

**PASTORALISTS AND EDUCATION:
SCHOOL PARTICIPATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE AMONG THE MAASAI**

by

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Dedicated to my son, parents, brother and sister,
and to Lerionka Ole Ntutu and his family.

enkongu naipungo engen

PASTORALISTS AND EDUCATION:

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ABSTRACT

Educational research in pastoral areas has usually focused on government policy at the national 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. The Maasai were granted autonomy on their reserve and no pressure was put on them to send their children to school during the colonial period. Today, land registration and national integration are the most potent factors increasing school expansion. School participation among the Maasai should, therefore, be seen in the larger socio-cultural and historical context, as one important issue is in the relationship between Maasai and national institutions. This relationship has been influenced by factors which are internal to the Maasai society and its pastoral economy as well as by its historical experience. It is contended in this dissertation that school participation rates among the Maasai have increased in the past fifteen years as a response to the political and economic insecurity created by changes in land tenure, wage employment and the expansion of the cash economy.

**PASTORALISME ET EDUCATION:
SCOLARISATION ET CHANGEMENT SOCIAL CHEX LES MAASAI**

Sarone Ole Sena

RÉSUMÉ

Les recherches en éducation en zone pastorale ont surtout porté sur les politiques gouvernementales à l'échelle nationale. On a eu tendance à négliger la façon dont les populations rurales réagissent vis-à-vis l'école. On s'est notamment très peu intéressé aux conséquences et aux implications de la scolarisation sur le mode de vie pastoral. Durant l'époque coloniale, les Maasai ont bénéficié d'une certaine autonomie à l'intérieur de leur réserve et rien ne les incitait à envoyer leurs enfants à l'école. De nos jours, la réforme du code foncier et l'intégration à l'économie nationale sont les principaux facteurs de scolarisation. Replacée dans l'ensemble de son contexte historique et socio-culturel, celle-ci apparaît comme étant l'un des aspects importants de l'interaction entre la société maasai et les institutions nationales. Cette interaction a été conditionnée par des facteurs qui sont propres à l'organisation sociale et à l'économie pastorale des Maasai, aussi bien que par les événements historiques vécus par eux. La thèse défendue dans cette dissertation est que le taux de scolarisation en pays maasai s'est accru au cours des quinze dernières années pour répondre à l'insécurité politique et économique provoquée par les transformations du régime foncier, l'extension du travail salarié et la monétarisation des échanges.

PREFACE

My interest in problems of education in pastoral areas was stimulated when I served in Narok District as a teacher, headmaster and an education officer from January 1972 to June 1974. During this period, following teacher training at Mosoriot and for three years as an undergraduate in the Faculty of Education in the University of Nairobi (1974-77), I constantly asked myself why education is such a problem for the pastoral societies of Kenya. As might be expected, I tended to look at the problem from my employer's perspective. My duty as a teacher was to introduce social change, by every method available to me. Schooling was used to arouse national loyalty by inculcating a language and a value system which students did not often share with their parents.

Soon I realized that the problem of education in a new nation-state with development aspirations is essentially political and a matter with important social and cultural implications. This results from the way in which the school is integrated into the community and the social roles assumed by those who have experienced schooling. The investigation reported in this dissertation is the outcome of that initial realization.

International and governmental interest and concern about conditions in the pastoral regions increased during the 1970s in the aftermath of independence for many African nations, and during a period of widespread drought in the continent. This heightened the attention of administrators, policy makers and scholars to the elusive notion of pastoral development. My postgraduate programme at McGill University in the Department of Anthropology sought to "marry" education and anthropology, development and anthropology as well as education and development. This programme began several months after I completed graduate studies in Social Anthropology at Cambridge University.

My interest in pastoral education was rekindled at a conference on "The Future of Pastoral Peoples", held in Nairobi in August 1980. At that time, I was searching for a research topic which dealt with development problems in the pastoral areas of Africa and could be approached from an anthropological perspective. The discussions which took place during that conference, along with my exposure to the writings of various scholars, notably John Galaty, Alex Gorham, Kenneth King, John Nkinyangi and Peter Rigby, inspired and facilitated selection of the problem of this study.

The information used for this research was collected in Maasailand over a period of one year with breaks in between that were spent in Nairobi at the Kenyatta University

—College Library, the Bureau of Educational Research and the Kenya National Archives gathering secondary data. Informal interviews were also held at the government departments and private institutions, and with Maasai who work and live in Nairobi. The issues discussed with them included the effects of land legislation, commercial agriculture, and wage employment on school participation.

The Keekonyokie and the Loita Maasai are the main focus of this research. The Keekonyokie Maasai are located in South-East Narok and North-West Kajiado districts. The majority of them live in semi-arid, marginal grazing areas of both districts. Like their neighbours, the Kaputie Maasai in Kajiado District, on which much research has focused, the Keekonyokie are characterized by their proximity to modernizing agents such as the nation's capital, Nairobi, and the Central province whose residents were the most affected by European settlement, the introduction of cash crop and by the expansion of formal schooling during the colonial period. Among the Keekonyokie and the Kaputie Maasai there is a high incidence of mixed marriages. The Loita Maasai live on the border of Tanzania and Kenya in the southern parts of Narok District. Previous studies put them together with the Keekonyokie in terms of their resistance to modern influences. King, for example, has noted in this connection that "...two sections viewed as the most conservative over the last 70 years, the

Keekonyokie and the Loita, may perhaps take longer to capitulate to the market economy" (King 1970: 30).

The months of October and November 1981 were spent establishing rapport with government and local officials. Acquaintance with community leaders such as age-set spokesmen, Chiefs and Councillors, teachers and pastors was considered crucial as they were major sources of information.

Relatives, friends and acquaintances helped me compile a list of Keekonyokie, Loita and other groups of the Maasai who had been highly involved in schooling (Schoolpeople), moderately involved (Middlepeople) and those who had little or no involvement in formal education (Homepeople). 300 individuals were identified. A sample of 100 representative informants was selected from this list and interviewed. The names of some informants were changed for reasons of confidentiality.

Various methods of data collection were employed in combination to elicit information. Life histories of key informants were taken. This proved useful, especially for obtaining retrospective information on school participation in the colonial period. Life histories were also useful for eliciting data on the indigenous belief systems and traditional education.

The participant observation method was employed in the Keekonyokie area. The researcher was allowed to participate

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in and observe Matonyok Rural Training Centre social programmes for a period of 6 months. Matonyok projects are concerned with delivery of educational and health services by the Africa Inland Church workers who hope to make converts among the recipients of its services. Two Matonyok development centres, Olasiti (Narok) and Oltepesi (Kajiado) were the locus of my participant observation. The investigator participated in the starting of new schools, the recruitment of school pupils and sometimes in the organization and implementation of the school programmes. Group discussions were arranged for women and men focusing on group ranching, modern agriculture, the value of schooling, cultural concepts of education, the role of the age-set system, and the meaning of Maasai identity and allegiance.

Informal interviews were also conducted with district and local government officials to obtain information about their perceptions regarding development and education for the Maasai as well as about their experiences with the implementation of government livestock and agricultural projects among the Maasai.

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This work results from the cooperation of many people. I must acknowledge many, both outside and within Maasailand, who participated in my education from elementary school through to University.

Senior Chief Lerionka Ole Ntutu initially insisted that I must go to school and agreed to shoulder the responsibility of having me as his foster child. Throughout my school career, he has always expressed total support and belief in me. There is no sufficient way to acknowledge my gratitude to him and his family, but to recognize that a gift is a claim. I thank also the County Council of Narok for providing the airfare that enabled me to come to Canada to begin my programme. The County Councillors, especially Ole Tuya, worked tirelessly to make sure I received the funds.

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CHAPTER 1

In the independence period, African parents applied pressure on governmental and non-governmental groups to expand provisions for schooling. Parents who had obtained primary level schooling set secondary training as the minimum qualification for their children and parents with secondary level education demanded college education for theirs. Since the 1960s, schooling at all levels has been rapidly expanded, particularly in densely settled agricultural areas. On the other hand, African pastoral societies have lagged behind in their participation in formal education. Recently, however, these societies have been struggling to catch up with their cultivating neighbours. The relative lack of educational facilities in pastoral regions is said to be a primary contributing factor to the impoverishment of nomadic pastoral communities and to the low level of political participation in pastoral areas.¹

The response of the Kenyan government to this problem has been the introduction of compensatory policies; the waiving of nominal school fees, relaxed selection procedures, boarding facilities, mobile schools and more recently, nomad educational centres in arid and semi-arid areas. These measures have helped produce a significant increase in school enrollment. The most important

indemnifying measure, however, has been the government's willingness to assume financial responsibility for schools in pastoral areas established on a community self-help (Harambee) basis as a means of encouraging local initiatives.

Table 1 shows the proportion of school-age population attending school in selected Kenyan agricultural and pastoral districts in 1979.

Table 1

Proportion of School-age Population Attending
School in Selected Districts in 1979

District	Number of Children in School	Percentage of Population 5-19
<u>Agricultural</u>		
Kirinyaga	86,117	68%
Meru	211,917	63%
<u>Pastoral</u>		
Narok ²	24,062	29%
Isiolo	4,574	29%
Turkana	5,521	10%
Wajir	3,951	7%
National Total	6,308,456	63%

Source: Government of Kenya Population Census 1979.
Nairobi: Government Printer, 1980.

Table 1 indicates that school enrollment in pastoral districts is still low compared to that reported for agricultural districts, less than half of the national rate of school participation. This often leads planners and scholars to conclude that pastoral societies reject formal education. On the contrary, pastoral populations have made

serious efforts to close the educational gap between themselves and others. For instance, between 1969 and 1979, the growth of primary enrollment was much higher, in the pastoral districts of Samburu (104%), Wajir (211%) and Narok (355%), than in the agricultural districts of Kiambu (37%), Muranga (58%) and Meru (10.9%).

The purpose of the dissertation is to: 1) examine the social, political and economic context of school participation among the Maasai from the colonial period to the present, 2) analyse factors responsible for the educational "backwardness" of the Maasai in the colonial period and for their subsequent efforts to catch up with other societies; and, 3) discuss the consequences of increased school participation for the maintenance of pastoralism as a way of life.

1.1 SETTING AND HISTORY

The southward migrations of the Maasai from the north began in about 1600 A.D. and involved the assimilation of other pastoral and non-pastoral populations. By the nineteenth century, Maa-speakers extended from Lake Turkana in Kenya to the Maasai Steppe in Tanzania. The most southerly Maa-speaking group today are the Ilparakuyo of Tanzania and the most northerly are the Isampur (Samburu) of Kenya. To the south of the latter are the Iltiamus (Njemps)

and to the north of the former are the Ilarusa (Arusha). The central Maasai area lies between these geographical extremes (Berntsen 1979a, 1979b; Ehret 1967, 1974; Sutton 1966, 1974; Van Zwanenberg and King 1975).

Map 1 (see appendix) depicts Maasailand in 1920 (a) and 1963 (b). Maasailand, consists today of Kajiado and Narok districts, which occupy an area of approximately 36,000 sq. km with a population of about 360,000 people. Narok District with three divisions, Mau, Osupuko and Kilgoris, has a population of slightly over 210,000 in a total area of about 16,000 sq. km (Kenya Population Census 1979, 1980: 103, 113). Mau covers an area between the Mau escarpment to the north, which reaches elevations of 3,030 m, and the Suswa plains to the east. Further west is Kilgoris, which lies at between 1,500 m and 1,800 m. Between these divisions is Osupuko whose western and northern border is the Mara River. In the central area of Osupuko lie the Loita plains, which gradually merge with the Loita hills, rising to a height of 2,670 m. The mean annual rainfall in the district varies from some 380 mm in the south-east in the Osupuko division to more than 1,700 mm in the north-west of the Mau division. In the western Kilgoris division the contrast between dry and wet seasons is less acute (Map 3).

In Maasailand, decisions regarding where to establish a village or settlement is determined as much by socio-economic and political as by ecological factors.

Settlements are based on kinship, co-evality and friendship. When the need arises, group members may move apart to join new settlements. These settlements usually consist of five to ten men, their wives and children; altogether some thirty to fifty people, with a total herd of four to seven hundred cattle (Jacobs 1963, 1965). A collection of villages (inkangitie) forms the emurua, or neighbourhood, which draws from a common source of water and pasture. Most cooperative work is carried out at this neighbourhood level, in which every able-bodied person is expected to contribute to general development. Contributions of food, labour and expertise involve men, as well as their dependents. Each olmarei (family) within a single village meets its obligations for herding and carrying out ritual activities. Any family which fails to meet its responsibilities at the village and neighbourhood level cannot expect to share in the community's resources.

Kinship and age-set systems represent the framework for socio-political and economic organization and provide the mechanisms for integrating the Maasai people. The age-set system transcends clan boundaries, ordering all males into groups of familiarity, respectability and reciprocity. Young men are recruited through initiation into age cohorts with special obligations and tasks. Each cohort progresses through age grades, comprising young men through to venerable elders.

Maasai culture has been permeated by a pastoral ideal, which forms the basis for distinction and ranking among social categories and groups. This ideal is embodied in the ilmurran (young initiated men) age-grade, which is the most restrictive in the life cycle. During this period of the young male's life, the ilmurran should not sleep with initiated women and they should reside in a separate encampment, emanyata.³ The principle functions of the ilmurran include; defending the society from attack, helping with the herding of livestock during difficult times, obtaining and augmenting herds through raiding and exchange and learning the art of governing from their seniors. Traditionally the ilmurran have enjoyed the greatest prestige in their society. Accordingly, many Maasai regard this period as the zenith of their lifetime. In all Maasai sections, age-sets or ilajilik, are core institutions and play critical roles in the social education of adolescents, exemplifying features of general and profound significance to the entire society.

The pastoral Maasai of Kenya are composed of more than thirteen territorial sections or iloshon; including Keekonyokie, Purko, Damat, Siria, Loitai, Uasinkishu, Moitanik, in Narok and, Kisongo (or Loitokitoki), Dalalekutuk, Matapato, Kaputie and Loodokilani in Kajiado. The olosho (singular of iloshon) is the society's largest and most important political unit. Although iloshon are

usually localized, in Narok, where the research was conducted, seven of these iloshon are found dispersed (though only Purko and Damat were intermingled) in the three administrative divisions (Map 4). Several groups, which are involved in economic activities other than pastoralism live within the boundaries of a single pastoral olosho. These include blacksmiths (Ilkunono), hunters (Iltorrobo), diviners (Inkidongi) and a mixed group of Maasai (Ilnusui), who are intermarried with agriculturalists.

The Ilkunono are craft specialists said to be ritually and religiously "polluted" and are feared because of the ritual and secular iron implements they produce, such as knives for circumcision, swords, spears and axes which are widely used in Maasailand. The Iltorrobo (or Okiek) are hunters found not only among Maa-speakers, but throughout Kenya. The Inkidongi are ritual specialists consulted by Maasai, particularly in matters relating to age-set ceremonies. The Ilnusui are cultivators. In each Maasai olosho there are individuals pursuing non-traditional socio-economic interests within the national context as; individual and/or group ranchers, traders, Chiefs, wheat growers, teachers, government workers and political leaders. It is the presence of such distinct groups and categories within a single linguistic and cultural tradition that makes comparison of educational responses interesting as it provides insights into the social differentiation which

schooling has introduced.

The labour required by the Maasai social system is organized by age and sex. Boys, ilaylok, tend flocks and herds. Women, inkituaak, are concerned with primary food production, preparation and distribution. Male elders, ilpayiani, are involved in administration and overall management at both the domestic and community levels.

Maasai have elaborated pastoralism as the central theme of their existence. Cattle are at the centre of Maasai social and economic life, being the primary means of production. Pastures, water, settlements and families are arranged around cattle. Cattle are the means for gaining respect, prestige and social standing among age-mates, friends, relatives and non-Maasai. Cattle represent security and the future of every Maasai is based on them. Saitoti has noted in this connection that,

Cattle are very special in Maasailand, themselves a part of culture. No ceremony can be performed without including a cow (livestock) in one way or another. Cattle related values affect a whole range of the society structure. The role of history, folklore, pride and personal values. Most Maasai songs and poetry are based on cattle. When one is still young one is taught how to sing to cattle, to describe their horn formations, humps, colours, even little details of each individual including peculiarities (Saitoti 1977: 52).

Maasai myths tell of the origin of cattle, grass, earth and human beings. The patriarch (olpavian kitok) called his

two sons to receive their inheritance. The eldest son asked for something of everything upon earth, whereas the youngest desired only the fly-whisk on his father's arm. The father's response to his elder son was, "Since you want something of everything, take a few head of cattle, a few goats and sheep, and some of food of the earth, for there will be a large number of things" (Hollis 1905: 272-273). To the youngest son, the father replied, "Because you have chosen this fan, God will give you wealth and you will be great among your brother's people" (Hollis 1905: 273). The eldest son became the father of agriculturalists (ilmeek), while the youngest became the father of pastoralists. Thus, the Maasai as descendants of the youngest son (oloti) became the owners of cattle. They also became the providers of pastoral products, without which neither community could survive satisfactorily (Rigby 1979: 343).

1.1.1 Colonial Institutions

At the close of the previous century the land occupied by various Maa-speaking groups was divided by the international border which separated British and German East Africa. The first Anglo-Maasai treaty in 1904 resulted in the relocation of the Kenyan Maasai in two separate reserves, one south and the other north of the Kenya-Uganda Railway. Eight years later (in June 1912), the Kenyan

Maasai were moved into one extended reserve along the Tanzanian-Kenyan border under the terms of the second Anglo-Maasai treaty of 1911. These two treaties defined Maasailand as an autonomous reserve. Leys remarked about the second Maasai move;

The Maasai left the Rift Valley ...in obedience to the wish of the Government, and that in return for that surrender of their best land they were given by the Government a promise never again to be disturbed ...the Nandi, Kamba, Kamasia, and several other tribes have suffered by the alienation of large areas of land In these other alienations the Government was hindered by no written treaties and agreements. It was only with the Maasai that the Government bound itself by a solemn pledge to respect the tribe's rights in land (Leys 1973: 124-129).

Although the pledge was not fully kept, a reserve was given to the Maasai.

In 1913, the enlarged reserve was broken up into the Narok and Ngong districts, with Mara (present-day Kilgoris) becoming a military post. Narok was the reserve's headquarters under the control of the Provincial Commissioner of Naivasha province. Mara became a separate district in 1915, but in 1925 it was amalgamated with Narok (Map 1). Just prior to this, in 1924, the Maasai reserve was made a province, and two years later its headquarters was moved to Ngong from Narok. In 1934, the eastern portion of the reserve became known as Kajiado District which, together with Narok was placed under the jurisdiction of the Southern province. Following Kenyan independence in 1963,

these two districts, along with eleven others, formed the present Rift Valley province (Map 2).⁴

1.1.2 Government and Mission Education: An Overview⁵

The whole of the colonial period was characterized by episodes of cooperation and conflict between the British and Maasai. The Maasai needed assistance from the colonial government to recover from the drought and plagues of the 1880s and early 1890s. In return for the assistance they received from the first colonial administrator Francis Hall, some Maasai sections, notably the Kaputie, sent some children to the Kibwezi Mission Station in 1894 to be trained in industrial work and in the Kiswahili language. However, as the Maasai began to recover demographically and economically towards the end of the nineteenth century, many students at Kibwezi Mission dropped out of school and returned to their villages.

The period between 1895 and 1914 was also difficult for the Maasai. During this time, they lost their best pastures on the floor of the Rift Valley and the Laikipia plateau to European settlers. Nevertheless, they managed to legally secure their land south of the Kenya-Uganda Railway along the Tanzanian-Kenyan border. There was little mission school education provided in the area at this period so most of the Maasai who acquired early formal education did so

outside their homelands. The Protestant Africa Inland Mission (A.I.M.) from the United States, was the only one active in the area at this time, but its activities were confined to Siyiapai, which was located 12 km from Narok town. The mission attracted some children from the small neighbouring community to the station to sing Christian hymns. Later religious instruction was given by some of the African Christians and European missionaries and a school was established in 1914.

During the period from 1918 to 1939 there was a struggle between the Maasai and the two providers of formal education, the government and the missionaries. The government, with the cooperation of some age-set leaders and the government-appointed Chiefs, recruited Maasai children to attend the first government boarding school established in 1919 at Narok town. This led to a confrontation between the ilmurran and the colonial authorities, as well as with those elders who supported the government's educational initiatives. Despite this, ninety-six Maasai children were attending the new school by 1920.

In the late 1920s parents and students at Siyiapai clashed with the missionaries over the issue of female circumcision and the inadequacy of school facilities. The Protestant missionaries condemned initiation for girls on the grounds that it was "heathen and barbaric". They threatened to exclude from Christian activities and services

any family practising female initiation. Many Siyiapei families protested and withdrew from the mission to form their own churches and schools.

From the 1930s to the end of the Second World War, colonial authorities continued emphasizing practical subjects such as animal husbandry in the new government schools. The students preferred studies which would prepare them for secondary education and well-paid jobs to instruction which would confine them to the reserve. After the Second World War there was school expansion resulting from Maasai initiatives, as well as those of the missionaries and the government. Village schools were opened and inkangitie oo nkera (lit. children's villages) were established for the families of the students. These villages were located near each school, allowing mothers or family friends to care for school children during the school term. Each family brought a number of cattle to the village.

Independence accelerated the expansion of school facilities, as it also dramatized the need of Maasai to defend themselves and their territory from their educationally advanced agricultural neighbours after the reserves were abolished in 1970.

Table 2 illustrates the growth of basic education in Narok during the period 1920 to 1980.

Table 2

Expansion of Primary Education in
Narok District from 1920-1980

Year	Total Enrollment of Children at Primary School	% Increase	% of School-age Population
1920	96	-	1
1930	60	-37	1
1940	218	263	2
1950	943	333	7
1960	1,748	85	12
1970	5,965	241	18
1980	29,274	391	35 *

Source: Narok District Education Office Records 1920-80.

* The school participation rate in 1980 was much higher - probably between 40 and 45% - because of the use of disaggregated data in infant mortality in pastoral areas (Personal Communication, Ole Kimeei H/M 1982).

In 1920, the population of Narok District was estimated to be between 30,000 and 40,000 (Narok District Annual Report 1920). Although one-third of this population was of school-age, records show that less than one percent of the school aged children received formal education in that year. When this proportion is compared to the 35% (actually 40-45%) figure for school enrollment in 1980, it is evident that Narok has greatly expanded access to education, particularly during the 1970s when fees were abolished and free milk distributed to primary schools. More importantly, school participation in Narok went up in the 1970s as a result of abolition of the reserve which protected the Maasai during the colonial period and increased settlement in the area by

non-Maasai with schooling, wage employment and the cash income needed to purchase land.

1.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Much research on Maasai education focused on developing explanations for the low rate of school participation among the Maasai and other pastoral societies, disregarding the fact that a substantial portion do attend. While reviewing studies on Maasai development, Rigby found, for example, that "all research workers in the pastoral area stress the Maasai, Baraguyu, and others disregard for modern education" (Rigby 1974: 7). Several reasons have been suggested for the low level of educational participation for the East African Maasai. In one Maasai district in Kenya, planners identified the principle obstacles to school participation as being;

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 of 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 (Narok District Development Plan 1979-1983, 1980: 58-59).

The planners also acknowledged that the low rate of school participation can be attributed to the lack of sufficient educational facilities. They concluded, however, by saying that;

although educational opportunities in the Republic have been expanded since attainment of independence, it is apparent that the Maasai people of Narok are still yet to make full use of them (Development Plan 1979-83, 1980: 59).

Education has been financed partly by local communities. The government expects the pastoralists to use their wealth in livestock to build schools, as has been the case for other groups in Kenya. Some researchers insist that insufficient stimulus from the central government is responsible for low educational participation among pastoral societies (Nkinyangi 1981: 186-194). Nkinyangi has argued that educational planning for pastoral populations shows the ineffectiveness of compensatory measures such as boarding schools for pastoral children whose parents move seasonally in search of pastures for their livestock. Not only are these facilities located in administrative and town centres far from the nomads' usual habitat, but, he claims, they also charge exorbitant fees and solicit substantial contributions for building funds, making it difficult for many parents to send their children to school. Nkinyangi concludes that schools tend to benefit only those residing in and around towns who can afford to pay fees, or non-

residents who transfer from neighbouring districts in search of school places.

According to King, non-Maasai students from other districts transfer into Maasai schools in order to retake the Certificate of Primary Examination (1971b: 8-9). He notes that this situation exists

because the majority of the Maasai in both Kajiado and Narok districts still do not really care to send their children to school in any thorough sort of way (King 1971b: 9).

King feels, as does Nkinyangi, that the low rate of school participation among pastoralists results from lack of coordination of education with development planning at the local level.

Increasing fees or lowering them, expanding or restricting boarding, ratios or quota systems for the Maasai are all unlikely to have much effect so long as educational planning is unrelated to the proposed cattle, land and health developments (King 1972: 407).

Research carried out in Tanzania has also noted the useage of schools by non-pastoralists in pastoral areas. Ndagala, for instance, observes that "quite a number of available (school) vacancies are occupied by non-Maasai" and that schools in livestock areas remain very far apart (1978: 377). They are often closed due to the shortage of teachers or lack of water and food. Also, non-resident teachers often do not remain for long periods due to the arduous living conditions in these regions (Gorham 1978; Voshaar

1979).

Nkinyangi has contended that, apart from the lack of sufficient school facilities in pastoral districts, the most serious constraint of school participation has to do with the direct costs of primary education. Fees were abolished at the primary level in 1974. However, Nkinyangi points out that, parents are still required to cover substantial "hidden fees" for students at school, including uniforms, activity fees and building funds. He has suggested that;

Most pastoralists are unable to afford the school fees that are charged at the boarding installations (institutions) so these facilities remain either under utilized or, in many cases, filled by children from the relatively more endowed agricultural districts of the country (Nkinyangi 1981: 183).

In 1982, for instance, the Narok District Education office estimates of total direct outlays by Maasai parents, indicating a mean annual per student cost of over Sh. 600 (\$50) for primary boarding schools. This is a heavy burden in a country where the average per capita income was approximately \$420 in 1981 (World Bank 1983: 148). In addition to these monetary outlays, parents make Harambee (self-help) contributions to support various other development programmes in their areas. Other analysts have suggested that the most important costs of educational participation lie in the loss of children's labour. The labour of children is often said to be crucial in subsistence-based rural pastoral economies. Rigby, for

example, notes that pastoral wealth requires a much heavier yearly commitment of labour by children than does cultivation (1981: 159).⁶

A third explanation for the low school participation draws attention to the competition between schools and age-set values and institutions. Parkipuny has indicated that the Tanzanian Maasai feel that formal education erodes pastoral values..

It is not school that they hate but the effects of such an education on the culture, integrity and values of the society. The irrelevance of the education imparted upon the society which leads to alienation and to wastage of valuable time (Parkipuny 1975: 56).

Schooling is intentionally irrelevant to pastoral life. If Maasai children do not attend school in large numbers it may be because authorities are "offering a primary school curriculum, teaching them (pastoralists) about a society they don't really have much interest in" (Sihm in Galaty et al. 1981: 194).⁷ Sihm maintains that labour requirements and costs are not major considerations in participation, rather it is the school's irrelevance to pastoral life.

Mead's essay on the role of formal education in traditional societies emphasized that ... "the function of education is to create discontinuities, to turn the child of the peasant into a clerk, of the farmer into a lawyer ..." (Mead 1943: 639). Tyler has compared the Maasai with the

Baganda, an agricultural community in Uganda.

In contrast with the Baganda, the Masai social system, for example, was strongly ascriptive.⁸ Even where missionary contact was permitted its influence was slight. Masai were able to translate little of what the missionaries had to offer into the values of their society. The achievement opportunities offered by schooling could only be accepted by contracting out of the Masai society. Few Masai were prepared to do this, or needed to. The opportunities offered by missions were attractive, possibly, to social misfits (Tyler 1969: 165).

Tyler concluded that if schooling could not be translated into the values of the society and integrated into status patterns within the society, then educational opportunities were either rejected or accepted by breaking with the traditional society.

According to previous studies, therefore, the low rate of participation in education among the Maasai may be due to a combination of three factors; the lack of educational opportunities, economic factors such as fees and child labour and the incompatibility of schooling with Maasai values and institutions such as moranhood.

1.2.1 Factors Favouring Participation

King has shown that the Maasai were among the first African people to participate in formal education, which provided them with an opportunity to take advantage of a variety of openings in the new occupational structure

created by European settlement and governance (1971c). At the turn of this century, Sempele, the first African to acquire formal education in the United States, and Oloiboni Olonana, the first Maasai government Chief, wished to promote schooling with the help of colonial authorities and missions. Ole Sempele was prepared to use his traditional wealth in order to obtain formal education, selling cattle to pay his fare to the United States in 1909. Soon after, other Maasai notables became involved in schooling. Chief Masikonte sent two of his sons to a Christian mission in Kikuyuland, where the late President Jomo Kenyatta also attended school. One of the sons, Oimerru, became a Chief⁹, while the other, Matanta, became a Maasai agent for the Narok District Commissioner. As King has demonstrated, many Maasai were involved in the educational work of the early missionaries.

There is "Professor" Nakuldu, a Keekonyokie, who accompanied Count Teleki to Lake Rudolph in the 1880s He received the nickname from the speed with which he learnt English Then there was Josiah Shanga, significantly enough a Uasin Kishu Maasai with a Somali mother who had been baptized by the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) in Uganda, probably in the late 1880s ... he had even spent some time in England ... (King 1971c: 119-120).

These examples dispel the belief of many colonial authorities that the Maasai would not invest in education without some kind of coercion.

Education has always been sought for reasons relating

to the employment opportunities and social status which formal education affords. According to King, these factors prompted Ole Sempele to become schooled. Similarly, Chief Masikonte was interested in his sons learning English and obtaining salaried jobs after school. King relates that Masikonte asked the Narok District Commissioner to let his sons learn only English.

Masikonte has asked me to tell you (the education authorities) that he (Masikonte) wants them to learn to read and write English and not to do other work. I am afraid that unless you can see your way to do this, he will not be persuaded to return them (King 1971c: 125 fn. 34).

Elsbeth Huxley, John Mpaayei's biographer, observed that Mpaayei wanted to acquire an education in order to become a teacher (Huxley 1950: 6). Indeed, many of the early Maasai students became teachers in their home areas partly because teaching was the most accessible career in the "modern" sector during the colonial period.

Kantai, a Kenyan Maasai, has argued that Maasai ususally were more inclined to send their children to school during a period of a devastating drought which left many families without cattle. Kantai claims that this happened in the early 1960s when drought forced the Maasai to seek alternative means of livelihood. They saw education as an opportunity to gain access to wage employment (Kantai 1971: XXIX).

Galaty has emphasized the important issue of political

security in the Maasai acceptance of educational innovations. He challenges Kantai's conclusion that the Maasai attitude changed dramatically after the 1961-62 famine and flood. Galaty observes that "it is far from certain that these (state) programs, and Maasai willingness to participate in them, can be accounted for by the drought" (1980: 161). Instead, Galaty argues that political insecurity resulting from national government involvement in local affairs, especially in matters relating to land tenure and resource utilization, has contributed most to increased Maasai involvement in education and other government development institutions.

This insecurity stimulated various 'progressive' changes, with Maasai beginning to encourage the growth of schools and education, and assuming modern practices of livestock management (Galaty 1980: 163).

According to Rigby, the Maasai send some of their youth to be schooled in order that they may represent their own community within the national context (Personal Communication, Rigby 1981).

A related factor conducive to school participation among the Maasai is the wish for their children to learn the two Kenyan national languages; Kiswahili and English. According to Sims, Maasai parents need Kiswahili and/or English, which is usually acquired by children in school, in order to effectively market livestock and interact with government officials (1980: 10-25).

It should be clear from the research discussed here that no one factor fully accounts for Maasai involvement in schooling. Parents are motivated to invest in schooling for children for at least two reasons. First, formal education is seen to lead to those economic benefits obtained through salaried jobs. Second, parents view schooling for their children as a means of obtaining the skills necessary to communicate within a larger context with other societies and with government officers, in order to articulate Maasai political interests and ambitions.

1.3 CONCLUSION

Educational research in pastoral areas has usually focused on government policy at the national 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. The Maasai were granted autonomy on their reserve and no pressure was put on them to send their children to school. Today, land reform and national integration are the most potent factors increasing school expansion. School participation of the Maasai should, therefore, be seen in the larger socio-cultural and historical context, as one important issue is in the

relationship between Maasai and national institutions. This relationship has been influenced by factors which are internal to the Maasai society and its pastoral economy, as well as by its historical experience. It is contended that school participation rates among the Maasai have increased in the past fifteen years as a response to the political and economic insecurity created by changes in land tenure, wage employment and the expansion of the cash economy.

1.4 FOOTNOTES

1. In a recent paper on the relationship of the state and pastoralists, Nkinyangi argued that without educational credentials, at the time of independence, "pastoral peoples were effectively shut out of leadership positions. They did not have a strong enough voice even in matters that concerned their own development" (Nkinyangi 1981: 187).
2. The school enrollment in Narok District in 1979 was higher than the figure recorded in the National Census. The district records show that there were 25,500-26,000 students in Narok schools in that year. The percentage of the school-age population in the school system therefore was over 30% (Narok District Education Office Report 1979, 1980).
3. For a stimulating discussion of the age-set values and norms related to food and discipline among Maa-speaking Ilparakuyo (Baraguyu) see Rigby (1979).
4. The province consists of 13 districts; including Baringo, Samburu, West Pokot, Turkana, Kajiado, Narok, Nandi, Kericho, Uasin Gishu, Nakuru, Laikipia, Keiyo-Marakwet and Trans Nzoia.
5. Throughout this dissertation the development of education in Narok District is the main focus. Development and education in Kajiado District has been studied by Gorham (1980). Other scholars have examined the relationship of education and group ranching in Kajiado District (Davis 1970; Hedlund 1971; Halderman 1972; Meadows and White 1981).
6. With respect to education for pastoralists in Lesotho (formerly Basutoland), Kitchen has reported that more girls than boys were able to attend school at the age of 10-16 years because boys were usually needed to look after the family herd (Kitchen 1962: 283). Kjaerby arrives at a somewhat similar conclusion regarding Barabaig educational participation in Tanzania. The youth of this Maasai neighbour are cattle herders and begin their work around school-age. Commenting on schooling and pastoralists,

Kjaerby writes that; "Children in pastoral societies are heavily and continuously engaged in herding, day in and day out, and this explains the reluctance of pastoralists to send their children to school. It thus has to be made clear that this reluctance is not due to conservatism or ignorance as maintained by some government officials, but due to the problem of having to carry out a lot of labour tasks" (1980: 103-104).

7. Comments similar to these have been made about education among pastoralists in Sudan. Khogali has reported that pastoral nomads prefer to avoid formal education because it makes their children rebellious, especially girls, who sometimes wish to choose their own spouses. Similarly, schooling for boys is out of the question, since formal education has little practical appeal in the life of a pastoral nomad (1981: 307).
8. Maasai orthography as changed in the last thirty years. There are thus a number of unavoidable discrepancies between Maasai names in quotations and those in the dissertation. Changes are usually of the order of "Masai" (old) to "Maasai." Some personal names carry the traditional "Ole" (son of) while some carry only the patronym such as Ole Njoe or Njoe.
9. The concept of "Chief" or "Paramount Chief" was introduced to the Maasai by the British during the colonial period.

CHAPTER 2

THE IMPLANTATION OF SCHOOLING IN THE MAASAI RESERVE 1894-1962

The development of schooling in the colonial period was characterized by two contradictory tendencies: 1) there was a steady demand by the Maasai for education and a progressive increase in school participation among the Maasai; and, 2) there was continuous resistance to schooling and defence of pastoral values and the age-set system.¹ Colonial authorities were advising the Maasai to go to school and be like Europeans; at the same time, they were telling them to remain pastoralists. This history is reconstructed below primarily through interviews with Maasai elders and supplemented with archival research.

2.1 THE WEAKENED STATE OF THE MAASAI IN THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD

The last decade of the 19th century is described by the Maasai as "a time when children were exchanged for food". Internecine wars amongst Maa-speaking iloshon over livestock and pastures, arising from drought, plague and famine, resulted in depopulation. Certain Maa-speaking sections, such as the Ilwasinkishu, the Ilosekelai, the Iloqolala

and the Ilaikiapiak were forced to disperse. Subsequently, these sections sought refuge either with other East African peoples or with the iloshon of their Maasai victors. Neighbouring societies took advantage of this situation to reduce the Kenya-wide power of the Maasai in the early 1880s. The Nandi, for example, were able to attack the Maasai more successfully by making use of the Maasai refugees and certain Maasai political and religious institutions, particularly the institution of oloiboni, the diviner. It is said that new diviners who were descendants of the Maasai refugees taught Maasai war strategies to the Nandi and supplied them with counsel and a variety of charms.

A second and far more serious event occurred in 1883 when pleuro-pneumonia struck the cattle population. This was followed by an epidemic of rinderpest in 1890-91 which killed more than 80% of the Maasai livestock. Famine followed and forced them to live on donkeys and hides, leading some elders to refer to themselves today as the "sons of those who ate donkeys" (interview, Mpaira 1982).² Sankan described this difficult period in the following words:

Neaku kemir ilkulikai inkera enye aamiraki Ilkokoyo aainosie endaa nanya. Neidapasha ilkumok, amu eshomo ilkulikai Ilkokoyo, nepuo ilkulikai iloreren; nanya ilkulikai isirkon, nepuo ilkulikai aaremoou intimi aainosaa inquesi anaa Iltorrobo, nanya sii ilotorok olnganaiyio toontimi (Sankan 1979: 105).

Some sold their children to the Kikuyu for food. Some wandered about, some went to the Kikuyu, some went to other societies; some lived on donkeys, some found refuge in the forest and ate wild animals like the ~~Ittorrobo~~, as well as honey and wild fruits.

This story was related by an elder of Iltareto, the age-set following Iltuati, which actually experienced the famine.³ Those who survived were attacked by smallpox (entidiyai) in 1892. Sankan was told by his father that half the population of livestock and people died before "the succession feud of Olonana and Senteu" which occurred at about the time of the establishment of colonial rule 1892-4 (Personal communication, Sankan 1974).⁴

This was the situation in Maasai country when the British entered the interior of East Africa. It would have been astonishing, given the social, economic and political condition of the Maasai at the time, if there had not been some individuals who embraced the opportunities made possible by the British conquest. The first opportunity came in the mid-1890s when some Maasai sections notably the Kaputie and Matapato sought assistance from the Imperial British East Africa Company. Francis Hall, who was in command of the company at Fort Smith, made an alliance with these iloshon. Hall mounted over ten raids with the assistance of the Maasai, in which some 500 head of cattle and 18,000 goats were taken from neighbouring Kikuyu villages. These were shared between Hall and the Maasai.

On the basis of this relationship with Hall, the Kaputie agreed to release twenty-two boys to undergo industrial and language (Kiswahili) training at the East African Scottish Mission at Kibwezi in 1894. Four years later, however, most of these boys left the mission and returned to their homes.⁵ Although their reasons for leaving are not known, it is likely that they went to school in order to receive food. When the food situation improved, the Maasai students left the school.

2.2 THE EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD 1895-1914

Although the British were aware of the Maasai's weakened condition, a cautious strategy was adopted in relation to them.⁶ Conversely, political and economic considerations demanded a flexible and innovative response from the Maasai to the advent of British rule. Maasai leaders were aware of the British limitations and strengths. It was felt by some, notably Olonana, the great diviner, that a little manipulation helped to reduce the potential menace of the "white locusts", his father's description of the European community (interview, Naimodu 1982). Olonana and prominent age-set leaders, therefore, lent their authority to the colonial administration, perhaps in order to enhance their own authority and position. Olonana even sought help from British colonial authorities in attacking

his brother, Senteu, in a succession war in the late 1890s following the death of their father, Mbatiany.

The British made Olonana a "Paramount Chief" in 1901. This new status came with a monthly stipend of about 200 Rupees, making the Maasai elder one of the first Kenyan Africans to participate in colonial administration. The family of this great diviner was one of the first to show an interest in education. By 1905, Olonana's brother, Olguris, was able to read and write Kiswahili and was anxious to have the Protestant missionary Stauffacher teach him English. It was largely through Olguris' efforts that the first meetings were held between the colonial government and the Maasai, at Ngong around the time of the Maasai move of 1904, to consider the establishment of schools in Maasailand.

Prior to the 1904 move, the Africa Inland Mission (A.I.M.) stationed at Kijabe appointed a young American missionary, Stauffacher, to preach the gospel to the Maasai. In 1903 Stauffacher visited the settlements in the Naivasha area, the main dwelling places of the Purko, Keekonyokie and Damat. Three Keekonyokie youth, Sempele, Noya and Nakuldu persuaded their age-mates to attend the first Maasai "school." It appears that the participants were ilmurran rather than ilayiok, uncircumcised boys (interview, Mootian 1980). Until 1904, Stauffacher and his assistants went from village to village teaching and preaching without interference from either the government or the Maasai. In

the same year, however, financial constraints forced him to dismiss his class, after which his evangelical work met with endless difficulties.

Olguris helped Stauffacher to meet with Olonana and other Maasai notables at Ngong in 1905. At his meeting, which was also attended by colonial authorities, it was decided that a school should be opened on the banks of the Athi River and put under the administration of Stauffacher. Maasai living at Ngong and the surrounding areas pledged to allow forty children to attend the first class.

For reasons which perhaps were related to the first Maasai move, the school was never established. During and after the move the Maasai became suspicious of the British.

At the time the government was not as strong as today to force the Maasai to go to school and things. The Europeans could get away with some things, such as moving us to Laikipia and again to our present residence through cheating and bribery. From the time of the first move the Maasai felt cheated and vowed to resist any other government proposals (interview, Naimodu 1982).

The proposal to found a school at Ngong was put forward at a time when Anglo-Maasai relations were disintegrating.

After the completion of the railway line between Mombasa and Uganda in 1901, the land along the railway was declared a "white man's" country. The first Commissioner for the East African Protectorate, Charles Eliot, eagerly advocated European settlement on what was regarded as the uninhabited area of Maasailand. Emigrants were recruited

from South Africa and Britain to settle in Maasailand on the floor and adjoining highlands of the Rift Valley. Some settlers such as Lord Delamere had come somewhat earlier. Eliot opposed confining the Maasai on a reserve, choosing to pursue a policy of destroying their social and economic organization in the hope of transforming the Maasai into agricultural labourers.

There can be no doubt that the Maasai and other tribes must go under. It is a prospect which I view with equanimity and clear conscience... as (the culture) is a beastly, bloody system founded on raiding and immorality (Sir Charles Eliot quoted in Harlow et al. 1965: 271 cited in Kinyanjui 1979: 104).

Eliot added that, "their customs may be interesting to anthropologists but morally and economically they seem to be all bad" (Eliot quoted in Sanford 1919: Ch. 3). He proposed that European settlements be established in Maasailand and that the Maasai be employed as herdsmen and agricultural labourers. Eventually they would be adjusted to European civilization.⁷

Some colonial administrators, notably Jackson, Ainsworth and Hobley opposed Eliot on the issue of European settlement in well-watered Maasai areas, arguing that Maasai interests ought also be taken into consideration. These officials sought the protection of Maasai pastoral rights through the creation of a reserve. This view prevailed and it was resolved that the Maasai would have their own reserve. The 1904 treaty between the British and the Maasai

set up two reserves, one in the South and another in the North, on the Laikipia plateau.⁸

During the period that the Maasai were allowed to stay in the North between 1904 and 1911, the Protestant Africa Inland Mission (A.I.M.) attempted to establish schools in that area, but their efforts produced little impact on the Maasai. Stauffacher followed the group that had moved to the North, to Olomuruti (now Rumuruti), where he was received warmly and allocated a water-well. Sempele and a team of less than ten paid helpers continued to assist Stauffacher in his activities, until a bitter conflict developed when Sempele was needed to lead his age-set in ritual and religious matters. Being olaiquenani ("spokesman") of the Iltareto age-set of Keekonyokie, he was required by tradition to be faithful to Maasai age-set institutions. Stauffacher gave Sempele an ultimatum to choose between Jesus and his age-set responsibilities. Sempele chose to follow the Stauffachers to the great displeasure of spokesman Masikonte, other age-set elders and his age-mates. The Purko elders led by Masikonte, together with the Keekonyokie elders, administered a cursing ritual to try to dissuade Sempele from his decision. Sempele stood by his choice, but later came to regret it (interview, Kenana 1982). A small number of (less than ten) Maasai had received schooling by the time of the second move in 1911,

but they had attended schools outside of Maasailand (interview, Mootian 1980).

The colonial authorities and European settlers coveted Maasai land on the Laikipia plateau where many Maasai families had been settled in 1904. Therefore, under pressure the Maasai signed another treaty in 1911 which removed them from the Laikipia plateau to the extended southern reserve. The Maasai challenged this plan in a court case where they were represented by a European barrister, Alexander Morrison. The case was lost and the Maasai were relocated. Some elders who had signed the treaty never received the land which they had been promised by the British. Masikonte, for example, had been promised the whole of Mau Narok, but at the time of the second move, the land was given to Powys Cobb, a European settler. Masikonte and other prominent figures alleged a breach of faith, to which the colonial authorities responded by allowing these Maasai to occupy an area overlooking the town of Narok (N.A.R. 1916). Although this did not completely appease the age-set elders, they settled in the area nonetheless. Ole Gilisho, one of those involved in the court case was promised and given land at Lemek in Osupuko division. His children and grand-children still live on this land (interview, Njoe 1982).

When the second move took place, Stauffacher and his family were forced once again to follow the Maasai into the

expanded southern reserve to the banks of Siyiapai River near Narok town where settlement occurred gradually over about three years. Maasai informants and administrative reports agree that, with a few exceptions, the community at Siyiapai consisted mainly of Maasai who had been driven by poverty to take up agriculture, along with people of mixed origins and immigrant Kikuyu. Sempele and other Keekonyokie, notably Taki Ole Kindi, were the founders of the Siyiapai community. Both men had served as Mission volunteers, married Kikuyu women and were interested in formal education, farming and modern ways for their families and the Maasai society. Both men also had travelled. Taki had worked as a government policeman (askari) at Olomuruti, bringing an ox-cart and horse to Siyiapai after World War I. Sempele obtained higher education in religious studies at the Boynton Academic and Bible Institute in the Southern United States. Later, he used his knowledge to introduce maize and potatoes in the new settlement.⁹

By 1914, the colonial authorities had finalized the arrangements making Narok the headquarters of the Maasai reserve. Salaried Chiefs and headmen were appointed, of whom Masikonte became the most important. Those who assisted him as headmen included Kotikash (also a Purko), Kashu and Senteu, both of whom were from Loita. Except for Senteu, the diviner, they were age-set spokesmen (ilaiquenak). These men were required to maintain order and

to insure that the Maasai paid the Hut and the Poll Tax, which amounted to Sh. 20, almost twice the tax paid by other Africans (Sh. 12). Colonial authorities believed that high taxation would force the Maasai to sell off their cattle. Throughout this period, it was believed that the natives could be made to work for Europeans by requiring tax payments from them in the form of money, obtainable only through selling livestock or labour. It was in this way that some Maasai were recruited to work as herders for Lord Delamere, the leading European settler. Most Maasai, however, were not persuaded to take up agricultural labour due to their autonomous status and isolation of the reserve.

2.3 THE FIRST STATE SCHOOLS 1915-1930

During the First World War, the Maasai who lived on the border between German East Africa and the British East Africa Protectorate were in a sensitive position. For reasons of security, the British adopted a very cautious policy towards the Maasai. Lord Delamere was sent to recruit Maasai to support the war effort. Although the government passed a conscription ordinance (the Native Followers' Recruitment Ordinance), it was not enforced among the Maasai. But during the First World War, the colonial government forced Maasai children to attend school, creating another grievance for the ilmurran against the colonial

administration. The age-set ruling (firestick) elders were divided on the issue of involvement in war and schooling. Some cooperated with Delamere's efforts to recruit young men to join the King's African Rifles and to attend school. Some sided with the ilmurran and opposed both military and school conscription.

The young men of Ilmeiruturut age-grade (the right-hand circumcision of Iltareto age-set) refused to serve with the territorial army and resisted the recruitment of Maasai children into the first government school. A battle with the government occurred at Ololulunga. The encampment (emanyata) of the ilmurran was demolished, their stock seized, some of the recalcitrant ilmurran rounded up, and a number of casualties resulted as well. The Maasai also were made to pay compensation of Rs 430,000/-. Many Purko and Loita families living along the border moved into Tanzania to avoid the collective fine and further punitive actions (N.A.R. 1918: 1).

During the First World War period colonial administrators felt that the ilmurran were the key obstacle to "progress" in the area. For this reason, elders were invited to cooperate with the government to put an end to the age-set system. In 1918, the Purko Iltareto ilmurran of the right-hand age-set were given three weeks to bring in their spears and arrangements were made to hold the eunoto ceremony. This is a ritual performed to promote junior

ilmurran to the next stage of senior moranhood. In the 1920s, Ole Gilisho was pressed to hurry the promotion of the ilmurran of the next left-hand circumcision group of Iltareto, virtually the year after its formation during enkipaata ceremony held in 1921 for the Purko.

The age-set system persisted despite these efforts. Because it could not be abolished the government appointed a European officer in the mid-1920s to monitor the activities of the ilmurran. His responsibilities involved informing higher authorities about the movements and activities of the ilmurran, including recording of the number of spears used on ritual occasions. Although formal education was believed to be an important instrument for pacifying the Maasai little progress was made in promoting school participation. In 1916, the only mission in Narok was "forced to vacate its site for a few months owing to the Maasai unrest, (and) shows no signs yet of converting the Maasai" (N.A.R. 1916). The lack of mission school facilities led the authorities to open a government school at Narok in 1919-1920, a time of conflict between the colonial government and the ilmurran. It was difficult to find school-age children to attend school, so a few key Chiefs and age-set elders were pressed to send their children. According to one retired sectional leader who was involved in the recruitment, it was a difficult task;

It is true that there were a few elements who appeared willing to cooperate with the colonial

administration. However, most of the elders were against children going to the prison (boarding school) to learn how to grow crops, how to keep pigs, how to make jembes (hoes), how to milk and many things which did not make sense to us then and even now. Some leaders were under enormous pressure from ilashumpa (Europeans). Ole Gilisho opposed such programmes throughout his life. I remember he was fond of telling us that we should hide our true colours because that was the trick being used by the officials. And so we often said ayia (yes) when we actually meant aa (no). We sent children to school alright but most of those who went were our worst children. We gave them away as a sacrifice (interview, Mpoe 1982).

The Maasai elders produced a total of 96 children to go to the Government Maasai School (G.M.S.). The buildings which had been constructed earlier for a veterinary bacteriologist were converted into a boarding school. Captain Sutherland, was appointed as the administrator of the school. A few families sent their children to school willingly, but the majority of the children were conscripts.

Funds derived from taxation of Maasai livestock and from punitive levies were used to meet the capital costs of the new Narok school. Recurrent costs were met from the Maasai Account, a trust fund set up by the authorities in 1915 to provide funding for water supplies promised in the Maasai treaty of 1911. The funds of the Account came from the contributions of various Maasai sections, with a small amount coming from the leasing of plots to non-Maasai within the reserve. Use of the Fund required the consent of the elders (Masai Annual Reports 1921). Thus, from the beginning the Maasai themselves contributed toward the cost

of government schooling. This point is often neglected by analysts of Maasai education.

The ruling (firestick) elders were not consulted about the aims, nature and content of education in the reserve. During the early 1920s, schools attempted to provide training which would be most useful at the local level;

The whole object of the education at this school (G.M.S.) has been to try and develop the minds of the Masai along lines that will tend to make them useful to themselves in their own reserve. In this connection it seems to be of greater importance to develop the idea of self help by work ... (N.A.R. 1923: 9-10).

Pastoralism was believed to produce a social system which was antithetical to change and orderly government. Sedentarization was attempted in order to encourage the Maasai to adopt an agriculture-oriented economy. The attack on pastoralism was in part designed to eradicate Maasai raiding and livestock theft. Local officials also wanted the Maasai to participate in the market economy.¹⁰

Commercial dairies were developed first at the Government Maasai School and later in the Kajiado and Oloitokitok government schools, both in the eastern part of the reserve. But these were difficult to maintain in view of the drought of the late 1920s. Artisan training and other skill training could be acquired by students at the Kabete Industrial Training School in the Kikuyu area bordering the Maasai reserve.

The promotion of schooling was also viewed as a means of gradually eliminating the age-set organization by keeping Maasai children five years and older in school. The ilmurran were perceived to have sufficient political power to make independent decisions against the interests of the firestick elders and the government. For this reason, government officials sought the support of the elders who were perceived to be more willing to implement government policy.¹¹

Many Maasai families began to arrive at Siyiapai after 1914. Mpaayei Ole Kenaiyia and Kamoni Ole Kenana, who had been sent to live among the Kikuyu during the famine of the last century, came back with their Kikuyu wives. Ole Kenana had Ole Naisho brought back from Nyeri where he fled during the disaster of the 1890s. Kuyoni Ole Kasura and Sitoya Ole Sankan (both of Laikipia descent) later moved into the mission site and started farming in addition to livestock keeping. The former used oxen to plough his plot, having obtained instruction in ploughing at the Oloitokitok school. He sought further training in ploughing at the Government Maasai School and later took up the colonial administration's offer of free ploughs for any Maasai who wished to engage in agriculture. Mootian and Nakola also became residents of Siyiapai. Mootian worked as a Maasai agent for the Narok District Commissioner. By the mid-1920s

there were approximately twenty families at this site and all but one Maasai elder had a Kikuyu wife.

By the 1920s, the mission had accomplished little in the way of winning converts or in encouraging education although such activities had been underway since the time of the second move (M.A.R. 1921). Mission adherents pointed out that a school had been started for the community and that many adults and children had come to learn the Gospel as well as the three "Rs". Sempele was instrumental in sustaining interest in its activities. By 1924, 25-30 boys were attending the school. But according to the Masai Annual Report of 1924, the mission had no influence outside Siyiapai. The report blamed Maasai nomadism and "innate conservatism" for poor response to mission education (M.A.R. 1924: 24).

Local Native Councils (L.N.C.s) were created in 1925, making the development of African reserves the responsibility of local authorities. The colonial government gave these Councils authority to raise funds from land rents and fees in order to expand education and health services as well as to modernize livestock keeping, agriculture and transportation. In 1925, the Kajiado Council elders sent a request to the Department of Education to take over financial responsibility for the Narok school so that a second school could be opened in Kajiado district for its residents. The Department granted permission for

opening the new school, but refused to assume financial responsibility for the Narok school.

In 1927 the Local Native Council allocated Sh. 30,000 to the school fund, providing another example of community contribution to schooling. By 1929 attendance at the Kajiado elementary school had risen to 96 students, from the initial 80 students in 1926. The content of instruction was similar to that of the Narok school, with dairy farming being the principle subject of instruction at the new school. Colonial authorities, who felt that a veterinary training school was necessary to train residents of the two local districts in livestock husbandry, opened such an institution at Ngong in 1927. The Kajiado L.N.C. provided 3,000 acres of land and a herd for the school. However, in 1928 only 18 of the 88 students enrolled in the institution were from the Maasai reserve. The curriculum was more appropriate to a European dairy farm than to the Maasai reserve. Agricultural training emphasized sedentary farming. In other institutions loyalty to the government and school authorities was taught. And in order to remove the school children from any influence which the ilmurran might have upon them, boarding facilities were provided in these early schools. The aim of the colonial government was expressed in the 1927 annual report.

This policy may be summarized briefly as the gradual elimination of the old warrior bands or "sirits" (isirito) and the whole of the military tribal organization bound up with them; the gradual spread

of education among the boys now growing up; the improvement of the stock industry and in particular the encouragement of dairies; the opening of districts by roads or tracks passable for motor transport; and lastly the encouragement of elders of the tribe to take an increasing part in the development of their country (Kajiado Annual Report 1927).

A fourth educational institution in Maasailand was established in 1929 at Oloitokitok on the slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro. This area had two major advantages. It was more suitable for agricultural training and it was situated in proximity to the agricultural Chagga who were seen by the colonialists as a positive influence on the pastoral Maasai. Again, the Kajiado L.N.C. provided land for the new school. The educational authorities transferred 75 of the 100 students from the Kajiado school to the school at Oloitokitok. Subsequently, the upper level classes at the Kajiado elementary school at Kajiado town were transferred to the Oloitokitok school.¹²

During a visit to Ngong in the late 1920s, Sempele, Mootian and other mission adherents decided to raise funds for the first independent school at Kerarapon in the Ngong area. Sh. 575 was collected and taken to Dr. Arthur, the director of the Church of Scotland Mission (C.S.M.), to pay for a teacher.¹³ But the Siyiapai men also requested the Department of Education to provide more schools and funds for government teachers after the C.S.M. missionaries launched a crusade against female circumcision in Kikuyu

areas. Protestant missionaries in the colony demanded that African converts denounce the practice of female circumcision. Many African Christians were reluctant to discontinue this rite of passage, arguing that;

We have endeavoured to keep the laws of Christ, and we have been taught that we can only reach the Kingdom of Heaven through faith, now we are forbidden communion unless we sign the pledge regarding female circumcision. Never have we been asked to sign a pledge regarding the Ten Commandments and where has Christ ever denounced circumcision? (M.A.R. 1930: 20).

At Siyiapei, the A.I.M. converts refused to sign the pledge and left the Church. They told the missionaries that they were unable to "understand the reason for the attack on their cultural traditions, in particular female circumcision, one of the most important ceremonies of their lives" (M.A.R. 1930: 30). In defiance of the mission's ruling, many mission adherents proceeded to circumcise their daughters in the midst of the controversy. The disillusioned missionaries responded by terminating most of their programmes. Subsequently, a small group of Maasai stepped up their efforts to start their independent schools and churches, with Sempele spearheading their cause.

2.4 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF OUT-SCHOOLS 1930-1945

The late 1920s and early 1930s were difficult years for the Maasai, as bovine pleuro-pneumonia, rinderpest and East

Coast Fever ravaged their herds. The Annual Report of 1934 indicates stock losses of 40% in the reserve (N.A.R. 1934: 7). Quarantine regulations imposed on the reserve after 1917 worsened the situation by preventing the sale of stock needed to purchase preventive serums (Gorham 1980, 1: 20). The quarantine thus served the double purpose of protecting European livestock and curtailing market competition between the Maasai and the settlers.

The poor economic conditions had a negative impact on school enrollment in the reserve. In 1931, the Principal of Government Maasai School warned that "without compulsion, I doubt if the number of pupils at Narok school would reach double figures" (N.A.R. 1931: 14). At Oloitokitok, the Principal attributed poor attendance to the drought which had forced many of the students to move into Tanganyika with their families. In 1933 the two schools recorded a significantly reduced enrollment of 89 pupils, with 29 at Oloitokitok and 60 at Narok, compared to earlier enrollment.

The A.I.M. mission attempted to extend its activities beyond Siyiapei in 1931 under Shafer the new missionary; but the Maasai told him they did not want a second Siyiapei in the district. Few pastoralists envied the residents of the mission station. Informants reported that Siyiapei cattle had been hit by the drought known as olameyu loo lonito, the "famine of the hides", which forced mission adherents to obtain milk from outside the mission depot. Although they

had small gardens and chickens, these did not supply them with sufficient food (Interview, Nakola 1982).

These years of natural hardship coincided with the development of African political consciousness, with female circumcision as one of the central issues. The small group of mission-educated Maasai formed the Maasai Political Association in 1930. Sempele, Mootian and Matanta were office holders. One objective of this Association was to press the government to integrate the schools of the reserve with others in the colony and at the same time to expand educational facilities in the reserve.

Following the re-organization of the government grant-in-aid scheme in 1935, the Narok Government Maasai School and Oloitokitok elementary schools were upgraded to the status of primary schools, serving children from six to thirteen years of age. Students in the upper classes prepared for the Kenya African Primary Examination (K.A.P.E.), and those who did well were able to join students from the rest of the colony at Alliance High School near Nairobi. The first Maasai students to obtain admission into Alliance High School were Mpaayei and Tameno. Mpaayei was among the first Maasai to obtain a University education in Makerere and Tameno became the first Maasai Member of Parliament.

The Second World War period was marked by yet another "alliance" between the colonial administrators and the

Maasai. The British were at war with the Italians in Somalia and Ethiopia. Beef was needed to feed the troops raised after the invasion of Ethiopia in 1936. In order to facilitate the sale of stock by the Maasai, quarantine restrictions were removed, price levels were raised and stock auctions were held at various areas in the reserve. The Maasai responded by increasing the number of animals for sale, contributing approximately 12,000 head of cattle to the war effort. In addition, the Local Native Councils (L.N.C.s) contributed one thousand pounds in cash and 524 bullocks, to the colonial government toward the war (M.A.R. 1940). This greatly pleased the colonial administrators. The District Commissioner noted with approval that Maasai participation in the livestock market was becoming widespread.

The Masai will cling to their old ways so long as it pays them to do so but if they find it to their advantage to adapt themselves they are not slow in responding, for example, ...the Narok cattle market is beginning to prove of value to the Masai and (they) are beginning to drive their cattle long distances for the chance of getting a satisfactory price for their sale (M.A.R. 1940).

The cash derived from livestock sales made it possible to create the Masai Betterment Fund in 1938-39. The fund was to be administered through the Local Council which functioned under the guidance of the officer in charge of the reserve. The Betterment Fund was to be used to raise the quality of Maasai stock through developing water and

pasture facilities. This fund comprised over Sh. 50,000 in 1940.

By 1940 the Government Maasai School enrollment had increased to 122 from 96 in 1920. However, the general feeling was that the colonial government had paid little attention to education during the Second World War period. There were only 96 students in lower primary schools in the rural areas in 1940. It was felt necessary after the War to revive education from:

the disgraceful neglect from which it has suffered. This is the more surprising since the District Commissioner from 1940-45 was Mr. Whitehouse who had been transferred from the Education Department and it is apparent the Education Officers have in the past given it little attention (M.A.R. 1945: 6).

Those who were in a position to exert pressure on the government did so. The people of Kilgoris, Nairragie-Nkare and Siyiapai pressed the government and missionaries to spread education to the more remote parts of the reserve. The number of lower primary schools was increased and enrollment rose in Morijo-Loita, Kilgoris, Nairragie-Nkare and Morijo-Narok. These village schools, or "out-schools" as they were known in the colonial period, were felt to be of the utmost importance.

It is through out-schools (village schools) that the majority of the Masai tribe have any contact with education and what it may mean to their children. Good or bad education out-schools will either popularise or discredit education among the people with more widespread effect than the primary school and their ultimate effect on the latter as the feeder service is also considerable. In fact to

start with a central school in the district and neglect the possibilities of elementary schools is to put the cart before the horse which is inefficient and has reacted unfavourably on education in this district (M.A.R. 1945: 6).

The development of out-schools had been neglected by the government, which preferred to found boarding institutions situated in the administrative centres. Some Maasai elders who returned from the war in Asia articulated Maasai interests in schooling; they put pressure on the government to do something about expanding educational opportunities on the reserve. When the policy of establishing out-schools was formulated in the 1940s, the government expected the Local Councils to be responsible for the costs of these schools. Children attending out-schools came with their mothers or other relations, who brought cows with them so they could stay near the school for the term. In this way, school villages were established. Maasai school villages were unique in that all students boarded with their relatives and had some family cattle on hand in order to feed themselves. Children attended classes during the day and returned to the school villages in the evening. Some Maasai parents were opposed to school villages because they often meant the loss of a child's labour, the mother, as well as the cattle needed to provide the whole family with milk. To prevent overgrazing in and around the school area, enrollment was limited to fifty students. Instruction was given in reading and arithmetic, and in stock care and

farming. Among mission adherents, some families in Siyiapai migrated to Nairragie-Nkare during World War II, at which time they started a new school in the prayer house and "showed unusual keenness" by paying the teacher themselves (M.A.R. 1945). Responsibility for the Nairragie-Nkare school was later assumed by the Local Native Council. In 1945, this new school had an enrollment of 56 students. Together with their Siyiapai relatives and friends the residents of Nairragie-Nkare proceeded to recruit their daughters into the Local Native Council out-schools and the Narok school, the first attempt to educate Maasai girls in Narok.

Clearly, progress was being made in out-school education, chiefly because of the efforts of the people themselves. Table 3 shows the enrollment in Narok out-schools by the end of the Second World War.

Table 3

Narok District Out-schools Attendance in 1945

Out-schools	Enrollment
Morijo-Narok	69
Kilgoris	60
Nairragie-Nkare	56
Siyiapai	47
Morijo-Loita	31
Total	263

Source: Narok Annual Report 1945.

There were more than twice as many students in out-schools in 1945 as in 1940 (96). Out of the total of 263, there were 16 girls enrolled.

As enrollment expanded, more teachers were needed and since none of the school leavers in Narok had been trained to become elementary school teachers, almost all of the teachers were Europeans, Asians or non-Maasai Africans. Some of the Maasai students who graduated from the Narok Government Maasai School were able to teach lower level classes and thus received on the job training. It was hoped that Maasai teachers would "infuse new life into the elementary school teaching in the district" (M.A.R. 1945). In 1945, four Maasai men attended teacher training colleges at Kahuha and Kapsabet.

2.5 PREPARATION FOR INDEPENDENCE 1946-1962

Schooling on the Maasai reserve was increasing and combining the '3Rs' with instruction in the proper methods of animal husbandry (M.A.R. 1946: 6). The Department of Education presented a proposal to the L.N.C. in 1946 whereby 250 head of cattle and 4,000 acres of land would be provided by the Maasai in order to permit the construction of day school facilities and experimental farms within government controlled grazing schemes to replace the school villages. This was tried at a few out-schools. Instead of asking

Maasai parents to bring cows to the village near the school, the Maasai would provide the animals to the government which would look after them in order to "control" overgrazing and "teach" the Maasai proper methods of animal husbandry. From these cows the school children would obtain milk and meat. Adequate veterinary facilities for the livestock were promised and funds to run the ranching scheme were sought for two such schools at Morijo-Narok and Morijo-Loita. The Maasai iloshon, the Purko and the Loita, in particular, whose land the two schools occupied, showed open displeasure with the proposal. They argued that they were not prepared to lose land and cattle to a project whose benefits were uncertain.

The L.N.C. refused to commit funds to the programme, preferring to return to the old system of sending children to school with relatives or family friends with a few cattle for the term. Many parents did not consider the L.N.C. herd to be reliable enough to provide adequate food for children attending out-schools (M.A.R. 1950). In 1950, the Department of Education suggested that the Narok L.N.C. build another boarding school near Morijo-Narok, but the Maasai L.N.C. advised the government to concentrate on the Narok G.M.S. which already offered a programme in animal husbandry. The Narok G.M.S. site occupied valuable grazing land and the Council felt that more land should not be released for experiments which so far had yielded few

immediate benefits. Some colonial administrators recognized the reasons why the Maasai remained suspicious of the government proposals. The District Commissioner, for instance wrote;

It has often been the case that the Masai chiefs when asked the reason for their suspicion of any (educational) proposal have replied that the government cheated us of our land in Laikipia and we do not wish to give them the chance of doing the same again. But even so there are men in the ages which succeed the Iltareto who have enjoyed its advantages (N.A.R. 1950).

In 1949, the Narok G.M.S. acquired a University graduate from Narok, Mpaayei, as a teacher. Well educated local residents were beginning to fill important educational positions. Another Maasai, Mpoke, was appointed as a supervisor of the out-schools. In his 1950 report, Mpoke recorded an enrollment of 816 children including 50 girls in all L.N.C. elementary schools and added that "in some of the schools many of the parents have been sending their children to school voluntarily, which indicates a change in attitude towards education" (M.A.R. 1950: 17).

Mpoke, Mpaayei and others opposed the new (1950) primary school curriculum which emphasized animal husbandry and required an extra year of schooling. The students were insufficiently prepared, it was felt, to compete with their counterparts in other areas for secondary school places. The students and some of their African teachers believed that the animal husbandry course was ill-conceived and

developed without proper coordination between the Education and Veterinary Departments (interview, Mpaayei 1982). The difficulties of the programme were also realized by some senior colonial officers who drew attention to the need to articulate practical training with the requirements of secondary institutions.

Apart from the lack of training instructors, the difficulty in incorporating an animal husbandry syllabus adequate to instill into the Masai pupils the basic principles of good stock and land management, without at the same time prejudicing the chances of these pupils for secondary education, would appear to be the main stumbling block to progress in the long-term policy of producing a tribe with modern ideas of stock and land management upon which can be based a sound livestock industry (M.A.R. 1953: 3).

According to informants, some Maasai families who had connections with the Kikuyu sent their children to relatives in Kikuyu areas to avoid the animal husbandry course in Maasai schools. When it became clear to these families that their children could ignore the animal husbandry programme in the 1950s and concentrate on the secondary school entrance exams, they brought their children back to attend the school in the reserve (interview, Mpaayei 1982). Naturally, these Maasai families did not want their children to spend time learning skills they would not use at home or in obtaining well-paid jobs. Ideas held by these Kikuyu-derived farming families about the uses of schooling approximated those of agricultural societies such as the

Kikuyu. There was a scramble for schooling among the Kikuyu for economic and political reasons. Schooling was seen as a means of earning a better living which was associated with employment in the modern sector.

Although the Beecher Report (1949) on the financing and organization of African education did not address the problem of Maasai schooling, some of its recommendations influenced the organization and financing of education in the reserve. The restructuring of the school system to include four years of elementary and four years of intermediate schooling was welcomed by those Maasai who had criticized the animal husbandry curriculum. The District Education Boards (D.E.B.s) were established in 1951 to advise the L.N.C.s (renamed the African District Councils) on educational issues. The Education Ordinance of 1952 transferred most financial responsibility for primary education to the District Education Boards. The extra year of the animal husbandry programme in Maasai schools lost its importance as students at the lower primary level who were to advance to the next stage and those in upper primary level prepared themselves for the examinations required for entry into the secondary institutions outside of the reserve. Students at both levels of primary education could ignore the animal husbandry course and focus their attention upon the final examination at each level. The reorganization of the educational system was a major

departure from the previous policy of adapting Maasai education to the local conditions. The content of schooling in the reserve began to effect changes in other parts of the colony. Ranching was now relegated to a supplementary subject in the school syllabus (M.A.R. 1954: 17).

Primary school enrollment rose from 518 in 1954 to 887 the following year in Narok, once the re-organization had been fully implemented. According to the authorities, two additional factors helped to produce increases in enrollment. One was the absence of an ilmurran cohort which might have attracted school-going children.

There is at present time no moran age-grade, and so boys who would normally have elected to return to their tribal lives are under no particular temptation to do so until 1956 when the new age-grade will begin (M.A.R. 1955: 17).

The other factor responsible for increased enrollment in 1955 was an agreement with leading elders in the Council to send their daughters to school. The honouring of the agreement by the elders prompted the District Commissioner to note in his report that, "one of the more pleasant aspects of administering the Masai is that if they have given their word over any matter they then see that the matter concerned does in fact happen" (M.A.R. 1955: 35).

It should be pointed out that the Ilnvankusi, (the sons of the first students, the Iltareto), were by this time leading politicians, teachers, clerks, etc. Those who had

attained prominent positions included Ntimama, who was secretary and treasurer of the Council, Tipis, a member of the Legislative Council, Nampaso, an enumerator for the hut tax and later a Chief, Masindet, a moran officer and later a District Assistant and George Sempale, son of Molonket Ole Sempale. All of them had attained primary schooling. The Ilnyankusi were not yet, however, the ruling (firestick) elders. The ruling elders were members of the age-set above them, the Ilterito. Some members of this set were among the first group of boys at the Narok G.M.S. like Tome (a clerk), Tiyo (an enumerator) and Njoe (an interpreter and later Chief). Together with the educated Ilnyankusi, they persuaded the non-schooled Senior Chief Ole Sankale, a member of Ilterito, to allow girls from remote areas to attend school in 1954.¹⁴

Furthermore, they urged the Assistant Director of Education, Freeman, to build more upper primary schools in order to prepare more students for secondary school. Freeman explained that the government did not have the necessary funds for such institutions. The Maasai were advised by Freeman to raise funds and invite missions to build schools in the area. They were told that the rest of the country was expanding school facilities largely by means of missionary and community efforts. According to Lemsin, a member of Ilnyankusi age-set, this was an indication to the schooled Maasai that the government was not paying much

attention to the Maasai's educational needs (interview, Lemein 1982).

From the mid-1950s onward, the Protestant mission in Narok was in competition for Maasai converts with missions representing other faiths. This competition for converts became a major force in increasing the number of mission schools for the Maasai. In 1955, Father Fent, the Mill Hill Catholic missionary, was allocated seven and a half acres on which to construct a primary school. Rivalry ensued between Father Fent and Rev. James Bissett, the Protestant (A.I.M.) missionary, in providing schools, health clinics and other social amenities. On account of this, a meeting was held at Kilgoris in 1956 to define the spheres of influence of each mission. In Kilgoris, it was decided that the activities of the Catholic mission would be confined to working among the Uasinkishu at Ongata-Osaen and at the Kilgoris trading centre. The Protestant mission would operate at Shartuka in Moitanik and at Lolgorian in Siria. Each year the missions would be expected to open two new schools at their respective centres (M.A.R. 1956: 31).

In 1957, Father Fent was joined by a lay brother to assist with construction work at Kilgoris. The A.I.M. missionaries, the Bissetts and the Newmans, continued their evangelism and construction at Shartuka. By 1959, seven primary schools out of a total of fifteen, were being maintained by the two missions, with the Mill Hill operating

three. In 1960, the Mill Hill Narok station was established at Narok town, where most religious and development activities were concentrated. This was followed by the completion of an out-school at Lemek and a girls' boarding school at the Narok site in 1962. The Africa Inland Church, determined not to be surpassed, erected a girls' boarding school near the Narok G.M.S. in 1962 with some funding coming from government sources (M.A.R. 1960: 18). Table 4 describes Narok school attendance in 1960.

Table 4

Primary School Enrollment in Narok District 1960

Standard	Girls	Boys	Total
I	109	372	481
II	85	307	392
III	62	245	307
IV	58	204	262
V	13	112	125
VI	9	65	74
VII	8	65	73
VIII	4	31	35
Total	348	1,401	1,749

Source: Narok Annual Report 1960: 14.

The 1960 school population was distributed among 20 schools. According to the Census of 1962, 13% of the Maasai population in Narok and Kajiado districts between the ages of 5 and 9 had at least one year of education. The Maasai were behind a number of groups in terms of school attainment, the Mijikenda (14.9%), Pokot (15.2%), Tugen-

Njemps (17.7%), Kamba (20.5%), Keiyo-Marakwet (24.1%), Meru (32%), Luhya (34%), Gusii (34.6%), Kipsigis (36.2%), Luo (37.7%), Embu (41%), Taita (48%), Nandi (50.8%) and Kikuyu (56%). At independence the lowest rates of school enrollment were found among pastoral societies, most of whom remained on the periphery of the colonial society.¹⁵

It is clear that there was a gradual rise in the demand for schooling and an increase in school participation rates among the Maasai. It is also clear, however, that throughout the colonial period the Maasai continued to resist formal education in order to preserve pastoralism and age-set institutions. They were able to do this because of the relationship between the government and Maasai.

Schooling offered few rewards within the Maasai social and economic system and therefore was often taken up by those who had little stake in that system. Educational opportunities were grasped only when Maasai perceived them as a means of improving their political, economic and social welfare. In this context it should be emphasized that the Maasai unlike the Kikuyu and other agriculturalists were protected by the Anglo-Maasai treaty. They were not subjected to land pressure or influenced by commercial agriculture, and so there was little incentive to send their children to school. The Maasai who were involved in schooling tended to have mission affiliations, connections to agricultural societies, and interests in national

political affairs. They were marginal to the Maasai throughout most of the colonial period. But as Kenya prepared for independence, they became an incipient elite.

2.6 FOOTNOTES

1. The following age-sets fall within the period from 1881 to 1981. The dates approximate the period of moranhood as discussed by Jacobs (Jacobs 1968: 16).

(I) 1881-1905 Iltalala age-set. During the period, disease and famine struck the Maasai and many were forced to flee for refuge.

(II) 1886-1917 Iltuati age-set. This is the period of the two Anglo-Maasai treaties during which time an educational summit was held at Olanana's residence at Ngong.

(III) 1911-1929 Iltareto age-set. Members of this set protested against the first state school at Narok. The government reacted by outlawing the carrying of spears and shields, as well as the age-set system.

(IV) 1926-1948 Ilterito age-set. Members of this group were forced to construct the Mau-Narok road. They disregarded government orders, protested against forced labour and set up a forbidden age-set encampment (emanyata).

(V) 1942-1959 Ilnyankusi age-set. The first Maasai Members of Parliament belong to this group. During this period, female education was introduced in Narok.

(VI) 1955-1974 Iseuri age-set. Permit passes to enter Maasailand, which had been introduced in 1902, were abolished. Group-ranching schemes were initiated in Kajiado. Many have sent their children to school.

(VII) 1970 onward Irrampau (right-hand) (1968-1973) and Irrangirrang (left-hand) (1979-1981) sub-sets. The two groups have yet to enter the olaji (lit. great house) age-set. Many are seeking literacy. The majority have not been registered in group ranches.

2. An Oltaretoi told me that his father, an Oltuati, was living in the Kinopop (Kinangop) area when Olodua (rinderpest) struck and spread in the Mt. Kilimanjaro area. All conventional supplies ran out and people were forced to eat donkeys and hides. His father was sent to Kikuyu areas during this period and when he returned to his home, he brought a Kikuyu wife with him (interview, Mpaira 1982).
3. Jacobs has emphasized that a large proportion of the Maasai have inter-married with the Kikuyu, Iltorrobo and other societies (Jacobs 1965: 111). See also Spencer (1973); Muriuki (1974); Lawren (1968).
4. Olonana and Senteu were sons of the great diviner and ritual expert (oloiboni) Mbatiany, who died during the difficult times referred to above. Because he died without handing over his office "properly", a feud ensued between his two sons. An account of the feud is available in T.H.R. Cashmore, "Studies in District Administration in the East African Protectorate", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Cambridge University, 1966.
5. B.G. McIntosh, "The Scottish Mission in Kenya 1891-1923", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Edinburgh University, 1969. Pp. 108-10.
6. This policy is described in the various annual reports for Narok District, Kenya National Archives (K.N.A.), D.C./N.R.K. 1/1/1. Richard Waller has argued that "The British were ...committed to a very cautious policy towards the Maasai. Not only did they provide the bulk of the levies, but they were themselves a serious potential threat. They could block the road at will and (could) disrupt communications between the Coast and Uganda In 1898 Hall warned that any attempt to coerce the Maasai would involve the government in costly protracted military operations of doubtful outcome. Antagonizing the Maasai might lead to a collapse of British control but a little manipulation might turn the greatest menace of East Africa into an important British asset. Considerations of security and economy alike made the British receptive to the idea of an alliance with the "Maasai" (Waller 1979: 536).

7. Sir Charles Eliot argued that he was "not sanguine as to the future of the African race" and was "as a general principle opposed to the creation, in this Protectorate, of native reserves" (quoted in Leys 1924, 4th Edition 1973: 114).
8. These issues have been documented by a number of authors, Eliot (1905); Hobley (1929); Leys (1973); Mungeam (1966); Sanford (1919); Sorrenson (1968).
9. Before the First World War the provision of education in the East African Protectorate was the responsibility of various missions, whose establishment had preceded colonial rule. In 1911, the Department of Education was formed and a grant-in-aid scheme devised to subsidize mission education on a per pupil basis. The scheme was revised in 1918 to include only those missions which provided technical training approved by the Department. An inspectorate section was set up within the Department to monitor mission activities. The mission principally responsible for the Maasai reserve, A.I.M., was not, however, involved in the government grant-in-aid scheme.
10. Leys states that, "the reason the Masai refuse to dip their cattle, and to spend money on irrigation, is simply that they have little or no use for money and what money buys in Africa." He added that, "what was a virtue in Diogenes is a vice in the modern world" ... "the cure for that vice, the only cure is education of the kind now fashionable. Its great objective is to create new appetites, for tea, and cigarettes, and gramophones, and spotted waistcoats, and ribbons, and hand-mirrors, and umbrellas, and worcester sauce Many of us are gravely dissatisfied with that civilisation" (Leys 1973: 139).
11. The British sought support from the elders who were appointed to the Maasai Council such as Ole Gilisho, Masikonte and Ole Kotikash.
12. A detailed historical account of education in Kajiado has been written by Gorham (1980).

13. Sempele, Mootian and other mission adherents decided to involve the Church of Scotland Mission in Maasai schooling in an effort to lessen their dependence on the Africa Inland Mission.
14. Except in Siyiapei and Nairragie-Nkare where the influence of the mission adherents was strong, Maasai elders refused to send girls to school.
15. Kenya Population Census, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1962. See also Soja (1968: 60-65, 122)..

CHAPTER 3

SCHOOL EXPANSION AND THE STRUCTURE OF PARTICIPATION IN NAROK
1963-1983

School attendance increased among the Maasai mainly because of the political and economic pressure felt by them as the national government began to become more active in the former Maasai reserve in the independence period. Land was the central issue in the Mau-Mau uprising in the 1950s. When the Kikuyu began an insurgency against the Europeans, the Aberdares forest in Kikuyuland and the Mau forest in Narok district afforded them a place in which to plan and stage attacks. Initially some Maasai, particularly those who already had ties with the Kikuyu through inter-marriage, lent their support to the Mau-Mau either by feeding the insurgents or joining them in the forest. Ole Kisio of Mau-Narok, for example, became a Mau-Mau general. Others took the oath which was intended to put a curse on anyone who defected or leaked the secrets of the "forest fighters". Most Maasai, however, withdrew their support when a group of Mau-Mau attacked Maasai villages, killing children and adults indiscriminately and driving off cattle. The British exploited this situation by encouraging the Maasai to report, arrest or kill any Kikuyu who looked like a forest fighter. Substantial rewards were promised to those Maasai

who cooperated with the colonial administration in this matter (interview, Koisikir 1982).¹

By 1956, the "sons" of Iltareto, the Ilnyankusi, had come of age and were now the political spokesmen for the Maasai, although they were not paramount in the age-set system. The age-set of Ilterito was in charge of Maasai "traditional" politics as firestick elders. The Ilnyankusi formed the Ilkalikal (right-hand) and Ilkamaniki (left-hand) Association in 1956 at a time when ethnic political groupings were gaining importance in the country. Lemein, the Association's secretary, recalled that the major objective for the organization was to find ways and means of promoting education throughout Maasailand, including Tanzania. Other aims included the establishment of a separate Maasai nation for Maasai (interview, Lemein 1982). The colonial government, wishing to produce a "representative" plan of action, encouraged the right-hand and left-hand age-divisions of the Ilnyankusi age-set to merge themselves with the Olmaa Political Association, which had been established by the Ilterito elders. The Maasai realized that, without a strong political union, they might not be able to get a fair deal from colonial authorities. The Maasai in the Narok Local Council were particularly interested in settling the land issue before the withdrawal of the British, fearing the loss of their land to agriculturalists and to the new national government.

In 1960, the Maasai United Front was formed to represent Maasai interests. The Front was given political status by the colonial government and a memorandum was prepared outlining the political objectives of the Maasai organization.

We realized that in terms of education and development in general we were at the bottom. Our land tenure system was not protected legally. Now that the men who robbed us of our land and denied us adequate education were leaving we wanted to once again govern ourselves. We wanted all the land taken in 1904 and 1911 returned to the Maasai and rent paid so that the money could be used to develop our nation and to educate our children (interview, Lemein 1982).

The members of the Maasai United Front were affiliated nationally with the Kenya African Democratic Union (K.A.D.U.), rather than to the Luo-Kikuyu dominated Kenya African National Union (K.A.N.U.). Because K.A.D.U. had advocated regional autonomy, it was with them that the Maasai found a national platform to advance their separatist aims. They argued for their own nation or for a semi-autonomous Rift Valley, which was to be inhabited mainly by pastoral and agro-pastoral societies speaking nilotic languages. Their dream was shattered, however, when K.A.N.U. won the election of 1963 and K.A.D.U. agreed to merge with it in 1964 (interview, Takona 1982). The former Maasai reserve became part of the Rift Valley province, instead of a separate Maasai or Maasai-Kalenjin nation.

The political security of the Maasai within the

emerging Kenyan nation was perceived as a key issue at independence. Local leaders advocated formal education and other developmental innovations, which were seen as a means of protecting the Maasai against agricultural and administrative encroachment and to better defend Maasai prerogatives within the national socio-political and economic system. Table 5 below compares educational participation rates in various provinces in 1964. This is meant to show the situation of Maasai schooling at independence.

Table 5

Primary School Enrollments by Province in 1964

Province	School Age Population (000)	Enrollment (000)	%
Central	265.9	250.0	94.0
Coast	120.3	55.1	45.8
Eastern	337.4	166.9	49.5
Nairobi	29.0	39.8	137.3 *
Nyanza	354.1	193.7	54.7
North Eastern	44.8	.9	2.1
Rift Valley	373.7	144.2	38.6
Western	232.5	164.2	70.6
Total	1,757.7	1,014.8	57.7

Source: Government of Kenya, Kenya Education, Ominde Report II, Nairobi: Government Printer, 1965: 9.

* The school participation rate exceeds 100% due to the transfer of students from other areas of the country into Nairobi schools.

Pastoral societies of northern Kenya and the Rift Valley were the most educationally disadvantaged in the

country. The Borana, Rendille and Somali of North-Eastern province ranked last in school participation (2%); followed by the Turkana, Samburu, Maasai and various Kalenjin groups (Pokot, Marakwet) residing in the Rift Valley (39%). The school participation rates of both provinces were below the national average (58%) and much below that of the educationally advantaged Central (94%) and Western (71%) provinces.

3.1 EXPANSION OF EDUCATION AFTER UHURU²

Despite the K.A.N.U's promise to abolish school fees and make primary schooling universal and compulsory the new government initially concentrated on meeting manpower needs through the development of secondary and post-secondary institutions in order to train Africans to replace expatriates. Schools for particular ethnic groups were discouraged in favour of multi-ethnic schools. At the same time the government encouraged local initiative Harambee (self-help) schools at the primary and secondary levels. Societies in the Western, Eastern and Central provinces, which were the most educationally advanced in colonial period, established many self-help schools. The government was urged subsequently to take over full financial responsibility for these institutions. In the Rift Valley, Coast and North-Eastern provinces, where the demand for

schooling was less acute, the government tended to partially subsidize schools.³

The first post-independence Education Commission (1964-1965) endorsed the ultimate goal of universal primary free education. It urged the government to concentrate on achieving a more equitable distribution of educational opportunities, beginning with the lower levels of schooling. The Commission made several recommendations concerning primary education in pastoral areas.

The main effort of the Government should be directed towards raising the level of enrolment in those areas in which the percentage falls seriously short of the national average (57.7% in 1964) These are Tana River, Garissa, Wajir, Mandera, Isiolo, Marsabit, Narok, Olkejuado, Turkana, Samburu and West Pokot ... (Ominde 1965: 9-10).

These districts make up the bulk of the land area of Kenya. With this in mind, the Report recommended that the central government should increase the amount of grants to such areas "while reducing it in the favoured districts" (Ominde 1965: 9). The Commission felt that education should become an integral part of over-all development of pastoral areas, as it had become elsewhere. The Commission proposed that boarding and mobile primary schools be established, but noted "boarding financed out of public funds cannot provide the main solution to educational development, owing to its exorbitant costs" (1965: 10). It recommended the evolution of "an economic plan which takes into account the creation

of viable settled communities, upon which the educational and other social services can be based" (1965: 11). This implied the sedentarization of nomadic societies.

The central government was confronted with the delicate political question of whether rapid economic development or social equity should be favoured in development planning. It declared that

While it is desirable to ensure that the wealth of the country is distributed as widely as possible, it is also necessary for the development of the country to ensure that the steps taken do not inhibit the rapid accumulation of domestic savings; prohibit methods of large-scale production where they are necessary for efficiency; or discourage the inflow of private capital.⁴

This policy had a particular bearing on development in pastoral areas. The national government's chief objective was the promotion of economic development rather than social equity. Lacking sufficient funds to make schooling universal at the primary level (or to finance many kinds of community development), the government opted for centrally directed, locally financed educational expansion. Districts which already had well-established educational facilities were given favourable treatment allowing them to build upon their social advantages for at least another generation.

At independence, the responsibility for financing and expanding primary schools continued to rest with Local Councils, which were renamed County Councils. In 1963, the Narok County Council maintained 26 schools with an overall

enrollment of 3,540 which was somewhat higher than the enrolment in Kajiado (3,000 students).

The length of primary education was changed in 1966 from eight years to seven years. The Certificate of Primary Examination (C.P.E.) replaced both the Common Entrance Examination, which had been administered at the end of Standard 4, and the Kenya Preliminary Examination, which was given at the end of Standard 8. The central government continued administering the examinations and awarding of certificates.

By the late 1960s, many County Councils were having financial problems and could not provide the funds needed to support primary schooling. Money for the recurrent costs of educational facilities in Narok were derived from rents, fees, taxes and government subsidies. These revenues were not, however, sufficient to cover road construction, health services as well as to expand educational services. The chairman of Narok County Council explained in this regard that;

We tried our best to meet our responsibilities in the provision of education and health, roads and other services. With the limited funds we had, we supported many students through remissions and bursaries. This was necessary, we felt, in order to have our own people in the near future run the Council and other departments. We did not, however, have adequate money to meet the salaries of our teachers, the fees of many of our students and other responsibilities. The Maasai were not as fortunate as some other districts which already had many of the things we were just beginning to build. We were many miles behind these people, but we were determined to catch up. At least we had land. Our

problem was how to use the land and other resources for our own development (interview, Nampaso 1982).

In 1969, the central government assumed more responsibility for the recurrent costs of primary schooling and for health services and public works. Some Councillors feared that government participation in school financing would attract many non-Maasai into the district.⁵ In 1970, when the native reserves were abolished, Maasai fears were confirmed. Other Kenyans began entering the district seeking land, schooling and other opportunities.

There were 5,587 pupils in 46 Narok schools in 1969. More than half of these schools had been built through local initiative with the help of the missionaries. School enrollment rose gradually from 1963-69. The school-age population attending school rose from about 13% to about 18% in this period. Compared to Meru District, for example, which had three-fifths (63%) of its primary school-age population in school in 1969, Narok school enrollment was low. Narok, however, had a much higher rate of school participation than many pastoral districts. Wajir, for example, had less than 8% of its school-age population in school in 1969. In short, school participation in pastoral districts had increased but not enough to catch up with agricultural districts.

The Development Plan of 1970-1974, proposed that the expansion of education in pastoral districts would be made a

national priority in the 1970s.

All areas of Kenya, particularly those with widely scattered populations, have not participated equally in the recent rapid expansion of primary education. Less than 50% of the total primary school age population are enrolled in schools in Baringo, Samburu, West Pokot, Turkana, Kajiado, Narok, Wajir, Mandera, Garissa, Isiolo, Marsabit, Tana River and Lamu. In most of these districts, enrolments will have to rise very rapidly in the next plan period (1970-74) if the country is to reach the national target of 75% of the primary school age population enrolled by 1974. All these districts are among the poorest in the Republic. The Government will encourage primary school attendance by providing boarding facilities in each of the mentioned districts. Government will also survey these districts and, where necessary and practicable, improve and extend existing facilities (Development Plan 1970-1974, 1970).

Having lagged behind in educational development and without the prerequisite infrastructure, it was difficult for these areas to achieve substantial growth. In the early 1970s, the International Labour Organization (I.L.O.) criticized the Kenyan government for contributing to the imbalance among different regions and ethnic groups especially in the arid and semi-arid pastoral regions.

The tendency of Nairobi and the other urban areas to grow at the expense of the rural, of richer regions in relation to the poorer, has led to growing imbalances between regions and different groups of the population. Education had contributed to this imbalance and made clear its consequences in intensely personal terms (I.L.O. 1972: 2).

The impact of the I.L.O.'s report on government policy is difficult to assess, but it is evident that the educational goals and development institutions of the early 1970s were

influenced by external as well as internal pressures.

Compensatory measures were proposed for pastoral areas to boost school attainment. Expanded boarding facilities were considered important instruments for increasing school participation.

Government's intentions throughout the 1960's and especially in 1970 and 1971, have been to speed the development of such districts, and they have been urged on this task by local M.P.s clamouring that the colonial legacy of backward pastoral peoples be compensated in the independence decade... No very integrated policy of compensatory education or development was worked out...it was considered that a network of primary and secondary boarding schools might be the most efficacious ... (King 1971a: 5).

In the colonial period, government boarding schools were favoured in areas where there was thought to be resistance to missionary schooling. This policy was reinforced in the early 1970s by the new government which viewed boarding schools as essential for increasing school participation in pastoral societies.

The frequent movement of families and the sparseness of pastoral population were seen as discouraging participation. And, again attention was drawn to the ilmurran system often seen as an inhibiting factor in school attendance. This is a complete system of informal education which keeps youth so engaged in it for such a long time that they do not get time for formal education, thus keeping intelligent and brainy youth out of school. It makes them less useful in the task of nation building. I would therefore suggest for more boarding schools in such areas to assist in keeping the youth away (Personal Communication, District Education Officer-Narok 1981).

The boarding school programme was given importance by government in pastoral areas in the early 1970s (Development Plan 1970-1974, 1970). During this period government expended about Sh. 4 million or 60% of the total educational allocation on maintaining these rural primary boarding schools. Five pastoral districts (West Pokot, Kajiado, Samburu, Marsabit and Isiolo) received between four and five times the allocation which would have been justified by the size of their population (Ministry of Education 1972). -- This indicates a high priority was given to funding boarding education for pastoral groups.

It would seem that the government was spending a substantial amount on boarding facilities for the children of rural Kenya. But it is interesting, to compare primary boarding school expenditures per pupil in urban and rural areas. Nkinyangi has shown that the government spent Sh. 1,240 per urban school child in high-cost schools (Kenya High, Nairobi School, Lenana and others) and less than half that amount, Sh. 600, per rural school child in low-cost schools in the 1970s (Nkinyangi 1981: 190). Many students who attend boarding schools in pastoral districts come from neighbouring districts because their parents work in those areas as civil servants or in order to retake the school leaving examination. It has been suggested that boarding facilities meant for educationally deprived communities often provided educational opportunities to students from

already advantaged groups. Kinyanjui notes in this regard that;

The movement of children from the more developed districts to those educationally backward districts is a phenomenon, so that public funds expended on education in a particular district may not just benefit the children of that district. Theoretically there may be nothing wrong with school children moving from one district to another, especially since national integration is one of the educational goals, but problems occur when this mobility is in one direction only and when it tends to deprive communities of educational opportunities within their own districts (Kinyanjui 1974: 19).

Table 6 below describes the growth of primary education in Narok district between 1969 and 1973.

Table 6

Growth of Primary Education in Narok 1969-73

Year	Total Enrollment (Narok)	% Change	National Enrollment	% Change
1969	5,887	11.8	1,282,297	6
1970	5,965	1.3	1,427,589	11
1971	6,859	15.0	1,525,493	7
1972	8,275	20.6	1,675,919	10
1973	8,433	1.9	1,816,017	8

Source: Ministry of Education Annual Reports 1969-73, 1974;
District Education Annual Reports (Narok) 1969-73, 1974.

Between 1969 and 1973, Narok district had an annual enrollment growth rate of 10.1% as compared with annual growth rate of 9.5% and 8.5% respectively for Rift Valley province and the country as a whole. In 1973, about 8,400 children were enrolled in schools in the Narok district, representing about 18% of the estimated total school-age population of 47,000 (5-19 years). The increase in student enrollment in Narok district was particularly rapid in 1971 and 1972 when annual growth rate over the two years averaged 17.8%. The district's educational facilities were opened to other Kenyans in 1970. The Anglo-Maasai agreement which closed Maasailand to non-Maasai (who could enter the area only with a pass) was amended by Parliament that year. There was also a campaign launched at the end of 1971 by local authorities to boost Maasai school enrollment. Maasai families who had not previously brought their children to school were pressed to do so by the Chief's Orders Act. But many Maasai parents were by now realizing the need to send their children to school.

Secondary school facilities were also gradually expanded after independence. The first Maasai secondary school was opened in Narok town in 1962. The students were housed in Narok County Council buildings until the construction of the school buildings was completed in 1963. Funding and the first group of teachers was provided by the American government. The school started with 45 students

from Kajiado, and Narok. Due to the anticipated expansion of primary education in these districts, Kajiado was granted a secondary school in 1965. In Narok district, a second secondary school was established on a self-help basis in Kilgoris in 1969. This institution was able to admit only 40 day students because it could not afford to construct boarding facilities, thus discouraging non-Maasai from seeking admission to the school. During the colonial period, colonial officials preferred to see Maasai schools half empty, rather than to encourage non-Maasai to fill them. At independence schools became national institutions. Non-Maasai counted for over 60% of the Form 1 places in Narok secondary school in 1971. When Kilgoris Secondary School qualified for government assistance in 1970, Maasai representation dropped from about 50% to 35% in 1971. Form 1 selection was done at the provincial headquarters, Nakuru, based on the results of the Certificate of Primary Examination (C.P.E.).

Despite relaxed selection criteria for Narok residents most Form 1 places ended up going to non-Maasai within and without the district. King has noted that

Unlike other districts of Kenya where local secondary schools tend to have a single predominant group, the Maasai are still a minority in what may be loosely called their own school system... The system is thus open to what are considered by the Maasai residents a number of abuses. For instance a large body of parents from outside ... have been able to find places for their children in some of the primary boarding schools Once a child has gained a place ... he is able to take the CPE in

possibly as little as one year's time and then qualify automatically for secondary school (King 1971b: 2,3).

The Councillors and politicians from Mau division agreed to establish a community school, Motonyi Secondary, in Narok town in 1970. Funds for maintaining this school were provided by Narok County Council as well as from donations contributed during self-help (Harambee) rallies. The Motonyi Secondary School took over the Narok County Council buildings, which had been used by the students of Narok Secondary School eight years earlier. In 1973, then, there were three secondary schools, two maintained by the government and the other unaided. These three secondary schools had an enrollment in 1973 of about 640 students, over a third of whom came from Narok. 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. Few Maasai children qualified to enter the so-called extra-provincial and provincial schools located in educationally advanced districts.⁶

Table 7 describes the distribution of the Narok secondary school population from 1963-1973.

Table 7

**The Development of Secondary Education
in Narok District 1963-1973**

Year	No. of Govt. Aided Schools	Student Enrollment Total	No. of Unaided Schools	Student Enrollment	Grand Total	% Change
1963	1	90	-	-	90	-
1964	1	135	-	-	135	50.0
1965	1	180	-	-	180	33.3
1966	1	180	-	-	180	0
1967	1	215	-	-	215	19.4
1968	1	250	-	-	250	16.3
1969	1	285	1	40	325	30.0
1970	2	400	1	40	440	35.4
1971	2	440	1	80	520	18.2
1972	2	480	1	120	600	15.4
1973	2	480	1	160	640	6.7

Source: Narok District Education Office,
Annual Reports 1963-73, 1974.

In the first decade of independence, secondary school enrollment increased by 611% compared to 287% for the Rift Valley and 230% for the whole country. The percentage of unaided schools in Narok was lower than in settled districts indicating that the government was giving little support to communities which could not build secondary schools through their own efforts. The Central province, which had the greatest number of educational facilities, was better able to provide them through missionary and self-help efforts. This advantage has been consolidated through political influence and through wealth generated by cash crops and commerce.

To sum up, despite significant increases in student

enrollment in pastoral districts in the first independence decade, primary school enrollment did not reach the government target of 75% by 1974.

During the 1970-74 plan period, the government attempted to encourage primary education by providing boarding facilities at selected schools in these areas. The experience to date is that the cost per pupil has been extremely high and the actual response has been disappointing in terms of increased enrolment by people indigenous to those areas. Therefore the government will reduce the scope of this particular programme substantially until its effectiveness has been demonstrated (Development Plan 1974: 142).

It is puzzling that the government blamed pastoralists for the failure of the boarding programme. Although government planning emphasized the provision of boarding facilities in pastoral areas, few boarding schools were established with government grants.⁷ Central government contributions were used to maintain the schools, but even this support did not encourage much expansion nor was it sufficient to cover recurrent costs. Children were required therefore to make "building funds donations of Sh. 200 (US\$ 28.6) in addition to paying fees which amounted to about Sh. 400 (US\$ 57.1). Added to these costs were the costs of books and school uniforms as well as transportation to administrative and trading centres where boarding schools were located. Many Maasai parents especially who live far from market centres, found boarding expenses beyond their means even though they might have wanted to send their children to boarding schools

to improve their children's chance of passing the C.P.E.

Less than 10% of the school population in Narok was attending boarding schools during the first decade of independence. In 1973, for instance, 47 out of 52 schools in the district were providing day education. Construction costs of these day schools was financed through the contributions of parents and the assistance of missions. Once the schools had been built, the government was politically pressured to assume responsibility for them. Communities having local leaders who were politically influential at the national level were more likely to benefit from government assistance for school expansion.

Those Maasai who were involved in commercial agriculture and who held government positions as teachers, Chiefs, policemen, etc. tended to be more highly motivated educationally, and were more apt to find money to invest in their children's schooling.

In those areas where the penetration of Maasailand has been most dramatic, and where the incomers feel security of title to land, school attendance rates are high, fees can be extracted without much difficulty, and there is not a chronic drop-out problem after the first few standards in school. This type of school can be located along the north and north-east where there has been steady Kikuyu infiltration from Nakuru and Kiambu Districts over the last year or so (King 1972: 393).

Conversely, most herders live in areas far removed from those where missions, and government have been active. In these areas school participation rates have increased only

slightly. For example, in Morijo-Loita, Leshuta and Naikarra primary schools there were less than 50 students in each school in 1973. Masikonte primary school in Narok town, had eight times the number of students attending these remote schools.

3.2 EDUCATION FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT 1974-1983

Table 8 summarizes the expansion of primary school enrollment in Kenya from 1974 to 1981.

Table 8

Primary School Enrollments in Narok
and for all Districts 1974-81

Year	Boys' Enrolled	Girls' Enrolled	Total Enrolled	% Annual Change (Narok)	% Annual Change (National)
1974	-	-	12,832	34.3	49.0
1975	9,905	5,589	15,494	17.2	6.5
1976	10,177	5,633	15,810	2.0	0.5
1977	10,670	8,171	18,841	16.1	2.6
1978	12,284	6,792	19,076	1.2	0.8
1979	16,065	8,809	25,447	25.0	23.5
1980	17,960	11,314	29,274	13.1	6.3
1981	19,837	12,801	32,638	10.3	3.1
			Cumulative %	154.3	50.0

Source: Narok district Education Annual Reports 1974-81, 1982.

In 1974, enrollment in Narok district rose by one third compared to the previous year due to President Kenyatta's announcement that school fees would be abolished at the primary level (Standards 1-4). School enrollment rose

dramatically again in 1979, when the government announced free and universal primary education for day students. By 1979, over one-third of the school-age population in Narok (which was about 83,000 in 1979) was attending school. However, approximately 35% of all primary school students failed to finish school between 1974 and 1979.⁸ Most of these left school after the first Standard. The drop-out rate in Narok was about 30% higher than in many pastoral districts such as Isiolo and Samburu, for example. In Narok the drop-out was disproportionately high among girls (over 35%). When funds are limited, most families decide to educate their sons rather than their daughters. Domestic responsibility and marriage commitments also reduce female participation in education.

Only 1,252 students or 3.8% of the total school population in 1981 were attending the five boarding schools in the district. Many new day schools were opened in the remote parts of the district as more parents wished their children to obtain schooling to enable them to participate in national institutions.

Today, our children must go to school and we ourselves want to learn... It has become imperative for us to know how to read and write because these things are necessary at markets, when interacting with officials and non-Maasai, to become a Chief, to get loans, in courts, at the dispensary and everywhere. People without education are blind (interview, Kipolonka 1982).

The Loita, for instance, who were previously considered

resistant to schooling and other development innovations, built three new day schools during the late 1970s and have plans to start some more primary schools through self-help community efforts. Elsewhere in the district land legislation in the mid-1970s increased land leasing to commercial farmers both from Narok and outside. Younger Maasai began to feel that such innovations required literacy and an understanding of credit systems, as well as facility in spoken and written Kiswahili or English. This prompted even more educational participation. Although primary school expansion improved access to education, in 1979, each school in the district served an area of 183 sq. km compared to about 15 sq. km in Central province. While students in the Central province travelled an average of 2 km to reach a school, those in Narok travelled an average of 8 km.

Much expansion also occurred at the secondary school level from the mid-1970s onward. In 1977, Motonyi Secondary and Narok High Schools merged. A new school was opened at Nairragie-Nkare operated by the Catholic Mission. In the following year the mission established a girls' school at Narok town. The next year (1979) two secondary schools were established by parents with the help of missions at Narok town and at Kilgoris. This led to an enrollment of 850 at the district's four secondary schools. By 1982 there were six secondary institutions, with Narok High School having Forms I-VI classes and the rest having Form I-IV. St.

Mary's Girls at Narok town, St. Anthony at Nairragie-Nkare and Sosio at Kilgoris town were run by the Catholic mission, while Narok High, Narok Girls and Kilgoris Secondary School were maintained by the government. More than 1,350 students were attending these secondary schools in 1982 (School Records and Headmasters' interviews, 1982). This represented 33.3% increase in the number of secondary schools in Narok from 1975-1979, and a growth of 18.1% in student enrollment. For the country as a whole, the number of schools increased from 1,162 to 1,737 schools (49.4%), compared to a dramatic increase in enrollment from 226,800 to 1,212,540 students (434.6%).

The number of secondary school students in Narok has increased at a slower rate than the rest of the country largely because of government's tendency to rely on local communities to establish schools at the secondary as well as at the primary level with the result that

Local politicians and other pressure groups combine to attract to their districts new form one and form five government secondary streams...a combination of large population, highly developed primary school systems, and an enthusiasm for education have produced many self-help secondary schools in (Central, Eastern, Nyanza and Western Provinces)... and...most of these Harambee schools...manoeuvre to become government institutions, once they have produced four forms and housed them in solid buildings (King 1971a: 1,2).

The rapid expansion of education in Kenya, to sum up, has not greatly changed regional, urban/rural and ethnic

inequalities. On the contrary, the government policy of financing school expansion partially through community self-help efforts has contributed to social inequalities in access to educational facilities.

Nevertheless, Narok district has greatly expanded school facilities especially in the last fifteen years. On the whole, the Maasai have made a considerable effort to advance educationally, considering the situation of the Maasai at the end of the colonial and beginning of the independence period. In 1962, Maasai school-age population attending school in both Kajiado and Narok districts was 13% compared to about 40% in 1979.⁹ This increase came about because of many factors. Political and economic pressure absent in Maasailand during the colonial period began to be felt following independence as the government aimed at integrating the former Maasai reserve into the Kenyan nation. The abolition of the native reserves and agricultural encroachment motivated many Maasai to support schooling in order to defend themselves, their territory and their pastoral values. Today, with land legislation favouring private ownership, the expansion of commercial agriculture and the settlement of other better-educated ethnic groups in the former Maasai reserve being seen as a threat to the very fabric of Maasai life, education is seen as imperative.

3.3 FOOTNOTES

1. Maasai and Kikuyu relations in the colonial era have been documented by King (1971c). Pre-colonial ties are discussed by Lawren (1968); Muriuki (1974)
2. Uhuru in Kiswahili means freedom or independence. The Maasai refer to it as Kuuru meaning "appetite".
3. Harambee efforts have expanded school facilities everywhere in Kenya. Agricultural societies, in particular, exploited the government policy of taking over self-help schools. See Anderson (1969, 1970, 1973); Court (1976); N'gethe (1978); Kinyanjui (1979: 181-201).
4. Sessional Paper No. 10 "African Socialism and its Applications to Planning in Kenya", 1965.
5. This is because the government would have more control of the schools and those communities who are well represented at the national level might try to send their children to schools in Maasailand.
6. Selection into Form 1 in national schools is done at the provincial and national levels; and, because Maasai education officials are less represented at these levels, Form 1 places are mostly taken by children from politically influential communities.
7. The government recently built what is called a nomad centre at Ololulunga in Osupuko. There is no difference between this and other boarding schools except that the government expects that adults will be granted access to the school for literacy instruction. The centre in Narok was opened to Standard 3 children only in 1983.
8. There was a drought in Kenya which greatly affected school attendance in pastoral areas. Relief

services were, however, provided for schools in Isiolo, Samburu, and other northern pastoral districts (Ministry of Education 1982).

9. The rate of increase has been especially dramatic since 1979 when tuition fees were finally "eliminated". Maasai school attendance rate in 1985 was estimated at 60% for Kajiado and Narok districts (Rift Valley Province Education Report 1985).

CHAPTER 4

HOME AND SCHOOL: SOCIAL ASPECTS OF EDUCATION

The degree of Maasai participation in education at any time has depended on the importance of schooling to prevailing Maasai needs and values. In the past, while the Maasai functioned principally within their reserve, there seemed to be little immediate need for school skills. More recently, however, as Kenyan society has penetrated the former reserve, the need for formal education has been more strongly felt by the Maasai.

This chapter examines the significance of educational participation and non-participation for the Maasai. The first section deals with the conflict and continuities between home and school for those Maasai who are schooled. The next section discusses the various degrees of integration of the home and school environments, ranging from total resistance to schooling and to simultaneous participation in traditional and school activities. Schooled Maasai are known to non-schooled Maasai and described themselves as ilashumpa orook ("black Europeans"), Iloompala ("bookmen"), ilmusheni ("mission adherents" if they are affiliated with a church), ilkaranini ("clerks") or ilmalimuni ("teachers"). In this chapter, these Maasai will be referred to as "Schoolpeople". Those Maasai who

participate almost entirely in traditional activities are generally referred to as iltungana liatua nkishu ("people within cattle"), iltungana liang ("Homepeople"), iltungana lookkarash ("sheet-cladde people") or iltungana leitu eisuma ("non-literate people"). Here, the term "Homepeople" will be used for this group. Those who combine some schooling with traditional activities are called iltungana oyiolo inkaik pokira ("people who can use both hands") or iltungana lepolos ("Middlepeople"). The latter term will be used in this chapter.

The comparison of these groups of Maasai will show that school skills have given participants additional occupational opportunities and often led them to new religious beliefs and different interests. These broader experiences have in turn afforded school participants wealth and authority. Despite new resources, however, "Schoolpeople" have remained attached to their homes even as they pursue different values; a preoccupation with cultural maintenance is evident among most of them.

It is also evident that, regardless of the widespread increase in the desire for schooling, there are still a significant number of families and individuals (Homepeople), who find schooling to be of little relevance to their needs. For these Maasai, school competes with demands of domestic pastoral production, age-set participation and other Maasai activities. The Middlepeople have involved themselves in

both school and traditional activities to varying degrees. The ways in which these different responses to schooling have been expressed by the Maasai, the tensions which have been created by them have resulted in the emergence of a society undergoing rapid social change in Narok.

4.1 EDUCATION AND THE HOME EXPERIENCE

During most of the colonial period, few careers were open to the Maasai due to the semi-autonomous status of Maasailand. Only in the early 1970s did employment opportunities in the public sector begin to increase somewhat. At that time, most school leavers in Narok were employed by the County Council. Generally speaking, high school graduates took jobs as teachers or clerks at the Local Council. Until 1969, the Local Council was responsible for education and health services, roads and veterinary facilities. Together with the Department of Education, they were the main agents of social change and the main employers in the area. After 1970, other employment opportunities were made available when the departments of Agriculture, Forestry, the Post Office, the police, banks and other lending agencies set up offices in the district. As the number of high school leavers grew it was increasingly difficult for primary school leavers to obtain jobs for which they were formerly qualified. Those

who did not complete secondary education, could find employment only in the countryside and as a result of this, they tended to remain close to their families and traditions. It became particularly difficult for primary school leavers to find wage employment in urban areas. In order to earn a living some school leavers learned a trade or craft at the Narok Village Polytechnic established in 1972. Here, they were trained in tannery, carpentry, beekeeping, poultry raising, motor mechanics, and other trades. Upon leaving the Polytechnic, most of these youth try to find wage employment and if they fail, they often revert to self-employment, especially if their parents are involved in trade. ✓

In Kenya, the occupation and income an individual obtains is based on the education he receives. Employment opportunities for a more highly educated individual will tend to lie in the urban centres. The mode of personal investment also affects the rate of migration to the cities. Income is invested in two main ways in Kenya; first, in those things which enhance communal status and security, such as land, wives and livestock; second, in commodities which are appropriate to the social status which an individual has attained such as clothing, cars and drinking. Status aspirations in rural areas tend to focus on the same social status symbols. These aspirations, therefore, contribute to urban migration. In the meantime, however,

those activities which carry with them high communal status tend to moderate urban migration.

4.1.1 Conflict and Conciliation

Some have argued that Schoolpeople tend to become urban social misfits, completely breaking with their communities (Tyler 1969: 151-2; Kantai 1971: XXIX). That there exists an unbridgeable gap between Schoolpeople and other Maasai is disputed by many of those who have been to school.

It is difficult for us to do without cattle, milk, meat, or to forget our backgrounds. We are Maasai whether we live in Nairobi or Narok, whether we live in Maasai houses or metal-roofed houses. What is important is our values, attitudes and aspirations. I do not know any educated Maasai from Narok who doesn't have at least one cow. I know no one who does not show respect for the elderly. I am still to meet someone who does not support his relatives, friends and so on. We still value children and all the things that make us Maasai. I do not believe that any educated Maasai has stopped interacting with the villagers. Even those who seem more "westernized" still raise livestock and their aspirations are still communally-oriented. I don't know about our children. As for us we will continue to change as much as possible on our terms because if we don't change, we will be changed (interview, Olonyorri 1983).

Olonyorri started school in the late 1940s, finished University studies in the mid-1960s, and found a job in Nairobi as a company executive. He did not marry immediately, because he wished to establish himself first. When he became a Member of Parliament in the late 1960s, he married and had a family. His constituents expected him to

act with responsibility and to have a Maasai wife who could receive them, in the traditional Maasai way. After five years of politics, he became an Associate Director of a private firm and continues to live in Nairobi.

Olonyorri has a house in his home village in the Mau division, and goes there almost every weekend and during holidays. When he returns home he makes sure he takes gifts to his family, neighbours and friends. Gifts usually considered by the Maasai to be of some value include tobacco, sugar, tea, blankets, flashlights and drugs. He is paying for the education of several relatives back home. His children are enrolled in one of the best Nairobi schools, attended by the children of senior civil servants, professors and company executives. This school was formerly for European children only. The children are driven to school and back in a Peugeot, a prestigious car. At home, Olonyorri's children are encouraged to grow up as Maasai. English or Kiswahili is discouraged at home except when the children want help with their homework.

A Maasai from Narok came to visit at Olonyorri's house when I visited there. Olonyorri called the children and told them to greet the guest. The younger son and older daughter bent down to allow the visitor to touch their heads, as all Maasai children do. This was followed by the older and finally the youngest son. They then quickly went

upstairs to their rooms to let the elders exchange news.

The visitor related the news as follows;

Yes, news is all right in Narok. There is nothing bad. We had some rains the day before yesterday. Heavy rains have been reported in the Mau and Kilgoris areas. We were not lucky in Naikarra, there was nothing there. The cattle are fat. The goats have scabies. Children are coughing, but they are all right. I came to Narok for a meeting on land adjudication and decided to come to Nairobi to fix my car before returning home. The car has been fixed and so I hope to go back to Naikarra tomorrow. The news is good. People and cattle are happy. That is the news (interview, Olomoni 1983).

There was a pause and then Olonyorri asked a question; "Do you know if there were rains in my place?" The guest replied "No, I don't, but people say it has been raining in Mau". Then it was Olonyorri's turn to give his own news. It is usually the guest or the person who has come who initiates the exchange of news, but never before having rested and eaten. Then Olonyorri said

Our news is also not bad. The children have grown; you can see that my elder son is as tall as you. The youngest child's teeth have appeared. The mother was feeling unwell last week but she is not bad this week. I had a little headache today but it has disappeared. We are all pushing on well. The children are doing well at school. Fees have increased this year, that is one piece of bad news to report. Food prices have gone up in Nairobi during the last month. But we were lucky in that we came back from home with a bag of potatoes, six calabashes of milk, some meat, etc. Those things should keep us for two more weeks. Nairobi politics is quiet maybe because it is the beginning of the year. That is our news. There isn't much to report in Nairobi. That is the news (interview, Olonyorri 1983).

Once the news had been reported, the children returned to talk with their parents and occasionally with the guest. When the younger son tried to speak with the guest in English, the father looked at him in a disapproving way; so he quickly switched into Maasai. Olonyorri left the house to attend a meeting he had in the centre of town. After an hour or so, he returned to the house with a few bottles of beer. The children were given soda by their mother. Around midnight, the guest was led to his room and in the morning he was served breakfast and left shortly after. Asked if the guest was a friend, Olonyorri replied that he was an age-mate and therefore was entitled to food and accommodation. The guest, who in this case was involved in cattle trading, would be expected to do the same if Olonyorri or another age-mate were to visit his home.

Age-mates share many things from toothbrushes to cars. The obligations of schooled age-mates are not easily changed by the school experience. Most Maasai feel that nothing, not even marital relations, should come between age-mates. The guest who came to Olonyorri's house, for instance, came unannounced and was not even from Olonyorri's home area. Nonetheless, he was offered accommodation in Nairobi just as he would be in Maasailand. Rigby notes that in this connection an age-mate

is free to claim full rights of hospitality from every member of his age-set. He must share everything, including his most prized possessions (these include watches, radios, bicycles, etc), with

his age-mates, and never deny them anything, no matter where they come from, within the normal bounds of reason (Rigby 1979: 339).

In towns, less wealthy visitors would have a great difficulty were it not for the age-based institutions of assistance.

But city children are certainly growing up in a different atmosphere. Schoolpeople who were attracted to education during the colonial period are motivated to give their own children more and better educational training. There are families, particularly offsprings of the Maasai educated at Siyiapei who were the first to receive schooling, in which children do not speak Maasai. However, they still identify with the Maasai. Olonyorri's children, for instance, are likely to remain Maasai due to the attitude of their parents towards speaking Maa and maintaining kin relations. It would be interesting to observe the life style, interests and values which the offsprings of Olonyorri's children develop, having been brought up in cities.

In a meeting of Schoolpeople residing in Nairobi a Member of Parliament began with this prayer

May God bless this meeting.
May God give us life.
May God make us help our people.
Be blessed.
May your families prosper.
Have many cattle.
Have many children.
Have many friends.
Be as brave as lions.

Be as clever as buffaloes.
Love your people.
Be Maasai.
May you become permanent secretaries.
May God help you become Chiefs.
Rule the world.
Have respect for elders.
Do not misrepresent us.
Be ours and God's.

This prayer has combined traditional and newer aspects of Maasai life. Cattle are vital, as is respect for other people particularly older ones, and ties with the home. New careers also are very prominent, such as becoming a permanent secretary, doctor, accountant, dentist or a banker.

Ole Supat of Loita, who went to school in the early 1940s notes that while little importance was attached to schooling in the past, when the Maasai were virtually independent from colonial concerns, today the Maasai are an integral part of Kenya and so one of their goals must be to adopt changes without sacrificing their value system. Ole Supat went to school with others of his Iinyankusi and younger age-sets. When he graduated from a boarding school, he became a primary school teacher. Following independence, Ole Supat became a District Officer outside Narok. Nevertheless, his intention was to return home to work with the Maasai using his school-acquired skills "to assist the district

I was home with my people. I worked with the Council for a couple of years and left it to do business at home. I opened a store in a market centre, which gives me a good income. It also gave me an opportunity to supply essential goods to the village people. Many people benefit from it. They get blankets, pans, sugar, maize-flour, tobacco, beans, honey, red ochre, and other goods desired by rural people. During ceremonies, they come to ask for aid and support, and I give it to them without hesitation. Today I represent our people in the Council. This is a job I like so much because it keeps me here, with my cattle, children, relatives, friends and everybody (interview, Ole Supat 1983).

Today Ole Supat is a wealthy man, having about 1,000 cattle along with many sheep and goats. He has one wife and eight children, two of which go to secondary schools in Narok town. The other children stay at home with their parents and attend the local primary school. Ole Supat spends one-third of his time looking after his livestock, which are in his village outside the market centre, one-third expanding his business in the market centre and the remainder serving his constituents at the local and district levels.

Most Schoolpeople received financial assistance from the Local Council. For this reason, Schoolpeople often find themselves obliged to local patrons as well as to their relatives in tasks such as reading and writing letters for the Homepeople. As an individual advances in his school career, he is expected to assume vital tasks for his parents, his village, his olosho and ultimately his people, the Maasai. One example of this obligation is found in the life history of Olng'en, who enrolled in school at

Oloitokitok in Kajiado in the 1930s, having lived a semi-nomadic life up to that point in time. He came to Narok to go to the Government Maasai School when the Oloitokitok School was closed in 1940. After completing Standard 6, he became a lower primary school teacher at Nairragie-Nkare. Olng'en then was sponsored by the Protestant missionaries to go to Kijabe Teachers' College for two years, after which he returned to teach at the Narok School. After a short time, sponsorship from the mission and his district allowed Olng'en to undertake undergraduate studies in the United States after which he was posted to teach in Nandi District. His people in Narok District asked their local politician to urge the government to appoint Olng'en as headmaster of Narok High School. The Teachers' Service Commission complied by allowing a transfer.

Five years later Olng'en opened a Protestant Bible school in Narok town. Olng'en and his colleagues at the school have developed a programme to provide primary and further education to students whose parents are unable to pay fees and other expenses. Parents of children, who are being helped with their education are also encouraged to start a business such as gardening or store-keeping. It is hoped that these families will be better able to educate their children once their businesses succeed.

Olng'en is now Vice-Chairman of the newly formed Narok Urban Council. He also sits on numerous local and national

committees on behalf of the Africa Inland Church and the Maasai in general. He is in addition a senior official of the National Council for Africa Inland Church. Recently, when prominent Maasai elders went to see President Moi to discuss development plans affecting the Narok and Kajiado districts, Olng'en was sent to articulate the Church's perspective on development. His wife, also a teacher and a social worker, was recently sent to Europe to represent Maasai women at an international conference in Geneva. Formal education has allowed Olng'en to represent his people in national and international forums.

Their six children went to primary and secondary schools in Narok. Three have already attained University education and are working in Nairobi. The parents have a house in the Osupuko division. During the holidays the whole family goes to stay there with Olng'en's brothers and cousins. When they are not using the house a Homeperson who is a relative lives in it. Olng'en hopes to live there with his family when he retires.

Many Maasai parents believe that girls are unlikely to complete schooling at any level, due to an early pregnancy. When girls do complete their schooling, parents often fear that their accomplishment will be of little use to them. Karsis, one of the first Maasai women to attend school in the 1940s, challenged both of these assumptions by finishing school, becoming a nurse and establishing her family with

little or no help from men. She married while still a nurse but the marriage did not endure. She had one child out of wedlock and another child from the brief marriage. Her second son attended University while the first one stayed at home to look after the family herd. Karsis supported her second son during his education with her income from livestock and nursing. As soon as he completed his studies, however, he returned home to help tending the cattle and sheep before returning to Nairobi to take up a job in the public service. Although Karsis' schooled-son continued to work in the capital, his children remained in Narok with their mother and grandmother. The young man did not visit home often, but this was not considered a problem because he was married and children were being looked after at home.

Karsis remarked;

Let him stay in Nairobi like a moran, I have his wife and children with me here. He will eventually come back. Let him establish his career, make enough money, buy himself what he wants while he is still young. When the children grow up and I become older, he will take over the responsibility. But for now he has nothing to worry about. We have cattle, sheep and children. We are alright (interview, Karsis 1982).

Karsis expects her sons to look after the family when she becomes incapacitated. With sons and grandchildren, she is "guaranteed" old-age security. Today Karsis has influence in the neighbourhood, especially amongst women. People say she is "just like a man" in that she has stock, and is very much in control.

It seems that education has made it easier for Maasai girls to marry men of their own choice, including non-Maasai. And men, who would not have married non-schooled Maasai girls have become more receptive to such marriages due to the girls' education. Maasai men have even married women from societies which do not practise female circumcision. Some Maasai parents resent this, as one young Maasai discovered when he wedded an uncircumcised woman from Kisii District.

When I completed my studies at the University of Nairobi I went to work as a District Officer in Kisii District. After a year I decided to get married to whoever was closest to me at the time, regardless of clan, society, religion or colour. I got married to a Kisii girl who cannot be accepted by my parents because she is not initiated in the Maasai way. When I took her home the ladies in my village, including my mother, wanted her to go through circumcision. My wife and I refused the offer. That annoyed my parents. Now we can't go home together. My mother won't accept an uncircumcised woman to bear her grandchildren. She believes that children of entaapai (a female who has conceived before clitoridectomy) won't live, if they do, they won't live a normal life, and the mother would most probably be excluded from the Maasai ceremonies (interview, Morijoi 1982).

Marriage is a source of much conflict between non-schooled parents and their schooled children, and there are many such examples. Nashomo, for instance, finished high school and got a job with the Narok County Council. Three years later, she became pregnant and decided to find a husband to serve as the social father of the child. A young clerk from Nyeri in Central province courted the girl. When Nashomo went to

see her parents about marriage to a Kikuyu, they discouraged her and the wedding arrangements were cancelled. Nashomo commented;

It is still difficult for us to get married to non-Maasai. However, if one chooses someone who is known to the parents, they might grudgingly give consent. They don't arrange marriages for us but they prefer that we bring Maasai men to their villages. Even the educated parents insist that we get married within the community. Nevertheless, they are beginning to realize that our school life allows us to meet different people. This is perhaps why there has been little effort to educate us girls. The parents do not like us to marry out or become prostitutes, as is beginning to happen already. I became pregnant by accident after school. I knew it would be hard to maintain myself and a child without some support. Therefore, I decided to have an affair with someone. But when I broke the news to my educated parents, they positively said I could not get married with a Kikuyu. Without their blessing the marriage could not materialise. Now I have to find a Maasai man or someone who would be acceptable to my parents (interview, Nashomo 1982).

Later on, the girl eventually found a Maasai man who was happily received by her parents. This preference for Maasai spouses is characteristic of many Schoolpeople.

Some parents have learned, on the other hand, to capitalize on their daughters' education, by requiring non-Maasai suitors to pay bridewealth to them. The bridewealth is calculated according to the level of education the girl has attained. Female University graduates may accrue as much as Sh. 20,000 (approximately \$1,500), excluding gifts to various relatives. This is a relatively large amount considering Maasai bridewealth has traditionally been among

the lowest in Kenya; traditionally, four cows and a sheep (about \$300). Some Maasai parents demand a large amount of bridewealth from non-Maasai to discourage them from marrying their daughters.

I have advised my daughter not to marry a Kipsigis but she refused to listen to me. Then I told the boy that he was going to pay back what I paid to educate her through University. His parents agreed to pay Sh. 15,000 (\$1,250). Well, I did not really need the money, I thought it might persuade my daughter and the boy against getting married. Unfortunately, the high price did not work because the boy's parents could afford the money (interview, Leposo 1982).

Despite incidence of inter-marriage, the majority of schooled Maasai women marry schooled Maasai men. In fact, competition sometimes arises among male Maasai suitors for the few Maasai women who have attended school. A Schoolperson from Uasinkishu olosho described such an incident;

Many young-men from our section are now attending school and hope to get married to girls from our area. But there aren't enough potential wives in schools for these youth. The few girls that go to school are grabbed by non-Maasai and some highly educated Maasai. There was an incident last year where a certain girl was vied for by more than three Maasai young men. When she completed her secondary education, she eloped with one of them. The girl's parents did not like it and so they went after her but for three months she could not be found. After her hiding place was finally discovered the parents returned her to the home and married her off to someone else. This situation results from the inadequate (number of) schooled Maasai girls. But it will not be like that for long (interview, Lempere 1982).

To sum up, assumptions derived from the cultural gap theory do not apply to the Schoolpeople as a whole. To be sure, Schoolpeople pursue different interests and have different motivations which make them different from other Maasai. Nevertheless, the idiom of age-set and community among most of them continues to be an important means of identification even as the content of the obligations changes. Schoolpeople invest their time and earnings in children, relatives and friends many of whom are unschooled herders in the countryside.

4.2 SOURCES OF RESISTANCE TO SCHOOLING

Kantai has attributed much of the resistance to education felt by Maasai families to the fact that many children who were sent to school never returned home; "therefore (parents have) not wanted to sent more" (Kantai 1971: XXIX). During the pre-colonial period every Kenyan society had its own system for educating children.¹ The Maasai have proudly maintained a viable indigenous educational system which has come under considerable pressure in recent years. The Maasai system of age-grading, by which a group of young men of the same age move from stage to stage as their cultural knowledge advances, has its parallel in formal schooling. The tests and exams which are the basis of the school system are also commonplace in the

Maasai system. Circumcision is the Maasai equivalent of the Certificate of Primary Education (C.P.E).²

The Maasai tradition of moranhood takes young men at a critical age (about 10-30 years of age) and instils in them values which often seem antagonistic to schooling. Maasai society requires male youth to live outside ordinary villages for three to seven years. The maintenance of this long separation period, in the face of adverse socio-economic and political pressures sets the Maasai apart from other Kenyan societies, which have maintained some of the less disruptive manhood ceremonies.

Following circumcision, a Maasai boy is released from family service and authority and invited to live in the ilmurran village. Each young man is allowed to bring his mother and uncircumcised brothers and sisters to the village or emanyata, but his father and men of older age-sets must remain in the home village. It is in the age-set village and during visits to other villages that the ilmurran acquire detailed knowledge of Maasai social life and the behaviour expected of them as elders.³ Of the school-age population (about 5-19 years of age) more than one-third participates in school and one third in moranhood. There are some who neither attend school nor participate in moranhood. This group remain at home (ang) to look after the family herd. The population of those participating in moranhood or herding activities increases in the remoter

parts of the district where political and economic pressure has been less felt.

Ole Maren is a young man awaiting the formation of a new age-set to be sponsored by the incumbent ruling elders, the Iseuri. His father is a member of the Ilnyankusi age-set. In March 1983, Ole Maren was asked by his parents to begin killing small birds to be stuffed and worn on the head during the period of healing following his circumcision. While he was preparing for circumcision, he was asked why he had never attended school to which he replied that schooling was for "ilayiook le memurata" ("uncircumcised boys"). He used this phrase even though he wasn't circumcised at the time in order to emphasize the importance of this rite and moranhood in Maasai indigenous education. When he was reminded that most school children were circumcised, his response was that anyone who did not participate in moranhood did not "fully achieve manhood" as the Maasai understand it.

Our education is acquired out there in the grazing grounds. We spend our days, months and years herding and exploring the brown plains which extend to Siringet (Serengeti). Instead of passing intemat (tests) about things that are foreign, we test our knowledge about our environment by actually getting into thorny bushes, the home of many wild animals. Instead of playing empira onkejek (football), we chase after colourful birds and hunt small animals in the open woodlands. Instead of dansi oo nkeresa (English dance), we have our enkipaata and emowua olkiteng (boys' ceremonial dances which mark the formation of a new age-set). The school teachers are ilmeek (agriculturalists). Our teachers are our elders, the grandparents and the mothers, who are always with us. School spears (pencils) are blunt,

ours are sharp and dangerous. School children put on clothes which don't give a fart an outlet. Ours is a short light piece of cloth covering the private parts of the body. When school boys graduate, they are given papers to show what they have learnt. Instead of enkardasi (paper), after murrano (moranhoo), we are given brides. Then we start working for ourselves, building our families. The school graduate will at that time be working for someone else in Narok or Nairobi. He might get married to a daughter of an olmeeki (an agriculturalist). Education is a foreign and corrupting influence. It takes away our boys and girls and converts them into ilmusheni (churchpeople).

My father wanted me to become Olmurrani and follow the ways of Maasai. He wanted me to become a herder on the plains and up in the wooded highlands. He wanted me to pass through all of the Maasai intalengo (ceremonies) and die a Maasai. He and my mother wanted me to grow up and lead a pastoralist life, keeping sheeps, goats, donkeys and above all, cattle. That is why my mother took me to my sister's village when the administrative police came to take school-age children from my village to Naikarra Primary School. I am pleased they made that decision. I would have ran away if they had decided to send me to school. I wanted to be olmurrani; I wanted to be able to carry a shield and spear not books and pens. These things are demeaning (interview, Ole Maren 1982).

Ole Maren's mother also stressed the preservation of age-set values and Maasai identity as pastoralists and believes that schooling has eroded the things of vital importance such as the circumcision of boys and girls, livestock rearing and drinking milk and the eating of meat.

She added

I don't want my children to go to school and live on agricultural foods. They will not become tall and strong, they are likely to become bowlegged like the ilmeek (agriculturalists). I would like my sons to become men, with spears and swords. My desire is for them to become successful herders not ilkarani (clerks) (interview, Mrs. Maren 1982).

Ole Maren's father is a Maasai notable with four wives, many children and cattle. Although he is not a spokesman (olaiquenani) he has considerable influence in his area, which is on the Kenyan-Tanzanian border. He is involved in age-set matters and often consulted regarding age-set ceremonies. He sees formal education as offering few benefits to the pastoral system and therefore encourages participation in age-set as opposed to school activities.

In May 1982, a Keekonyokie family at Olasiti which had not yet sent a child to school, was approached by a Church agent who requested that at least one of the children be sent to Oloirrowua Primary School on the Suswa plains. Ole Munka, the head of the family, argued that his children were already going to another "school". The evangelist replied that his son would be able to get a job and buy cattle more easily if he enrolled in formal schooling. The herder pointed out that he could not afford to release his sons to attend school because he needed them to tend the cattle. When the Africa Inland Church agent suggested hiring a herdsman or having his elder son who was prepared to become olmurrani, stay at home, Ole Munka politely refused. He explained his situation when I interviewed him;

I have two wives, Nareyio and Nalangu. I am blessed with cattle and small animals. My four sons look after them. The girls help their mothers in domestic chores. If I send my eldest son to join his age-mates in the formation of a new age-set sponsored by Iseuri there will be only three boys to

care for sheep, goats and cattle. My fellow villagers would complain that our family is not contributing to the village labour. If that happens I might be thrown out of the village by my age-mates of the Ilnyankusi age-set. That would be a disgrace. Moreover, my children are getting sound education in our village. And when they become ilmurran their knowledge would increase tremendously (interview, Ole Munka 1983).

The pastoralist's reluctance to send any family member to school seems to emanate from a combination of concerns. Labour demands upon children, including the entire village's labour requirements, appear to be a very important factor. Men of one age-set often live together in one village with their families and livestock, herded together by the boys in the village. Each family is expected to contribute to the labour and failing to do so may result in social ostracism and the removal of the family's cattle from the general herd. Boys who are considered good herders have a difficult time leaving the village to attend school.

Schooling often is not seen as relevant to pastoralists who do not feel socio-economic pressures, because children are receiving sound education under the tutelage of their parents, neighbours and through moranhood. In this way, Ole Munka and other Maasai like him feel that their children can continue to provide services to their family and community while learning outside school.

It is not suggested here that all those Maasai who attend school are necessarily surplus labour at home. Rather it is emphasized that the more a family is oriented

towards pastoral production, particularly of a subsistence type, the greater its need for child labour at the household level. Child labour is very crucial among pastoralists, as has been noted by Kjaerby (1980: 103-104) for the pastoral Barabaig and by Rigby (1981: 157) for the Baraguyu. Maasai boys, like the boys from Barabaig and Baraguyu, have heavy labour commitments throughout the year. This is also true among subsistence agriculturalists. As Mbilinyi has stated;

Children's labour input into the household farm economy has been found to be a crucial factor in the decision to educate Reliance on child labour is a function of the particular ...(type of) semi-subsistence agricultural production based on household labour as the major resource input (Mbilinyi 1974: 19).

Perhaps the difference between pastoralists and agriculturalists is that livestock management requires vigilance and attention throughout the year.

Labour constraints are important mainly to Maasai functioning in a subsistence-oriented economy who have not been involved in any activities requiring school skills. Those who have become involved in commercial activities such as wheat farming, cattle trading, storekeeping and charcoal dealing, find themselves needing someone at home who is literate and numerate. They find it necessary, therefore, to send some children to school, while keeping some at home.

4.2.1 Participation in Modern and Traditional Activities

The Middlepeople are those Maasai who have been affected by or participated in mission or government activities, but have also simultaneously stayed within the primary pastoral economy. Some of these people did not go to school, but learned Kiswahili or school-oriented skills on the job as merchants, government Chiefs, commercial farmers, etc. Some attended school but decided to return home to live like Homepeople. They may be involved in commercial farming or livestock rearing, but they maintain a certain ambivalence towards the value of schooling and see no reason why they should send all of their children to school. It is difficult to precisely define this category. Many Schoolpeople, for instance, are engaged in wheat farming and trading, as well as in salaried employment. Others derive their incomes entirely from commercial businesses. In this section, the discussion will be restricted to those people who have attained a certain level of schooling (Standard 4 or less) or who have become literate and numerate without acquiring formal education.

Kisotu, for example, has been engaged in commercial trade for many years even though he did not go to school.

I did not get a chance to go to school. In those days there were no schools in much of Narok. There were some in market centres, but these were far from most people. Trade was also dominated by Asians and Somali. There was little encouragement to engage in it. Today things have changed. People need sugar, flour, tea leaves, beads, drugs and many things that are found in the shops. Some Maasai must supply them. We should not let other people do these things for us. We can keep shops, livestock and

other things. I have chickens, cattle, sheep, goats, donkeys, a shop and a transport truck (interview, Kisotu 1982).

Kisotu is a member of Ilkunono community, meaning that he is a blacksmith. He is involved in business in his home area which is about 100 km away from Narok town. He has bought a truck, which he uses to transport people to the district's headquarters and to bring needed goods to his own area. In the evenings, he goes to his home where he has his wives, children and cattle. His home at Leshuta in Osupuko division is not different from his neighbours'. Each day Kisotu parks his truck outside his traditional home. His children, relatives and neighbours look after his cattle, while he is at his shop.

Kisotu has sent only one child to school even though he has ten children. He took his eldest son to the Ole Sankale Primary Boarding School probably seeing the necessity of one offspring helping him with the business, reading and writing letters for his father. As for the rest of his children, Kisotu wants them to remain at home to look after the cattle. Although he has relatives at Nairragie-Nkare who have gone to school and who want all their children to go to school, Kisotu maintains that investment in pastoral production in most cases accrues more benefits socially, politically and economically than investment in formal education. He took up trading so that he could use his profits to buy more livestock.

Lemiso, an Olnyankusi, took up cattle trading after completing moranhood in the 1950s. He now buys cattle in Narok and drives them more than 300 km to Ngong where they are sold to slaughter houses serving Nairobi. Lemiso became such a successful cattle trader that he was able to marry five wives. In the mid-1970s, he bought land in Baringo where he had relatives. Lemiso's three schooled sons live in Narok area, where they develop the land given to their father when land adjudication took place in the early 1970s. One of the schooled sons taught his father reading, writing and banking. Today, Lemiso speaks Kiswahili and is able to calculate large sums.

To their neighbours, to recapitulate, Lemiso and Kisotu are Homepeople as well as Schoolpeople. They dress like Schoolpeople, putting on "western" clothes when going about their business activities in town. In the countryside they dress like Homepeople in a blanket and a sheet of cloth, or a light over-coat. They are truly in the "middle" of two social and economic systems and related sets of values.

4.3 FOOTNOTES

1. For information about the Kikuyu indigenous educational system, see Kenyatta (1938). An excellent summary of African education before colonialism has been given by Nyerere (1967).
2. Graduation has its parallel among the Maasai in the great Eunoto ceremony, which promotes young men from junior to senior moranhood. For detailed accounts of this crucial graduation ceremony, see Galaty (1984); Sarone and Hazel (1985).
3. A stimulating discussion of the ilmurran village is given by Jacobs (1971: 17-42).

CHAPTER 5

EDUCATION, LEADERSHIP AND MAASAI POLITICS

Two forms of government exist among the Maasai. The national government or, as the Maasai call it, the government of the crown (serkali enkerani), and the government of the black club (serkali orinka orok). The government of the crown is composed of Maasai and non-Maasai office holders in the following positions; Members of Parliament, District Commissioners, District Officers, Chiefs, Councillors, police and those employed in local government. All come under the national and provincial administration. The government of the black club is composed of ilaiguenak liatua nkishu ("spokesmen with cattle").

This chapter will examine the interaction between these two governments in Narok district and the implications of educational participation for the Maasai political leadership among the Maasai.

5.1 THE GOVERNMENT OF THE BLACK CLUB

At the end of the 19th century many Kenyan societies were decentralized and relatively "egalitarian", with a

social organization based on the prescriptive principle of age-sets occupied by all male members of the society. Among the Maasai, political authority has resided not with Chiefs but with a segmentary age-set system. During the formation of each age-set, a number of leaders are selected, and retain their positions for life. They are replaced only if ill-fortune befalls them or if they lose the confidence of their age-mates. Their influence as leaders is greatest when they become the firestick elders, olpiron. Firestick elders are sponsors of an alternate set below them; for instance, Iltalala sponsored Iliterito, who in turn sponsored Iseuri.

Four principal leadership positions are filled during the life of an age-set; ilaiguenak (the "Chiefs" or the "spokesmen"), and those who have important ritual functions, the olopolosi-olkiteng (the "one whose ox is split open"), olotuno (the "one who plants"), and oloboru-enkeene (the "one who carves the strap"). The chief political office is that occupied by olaiguenak, the age-set spokesman and counsellor, whose age-set or community role is to convene meetings and adjudicate disputes. The olopolosi-olkiteng provides a bullock for the emowuo-olkiteng ceremony which marks the formation of a new age-set prior to the circumcision of the participants (10-25 years of age). The olotuno is chosen at the end of junior moranhood to lead his age-mates out of that stage of life into married life and

elderhood. The oloboru-enkeene provides a bullock which is killed for this ceremony known as anoto and its hide is made into a strap used to delineate the perimeter of a ritual house built for the ceremony. The olotuno and oloboru-enkeene are said to be the ones who establish the age-set.

Leaders are selected for these ritual positions because of their character, their family or clan background, their reputation for wisdom, and their unblemished physical condition. The Maasai choose their leaders the way they select bulls for the herd. The same term aput is used, a word which means selected for its/his unblemished qualities. Leaders must be asinya, (holy), which, according to the Maasai, means;

A person must have two testicles. He must be the last born. A person who is alone in the family or has just sisters. He must have two eyes. A person with a black (evil) eye is not suitable. A person must be right-handed; he must be begotten by a circumcised woman (interview, Koisikir 1982).

Leaders are expected to be gracious, strong, cool-headed and articulate. Members of the most reputable clans or families are preferable. They are expected to perform well in matters of interest to the age-set and to the entire community.

There are other positions within the Black Club government such as that of the oloiboni, diviner, who administers ritual medicine and selects propitious sites on

which to build the ceremonial villages, imanyat. Other influential persons include the inkopir (lit. those who often tie a feather to the hair of the back of the head), who are opinion-leaders whose influence rests primarily on the wealth and charisma they possess. Because spokesmen lead by articulating a consensus of their age-mates, inkopir play a central role in Maasai society. Although it is incorrect to describe spokesmen as Chiefs since they do not assert authority, the authority of age-set leaders is universally recognized. Sankan is right in noting that;

One reason that has caused the Maasai to withstand the strains of the invasions of powerful foreign custom is because the authority of these men is widely respected (Sankan 1971: 10).

The recruitment of individuals to these positions involves the participation of firestick elders (from the kindling sticks, ilpironito, for making the age-set fire) who sponsor age-sets. The kindling of fire in Maasai ceremonies by the firestick elders establishes a lasting relationship between the sponsors and the sponsored. In most Maasai sections two streams (or firesticks) operate independent of, or even in opposition to, one another. Each stream has its procedures and uses a different firestick in all its ceremonies. One such stream is the link between the Iseuri and the most recent age-group. These age-sets are linked in opposition to the link between the intermediary Ilnyankusi and Irrampau/Irrangirrang age-sets. Conflicts occur between

streams. When this happens, spokesmen representing two streams must convene open-air meetings where members of different streams are invited to express their views and to suggest solutions to existing problems; problems usually having to do with marital relations, organization of ceremonies and community politics. This is why the Maasai prefer that if the sponsoring elders, for example, are Iseuri, the advising elders must then be Ilterito.

There must, however, be coordination between age-set streams despite competition between them. Frequently, the firestick elders are also the actual fathers of the age-set in formation. Being an offspring of one of the sponsoring elders, however, is not a requirement for participating in an age-set ceremony. Although non-firestick fathers are permitted to take part in their sons' age-set ritual, it is the firestick elders who are the actual sponsors.

The elders' main source of authority to bless and curse is the special ritual tie which they build with the sponsored youth. Elders oversee the smooth formation of the junior age-set and thereafter act in its interest. The ritual and political tie between alternate age-sets plays a significant role in the social and political life of the Maasai. For instance, the age-set which forms and sponsors a new age-set is at the same time the ruling age-set. It is the whole age-set which assumes leadership functions, typically more than twenty five years after the circumcision

of its members. In Narok district, the Iseuri circumcision, for instance, took place between 1955 and 1965 for their two right-hand and junior left-hand sub-groups, Ilterekeyiani and Iltiyiogoni respectively. These sub-groups became a set (olaji) during their enkang oo lorikan (the village of stools) ceremony in 1978. Only in 1983 did they become ruling firestick elders. The year 1983 marked the end of Iseuri ritual cycle, which had progressed from uninitiated boyhood, to moranhood and finally, to elderhood status. This age-set can now start a ritual cycle for others, by making the transition from the sponsored to the sponsors. Their first task as firestick elders is to select leaders for the forming age-set.

5.1.1 Selecting the Spokesmen

The selection of the age-set spokesmen takes place before enkipaata, (the great dance), which formally announces the founding of a new age-set. The group of boys who are to form the new age-set begin to mobilize their sponsors as well as other boys within their section months or even years before the great dance. During this period, many meetings are held and many villages are visited; candidates for leadership positions also are noted. The boys get to know who among them is able to reconcile people, settle disputes, give generously and express himself

articulately. Charismatic individuals come to be identified as preparations for the great dance progress. Once the sponsors have been mobilized and there is a sizeable population of boys ready to form a new age-set, discussions are held between the sponsors and boys. These discussions allow the sponsors to listen to the boys and to make their own judgement about potential spokesmen. Many meetings must take place before any decision is taken and it is often the case that older men belonging to the same stream as sponsors are consulted. The ultimate decision, nevertheless, lies with the sponsors, who select from a list of suggested candidates submitted by the boys. The Maasai have bestowed upon the Keekonyokie the privilege of inaugurating a new age-set by holding the great dance and ox's horn ceremony.¹ Among the Keekonyokie, the ilaiguenak and olopolosi-olkiteng normally are chosen from the Ilukumae clan. This clan is one of the most renowned and is said to be one of the oldest of the five Maasai clans. It should be noted in this respect that there are no clan leaders among the Maasai and that clans cut across both age-sets and sections (iloshon). Although clans play a role within the age-set system, it is always the age-set organization that comes first.² One elder explained how leaders are selected.

Ilaiguenak among the Keekonyokie may be selected from any of the five clans, but the Ilukumae clan is never left out. Most of our leaders are chosen from this clan. The oloposi-olkiteng is also always from Ilukumae. The olotuno and oloboru-enkeene may come from Ilukumae, but usually they are chosen from the

other clans (ilgilat). Reputable members of reputable families of these clans are assessed and the most qualified are chosen to lead their age-mates.

Ilaiguenak are selected during the enkipaata ceremony but just before the dancing takes place. This ceremony brings three groups of Keekonyokie together to start a new age-set for themselves and for all Maasai. They come to Ewuaso oo Nkidongi from Oike and Kaputie. Through discussions between the boys and the elders (the sponsored and the sponsors), three boys are nominated. The three boys become the ilaiguenak. For the right-hand set, the principal spokesman always comes from Ewuaso oo Nkidongi, the second from Kisaju (the Kajiado area of Keekonyokie) and the third from Oike the Narok area of Keekonyokie). For the left-hand set, the principal man is from Kisaju, the second from Ewuaso, the ritual site of Keekonyokie on the Narok-Kajiado border. Each is given orinka (a club), their symbol of office. They must perform at a high level, but unless they really make a blunder they cannot be removed (interview, Koisaba 1982).³

Theoretically, the selection of leaders involves all the members of the two age-sets, the sponsors and those sponsored. In reality, however, it seems that the most charismatic and influential individuals (particularly the inkopir) of both sets play the most significant roles in this respect. Personal qualities as well as family or clan background determine the selection. For instance, if a candidate's father, uncle, or grandfather was a spokesman and his clan is known for peace and prosperity, he may have an advantage over other candidates. "Pure" Maasai are preferable, as are those without social handicaps, such as, being born out of wedlock or having a step-father.

The age of a candidate also plays a significant role in the selection exercise. If he is too young he may not be

chosen because a strong, mature leader is needed. A candidate should be able to argue reasonably confidently and express respect, being cool-headed and intelligent. He is expected to be wise, tactful and self-controlled. A personally influential candidate is selected, because he will have to work in collaboration with his peers. Although he becomes a leading personality among his age-mates, he cannot negotiate or make arrangements without the consent of his age-set or his community.

Once a spokesman has been selected, a group of boys visit the home of the elect, who has not been told that he has been selected. The brother of the person's mother is told to prepare to seize the boy and to present him with a black club as a symbol of his new office. This is done outside the village in the morning. The maternal uncle suddenly grabs him. He is then taken to his mother's house where he, a small girl and the uncle drink milk from a gourd. From this moment on the boy becomes the spokesman of his age-set for life. The blessing of the mother's brother is considered to be as potent as that of one's father in that he represents his sister, the mother. Young girls often participate in the central ceremonies of age-sets because they are considered "pure", having not indulged in sexual relations with initiated men. Their presence in almost all collective and individual ceremonies most likely has fertility implications.

The office of the spokesman carries power and prestige; he represents the entire age-set and once he becomes a firestick elder, he is considered to represent the entire section. Each Maasai section has its own spokesmen; there is no single spokesman for all the Maasai. Spokesmen are respected and feared by their age-mates and in return spokesmen respect and fear their peers. They are a part of the age-set, as well as separated from it. They cannot joke with their peers, nor should they fight, hunt lions and buffaloes, or participate in raids. They are equal to their age-mates, while above them and, because they are selected to act on behalf of the group, they are also considered vulnerable. An age-set's ill-fortune is absorbed by spokesmen. If a spokesman dies his age-mates may say he died to protect the group. If he lives and there is prosperity within his age-set his son or grandson will be considered a potential candidate for the position in succeeding age-sets.

Candidates are often reluctant to accept leadership positions. It is said that a candidate must not be made aware of his potential selection for fear that he might try to escape. Due to the mutual respect that exists between the spokesmen and their age-mates, they refrain from acting in any way which might bring them into disrepute with the group. Accordingly, their powers are somewhat circumscribed. They may lead their group into change or

convince the group against it. On all such issues they are expected to articulate a consensus not to make unilateral decisions.

The age-set structure permits a great variety of political expressions. It is democratic, in that everyone has the right to express his views before the age-set whether or not he is a member. The age-set may also approve the implementation of a decision, even when it is at variance with the wishes of the ilaiguenak, provided it commands a wide consensus in the community. The authority and power of senior elders is considerable and although younger age-sets are encouraged to make their decisions they defer to their seniors, especially in decisions which have ramifications on the community, a cattle raid, for example. Similarly, the senior age-set leaders often must obtain the consent of other age-set leaders, especially the inkopir, in matters affecting the community. It is in this way that coordination between age-sets is maintained. Together, age-set leaders control the social and political life of the society, but individually their authority is circumscribed. The power and influence of age-set leaders increase as members grow older.

Maasai leadership is changed through a series of ritual ceremonies which begin just before male circumcision and end after an age-set has been allowed to eat meat seen by initiated women at the olngesher, a great ceremony initiated

by the Kisongo Maasai, whose territory extends between Namanga and the eastern slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro. Although individual ceremonies take place during the life of an age-set, those with implications for leadership are held collectively. An Oseuri elder elaborated;

Our enkipaata and emowuo-olkiteng came during the Mau-Mau period. The seizing of an ox (emowuo-olkiteng) marked the end of boyhood and the beginning of an age-set. Three leaders were selected during this period, two ilaiguenak and an olopolosi-olkiteng. The ilaiguenak were chosen during enkipaata (the dance) and an olopolosi-olkiteng, during the wrestling with the ox.⁴ It was his ox which was seized and later sacrificed. After this, it took one to two years to finish the circumcision of all the boys belonging to our age-grade. The leaders with some inkopir were circumcised in a special village, while the rest of us underwent the ritual in our individual villages. This initiation was followed by a period of rest and recuperation. We then became ilmurran for a period of three to four years, after which we had our eunoto. During this ceremony, two leaders were selected, the olotuno and the oloboru-enkeene. Several years later we became ilpayiani (elders) with the left-hand circumcision forming one olaji, age-set (lit. a big house) instead of two sub-groups, right and left. The name Iseuri was given to us. Then, five years later we were promoted to the status of firestick and ruling senior elders. The Ilnyankusi age-set retired, even though they still come to discussions. Today, we are in charge, our seniors and especially our firestick sponsors may act as consultants (interview, Kopirato 1983).

Age-set delegations sent to the ceremonies of another, make coordination between age-sets possible. For example, the enkanq oo lorikan, (lit. the village of stools) ceremony for Iseuri occurred among the Loita section in 1977. This happened only after the eunoto (from moranhood to elderhood

status) of the right-hand of the next age-set and before the enkipaata (the dance) of that group's left-hand. The functions and rituals of the government of the black club, described in this section, show that traditional Maasai society is run by spokesmen, by means of their age-sets, which assume political control when their members qualify to become firestick elders.

Summing up, accumulated knowledge is handed down from generation to generation through formal ceremonies organized by age-set leaders. The age-set system has been multifunctional: it is economic, political, socio-cultural and educational in character.

5.2 THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CROWN

Government Chiefs, their assistants, Members of Parliament and Councillors are a part of the national administrative and political system, as are clerks, teachers, lawyers and doctors. British colonial authorities initially believed that indigenous political leadership was exercised by the oloiboni or diviner, believing that he played the role of Chief as well as a "magician". European explorers and missionaries who first came to East Africa had contact with some of the Maasai diviners. They concluded that ethnic conflicts were precipitated by diviners. Two sons of Mbatiany, a famous Maasai diviner who died around

1890, fought over succession. The sons sought support from different Maasai sections. Soon the war escalated involving the Purko, who supported one son, Olonana, while others mainly from the Loita took up Senteu's cause. In the succession war, the British recognized Olonana as the "Chief" of the Maasai and sought to form a coalition with him (Waller 1979; cf. Berntsen 1979). Convinced that he was the political leader of the Maasai, the colonial administrators transformed Olonana into a government salaried Chief. Thus, in 1901 he became one of the first Kenyan Africans to gain the status of "Paramount Chief". The elevation of Olonana caused friction within Maasai society between the diviner and age-set leaders, particularly during the period between the two moves of 1904 and 1911. The diviner is involved less in political life and more in religious and ritual matters. The role accorded to Olonana by the colonial authorities shifted the locus of political power from the age-set elders to the diviner, so much so that the latter became an important figure in the early colonial period.

It took two decades for the British to realize that the authority structure they imposed was foreign to the Maasai. During and after the second Maasai move in 1911, however, the colonial officers began to better understand the political system of the Maasai and therefore, made an effort to implement their policy of indirect rule through elders'

councils, tribunals and village headmen. Soon afterwards, they realized that this structure was alien to the age-set based society as well.

By 1918, the colonial government decided that the post of Paramount Chief, the Councils and the tribunals should be abolished, due to the difficulty of securing the consent of the ruling elders from different sections for proposed government programmes. A Maasai-wide Council was preferred, consisting of nominated presidents of the sectional Councils. The new Council's responsibility included the maintenance of peace and order, the selection of school recruits and the encouragement of social change in the Maasai area, generally. Although the elders who sat on the Council were theoretically responsible to the colonial administration, their influence in large part depended upon the age-set structure and their own personal popularity and charisma. This also was realized by colonial officials.

The elders are generally loyal, intelligent, trustworthy and pleasant old gentlemen who can be relied upon to use their influence But they dislike taking any action which would bring them into disrepute with the community (Maasai Annual Report 1916: 20).

Very often an elder's reliability in the eyes of the colonial authorities automatically brought him into disrepute with his age-mates as, for example, was the case when Ole Gilisho tried to shorten the period of ilmurran in

the 1920s. For this reason very few elders collaborated with the British despite the offer of wages.

Under the terms of the Anglo-Maasai treaty (1911), the Maasai leaders enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy, unlike traditional leaders in other Kenyan societies. In keeping with the terms of the agreement, many of those who became Chiefs, headmen or presidents of sectional Councils were men who already had occupied prominent positions in the age-set system. For example, Masikonte who became Chief and president of the Purko Council was an olaiquenani, spokesman. Ole Gilisho, another Purko olaiquenani, was an important figure in the early colonial days as were Ole Kashu of Loita, and Ole Rasiti of Keekonyokie; all ilaiquenak, spokesmen in their respective areas.

This marked the beginning of political interaction between the government of the crown and the black club. These elders must have understood their role as members of the Council in terms familiar to them. It appears that they saw themselves as ilaiquenak representing the Maasai in the government of the crown. With such an interpretation, they could hardly distinguish their new role in the colonial government from that held within the age-set and even used the same name, olaiquenani, for both offices.

Tignor has argued that these elders wished to introduce radical social change among the Maasai, but that "they encountered ilmurran hostility and resistance" (Tignor 1972:

288-89, 1976: 288-89). There is little evidence to back up this argument. Tignor's argument fails to consider the fact that the Maasai reserve, unlike Kikuyuland, was made semi-autonomous under the Anglo-Maasai agreement and that the elders who signed the treaty and who became "Chiefs" in the government of the crown did not necessarily see themselves as servants of the British and often opposed or reluctantly supported colonial policies (interview, Koisikir 1982).

In 1925, the British government formed the Local Native Councils (L.N.C.s) to oversee the development of schools, health services, agriculture, livestock and roads in the areas inhabited by Africans. The Maasai Council for Narok became the Narok Local Native Council. The Maasai members of the Council operating in the first and second decades of this century were Homepeople, that is, unschooled. During the 1930s, Maasai with some educational training began to fill chieftainship positions. Chief Masikonte's son, Oimerru, was among the first schooled Maasai to become a colonial Chief in the mid-1930s. The colonial authorities thought that by being schooled he might be able to work well with them in order to introduce social change in Maasailand. Together with other mission-schooled Maasai at Siyiapei, Oimerru tried to expand school facilities and participation in the reserve. In the 1940s and early 1950s, more schooled Maasai joined the L.N.C. so that by the time

the L.N.C.s were transformed into the African District Councils in the early 1950s, one quarter of the Councillors had received some schooling (Masai Annual Report 1952). Appointments to the Native Council were made by the colonial authorities in consultation with some influential elders who were members of the Council.

During the late colonial period many teachers who were represented on the Council promoted school expansion and education especially for girls. Still they had to persuade Senior Chief Ole Sankale and other Chiefs (Lemein of Ololulunga, Seno of Keekonyokie, Kone of Loita) of the importance of formal education, as the Homepeople's influence in government affairs was still considerable in the 1950s. This was due to the semi-autonomy of the Maasai reserve. Between 1911 and 1960, the four most important Chiefs in Narok, Ole Masikonte, Ole Gilisho, Ole Kotikash and Ole Sankale, were all Homepeople. Among the schooled Maasai, only Oimerru Ole Masikonte and Senjura Ole Njoe became prominent Chiefs. After independence all districts were brought under the authority of the national government. A policy of national integration was fostered and collaboration with the government of the black club, or any other forms of indigenous governments was gradually dispensed with. Loyalty to colonial officials and age-set influence determined who became a leader in the reserve. In the independence period, schooling has supplanted

traditional forms of influence in recruitment for local government. Government Chiefs and Councillors are increasingly chosen on the basis of their education and connection to national institutions. Ilaiguenak are rarely selected for positions of leadership in local government.

5.2.1 Local Politics and Administration

The African District Councils, which replaced the Local Native Councils in the early 1950s, became County Councils following national independence. Two main authority structures were established, one political and one administrative. Elected Councillors choose a chairman, vice-chairman and heads of committees to run the Council at the political level. At the administrative and executive level, the clerk to the Council and the treasurer implement councillors' decisions and clerical officers provide them with information and advice.

In the first decade of independence, over two-thirds of the Councillors consisted of Homepeople (Narok Country Council Report 1969). People who were Councillors in the 1950s continued in office. However, schooled Councillors held the positions of chairman and secretary and chaired various committees. New members continued to be appointed. Council administrators were appointed on the basis of their educational attainment and job experience, most of them

having been primary school teachers or tax clerks. For example a Makerere graduate and former teacher took up the important position of clerk to Council in the late 1960s.

From the early 1970s onward, the Ministry of Local Government required that staff of the Council should have at least an "O" level education (i.e. secondary school Form 4). Soon afterwards, most administrative posts were filled by individuals who had acquired schooling. As was the case elsewhere in the country, young men and women with educational qualifications were recruited to serve as teachers, nurses, agricultural and veterinary officers and construction foremen. In order to obtain skilled manpower, Narok County Council recruited many schooled Maasai who were working outside the district.

Political positions within the Council were not immediately affected by this policy since office holders were elected from 1974. Like those seeking parliamentary seats, candidates seeking Council seats were expected to campaign. During the second national elections of 1974 the central government issued a directive to the Councils throughout the country specifying minimum qualifications for candidates, namely primary schooling, facility in Kiswahili and membership in the ruling party, the Kenya African National Union. The consequences of this policy which was meant to link education with leadership positions, were profound for the Maasai although the educational

requirements were relaxed for a time. Half of the Councillors elected in 1974 had attained at least primary level schooling; in fact, more than half of them were primary school teachers who were allowed to run in the elections without losing their teaching posts (Narok County Council Report 1975). By 1983, the proportion of schooled Maasai in the Council had risen to almost 80% (16 out of 21) (Narok County Council Report 1983).

The central government allowed Ole Sankale and others like him who did not go to school to continue as Chiefs after independence. In 1974, however, a policy was introduced that required Chiefs to be elected in the same way as Councillors and Members of Parliament. The government inadvertently politicised an office that it once had no intention of making political. Those aspiring to become Chiefs made promises to the electorate, which were bound to bring them into opposition with the government. Some candidates, for example, pledged to oppose land adjudication being carried out by the government in the district and in many cases this led the Maasai to elect Chiefs who were more loyal to them than to the government between 1974 and 1979. The Maasai did, however, show favour for individuals who had formal education, who could manipulate government services for the well-being of the community. Out of ten Chiefs elected in Narok during this

period, seven had received some schooling (Personal Communication, Ole Letiet 1981).

In 1979, the government abolished the system of electing Chiefs. They were to be appointed by the national government. Allegiance to the government became an important criterion for becoming a Chief, in addition to the possession of primary level education. Members of Parliament pressured the district and provincial administration to appoint Chiefs who could win votes for them. Accordingly, the five men who became Chiefs in the district between 1979 and 1983, had been approved by their respective local M.P.s. and one who had failed to honour his pledge to support the sponsoring M.P. had his chieftainship taken away from him (Personal Communication, Ole Tuya 1982).

In Narok, 95% of the present Chiefs (20) have at least Standard 4 primary schooling. Most Chiefs, whether or not they have attained schooling, have several wives, children and cattle and are involved in both modern and traditional activities. Many Chiefs have wives who have no schooling as well as one or two who have obtained some formal education.

Chiefs, as government appointees, are expected to assert their authority and implement government policy. For example, they are required to fill the schools with children. Until 1973, when it was abolished, Chiefs were required to collect the Graduated Personal Tax and to help teachers collect the school fees before fees were eliminated

in all primary school Standards in 1979. In addition, Chiefs are supposed to monitor and circumscribe the activities of age-set institutions and if they fail to do this are seen as weak in the eyes of the government. But some Chiefs have dual loyalties and often express the views of local people to government officers and vice-versa. Chiefs serve, however, at the pleasure of local and national politicians who use them to protect their interests. However, once these individuals have been appointed they may use their charisma and power to win a following. With this following, the Chiefs may pursue certain political objectives independent of their political sponsors at the risk of losing their job.

Members of Parliament were first elected in the mid-1950s, initially to represent the whole of the Rift Valley area and later as representatives of the district within the province. Ole Tameno, a Makerere graduate, was the first Maasai to participate in the colonial Legislative Council (in 1954-55). His area of jurisdiction extended beyond Maasailand and included some Kalenjin regions. In the late 1950s African representation in the Legislative Council was increased.

Ole Tipis (a post-primary graduate), now the incumbent M.P. for Mau (northern Narok) constituency and Minister of State, was elected as the first representative for Narok in 1957-58. Tipis and Tameno could communicate with the

colonial authorities in English. Educational attainment was also important in the selection of the leaders of the Maasai United Front in 1960; Ole Keen, Ololoitipitip, Ole Kapeen, just to mention a few. At that time, Senior Chief Ole Sankale was one of the most important leaders in the Maasai reserve. Though he had no schooling, Ole Sankale was instrumental in appointing Schoolpeople to prominent political positions in the Front.

Following independence, elections were held in all areas of the country. Narok was granted three constituencies, one in each division. From the very beginning, it was evident that the new government preferred men who could read, write and speak English to go to the National Assembly. Accordingly, the four men who represented Narok in the newly formed National Assembly, which consisted of the House of Representatives and the Senate, had worked as teachers or as clerks before joining parliament. These first four members were not elected but appointed by the national government, in "consultation" with the local leaders. But from 1969 onward, elections were held using ballot papers and voting cards.

Since the Kenyan elections of 1969, parliamentary candidates have been expected to possess "O" level certificates or demonstrate proficiency in English and Kiswahili, the languages of parliamentary debate.

5.3 CHANGE, CONFLICT AND CONTINUITIES

There is no doubt that today schooling has an increasingly vital role in Maasai leadership and politics. This is because Maasailand has become an integral part of the Kenyan nation. But for the moment, whether or not the national government recognizes it, two forms of governments continue to operate in Maasailand, setting this community apart from many other societies. While the President of Kenya was appointing a Maasai Schoolperson from Ngong, Professor Saitoti, to the powerful position of Minister of Finance in 1983, the Minister's fellow Homepeople of Keekonyokie were descending from Ngong highlands to Ewaso valley to inaugurate a new age-set and to celebrate their own rise to political power in the customary Maasai way.

During the colonial and independence periods, the national government has attempted to abolish the age-set organization which provides the framework for the Maasai indigenous political system. In 1983-84, the District Commissioner of Narok and Kajiado districts directed their Chiefs not to allow the inauguration of the new age-set sponsored by the sons of Ilterito. The Iseuri Chiefs and age-sets' spokesmen agreed that the ceremony was necessary, and therefore persuaded the government to allow it to take place. Permission was granted, but the authorities advised that the meetings and ceremony should not be long. Ole

Kanchani, a government Chief of Keekonyokis said at a meeting during the ceremony;

The government is not happy about moranhood, and we are lucky that the former D.C. left, because he was totally opposed to everything associated with it ... (Galaty 1984: 38).

The age-set system is seen by the government of the crown to be responsible for retarding development in Maasailand. Development has been defined in terms familiar to government planners: schools, modern agriculture with a strong commercial orientation requiring the use of school skills and finally, national integration, implying among other things, encouragement of free access regardless of ethnic origin to land purchase. Government planners have often argued that moranhood and other Maasai age-set institutions are antithetical to development. Galaty has noted in this connection that;

Most Maasai see age-organization as critical to the respect and discipline instilled in young men, as essential to channeling the energies of youth, and important in the acquisition of knowledge, beliefs and values necessary for proficient practice of animal husbandry and full participation in a cooperative system of local social organization, based on mutual respect and consensus. Many of these factors are not easily observed by Government officers who are not familiar with Maasai society (Galaty 1984: 11).

Yet integration of traditional and modern forms of political authority seems to be more evident in pastoral than in agricultural districts. In September 1983, for example, the Keekonyokie Maasai held the enkipaata ceremony, for which

uncircumcised boys came from three sections to Ewuaso, in order to form a new age-set.⁵ The firestick elders, the Iseuri, were responsible for the ceremony because their "sons" or those who are sponsored were going to form their own age-set. Before the ceremony began, as is always the case, a series of meetings were held to thrash out conflicts between the boys and their sponsors, among the elders themselves and to discuss procedures for the ceremony. The Chiefs and their assistants participated in these discussions, as they usually do, particularly if the firestick elders are their age-mates. In this particular case, all of the Chiefs and their assistants belonged to the Iseuri age-set. The Chiefs were therefore involved as firestick elders, as well as in their capacity of government representatives. Ole Kanchani stated at a meeting during the ceremony,

I heard an Olnyangusi man who was trying to speak some things although he was drunk. I don't want to mention his name He was saying that we Illyankusi are through with our ceremonies, but we don't think the Seuri will be able to do theirs ... This hurt me because we are being backbitten so much If we were able to make the government allow us to perform this ceremony, should it be so hard now that we are almost through? We must perform it. When we are discussing this we must be mature (Galaty 1984: 38).

As civil servants, the Chiefs cautioned the drunkards and even threatened to incarcerate them. They stressed the importance of order and asked the people to be thankful to the government for having allowed the Maasai to practise

their traditional age-set activities. The age-set leaders, in turn, acknowledged the presence of Chiefs both as civil servants and age-mates and warned them not to politicize the ceremony in view of the general elections which coincided with it.

Some candidates visited the village where the ceremony was being held and campaigned. Chiefs and age-set leaders have sometimes voiced their support for particular candidates, even though Chiefs are supposed to be apolitical. Chiefs and age-set leaders are often asked by politicians to campaign for them in their areas of influence. For example, in the 1979 general elections the incumbent M.P. of Osupuko (southern Narok) constituency solicited support from leading personalities from Loita and Naikarra areas, among them age-set leaders, and assistant Chiefs.

Age-set leaders and other notables are still involved in the national political system. If Chiefs want to be effective and if Councillors and M.P.s wish to be elected, cooperation and goodwill of the age-set notables is not insignificant. Chiefs, Councillors and M.P.s have formal authority which they can assert. But for government leaders to assert their authority, they need a political base which the government cannot guarantee. This base comes from the people and therefore, while pursuing their political interests, Schoolpeople must seek the favour of Homepeople.

Despite this interdependence, age-set leaders have been gradually losing control over the Maasai to those leaders who have school credentials and can participate in the government of the crown.

The Maasai tend to view national politics in terms familiar to them. Homepeople often treat Chiefs, M.P.s and Councillors like traditional leaders, by giving them the security of office which is granted to age-set leaders. A Councillor from Osupuko division, for example, has been in office for more than fifteen years and does not feel pressured. Unless an M.P., Councillor or Chief deliberately works against the community, he is unlikely to be removed.

To recapitulate, in the colonial period, the social and political system of the Maasai was protected by the policy of indirect rule. Prominent age-set leaders and notables continued to have influence and authority. Colonial officials created the position of Chief, through which they could communicate and execute colonial policy. Few Chiefs had attained any formal education, and many were age-set spokesmen. For this reason, Maasai Chiefs continued to have as much stake in the Maasai system and its age-set institutions in the colonial system.

Schooling became an important requirement for entry into leadership positions in the Council and other national institutions just before and after independence. Age-set based political structures were integrated into a more

formal authority system while the latter system did not supplant the former. Pressure on the age-set institutions has increased as government has viewed them as antithetical to development activities. Age-set ceremonies have been shortened, for instance, and moranhood "banned" on several occasions. In 1981, Maasai leaders in government employ were directed

to put an end to moranhood in all Kajiado locations. Again, in 1983, the District officers were told by the central government to arrest retailers who sold red ochre in their stores (Personal Communication, Keekonyokie Chief 1983).

However, government Chiefs, Councillors and M.P.s, still exercise authority through age-set institutions valued by Homepeople. The age-set system cannot be easily disregarded or abandoned. For most Maasai, whether they are Schoolpeople, Middlepeople or Homepeople, age-set relations are a deeply meaningful and an important aspect of their lives. The importance of traditional leadership qualities in selection of Chiefs, Councillors and M.P.s and, the persistence of consensual, communal values in the exercise of secular authority will continue for sometime.

5.4 FOOTNOTES

1. The Kisongo Maasai close the ritual cycle during their great "meat-rack" ceremony, olngesher, which allows men to eat meat seen by initiated women.
2. The Maasai have five major clans some of which act as "exogamous" units in some regions; the Ilmakesen, Iltarosero, Ilmolelian, Ilaiser and Ilukumae. It should be emphasized that there are no clan Chiefs or leaders, only age-set leaders who come from different clans. The five clans are generally found in each section.
3. The supposition that important leaders are always selected to represent several clans (Jacobs 1965: 265-270) is, however, disproved by the Keekonyokie case in which two prominent age-set leaders may come from the same clan.
4. The ilmurran village in the third region, Oike, was run by opinion-leaders, inkopir, until recently. When the age-set of Ilnyankusi became the firestick and ruling elders they decided to select three rather than two ilaiguenak. The Iseuri age-set has followed this lead. They have chosen three leaders for the youngest age-set formed in 1983.
5. I am thankful to John Galaty for the information which he collected during the Keekonyokie enkipaata ceremony in September 1983.

CHAPTER 6

EDUCATION, LAND AND MAASAI SOCIETY

The principle objective of the Kenyan government in rural development has been to introduce modern agriculture as a means of integrating each region of the country into the national economic system. Following independence, pastoral regions were seen to have the potential for commercial livestock production as well as for cash cropping in the highland areas. The overriding aim of this policy was to maximize the use of the country's agricultural resources for national needs (Davis 1970). Reserves were declared national resources, under the trusteeship of the Local Councils. The Local Council in coordination with the national government implemented the policy of private ownership of land by making land a commodity to be purchased. A radical plan was implemented which turned the former Maasai reserve from collectively-owned land into private property held through individual or group titles (Lawrence Report 1966). This chapter will examine, how through the transformation of the land tenure system, Narok district, the western part of the former Maasai reserve, has been introduced to ranching. More specifically, it will discuss a number of land related topics including Maasai

land regulations, distribution and the ownership of land by individuals and groups, as well as the effect of school expansion on land tenure patterns since independence.

6.1 MAASAI TRADITIONAL LAND RIGHTS

It has been pointed out that Maasai society is composed of several sections or iloshon including the Purko, Keekonyokie, Damat, Loita, Moitanik, Uasinkishu and Siria. Each section inhabits an area of land used for pastoral purposes, whose boundaries are generally recognized by neighbouring sections. These boundaries often extend to include drier, olpurkel and wetter, osupuko pastures. In the dry season from January to March the Purko, for example, take their livestock to the wetter highlands in the Mau and, when the long rains begin in April, they return to the lowlands. During these movements, the younger members of the society take responsibility for the livestock. Some sections form alliances which permit them to graze on one another's land, making sectional boundaries quite fluid. The Keekonyokie, for instance, have such a relationship with the Purko.

Within a single section (olosho), the pastures are divided into imurua, localities, inhabited by families from different clans and different age-sets. Each emurua consists of several villages, inkangitie, which share the

natural resources of the area and cooperate in all matters concerning the community's social welfare. This includes protecting water and pastures within the area from outsiders. Internal migrations within olosho also occur. Men may move to join their age-mates residing in different imurua due to conflicts or drought, or if they wish to live together with friends or relatives. Permission for this type of migration must, however, be obtained from the residents of the area where the person plans to go. The heads of families in a village form a council of elders, which decides and grants access to pastures to outsiders.¹ In brief, land does not belong to any particular person or family; it is owned collectively by the society. The concept of owning and selling land is as strange to the Maasai as that of the Chief. Individuals and families have land-use rights which can be transferred to offsprings, provided the family continues to reside in that locality. If, after the death of the head of the family, the children decide to move, their rights at their father's residence cease to exist.² They may return later if they wish with full rights, or may assume rights to land inhabited by their mother's family.³

In the Maasai tradition, therefore, land was a resource which could not be owned, sold or exchanged by an individual. The Maasai concept of ownership is very different from the new concept resulting from the land

registration process. It is interesting that the Maasai word aker, to monopolize or have something to yourself, is applied only to a small area of land (olokeri) surrounding every village reserved for young, old and sick animals. Neighbours are discouraged from bringing their animals into this region, which is often demarcated with thorny bushes. Even the village herders are advised to drive strong animals past this area, so that the grass will remain for the weaker animals. The term aker also denotes greed and selfishness, both of which are qualities contrary to age-set values. For this reason most Maasai do not like to be seen monopolising resources which are meant to be shared and age-set leaders are cautious of this and often fine individuals trying to usurp natural resources for their own use.

Following the move of 1911, the Maasai were given their own reserve and although they experienced much land appropriation, they nevertheless managed to retain their traditional land tenure system.⁴ Until independence the Maasai managed to maintain their indigenous land system due to their relatively insulated existence on the reserve.

6.2 LAND REGISTRATION AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Government planners who have little understanding of collective ownership of land claim that the communal pastoral system encourages misuse of land, "... since it is

theoretically in every pastoralist's interest to maximize herd growth and personal use of common resources" (Galaty 1980: 159). It should be noted that this is not Galaty's view but his paraphrase of others' views. In addition, the seasonal use of dry and wet-weather pastures by Maasai have led government officials to claim that "... such land is unowned and unused ... " (1980: 160). This perception of pastoralists and pastoral pastures was prevalent when the Range Management Division of the Ministry of Agriculture was established in 1963. The Division was given the responsibility for conserving, managing and developing pastures in pastoral regions.

In 1967, the East African Livestock Survey noted that pastoral regions and the people who inhabited them had the potential for a livestock industry which Kenya would have to tap if it was to avoid importing meat by the 1970s. In the late 1960s, the government adopted legislation that would enable commercial livestock production in nomadic pastoral areas;

To bring these areas into the commercial sector, the government had to make changes in legislation, and, as a consequence, there was the introduction of the Group Representatives act (1968), which made it possible for a group of pastoralists to register a large block of land with fixed boundaries. It was hoped that this would help the pastoralists to think of herd management more in the commercial ranching sense (Migot and Little 1981: 147-8).

Group ranching, therefore, was established as one means of commercializing beef production (Davis 1970; IBRD 1977) and as a way of integrating economic activities in the former Maasai reserve into the Kenyan economy.⁵ Ranching schemes were aided financially by the Agricultural Finance Corporation (A.F.C.) with funds obtained from the World Bank. After the registration of members as owners, a ranch committee of ten members, with a chairman, secretary and treasurer was established within each ranch to manage the affairs of the corporation. Each ranch also elected a number of group representatives, who functioned as the legal trustees and could receive loans and acquire debts on behalf of the ranch corporation. Ranching committees were expected to be led by pastoralists with schooling and others already involved in the market economy.

Officials of the Range Office assessed the potential of range lands to establish their carrying capacity, plan for technical improvements, determine culling and off-take rates and stock quotas for individual herders, select improved breeding stock, devise grazing plans, develop a ten-year budget for the A.F.C. and recommend loans with land or livestock as collateral.

The Livestock Development Project was initiated in Kajiado district in 1970. Much research in Maasailand on ranching has been carried out in Kajiado.⁶ By contrast,

little research has been conducted in Narok where group ranching was introduced more recently, in 1974.

Narok district land legislation was accelerated under the Livestock Development Project, Phase II, which took place between 1974 and 1978. This was a time when planners started to feel that group ranching was "more an exercise in acquiring title to land than an effective means to commercializing beef production" (IBRD 1977). Indeed, the desire to protect the land from agricultural and governmental encroachment is the primary reason why many Maasai accepted group ranching. Narok is relatively more fertile than Kijiado, with high-potential agricultural land covering about half of the district's total area. In addition, the district has varied soil and grazing conditions suited to raising livestock as well as for growing food and cash crops. Certain individuals in the Council and government service had been given plots of land by the County Council of Narok immediately after independence (Voshaar 1979: 262). The initial land allocations resulted in the establishment of wheat farms which, in turn, compelled traditional herders to use areas of low or medium-to-low grazing potential formerly used only during the wet season. Those families who chose to continue to devote much of their time and energy to subsistence pastoralism were forced to move southward into Osupuko.

Some stayed in the Mau, but it became more and more difficult for them to practise animal husbandry of the traditional type.

6.3 LAND DISTRIBUTION, CHANGE AND CONFLICT

When the central government proposed⁹ a wheat farming scheme in Narok during the late 1960s and early 1970s, many pastoralists initially refused to participate on the grounds that it was impossible to grow wheat and keep cattle on the same land. But the government wanted to expand wheat farming in the country and Narok became one of the target districts. The project was administered by the Maasai Agricultural Development Organization (M.A.D.O.), through which the government supplied loans to those wishing to grow wheat. Maasai were sent to be trained at agricultural colleges at Thomson Falls (now Nyahururu) and Eldoret for the purpose of learning how to cultivate and manage wheat in their district.

There were those who saw in the privatization of land the opportunity to engage in commercial wheat and barley farming. But many Homepeople in Narok favoured group ranching to protect the land from encroachment. They were concerned that the new independent government might open the former Maasai reserve to outsiders whose understanding of the commercial value of land was far more sophisticated than

that of most Maasai. In Kajiado where ranching schemes were first introduced, certain Maasai obtained individual titles, values escalated, and land was sold to cultivators from outside the district with greater awareness of the future value of the land (Galaty 1980: 160). For Maasai whose market sophistication equalled that of many outside cultivators, such land legislation brought substantial benefits (Hedlund 1979).

The adjudication of land in the 1970s was the responsibility of the District Land Officer rather than of the Narok Council. The lands to be used for the cultivation of wheat were demarcated first, along with lands settled by immigrants from neighbouring Kericho District which were defined as separate locations. Marking boundaries was contentious and conflicts have continued in the north-west of the district.

Meetings were held in all divisions and locations by Chiefs, Councillors and Members of Parliament to seek popular approval for the demarcation of individual locations by the Land Adjudication Office. Certain locations or sub-locations refused to allow demarcation to take place. The Loita, for example, have had nothing to do with land adjudication to date. In 1974 they told local leaders and government officials that they wish to distribute land among themselves in their own way. Their Purko neighbours in the Naikarra location also have needed time to discuss what to

do with their land. Both of these locations have had less involvement with missions, government and commercial agriculture. These locations are in Osupuko division, where pastoral production of the subsistence type is prevalent. On the other hand, divisions and locations in the wetter areas such as Mau and Kilgoris, where governmental and missionary activities were greatest, were the first to be demarcated.

6.3.1 The Local Land Committees

Once an area has been declared an adjudication section, a committee of elders is appointed to assist the Land Adjudication Office to adjudicate land. The land officers are not supposed to decide who receives the land, but rather to mark the land on maps once the local land committee has allocated it.

Selection of the number of land committee members depends on the number of sub-locations within a location. Each sub-location is administratively represented by an Assistant Chief, who along with the Chief of the location, the Councillor and the M.P. of the area decide who will sit on the committee. For instance,

My location was declared an adjudication area by the Land Adjudication Officer. Sixteen of us were selected to divide up the land. I was chosen because I know the area well and I am known for fair judgement. It was the chief of the area who played a role in putting me on the committee. The choice

of the other members depended on the number of existing sub-localities, with each man representing a sub-location. We had six men who knew how to read and four government officers from the land office. There was no election held to choose who sat on the committee. A list was made by the Chief, Councillor and M.P. from our location. This list was presented to the land office and in a meeting convened by these leaders, our names were read out before everybody. After that we started work (interview, Olereko 1982).

No land committee member received payment for his work, since it was seen as a voluntary community service offered by Maasai notables. Councillors, M.P.s and Chiefs were able to choose the committee members and, in this way, insured that their interests were well looked after.

Land was divided up according to the needs of certain individuals or groups of individuals. Land in and around market centres or towns such as Ololulunga, Lemek, Naroosura, Maji-Moto and Enkare Ngiro in Osupuko division, Kilgoris, Lolgorian in Kilgoris division, and Narok, Siyiapei, Nairragie-Nkare, Enabelibel and Olokurto in Mau division was redistributed. Land in the higher zones and lower zones of each location was also redistributed. In the highlands, agriculture could be practised year round.

Those who obtained schooling or were exposed to other modernizing influences wanted pieces of plots in all zones. Non-Maasai who were residents of Narok favoured land near market centres where they could build houses or in the highlands where it could be used for commercial agriculture. The Livestock Development Project planners may have wanted

to encourage the notion of the group ranches for commercial purposes, but this policy was implemented haphazardly.

While group ranches are of a respectable size in Kajiado with only 7 with an area less than 10,000 hectares, and 1 with 50 or less members, clearly something went wrong in Narok. Forty-nine ranches have a total area of 500 hectares or less In Narok also there are 50 'ranches' with a membership of 50 or less, and of these 40 have 20 or less members with an average of 11 members (Cossins 1980: 16).

The land committee in each location in Narok was influenced by the conflicting interests as well as by the need to make land adjudication appear to be beneficial to everyone:

We tried to give everybody something. Of course, there were those who were given big plots and others small ones; we are not all equal. Some people are big, others are skinny, some are black, others are white. Look at the fingers on your hands, are they equal? We tried to be fair as much as was humanly possible. In our section, nobody was left without at least a piece of land; a piece is better than nothing (interview, Ololubo 1982).

The finger analogy is a common metaphor used mainly by those who perceive themselves as the big fingers. In one area of Narok, for example, the chairman of the land committee and his assistant were given 8,000 hectares to share. Of thirty plots of land in and around one small town in the same location, only four were group ranches and all except two of the individually owned plots belonged to schooled Maasai, who were engaged in business, teaching or the civil service (Personal Communication, Ole Karia 1982). These individual "ranches" in the town area range in size from 2 to 10

hectares. Out of the 28 schooled Maasai some of whom sat on the land committee, 26 have also been registered in group ranches situated in the outlying areas of the location. One politician emphasized the development "benefits" of this.

We encourage educated people and other progressive individuals to participate in individual ranches which they can develop as demonstration plots. We (also) wish them to register in group ranches in order to lead their fellow members towards progress. Today, ranchers are expected to write reports about their plots of land. If there is not a single member who can read and write it would be difficult for the ranches to have any development (interview, Ole Saoli 1982).

Those who had schooling and the skills to participate in the market economy derived the most benefit from the privatization of land. For instance, a schooled member of a group ranch in Mau who became wealthy through wheat farming recently promised to build a dip and to bring water to the group ranch in return if he was allotted a portion of the ranch on which to grow wheat. Once the land was granted, he built a large house, a dip and developed water facilities which nobody could use because they were all on his individual plot within the group ranch. When the other members of a ranch complained to the land officials, they were told that the government could not stop people who wished to forge ahead. The government quickly demarcated the member's plot and issued a land title. The group ranch charter did not prevent this.

Non-Maasai government officers from outside as well as inside Narok have also been obtaining access to land in the district, creating much social conflict. There was an incident in Mau in the mid-1970s involving local administrators in which a Maasai man was killed by the administrative police because he refused to allow a top civil servant to grow wheat on his group ranch. The brother of the deceased apparently had agreed to lease a portion of the group ranch to the official without consulting his brother.

Most of the outsiders who have obtained land are employees of the land office. Large plots of land are often given to them, usually in areas that are considered less valuable to the Maasai. They are less valuable because the land may be disputed between the Maasai and, say, the Kipsigis. But sometimes outsiders refuse such land, preferring instead areas where they could grow wheat or barley without disputes.

The more humid setting of much of Narok District, while widening the set of development possibilities physically, has increased the potential for dissension (Evangelou 1984: 124).

Disputes and friction between Maasai age-sets traditionally have been resolved within the framework of the age set organization. Disputes have been more difficult to settle on the group ranches due to the diverse membership of the ranches. The allocation of land to individuals from

different social and economic backgrounds has created many difficulties. Consider, for example, the group ranch at Nairragie-Nkare, whose members include families of blacksmiths, hunters, pastoralists, traders, cash croppers as well as non-Maasai. A local land committee chairman for the area observed in this connection;

When we registered members of the Suswa group ranch, more than a thousand people wanted to be listed. We only managed to put the names of 900 in the register. The land is not large. It is probably about 4,000 acres. Our main problem was that of acceptees. There are people in our midst who came from Kikuyu country to work for certain Maasai age-set leaders. There are others who came back after spending years in Kikuyuland because they were given away by their parents' during the drought. There are others who have their daughters in Keekonyokie section. Then, there are those who are directly from one of the Kikuyu areas. Apart from these Kikuyu or Kikuyu-derived families, there are Iltorrobo and Ilkunono in the same area. All these groups wanted land, yet they have never really lived within the same boundaries under one committee. It was difficult to decide what to do with these groups. Mind you, within these groups are categories of people who defended their own interests. They wanted individual plots within the group ranch. Most of these are educated men and women. Some belong to the mixed groups. As the chairman of the land committee, my task was difficult. Of course, I got advice from my colleagues on the committee, but they did not make it any easier for me. My committee and I decided that we would register all the groups under one plot-name which was called Suswa Group Ranch. One problem arose. Those who did not keep cattle wanted to have wheat on a small portion. We allowed them to but the livestock on the ranch soon trampled on the crop and so it was naturally discontinued without any yields (interview, Koileken 1952).

More than half the members of the ranch, however, now have individual plots on the higher grounds and only drive their

stock to Suswa (often with hired labour) during the wet season. Ranch members have become increasingly concerned about overgrazing of Suswa by illegal grazers from neighbouring individual ranches and legal grazers who come to the lowlands to look for water which has been made available by the government.⁷ Members of the ranch have been unable to agree on the use of land. Some members continue to express interest in commercial production (wheat, barley or livestock), while others wish to remain involved in subsistence pastoralism. Others, still, have wanted to build hotels on the ranch or to use land for schools, clinics and other community facilities.

6.3.2 Social Differentiation and Conflict

Doherty has argued that:

One of the major effects of group and individual ranching in this region has been increased factionalism, mainly because the ranches were not established on the basis of any traditional, or familiar, sociological unit - a unit which could provide a basis for common action Furthermore, it has been noted that individual ranchers stand apart as a class of educated political and economic leaders and that the support they muster among group ranch members further leads to hostilities and the polarization of groups (Doherty 1979a: 4).

Conflicts have also developed between young men and the elders who control the group ranches. These are becoming more serious as more youth come of age.

Strife has mounted between sections as population pressures have increased Just as volatile, though simmering, is the unsettled issue of younger men starting families and demanding group ranch membership against the resistance of their fathers and other founding ranch members ... (Evangelou 1984: 124).

Young men, who were boys when land adjudication took place, want land, and many ask the elders to register them in various group ranches. Group ranch boundaries are not elastic; the size was determined by the number of people who initially received the parcel of land. In one Purko group ranch meeting, I attended during the course of this research, 20 young men came to plead with the group ranch committee for their names to be entered in the register. The ranch has fifty members who have 1,600 hectares. Their request was refused on the grounds that in families with children, only those children who were initially registered had membership rights. I talked to one young man after the meeting who told me,

Now I am a man with a family of my own. I want my rights. My father's name has been registered but I have six brothers whose names were not registered anywhere. Where shall we live when this group ranch is divided up tomorrow? (interview, Kulale 1982).

Those who have received private land in Narok could be divided into three groups. First, there are those people who straddle economic sectors. Because they are engaged in wage or salaried employment, they have not been able to

readily exploit communal land, being unable to invest their labour there. This has been true of most Schoolpeople employed in the district headquarters or other urban areas. Although many have kept houses in rural areas for their retirement, it is difficult for them to stay for long periods. Accordingly, Schoolpeople employed in the modern sector preferred to have their own private plots, which can be leased for cultivation of cash crops. Sometimes the land is left uncultivated, but a house has been built on the property and left under the care of a relative. Out of the 50 salaried schooled Maasai, 34 had individual plots and over half were members of a group ranch also. Only six were members of group ranches, without owning private land of their own.

The second group of people receiving individual plots in Narok are those involved in commercial production who want land as a resource for market-oriented agricultural production such as wheat, barley and livestock. Most have received some schooling. Commercial production requires interaction with credit institutions, agricultural extension services and marketing cooperatives, and thus requires skills which are usually associated with schooling. Finally, there are individuals who obtain land primarily as an investment for their families, descendants or for speculation. Generally, government employees, politicians, wage earners, commercial wheat growers and beef producers,

share a common interest in and support for the privatization of land.

Schooling has channelled people into wage and salaried, managerial, administrative, and political positions and thereby into a cash economy. Among these people, advocacy of individual, rather than group, land holding has been based on the concept that individuals can attract government aid more easily. Government officials have found it easier to deal with individuals than to negotiate with group ranchers, since members often have different interests. An individual rancher may offer a vehicle or house as security for a government loan, whereas group ranchers usually have had only their land as security and have been reluctant to use their cattle to borrow money.

Evangelou, an agronomist by training, has recently argued that group ranches "... in their present form can only hinder regional and national economic development in the long run" (Evangelou 1984: 123). Individual ranches are increasingly seen as models of progressive socio-economic change. According to Evangelou, the fact that individual land ownership changes traditional notions of reciprocity which are crucial in times of disaster, is encouraging. He has argued that "a reduced level of participation in traditional acts of reciprocity can hardly be considered a hindrance to national livestock development" (1984: 123).

Despite all of their potential and actual problems, the group ranching scheme has been advocated as a useful instrument for protecting the land and allowing the Maasai to continue domestic production.

The significance of the Group Ranch lies primarily at the political level, in providing a system of collective freehold titles to occupants of Maasailand, appreciably increasing their security in a nation understandably concerned with the maximization of national resources... The Group Ranch may appear... to represent a positive innovation precisely because of its limitations, for in the cracks and crevices of its organization, Maasai may be able to make it work through their own system. What it promises them is the security and the time to generate innovations appropriate to their needs (Galaty 1980: 169).

To conclude, the tendency for Maasai to obtain land for individual uses has led to an increased number of inter-sectional and intra-community conflicts as Maasai individuals and groups have scrambled for land. These have been some of the unfortunate consequences of national integration and the notion of "catching up" with the rest of the country, within an open system likely to reward those who are educationally and economically stronger, whether or not they are Maasai.

6.4 FOOTNOTES

1. Of course, individual villages have autonomy and do indeed make independent decisions as do individual families within these villages, but much cooperative effort often takes place at the level of emurua. A Keekonyokie elder elaborated;

Enkop (land) belongs to all Maasai, if the Purko want the pastures in our area we cannot deny them because they are our friends and brothers. We sometimes ask them to allow our cattle to eat the grass in their areas. We have Keekonyokie families living in the midst of Purko and vice versa. They have our daughters and we have theirs, we invite them and they invite us during certain age-set ceremonies. But the Keekonyokie area is recognized by them, by Damat, Loita and by all the Maasai. In our area we have three major imurua, Oike, near the market of Nairragie-Nkare, Ewuaso, where all our ceremonies are usually held, and Kaputie, around Oldonyio lo laiser (Ngong hills). We know where Oike meets Ewuaso, Ewuaso meets Kaputie and we know the families which have always lived in those areas. Of course, people do move to different places, but they seek permission before moving in because the grass in Oike belongs to the people there, the water in Kaputie belongs to the Keekonyokie who live there, the wells in Ewuaso belong to the Ewuaso residents. They have a right to drive their animals anywhere within their boundary. Other Maasai may be permitted to graze their cattle and may be allowed to settle in areas which don't belong to them, but each corner of Keekonyokie has been given to a specific family to use in the dry and wet seasons (interview, Ole Nchoki 1982).

2. The Maasai is a patrilineal society. The bride moves to live with the bridegroom in his parent's village or his own, if it is a second marriage. If the husband dies, the wife stays with his brothers until her own children are able to support her and themselves.

3. For instance, Koonyo, a Purko, resided at Olepolos emurua, a sub-location of Ololulunga. He had five sons and six daughters. Koonyo shared the emurua with the families of Kilerai and Lempere. Together, these three families had access to land of a 5 to 10 km radius. Occasionally, they would sometimes go west into Nkinki's neighbourhood, south into Keko's area and north into the grazing grounds of the Njoe family. There was no difficulty in crossing the boundaries provided they allowed the families residing in these neighbouring areas mutual access to Olepolos' pastures. When Koonyo died, three of his sons moved further east to Kotolian and two remained at Olepolos. Since the three sons had moved elsewhere they were required to ask the Olepolos residents to allow them to continue to graze their cattle in the area when necessary. Another family approached the elders of the Kilerai family, asking for a place to live and graze cattle. The Kilerai family discussed the matter with the other two families of Olepolos and eventually accepted the new family into the neighbourhood by giving them Koonyo's land rights.

4. Many studies suggest that the Maasai lost more land to European settlers than any other Kenyan society (Van Zwanenberg and King 1975; Rigby: forthcoming). Although this is a valid argument, researchers have often ignored the fact that the Maasai also kept more land than perhaps any other society in the country due to the Anglo-Maasai pacts. The more important point to stress, therefore, is not so much the number of square kilometres they lost, but the value of the land lost insofar as pastoralism is concerned. Much pasture in and around the Rift Valley area and up on the Laikipia plateau during the first decade of this century, was of the highest quality. Amazingly enough, some elders believe this land will one day return to the Maasai. A Keekonyokie elder of Iltareto age-set discussed this issue.

The Laikipia olosho once lived in fertile highlands between Mt. Kenya and the Mau ranges. We, the Purko and other sections drove them out when they became too arrogant because of too much prosperity. We lived in the area and became quite wealthy and proud until the Europeans

drove us out. They soon became comfortable and forgot that they were being watched by other people interested in the same land, until they were removed by the Kikuyu. Today the Kikuyu have become prosperous since they acquired that land. They are beginning to show off like the Laikipia people did, like we did and like the Europeans did. It is my prediction that they will not be there for long, we might get it back or some other society might take it away from them (interview, Maisiodo 1982).

5. Schemes were advocated by planners, despite the warning by the East African Livestock Survey (1967) that ranching is capital rather than labour intensive. According to the Survey, a livestock industry based upon ranching, even cooperative ranching, would not contribute much to resolving rural development problems. Instead, ranching could cause further deprivation by pushing people out of the pastoral areas into the urban centres, where unemployment is high (Rigby 1969b; Hjort 1976).
6. The following authors have written about ranching, Davis (1970); Doherty (1979a, 1979b, Ph.D. Dissertation, forthcoming); Galaty and Doherty (1983); Galaty (1980); Halderman (1972); Hedlund (1971); Lawrence (1966); Rigby (1969b); Witucki (1977). Doherty is the only scholar who has undertaken an intensive study on ranching in Narok.
7. Several informants told me that piped-water from Lake Naivasha across Suswa was provided by the government in order to ensure that land in the Mau would be used for commercial agriculture. They suggested that they would have preferred access to the dry-season Mau pastures to having water piped into the crowded Suswa plains.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

While much is known about why pastoral societies have low school participation rates, much less is known about rapid increase in school attendance among pastoral populations in the last fifteen years. Instead, previous writings on pastoralists' education have emphasized reasons why pastoralists like the Maasai have shown little interest in formal education. The explanations have attributed low degrees of school participation to factors ranging from low density and high mobility of pastoral societies to the cultural conservatism of the pastoral communities (Gulliver 1969; Gorham 1978, 1980; Government of Kenya, Narok Development Plan 1980: 58-59). Some scholars have attributed low school enrollment rates to economic factors, and argued that school fees are too expensive for most pastoralists (Nkinyangi 1981). Other authors have insisted that labour demands upon school-age children in outlying subsistence based pastoral communities are a significant contribution to low school participation rates (Mbilinyi 1974; Ndagala 1978; Rigby 1981). Finally, there are those researchers who have suggested that low rates of school participation among pastoralists are due to conflict of

values. Schools instill values emphasizing individualism and material gain seen by pastoralists to be antithetical to their needs. Age-sets, for example, transmit certain important Maasai norms of reciprocity and egalitarianism which often conflict with individualism, independence and other "modern" values taught in the school classroom (Parkipuny 1975; Sihm in Galaty et al. 1981: 194). Each of these explanations has some validity.

They however fail to analyze Maasai education in the historical and political context of relationship between government and the Maasai. In two moves (1904 and 1911), Maasailand was reduced and impoverished. At the same time, the remaining areas were decreed a reserve, thus ensuring a degree of both insulation and isolation from the subsequent transformations in land, economy and education which took place in other areas of the colony. In return for their surrender of their best land they were given by the colonial authorities a promise never again to be disturbed. Other Kenyan societies such as the Nandi, Kamba, Kikuyu, Kipsigis and others suffered by the alienation of large areas of land, but it was only with the Maasai that the colonial government bound itself by a solemn pledge to respect the society's rights in land that was relocated. The Maasai were able to retain their traditional society and economic system. They were in fact offered the opportunity to opt out of educational schemes and the wage economy.

7.1 INCREASING EDUCATIONAL PARTICIPATION

There is little evidence to support the belief that the Maasai have always exhibited little or no interest in formal education. The data presented in this dissertation have shown that when opportunities were first presented to the Maasai at the turn of the century, they expressed interest in modern education. In fact they were among the first East African people to participate in western schooling (King 1971c). For example, the great Maasai diviner, Olonana, encouraged the Africa Inland Mission and the colonial authorities to hold one of the first conferences on African education in 1905. Four years later, Molonket Ole Sempele went to the United States for further studies, having raised some of the funds that enabled him to go from his family and neighbours.

But with the accommodation the Maasai reached with the British in the Anglo-Maasai agreement of 1911, formal education did not develop among the Maasai because the Maasai saw no value in going to school and were encouraged to remain pastoralists in their reserve. Once the Maasai had been moved from their central Rift Valley pastures, they stopped being the centre of British interests as the settlers, government officials and missionaries set out to create a prosperous agricultural economy with the labour of the Kikuyu and others who accepted Christianity and mission

schooling with enthusiasm. The Maasai retained the right of internal administration which was exercised through traditional age-set structures. The British administered Maasai homelands through existing institutions of governance. Some age-set leaders, ilaiguenak, wore two hats during the colonial period. First and foremost they were ilaiguenak (spokesmen) for their age set. In addition to that, the British paid some ilaiguenak to act as agents for the colonial government, adjudicating disputes according to customary law and ensuring that the roads and other public conveniences were well maintained.

In contrast to other Kenyan societies, the Kikuyu and Kipsigis for example, the Maasai did not experience political and economic pressures to involve themselves in the national economy until independence. The relationship between the Maasai and the colonial government and the semi-autonomous status of the Maasai reserve provided little incentive to the Maasai to participate in western education.

The political and economic changes that took place in colonial Kenya between the First World War and independence - the settler agitation for self-government, the female circumcision controversy, increasing African discontent on the issue of land alienation, the Mau Mau revolt, the escalation of political consciousness among African societies, the independence movement - involved but a small group of schooled Maasai. Those who played some part in

these events participated in mission schooling and supported the expansion of the wage economy (King 1971c: 125). Modern education in this period offered few rewards within the Maasai pastoral economy. It was often taken up by those who had less stake in that system, such as the children of unions of Maasai and non-Maasai. To be schooled in this period meant opting out of Maasai age-set politics and Maasai culture to a large extent. Maasai society did not produce people like Harry Thuku and Jomo Kenyatta whose schooling enabled them to become political leaders among the landless Kikuyu, unless they moved outside the arena of Maasailand, and no schooled Maasai could exercise such external leadership. This can be explained by the fact that, unlike in many areas, Maasai traditional authority structures were allowed to penetrate modern authority structures until the independence period. For instance, increasingly in Kikuyu areas throughout the colonial period schooled Chiefs were favoured. But in Maasailand, due to the Anglo-Maasai agreement, few Chiefs were recruited from schooled Maasai. At the same time traditional leaders participated in Local Native Councils and other structures of modern government established by colonial authorities.

When independence came and the Maasai province was integrated into the national political system and economy, the Maasai situation changed unalterably. Traditional authority structures have increasingly been pushed to the

periphery of Maasai society and excluded from most forms of governance associated with the modern age, even in matters of land adjudication, where their participation would be useful in legitimizing the transformation of land tenure patterns. The government of newly independent Kenya abolished the elaborate system of native administration and put an end to the special status of the Maasai homelands and many of the protections which the Maasai enjoyed, among them the privilege of governing themselves through their traditional institutions. The Local Native Councils were dismantled in favour of modern local political structures based on universal suffrage.

Independence put an end to the aspirations of some Maasai for a confederation of Kenyan Maasailand with Tanzanian Maasailand. When independence was obtained in 1963, the Kenya African National Union (K.A.N.U.) defeated the Kenya African Democratic Union (K.A.D.U.) in elections. Unlike K.A.D.U. which was mostly supported by minority societies in Kenya (mainly in the Rift Valley and coastal Kenya), K.A.N.U. rejected a federal structure of government, preferring and encouraging the integration of all regions into the Kenyan polity and economy. And it also rejected the idea of an East African nation proposed by Mwalimu Nyerere of Tanzania. The Maasai had to reconcile themselves to a political future in Kenya which they had unsuccessfully resisted, and for which they were educationally unprepared.

As has been shown in the third chapter, school participation rates among pastoral populations in 1964 were the lowest in the country. The vulnerability of the Maasai and other pastoral societies to the demographic, political and economic changes that were taking place in independent Kenya was emphasized in the early 1970s by the abolition of the native reserves and the subsequent acquisition of pastoral lands by members of the better educated, more prosperous communities, who brought with them modern methods of agricultural production. These prosperous Kenyans with jobs in the modern economy and involved in commercial agriculture were attracted to areas where land could be obtained cheaply. 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 modern state preoccupation with asserting authority at the local level at the expense of traditional political structures and the implications of internal migration are of particular importance to the future of Maasai schooling.

The increase in rates of school participation has been accelerated by the introduction of compensatory policies; the waiving of nominal fees, relaxed selection procedures, boarding facilities, the establishment of nomad educational centres as well as by political and economic factors that have made formal education not only attractive but essential for the Maasai. The subsequent growth of primary schooling was instrumental not only for demonstrating the capacity of the modern state to bring benefits to the pastoral population in the form of increased salary/wage employment, but as a means of integrating local communities into the political system. This dissertation has maintained that the 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. At the same time, the Maasai have lost through national integration the relative political autonomy and protection from the market economy

that colonialism afforded. A sign posted at the entrance to Narok County Council in Narok town succinctly states the importance of education for Maasai children and their parents, "Engolon Engeno", "Knowledge Is Power". The sign shows a book and pen together with a shield and spear. The implications are self-evident; a pen and book in modern society have the utility of a spear and shield in traditional society. It is the pen and book which enable the Maasai to have jobs which give them money. With money they can obtain land, cattle, agricultural chemicals, and other means which enable them to resist the centripetal influences of the modern state.

Schooling has acquired a value it never had before. It has become essential for social mobility as newer economic opportunities have created a wide range of occupations for which schooling is necessary. — Education recruits individuals away from pastoralism and moranhood. It erodes communal access to land and pastures and the age-set system. The three key elements of the pastoral ideal, cattle, communalism and age set participation, are being transformed as the Maasai go through a crucial transitional stage.

Educational and economic expansion through the colonial and post-colonial periods lay the basis for the stratification of Maasai society by "class", i.e into an occupational hierarchy based on different relations to land and capital. This has only become critical for the Maasai

in the past decade when pastoral land was being privatized. Only then was there something critical for "classes" to fight over. There has been a definite tendency for the schooled Maasai especially those who have achieved civil servant or entrepreneurial status to procure rights to land, acquire more land, and to diversify their access to land both through obtaining land titles and participation in group ranching schemes. Schooled Maasai have taken a leadership role in the distribution of land, and this has been encouraged by government. They have expanded their economic interests at the expense of unschooled Maasai. As the land tenure system is transformed and the commercialized production of livestock, wheat, barley, maize, honey, etc., expands, we may see more pronounced class interests developed. This may take the form of less reciprocity, more nucleation of the family, less ethnic solidarity, and greater accumulation of land by the richer Maasai. The existence of a "reserve" definitely inhibited the formation of classes before, since one group was not allowed to take undue advantage of group resources and other forms of stratification were inhibited. This situation no longer exists and modern education will now play a critical role in allocating people within a more complex economic structure, constrained by the privatization and commercialization of land.

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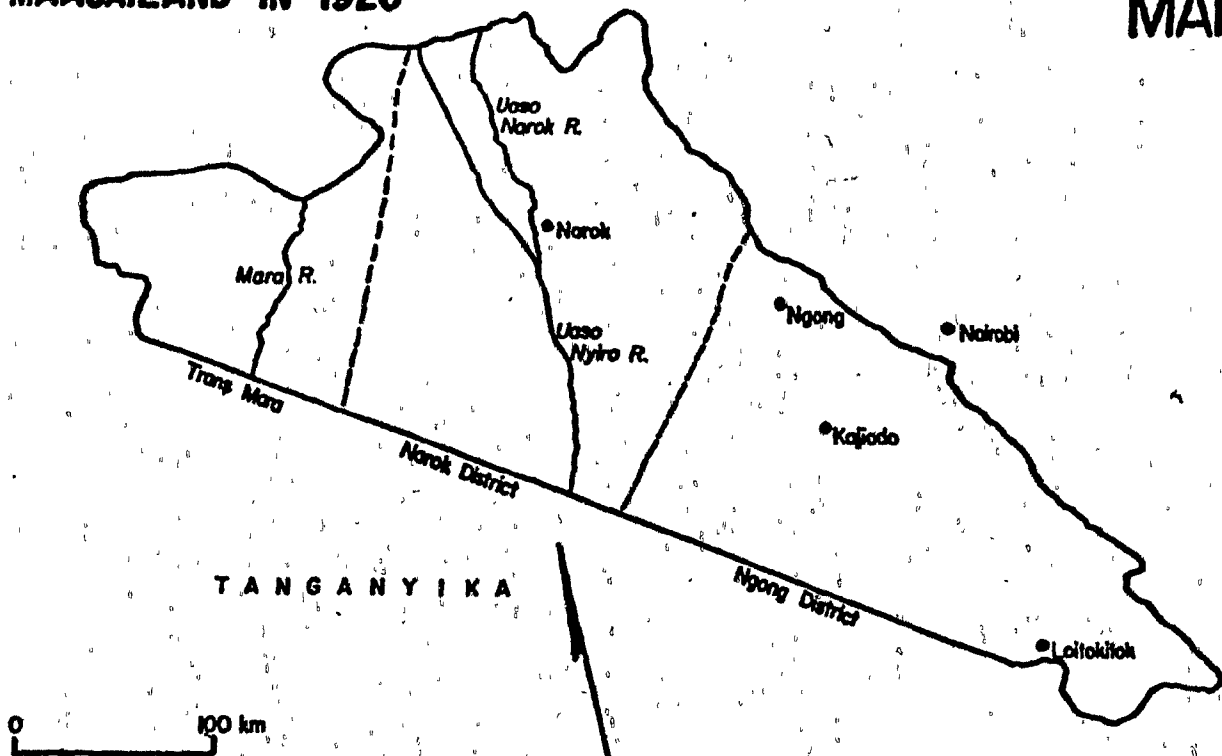
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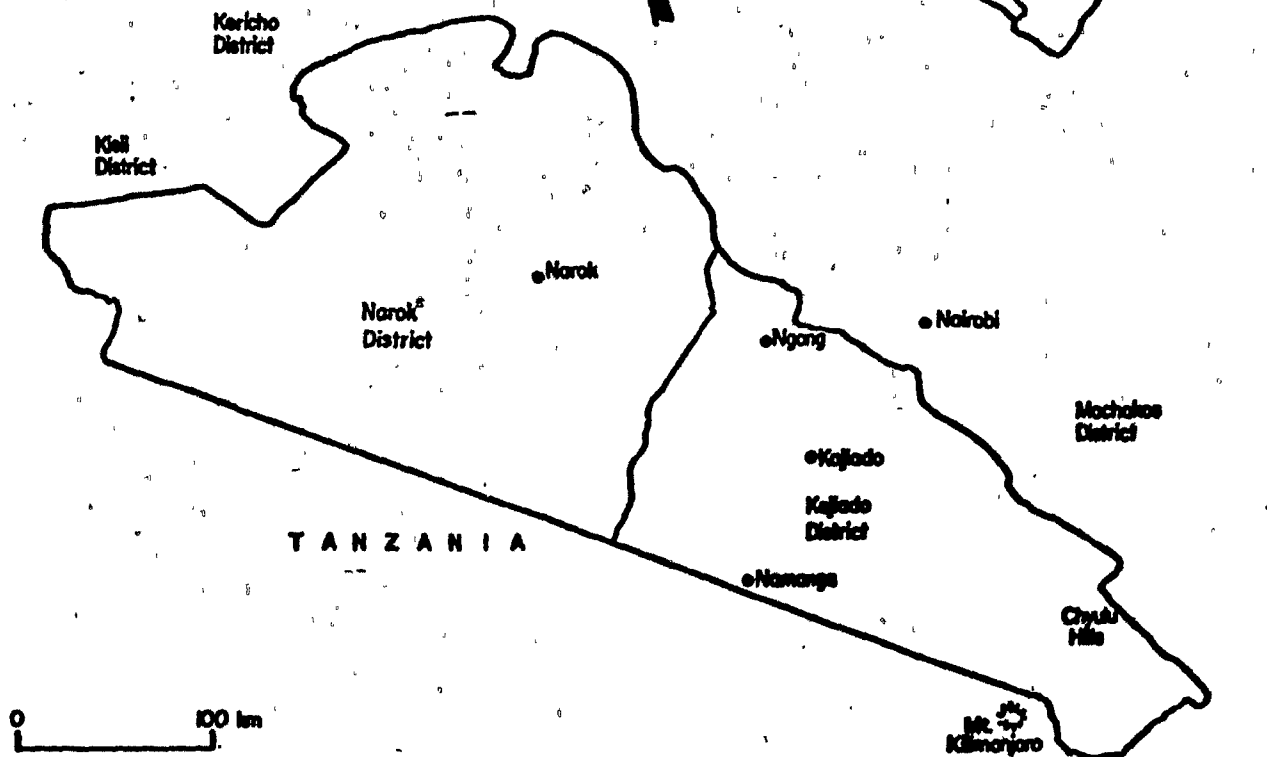
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a) MAASAILAND IN 1920

MAP 1



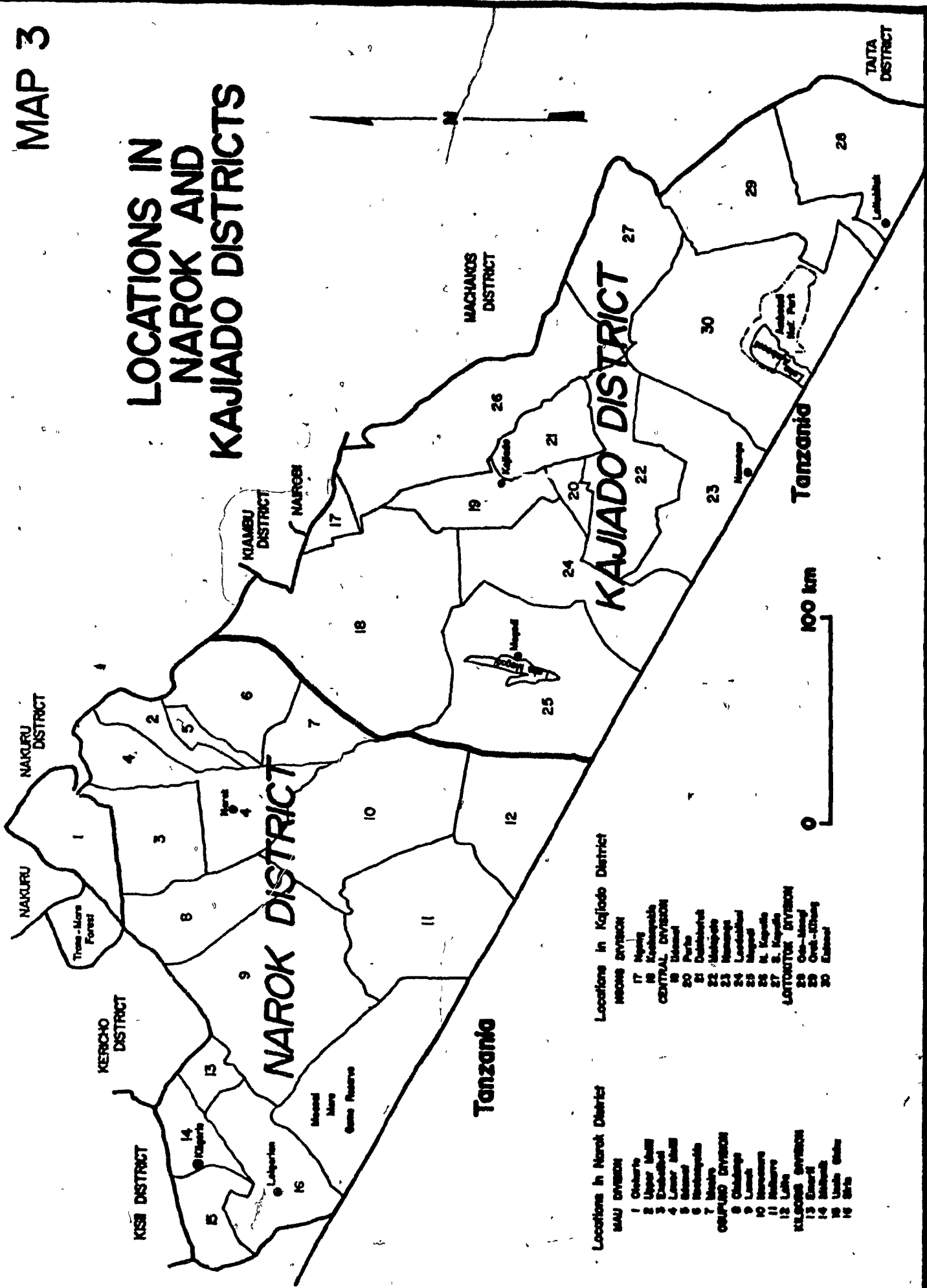
b) MAASAILAND IN 1963



MAP 2

[illegible]

LOCATIONS IN NAROK AND KAJIADO DISTRICTS



Locations in Narok District

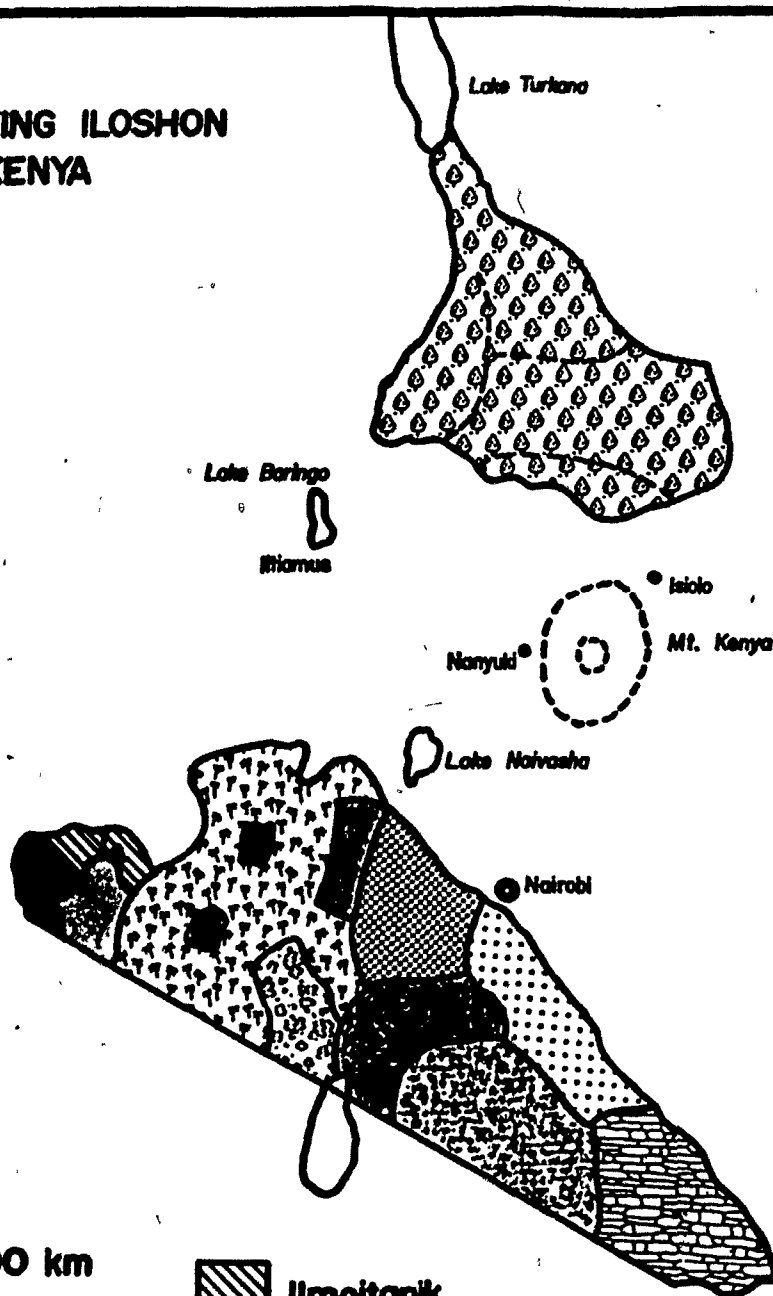
- MAU DIVISION**
 - 1 Oloibara
 - 2 Upper Maai
 - 3 Embobes
 - 4 Lower Maai
 - 5 Maai
 - 6 Maai
 - 7 Maai
- CEPHALOPUS DIVISION**
 - 8 Maai
 - 9 Maai
 - 10 Maai
 - 11 Maai
 - 12 Maai
 - 13 Maai
 - 14 Maai
 - 15 Maai
 - 16 Maai
- ELGON DIVISION**
 - 17 Maai
 - 18 Maai
 - 19 Maai
 - 20 Maai
 - 21 Maai
 - 22 Maai
 - 23 Maai
 - 24 Maai
 - 25 Maai
 - 26 Maai
 - 27 Maai
 - 28 Maai
 - 29 Maai
 - 30 Maai

Locations in Kajiado District

- MAU DIVISION**
 - 17 Maai
 - 18 Maai
 - 19 Maai
 - 20 Maai
 - 21 Maai
 - 22 Maai
 - 23 Maai
 - 24 Maai
 - 25 Maai
 - 26 Maai
 - 27 Maai
 - 28 Maai
 - 29 Maai
 - 30 Maai
- CEPHALOPUS DIVISION**
 - 17 Maai
 - 18 Maai
 - 19 Maai
 - 20 Maai
 - 21 Maai
 - 22 Maai
 - 23 Maai
 - 24 Maai
 - 25 Maai
 - 26 Maai
 - 27 Maai
 - 28 Maai
 - 29 Maai
 - 30 Maai
- ELGON DIVISION**
 - 17 Maai
 - 18 Maai
 - 19 Maai
 - 20 Maai
 - 21 Maai
 - 22 Maai
 - 23 Maai
 - 24 Maai
 - 25 Maai
 - 26 Maai
 - 27 Maai
 - 28 Maai
 - 29 Maai
 - 30 Maai

MAA-SPEAKING ILOSHON IN KENYA

MAP 4



0 100 km

Ilmoitanik

Isampur

Isiria

Ilodo Kilani

Ilpurko

Ilwasinkishu

Ilkeekonyokie

Ilotai

Ildamat

Ilkaputiel

Ilotokitoki

Ilmata pato, Ildalekutuk, Isikirari