analysis, we find that chi-square is 2.82 for Lemek and 0.61 for Loita. This means that at two degrees of freedom we need a chi-square of 9.210 to indicate a real association at the 0.01 level of significance. However, neither the chi-square for Lemek nor that for Loita meet this criterion. Thus, statistically there is no real association between these cattle holdings of the educating families and the education of the single males in the 5-24 years age-levels.

Subjecting the data of Tables 4.14 and 4.16 to statistical analysis, we also find that there is no real association between the educated males and the cattle wealth categories of the educating families (chi-squares of 1.16 for Lemek and 3.802 for Loita).

29. The actual jobs undertaken may be of interest:

Lemek: 7 cattle traders, 2 watchmen, 1 shopowner, 3 casual workers at the mission, 2 assistant chiefs, 1 Group Ranch Chairman.

Loita: 11 cattle traders, 1 Ranger, 1 farm hand, 1 dip attendant, 1 Administration Policeman, 1 Narok City Councillor, 1 saw mill worker.

The fact that there were assistant chiefs, a Group Ranch Chairman and a City Councillor among this "errant" group of parents is not without interest.

30. This reference to the book and pen taking the place of the spear and shield has its origin in the motto and the emblem outside the Narok County Council offices in Narok town. This emblem shows the book and pen together with the shield and spear and carries the Maasai words "Engolon Engeno" which translated means "Knowledge is Power".

31. The four questions asked were quite simple:

1. What are your views on the education of boys?
2. What are your views on the education of girls?
3. How many of your children have you educated?
4. Why did you not educate more or all of your children?

32. The rate of exchange was approximately
1 Canadian dollar = K.Shs.23 (July 1990)

33. Of the 450,000 pupils who entered Standard One in 1979, only about a third did their Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) examination eight years late, according to the Kamunye Report Education and Manpower Training for the Next Decade and Beyond, Nairobi: Government Printers, 1988. This same Report pointed out that, in 1981, about 900,000 pupils entered Standard One but only 340,000 of them sat for the KCPE. Again, in 1990, only about 350,000 will sit for the KCPE out of the 900,000 who enrolled in Standard One in 1982

34. It may be useful to present these national drop-out figures taken from Economic Survey 1991, (Nairobi: Government of Kenya, 1991:176).

	males	females		males	females
1980	.60	.66	1986	.62	.68
1981	.41	.49	1987	.56	.63
1982	.30	.40	1988	.53	.60
1983	.32	.40	1989	.52	.56
1984	.21	.28	1990	.54	.59
1985	.37	.43			

35. The question of fees is a critical one for many of the Maasai. As far back as 1981, Nkinyangi noted that the fees were too high for many parents to be able to pay for all their children (1981a: 183-196). Though the government has supposedly waived nominal fees in the case of pastoralist people, sometimes there are "fees" which range from Kshs.300 to Kshs.3,000.

36. Throughout this study the term "employed" refers to the different forms of wage-employment or self-employment undertaken by the Maasai men and women of the two sampled sites. This does not belittle the fact that within the pastoralist domestic economy many men and women, young and old, are employed in numerous and onerous tasks. The distinction is made here to refer to forms of employment which produce an immediate monetary reward in the form of a wage or profit from cattle sales.

37. Of twenty one references to migration in this book, only one refers specifically to migration for employment.

38. These figures include the educated male Okiek workers of both sites.
 Lemek = 6: 2 dip attendants, 1 clerical worker, 1 shopkeeper,
 1 mason/builder, 1 casual worker at Lemek Mission.
 Loita = 10: 2 clerical workers, 1 shepherd, 1 teacher, 1 casual
 worker, 1 watchman, 1 Ranger, 1 Administration Policeman,
 1 shop assistant, and 1 nursing assistant.

39. In a later section we shall discuss in more detail the occupational structure of the district. This later discussion will include material on the "other" categories of jobs as well as more detail regarding the locales for these jobs.

40. If we collapse the data of Table 6.12 into five rows: cattle traders, veterinarians (dip-attendants), casual labourers, self-employed, other jobs; and two columns, non-educated and educated, then we can compute for chi-square. We find that, for Lemek, with four degrees of freedom we need to have a chi-square equal to or greater than 18.465 at the 0.001 level of significance; our computed chi-square for Lemek is much higher, 70.83, indicating a very strong association between education and employment. Applying various measures of association, we find that the Pearson coefficient of contingency gives a figure of 0.7 ("corrected C" or "C bar") which indicates a very strong measure of association at one degree of freedom.

If we reorganise the same data into a 2 x 2 Table, then we compute a chi-square of 34.7 and this may be taken a step further by obtaining the phi coefficient (a measure of the degree of association), using the same data, and this computes to 0.4 indicating a moderately strong association between education and the types of jobs pursued.

The computed chi-square for Loita (five rows and two columns) is also quite high, 74.0, indicating a real association between education and work obtained. With four degrees of freedom at the 0.001 level of significance, we need a chi-square of 18.465; our computed chi-square is much higher, 74.0. This indicates a very strong association between education and work.

The C bar corrected for Loita is 0.55 which indicates a strong degree of association between education and jobs pursued. Using a 2 x 2 Table of the Loita data, we get a chi-square of 60.6, and a phi coefficient of 0.6 which indicates a very strong degree of association between education and the types of jobs obtained.

If we combine the two sites and move to a higher level of chi-square, we obtain 97.134. With 3 df at the 0.01 level of significance we need a chi-square of 11.345, thus there is a real association even across the two sites. The C bar corrected is 0.6 which indicates the strength of that association.

41. In this case (Table 6.14), the computed chi-square for Lemek is 15.4.

With three degrees of freedom at 0.01 level of significance we need a chi-square equal to or more than 11.345 to indicate an association between levels of education and job mobility. Our chi-square is 15.4, indicating a real degree of association at the 0.01 level. The chi-square for Loita is somewhat similar - 15.66. In this case, we have two degrees of freedom (two rows and three columns) which gives the need for a chi-square of 9.210 at the 0.01 level of significance. Our computed chi-square is 15.66; again there is a real association in the Loita sample. The C bar (Pearson coefficient of contingency) is 0.4 for both sites. Using a T measure of association, we find it is 0.8 for Lemek and 0.9 for Loita - both of which indicate quite strong degrees of association between educational status and job mobility reflected in the number of jobs.

If we take both sites and compute a chi-square measure of association between them, we receive a chi-square of 37.55. At 7 df at the 0.01 level of significance we need 18.475. Thus we have a real association between the two sites. The C bar corrected is 0.4 again confirming that there is a strong degree of association between education and job mobility in both sites.

42. Taking the ethnicity and education of the fathers in Lemek (Table 6.15) and computing for chi-square we obtained 181.3 and at 3 df at the 0.01 level of significance we need a chi-square of 11.345. Therefore we can say there is a real association. The C bar corrected gives us 0.4 which confirms that the association is quite strong between the father's ethnicity/education and employment or non-employment in Lemek.

Statistically no association was established between the ethnicity/education of the mother and subsequent employment of the children in Lemek. The chi-square was 2.62 and with 3 df at the 0.01 level of significance, a chi-square of 11.345 was needed.

In Loita, the ethnicity and education of the fathers gave us a chi-square of 46.08. Testing for 2 df at the 0.01 level of significance we need a chi-square of 9.210, since our chi-square is much higher than this we may say that there is a real or strong association between the ethnicity and education of the fathers and the subsequent employment of their children. The C bar corrected is 0.2, which would indicate a real but not very strong association for this Loita sample.

43. The computed chi-square for these data (Table 6.17) for Lemek is 0.91. We need a chi-square equal to or greater than 3.841 with one degree of freedom at the 0.05 level of significance. Since our chi-square is lower than this, we can assume there is no real association between age and education among the sampled workers of Lemek. Again, this is borne out by applying a coefficient of contingency; the corrected C is 0.09 indicating a very low degree of association between age and education among the workers.

The computed chi-square for Loita is 0.0012. The required chi-square at one degree of freedom is 3.841 at the 0.05 level of significance. Our chi-square is much lower than this and therefore we can say there is little or no significance between the ages and education of these workers in Loita.

The degree of association using phi computes to 0.002. These figures bear out the fact that there is a very low degree of association (if any), between educational status and age among these sampled workers, in both places, but especially in the case of Loita.

Combining the two sites, we get a chi-square of 5.137, but with 3 df at the 0.01 level of significance we need a chi of 11.345. Therefore, as we would expect there is no real association across both sites.

44. Using the raw data in Table GG of Appendix 6G, the computed chi-square for Lemek in this case is 38.74. We need a chi-square equal to or more than 13.815 with two degrees of freedom at the 0.001 level of significance to indicate that there is some degree of association between what jobs are entered and what are sought later, pastoral related or other jobs. Our chi-square is quite large and therefore we can say that indeed there is a real or strong significance between the jobs sought initially and those resorted to later in the job history. The strength of the measure of association is reflected in the figures computed for the C bar, which is 0.6 for Lemek. This indicates quite a strong degree of association between the type of job entered initially and subsequent job shifts (C bar).

The chi-square for Loita is 36.3 which also indicates a strong association between initial job sought and subsequent employment. The computed corrected C for Loita is 0.6 which indicates a very strong degree of association between initial jobs and subsequent jobs entered.

If we combine the data from the two sites and compute for chi-square, then we obtain 73.047. With 3 df at the 0.01 level of significance we need a chi-square of 11.345. Thus we can say that there is a real or strong association between the type of jobs sought as entry points into the job market and subsequent jobs obtained across both sites. The C bar corrected is 0.548 which confirms the strength of the association.

45. Using the data of Table 6.19, the chi-square for Lemek is computed as 3.34 and for Loita as 4.06. Allowing for three degrees of freedom we may say there is no significance at the 0.01 level. The C bars for both Lemek and Loita are computed at 0.2 which indicate a low degree of predictability between age and subsequent employment for both Loita and Lemek.

Combining both sites, we get a chi-square of 21.15 and with 8 df at the 0.01 level of significance we need a chi-square of 20.090. Thus we can say that across both sites, when the data is combined, we get an association, but the C bar corrected indicates the weak strength of that association, 0.29.

46. The figures taken from Tables 3.4 and 3.5 are as follows:

Lemek males (20 years and older) = 732
Lemek females = 1057

Loita males (20 years and older) = 378
Loita females = 555

47. For a detailed explanation of the various ceremonies and rituals connected with the progressive stages of a young man through warriorhood to elderhood, see Fedders and Salvadori 1973; Galaty 1984; Mol 1978; Sena and Hazel 1985. The four villages mentioned here refer to the warriors' ceremonial village; the village for the eunoto ceremonies (marking the transition from junior warrior to senior warrior), the milk drinking village at the time when the men progress another step towards becoming an elder, and finally, the village for the ceremonies of the stool after which the junior elders are ready for marriage.

This is the correct use of the term emanyat which is sometimes used in the form "manyatta" to refer to the common or regular residences of the Maasai (Kituyi 1990 uses it in this sense). The Maasai term for the homestead is enkanq' (sing.) and inkang'itie (pl.). The former refers to the circular encampment of homes usually surrounded by a thorn fence. There are family gates leading into this enclosure which give entrance to the living areas of a man and his wives and children.

48. The data for Lemek and Loita in Table 7.4 were subjected to statistical analysis and chi-square was computed for each site. The chi-square for Lemek was 18.8 and at 3 df and the 0.01 level of significance, a chi-square of 11.345 would be required to indicate a real association. The computed chi-square is 18.8, and thus there is a real or strong association between the cattle traders and the various wealth categories in Lemek. The C bar corrected is 0.24 which indicates the strength of the association.

The data for Loita give a chi-square of 14.78, and with 3 df at the 0.01 level of significance we need 11.345 to indicate a real association. Our chi-square exceeds that figure, and therefore there is indeed a strong association in the Loita sample also. The C bar corrected is 0.23 indicating a real but not very strong association between wealth and trading in Loita.

49. A point of clarification may be called for: The traders interviewed in Lemek stated that, in the period of one year, they took to market on average the following numbers of animals:

26 traders:	2 - 10 head of cattle
23 traders:	15 - 50 head of cattle
14 traders:	70 - 100 head of cattle
5 traders:	150 - 200 head of cattle

50. It may be interesting to note the numbers of herdsmen in Lemek (30) and Loita (12) and their cattle holdings:

Lemek		Loita		
cattle	herdsmen	cattle	herdsmen	
0	= 1	0	= 3	
2- 50	= 24	6	= 1	
70-100	= 3	10	= 2	30 = 1
200-400	= 2	20	= 4	60 = 1
	<u>30</u>			<u>12</u>

51. A list of first jobs and the numbers involved may be of value:

Teachers	4	uniformed services	6
Rangers	5	manual labour	7
clerical	12	casual labour	33
Lodges	5	self-employed	11
		other jobs	18

52. The list of "other" jobs in Loita is as follows:

Teachers	14	uniformed services	8
Rangers	11	manual labour	4
Lodges	2	casual labour	3
clerical	6	self-employed	3
		other jobs	16

53. In an ANOVA test for both sites combined with the Scheffe procedure, herders are significantly different by age at the 0.05 level from traders, teachers, and men in the uniformed services.

	Mean		Mean	F Ratio = 4.6332
herders	24	clerks	34	
traders	33	Rangers	34	Herders are youngest,
dip attdts	33	teachers	35	teachers and uniformed
watchmen	34	unif. services	38	services are oldest.

54. Using an ANOVA test and Scheffe Procedure, the traders are significantly different in cattle holdings at the 0.05 level from the herdsmen and the watchmen.

	Mean		Mean	F ratio = 4.5418
watchmen	13	clerks	109	
herders	34	Rangers	122	The traders have the second
dip att.	89	teachers	132	highest Mean, after the Army
		traders	144	and the Police.
		uniformed	182	

55. Using an ANOVA test and the Scheffe procedure for duration in the first job, the teachers are significantly different at the 0.05 level from the herdsmen, the watchmen, and the dip attendants:

	Mean		Mean	F ratio = 3.2593
herders	3.4	traders	5.7	
watchmen	4.2	Rangers	5.8	
dip attdts	4.4	uniformed	7.0	Herdsmen have the shortest time
clerical	5.1	teachers	8.5	and teachers have the longest.

56. There are at least 15 major Lodges and Camps in The Maasai Mara, including the following nine which were, through their personnel managers, most helpful in furnishing me with information on their Maasai employees: Mara Fig Tree Camp, Mara Intrepids Club, Mara River Camp, Mara Serena Lodge, Keekorok Lodge, Governor's Camp (Minor), Sarova Mara Camp, Mara Sopa Lodge, Kichwa Tembo Camp.

Though the following six Camps and Lodges were uncooperative and did not furnish the necessary information on their Maasai employees, Governor's Camp (Major), Cottar's Mara Camp, Olkoruk Lodge, Buffalo Camp, Mara Shikari Camp, Mara Safari Lodge, I did get unconfirmed information on three of these locales.

57. It was not possible to obtain any further information on this doctor other than the fact that he was Maasai and worked there.

58. Perhaps it should be pointed out that The Mara was not the only place of employment for Rangers. Six men from Loita found this employment elsewhere; three within the district and three outside of the district.

59. The reason why these figures do not appear to have symmetry with the previous figures presented for employment in The Mara is due to the fact that these figures represent workers and not the total number of jobs undertaken. A number of the men undertook several jobs in The Mara at different times and this is not recorded in this Table since we are more concerned with the educational levels of the workers in this instance.

60. Interviews were also obtained with 49 other women (most of whom were uneducated) who had found employment as casual workers at Lemek Mission.

61. When the workers from Lemek and Loita were asked why they returned home, the following range of responses was given.

	Lemek	Loita
To bring home my salary	53	-
To help the family	16	8
To visit my parents	10	13
To check my cattle	7	5
To see my family	2	17
To circumcise my children	2	-
To solve family problems	-	2
Did not wish to stay away any longer -		1
To begin a family	5	3
Salary not enough to live on	-	2
Never really left home area	13	22
	<u>108</u>	<u>73</u>

62. An interview schedule was used to elicit responses from those workers, particularly the educated, who had moved away from home for any period of time for the purposes of employment. The person had complete freedom to choose his or her own words for the responses. The categories used below appeared naturally from the responses given and are used for the sake of conveniently grouping together those responses. The numbers after each response represent the number of times that particular element was indicated by the respondents; in a number of cases the respondents indicated several choices. The compiler did not select some responses and omit others; in all cases the full range of responses is presented, even if this sometimes meant just one viewpoint being expressed. In some cases, the comments from the educated workers are given separately to those of the non-educated workers to bring out any differences between the two perspectives.

63. The term "harambee" was one which became very popular during the Presidency of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta. He encouraged self-help and national unity particularly at the local community level and the call, "Harambee!" echoed across the country. Its meaning essentially is "pull together" or "work together" and it became synonymous with self-help efforts or drives towards improving schools or services. Fund raising was one of its important elements and many harambee schools still continue across the country. The references here are to mutual cooperation between parents and teachers.

64. A number of the Loita respondents also referred to the fact that many of the general stores in the trading centre of Morijo Loita are owned and run by "foreigners".

65. I do not think these views are correct appraisals of the situation nor are they realistic statements of what is actually occurring in Maasailand. Rather they represent what a number of government officials would like to see happening. There has been talk of the demise of "moranism" for decades, and it is as strong as ever.

66. Perhaps two examples of teacher transfers, one from Lemek and one from Loita will bear this out:

Teacher A:	Between 1983 and 1988	
	place 1 1983 to 1984	place 3 1987 to 1988
	2 1986 to 1987	4 1988 and still there.

Teacher B:	Between 1961 and 1989	
	place 1 1961 to 1962	place 6 1974 to 1976
	2 1963 to 1964	7 1977 to 1978
	3 1964 to 1969	8 1979 to 1989
	4 1971 to 1972	9 1989 and still there
	5 1972 to 1973	

67. Though almost every family had a small garden or shamba, there was actually very little evidence of the use of tractors across the Ranch, though there were a few instances notably among the richer officials of the Ranch. There was more widespread evidence of hired Kipsigis and Kisii labourers using hoes.

There was not a striking number of people dressed in western style clothes either. Even the males with some education tended to wear the traditional dress of the Maasai. There were some men dressed in western style clothes, but again not a great number. Virtually no woman was dressed in clothes other than the traditional, and, apart from the occasions when they wear school-uniforms, very few children.

68. Again, I do not think this is entirely true since the people who seemed to be moving ahead very quickly in terms of acquiring extensive plots and fencing them in one way or another, seemed to be the "big men" of the Ranch, namely the sub-chiefs and officials and it had little to do with education but more to do with authority and money.

69. For many of the interviewed Maasai women who live in houses constructed of cow-dung which leak in the rainy season and have to be constantly repaired, and who regularly have to walk many miles, chop and collect firewood, and carry it home on their backs, many of these innovations will be regarded as helpful improvements in their lives.

70. Almost immediately they began to experience problems with punctures, warped rims, broken spokes, etc. It is obvious that many of the bicycles sold in East Africa were never intended for the rough conditions to which they are exposed in some areas and they begin to disintegrate almost at once. These bicycles would be an example of a too rapid outreach towards consumerism and rapid change. The roads in parts of Maasailand are probably among the worst in Kenya and are certainly not ready yet for cycle traffic. Once one moves off the road, the surfaces present many hazards such as hyena holes, rocks, and thorns of horrendous proportions.

71. The reasons given by these married and educated "migrants" for sending their children to school did represent an enlightened vision of the value of an education for the future:

	Lmk	Lta
For future development	4	1
To get an education to help them in the future	16	14
They will help me later	-	8
Education is a weapon for the future	4	-

72. The breakdown for the basic reasons for leaving home are given below:

Reasons for leaving home:	Lemek	Loita
I don't feel I ever left home	13	20
I could not find a job locally	75	40
To get money to help my family	19	7
I wanted to improve myself	1	1
Quarrelled with father		1
As a teacher/transferred		1
Old man drafted into Kenya Army		1
Wanted to live by himself		2

Reasons for returning home:	Lemek	Loita
To bring home my salary:	53	
To help the family:	16	8
To visit my parents:	10	13
To check my cattle:	7	7
To begin a family:	5	3
To see my family:	2	17
To circumcise my children:	2	
Salary not enough to live on	-	2
To solve family problem	-	2
Did not wish to stay away	-	1
Not applicable:	13	20

73. Two were shepherds who worked near their homes, one was a casual worker in The Mara, one had worked casually at Lemek mission, one worked as a watchman in Loita, two were local shopkeepers, and only one had worked in The Mara as a clerk and was currently working in Nairobi with AMREF.

74. The men who stated this included the following: - five Rangers; three local store-owners; one male nurse in Nakuru; four teachers; one in the National Youth Service and one waiter in a lodge in The Maasai Mara; one Kenya Policeman; two Narok City Councillors; one man working locally with the Water Board; three working at the Ilkerin Project; one working for the Dairy Board at Kericho; one local Assistant Chief; one farm worker at Kitale; and one shepherd working at Narok.

75. One of the few works to deal with the education of girls as a specific topic is that of Chege, 1983.

76. This secondary school, built as an "Apostolic School" for boys, was intended to serve as a minor seminary for young Maasai from the Diocese of Ngong, which actually covers the two Maasai districts. It was only opened in 1988, and only reached the Form Four level in 1990.

77. Though there is supposed to be free and universal primary education in the country, this is far from the practice especially in the more remote and rural areas where the schools impose a welter of "fees" and "donations" on the students' families. In some cases this can amount to Kshs.4,000 or even Kshs.5,000 per student per year.

78. In terms of the actual numbers of their children with an education: 24 mothers had educated one child, 7 had educated 2 children, 2 had educated 3 children, 2 had educated 5 children, and 18 mothers had not educated any children at all.
79. In this regard, it is worth noting that even though the Ilkerin Primary School is situated within the confines of the Ilkerin Loita Integrated Development Project, in 1990 there were no female scholars in Stds 4 to 8. It also appears that only one female had finished the full primary course in the past ten years. This means that only one female would have completed primary education in fifteen years; a somewhat startling statistic.
80. This fact is one of the reasons why a World Bank and Livestock Marketing Board suggestion to broadcast current prices of beef and smallstock in the country as a means of encouraging cattle traders and producers to increase their sales seems so implausible. Such a suggestion was not based on any knowledge of whether Maasai in Narok possess or use radios. The suggestion was also made to publish such information in the national press. These papers circulate in the towns and to a limited degree in the agricultural areas linked by main roads and services, but they do not reach the outlying areas of Maasailand, or if they do, then it is perhaps a week after publication.
81. Originally, it was proposed to ask the men of Lemek Group Ranch for their opinions on its subdivision. However, after discussing this topic with a few men the idea was not pursued because it was too politically charged and sensitive an issue to ask for complete honesty. On the other hand, the question was put to the women if they agreed with their husbands on the subdivision, without asking for any articulation of what those views were.
82. Though the influence of these "big men" is of importance to the development of education in the district, this is outside the scope of this thesis especially since these men are living outside the two selected sites. The thesis too, was concerned with education within the context of the communities surrounding the school sites and was less concerned with education across the district. Sarone ole Sena (1986) has dealt adequately with the influence of these political figures in his thesis on "Pastoralism and Education: School participation and social change among the Maasai" (note especially the fifth chapter).
93. My research assistant in Morijo Loita was himself a junior elder and a laibon as was his father, uncles, and some of his neighbours.
84. Some of these suggestions need not necessarily be implemented by government alone. The World Bank has shown interest in supporting and strengthening the livestock marketing taking place in the two Maasai districts. Other development agencies could work through the appropriate ministries to implement some of the suggestions.
85. This is why Professor Fr. Eugene Hillman's assistance and encouragement to so many Loita young men has been so well received by the community and has proved so successful. Almost all of those he has helped through school have gone on to secondary school and, in some cases, to Teacher Training College and Medical Training College.

86. On this topic, Narman (1990:120) has some telling statistics:

In 1983, 184 Form Four students were interviewed at two national academic schools, Alliance and Lenana. There were only three Maasai among them. In 1985, a total of 665 Form Four students were interviewed in eight technical schools; only four students were Maasai.

From 1968 to 1983, 1,950 teachers have been trained and passed through the Kenya Science Teachers College; of these teachers only ten were Maasai.

87. The 8-4-4 system introduced a more practical curriculum when it was set in place in the country. The introduction too, of village polytechnics was a step in the same direction. Part of the rationale behind these polytechnics is to prepare the majority of the students for their lives outside the school system. The students are given technical training and basic skills which can be used in their homes and communities. These village polytechnics were intended to provide training for those students who would otherwise drop out of the system because their grades would not get them into the national academic-type secondary schools.

Shiundu (1987) has demonstrated that language and maths skills are the two subjects students appreciate later as having contributed to their ability to perform well in the informal world and in the practical world of daily living.

88. Chimah Ezeomah has written about the problems faced by those attempting to educate the nomadic Fulani of Northern Nigeria. One interesting point raised by this author concerns the emphasis on individual competitiveness and the point is relevant to our discussion:

As nomadic children's motivation tends to be less related to strong self-emphasis and more related to achievement for the family or group, activities which emphasise the improvement of the skill for all the members of the group instead of merely self-improvement should be used in teaching them. The educator should provide the atmosphere in which the task carried out is co-operative rather than competitive (1983:139).

References cited

The following bibliography contains items cited in this study together with others which, though not referred to, have a direct bearing on the material. For a more comprehensive bibliography of Maasai literature see Holland, K., A Selected Maasai Bibliography (revised 1992). Montreal: McGill University, East African Pastoral Systems Project, Working Paper No. 7.

- Arhem, K.
 1985 Pastoral man in the garden of Eden: The Maasai of the Ngoringoro conservation area, Tanzania (Uppsala Research Reports in Cultural Anthropology). Uppsala: University of Uppsala, Department of Cultural Anthropology.
- 1991 "The symbolic world of the Maasai homestead", in A Jacobson-Widding (ed.) Body and Space: Symbolic Models of Unity and Division in African Cosmology and Experience. Uppsala studies in Cultural Anthropology, 16:51-80.
- Banton, M.
 1957 West African City: A Study of Tribal Life in Freetown. London: Oxford University Press.
- Bekure, S.
 1982 "Phasing of ILCA's current research on the Maasai Livestock Production Systems in Kajiado District, Kenya: A briefing." Nairobi: ILCA.
- Bekure, S. et al.
 1982 "Livestock Marketing in Eastern Kajiado, Kenya." (Draft) ILCA (Kenya) Working Document 26, Nairobi.
- 1984 Maasai Livestock Production System: A Summary of Research Results of The Kenya Rangelands Programme. Nairobi: International Livestock Centre for Africa (ILCA).
- Berntsen, J.L.
 1976 "The Maasai and Their Neighbours: Variables of Interaction," African Economic History, (2):1-11.
- 1979a "Economic Variations among Maa Speaking Peoples." In B.A. Ogot (ed.) Ecology and History in East Africa. Hadith 7. Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau. Pp. 108-127.
- 1979b "Pastoralism, Raiding and Prophets: Maasailand in the 19th Century." Unpublished Ph.D. University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Blackburn, R.
 1970 "A preliminary report of research on the Okiek tribe of Kenya." Nairobi: University College, Discussion Paper No. 89.
- 1974 "The Okiek and their history," Azania, 9:139-58.
- 1976 "Okiek history", in B. A. Ogot (ed.) Kenya before 1900. Nairobi: East African Publishing House. Maasai references especially Pp. 53-83.
- Brown, G. and Wachira, S.
 1990 "Evaluation of the Ilkerin Loita Integrated Development Project." Nairobi: Christian Organization Research Advisory Trust (CORAT) (115pp)

- Campbell, D.
1979 "Development of decline: Resources, land-use, and population growth in Kajiado District, Kenya." IDS Working Paper No. 352. Nairobi: University of Nairobi.
- 1986 "The prospect for desertification in Kajiado District, Kenya," The Geographical Journal, 152(1):44-55.
- Chege, A.
1983 "Education for Maasai Girls: Some Economic Background." Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi.
- Clifford, M.L. and Ross, E.S.
1971 Challenge of the city: The Urban African. New York: Noble and Noble.
- Court, D.
1977 "Education as social control: The response to inequality in Kenya and Tanzania, " Conch, (Buffalo, New York) 9,1/2. Pp.20-62.
- 1979 "Education and inequality in East Africa." In J. Barkan and J. Okumu (eds.) Politics and Public Policy in Kenya and Tanzania. New York: Praeger.
- Court, D., and D. Ghai, (eds.)
1974 Education, Society and Development: New Perspectives from Kenya. Nairobi: Oxford University Press
- Court, D. and Kinyanjui, K.
1980 "Development Policy and Educational Opportunity: The Experience of Kenya and Tanzania." Institute for Development Studies Occasional Paper No. 33. Nairobi: University of Nairobi.
- Cummings, R.
1985 "Migration and national development: The Kenya example." In B. Lindsay (ed.) African Migration and National Development. University Park and London: Pennsylvania State University. Pp. 148-69.
- Dahl, G.
1980 Suffering Grass: Subsistence and Society of Waso Borana. Stockholm: University of Stockholm Social Studies in Anthropology.
- Dahl, G. and A. Hjort.
1976 Having Herds: Pastoral Herd Growth and Household Economy. Stockholm: University of Stockholm.
- Davis, R.
1971 "Some issues in the evolution, organization and operation of Group Ranches in Kenya," East African Journal of Rural Development, (4)1:22-33.
- de Leeuw, P.
1982 "Aspects of Climate and Rangeland Productivity in the ILCA Study Area Kajiado District." Prepared for the ILCA Programme Committee, Nairobi.

- de Leeuw, P. and Peacock, C.
1982 "The Productivity of Small Ruminants in the Maasai Pastoral System, Kajiado District, Kenya." ILCA Working Document 25, Nairobi.
- Doherty, D.
1979a "A preliminary report on Group Ranches in Narok District." Institute for Development Studies Working Paper No. 350. Nairobi: University of Nairobi.
1979b "Factors inhibiting economic development on Rotian Olmakongo Group Ranch." Institute for Development Studies Working Paper No. 356. Nairobi: University of Nairobi.
1987 "Maasai Pastoral Potential: A Study of Ranching in Narok District, Kenya." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, McGill University, Montreal.
- Ehret, C.
1974 "Cushites and the Highland and Plains Nilotes," in B.A. Ogot (ed.), Zamani: A survey of East African History. Nairobi: Longman and East African Publishing House. Pp. 150-69.
- Elkan, W.
1967 "Circular migration and the growth of towns in East Africa," International Labour Review, 96:581-89.
- Eshiwani, G.
c. 1984 "School, cognition, and work: A study of primary school outcomes in Kenya." Montreal: Education Department, Primary Education and Self-Employment Project; Science, Cognition and Research Working Paper Series No. 9. Paper presented in collaboration with the Bureau of Educational Research, Kenyatta University College, Nairobi, Kenya.
c. 1984 "School, mathematics and work: A study of external effects of primary schools in Kenya." Montreal: Education Department, McGill University. SCR Working Paper Series No. 2.
- Etherington, D.
1967 "Projected changes in urban and rural population in Kenya and the implications for development policy." East African Economic Review, 1:65-83.
- Evangelou, P.
1984 Livestock Development in Kenya's Maasailand: Pastoralists' Transition to a Market Economy. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Ezeomah, C.
1983 The Education of Nomadic People: The Fulani of Northern Nigeria. Stoke-on-Trent: Nafferton Books, Deanhouse.
- Fafunwa, B.
1973 "Does formal schooling push young people out of agriculture?" Rural Africana, 19:56-66.
- Fallon, L.E.
1962 Maasai Range Resources: Kajiado District. Report written for USAID, Nairobi.

- Fedders, A. and Salvadori, C.
 1973 "A Ritual Farewell to Arms in Masailand: Text and pictures of the Eunoto ceremony," Africana, Vol.5, No. 4:25,26,46.
- Galaty, J.
 1980 "The Maasai Group Ranch: Politics and Development in an African Pastoral Society." In P. Salzman (ed.), When Nomads Settle. New York: Praeger. Pp. 157-72.
- 1983 "Ceremony and Society: The Poetics of Maasai Ritual," Man, (N.S.)18, June. Pp.361-82.
- 1984 "Cultural Perspectives on Nomadic Pastoral Societies," Nomadic Peoples, 16:15-29.
- Galaty, J. et al.(eds.)
 1981 The Future of Pastoral Peoples. Ottawa: IDRC.
- Galaty, J. and Bonte, P. (eds.)
 1991 Herders, Warriors and Traders: Pastoralism in Africa. Boulder, San Francisco and Oxford: Westview Press.
- Galaty, J. and Doherty, D.
 1989 "Big man, rich man, poor man, thief; raider, trader, artisan, chief: Maasai economic types and pastoral strategies in social change." Montreal: McGill University; East African Pastoral Systems Project, Working Paper Series No. 8.
- Goldschmidt, W.
 1981a "The anthropological approach to economic development." In J. Galaty et al. (eds.), The Future of Pastoral Peoples. Ottawa: IDRC. Pp. 52-60.
- 1981b "The failure of pastoralist economic development programs in Africa." In J. Galaty et al. (eds.), The Future of Pastoral Peoples. Ottawa: IDRC. Pp. 101-118.
- Gorham, A.
 1977 "Developments in Primary Education in Kajiado District, 1963-75." Institute for Development Studies Working Paper No.297. Nairobi: University of Nairobi.
- 1978 "The provision of education in pastoral areas." Pastoral Network Paper 6b: London: ODI.
- 1980a "Government Initiatives and Local Responses to Primary School Provision in Kajiado District." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Stockholm.
- 1980b Education and Social Change in Pastoral Society: Government Initiatives and Local Responses to Primary School Provision in Kenya Masailand. Stockholm: Institute of International Education.
- Gould, W.
 1981 "Education and internal migration: A review of trends and issues." Liverpool Papers in Human Geography, No.2. Liverpool: University of Liverpool.
- 1985 "Migration and development in western Kenya, 1971-82: A retrospective analysis of primary school leavers," Africa, 55 (3):262-85.

- Grandin, B.
 1982 "Time Allocation and Labour Inputs on a Maasai Group Ranch - Preliminary Findings from Olkarkar." Prepared for the ILCA Programme Committee, Nairobi, 1982.
- 1986 "Land tenure, subdivision, and residential change on a Maasai group ranch," Development Anthropology Network, 4(2):9-13. Binghamton, New York: Institute for Development Anthropology.
- Grandin, B. and Bekure, S.
 1982 "Livestock Offtake and Acquisition: A Preliminary Analysis of Livestock Transactions in Olkarkar and Mbirikani Group Ranches." Background Paper for E.A.R.L.S. Research in Kenya. Nairobi: ILCA.
- Grandin, B. and de Leeuw, P.
 1985 "Report on ILCA research in Maasailand." Nairobi: ILCA
- Grandin, B. and Lembuya, P.
 1987 "The impact of the 1984 drought on Olkarkar Group ranch, Kajiado, Kenya." London: ODI Pastoral Development Network Paper 23a.
- Gregson, R.
 1974 "African Labor Migration and the Rural Economy," Rural Africana, 24: 1-18.
- Gugler, J.
 1969 "On the theory of rural-urban migration: The case of Sub-Saharan Africa." In A. Jackson (ed.) Migration, Sociological Studies No. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 134-55.
- Gulliver, P.
 1967 "Nyakusa Labour Migration," Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, 21.
- 1968 "Nomadism among the pastoral Turkana of Kenya: Its natural and social environment." In P. Rigby (ed.) Society and Social Change in Eastern Africa. Kampala: Makerere Institute of Social Research.
- 1969 "The conservative commitment in northern Tanzania: The Arusha and Maasai." In P.H. Gulliver (ed.) Tradition and Transition in East Africa. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gupta, D.
 1979 "Regional imbalance and migration in Kenya," Journal of African Studies, (Los Angeles) 6,1:38-46.
- Halderman, J.M.
 1972a "An analysis of continued semi-nomadism on the Kaputiei Maasai Group Ranches: Social and ecological factors." I.D.S. Discussion Paper No. 152, University of Nairobi.
- 1972b "Migration patterns in South Kaputiei (1969-71)." Unpublished report UNDP/FAO Range Management Project, Nairobi.
- Hedlund, H.
 1971 "The impact of Group Ranches on a pastoralist society." Institute for Development Studies Staff Paper No. 100. Nairobi: University of Nairobi.

- Herskovits, M.
1926 "The cattle complex in East Africa," American Anthropologist, especially 28:230-272, 361-80, 494-528. 633-664.
- Hjort, A.
1979 Savanna Town: Rural ties and urban opportunities in Northern Kenya. Stockholm Department of Social Anthropology, University of Stockholm, Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology.
- Hogg, R.
1986 "The new pastoralism: Poverty and dependency in northern Kenya," Africa, (London) 56,3: 319-333.
- Holland, K.
1986 "Pastoralism on the horns of a dilemma: Is there a viable future for the Maasai?" Unpublished M.A.thesis, McGill University, Montreal.

1987 "Land, Livestock and People: New Demographic Considerations for Kajiado Maasai." Montreal: McGill University, East African Pastoral Systems Project Working Paper Series No.5. Pp.40.

1989 "New Needs and New Maasai Adaptive Strategies." Montreal: McGill University, East African Pastoral Systems Project, Working Paper No. 9. Pp.44.

1990a "Land, Livestock and People: Dilemmas of Maasai Development." In E.A McDougall (ed.,) Sustainable Agriculture in Africa, Proceedings of the Agricultural Systems and Research Workshop at the Canadian Association of African Studies Meeting, Edmonton (1987). New York: Africa World Press.
- Horowitz, M.
1978 The sociology of pastoralism and African livestock projects. Binghamton, N.Y.: Institute for Development Anthropology.
- International Livestock Centre for Africa
1978 "Preliminary Results of the Ranch Component Monitoring Programme." ILCA (Kenya).

1979 "District Ranch Development Briefs. Nairobi: ILCA, Working Document No. 13.

1984 "Maasai Livestock Production System: Kenya Rangelands Programme." Nairobi: ILCA
- Isaac, G. L.
1970 "A study of early culture in Kenya: The Olorgesailie prehistoric site," Hadith, Vol.III:6-15.
- Jacobs, A.
1965 "The traditional political organization of the pastoral Maasai." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Oxford University.

1971 "The warrior village and the ritual house of the pastoral Maasai," Plan East Africa: Journal of the Architectural Association of Kenya, 2:17-42.

1972 "The discovery and oral history of Narosura," Azania 7:79-87.

- 1978 "Development in Tanzania Maasailand: The perspective over 20 years, 1957-77." Paper prepared for the USAID Mission, Tanzania.
- Kenya, Government of
- 1945 Narok Annual Report. Nairobi: Government Printer.
- 1949 African Education in Kenya. (The Beecher Report). Nairobi: Government Printer. (Various references to Maasai)
- 1955 A Plan to intensify African agriculture in Kenya. Nairobi: Government of Kenya. (Swynnerton Plan)
- 1963 Land Adjudication Act. Nairobi: Government of Kenya.
- 1964/65 Kenya Education (Ominde Report), Parts 1 and 2. Nairobi: Government Printer.
- 1966 Report of the Mission on Land Consolidation and Registration in Kenya 1965-66. Nairobi: Government Printer. (The Lawrence Report)
- 1969 Census Analytical Report. Central Bureau of Statistics. Nairobi: Government of Kenya.
- 1972 National Census, 1969, Volume 1. Nairobi: Government Printer.
- 1981 National Census, 1979, Volume 1. Nairobi: Government Printer.
- 1973 Narok District Development Plan: 1974-1978, Parts 1 and 2. Nairobi: Government Printer
- 1978 Narok District Development Plan: 1979-1983. Nairobi: Government Printer.
- 1988 Narok District Development Plan: 1989-1993. Nairobi: Government Printer.
- 1988 Education and manpower training for the next decade and beyond. (Kamunye Report) Nairobi: Government Printer.
- 1990 Narok District: Socio-cultural Profile. Nairobi: Ministry of Planning and National Development and the Institute of African Studies, University of Nairobi. 259pp
- 1991 Economic Survey. Nairobi: Central Bureau of Statistics.
- Kerawalla, G.
- 1982 "Educational Strategies: Kenya and Tanzania." In Priya Mutalik-Desai (ed.) Development Issues in Africa, (E.Lansing) 25, Fall 1974. Pp. 65-72.
- King, K.
- 1970 Education and the Pastoral Economy: An Analysis of Social Change among the Maasai of Kenya. Provisional Council for the Social Sciences in East Africa, Volume 4. Nairobi.
- 1971a "Education and ethnicity in the Rift Valley: Maasai, Kipsigis, and Kikuyu in the school system." University of Nairobi, Institute for Development Studies, Staff Paper No.113. (30 pp). Also published in Education in Eastern Africa, Vols.5-6, 1975-76: 197-217

- 1971b "The Kenyan Maasai and the protest phenomenon 1900-1960," Journal of African History, 12:117-37.
- 1971c "Tribalism, Land and Education in Kenya: some Notes on Insider-Outsider Tension." (Mimeograph).
- 1972 "Development and Education in the Narok District of Kenya," African Affairs, Vol.71(285):389-407.
- 1974a "Kenya's educated and unemployed: A preliminary report," Manpower and Unemployment Res. Afr. Newsletter. (Montreal.) 7,2. November 1974. Pp. 45-63.
- 1974b "Primary schools in Kenya: some critical constraints on their effectiveness." In D. Court and D. Ghai (eds.), Education, Society and Development: New Perspectives for Kenya. Nairobi: Oxford University Press.
- Kipury, N.
1983 Oral Literature of the Maasai. Nairobi: Heinemann Educational.
- Kitching, G.
1977a Economic and social inequality in rural East Africa: The present as a clue to the past. Swansea: Monograph No.1. Swansea University Press.
- 1977b "Modes of production and Kenyan dependency," Review of African Political Economy, 8:56-74.
- Kituyi, M.
1986 "Social Change and Adaptive Diversification: A Case Study From the Matapato Maasai of Kenya." Bergen: University of Bergen, Department of Social Anthropology. Unpublished thesis for the Magistergrad degree.
- 1990 Becoming Kenyans: Socio-economic Transformation of the Pastoral Maasai. Nairobi: Acts Press.
- Klumpp, D.
1980 "An Historical Analysis of Maasai Body Ornament." Unpublished paper, Department of Anthropology, Columbia University.
- 1987 "Maasai art and society: Age and sex, time and space, cash and cattle." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University.
- Konczacki, Z.A.
1978 The Economics of Pastoralism: A Case Study of Sub-Saharan Africa. London: Frank Case.
- Kosinski, L.
1977 "Education and internal migration." In H. Musham (ed.) Education and Population: Mutual Impacts. Brussels: Ordina Editions. Pp.205-32.
- Kratz, C.
1981 "Are the Okiek really Maasai? or Kipsigis? or Kikuyu?" Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, vol.79,XX,3:355-68.
- 1988 "Emotional Power and Significant Movement: Womanly Transformation in Okiek Initiation." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Texas, Austin.

- Leys, C.
1975 Underdevelopment in Kenya: The political economy of neo-colonialism 1964-1971. London: Heinemann.
- Little, P.
1983 "From household to region: The marketing/production interface among the Il Chamus of northern Kenya." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Indiana University.
1985 "Absentee herd owners and part-time pastoralists: The political economy of resource use in northern Kenya." Human Ecology, 1985, 13 (2), 131-151.
1987 "Women as ol payian (elder) the status of widows among the Il chamus (Njemps) of Kenya," Ethnos, (Stockholm)52,1/2:81-102.
- Llewellyn-Davies, M.
1981 "Women, Warriors and Patriarchs." In S. Ortner and H. Whitehead (eds.) Sexual Meanings. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 330-58.
- Lloyd, P.C.
1973 "The Yoruba: An urban people." In A. Southall (ed.) Urban Anthropology: Cross Cultural Studies of Urbanization. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 107-23.
- Matsuda, M.
1984 "Urbanization and adaptation: A reorganization process of social relations among the Maragoli migrants in their urban colony, Kangemi, Nairobi, Kenya," African Study Monographs, (Kyoto) 5:1-48.
- Mayer, P.
1971 Townsmen or Tribesmen: Conservatism and the Process of Urbanization in a South African City. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Meadows, S. and White, J.
1981 "Evaluation of the Contribution of Group and Individual Ranches in Kajiado District, Kenya, to Economic Development and Pastoral Production Strategies." Paper prepared for the Ministry of Livestock Development, Nairobi. London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Migot-Adholla, S.
1973 "Migration and Rural Differentiation." Nairobi: IDS Working Paper No. 92.
- Mitchell, J.C.
1959a "Labour Migration in Africa South of the Sahara: The causes of labour migration," Bulletin of the Inter. African Labour Institute, 6(1): 12-46.
1959b "The causes of labour migration," Inter American Labour Institute Bulletin, No.1.
- Mol, F.
1978 Maa: A Dictionary of the Maasai Language and Folklore. Nairobi: Marketing and Publishing Ltd. (Contains an excellent bibliography)

- Mungeam, G.H.
1966 British Rule in Kenya 1895-1912: The Establishment of Administration in the East African Protectorate. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Mwaria, C.
1983 "Rural-urban labour migration and family arrangements among the Kamba." In Pearl T. Robinson and E.P. Skinner Transformation and resiliency in Africa: As seen by Afro-American scholars. Washington: Howard University Press. Pp.29-43.
- Narman, A.
1985 "Practical Subjects in Kenyan Academic Secondary Schools: Tracer Study." SIDA Education Division Documents No. 21. Stockholm.

1988 "Technical Secondary Schools and the Labour Market in Kenya." Comparative Education, Vol. 24, No. 1.

1990 "Pastoral peoples and the provision of educational facilities: A case study from Kenya." Pastoral Peoples, 25-27, 1990.
- Nkinyangi, J. A.
1980 Socio economic determinants of repetition and early school withdrawal at the primary school level and their implications for educational planning in Kenya." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University.

1981 "Educational participation for pastoralists: Trial and error". In J.G. Galaty, et al. (eds.) The Future of Pastoral Peoples. Ottawa: IDRC. Pp 183-96.

1981a "Material, pedagogical and socio-psychological differences in Kenya's primary schools and their impact on educational outcome," Development and Change, 12(4): 547-578.

1981b "Education for nomadic pastoralists: Development planning by trial and error." In J. Galaty et al. (eds.) The Future of Pastoral Peoples. Ottawa: IDRC. Pp. 183-96.
- Obudho, R. and Taylor, D. (eds.)
1979 The Spatial Structure of Development: A Study of Kenya. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Ochieng, W.R.
1975 An outline history of the Rift valley of Kenya up to A.D. 1900. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau. Especially pp. 30-41, 83-88, 112-116)
- ole Kantai, B.
1971 "Foreword to S.Sankan The Maasai. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.
- Ominde, S. (ed.)
1968 Land and Population Movements in Kenya. Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books.

1984 Population and Development in Kenya. Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books.

- Parkin, D.
 1972 Palms, Wine, and witnesses: Public Spirit and Private Gain in an African Farming Community. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company.
- 1975 Town and Country in Central and Eastern Africa. London: Oxford University Press.
- 1978 The Cultural Definition of Political Responses: Lineal Destiny among the Luo. London: Academic Press.
- Peacock, C.
 1982 "A Preliminary Report of Goat and Sheep Productivity on Olkarkar, Merueshi and Mbirikani Group Ranches." Prepared for the ILCA Programme Committee, Nairobi.
- 1983 "Sheep and goat production at Elongata Wuas Group Ranch in the Maasai pastoral system, Kenya." ILCA Newsletter, January 1983, 2(1):5-6.
- Ponsi, F.T.
 1988 "Sex- and Birth-Order Selective Under-enrolment in the Primary Schools of Kenya's Arid and Semi-Arid Districts and the 'Kepyiong' Phenomenon." Working Paper No. 462, I.D.S. University of Nairobi. 40 pp.
- Rempel, H.
 1971a "The rural to urban migrant in Kenya," African Urban Notes, 6(1):53-72.
- 1971b "Labour migration into urban centers and urban employment in Kenya." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison.
- 1974 "An analysis of the information on interdistrict migration provided in the 1969 Kenya Census." Institute for Development Studies Working Paper No. 142. Nairobi: University of Nairobi.
- 1976 The Determinants of Rural-to-Urban Labor Migration in Kenya. Cambridge, Mass.: Center for International Studies, M.I.T.
- Rigby, P.
 1975 "Research and Development in East African Pastoral Societies." Dar es Salaam: University of Dar es Salaam.
- 1985 Persistent Pastoralists: Nomadic Societies in Transition. London: Zed Books, Limited.
- Ross, M.
 1973a "Measuring ethnicity in Nairobi." In W. O'Barr et al. (eds.), Survey Research in Africa. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press. Pp. 160-67.
- 1973b The Political Integration of Urban Squatters. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- 1975 Grass Roots in an African City: Political Behavior in Nairobi. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

- Sandford, S.
 1976 "Pastoralism under pressure," Overseas Development Institute Review, 2:10-28.
- 1983a Management of Pastoral Development in the Third World. Chichester, England: John Wiley and Sons.
- 1983b "Introduction to pastoralism and pastoral areas: the record of pastoral development over the last thirty years," Tropical Agriculture Association Newsletter, vol. 3, No.2. March 1983. U.K. Pp.2-5.
- Sarone, O.S.
 1984 "Development and education for pastoralists: Maasai responses in East Africa." Montreal: Centre for Developing Area Studies, Discussion Paper No.19.
- 1986 "Pastoralists and Education: School Participation and Social Change among the Maasai." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, McGill University, Montreal.
- Sarone, O.S. and R. Hazel.
 1985 "The Maasai: The symbolic implications of the great Eunoto graduation ceremony." Pastoral Systems Project Series, Working Paper No.1. Montreal: McGill University.
- Schneider, H.
 1959 "Pokot resistance to change." In W. Bascom and N. Herskovits, (eds.) Continuity and Change in African Cultures. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sekenkei, M.
 1987 "How to tackle the problem of moran joblessness." The Nation, 26/4/87.
- Shaw, R.
 1975 Migration: Theory and Fact. A Review and bibliography of current literature. Philadelphia: Regional Science Research Institute, Bibliography Series No.5.
- Sheffield, J.R.
 1978 "Education and human resources in Eastern Africa." In U. Danachi and V. Diejonach (eds.) Human Resources and African Development. London: Praeger. Pp. 103-14.
- Shiundu, O.
 1967 "Primary education and self-employment in the rural informal sector of Kenya: A study of primary school leavers in Suna, South Nyanza." Montreal: Department of Education, McGill University. Paper presented for the Primary Education and Self-Employment Project; SCR Working Paper No. 9. Produced in collaboration with the Bureau of Educational Research, Kenyatta College, Nairobi, Kenya.
- Sifuna, D.
 1986 "Universal education and social class formation in Kenya," Ufahamu, (Los Angeles) 15,1/2 1986. Pp.164-181.
- Simpson, J. and P. Evangelou.
 1984 Livestock Development in Subsaharan Africa. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

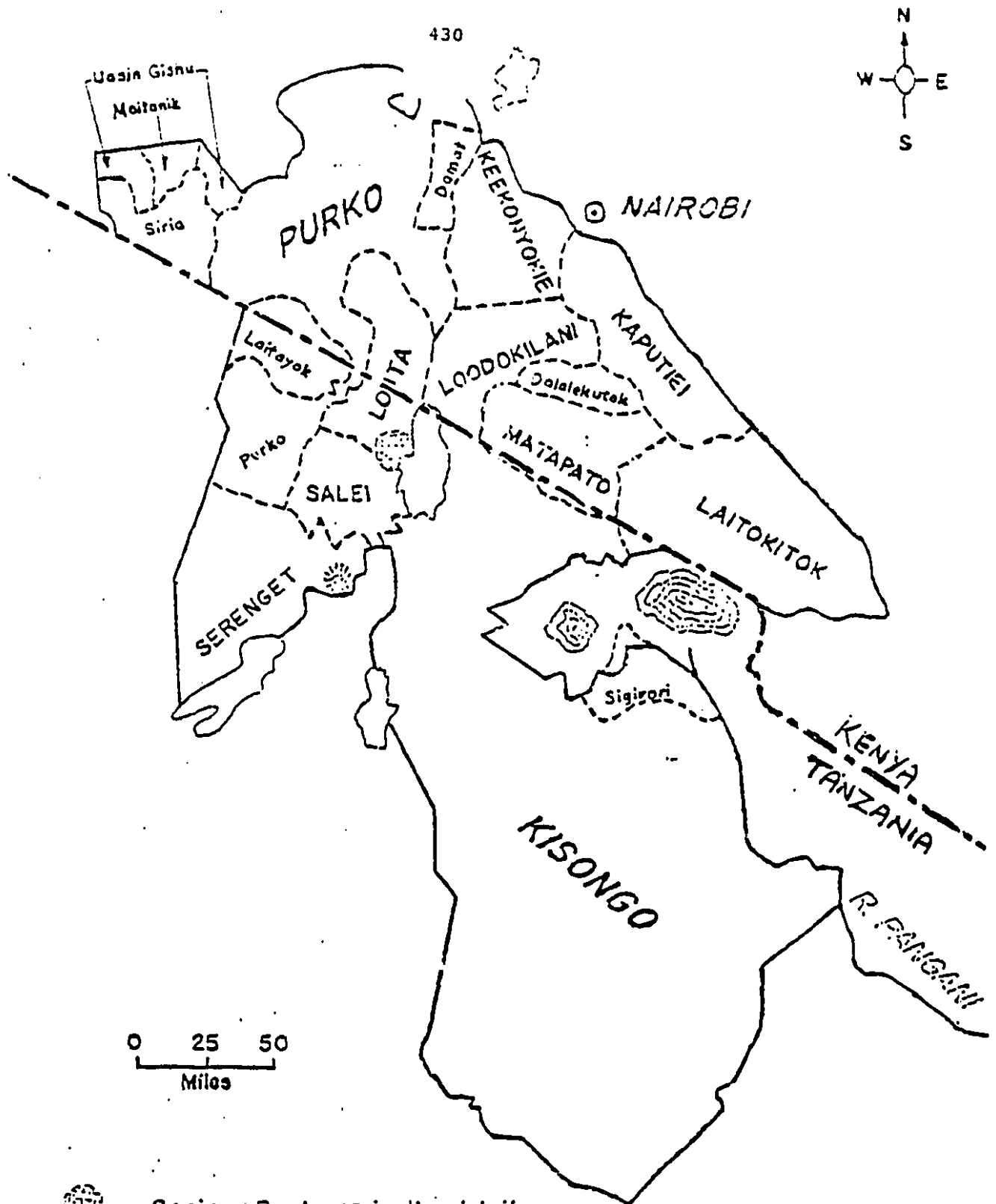
- Sorrenson, M.
1968 Origins of European Settlement in Kenya. Nairobi: Oxford University Press.
- Southall, A.
1975 "Forms of ethnic linkage between town and country." In D. Parkin (ed.) Town and Country in Central and East Africa. London: Oxford University Press. Pp. 265-75.
- Southall, A. (ed.)
1973 Urban Anthropology: Cross Cultural Studies of Urbanization. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sperling, L.
1984 "The recruitment of labor among Samburu herders." Institute for Development Studies Working Paper No.414. Nairobi: University of Nairobi.
- 1987a "The labor organization of Samburu pastoralism." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, McGill University, Montreal.
- 1987b "Wage employment among Samburu pastoralists of north-central Kenya," Research in Economic Anthropology, vol 9:167-90.
- Sperling, L. and Galaty, J.
1990 "Cattle, Culture, and Economy: Dynamics in East African Pastoralism", in J. Galaty and P. Bonte (eds.) The World of Pastoralism: Herding Systems in Comparative Perspective. New York, London: The Guilford Press
- Stabler, E.
1969 Education since Uhuru: The schools of Kenya. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press.
- Stichter, S.
1982 Migrant Labour in Kenya: Capitalism and African Response 1985-1975. Harlow (UK): Longman.
- 1985 Migrant Laborers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Swainson, N.
1980 The Development of Corporate Capitalism in Kenya 1918-1977. London: Heinemann.
- Swatman, J.
1976 "Access to education: the changing pattern in the location of schools," Tanzanian Notes and Records, 79/80: 107-14.
- Swift, J.
1979 "The development of livestock trading in nomad pastoral economy: The Somali case." Pastoral Production and Society. Proceedings of the International Meeting on Nomadic Pastoralism, Paris, 1976. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 447-65.
- Talle, A.
1987 "Women as heads of houses: the organization of production and the role of women among pastoral Maasai in Kenya," Ethnos, (Stockholm) 52, 1/2:50-80.


- 1988 "Women at a Loss: Changes in Maasai Pastoralism and their Effects on Gender Relations", Stockholm Studies in Anthropology No.19.
- Thabault, R.
1971 Education and change in a village community: Mazieres-en-Gatine, 1848-1914. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Uchendu, V.
1975 "Inter-rural migration and East African rural development." In D. Parkin (ed.) Town and Country in Central and Eastern Africa. London: Oxford University Press. Pp. 165-77.
- Vincent, J.
1971 African Elite: The Big Men of a Small Town. New York: Columbia University Press.
- 1982 Teso in Transformation. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Voshaar, J.
1979 "Tracing God's Walking Stick in Maa." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Nijmegen: Katholieke Universiteit.
- Vossen, R.
1977 "Notes on the territorial history of the Maa-speaking People: Some preliminary remarks." Staff Seminar Paper No.8; Department of History, University of Nairobi; 1977/78. Pp.29.
- 1978 "Linguistic evidence regarding the territorial history of the Maa speaking peoples: Some preliminary remarks," Kenya Historical Review, 6:34-54.
- 1982 The Eastern Nilotes: Linguistic and Historical Reconstructions. Berlin: Kolner Beitrage zur Afrikanistik, 9.
- Waller, R.
1976 "The Maasai and the British 1895-1905: The origins of an alliance," Journal of African History, (London) 17,4:529-53.
- Watson, W.
1958 Tribal cohesion in a money economy: A study of the Mambwe people of Northern Rhodesia. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Weisner, T.S.
1973 "One family, two households: Rural-urban ties in Kenya." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University.
- White, J. and Meadows, S.
1981 "Evaluation of the contribution of Group and Individual Ranches in Kajiado District to Economic and Social Development." Nairobi: Ministry of Livestock Development.
- Winter, J.C.
1976 "Maasai shield patterns: a documentary source for political history." In W. Mohlig et al. (eds.) Zur Sprachgeschichte und Ethnohistorie in Ostafrika. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlagen.



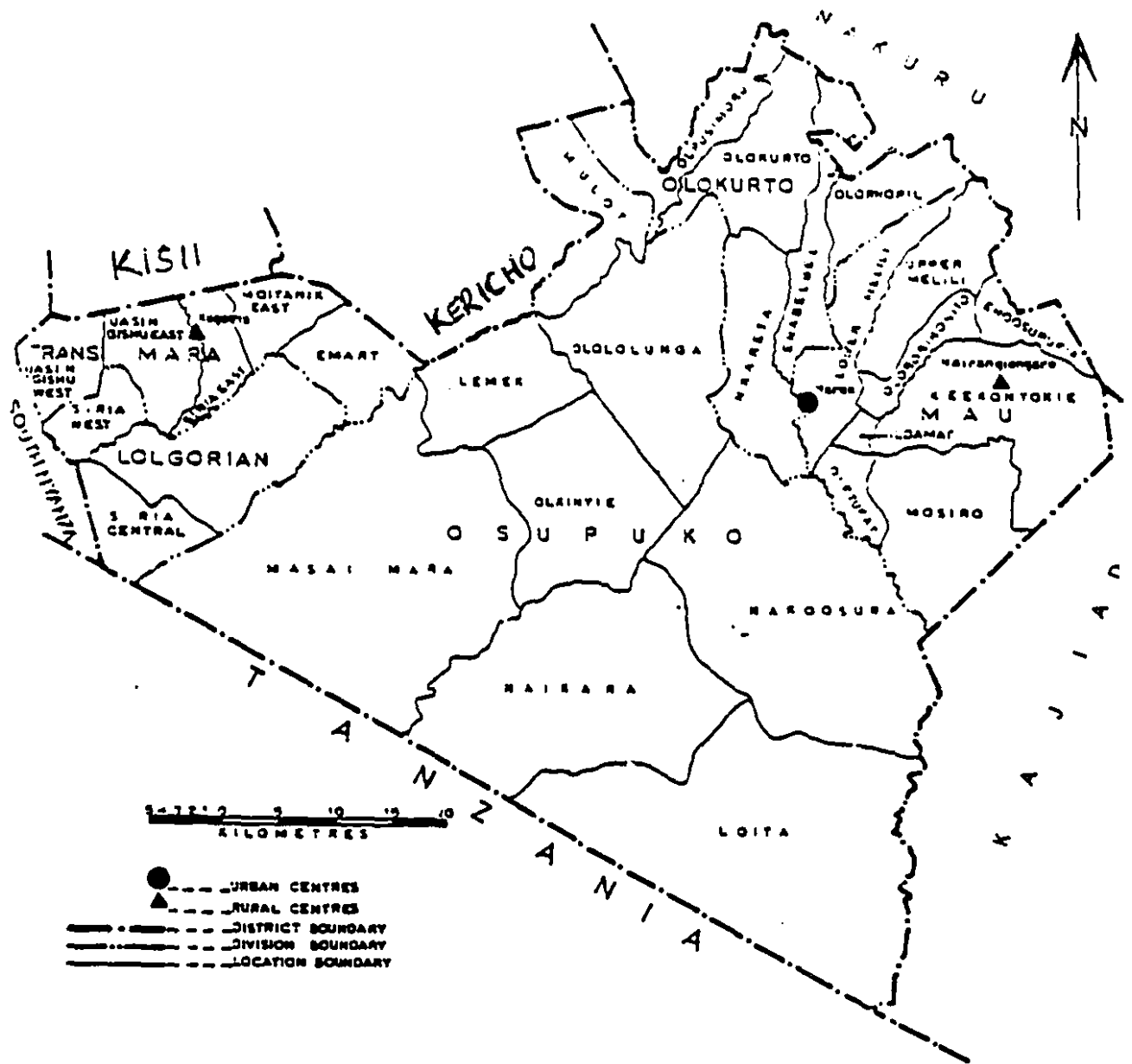
MAP 1

KENYA

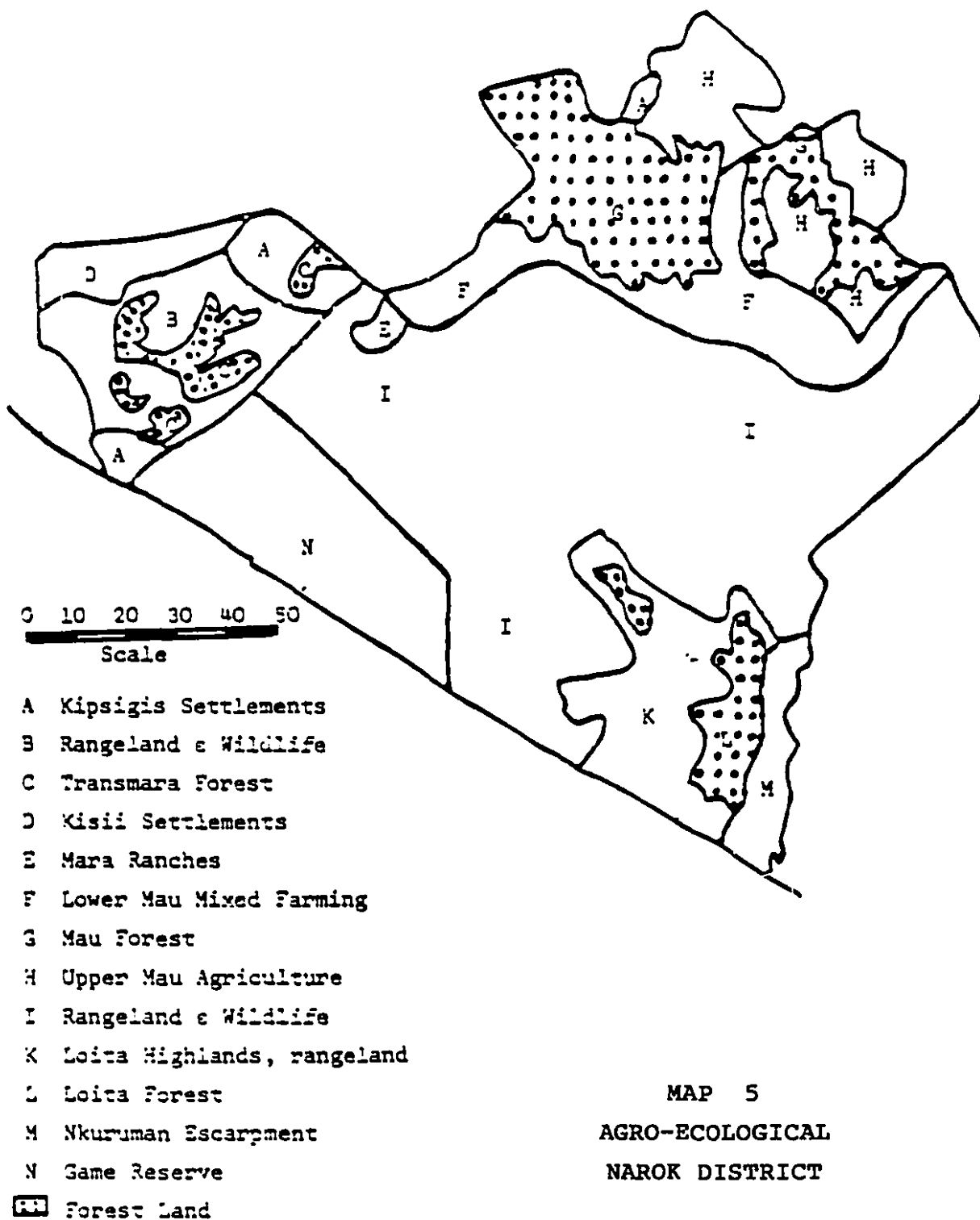


-  Sonjo, a Bantu agricultural tribe
- Tribal boundaries (approx. for Kenya Masai)
- Damot Tribes under 2,000 persons
- LOITA Tribes with 2,000 - 6,000 persons
- PURKO Tribes over 20,000 persons

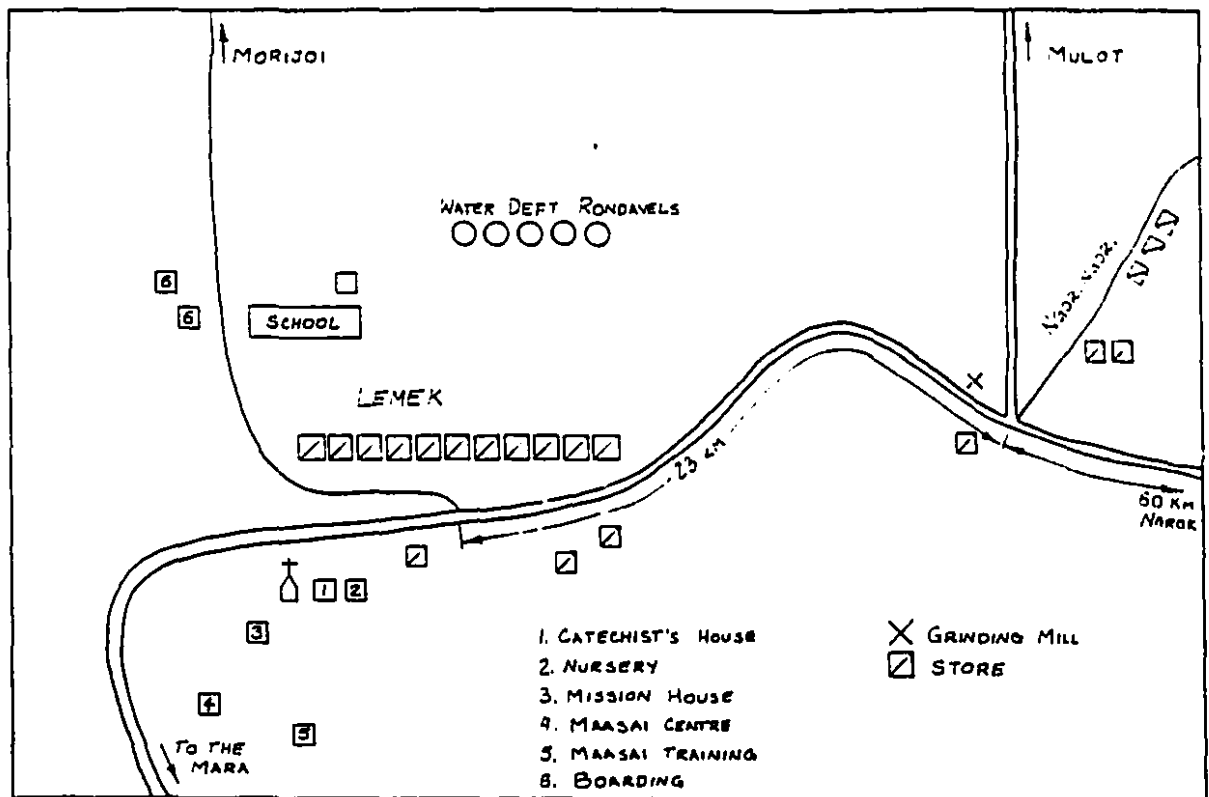
MAP 2
MAASAI SECTIONS OF
KENYA AND TANZANIA



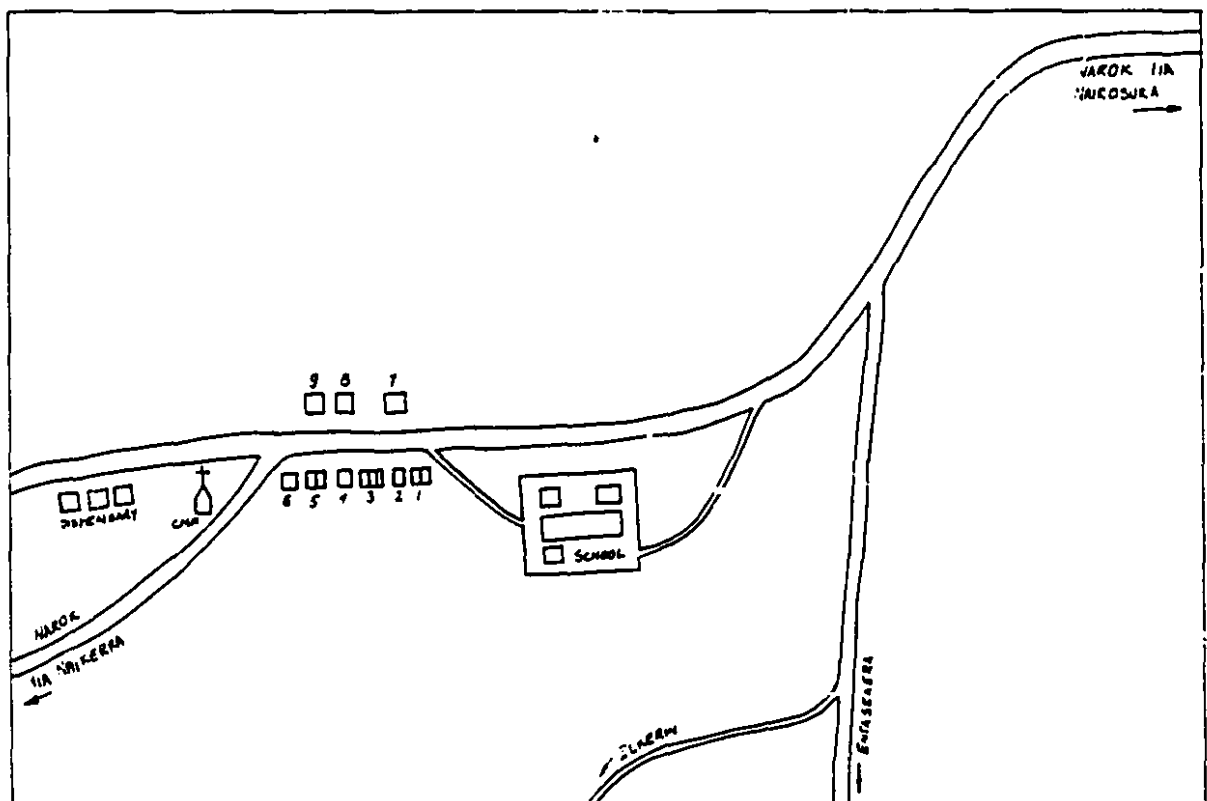
MAP 4
ADMINISTRATIVE
NAROK DISTRICT



MAP 5
 AGRO-ECOLOGICAL
 NAROK DISTRICT



Sketch Map 1: Lemek Centre



Sketch Map 2: Morijo Leita Centre

APPENDIX 2A

The following Table, based on the 1979 National Census gives some indication of the composition of the District by gender and ages.

Table A Population of Narok District by gender and ages, by five year intervals

Age	Male	Female	Total	Age	Male	Female	Total
0 - 4	21316	21836	43152	40-44	3698	3667	7365
5 - 9	18412	18155	36567	45-49	3274	3133	6407
10 - 14	14031	12125	26156	50-54	2424	2304	4728
15 - 19	10266	10219	20485	55-59	2116	1737	3853
20 - 24	7759	9619	17378	60-64	1503	1374	2877
25 - 29	6767	7727	14494	65-69	1260	928	2188
30 - 34	5166	6051	11217	70-74	857	732	1589
35 - 39	4473	4718	9191	75+	1261	1140	2401
<hr/>							
Not stated: males = 144			females = 114		Total = 258		
<hr/>							
Totals: males = 104727			females = 105579		Total = 210306		

Source: National Census, 1979, Volume 1.

APPENDIX 2B

The following Table from the 1969 Census Analytical Report would seem to contradict Rempel's figures:

Table B Percentage distribution of population by district of birth and province of residence

Dt of Birth	Province of Residence					Total
	Nairobi	Central	Rift	Eastern	Other	
Narok	1.1	1.0	97.1	0.3	0.5	100
Kajiado	0.4	0.7	98.4	0.1	0.4	100

Source: 1969 Census Analytical Report

This table indicates, surprisingly, that there is a greater percentage of Maasai from Narok as there are from Kajiado living in Nairobi.

(At this juncture it may be appropriate to express some reservations about the reliability of the Census material and the changes expressed by them.)

APPENDIX 2C

The educational status of persons in Narok District
according to the National Census of 1979

Table C School attendance in five year groups:
Narok District, 1979.

	AT SCHOOL	LEFT SCHOOL	NEVER ATTENDED	NOT STATED	TOTAL
MALES					
0 - 4	0	0	21,316	0	21,316
5 - 9	4,455	72	13,774	111	18,412
10 - 14	6,801	199	6,862	169	14,031
15 - 19	3,612	1,532	5,073	49	10,266
20 - 24	518	3,156	3,952	133	7,759
25 - 29	5	2,970	3,758	34	6,767
30 - 34	2	2,046	3,089	29	5,166
35 - 39	0	1,284	3,174	15	4,473
40 - 44	1	850	2,814	33	3,698
45 - 49	0	579	2,683	12	3,274
50 - 54	0	348	2,064	12	2,424
55+	1	481	6,453	62	6,997
not stated	9	13	110	12	144
Total	15,404	13,530	75,122	671	104,727
FEMALES					
0 - 4	0	0	21,836	0	21,836
5 - 9	3,473	51	14,510	121	18,155
10 - 14	4,380	221	7,375	149	12,125
15 - 19	1,341	1,575	7,235	68	10,219
20 - 24	72	1,728	7,600	219	9,619
25 - 29	2	1,100	6,582	43	7,727
30 - 34	0	552	5,417	42	6,051
35 - 39	0	254	4,442	22	4,718
40 - 44	1	93	3,537	36	3,667
45 - 49	1	71	3,041	20	3,133
50 - 54	0	49	2,223	32	2,304
55+	1	60	5,777	73	5,911
not stated	2	6	103	3	114
Total	9,273	5,800	89,678	828	105,579

/continued

	AT SCHOOL	LEFT SCHOOL	NEVER ATTENDED	NOT STATED	TOTAL
TOTAL					
0 - 4	0	0	43,152	0	43,152
5 - 9	7,928	123	28,284	232	36,567
10 - 14	11,181	420	14,237	318	26,156
15 - 19	4,953	3,107	12,308	117	20,485
20 - 24	590	4,884	11,552	352	17,378
25 - 29	7	4,070	10,340	77	14,494
30 - 34	2	2,638	8,506	71	11,217
35 - 39	0	1,538	7,616	37	9,191
40 - 44	2	943	6,351	69	7,365
45 - 49	1	650	5,724	32	6,407
50 - 54	0	397	4,287	44	4,728
55+	2	541	12,230	135	12,908
not stated	11	19	213	15	258
Total	24,677	19,330	164,800	1,499	210,306

Source: 1979 National Census.

APPENDIX 2D

Table D Ethnic composition of sampled sites by selected age-levels and gender: Lemek and Loita

	LEMEK GROUP RANCH					
	5-19 years		20-39 years		40+ years	
	males	females	males	females	males	females
Purko	616	574	407	600	239	306
Uasin Gishu	1	4	2	25	1	7
Okiek	51	46	35	45	29	26
Kipsigis	-	2	-	17	-	2
Samburu	3	2	-	4	-	1
Kikuyu	-	-	-	8	-	1
Nandi	-	-	-	-	-	1
Purko/UGM	13	20	4	5	1	-
Purko/Kikuyu	7	12	4	3	-	-
Purko/Kipsigis	6	5	1	2	-	-
Purko/Samburu	1	4	1	2	-	-
Okiek/Kikuyu	2	6	-	-	-	-
Okiek/Purko	3	2	8	2	-	-
Okiek/Kipsigis	-	3	-	-	-	-
Totals	703	680	462	713	270	344

	MORIJO LOITA SUB-LOCATION					
	5-19 years		20-39 years		40+ years	
	males	females	males	females	males	females
Loita	271	279	202	328	121	134
Uasin Gishu	-	-	-	2	-	-
Okiek	38	33	23	36	15	15
Warusha	-	-	-	1	-	-
Samburu	-	-	-	7	-	4
Kikuyu	-	-	-	5	-	4
Rwandese	-	-	-	1	-	-
Mluyia	-	-	-	1	-	-
Kipsigis	-	-	-	-	-	1
Nandi	-	-	-	-	-	1
Loita/Okiek	2	4	-	-	-	-
Loita/Mwarusha	3	2	-	-	-	-
Loita/UGM	-	2	-	-	-	-
Loita/Kikuyu	21	20	7	6	-	1
Loita/Rwandese	4	2	-	-	-	-
Loita/Samburu	14	18	5	7	-	-
Okiek/Loita	7	11	-	-	-	-
Okiek/Luyia	-	1	-	-	-	-
Loita/Kipsigis	-	-	5	1	-	-
Totals	360	372	242	395	136	296

APPENDIX 2E

Our own data for the Okiek of the two sampled areas are as follows:

Lemek		Loita	
Okiek and educated:	34	Okiek and educated:	33
Okiek and non-educated:	227	Okiek and non-educated:	148
	<u>261</u>		<u>181</u>

Table E Non-educated and educated Okiek:
Lemek and Morijo Loita

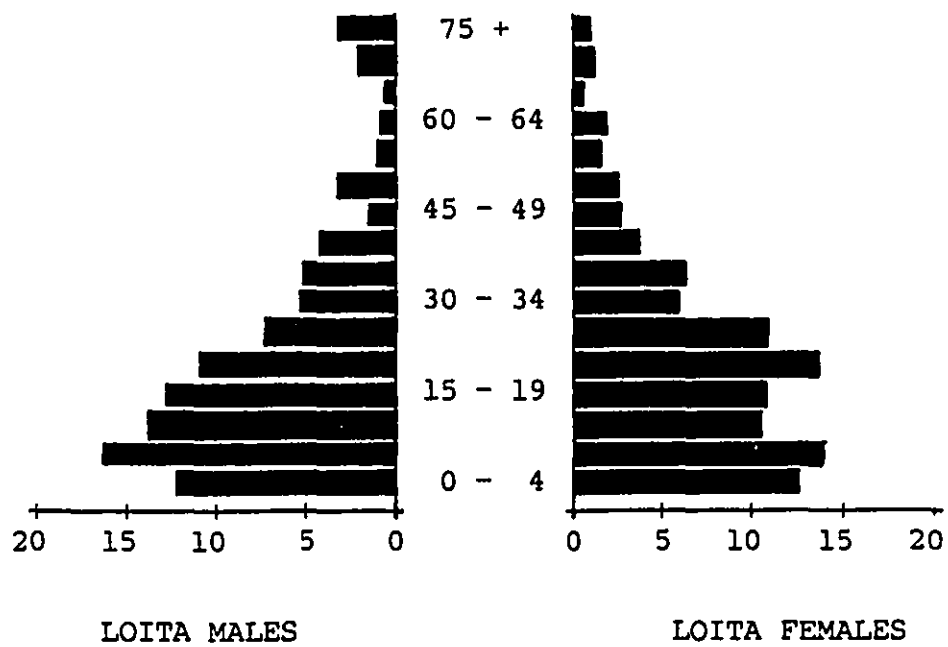
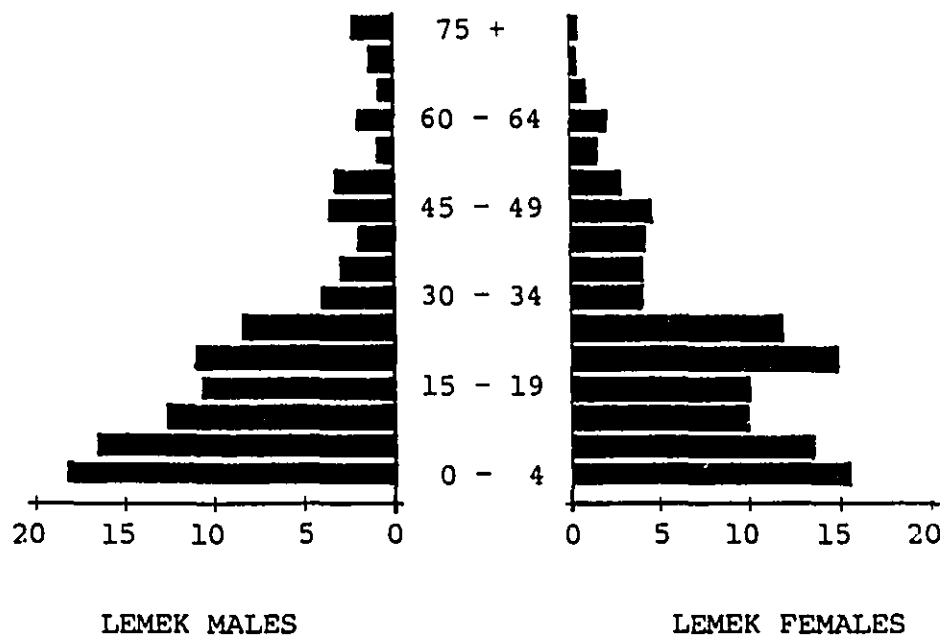
Age-levels	No education		Some education	
	Lemek	Loita	Lemek	Loita
0- 4 years	29	21	-	-
5-19 years	75	57	22	14
20-39 years	69	46	11	13
40+ years	54	24	1	6
	<u>227</u>	<u>148</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>33</u>

This means that there were 14.7% of the total population over the age of five years with some education in Lemek (24 males and 10 females); there were 20.6% of the total population over the age of five with some education in Loita (26 males and 7 females). If we look at the school-age populations with some education, we find 22.7% for Lemek and 19.7% for Loita.

Looking only at the Okiek over five years of age, the following Table presents the educational status for both sites:

Table F Educational status of Okiek over five years of age:
Lemek and Loita

Status	Lemek		Loita	
	male	female	male	female
no education	91	107	50	77
primary/still	13	9	12	2
primary/dropout	6	1	5	4
primary/finished	4	-	4	1
secondary/still	-	-	1	-
secondary/dropout	-	-	1	-
secondary/finished	1	-	2	-
TTC/finished	-	-	1	-
Total	<u>115</u>	<u>117</u>	<u>76</u>	<u>84</u>



Population Pyramids: Lemek Group Ranch
and Morijo Loita Sub-location

APPENDIX 3A

Table G Schooling by selected age categories and gender: Lemek

Males

Years	0-4	5-19	20-29	30-39	40-59	60-69	70+	TOTAL	%
None	322	486	256	98	150	44	63	1419	80.7
Pr/Still		197	8					205	11.7
Pr/D'out		12	47	6	7	1		73	4.2
Pr/Finish		1	10	10	2			23	1.3
Sc/Still		6	3					9	0.5
Sc/D'out		1	8	3				12	0.7
Sc/Finish			8	1	3			12	0.7
TTC/Still			1					1	0.1
TTC/Finish			1					1	0.1
Unv/Finish				2				2	0.1
TOTAL	322	703	342	120	162	45	63	1757	100.0

Females

None	315	569	498	158	258	61	20	1879	91.6
Pr/Still		98						98	4.8
Pr/D'out		9	42	3	3			57	2.8
Pr/Finish		1	4	2	1			8	0.4
Sc/Still		3	1					4	0.2
Sc/D'out				1				1	0.0
Sc/Finish			3		1			4	0.2
TTC/Finish				1				1	0.0
TOTAL	315	680	548	165	263	61	20	2052	100.0

Table H Schooling by selected age categories and gender: Loita

Males									
Years	0-4	5-19	20-29	30-39	40-59	60-69	70+	TOTAL	%
None	103	249	93	61	55	10	42	613	72.6
Pr/Still		96	8					104	12.3
Pr/D'out		6	22	11	16		1	56	7.0
Pr/Finish		1	10	12	7			30	3.6
Sc/Still		8	7					15	1.8
Sc/D'out			5	1	1			7	0.8
Sc/Finish			6	1	1			8	1.0
TTC/Still			1					1	0.1
TTC/Finish			2	2	2			6	0.7
Unv/Finish					1			1	0.1
TOTAL	103	360	154	88	83	10	43	841	100.0
Females									
None	134	325	230	116	99	24	34	952	89.7
Pr/Still		33	1					34	3.2
Pr/D'out		10	22	11	10			53	5.0
Pr/Finish			2	1	2	1		6	0.6
Sc/Still		3	3					6	0.6
Sc/D'out		1	1	2				4	0.4
Sc/Finish			4					4	0.4
Med.Sch/Still			2					2	0.2
TOTAL	134	372	265	130	111	25	24	1061	100.0

APPENDIX 3B

It is important to keep in the forefront of our discussion the total numbers and the relevant percentages for the two places. This being the case, Table 3.7 is a good indicator of the absolute numbers for this age category in the sampled areas. However, it is also valuable to see the actual numbers of those who are still schooling, dropped out of school, or finished school as percentages of the total number with some education, this then becomes the "population" and sometimes the percentage impact is quite different. Now we look at the educated population within this age-level as a totality in itself, Table J:

Table J School-age populations; Schooling by gender, levels of (3.7) schooling and location in percentages of those educated: Lemek and Loita

	Lemek				Loita			
	male	%	female	%	male	%	female	%
primary/still	197	90.8	98	88.3	96	86.5	33	70.2
primary d/out	12	5.5	9	8.1	6	5.4	10	21.3
primary/finished	1	0.5	1	0.9	1	0.9	-	-
secondary/still	6	2.7	3	2.7	8	7.2	3	6.4
secondary d/out	1	0.5	-	-	-	-	1	2.1
Subtotals	217	100.0	111	100.0	111	100.0	47	100.0
Totals	328				158			

The most striking point here is the fact that very high percentages of the school-age populations are still at school (91% of the males in Lemek and 87% of the males of Loita). These are certainly interesting percentages and are of importance in so far as they represent dramatic changes in the attitude towards education.

APPENDIX 3C

Table K Age-level (20-39 years); by levels of schooling,
(3.10) gender and location in percentages of those educated:
Lemek and Loita

	Lemek				Loita			
	males	%	females	%	males	%	females	%
primary still	8	7.4	-	-	8	9.1	1	2.0
primary d/out	53	49.6	45	78.9	33	37.5	33	67.3
primary finished	20	17.8	6	10.5	22	25.0	4	8.2
sec. still	3	2.8	1	1.8	7	8.0	2	4.1
sec. d/out	11	10.3	1	1.8	6	6.8	3	6.1
sec. finished	9	8.4	3	5.2	7	8.0	4	8.2
TTC still	1	0.9	-	-	1	1.1	-	-
TTC finished	1	0.9	1	1.8	4	4.5	-	-
univ. finished	2	1.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
medical school	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4.1
subtotals	108	100.0	57	100.0	88	100.0	49	100.0
Totals	165				137			

APPENDIX 3D

If we remove the numbers for the non-educated in both places we get
the following profile:

Table L Age-level (40+ years); level of schooling by location
(3.13) in percentages of those educated: Lemek and Loita

	Lemek				Loita			
	males	%	females	%	males	%	females	%
primary d/out	8	61.5	3	60.0	17	58.6	10	76.9
primary finished	2	15.4	1	20.0	7	24.1	3	23.1
sec. finished	3	23.1	1	20.0	1	3.5	-	-
sec. d/out	-	-	-	-	1	3.5	-	-
TTC finished	-	-	-	-	2	6.8	-	-
Univ. finished	-	-	-	-	1	3.5	-	-
Subtotals	13	100.0	5	100.0	29	100.0	13	100.00
Totals	18				42			

APPENDIX 3E

Table M Schooling of local Purko and others:
Presented by gender, locality, and age-levels *

Lemek Group Ranch						
	Male	Female	Total	(A)	(B)	(C)
(1) 5-19 years						
Local Purko	186	76	262	79.9	19.0	6.9%
Others	31	35	66	20.1	4.8	1.7%
	217	111	328	100.0	23.8	8.6%
(2) 20-39 years						
Local Purko	89	24	113	68.5	9.6	2.9%
Others	19	33	52	31.5	4.4	1.4%
	108	57	165	100.0	14.0	4.3%
(3) 40+ years						
Local Purko	11	4	15	83.3	2.4	0.4%
Others	2	1	3	16.7	0.5	0.1%
	13	5	18	100.0	2.9	0.5%

* presented as percentages of

- (A) the total number of all those in the age-level with some schooling. (Total number of those with schooling, Purko and non-Purko, male and female = 100%.) (1) 328 (2) 165 (3) 18.
- (B) the total membership of the age-level in question. (Total number of persons educated and non-educated, male and female = 100%) (1) 1383 (2) 1175 (3) 614.
- (C) the total membership of the Group Ranch as a whole - male and female. (3809 = 100%).

There is a comparable difference when we look at the local Purko involvement, by percentage within the total population of the Group Ranch: 0.4% for the eldest group, 2.9% for the 20-39 years' group, and 6.9% for the school-age population.

APPENDIX 3F

The figures for Morijo Loita Sub-location are now presented, summarizing some of the information presented in previous Tables and Figures:

Table N Schooling of local Loita and other groups:
Presented by gender, locality, and age-levels*

Morijo Loita Sub-location						
	Male	Female	Total	(A)	(B)	(C)
(1) 5-19 years						
Local Loita	76	30	106	67.1	14.5	5.6%
Others	35	17	52	32.9	7.1	2.8%
	111	47	158	100.0	21.6	8.4%
(2) 20-39 years						
Local Loita	69	31	100	72.9	15.7	5.3%
Others	19	18	37	27.1	5.8	1.9%
	88	49	137	100.0	21.5	7.2%
(3) 40+ years						
Local Loita	24	9	33	78.5	11.1	1.7%
Others	5	4	9	21.5	3.0	0.2%
	29	13	42	100.0	14.1	1.9%

* presented as percentages of

(A) the total number of all those in the age-level with some schooling. (Total number of those with schooling, Maasai and non-Maasai, male and female = 100%.) (1) 158 (2) 137 (3) 42.

(B) the total membership of the age-level in question. (Total number of persons educated and non-educated, male and female = 100%) (1) 732 (2) 637 (3) 296.

(C) the total membership of the Sub-location as a whole - male and female. (1902 = 100%)

What appears from the above Table is that there is a major difference between the three age-levels in terms of the percentages of local Loita with any schooling. These figures are given for the total number of persons with schooling within each age-level. The figure drops from 78.5% for the eldest group, through 72.9% for the middle-level group, down to 67.1% for the youngest group, the school-age population.

APPENDIX 3G

If we place the percentages for the Purko and Loita side by side and divided according to the three age-levels, the differences and similarities will be more easily perceived.

TABLE O Local Purko and Loita involvement in schooling by location and selected age-levels*.

	(A)		(B)		(C)	
	LEMOK	LOITA	LEMOK	LOITA	LEMOK	LOITA
5-19 years	79.9	67.1	19.0	14.5	6.9	5.6
20-39 years	68.5	72.9	9.6	15.7	2.9	5.3
40+ years	83.3	78.5	2.4	11.1	0.4	1.7

EXPLANATION * indicated as a percentage of

- (A) the total number of all those in the age-level with some schooling. (Total number of those with schooling, Loita and non-Loita, male and female = 100%.) (1) 158 (2) 137 (3) 42. The figures for Lemek are (1) 328 (2) 165 (3) 18.
- (B) the total membership of the age-level in question. (Total number of persons educated and non-educated, male and female = 100%) (1) 732 (2) 637 (3) 296. The figures for Lemek are (1) 1383 (2) 1175 (3) 614.
- (C) the total membership of the Sub-location as a whole - male and female (1902 = 100%). The figure for Lemek is 3809.

The figures in the above Tables indicate that the population of Morijo Loita, though half the size of Lemek, percentage-wise has had more educational participation than Lemek; 17.5% as opposed to 13.4%. The percentage difference for females also favours Loita over Lemek; 5.7% as opposed to 4.5%.

There seems to be a greater participation among the school-age population in Lemek than in Loita, but for the other groups it would appear that Loita has sent more children to school, both male and female. The greater difference between Lemek and Loita appears to be with regard to percentages of the total populations of the age-levels viewed as sub-groups. In these cases, the difference is considerable for the 40+ group, 2.4% for Lemek and 11.1% for Loita, and again for the 20-39 years old age-

level where it is 9.6% for Lemek and 15.7% for Loita. By the time we reach the school-age population of both places, the Loita lead has dropped considerably behind Lemek by 26% where Lemek is 19.0% and Loita is 14.5%.

The total number of educated males in Lemek is 338 and the educated females number 173: this gives a sex ratio, for the educated males and females, of 195.4 (or 1:2). Loita has 228 educated males and 109 educated females, giving a sex ratio of educated males to females of 209.2 (or 4.5:1).

However, if we consider the schooled group of local Purko or Loita in both places as a percentage of their total populations, then Loita is ahead of Lemek for all three age-levels. Though one would expect fewer of the 20-39 years' group in Loita to be involved in education because of the traditional attitudes towards moranihood, in reality, more of that age-level are educated in Loita than in Lemek (80% as opposed to 69%) and this in spite of the fact that there are now three primary schools serving the Lemek community and only one school serving Morijo Loita. As percentages of the total populations the figure is 2.9% in Lemek and 5.3% in Loita.

APPENDIX 4ANumbers of educated children per family

These numbers may be broken down even further to show the actual number of families and the numbers of children in each family over the age of five without any education:

Families with no children educated (though at least one child has been born to the family):

Lemek		including	Loita	including
1 child	= 42	2 Okiek children	= 27	4 Okiek children
2 children	= 41	1 Okiek	= 18	1 Okiek
3	= 26	1 Okiek	= 6	1 Okiek
4	= 16	3 Okiek	= 5	
5	= 22	2 Okiek	= 6	
6	= 7	1 Okiek	=	
7	= 7		= 1	
8	= 5		= 1	
9	= 1		= 2	
10	= 1			
13	= 1			
	-----		-----	
	169		68	
	-----		-----	

Families with one child (person) educated = 121 Lemek; 78 Loita

Lemek		including	Loita	including
1 child out of 1	= 5		= 3	
1	2 = 13	2 Okiek	= 9	1 Okiek
1	3 = 19	1 Okiek	= 16	2 Okiek
1	4 = 20	4 Okiek	= 7	2 Okiek
1	5 = 14		= 12	3 Okiek
1	6 = 16	1 Okiek	= 9	1 Okiek
1	7 = 12	2 Okiek	= 7	1 Okiek
1	8 = 9	1 Okiek	= 5	
1	9 = 2		= 6	
1	10 = 2			
1	11 = 4		= 1	
1	13 = 1			
1	15 = 1		= 1	1 Okiek
1	16 = 1			
1	18 = 0		= 1	
1	19 = 2			
1	38 = 0		= 1	
	-----		-----	
	121		78	
	-----		---	

Families with two persons educated = 56 Lemek; 31 Loita.

Lemek		including	Loita	including
2 out of 2	= 2		= 1	
2 out of 3	= 6	1 Okiek	= 2	
2	4 = 6	1 Okiek		
2	5 = 4	1 Okiek	= 2	
2	6 = 10		= 7	1 Okiek
2	7 = 8	1 Okiek	= 2	
2	8 = 9	1 Okiek	= 4	
2	9 = 1		= 3	
2	10 = 4	1 Okiek	= 1	
2	11 = 3	1 Okiek	= 2	
2	12 = 1			
2	13 = 0		= 5	1 Okiek
2	14 = 1		= 1	
2	18 = 1			
2	19 = 0		= 1	
	---		---	
	56		31	
	---		---	

Families with three persons educated = 22 Lemek; 14 Loita.

Lemek		including	Loita
3 out of 3	= 1	(UGM mother)	= 1
3	5 = 5		
3	6 = 3	1 Okiek	= 2
3	7 = 1		= 2
3	8 = 1		= 1
3	9 = 3		= 4
3	10 = 2		= 1
3	11 = 0		= 1
3	12 = 2		= 1
3	13 = 2		
3	15 = 0		= 1
3	16 = 1	1 Okiek	
3	26 = 1		
	---		---
	22		14
	---		---

Families with four persons educated = 11 Lemek; 7 Loita

Lemek		Loita including
4 out of 4	= 1	
4	5 = 1	
4	6 = 1	= 1
4	8 = 0	= 1
4	9 = 0	= 1
4	10 = 1	1 Okiek
4	11 = 1	
4	12 = 0	= 1
4	14 = 1	= 1
4	15 = 1	
4	17 = 0	= 1
4	18 = 1	
4	19 = 0	= 1
4	20 = 1	
4	29 = 1	
4	30 = 1	
	---	---
	11	7
	---	---

Families with five persons educated = 7 Lemek; 6 Loita

Lemek

Loita including

5 out of 5	= 1	(Kikuyu mother)	= 1	(Rwandan mother)
5	7	= 0	= 1	1 Okiek
5	8	= 2	= 1	
		1 (UGM family)		
5	10	= 1		
5	11	= 0	= 1	(Kikuyu mother)
5	13	= 1		
5	15	= 0	= 1	
5	17	= 1		
5	21	= 1		
5	28	= 0	= 1	
	--		--	
	7		6	
	--		--	

Families with six persons educated = 4 Lemek; 1 Loita

Lemek

including Loita

6 out of 6	= 1	(Kikuyu mother)		
6	7	= 2	(Kikuyu mother)	1 Okiek
6	10	= 0	= 1	(Kikuyu mother)
6	13	= 1		
	--		--	
	4		1	
	--		--	

Families with seven persons educated = 3 Lemek; 1 Loita.

Lemek

Loita

7 out of 8	= 1		
7	9	= 0	= 1 (Kikuyu mother)
7	16	= 1	
7	31	= 1	
	---		--
	3		1
	---		--

Families with eight persons educated = 1 Lemek; 1 Loita

Lemek

Loita

8 out of 8	= 1	(Kikuyu mother)	
8	9	= 0	= 1 (Maasai mother from Kajiado)
	--		--
	1		1
	--		--

Families with nine persons educated = 1 Loita

Lemek

Loita

9 out of 10	= 0	= 1 (Maasai/Kikuyu mother)
-------------	-----	----------------------------

Families with eleven persons educated = 1 Loita

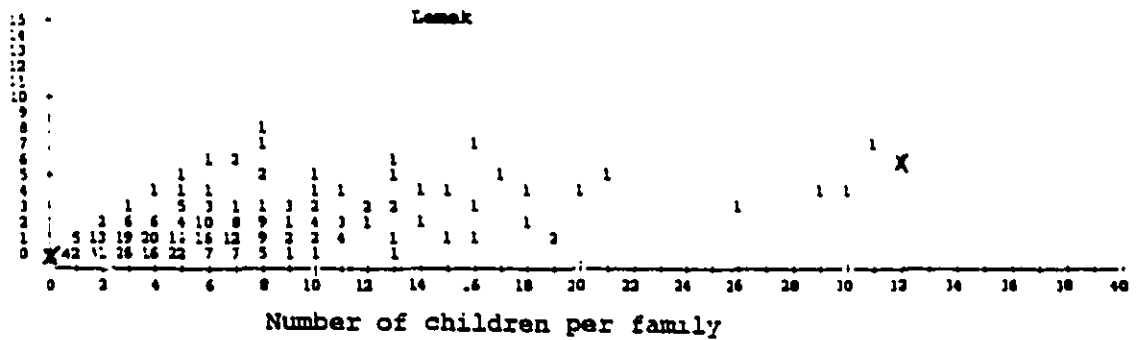
Lemek

Loita

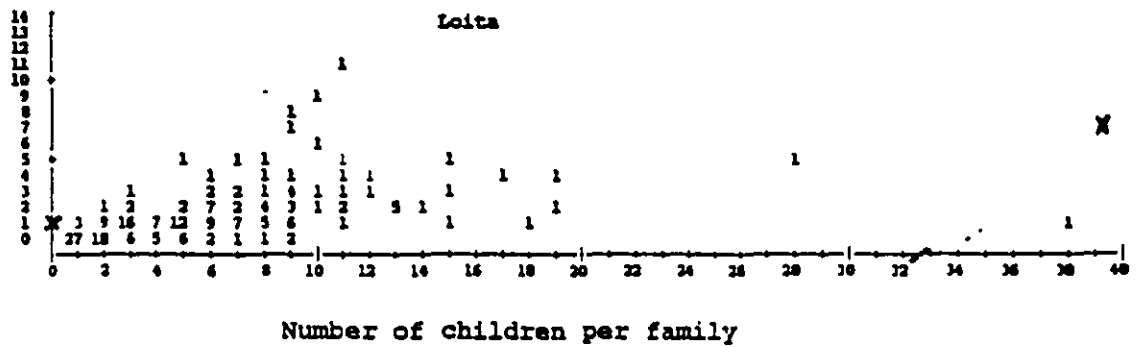
11 out of 11	= 0	= 1
--------------	-----	-----

APPENDIX 4B

Number of children educated per family



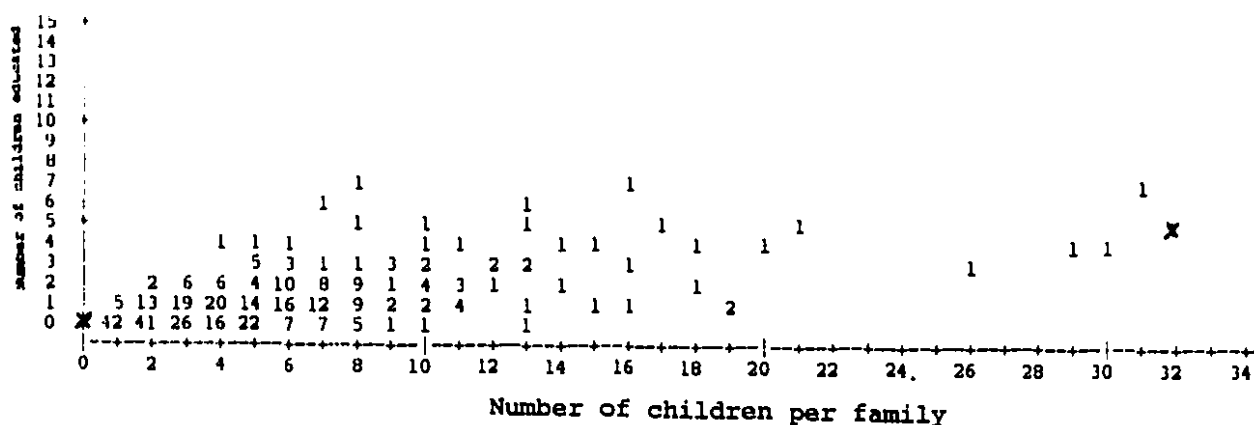
Number of children educated per family



Scatterplots

Lemek and Loita

Lemek: Maasai and Okiek



Lemek: Maasai and Okiek combined (388 cases)

(There are only 6 other families having Kikuyu or UGM mothers.)

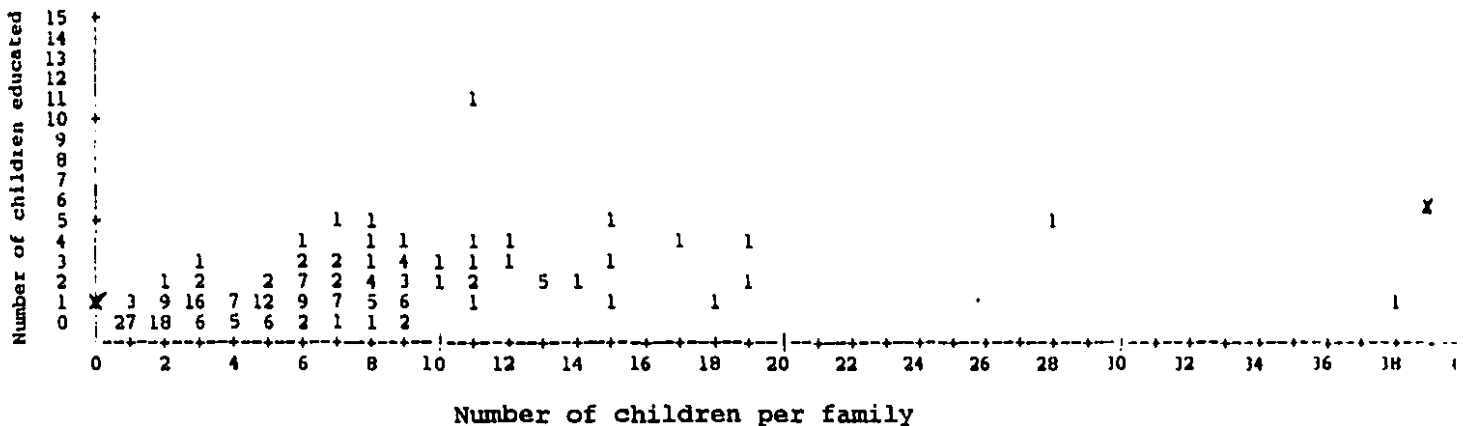
Regression statistics of number of children educated per family on number of children in families:

Correlation .62636 R Squared .39233 S.E. of Est 1.00825 Sig. .0000

X Intercept (S.E.) .03886 (.08080) Slope (S.E.) .18445 (.01168)

T-test for number of children educated for two groups, Maasai and Okiek combined (Group 1) 388 cases, and Others (Group 2), 6 cases: Mean for Group 1 is 1.0258 and for Group 2, 5.500. Std. Dev. is 1.292 for Group 1 and 1.643 for Group 2. The F Value is 1.62 and the t value is -8.39 for the Pooled Variance Estimate and -6.64 for the Separate Variance Estimate for which the 2 tail prob. is 0.001.

Loita: Maasai and Okiek



Loita: Maasai and Okiek combined (203 cases)

(There are only 6 other families having Kikuyu, Mluyia or Samburu mothers.)

Regression statistics of number of children educated by family on number of children in families:

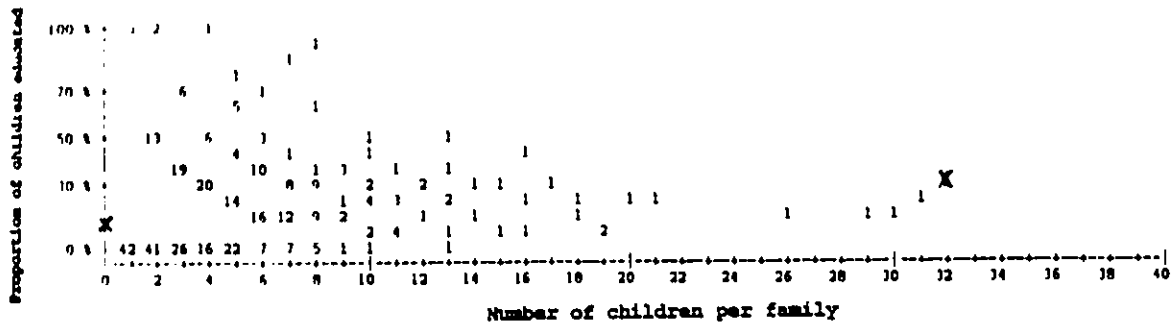
Correlation .53525 R Squared .28649 S.E. of Est 1.15359

Sig .0000

X Intercept (S.E.) .32309 (.12573) Slope (S.E.) .15293 (.01702)

T-test for number of children educated for the two groups, Maasai and Okiek combined (Group 1) 203 cases, and Others (Group 2), 6 cases: Mean for Group 1 is 1.1872 and for Group 2, 6.666. The Std. Dev. is 1.362 for Group 1 and 1.633 for Group 2. The F Value is 1.44 and the t value is -9.66 for the Pooled Variance Estimate and -8.14 for the Separate Variance Estimate for which the 2 tail prob. is 0.000.

Scatterplot of proportion of educated children per family with total number of children per family: Maasai and Okiek families in Lemek



Lemek: Maasai and Okiek combined (388 cases)

Regression stats of percentage of children educated on number of children in families: Correlation .05886

R Squared .00346 S.E. of Est 22.204 Sig. .2474

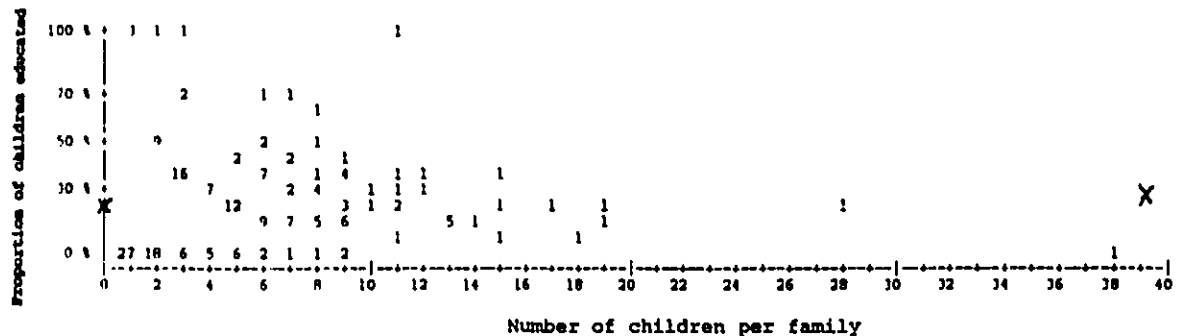
X Intercept (S.E.) 16.507 (1.779) Slope (S.E.) .298 (.257)

Number of children per family Mean 5.35 Std Dev 4.39 Range 1-31

Number educated Mean 1.03 Std Dev 1.29 Range 0-7

Proportion educated Mean 18.1% Std Dev 22.21

Scatterplot of proportion of educated children per family with total number of children per family: Maasai and Okiek families in Loita



Loita: Maasai and Okiek combined (203 cases)

Regression stats of percentage educated on number of children in families: Correlation .03084 R Squared .00095

S.E. of Est 22.10142 Sig. .6623

Intercept (S.E.) 19.6343 (2.408) Slope (S.E.) .1426 (.326)

Number of children per family Mean 5.65 Std Dev 4.77 Range 1-38

Number educated Mean 1.19 Std Dev 1.36 Range 0-11

Proportion educated Mean 20.4% Std Dev 22.06

APPENDIX 4C

Table P First-born sons (20-24 years) and education: Lemek

	Non firstborns %		Firstborns %		Total %	
Non-educated %	76 54%	64	66 46%	85	142 100%	73
Educated %	42 79%	36	11 21%	14	53 100%	27
Total %	118 61%	100%	77 39%	100%	195 100%	100%

Table Q First-born sons (25-29 years) and education: Lemek

	Non firstborns %		Firstborns %		Total %	
Non-educated %	53 47%	75	61 53%	80	114 100%	78
Educated %	18 55%	15	15 45%	20	33 100%	22
Total %	71 48%	100%	76 52%	100%	147 100%	100%

Table R First-born sons (30+ years) and education: Lemek

	Non firstborns %		Firstborns %		Total %	
Non-educated %	285 80%	92	70 20%	86	355 100%	91
Educated %	24 69%	8	11 31%	14	35 100%	9
Total %	309 79%	100%	81 21%	100%	390 100%	100%

Table S First-born sons (20-24 years) and education: Loita

	Non firstborns %		Firstborns %		Total %	
Non-educated %	26 53%	46	23 47%	66	49 100%	53
Educated %	31 72%	54	12 28%	34	43 100%	47
Total %	57 62%	100%	35 38%	100%	92 100%	100%

Table T First-born sons (25-29 years) and education: Loita

	Non firstborns %		Firstborns %		Total %	
Non-educated %	28 64%	67	16 36%	80	44 100%	71
Educated %	14 78%	33	4 22%	20	18 100%	29
Total %	42 68%	100%	20 32%	100%	62 100%	100%

Table U First-born sons (30+ years) and education: Loita

	Non firstborns %		Firstborns %		Total %	
Non-educated %	118 70%	74	50 30%	77	168 100%	75
Educated %	41 73%	26	15 27%	23	56 100%	25
Total %	159 71%	100%	65 29%	100%	224 100%	100%

APPENDIX 4D

The following Table presents the cattle holdings for those educated in Lemek and Loita, both male and female, married and single:

Table V Educated persons of Lemek and Loita: By gender, selected age-groupings and family cattle holdings.

		5-19 years				20-39 years				40+ years			
		Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Females	
		Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta
Cows													
0		2	5	2	2	2	8	-	4	-	2	-	1
1-10		15	13	10	4	10	14	4	3	1	8	1	1
16-20		23	21	4	11	14	17	5	7	2	5	2	4
25-50		27	27	12	8	16	15	9	10	1	3	-	2
55-100		70	21	39	8	25	17	13	15	5	7	2	3
120-200		26	12	10	12	8	8	10	9	1	4	-	-
250-500		43	10	28	1	25	8	14	1	3	-	-	2
560-800		12	2	6	1	7	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
		218	111	111	47	107	88	57	49	13	29	5	13

APPENDIX 6A

It is quite striking to see the raw figures in terms of those currently employed in relation to the total numbers in each age-level. In some cases, especially the females, these numbers are quite dramatic, for example, only 1 female out of 679 in one group is currently employed and in another group only 5 women are employed out of a total of 548.

Table W Currently employed persons from both sample areas:
by age-level and gender

Age level	Employed males		Age-levels total males		Employed females		Age-levels total females	
	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta
5 - 19	16	4	703	360	1	0	679	372
20 - 29	84	43	341	154	5	5	548	265
30 - 39	39	36	120	88	3	3	166	130
40 - 59	18	20	163	83	1	3	265	111
60+	4	1	107	53	0	0	81	49
Total	161	104	1434	738	10	11	1739	927

APPENDIX 6BPlaces of employmenta) Within Narok District

Places where people sought employment and which were, in most cases, very close to the two sampled areas of Lemek and Morijo Loita:

Ilkerin (especially the Ilkerin Loita Integrated Development Project), The Loita Plains, Mau Narok, Narok Town, Kilgoris, Melelo, Endoinyo Erinka, Ololulunga, Nkobon, Mulot, Olopirik, Aitong, Naikerra, Olingarrua, Ormesutie, Megwarra, Olokurto, Olorte, Narosura, Entasekera.

b) Outside Narok District

Places in which people worked which were, in all cases, far from the two sampled areas:

Nairobi, Nakuru, Molo, Eldoret, Machakos, Gilgil, Nyeri, Naivasha, Mombasa, Kitale, Marsabit, Nandi, Wajir, Kajiado, Ruiru, Kericho.

South Africa, Nigeria, Tanzania

It should be appreciated that the two sampled areas of Lemek Group Ranch and Morijo Loita Sub-location themselves included a number of places which provided employment opportunities; for example, Lemek Catholic Mission and the Maasai Training Centre run by the Catholic Mission at Lemek, and the Ilkerin Project, in Loita, which was actually just outside the boundaries of Morijo Loita Sub-location but was near enough to be regarded as an internal employment possibility.

APPENDIX 6CActual list of jobs undertaken

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Cattle trader | 40. Revenue Clerk/Mara |
| 2. Herdsmen | 41. Tour Guides/Mara |
| 3. Waiter/Barman/Lodges | 42. Room stewards/Mara |
| 4. Clerical | 43. Teacher/Nursery |
| 5. Teacher/Primary | 44. Hides and skins dealer |
| 6. Watchman | 45. Matatu driver/owner |
| 7. Driver | 46. Dip supervisor |
| 8. Ranger | 47. Stone mason |
| 9. Farmhand | 48. Gate-keepers/Mara |
| 10. Cook | 49. Language translator |
| 11. Shopowner | 50. National Youth Service |
| 12. Vet. Services/incl. dip | 51. Teacher/Adult Education |
| 13. Administration Policeman | 52. Teacher/Secondary |
| 14. Kenya Army | 53. Work in Kenya Breweries |
| 15. Casual Labour/esp. Mission | 54. Work in Water Department |
| 16. Sub-chief | 55. Canteen worker/Project |
| 17. Group Ranch Chairman | 56. Kenya Police |
| 18. Tailor | 57. KANU Youth |
| 19. Shop assistant | 58. Work in Forestry Dept. |
| 20. Farmer (self employed) | 59. Work in Dairy Board |
| 21. Catechist | 60. Casual labour/Tannery |
| 22. Research Assistant | 61. Work in a saw mill |
| 23. Builder (labourer?) | 62. Tobacco seller |
| 24. Fence builder (hired out) | 63. Donkey cart business |
| 25. Language teaching | 64. "Tarmac" * |
| 26. Unknown work | 65. Nurse |
| 27. Road construction | 66. Head of security/Lodge |
| 28. Medical assistant | 67. Trainee Hotel Manager |
| 29. Farm foreman | in the Maasai Mara |
| 30. Asst Manager vet. services | 68. Deputy Director of the |
| 31. Asst Manager sheep ranch | National Association for |
| 32. Narok County Councillor | the Blind |
| 33. Cobbler | |
| 34. Bar owner | |
| 35. District Development Officer | |
| 36. Telephone operator | |
| 37. Prisoner (in jail) | |
| 38. Contract ploughman | |
| 39. Carpenter | |
- * This term refers to the fact that a person has to spend many hours walking up and down the tarmac roads to find a job.

APPENDIX 6D

Tables showing third to sixth jobs, educational levels, types of job, age-level and sample area.

The Tables indicating the first and second jobs are included in the text.

Table X Males' third job by age-level, level of education and type of job: Lemek

Age level	No Educ CT	Oth	Pri/DO CT	Oth	Pri/F Oth	Sec/TTC/Un Oth	Total
5 - 19	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
20 - 29	1	6	1	2	2	3	15
30 - 39	-	1	-	-	3	1*	5
40 - 59	-	2	-	1	-	1	4
subtotal	1	9	1	4	5	5	25
Totals		10		5	5	5	25

* one university graduate

Table Y Males' fourth job by age-level, level of education and type of job: Lemek

Age level	No Educ Oth	Pri/DO Oth	Pri/F Oth	Sec/TTC/Un Oth	Total
20 - 29	2	1	1	-	4
30 - 39	-	-	2	1*	3
40 - 59	-	1	-	-	1
subtotal	2	2	3	1	8
Totals	2	2	3	1	8

* one university graduate

Table Z Males' fifth job by age-level, level of education and type of job: Lemek

Age level	Pri/DO Oth	Pri/F Oth	Sec/TTC/Un Oth	Total
20 - 29	1	-	-	1
30 - 39	-	1	1*	2
subtotal	1	1	1	3
Totals	1	1	1	3

* one university graduate

Table AA Males' sixth job by age-level, level of education and type of job: Lemek

Age level	Pri/DO Oth	Pri/F Oth	Sec/TTC/Un Oth	Total
20 - 29	1	-	-	1
30 - 39	-	1	1*	2
subtotal	1	1	1	3
Totals	1	1	1	3

* one university graduate

Females' Second and Third Jobs

Table BB Females' second job by age-level, level of education and type of job: Lemek

Age level	No Educ Cas	Pri/DO Oth	Pri/F Tch	Sec/TTC Tch	Total
20 - 29	-	-	1	-	1
30 - 39	2	1	-	1	4
40 - 59	1	-	-	-	1
subtotal	3	1	1	1	6
Totals	3	1	1	1	6

The only female in the sample who engaged in a third job was in the 20-29 years age-level (Primary finished/teacher).

LOITA MALES

Table CC Males' third job by age-level, level of education and type of job: Loita

Age level	no educ Hdr Oth	Pri/DO Oth	Pri/F Oth	Sec/TTC/Un Oth	Total
20 - 29	1 -	-	2	3	6
30 - 39	1	-	2	1	4
40 - 59	- -	1	-	1	2
subtotal	1 1	1	4	5	12
Totals	2	1	4	5	12

Table DD Males' fourth job by age-level, level of education
and type of job: Loita

Age level	Pri/F Oth	Sec/TTC/Un Oth	Total
20 - 29	1	1	2
30 - 39	1	-	1
subtotal	2	1	3
Totals	2	1	3

There were no fifth or sixth jobs undertaken by the Loita males,
nor were there any third or fourth jobs undertaken by the Loita females.

APPENDIX 6EFull lists of jobs, educational levels and ages

These are the complete Tables for the males and females of both areas who have worked. The Tables for the first jobs for each age-level will give the actual number of persons from the age-level that sought and found employment. The second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth jobs (where relevant) gives the remainder of the jobs in which the initial job-seeking group were engaged. If the person found a first job then that same person may or may not have found a second job, and if s/he did, then it may have been a job in a different category to the first one.

MALES

Lemek Age-level (5-19 years)

First Job	No ed	Pr/DO	Sec/DO	Total
Cattle trader	1			1
Herdsmen	13	1		14
Clerical			1	1
Casual/LM or Mara		1*		1
	14	2	1	17

* It should be pointed out that one young man aged 16 years left school in Standard 5 and worked for nearly two years to get his school fees and then returned in 1990 to finish his schooling. For the purposes of this Table he has not been included under the dropouts because he worked for a while and is now back in school.

Second Job	No ed	Pr/DO	Sec/DO	Total	Third Job	Pr/DO	Total
Herdsmen	1			1	Casual	1	1
Clerical			1	1			
Casual		1		1		1	1
	1	1	1	3			

Age-level (20-29 years)

First job	No	ed	Pr/DO	Pr/F	Sec/DO	Sec/F	Total
Cattle trader	26		3				29
Herdsmen	9		2				11
Lodges	1		1				2
Clerical			1			2	3
Teacher						2	2
Watchman	2		1				3
Ranger	1		2	1			4
Vet. Services			1	1	2	1	5
Uniformed Services			1		3		4
Casual Labour	14		4	1			19
Manual Labour	2		1			1	4
Self-employed	4			3			7
Other	1		2	3	3	1	10
	60		19	9	8	7	103
Second Job	No	ed	Pr/DO	Pr/F	Sec/DO	Sec/F	Total
Cattle trader	4						4
Herdsmen	3						3
Lodges	1				1		2
Clerical						1	1
Watchman	1						1
Ranger			2	1			3
Uniformed Services					1		1
Casual Labour	9		2	1	1		13
Manual Labour				1		1	2
Self-employed	1		1				2
Other	2			1	2	1	6
	21		5	4	5	3	38
Third Job	No	ed	Pr/DO	Pr/F	Sec/DO	Sec/F	Total
Ranger				1			1
Cattle trader	1		1				2
Casual Labour	4		1	1			6
Manual Labour						1	1
Self-employed					1		1
Other	2		1		1		4
	7		3	2	2	1	15
Fourth Job	No	ed	Pr/DO	Pr/F			Total
Casual Labour	1			1			2
Self-employed			1				1
Other	1						1
	2		1	1			4
Fifth Job			Pr/DO	Total	Sixth Job	Pr/DO	Total
Watchman			1	1	Self-employed	1	1
			1	1		1	1

Age-level (30-39 years)

First Job	No ed	Pr/DO	Pr/F	Sec/DO	Sec/F	U/F	Total
Cattle trader	22	1	1				24
Herdsmen	3						3
Lodges			1	1		1	3
Clerical			1	2		1	4
Teacher					1		1
Watchman	6						6
Vet. Services	1						1
Casual Labour	7	1	1				9
Manual Labour	1		2				3
Self-employed	1						1
Other	1		3				4
<hr/>							
	42	2	9	3	1	2	59

Second Job	No ed	Pr/DO	Pr/F	Sec/DO		U/F	Total
Cattle trader	2		1				3
Herdsmen	1						1
Lodges			2				2
Clerical			1			2	3
Watchman	2		1				3
Casual Labour	2						2
Manual Labour			1	1			2
Self-employed	3		1				4
Other	1		1				2
<hr/>							
	11		8	1		2	22

Third Job	No ed	Pr/F		U/F	Total
Clerical				1	1
Lodges		2			2
Manual Labour		1			1
Watchman	1				1
<hr/>					
	1	3		1	5

Fourth Job	Pr/F	U/F	Total
Clerical		1	1
Casual Labour	1		1
Lodges	1		1
<hr/>			
	2	1	3

Fifth Job	Pr/F	U/F	Total	Sixth Job	Pr/F	U/F	Total
Cattle Trader	1		1	Other	1	1	2
Clerical		1	1	<hr/>			
<hr/>					1	1	2
	1	1	2	<hr/>			

Age-level (40-59 years)

First Job	No ed	Pr/DO	Pr/F	Sec/F	Total
Cattle trader	11				11
Herdsman		1			1
Clerical			1	2	3
Watchman	3				3
Ranger	1				1
Vet. Services			1	1	2
Uniformed Services		1			1
Casual Labour	4				4
Self-employed	2				2
Other	1	1			2
	22	3	2	3	30

Second Job	No ed	Pr/DO	Pr/F	Sec/F	Total
Herdsman	1				1
Watchman		1			1
Vet. Services			1		2
Casual Labour	1				1
Self-employed	2			1	3
Other		2		2	4
	4	3	1	3	11

Third Job	No ed	Pr/DO		Sec/F	Total
Self-employed	1				1
Other	1	1		1	3
	2	1		1	4

Fourth Job		Pr/DO			Total
Other		1			1
		1			1

Age-level (60-69 years)

First Job	No ed	Pr/DO	Total	Second Job	No ed	Pr/DO	Total
Herdsman	1		1	Cattle Trader	1		1
Clerical		1	1	Vet. Services		1	1
Uniformed Services	1		1	Unif. Services	1		1
Self-employed	1		1	Self-employed	1		1
Other	1		1				
	4	1	5		3	1	4
-----				-----			

Age-level (70+ years)

First Job	No ed	Pr/DO	Total
Teacher		1	1
Other	1		1
	1	1	2

FEMALES LEMEK Age-level (5-19 years)

First Job	No ed	Total
Other (aya)	1	1
	-----	-----
	1	1
	-----	-----

Age-level (20-29 years)

First Job	No ed	Pr/DO	Pr/F	Sec/F	Total
Teacher			2	1	3
Casual Labour	18	1			19
Other			1		1
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	18	1	3	1	23
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Second Job	Pr/F	Total	Third Job	Pr/F	Total
Teacher	1	1	Teacher (N)	1	1
	-----	-----		-----	-----
	1	1		1	1
	-----	-----		-----	-----

Age-level (30-39 years)

First Job	No ed	Pr/DO	Pr/F	Sec/DO	TTC/F	Total
Teacher			1		1	2
Uniformed Services		1				1
Casual Labour	12					12
Other (tel.op)				1		1
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	12	1	1	1	1	16
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Second Job	No ed	Pr/DO	TTC/F	Total
Teacher			1	1
Casual Labour	2			2
Self-employed		1		1
	-----	-----	-----	-----
	2	1	1	4
	-----	-----	-----	-----

Age-level (40-59 years)

First Job	No ed	Pr/DO	Pr/F	Total
Teacher			1	1
Casual Labour	14	1		15
Self-employed	1			1
Other		1		1
	-----	-----	-----	-----
	15	2	1	18
	-----	-----	-----	-----

Second Job	No ed	Total
Casual labour	1	1
	-----	-----
	1	1
	-----	-----

Age-level (60-69 years)

First Job	No ed	Total
Casual Labour	3	3
	-----	-----
	3	3
	-----	-----

Age-level (70+ years)

First Job	No ed	Total
Casual Labour	1	1
	-----	-----
	1	1
	-----	-----

LOITA MALES

Age-level (5-19 years)

First Job	No ed	Total
Cattle Trader	2	2
Herdsmen	2	2
	-----	-----
	4	4
	-----	-----

Age-level (20-29 years)

First Job	No ed	Pr/DO	Pr/F	Sec/DO	Sec/F	TTC/F	TTC/S	Total
Cattle Trader	16	4						20
Herdsmen	5	1						6
Mara Lodges		1		1				2
Clerical				1	1		1	3
Teacher				1	1	2		4
Watchman	1	1	1	1				4
Ranger		1	1					2
Vet. Services		1	1					2
Uniformed Services		1	3					4
Manual Labour	1							1
Self-employed		1						1
Other		2	2	1	2			7
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	23	13	8	5	4	2	1	56

Second Job	No ed	Pr/DO	Pr/F	Sec/DO	Sec/F	TTC/F	TTC/S	Total
Herdsmen	2							2
Mara Lodges			1					1
Clerical							1	1
Teacher						1		1
Watchman	1							1
Ranger			1	2	1			4
Uniformed Services		1	1					2
Casual Labour			1					1
Self-employed				1				1
Other		1	1		1			3
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	3	2	5	3	2	1	1	17

Third Job	No ed	Pr/DO	Pr/F	Sec/DO	Sec/F	TTC/S	Total
Herdsmen	1						1
Teacher						1	1
Other			2	1	1		4
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	1		2	1	1		6

Fourth Job	Pr/F	Sec/F	Total
Other	1	1	2
	-----	-----	-----
	1	1	2
	-----	-----	-----

Age-level (30-39 years)

First Job	No ed	Pr/DO	Pr/F	Sec/DO	Sec/F	TTC/F	Total
Cattle Trader	30	2	3				35
Herdsmen	1						1
Clerical		1	1				2
Teacher			1		1	2	4
Watchman	2						2
Ranger		2	4				6
Vet. Services		2					2
Casual Labour	1		1				2
Casual/Tannery			1				1
Manual Labour	2	1					3
Other	1	1	1	1			4
<hr/>							
	37	9	12	1	1	2	62

Second Job	No ed	Pr/DO	Pr/F	Sec/DO	Total
Herdsmen	1				1
Ranger				2	2
Vet. Services		1			1
Casual Labour	1		1		2
Manual Labour	1				1
Other		2	1	1	4
<hr/>					
	3	3	4	1	11

Third Job	No ed	Pr/DO	Pr/F	Sec/DO	Total
Lodges			1		1
Casual Labour	1				1
Manual Labour				1	1
Other			1		1
<hr/>					
	1		2	1	4

Fourth Job	Pr/F	Total
Other	1	1
<hr/>		
	1	1

Age-level (40-59 years)

First Job	No ed	Pr/DO	Pr/F	Sec/DO	Sec/F	TTC/F	U/F	Total
Cattle Trader	14	3	1					18
Herdsmen	1							1
Clerical					1			1
Teacher			2	1		2	1	6
Watchman		1						1
Ranger		1	1					2
Uniformed Services	1		1					2
Vet. Services		1						1
Self-employed	1		1					2
Other	1	2	1					4
<hr/>								
	18	8	7	1	1	2	1	38

Second Job	No ed	Pr/DO	Sec/DO	U/F	Total
Clerical			1	1	2
Casual Lab.	1				1
Manual Lab.		1			1
Self-employed		1			1
	1	2	1	1	5
Third Job		Pr/DO	U/F		Total
Teacher (secondary)			1		1
Self-employed (s/o)		1			1
		1	1		2

Age-level (60-69 years)

First Job	No ed	Total	Second Job	No ed.	Total
Cattle Trader	1	1	Other (driver)	1	1
Uniformed	1	1		-----	-----
	-----	-----		1	1
	2	2		-----	-----

Age-level (70+ years)

First Job	No ed	Pr/DO	Total
Herdsmen	1		1
Ranger	1		1
Uniformed Services	1		1
Other		1	1
	3	1	4

FEMALES LOITA

Age-level (5-19 years) no cases in any of the 6 job categories

Age-level (20-29 years)

Age Level (20-25 years)	No	ed	Pr/DO	Pr/F	Sec/DO	Sec/F	MED/S	Total
First Job								
Clerical						1		1
Teacher			1	1				2
Manual Labour (canteen)					1			1
Other							2	2
			1	1	1	1	2	6
Second Job			Pr/DO		Sec/DO			Total
Teacher			1		1			2
			1		1			2

Age-level (30-39 years)

First Job	No ed	Pr/DO	Pr/F	Total
Vet. Services		1		1
Tannery CL	1			1
Self-employed		1		1
Other		1	1	2
	1	3	1	5

Second Job	Pr/DO	Pr/F	Total
Teacher	1	1	2
	1	1	2

Age-level (40-59 years)

First Job	No ed	Pr/DO	Total
Tannery CL	2		2
Self-employed		1	1
	2	1	3

APPENDIX 6F

The following Tables report the ethnicity and education of the female workers' parents of Lemek and Loita:

Table EE Parents of female workers by ethnicity and education:
Lemek and Loita

	Father/eth/ed		Mother/eth/ed	
	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta
Not known	3	-	3	-
Maasai and no education	47	8	47	8
Maasai and educated	-	4	-	1
Kikuyu and educated	4	2	4	3
Kikuyu and no education	-	-	-	2
Other and not educated	8	-	8	-
Totals	62	14	62	14

Table FF Fathers of female workers by education and previous employment: Lemek and Loita

	Father's education and employment	
	Lmk	Lta
Not known	4	-
Educated and worked	2	6
Educated and no work	2	-
No education and worked	4	-
No education and no work	50	8
Totals	62	14

APPENDIX 6G

Table GG Types of jobs used as "entry points" or
turned to later: Lemek and Loita

Pastoral Related Employment											
	Job1		Job2		Job3		Total				
	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta			
Trading	57	73	6	-	2	-	65	73			
Herdsman	24	8	6	2	-	1	30	11			
Veterinary	6	4	2	1	-	-	8	5			
Watchmen	2	6	2	-	-	-	4	6			
Skins/hides	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-			
subtotal	90	91	16	3	2	1	108	95			
Non-Pastoral Related Employment											
	Job1		Job2		Job3		Job4		Job5	Total	
	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lta	Lmk	Lmk	Lta
Other jobs	48	41	37	19	15	8	5	3	3	108	71
Total	138	132	53	22	17	9	5	3	3	216	166

Note: These figures have been adjusted to make sure that no person is counted twice across the rows. The Table reports jobs subsequently held by the same persons.

APPENDIX 7A

The following Table gives some indication of the distribution of the labour force and employment estimates of the District, though some components of the Table leave one a little perplexed, e.g. the total number of "pastoralists".

Table HH Labour force and employment estimates: Narok District

	1987 Number	1987 % of Labour Force	Target Annual Growth Rate	1993 Number
Population	317,395		4.6%	416,257
Labour Force	123,723	(100)		157,900
Employment estimates				
non-agricultural				
wage labour				
Public sector	4,233	3.42	3.0%	5,039
Large-scale farms	-	-	-	-
Medium/small farms	1,247	1.00	10.0%	1,984
Subtotal	5,480	4.42		7,023
Business/commercial				
(self-employment)				
Small-scale business	3,500	2.82	10.0%	4,985
Informal sector	3,300	2.66	10.0%	4,845
Subtotal	6,800	4.50		9,830
Agriculture/Livestock				
employment				
Large Farms/Ranches	2,668	2.15	2.0%	2,886
Small-holders	1,057	0.85	6.0%	1,496
Pastoralists	13,336	10.80	10.0%	22,411
Sub-total	17,061	13.78		26,793

Source: Narok District Development Plan: 1989-1993, pages 31-32.

This Table gave no figures for involvement in ADC Farms, Cooperative Farms, or Landless/Famine Relief Schemes, and did in fact state:

It should be noted that data was lacking, and estimates of self-employment, landless, famine relief and out-migrant labour were difficult (page 32).

APPENDIX 7BEmployment, place and years: The Lemek sample

(A) Those with secondary/tertiary education = 25 and of this number

11 only undertook one job. Ten men are still working in their first jobs and only one man left after working for one year.

Primary teacher/in district = 8 years and still a teacher
 Watchman/in district = 7 years and still working there
 Dip attendant/Ranch = 4 years and still working
 Primary teacher/in district = 7 years and still working
 Kenya Army/Eldoret = 8 years and still
 Administration Police/Mulot = 2 years and still
 Dip attendant/Ranch = 5 years and still
 Kenya Army/Gilgil = 2 years and still
 Waiter/Mara = 14 years and still
 Clerk/Molo = 4 years and still
 Clerk/Mara = worked for 1 year and then left.

5 men took a second job and are still employed in it:

First Job	Second Job
clerk/Narok (1 yr)	Revenue clerk/Mara (3 yrs and still)
clerk/Narok (11 yrs)	Shopowner/Ranch (12 yrs and still)
shop asst/Mission (1 yr)	catechist/outside Dt (2 yrs and still)
clerk/Mara (1 yr)	clerk/Nairobi (2 years and still)

One of these 5 men is a university graduate

(B.A (Geology) University of Bucharest)
 Farm Manager/Ranch (2 yrs) clerk/NCC Narok (2 years and still)

4 men took second jobs and after a time left the job

clerk/Nairobi (3 years)	Dt. Devpt Officer/Kilgoris (7 yrs)
dip attendant/Ranch (1 yr)	waiter/Mara (1 year)
clerk/Narok (2 yrs)	farm manager/Ranch (5 yrs)
shop asst/Nairobi (2 yrs)	research asst/Ranch (1 yr)

3 men took a third job and are still working in it

- 1) dip attendant/Narok (7 years)
- 2) farm manager/Loita Plains (1 yr)
- 3) Narok County Councillor/Narok (9 years and still)

- 1) clerk/Narok (2 years)
- 2) room steward/Mara (6 years)
- 3) waiter/Mara (9 years and still)

- 1) driver/Mara (2 years)
- 2) taxi driver/outside Dt. (Mulot) (2 years)
- 3) farmhand/Ranch (2 years and still)

1 man took a third job and left it

- 1) mason/Ilkerin Project (2 years)
- 2) mason/in Dt. (Mau Narok) (1 year)
- 3) mason/Lemek Mission (1 year)

One university graduate has had six jobs and is still working in the sixth:

- 1) trainee hotel manager/Mara (3 years)
- 2) language teacher/(Peace Corps) Nairobi (2 years)
- 3) clerk/(UNDP) Nigeria (2 years)
- 4) clerk/(Min of Labour) Nairobi (1 year)
- 5) clerk/(UNEP) Nairobi (1 year)
- 6) Deputy Director, Nat. Assoc for Blind/Nairobi (1 year and still working)

(B) There were 18 interviews with men who had finished primary but never continued on to a secondary school:

- 5 were still in their first jobs
 - shop asst/Ranch (7 years and still)
 - shopowner/Ranch (6 years and still)
 - dip attendant/Ranch (5 years and still)
 - Ranger/Mara (5 years and still)
 - shopowner/Ranch (5 years and still)
- 4 more men undertook a job and then left it after some time:
 - farm foreman/Loita Plains (3 years)
 - clerk/Narok (2 years)
 - cattle trader/ranch (3 years)
 - clerk/Narok (8 years)
- 5 were still in their second jobs:

casual/Mission (1 yr)	gatekeeper/mara (5 years and still)
shop asst/Ranch (1 yr)	Revenue Clerk/Mara (8 years and still)
tailor/Mission (1 yr)	Ranger/Mara (5 years and still)
waiter/Mara (15 years)	shopowner/in Dt. (2 yrs and still)
dip attendant/Narok (4 yrs)	dip supvr/Narok (10 yrs and still)
- 1 was still in his third job
 - 1) barman/Ranch (1 yr)
 - 2) barman/Narok (1 yr)
 - 3) Ranger/Mara (2 years and still)
- 2 had worked in a third job and left:
 - 1) barman/Narok (1 yr)
 - 2) road construction/in district (1 year)
 - 3) barman/Mara (2 years)
- 1 had worked in six jobs:

1) casual/Mission (1 year)	(4) casual/Mission (4 yrs)
2) casual/Mara (1 year)	(5) cattle trader/Ranch (2 yrs)
3) casual/Mission (1 year)	(6) language teacher/Mission (1yr)

(C) Finally, there were also 19 men who had attended primary school and had dropped out of school:

Dropped out of Std.7

One man had three jobs 1) catechist/Mission (1 yr)
 2) casual/Mission (1 yr)
 3) catechist/in dst (2 years and still)

Two men have had only one job and are still working in it:
 dip attendant/Ranch (2 years and still working)
 Ranger/Mara (2 years and still working)

Dropped out of Std.6

3 men are still working in first jobs:
 clerk/Molo (outside district) (5 years and still)
 casual worker/Mara (4 years and still there)
 farm manager or foreman/Ranch (3 years and still working)

1 man has moved from his first job and is still in his second:
 casual/Mission (1 year) Ranger/Mara (4 years and still there)

1 man is currently working in his third job:

- 1) herdsman/Ranch (1 yr)
- 2) shoemaker/Mission (2 yrs)
- 3) cattle trader/Ranch (2 years and still)

1 young man is now self-employed in his sixth job:

- 1) research assistant/Ranch (1 yr) (4) casual/Mission (2 yrs)
- 2) tour guide/Mara (1 yr) (5) cook/Ranch (1 year)
- 3) research assistant/Mara (1 yr) (6) donkey carter/Ranch(1 yr+)

Dropped out of Std.5

2 men have undertaken just one job:
 watchman/Loita Plains (in district) (4 years and still)
 watchman/Mara (5 years and still)

2 other men dropped out of Std.5 and had 2 jobs subsequently:
 casual/Mission (1 year)
 herdsman/Mara (6 years)

1 man had 2 jobs is still working in the second:

- 1) Administration Policeman/Kilgoris (in district) (10 years)
- 2) assistant chief/Ranch (18 years and still)

1 man had 4 jobs

- 1) cook/Machakos (outside district) (1 yr)
- 2) cook/Nakuru (outside district) (3 years)
- 3) cook/ North Nakuru (outside district) (4 years)
- 4) cook/Johannesburg (outside country) (1 year)

Dropped out of Std.4

1 man is still in his first job:
 Kenya Army/Gilgil (6 years and still)

1 man has had 2 jobs

 shop assistant/Ranch (2 years) casual/Mission (1 year)

1 man had had 3 jobs (or rather, the same job but in 3 places)

- 1) primary teacher/in district (3 years)
- 2) primary teacher/outside district (4 years)
- 3) primary teacher/in district (4 years)

Dropped out of Std.3

1 man had 2 jobs:

herdsman/Gilgil (1 year) watchman/Gilgil (1 year)

(D) Non-educated and worked (46) away from home:

14 still working in their first jobs (+ = still working)

cattle trader/tanzania (7 years+)	herder/Ranch (4 years+)
builder/Mara (4 years+)	herder/Narok (4 years+)
watchmand/Ranch (5 years+)	herder/Ranch (4 years+)
carpenter/Ranch (15 years+)	herder/Ranch (5 years+)
watchman/Mara (9 years+)	herder/Ranch (2 years+)
watchman/Mara (7 years+)	herder/Mara (5 years+)
Ranger/Mara (2 years+)	
catechist/Mulot (outside Dt.)(5 years+)	

10 men worked once and then left the job market

Administration Police/Narok (10 years)	herder/Mara (6 years)
watchman/Loita Plains (Dst.)(2 yrs)	herder/Melelo (Dst.)(2 yrs)
watchman/Mara (5 years)	herder/Mara (4 years)
Ranger/Mara (18 years)	herder/in Dst. (2 years)
watchman/Loita Plains (2 yrs)	herder/Mau Narok (Dst.)(5 yrs)

8 men worked in a second job and are still working in it:

seller of hides and skins/Ranch (1 yr)	shopowner/Ranch (3 yrs+)
herder/Mara (10 yrs)	shopowner/Ranch (12 yrs+)
casual/Mission (1 yr)	waiter/Mara (5 yrs+)
herder/Ranch (7 yrs)	tobacco seller/Ranch (9 years+)
watchman/Ranch (4 yrs)	schoolcook/Ranch (6 years+)
casual/Mission (1 yr)	room steward/Mara (3 years+)
herder/Ranch (2 yrs)	herder/Ranch (2 years+)
shopowner/Ranch (11 yrs+) and	Assistant Chief/Ranch (2 yrs+)

Another 8 worked in a second job and then left it:

casual/Mission (2 yrs)	casual/Mara (2 years)
watchman/Mara (1 yr)	casual/Mara (2 years)
herder/Mulot (out of Dt./4 yrs)	watchman/in DT. (2 yrs)
cattle trader/Ranch (4 yrs)	shopowner/Ranch (3 yrs)
casual/Mission (1 yr)	watchman/Plains (in Dt.) (1 yr)
herder/Ranch (1 yr)	herder/Mau Narok (in Dt) (2 yrs)
room steward/Mara (2 yrs)	casual/Mission (2 years)
cattle trader/Ranch (3 yrs)	shopowner/Ranch (3 years)

4 entered and are still working in a third job:

- 1) casual/Mission (1 year)
- 2) herder/Loita Plains (in District) (1 year)
- 3) watchman/Mara (2 years and still there)

- 1) casual/Mission (1 year)
- 2) casual/Mara (1 year)
- 3) casual/Mission (1 year and still there)

- 1) shoemaker/Mission (1 year)
- 2) herder/Mara (3 years)
- 3) casual/Mission (2 years and still there)

- 1) casual/Mara (1 year)
- 2) casual/Mission (1 year)
- 3) cattle trader/Ranch (3 years and still)

1 man entered a third job and then left it:

- 1) casual/Mission (1 year)
- 2) casual/Mara (1 year)
- 3) casual/Mission (1 year)

Only 1 man (of this group) engaged in a fourth job and is still in it:

- 1) cook/Mission (4 years) 3) driver/Ranch (1 year)
- 2) driver/Narok (1 year) 4) driver/Mara (1 year and still)

Lemek females: All 4 had finished primary schooling:-

1 was still in her first job Nursery teacher/Ranch (2 years+)

1 was still in her second job
nursery teacher/Ranch (2 years) nursery teacher/Ranch (2 years+)

1 worked as a teacher in at least two places before retirement

- 1) primary teacher/outside district (4 years)
- 2) primary teacher/Narok (4 years)

1 was still working in her third job

- 1) shopowner/ Ranch (6 years)
- 2) primary teacher/Ranch (1 year)
- 3) nursery teacher/Ranch (1 year and still)

APPENDIX 7CEmployment, place and years: The Loita sample

- (A) Those with secondary/tertiary education = 18 men and 1 woman, and of these, 9 only had one job. Six men are still working in their first jobs and some of these commitments are quite lengthy, 3 have been working as teachers for 26 years, 20 years and 15 years respectively.

Primary teacher/in district = 26 years and still a teacher
 Primary teacher/in district = 20 years and still a teacher
 Primary teacher/in district = 15 years and still a teacher
 Primary teacher/in district = 4 years and still a teacher
 Primary teacher/in district = 2 years and still a teacher
 Medical assistant/Project = 5 years and still there

- 3 men had a single job and left it
 dip attendant/Kilgoris = 2 years
 waiter/Mombasa = 2 years
 Ranger/Mara = 9 years

Two jobs - 4 men took a second job and are still employed in it:

First Job	Second Job
clerk/Nairobi (3 years)	Ranger/Mara (3 yrs and still)
shop asst/Mara (1 year)	shop asst/Project (4 years+)
primary teacher/Kajiado (5 yrs)	clerk/Kericho (12 years+)
watchman/Mara (3 years)	shopowner/Loita (2 years+)

- 1 man had taken up a second job and had left it after 1 year
 Adult ed teacher/Loita (3 yrs) Pri.teacher/Project (1 year)

- 1 man took a third job and is still working in it

- 1) shop assistant/Project (2 years)
- 2) Ranger/Mara (3 years)
- 3) tour guide/Mara (2 years and still there)

- 2 men took a third job and have since left them

- 1) sawmill worker/Mau Narok (in district) (3 years)
- 2) forestry worker/Nakuru (7 years)
- 3) farmhand/Ilkerin Project (3 years)

- 1) clerk/Narok (1 year)
- 2) clerk/Nairobi (3 years)
- 3) primary teacher/in district (1 year)

- 1 man had a fourth job but has left it

- 1) clerk/Kajiado (2 years)
- 2) Ranger/Mara (1 year)
- 3) job seeker/Mombasa (1 year)
- 4) research asst/Loita (1 year)

(B) There were 24 interviews with men who had finished primary but never gone to a secondary school:

12 were still in their first jobs
 shop asst/Loita (7 years and still)
 shopowner/Loita (15 years and still)
 farmhand/Project (12 years and still)
 nurse/Nakuru (12 years and still)
 adult educ teacher/in district (3 years and still)
 Ranger/Nakuru (11 years and still)
 Ranger/Narok (6 years and still)
 Ranger/Mara (11 years and still)
 Ranger/Mara (2 years and still)
 primary teacher/Loita (20 years and still)
 Kenya Police/Ruiru (outside district) (6 years and still)
 tannery worker/Project (14 years and still)

1 man undertook a job and then left it after some time:
 primary teacher/in district (2 years)

7 were still in their second jobs:
 Ranger/Mara (6 yrs) assistant chief/Loita (1 year and still)
 Nat. Youth Serv/Narok (2 yrs) Kenya Army/Gilgil (8 yrs and still)
 shop asst/Project (4 yrs) clerk/Project (6 years and still)
 dip atttdt/Loita (5 yrs) Ranger/Mara (4 years and still)
 Nat. Youth Service/Gilgil (1 yr) waiter/Mara (1 year and still)
 cattle trader/Loita (2 yrs) Ranger/Mara (10 years and still)
 tour guide/Mara (4 years) Ranger/Mara (5 years and still)

1 man was still working in his third job

1) cattle trader/Loita (5 years)
 2) casual worker/Project (1 year)
 3) tour guide/Kitale (6 years and still there)

1 man had left his third job

1) watchman/Kitale (2 years)
 2) casual worker/Mara (1 year)
 3) shop assistant/Mara (1 year)

2 men were still in their fourth jobs

1) casual/Project (2 Yrs) (3) shop asst/Mara (2 years)
 2) tour guide/Kitale (1 yr) (4) shop asst/Project (1 year+)
 1) shop asst/in Dst. (2 yrs) (3) shop asst/in Dst. (1 yr)
 2) shop asst/Project (2 yrs) (4) shop asst/Project (4 yrs+)

(C) Finally, there were also 16 men who had attended primary school and had dropped out of school:

5 were still in the first job
 watchman/Project (10 years and still)
 water dept./Loita (10 years and still)
 Ranger/Mara (2 years and still)
 shop assistant/Loita (2 years and still)
 herdsman/Loita (1 year and still)

5 had worked in just one job and left it

NCC councillor/Loita (5 years)
casual worker/Mara (2 years)
dip attendant/Narok (4 years)
shop assistant/Nairobi (1 year)
Narok City Councillor/Loita (7 years)

4 were still working in their second job

Ranger/Mara (6 years) dip atttdt/Loita (4 years and still)
gatekeeper/Mara (1 year) cook/in district (2 years and still)
medical asst/Project (2 yrs) Kenya Army/Gilgil (5 years+)
dip attendant/Narok (7 yrs) Asst chief/Loita (1 year and still)

1 man had left his second job after 1 year of work in it

dip attendant/Narok (3 yrs) Water Dpt worker/Loita (1 year)

1 was still working in his third job

1) Ranger/Nyeri (3 years)
2) shopowner/Loita (4 years)
3) shopowner/Loita (5 years and still)

(D) Non-educated workers (15), especially those who worked away from home:

1 man was still working in his first job

watchman/Project (7 years and still)

8 men worked once and then left the job marker=t

watchman/Kitale (3 years)
herdsman/Kitale (5 years)
herdsman/Kitale (5 years)
watchman/Kitale (3 years)
casual/Project (3 years)
assistant chief/Loita (8 years)
builder labourer/Project (5 years)
hides and skins dealer/Loita and Nairobi (6 years)

3 men worked in a second job and are still working in it:

cattle trader/Loita (4 yrs) herdsman/Narok (2 yrs+)
cattle trader/Loita (1 yr) cattle trader/Narok (2 yrs+)
herdsman/Project (1 year) watchman/Project (2 years+)

1 man had also left his second job

herdsman/Kitale (2 yrs) builder/Project (2 years)

1 man had begun and was still working in a third job:

1) watchman/Narok (6 years)
2) casual labourer/Narok (2 years)
3) builder labourer/Mara (2 years and still there)

1 other man had worked in a third job and had left it

1) Administration Policeman/Kajiado (16 years)
2) driver/Narok (8 years)
3) driver/Narok (10 years)

Loita females

- 1 Form 1 dropout is now working in her second job
canteen worker/Project (1 yr) nursery teacher/in dist. (1 yr+)
- 1 female had finished primary and was in her second job
translator/Project (1 year) nursery teacher/Project (9 years+)
- 2 dropped out of primary; 1 was still in her 2nd job
medical asst/Project (4 years) adult ed teacher/Loita (6 yrs+)
- another primary dropout was still in her first job
nursery teacher/Loita (3 years and still working).

APPENDIX 9AWorkers interviewed in Lemek

The totals and percentages presented below cover the numbers of jobs pursued and the corresponding numbers of interviews that actually cover those jobs. What may be a more accurate figure is the number of interviewed persons who undertook first jobs. For example, of the 73 educated persons, 62 were interviewed (85%), and of the 143 non-educated persons, 46 were interviewed (32%).

The focus of this research necessitated interviews with those having education and wage-employment experience, especially employment away from the home area. The numbers of those falling into these categories is given in Table JJ:

Table JJ Numbers of workers interviewed (B) by category (cattle traders, herdsman, other), educational status, and numbers of jobs: compared to the total number of jobs undertaken in selected categories (A):
Lemek Group Ranch

Educated	Job 1			Total	%	Job 2 through Job 6		
	ct	hrdrs	oth			ct	hrdrs	oth
Total A	5	4	64	73		2	0	63
Total B	1	3	58	62	85	2	2	55
Non-educated	Job 1			Total	%	Job 2 through Job 4		
	ct	hrdrs	oth			ct	hrdrs	oth
Total A	60	26	57	143		8	6	38
Total B	3	16	27	46	32	0	4	25

Total A: The total numbers in the Ranch for each job category.
Total B: The total number of interviews with workers in each job category.

Of the 73 educated persons under Job 1, 62 were interviewed (85%), and of the 143 non-educated workers under Job 1, 46 were interviewed (32%). The difference in these figures is due to the fact that the educated workers in both sites form the focus of the study.

The cattle traders tended to work out of the Ranch but the herders moved as far afield as Kitale and some to The Maasai Mara. Because these men had worked away from home, a form of migration for wage-employment, some of them were interviewed (in fact, three of the four herders who had worked away from home for their first jobs were interviewed).

Although the main focus of the research was on education and subsequent employment, it was decided to interview certain non-educated workers in both places, if possible, to get another perspective, especially if they had worked away from home in such places as The Maasai Mara. At least 21 of the non-educated men in Lemek found employment in The Mara at some stage or other in their employment histories and these were all interviewed quite apart from those non-educated men who had travelled as far afield as Tanzania for employment.

Generally speaking, nobody was interviewed who had not, in some way or other, worked away from the home. However, some people who had worked locally for one job but had moved further afield for another job were also interviewed. Among the non-educated in Lemek Group Ranch who had found initial employment locally, three males who had worked as cattle traders were interviewed, as were 16 who had worked as herdsmen (in a number of cases these had worked as far away as Kitale), and 27 males who had worked in other categories of employment.

Because the basic research was among those who had some education and had used it to find some kind of employment, the numbers of interviewees were greater among this group: 58 males who worked in a whole variety of jobs, plus three educated males who became herdsmen and one educated male who at one point or another worked as a cattle trader.

Also in Lemek, 49 non-educated women who had found employment at the Mission as casual workers were interviewed. In addition, four educated females in Lemek were interviewed (three of whom were Uasin Gishu Maasai whose parents came from outside the Ranch and even the district), all of whom had worked as teachers.

Sixty-two educated workers were interviewed and these included:

- (a) 43 persons, had finished the primary course, had sat the final exam for the primary school leaving certificate, regardless of what this had been called over the past twenty-odd years at the times when they sat for it, and had subsequently found employment.

Twenty-five of the above had gone on to secondary school

(eight to Form 2, three to Form 3, and 14 had reached Form 4).

Two males had continued to university and graduated.

In fact, when asked why they had gone on to secondary school in the first place, 18 replied that they had wished to advance in their education and seven said that they had expected to get a good job after their secondary education.

- (b) Nineteen males had dropped out of primary school and found employment.

Forty-six persons who were non-educated and yet found employment were also interviewed.

Interviews were carried out with virtually all those who had entered a second, third, fourth, fifth, or sixth job. Sixty non-educated females found some form of initial wage-employment in Lemek Group Ranch. Among the females with education, six became teachers and six found other jobs.

The workers interviewed in Loita

The same strategy was adopted in Loita; among the non-educated group, two cattle traders, four herdsman, and nine males who worked in various other capacities were interviewed. However, among the educated group, 55 males who had worked away from home at some time or other, plus two educated men who had worked as traders and one who had been a herdsman, were chosen for the interviews. We also obtained interviews with 22 of the women who had worked at the Ilkerin Project.

Table KK Numbers of workers interviewed (B) by category (cattle traders, herdsman, other), educational status, and numbers of jobs: compared to the total number of jobs undertaken (A):
Moriyo Loita Sub-location

Educated	Job 1			Total	%	Job 2 through Job 4	
	ct	hrdr	oth			oth	
Total A	13	1	65	79		39	
Total B	2	1	55	58	73	38	

Non-educated	Job 1			Total	%	Job 2 and Job 3	
	ct	hrdr	oth			hrdr	oth
Total A	63	10	14	87		4	7
Total B	2	4	9	15	17	2	6

Total A: The total numbers in the Sub-location for each job category.
Total B: The total number of interviews made with workers in each job category.

As in the case of Lemek, the educated workers were the focus of the interviews; the numbers of those who engaged in first jobs are, 79 educated workers of whom 58 were interviewed (73%), and 87 non-educated workers of whom 15 were interviewed (17%).

Among the females of the Morijo Loita sample, three of those with no education had worked in the tannery of the Ilkerin Project for their first jobs. Two women found employment teaching for their first jobs and nine women found other forms of first employment.

Educational status of those interviewed: Lemek and Loita:

Lemek Males

Workers with some education

62 interviewed (all had started in a first job) and
23 of these are still working in that first job.
(25 workers had some secondary education)

Workers with no education

46 were interviewed (all had begun in a first job) and
15 of these are still working in that first job.

This means that, in Lemek, 38 men are still working in their first jobs and have never left it; 23 with some education and 15 non-educated.

Lemek Females

All four of those women who were interviewed had finished primary school and had worked in a job; 1 was still working in her first job, 1 was still in her second job, 1 was still in her third job and one lady teacher had retired.

Loita Males

Workers with some education

58 interviewed (all had started in a first job) and
23 were still working in that first job.
(18 workers had secondary education)

Workers with no education

15 who had no formal education, but had started in a
first job and were interviewed (5 were still working).
10 of these non-educated men had worked away from home.

Loita Females

There were 4 female respondents in Loita who had some education and had worked; 1 was still working in her first job as a nursery teacher and 3 were still working in their second jobs.

APPENDIX 9B

List of the various first jobs undertaken by the sample of those interviewed in Lemek (108) and Loita (73):

<u>First job undertaken</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>First jobs specific to Lemek males only</u>	
	<u>Lemek</u>	<u>Loita</u>		
cattle trader	4	4	tailor	1
herdsman	19	5	Kenya Army	3
barman/waiter	4	1	catechist	2
secretary	11	3	research assistant	1
teacher/primary	4	8	carpenter self-empl.	1
watchman	10	7	shoemaker/cobbler	1
ranger	4	9	farm manager/foreman	3
shopowner	3	1	room steward/Lodges	1
veterinary services	7	5	mason	1
administration police	3	1	trainee hotel manager	1
shop assistant	5	7	driver	1
builder/labourer	1	1	cook	3
casual labour	13	3		----
buying/selling hides	1	1		108

First jobs specific to the Loita males only

farmhand	1	water department	1
medical assistant	2	Kenya Police	1
gate-keeper/Game Res.	1	casual/tannery	1
Narok County Councillor	2	sawmill worker	1
tour guide	1	nurse	1
National Youth Service	2	assistant chief	1
teacher/adult education	2		----
			73

Females Lemek

shop assistant	1
teacher/nursery	1
teacher/nursery	1
teacher/primary	1
--	--
4	
--	--

Females Loita

medical assistant	1
teacher/nursery	1
translator	1
canteen worker	1
--	--
4	
--	--

APPENDIX 9C

The numbers of children per wife of the married men of the Lemek sample:

Number of children with first wife:

no children	= 9	five children	= 4
one child	= 11	six	= 4
two children	= 8	seven	= 1
three	= 10	eight	= 4
four	= 5	nine	= 1

Number of children with second wife:

no children	= 1	four children	= 1
one child	= 6	five	= 1
two children	= 3	seven	= 1

Number of children with third wife:

one child	= 1	three children	= 1
two children	= 2	six	= 1

Number of children with fourth wife:

no children	= 1	three children	= 1
-------------	-----	----------------	-----

The ethnic origins and education levels of the wives

First wife	Second wife	Third wife	Fourth wife
-----	-----	-----	-----
Maasai 39	Maasai 12	Maasai 5	Maasai 1
UGM 5	UGM 1		UGM 1
Kikuyu 7			
Kipsigis 4			
Okiek 1			
Samburu 1			

First wife	Second wife	Third wife	Fourth wife
-----	-----	-----	-----
zero 37	zero 11	zero 5	Std 6 1
Std 3 1	Std 6 1		Std 7 1
Std 4 3	Std 7 1		
Std 6 4			
Std 7 3			
Std 8 4			
Form 2 3			
Form 4 1			
Form 6 1			

APPENDIX 9D

The numbers of children per wife of the married men of the Loita sample:

Number of children with first wife:

no children	= 2	five children	= 2
one child	= 7	six	= 1
two children	= 6	seven	= 3
three	= 8	nine	= 3
four	= 7	ten	= 2

Number of children with second wife:

no children	= 1	four children	= 1
one child	= 4	six	= 1
two children	= 4	eight	= 1
three children	= 3		

Number of children with third wife:

two children	= 1	four children	= 1
--------------	-----	---------------	-----

Number of children with fourth wife:

two children	= 1
--------------	-----

The ethnic origins and education levels of the wives

First wife	Second wife	Third wife	Fourth wife
Maasai 30	Maasai 15	Maasai 2	Maasai 1
UGM 3			
Kikuyu 3			
Okiek 3			
Mluyia 1			
Samburu 1			

First wife	Second wife	Third wife	Fourth wife
zero 21	zero 14	zero 2	Std 7 1
Std 2 2	MNC 1		
Std 5 4			
Std 7 7			
Std 8 7			

(MNC = Medical Nursing College)

APPENDIX 9EPlace of first employment: Males from Lemek Group Ranch

<u>Within the District</u>		<u>Outside the District</u>	
Lemek mission	= 17	Mulot	= 3
Ilkerin Project	= 1	Molo	= 2
Loita Plains	= 4	Eldoret	= 1
The Maasai Mara	= 23	Gilgil	= 2
Naikerra	= 1	Nairobi	= 3
Narok	= 12	Machakos	= 1
Lemek Group Ranch	= 33		
Mau Narok	= 1	<u>Outside the country</u>	
Kilgoris	= 1	Tanzania	= 1
Orkinyei	= 1		-----
Endoinyo Erinka	= 1		108

Place of first employment: Males from Morijo Loita sub-location

<u>Within the District</u>		<u>Outside the District</u>	
Morijo Loita	= 14	Nairobi	= 3
Ilkerin Project	= 12	Nakuru	= 2
The Maasai Mara	= 11	Gilgil	= 1
Narok	= 7	Nyeri	= 1
Mau Narok	= 1	Mombasa	= 1
Kilgoris	= 1	Kitale	= 6
Olgarrua	= 2	Rajiado	= 3
Ormesutie	= 2	Ruiru	= 1
Murja	= 2		-----
Narosura	= 1		73
Entasekera	= 2		-----

APPENDIX 9F

Lemek Group Ranch: Ages when the men began work: more than 50% were between the ages of 18 and 25 years:

13 years	= 1	18 yrs	= 9	24 yrs	= 3	30 yrs	= 1	40 yrs	= 1
14	= 4	19	= 12	25	= 5	31	= 4	42	= 1
15	= 6	20	= 12	26	= 1	32	= 3	43	= 2
16	= 4	21	= 8	27	= 1	33	= 3	50	= 1
17	= 5	22	= 9	28	= 1	35	= 2		---
		23	= 7	29	= 1	38	= 1		108

Morijo Loita Sub-location: Ages when the men began their first job

16 years of age	= 2	28 years of age	= 4
18	= 9	30	= 2
19	= 5	32	= 1
20	= 5	34	= 1
21	= 13	35	= 1
22	= 6	36	= 1
23	= 4	37	= 1
24	= 5	40	= 1
25	= 3	46	= 1
26	= 2	53	= 1
27	= 5		---
			73

APPENDIX 12

Twelve suggestions for the improvement of the school system and education in Maasailand.

1. Text books should be standardised and not changed annually and they should be more readily available to parents living outside the towns.
2. Uniforms should be made available to parents in the outlying areas.
3. Fees should be fixed and schools not empowered to create new ones.
4. The reintroduction of school bomas or inkang'itie oo nkera should be encouraged.
5. The Maasai primary schools should be better equipped and the teachers suitably trained or upgraded.
6. The teachers' accommodation should be improved especially for married teachers and their families.
7. The practice of surprise transfers, especially of competent headteachers, should be limited if not stopped.
8. A competent and properly funded and organized primary school inspectorate should be developed and utilized.
9. Maa speaking field officers could be employed to engage Maasai parents in dialogue about their apprehensions and misgivings about education.
10. Perhaps a revised system could be initiated comprising two streams, one of which prepares some students for secondary and the other more of a polytechnic type of school with a stronger emphasis on the basics such as mathematics and language skills which would assist the students in the long run.
11. Secondary school leavers could be employed as locally based nursery or basic primary teachers (standards one to four) after which students could go to larger better staffed primary schools to finish their courses.
12. Some scholarships or bursaries could be developed for bright Maasai students. The funding for these could come from the people and from the government, or from other agencies.

Tororai inaanyori, naai
Tororai inaaibor, naai
Niminauru, naai
Olakaishuro, naai
Olakatamelono, naai
Mikitonyorra nkujit naanyori, naai
O naaibor, naai
Tobiko incu, naai
Mikitonyorra enkiyabe, naai
Mikitonyorra olapa, naai
Taa ali omon, naai
Tudupoi, naai
Tabai olomunyak, naai

Tread the grass that is green, please God
Tread the grass that is white, please God
Do not grow tired, please God
You will find a haven, please God
Yours will be sweetness, please God
May the green grass love you, please God
And the white grass, please God
Stay alive, please God
Let the wind love you, please God
Let the moon love you, please God
Be of clear countenance, please God
Be effective in abundance, please God
Be fortunate, please God