

**SECURITY OF SUBSISTENCE AMONG  
SMALL SCALE MIGRANT FARMERS: THE  
CASE OF THOME SETTLEMENT SCHEME  
IN LAIKIPIA DISTRICT, KENYA**

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THE DEGREE OF **M.A.** **1996**  
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BY

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**DECLARATION**

This thesis is my original work and has not been submitted for a degree to any other university.

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**DEDICATION**

To my mother, Ruth Nanyama, whose hands and sweet words nurtured me.

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## ABSTRACT

This study focused on the subsistence strategies for small-scale farmers living in a semi arid region. The objective of the study was to examine the current social and economic activities of the settlers as they relate to their social networks. In particular, the study attempted to evaluate motives for migration, and assess the economic structure and social networks among the immigrants. A sample of 99 respondents was drawn using the stratified random sampling technique. The sampling frame was the list of current residents of Thome settlement scheme who are small scale farmers and who migrated from neighbouring districts into Thome for settlement. Data were gathered using a structured questionnaire and an interview containing short statements focussing the key issues of investigation. These data were analyzed by running frequencies of distribution along with deductions and inductions based on observed phenomena and responses.

Findings suggest that very few small scale farmers visited their kins elsewhere thereby ruling out any exchanges. Most respondents did not visit at all and for those who visited on rare occasions, their motive for visiting was not related to subsistence. The data revealed that the Thome people are more self-reliant than otherwise expected. The people had decided to settle in this hard geographical region because of land ownership. Social and economic status were found to be part and parcel of each other. High social status was associated with high economic status and vice versa.

Water was a major constraint of the study population while wild animals posed a threat to crop management. Social welfare associations should be encouraged through donor boosting and government assistance because such groups are likely to elevate their members' economic capability.

Due to the permanent settlement of Thome people, it is recommended that appropriate development programmes should be hatched and these should be aimed at the provision of water, health facilities, transport and agricultural technology within the scheme. It is also recommended that short duration, and drought resistant crops should be introduced in the area. These will be conformable to the erratic rainfall pattern as opposed to the long-duration Maize, and Potato crops, which often fail in the event of rain failure.

## CHAPTER ONE

### BACKGROUND INFORMATION

#### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives a brief evaluation of the general features of the research site, the migration history and characteristics of the sample population.

##### 1.0.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

The colonial administration in Kenya was characterized by racial differentiation where specific zones commonly referred to as "White highlands", were designated for white settlers, and another one known as "African Reserves", was set aside for African natives (Kohler, 1987). The white highlands were high potential areas with sparse population while the African reserves, although some were found in the high potential areas, were very densely populated. The Africans relied on these tiny fragmented pieces of land for subsistence. Laikipia district is one of the areas which were categorized as the white highlands.

The major part of the district was inhabited by European farmers who not only kept livestock on large ranches but also grew crops like maize (Kohler 1987:15). However, after independence in 1963, most European farmers started moving out to their home countries. It was at this time that the government of Kenya sought to resettle its landless people through the creation of the million acre settlement schemes. These settlement schemes had the objective of easing population pressure in some areas, to solve the problem of managing dispersed populations and bringing about

socio-economic change through the surplus production of food crops for home consumption and raw materials for metropolitan industries. Colonial rule had created a racial society and a dual economy which developed due to white highlands being given more developmental emphasis at the expense of the African land reserves. The people who enrolled in land buying companies expected to be resettled in high potential areas and thus the influx of most people into the white highland regions.

There are marked disparities between the agricultural activities of the colonial farmers and those of the African settlers. Although Laikipia district was generally a large scale ranching zone, there was crop production towards the west of the district because of the good fertile soils. Mechanization was heavily employed both in the rearing of animals and crop production. The settlers expected these white highlands to be high potential areas. However, those who landed in areas like Thome settlement scheme must have been forced to reorganize themselves, socially and psychologically, in order to cope with the situation. Most of the early immigrants are said to have come from the neighbouring districts (Laikipia District Development Plan, 1983 ).

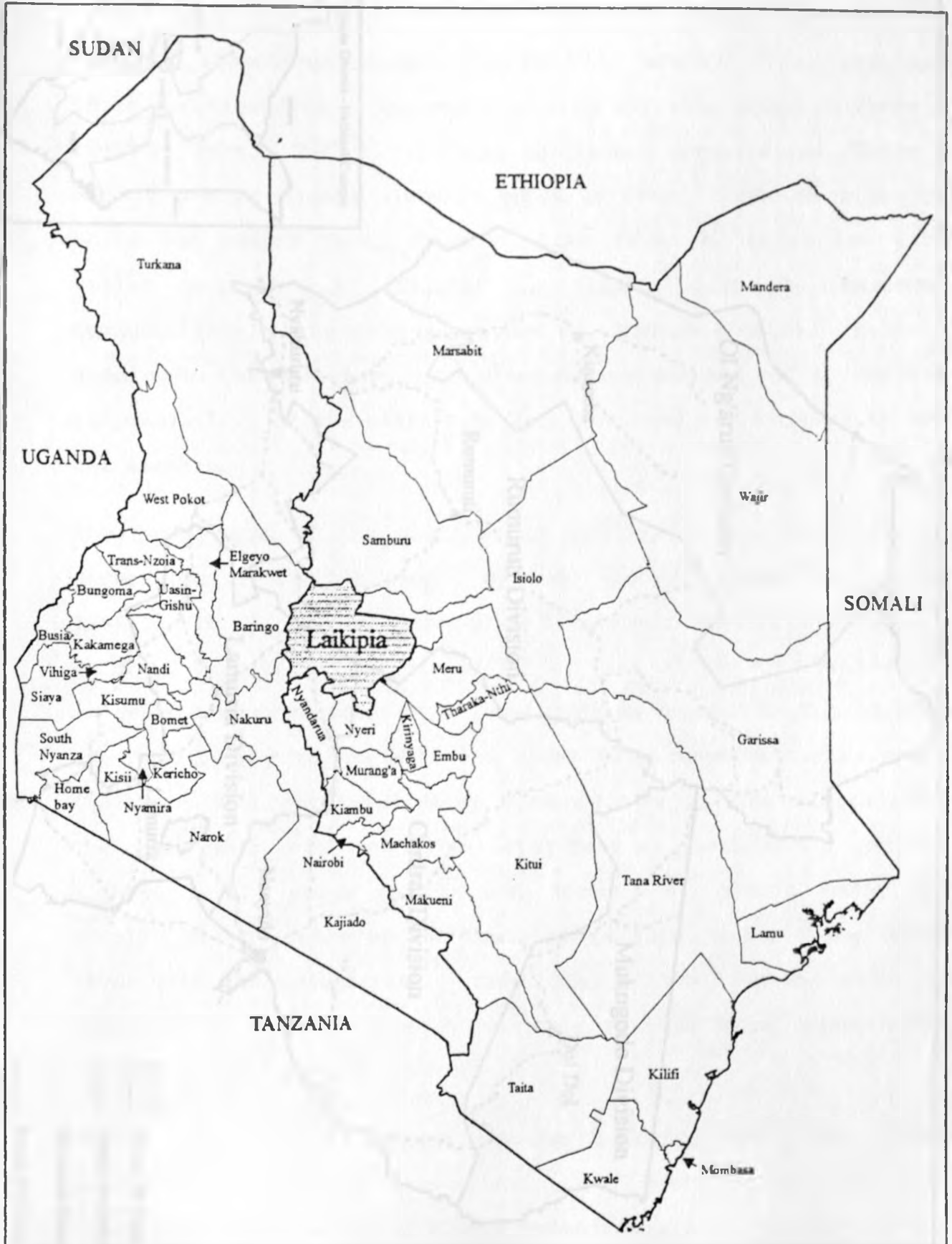
The Gikuyu community has the highest representation, with about 64%, followed by the Kalenjin 9%, Maasai 8%, Turkana 7%, and others 12% (Laikipia District Annual Report, 1991). Due to immigration into Laikipia district, the Central Bureau of Statistics estimated the annual population growth rate for the district between 1969 and 1979 to be 7.3%. It was further estimated by Sottas and Wiesmann (1993) that this population growth rate is now 8% or even higher. These high population growth rates have further meant that the ratio of land to the people, especially for agriculture and ownership, is reduced.

#### 1.0.2 RESEARCH SITE

Thome settlement scheme is located on the North Western footzones of Mount Kenya in Laikipia district of the Rift Valley province. It is located in Matanya sublocation, Tigithi location of Lamuria division. This happens to be the most recently created division, which was actually carved out of Central division. Therefore, much of the information about it has in the past been covered under Central division. (See Maps 3.1 and 3.2 for the National and District contexts of the research site).

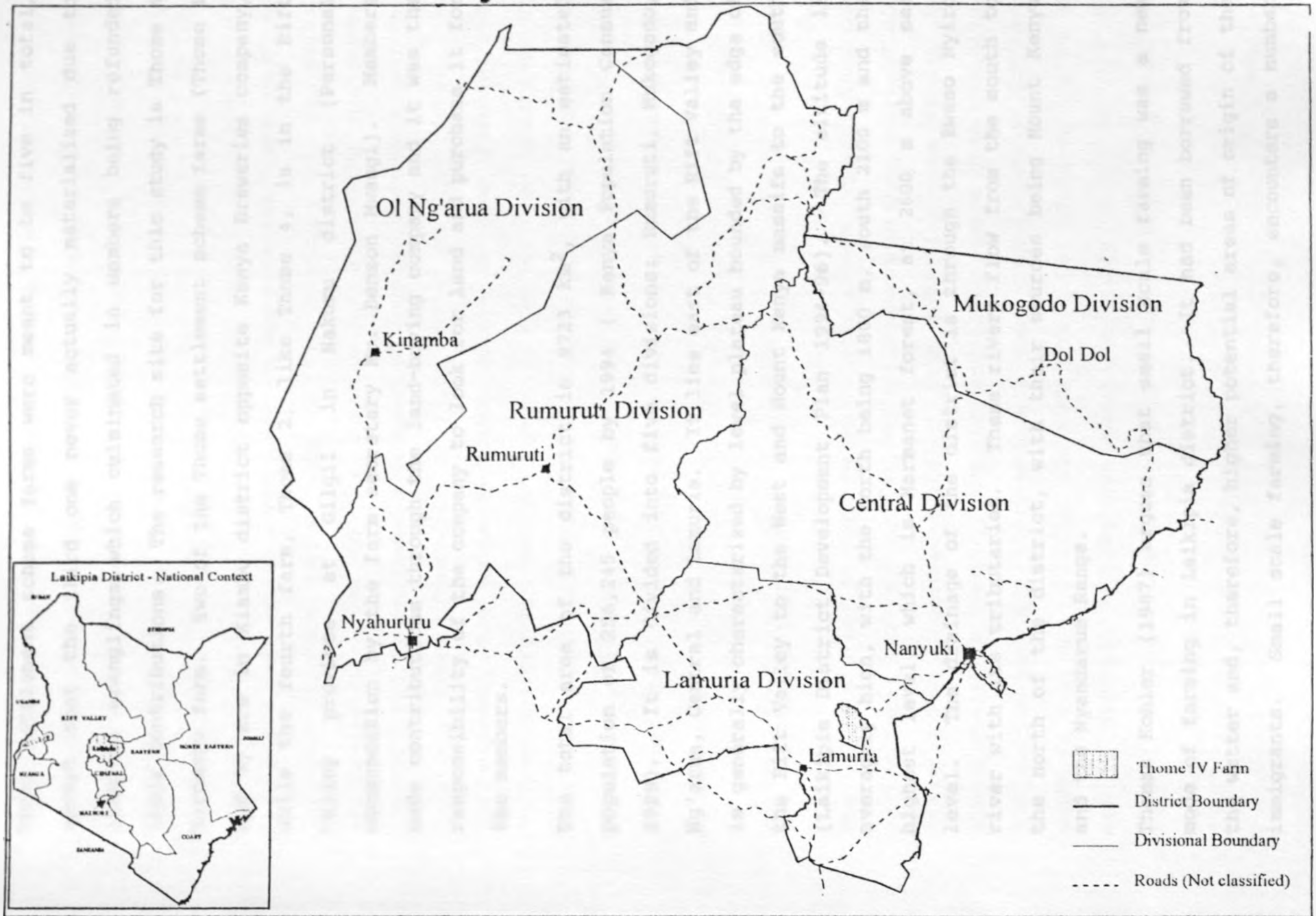
The origin of Thome settlement scheme is Kiambu district of Central province and, in particular, Githunguri division. It started as a land-buying company under the patronage of former honorable Arthur Magugu. The word "Thome" is Gikuyu in origin and means "entrance to the homestead" or "gate". These people had initially wanted to buy land surrounding Kiambu district, regarded as their "Gate". They, however, widened their vision and started buying other pieces of land as far as the Rift Valley (Personal communication by the local councillor, Mr.Gichuki).

# MAP 3.1: Laikipia District - National Context



MAP 3.2: Study Area - District Context

# MAP 3.2: Study Area - District Con...



Thome settlement scheme farms were meant to be five in total, except that the third one never actually materialized due to internal wranglings which culminated in members being refunded their contributions. The research site for this study is Thome 4 Naromoru farm. Two of the Thome settlement scheme farms (Thome 1 and 5) are in Kiambu district opposite Kenya Breweries company, while the fourth farm, Thome 2, like Thome 4, is in the Rift Valley province at Gilgil in Nakuru district (Personal communication by the farm secretary Mr. Benson Mwangi). Members made contributions through the land-buying company and it was the responsibility of the company to look for land and purchase it for the members.

The total area of the district is 9723 km<sup>2</sup>, with an estimated population of 256,245 people by 1994 (Kenya Population Census 1989). It is divided into five divisions: Rumuruti, Mukogodo, Ng'arua, Central and Lamuria. It lies east of the Rift Valley and is generally characterized by level plateau bounded by the edge of the Rift Valley to the West and Mount Kenya massifs to the south (Laikipia District Development Plan 1994-96). The altitude is averagely high, with the north being 1800 m, south 2100 m and the highest level, which is Marmanet forest, at 2600 m above sea level. The drainage of the district is through the Ewaso Nyiro river with its tributaries. These rivers flow from the south to the north of the district, with their sources being Mount Kenya and the Nyandarua Range.

Thomas Kohler (1987) argues that small scale farming was a new mode of farming in Laikipia district. It had been borrowed from the wetter and, therefore, higher potential areas of origin of the immigrants. Small scale farming, therefore, encounters a number



of problems, the most serious of which is insufficient and unreliable rainfall. Kohler (1987) records that most of the area receives between 500-700 mm of rainfall per annum, with decreasing amounts towards the centre and northern boundaries of the district, which is also covered by a semi-arid grassland.

The author goes on to state that in pre-colonial times, most of Laikipia district formed part of the territory of the Maasai pastoralists. Due to the creation of the White Highlands, however, the Maasai were evacuated through an agreement and the area was transformed into a large scale ranching zone. At independence, the white highlands became an open frontier for African immigration and settlement. Most of the immigrants in Laikipia originated from the densely populated Gikuyuland southwest of the district, one of the former so called "African Reserves" where population pressure had already reached critical proportions.

### 1.0.3 POTENTIAL LAND USE

The Laikipia District Development Plan 1984-1988, reports that out of the total 9723 km<sup>2</sup> or 971,800 ha in the district, only 17,006 ha or 1.7% is agro-economic or high potential zone, which is almost wholly in Rumuruti division and partly in Ng'arua division. The medium potential agro-economic zone constitutes 95,208 ha, which is 9.8% of the total district area. Out of this, 78,164 ha are in Rumuruti and Ng'arua divisions while 17,044 ha are in Central division. The greater part of the district is classified as marginal land.

#### 1.0.4 POPULATION

The 1989 Kenya population census figures which were released in early 1994 showed that Laikipia district had 253,678 people by 1993. Projections for the year 1994 and 1996 were at 265,245 and 286,531 people, respectively. The annual population increase fell to 4.56%, but which is still higher than the national annual rate average of 3.35%.

However, earlier figures indicated that by 1979 the population growth rate for the district was at 7.3%. This high rate of population growth rate was due to the influx of people, mainly from the neighbouring districts, to acquire land from the outgoing European farmers. Sottas and Wiesmann (1993) state that according to data available at the Laikipia Research Project, one can presume that nowadays the growth rate is realistically above 8%. Looking at the population density on constituency level, Laikipia West constituency surpasses Laikipia East by 24% because, out of the 971,800 ha, 577,109 ha are in Laikipia West constituency while only 395,191 ha are in Laikipia East constituency. The rural population is concentrated in Laikipia West because of the presence of many settlement schemes, company farms and co-operatives which have bought large farms and then subdivided them. The Kenya Population Census (1979) gave the average district population density of 13 persons per km<sup>2</sup>. By 1983, however, the figure had gone up to 23 persons per km<sup>2</sup>.

#### 1.0.5 PATTERN OF MIGRATION

After the departure of European farmers, Laikipia district attracted many African settlers (Flury, 1987). Immigration

started with settlement schemes in Nyahururu and Marmanet areas, followed by companies and co-operatives which bought large farms in Laikipia district and settled their members. The Laikipia District Development Plan (1983) records that this trend goes on even today. Sottas and Wiesmann (1993) argue that whereas there are immigration streams, there are also counter streams of emigration, although these are said to be on a small scale.

#### 1.0.6 THOME SETTLEMENT SCHEME

So far no research on migration has been conducted in Thome. However, neighbouring areas such as Marura, have been researched by Sottas and Wiesmann (1993). These areas, like the rest of the semi-arid zones, are dry savannah and with unreliable rainfall. Thome settlement scheme is situated in the newly created Lamuria division. The population composition of the area is said to be predominantly Agikuyu who are reported to have come from Kiambu district (Laikipia Research Programme, 1990).

#### 1.0.7 CROPS AND LIVESTOCK

The economy of this area rests on crop production, animal production and off-farm income, i.e, business activities and petty trade (Laikipia District Development Plan, 1994-96). The crops grown include maize, beans and potatoes. However, the yields are so low that the maize crop gives less than 3 bags per 0.4 ha. It is only in rare years with adequate rainfall, that yields of more than 10 bags per 0.4 ha are obtained.

The livestock kept, both for home consumption and for sale, are cattle, sheep and goats. These also have a problem in that they

exceed the carrying capacity of the land owned by the immigrants (Kohler, 1987 pp 15-23). A single head of cattle needs 3 ha of land to subsist and therefore the 0.8 ha plots of land for the immigrants are 3.5 times less than the subsistence needs of one head of cattle.

## 1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Thome settlement scheme is situated in a semi-arid dry savannah region. Rainfall in the area is unreliable. Ayiamba (1990) points out that due to population increase emanating from immigration into Laikipia district, the availability of high potential land has decreased. The average size of plots for the small scale farmers is 0.8 ha; a figure which does not allow for profitable agricultural production (Kohler, 1987). Despite all these features, the immigrants appear to be fully settled in their small holdings. Observations also seemed to indicate some form of social and economic differentiation especially with regard to type of house, number of cattle and annual crop production.

Based on the above features and given that the immigrants of Thome had come from an agriculturally high productive zones, mainly Kiambu district, the following questions were raised:

(a) Why did people move from the high agricultural potential zone of Kiambu district to the low agricultural potential area of Thome settlement scheme?

(b) Are there any forms of transfers or remittances between kindreds which ensure security of subsistence for the immigrants?

(c) If there is social and economic differentiation among the immigrants of Thome, how can it be explained?

### 1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The overall objective of this study was to examine the current social and economic activities of the settlers in Thome settlement scheme of Laikipia district as they relate to their social networks. Specific objectives were to:

1. Evaluate the motives for migration.
2. Assess the structure of social networks among the immigrants, and find out whether this is limited to Thome people or it extends to their districts of origin.
3. Assess the economic rank or wealth of the immigrants by examining the types of homesteads, livestock, size of landholding and other material possessions.

### 1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Since independence, the government of Kenya has aimed at eliminating poverty, illiteracy and disease (National Development Plan-1988) Immigrants in Thome are faced with the challenge of subsisting in dry savannah land with unreliable rainfall and where crop failure has been a normal phenomenon. It is necessary to understand how Thome people manage their subsistence with limited available resources. Therefore, this study was aimed at among other things, finding out from the people themselves whether there are any available options in the event of crop failure or inability to subsist. Another issue which needed to be established was future expectations amongst themselves and from outside. The above information will provide clues for suggestions

that might lead to policy formulation in relation to programs or projects to improve lives of these people in terms of subsistence. It is also expected that both positive and negative agricultural practices identified through this study, will help agricultural extension officers to decide on what practices to recommend or disrecommend to the farmers. Not only is it necessary to target food security for the immigrants, but also with appropriate planning and support, produce surplus for export. Recommendations about the importance of social networks in the provision of subsistence will, it is hoped, help the government and other organizations or implementing agencies to encourage or set up social groups and organizations through which individual needs and interests of the immigrants can be met.

### 1.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Although it has been mentioned in the literature review that this study was set to fill in the gaps of past studies in the field of demography, it was foreseeable that several limitations would hamper a thorough accomplishment of such an endeavour. Two major limitations will be mentioned. On the one hand, it was not possible to study a comparative cultural group to the one in Thome. Whereas the study in Thome may have significant findings about settlement schemes and semi-arid regions, these cannot be generalized for other settlement schemes and cultural groups. The social cultural behaviour which ensures for adaptability in Thome is exclusively for the (Agikuyu) ethnic group. If another cultural group like the Maasai or Turkana were to be studied under the same ecological conditions, one expects that perhaps they would respond to the subsistence problems differently.

Consequently, visiting the districts of origin of the respondents so as to evaluate the people's economic and social transformation was seen as unmanageable. Most of the settlers do not visit their districts of origin and, furthermore, some do not have any land or home wherever they came from and hence such an evaluation would not be a fair measure of their social and economic change. The activities which would entail such a move would be quite involving to many people and, above all, too expensive. Due to the time and financial constraints which are expected in academic circles, this study was aimed at Thome settlers in their destination area and therefore it is necessary to note the peculiarity of these findings to Thome and its neighbouring schemes which are inhabited by the same cultural group.

## CHAPTER TWO

## LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

## 2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

## 2.0.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, an attempt will be made to evaluate the contributions of various scholars in the field of demography and research issues, that is, subsistence and kinship ties. In addition, theoretical orientations presumably at play on the social scene will be discussed and linked to the hypotheses of the study.

The field of migration has been, and indeed still is, a very important area of study. Modern societies have an "open population" which allows for augmentation and depletion through immigration and emigration. Therefore, society or household structure is constantly being altered. This change of the family structure and of the entire society has attracted the attention of many scholars, such as Ominde (1968), Kammeyer (1971) and Oucho (1981). The objective has been to understand the societal reorganizations that cope with the changes. It is imperative at this level to draw the distinction between the usage of the term migration in this study and that of other texts. This study adopted Kammeyer's definition in his "An introduction to population" (1971), which states that "migration is the movement of individuals or groups from one place of residence into another; and who have the intention of remaining in the new place for some substantial period of time" (Pg. 6).



This definition clearly excludes a mover who, although changes residence, remains in the same community. This study used the term migration to involve the aspect of permanence in the change of residence and therefore also excludes such movements as nomadism, migrant labour, commuting and tourism, all of which are transitory in nature. Most of the studies done on internal migration have had a bias towards the rural-urban migration trend at the expense of other migration streams (Oucho, 1981:35). This review of literature on rural-rural migration stream was done under some selected headings, namely:

- (a) Motives for migration.
- (b) Security of subsistence and familial networks.
- (c) Consequences of migration on the migrants

Although Oucho (1981) lamented the shortcoming in migration research, his study on the Kericho Tea Estate Complex, which he called a rural-rural migration stream, did not portray a typical situation. Whereas populations were being drawn from the rural Western and Nyanza Provinces, the destination, which was Kericho tea estate, was a factory setting which had many urban features through the growth of Kericho town. In his analysis of the Tea Estate, he states that it is the young, energetic and skilled who moved while the old and unskilled remained in their origin areas. The research in Thome focussed on immigrants who went to a rural setting and acquired pieces of land on which they settled. Also, as opposed to Oucho's study which had a home-employment context, this study had a home-home, rural-rural migration context.

### 2.0.2 MOTIVES FOR MIGRATION

It has already been stated in the background information that the main motive for the immigrants, as stated in the Laikipia District Development Plan (1983), was agricultural or settlement land. This search for agricultural land was so rampant that in a short period after independence, the annual population growth rate for Laikipia district was 7.3% (Central Bureau of Statistics 1979).

Economic factors have been recognized as the most significant motives for migration (Mabogunje, 1970; Zelinsky, 1971). In Kenya much of the study on migration has been the perpetuation of the western tradition in which rural-urban migration is representative of internal migration, whose pattern corresponds closely to that of economic opportunity (Oucho, 1981:58). Work on internal migration which paid significant attention to not only the rural-urban migration but also the rural-rural migration stream was done by (Ominde, 1963). In his study, Ominde observed that rural-rural migration occurred from the less developed to the more developed areas such as modern farms. Ominde also shows an inclination towards the economic explanation behind migration.

There are reservations over this assertion concerning the Thome study because, comparatively, the origin shows more positive characteristics than the destination. However, most immigrants seem to be subscribing to the Gikuyu concept of "utuuro" which associates existence with land ownership (Kanogo, 1989:23). However, demographers like Forde and Harvey (1969), point to the fact that emigrants from rural areas seem to come from densely populated areas. Ominde (1968) has noted that in some areas of emigration in Kenya, "the available land cannot maintain an

adequate standard of living or even support improved living conditions". He goes further to argue that it is either because of poor agricultural land or excessive land fragmentation and the resulting inability of the available resources to support the growing population which leads to emigration. Boserup (1965) gives divergent views to the above ones by stating that increase in population through population growth hastens the adoption of more intensive methods of farming. The Thome study sought to ascertain whether this was the case and with what results. With the increase in population, however, the Thome people have not adapted better agricultural practices but rather have been more exposed to the risk of starvation due to one major hindrance to agriculture, i.e, lack of water.

Regarding rural-urban migration Caldwell (1968), points out that many immigrants were influenced by the immediate security and knowledge of labour markets afforded by the presence of contacts such as friends and relatives in the urban centres, and that these contacts can help immigrants move fairly easily into jobs after arrival. In his research in Ghana, Caldwell concluded that the probability of becoming an immigrant increased directly in response to the number of members of the household already in town. This phenomenon can be seen to work even in the rural-rural migration streams.

A study done in Marura (neighbouring to Thome) by Sottas and Wiesmann (1993) indicated that more than half of the respondents had relatives in Marura. It was expected that a similar situation would exist for Thome since, like Marura, it was acquired through a company whose members were drawn from a single region. Another motive which is cited as being causative of migration is the

expected rise in social prestige (Caldwell, 1968:90). Deniel (1968) postulates that the widely known factor as motivation for migration in Africa is the drought in the Sahelian zone of Africa during the early 1970s, which led to the temporary displacement of thousands of people. Diseases such as river blindness and Trypanosomiasis have also led to population withdrawal in some areas of West Africa and the islands and low-lying shores of Lake Victoria in Uganda and Kenya.

### 2.0.3 SECURITY OF SUBSISTENCE AND FAMILIAL NETWORKS

Among the few studies done in this area is the one by Sottas and Wiesmann (1993) which focused on assistance among the smallscale farmers of Marura. These researchers observed that immigrants remained in touch with their homes of origin in the neighbouring high potential areas. This interaction between the home of origin and the destination areas ensures the provision of subsistence needs for the residents of Marura scheme.

Hyden (1986) has argued that this type of exchange process allows survival in an economic process he referred to as "economy of affection". Most households depended on remittances which were in the form of cash, goods, services or assistance provided by relatives or friends. This practice of assistance was induced by obligations of reciprocity. Sottas and Wiesmann further observed that exchange between the settler community (i.e, Marura-oriented exchange) accounted for 50% of the total household exchanges.

Mukras and Oucho (1982), in their study on "Migration, Transfers and Rural Development", defined transfer as "a generic term which refers to all types of interhousehold or intercommunity exchanges.

This includes giving or receiving of money, goods or services by one household or community to another". Remittances refer to the exchanges which occur without the involvement of reciprocity. Mukras and Oucho distinguished three types of remittances or transfers, namely, goods, services and money. These also have three functions:

- (a) Survival function: Concerned with risk aversion and income maintenance.
- (b) The development function: Resource mobilization for household or community improvement projects.
- (c) Social maintenance function: The maintenance of social ties.

This research revealed that migration was viewed as a temporary measure of earning income to supplement household income. It also found that interhousehold transfers serve the purpose of providing maintenance for members of the household, providing investment capital and playing the role of maintaining close ties between the immigrant and his/her rural home village. Intercommunity transfers mainly serve the purpose of providing resources for community investment projects, business capital loaned to members and, to some extent, act as a vehicle by means of which immigrants can maintain close ties with their rural homes.

Although Mukras and Oucho (1982) were looking at a rural-urban trend, the above functions and forms of transfers seem to apply to the rural-rural migration. The degree of relevance of the interhousehold transfers and remittances is perhaps higher than the intercommunity one. The reason is that intercommunity transfers are done through social welfare organizations whose

objectives may not tally with the rural-rural development strategies and programmes.

Mukras and Oucho were interested in rural development and, therefore, suggested that policy implementors should encourage or come up with policies directed towards inducing immigrants to allow their wives to reside in the rural areas. They argue that this situation would, in turn, induce an increase in the flow of transfers and remittances into the rural areas and redirection of such transfers into investment projects geared to rural development. The socio-cultural obligation on children to support their parents and for parents to provide for their dependents enables the family members who are in hard situations to subsist. This is in agreement with the Gikuyu proverb which says that:

*Rumwe ruranaguo rukiria: rwagomania hia  
rugacokanwo.*

(Members of one clan can leave one another,  
but after all they return to help one another)

Mutual assistance is here being emphasized as one of the packages by which members of one clan are bound. Occurrence of relief aid in most lean days is another possible alternative to their subsistence insecurity. For example, Sottas and Wiesmann state that a large proportion of Marura residents at least expect emergency aid in times of need (1993:14).

Fialho (1990) and Duarte (1993) have done classic studies concerning the provision of subsistence through kinship ties among the Tsonga community of southern Mozambique. These authors state that the socio-economic integration of the Tsonga people was organized through kinship ties created by matrimonial alliances. These studies showed how relying on a system of alliances

established through kinship over a differentiated environmental zone and an ingenious redistributive exchange system, entailing the distribution of surplus, has enabled this society to survive in a very hostile environment with low and unequally distributed rainfall and being subjected to very severe droughts. Distribution of surplus was, therefore, the condition *sine qua non* for the survival of these communities. The Shona community is also said to have had a similar social network.

Holleman (1952:325) describes them by stating that, "An individual household will thus be able to fall back upon the common resources of its parent house when its own reproductive resources prove insufficient to meet its essential needs". Holleman goes further to state that, "Inversely, the parent house will claim the right to avail itself of any surplus assets found in any of its estate units, when this is considered necessary for the common good of the family". The Tsonga and Shona saw the western accumulation-investment as being antagonistic with their obligatory procedure of redistribution on which social reproduction relied.

#### 2.0.4 CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATION ON THE MIGRANTS

Most studies which have focused upon the effects of migration in Africa have emphasized the consequences on the destination areas and neglected the places of origin (for example, Banton, 1959; Gugler, 1968; Kuper, 1965; Gutkind, 1969; Little, 1969). Most of these studies have also been of the rural-urban migration trends. Therefore, the social and economic implications of migration in the rural areas is least known. Areas of origin lose a disproportionate percentage of young and better educated populations, thereby raising the total number of economically

dependent people. Agriculturally, the loss of able-bodied men results in a reduction of the total agricultural production and the general deterioration of the agricultural system (Skinner, 1965; ILO 1969 as cited in Vaidyanathan, 1974:26-27).

Migration is, however, just one of the many factors that can lead to a decline in agricultural production. Other factors include soil erosion, population growth and density and environmental changes. A study done on agriculture by Ingrid Palmer (1985) states that the social losses which result from emigration are:

- (a) Declining agricultural output, especially in subsistence;
- (b) Worsening income distribution;
- (c) Loss of national production;
- (d) Creation of inequality of income distribution.

Palmer assumes that an immigrant enjoys a private net gain. Several strategies have been adopted in order to curb the shortage of male labour. There are known cases of nonmigrant males sharing all the male work in the course of the emigrant's absence (Gugler, 1968:480). Another alternative is hiring outside workers (Kane and Lericollais, 1975:186). Research done by these authors among the Soninke in Senegal showed that these seasonal salaried workers were not sufficient to make up for the loss due to emigration.

Harvey (1972:171) strikes a different view from others when he postulates that under certain circumstances emigration may result in an increased productivity. In assessing the effects of internal migration in Sierra Leone, Harvey states that "in the area of out-migration, pressure on land resources is reduced and the marginal productivity may even increase. If the marginal product of the out-migrants from a region is lower than the



average for the area, per capita income might increase among the remaining labour force"(Harvey, 1972).

In relation to the remittances and the permanent or temporary backflow of returnees to the areas of origin and vice versa, the ideas and money brought by the immigrants give encouragement to the receivers to provide goods and services for sale, which contributes to some marked social and economic changes. This can introduce the first real alternative to cope with village life and bring a broader perception of the world and also contribute to rising expectations. Out-migration also tends to reduce the population growth rates in several areas. In this study, it can be argued that whereas the population growth rate for Laikipia district is rising with immigration, that of the origin areas should be reducing with emigration.

Emigration also creates a situation where the husband is forcibly separated from his wife for a considerable length of time, thereby lowering their fertility levels in certain parts of Africa. Addo (1975:407) notes that this effect has been used to explain the relatively low fertility rate found in Northern Ghana. Unlike the urban destination where social services like housing, education and medical services, although competitive, are available, the rural destination may lack these services completely. Those "bright lights" that usually attract immigrants are missing, and therefore immigrants go to where wages are high and land is available. Rural-rural immigrants also contribute to increased production and to improvements in their own living standards (IDRC 1977).

In his thesis, Oucho (1981) looks at the possibility of some

immigrants having to operate between two homes. This could be possibly a nuclear family that acquires another piece of land and decides to operate on both farms. He refers to what Houghton (1960) called "Men of two worlds". Oucho (1981) further states that out-migration means changing social structures, which lead to sex role restructuring, psychological stress on women, female-headed households and changes in household decision-making patterns. According to Palmer (1985), the long separation between the husband and wife weakens the alliance between them. The positive aspect of this separation is that it can cause the wife to develop managerial skills and also make her undergo some form of social transformation in the course of the husband's absence.

Whereas Oucho (1981) admits that revisits and remittances play the role of compensating the losses of income and human resources, he also adds that, on the contrary, it adds fuel to the blaze of emigration. By this he means that the visiting migrants provide possible avenues for employment or material acquisition which encourages the residents in the origin area to opt for emigration. His research is based on primary data collected only from respondents at the destination. Such one-sided data are likely to be defective on several grounds: Memory lapse, change of perception, inability to give a balanced comparison of the two poles and bias towards the conditions at the destination.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### 2.1.0 INTRODUCTION

This study used two interrelated social science theories. The key aspects of the study, kinship ties, security of subsistence and social stratification, all point to the fact that some form of interaction was existent in this society. Therefore, this study used the concept of reciprocity plus the theory of social exchange.

### 2.1.2 RECIPROCITY

The concept of reciprocity was propounded by Bronislaw Malinowski in 1920 when studying the practice of "Kula" among Trobriand Islanders. It consists of giving and taking and ranges from pure gift giving to equal exchanges and to cheating. It is assumed that this applies to Thome settlers based on the background information and problem statement. Reciprocity takes three forms, i.e, generalized reciprocity, balanced reciprocity and negative reciprocity. This study was based on generalized reciprocity. In this form of reciprocity gifts are given without any immediate or planned returns. It is like the indirect interdependencies in nature where, for example, berry bushes manufacture prized food for birds, and birds help propagate more berry bushes by depositing undigested seeds throughout the area. In the end all the giving evens out.

Ember Carol (1990) states that the !Kung call "far hearted" anybody who does not give gifts or who does not eventually reciprocate when given gifts. They add that !Kung bands create continuing cross currents of obligation within friendships. These

are maintained, renewed or established through the generalized reciprocity of gift giving. The aspects of unpredictability and scarcity of foodstuffs are the determinants of the sharing practice among the !Kung. Ember *et al.* (1990) further suggests that, basing on evidence from a few societies, the degree of sharing may actually increase during the period of food shortage. It is expected that Thome settlers subscribe to the wisdom of the Agikuyu of old who stated that:

***Andu matiui ngamini*** (Men do not know liberality)

(Barra, 1991).

This proverb means that one does not give without hope of return. Through this practice, the immigrants are adequately buffered from adversities.

### 2.1.3 SOCIAL EXCHANGE THEORY

It is through social interaction that people meet their needs. Therefore interaction has been conceptualized as social exchange. Homans (1961:13) developed the first systematic theory that focuses on social behaviour as, "an exchange of activities, tangible or intangible and more or less rewarding or costly, between at least two persons".

Aristotle (1162a 34-1163a 24), a social philosopher, distinguished social exchange from economic exchange by arguing, "it is not based on stated terms but the gift or other service given to a friend, although the giver expects to receive an equivalent or greater return, as though it had not been a free gift but a loan". The concept of social exchange refers to voluntary social actors

*Guthukagirio wanatega itega* (One favours him from whom one has in the past received a gift).

(Barra, 1991).

A generous person earns the people's gratitude and puts them into his debt, which promises to bring him further rewards in the future. It is expected that immigrants who have given more rewards to relatives and friends have a higher social status than those who have given few rewards or none at all. Social exchange entails supplying benefits that create diffuse future obligations. The nature of the return is invariably not stipulated in advance, cannot be bargained about and must be left to the discretion of the one who makes it. Since the recipient is the one who decides when and how to reciprocate or whether to reciprocate at all, social exchange requires trust between the actors. Malinowski (1922) points out that, among the Trobriand Islanders, the Kula gift exchange condemns a hasty reciprocation because they feel posthaste reciprocation does not stimulate the growth of trust by constraining exchange partners to remain under obligation to each other for extended periods.

Social exchange does not only serve to establish bonds of friendship between peers but also creates status differences between people. The potlatch of the Kwakiutl is a system of giving away valuables in which "status in associations and clans, and rank of every kind is determined by the war of property" (Mauss, 1954:35). In addition, Levi Strauss (1957:85) notes that the important function of exchange is to surpass a rival in generosity, to crush him if possible under future obligations which it is hoped he cannot meet, thus taking from him privileges, titles, ranks, authority and prestige".

In modern societies, not only does social exchange serve as an expression of friendship but also as a means for establishing superiority over the recipient by the benefactor. It is with this view in mind that this study postulates the hypothesis, "the economic status of the immigrants influences their social status". It is through this theory that this study explains the existence of social and economic stratification through the immigrant's social capital achieved through giving of gifts. It is held that those who have invested more in the society through giving have a higher social and economic status, while those who have invested very little or have been invested into by society, have social debts or obligations.

## **2.2 HYPOTHESES**

Based on the background information, statement of the problem, objectives, the review of literature and theoretical framework, the following hypotheses were formulated:

- (1) Economic factors motivated the immigrants to move into Thome settlement scheme.
- (2) Immigrants subsist through social networks in form of remittances.
- (3) The economic status of the immigrant influences his/her social status.

## **2.3 OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF TERMS**

The definition of migration has been adopted from that of Kammeyer as stated in the literature review. The approach to definitions

is on variable basis.

**DEPENDENT VARIABLES.**

***Immigrants move:*** In this study an immigrant was taken to be a person who had moved from another district into Laikipia district with the intention of settling there permanently. Other people who were living in Laikipia and who also acquired plots in Thome for permanent settlement were also perceived as immigrants. Indicators of the movement of immigrants are likely to be identified through: How long the respondent has been living in Thome; Whether one is planning to go back or move to another area and why the respondent moved into Thome.

***Immigrants subsist:*** Subsistence was taken to be the means of supporting life or providing the bare necessities of life. In order to understand this, certain indicators were sought. Among these were social institutions which ensure the obtaining of basic needs like food, shelter, clothing and water. The various levels of kinship ties were also evaluated in relation to security of subsistence. Questions on remittances to the home and out of the home and whether agricultural production by the family is sufficient to meet their subsistence needs were asked.

***The immigrants' economic status:*** This was evaluated from the type of homestead one has, the size of the plot of land, the size and composition of the flock and the wealth ranking of the immigrants in relation to their neighbours and community members.

## INDEPENDENT VARIABLES.

**Economic factors:** These included any activity geared to the betterment of one's living conditions. We focused on the aspect of land ownership, business establishment in the new area (Thome market) and any entrepreneurial agricultural activities of the immigrants.

**Familial networks or social security networks:** Included kinship ties, friendship or neighbourhood to somebody. These relationships have socio-cultural obligations upon the kindreds to support each other in times of need. These networks involved those existing between Thome settlement scheme residents, between the origin area and Thome, and those between urban centres and other areas with Thome.

**Social status:** Assuming that this is a hierarchical society, the indicators of one's social status was the role played by one in the social structure. Some immigrants are leaders while others are followers, some are patrons while others are clients. The aspect of social capital was revealed through characteristics such as leadership in self-help groups, role in Harambees, religious organizations and allocation of community resources-whether favoured, treated like the rest or unfavoured.



## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.0 INTRODUCTION

The focus of this chapter will be the presentation of research instruments, objects, data collection and analysis, plus an explanation of how all these were found appropriate for application in this study.

#### 3.1. PROCEDURE FOR DATA COLLECTION

The field study consisted of a biographical approach which was based on a person as the unit of analysis. Life histories of household heads and their spouses or other responsible adults residing on the plot were taken. An interpreter facilitated communication by translating the questionnaire and the interview schedule from English to Gikuyu language. Research was conducted in Gikuyu language due to the monolithic Agikuyu that constituted the sample.

Responses were translated into English language by the interpreter and recorded by the researcher. In the process of translation, the questionnaire was worked upon by not only the interpreter but also other experts in research and translation who are employees of the Laikipia Research Programme (L.R.P.) and who also come from the local Gikuyu community. The gathering of biographical information followed the methodology of semi-structured interviews, i.e, associative talks based on a small set of questions.

### 3.2 SAMPLING

The list of current residents of Thome settlement scheme which was availed by village (cluster) elders was used as the sampling frame. The sample size was approximately one third ( $1/3$ ) of the total universe of the current residents of Thome settlement scheme, which was approximately eighty (80) households. Out of these, seventy (70) households were drawn from farmers who form the majority, while the remaining ten (10) households were taken from among the business people. The total number of business people in the scheme was only twenty eight (28). A random sample of ten (10) households represented about one third of the business population.

Farmers were sampled using the cluster random sampling technique. This was because Thome was found to be administered through eleven (11) villages which had elders and which also were geographical zones. Each village was taken to be a cluster and, therefore, each of these eleven (11) clusters was taken independently and sampled. The proportions/percentages of each cluster were as follows in table 3.1

TABLE 3.1: CLUSTER POPULATION SIZE AND PROPORTION TO THE SAMPLE

VILLAGE	Total Pop	Sample Size	Percent
Ruai	51	13	19%
Kiburuti	42	11	15%
Centre	31	8	11%
Mburu B	23	6	9%
Tigithi	23	6	9%
Mukuri	23	6	9%
Mwoyogo	19	5	7%
Kirethi	17	4	6%
Mburu C	17	4	6%
Mburu A	16	4	6%
Kianjogu	10	3	4%
TOTAL	272	70	100%

N = 272 Source: Sample Data.

### 3.3.0 DEVELOPMENT OF THE INSTRUMENT AND DATA COLLECTION

#### 3.3.1 QUESTIONNAIRE

A set of open-ended and closed questions was administered to the respondents. This covered a wide range of the social and economic aspects of the respondents (see Appendix 1). The questionnaire had been translated into Gikuyu language through which it was administered. Opportunities for substantiation and probing were provided through requesting the respondents to clarify their responses by explaining or discussing them further. A total of forty eight items were covered in the questionnaire.

### 3.3.2 INTERVIEW GUIDE

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This came after the administration of the questionnaire. It was a semi-structured interview guide with a set of questions which led the household head in narrating his/her life history (see *Appendix 2*). The respondents were selected on the basis of the person who makes decisions and provides most of the subsistence for the household maintenance. It is here that most probing was done in order to get all the relevant biographical information about the respondents. This information was recorded in English and therefore did not require translation.

### 3.3.3 CONTROL STUDY

In the course of data collection, it was necessary to carry out interviews targeted at some key informants such as administrators and other local leaders in Thome settlement scheme. This was to be a control for the other general study. The issues covered were, among others, Thome people's other relatives apart from those in the places of their origin and those in Thome, and the kind of things exchanged between them. This second aspect was looked at with a different approach from the one in the general questionnaire and this enabled for the achievement of required answers. A set of questions was, therefore, constructed and, through it, the desired issues were extracted from the respondents.

Sampling for this control study was done purposively with the researcher targeting already known households. The sample size was only 19 respondents who were drawn from the entire scheme. The specific issues which were sought included: other economic

activities apart from farming; other relatives apart from those in Thome and in places of origin; and kinds of items brought by relatives to them and those the respondents take to their relatives elsewhere. The concepts of "ngwatio" and "gitati" were also sought from the respondents especially regarding whether they knew them, practised them and their significance to the respondents. Relief aid in relation with the respondents' security of subsistence was also another important issue to be investigated. The objective here was to establish the source of such relief aid, implications to the people in terms of distribution, quantity and reliability of such relief aid.

#### 3.3.4. DIRECT OBSERVATION

The key issues of the research were focused on the people's social and economic activities which ensured their subsistence within Thome. Along with the above issues was the examination of the emerging social classes within the immigrant community. Direct observation was done alongside the interview and questionnaire that was administered to the respondents. In addition to observing activities and other phenomena going on, it was also necessary to examine the physical features of the locality.

The vegetation in the area, apart from some few cleared places, is savannah grassland with short shrubs and acacia trees. Although the soil is mostly clay, a wide range of the land has rich humus and dark loamy soils. As expected of any mountain footzones, the landscape has valleys and hills but the large part of the scheme is flat grassland. There is only one primary school in Thome, namely, Lechugu Primary School. This serves the entire scheme which is expected to grow daily in population size due to the

ongoing settlement and natural population growth through procreation.

The religious needs are catered for through five churches which are located on the market. Church structures were semi-permanent with iron sheet roofs, wooden walls and rough floors. There are only two rivers passing on the extreme borders of Thome settlement scheme. These are Ewaso Nyiro river on the western border and Tigithi river on the eastern border. This situation places people in the centre of the scheme in a very hard water situation, especially during droughts when both rivers reduce their level of water to almost zero. Some farmers have organized for tap water to their homesteads but this is made malfunctioning during such dry spells. People seem to be quite happy and determined to do their best in achieving a livelihood in the area. Most, if not all, are of the Agikuyu ethnic group who speak Kigekuyu. It, therefore, was no wonder to observe that the medium of communication in shops, bars, market place, hotels and chief's barazas was the Gikuyu language. The three butcheries on the market only slaughtered goats and sheep and none slaughtered cattle.

The group that seemed quite interested in entertainment on the market, in hotels, bars and film shows were predominantly the youth. Most youths also exhibited lack of serious commitment to anything profitable and this could be explained by the fact that most of them had dropped out of school at primary level. Most of the homesteads visited were made of wooden walls and iron sheet roofs and rough floors. Only one homestead in the pilot study was permanent.

It is also necessary to mention that there were five other permanent residential places in Thome but this did not form part of the sample population. A majority of the homesteads were of semi-permanent structures. Homes were generally well fenced with figs or with barbed wire. There are no medical facilities like dispensaries or a hospital in the area except that in the neighbouring farm there is a dispensary which handles minor illnesses. Serious diseases can only be handled at Nanyuki in the district hospital.

#### 3.4. PILOTING

The purpose of the pilot study was, first, to test the effectiveness of the research instruments and, second, to establish the number of current residents in Thome settlement scheme. This was especially necessary because it was learned from the farm secretary that most of the shareholders had not settled on their plots while other new members had bought pieces of land and settled on them. Also, the farm management personnel could not ascertain the exact number of the current residents of the scheme nor their settlement patterns.

This, therefore, meant that establishing the sample size or the entire universe population was impossible without a pre-study. The pre-study was based on fourteen households which had one distinguishing feature. This was the presence or absence of water during the time of the study. Sampling of the pilot study was stratified on the basis of availability of water at the time of the study. This was done with the help of village elders who provided the names of the current residents of their respective villages in Thome.

The settlement scheme had 272 households at the time of the survey. The researcher and the interpreter administered the Gikuyu translation of the questionnaire in this pilot study. In their company was a village elder in charge of the respective villages being examined. The choice of the various households in the sample, was done purposively based on the knowledge of the village elder about the residents. After the interview, we sought to know from the respondents the names of their immediate neighbours so that we could establish the number of all current residents. Many respondents did not know their neighbour's names but talked of "nyina wa ..." (mother of ...) or "ithe wa ..." (father of ...). We, however, managed to establish that there were 272 households in Thome settlement scheme at the time of the survey.

### 3.5 DATA PROCESSING

Data were coded and entered into the computer. They were also cleaned by correcting wrong entries plus language errors being sought out and corrected in readiness for analysis. The responses were then coded so as to make sense to the computer. A numerical score was then assigned to each response. For instance, nominal data derived from closed-ended questions were assigned the following numerical scores:

(1) represented "Not applicable" (2) represented "Yes" and (3) represented "No" responses.

Open-ended questions were also assigned codes after patterns had been identified in the responses. Such patterns were categorized differently and names given to them where each category had its corresponding code.



A scorebook for all the questions in the questionnaire and interview schedule was established. This will remain as a useful reference point for future research by the researcher or other interested scholars. A data sheet was printed out on the basis of the scorebook. This facilitated easy data entry into the computer for analysis. The data sheet was a compression of the questionnaire and the interview guide plus answers into figures which represented the long narrations of the respondents.

The entries enabled the generation of frequencies of the answers from the informants. At the same time, percentage distributions were also done by the computer based on the information on the data sheet. A print-out showing the frequencies and percentage distributions was derived through this process. From these indicators, i.e, frequencies and percentage distributions, it was possible to make judgement about the responses as the base for data analysis.

### **3.6 DATA ANALYSIS**

Much of the data collected were qualitative but a few were quantitative. The analysis was therefore done using both qualitative and quantitative techniques. Frequency distribution was done so as to ascertain the proportions between and among variables. The larger part of the data were analyzed through deduction and induction methods based on observed behaviour as well as discussions with and explanations from respondents.

#### **3.7.0 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED AND THEIR SOLUTIONS**

Although it is possible to guard against some ills in the course

of field research, one often ends up encountering a number of problems which are in some cases unforeseeable or some that emanate from man's limitations in life. The researcher experienced a number of problems which were not only varied in scope but also in the degree of severity.

### 3.7.1 DEVIL WORSHIP

Some respondents were afraid from responding due to the incidence of devil worship which was being rumoured not only in Thome but also in many other areas. In the initial stages, respondents were quite uncomfortable with us because of our questionnaire which they referred to as "forms" allegedly meant for subscription to the sect. This issue resulted in non-response in some cases while in others deliberate attempts to cheat were observed. One respondent was so afraid that she excused herself and went to call a neighbour to assist her expel us from her home. It was, however, possible to convince both the respondent and her neighbour to understand our real identity after we showed them our introductory letter from the D.C. on top of the research permit.

Non-response was also common among the illiterates who feared because of ignorance concerning the sect or the bitter memories of Mau Mau fighting and the then recent clashes which were determinants to the decision to refuse responding. Cheating was curbed by either direct observation which was followed by noting the observation instead of the response, or asking the village elder what he knew about the issue being investigated.

3.7.2 MAJIMBOISM

This is a term which a few enlightened respondents mentioned to us and associated the research to government spying over the people so that they would have their roots established and repatriated to their districts of origin. Most politicians had voiced very scathing remarks to the effect that Kenyans would be regrouped on ethnic lines based on their ancestral lands. The respondents thought that the government had embarked on this programme through the research. In this matter too, the solution was the tabling of documents and explaining clearly the purpose and benefits of the study to the local community.

## CHAPTER FOUR.

### DATA ANALYSIS

#### 4.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter an attempt will be made to interpret the data and explain what the findings are, as revealed by the study. Each hypothesis will be looked at independently so as to give a clearer picture of the focus of the study.

#### 4.1 ECONOMIC FACTORS SUCH AS LAND OWNERSHIP MOTIVATED IMMIGRANTS TO MOVE INTO THOME

Among the several hypotheses was the above one which had the assumption that economic factors such as land ownership motivated the respondents to move into Thome. It was assumed that there were pull factors like land ownership in Thome which attracted immigrants into the area. It was generally held that the districts of origin of the immigrants had the opposite of what Thome offered, such as land ownership.

Whereas land ownership has the cultural and social attachment of social status in society, it also has a direct link to one's economic prowess. The economic aspect of land is in the possibility of selling the surplus yields and, in turn, being able to purchase subsistence or development needs from the proceeds. Land is a resource that is valued very highly and therefore when one is pressed with a problem and has a piece of land, such land can be transformed into money. The cultural aspect of land has to

do with the Gikuyu concept of "utuuro", as observed by Kanogo (1987:23), which associates existence with land ownership.

Land plus livestock were the most important forms of inheritance in the ancient society. This has been carried forward to the present day where everybody wants to acquire a piece of land which he can leave for his children at his death. Furthermore, land was, and still is, valued highly for burial purposes. Those people who lacked where to be buried were an embarrassment to their families and lineages at large.

The above sentiments therefore explain the cultural attachment to land ownership by respondents. The above facts also point to the reality of the existence of another assumption, that the districts of origin have higher population densities compared to Laikipia district in which Thome is located. Therefore, these findings reveal that the respondents' security of subsistence in the districts of origin was more endangered compared to Thome where they have more space on which to organize their subsistence.

This hypothesis was tested through a number of questions which sought to establish the districts of origin of the immigrants or any other previous residences before coming to Thome settlement scheme. Yet another area which was investigated in testing this hypothesis was the respondents' perception of their lives in Thome. Respondents were required to indicate whether they perceived Thome as a permanent or a temporary residential place. This was of course backed with reasons why whichever perception was preferred over the other. Last in that order, but perhaps of higher magnitude, was the immigrants' reasons for migrating into Thome settlement scheme in Laikipia district.

The four questions which were designed to collect this information and some other short key phrases in the interview guide revealed very interesting findings. Out of a total sample population of seventy (70) respondents, sixty eight (68) of them (97%) (of the sample) answered in the affirmative to the fact that they migrated because of the pursuit for agricultural land. The other two respondents had come to Thome as teachers in the local primary school in the early eighties and later accumulated money and bought the pieces of land on which they now live. Even though these two had come as employees, further investigation in the interview schedule indicated that their district of origin, which was Nyeri, is very densely populated and therefore this meant that even without their being posted to Thome they would actually have moved out in search of land.

This trend agrees with the Laikipia District Development Plan (L.D.D.P 1983), which stated that the main motive for the immigrants was search for settlement or agricultural land. The same report goes further to state that this search for agricultural land was so rampant that in a short period after independence, the annual population growth rate for Laikipia district was 7.3% (C.B.S.,1979). As earlier stated, land is perceived by many people today as an economic venture. This, therefore, is a subscription to the views of many demographic researchers who have held that "Economic factors have been recognized as the most significant motives for migration" (Mabogunje, 1970; Zelinsky, 1971).

**4.2 SECURITY OF SUBSISTENCE FOR THE THOME PEOPLE IS SECURED THROUGH FAMILIAL NETWORKS IN THE FORM OF REMITTANCES TO AND FROM RELATIVES, FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS**

The above hypothesis had various assumptions, namely:

a) Thome settlement scheme is in a difficult ecological region (semi-arid land with unreliable rainfall), a fact which hampers safe attainment of the people's subsistence needs throughout the year.

b) The immigrants maintain kinship ties within and outside the settlement scheme. It is through these kinship ties that each of these immigrants either assists or is assisted to subsist in Thome. In other words, the concept of reciprocity coupled with the cultural obligation to help one's kin in times of difficulty is assumed to be at play.

c) There are other social networks like women groups, welfare organizations or community development projects in the settlement scheme. These social groups act as a binding force between them, making each member feel obliged to assist a fellow member when the latter is faced with difficulty.

The above hypothesis was, therefore, tested through various questions which sought to establish, among other things: The number of months one's production can last in terms of providing the household subsistence needs; the type of assistance received and the source of such assistance; the types of assistance given out and the destination of such assistance; the number and types of animals that the farmers have; and the amount of harvest they get from their farms in a good year. Last, but equally important, was the establishment of the frequency of visits between the respondents and their relatives in Thome and those in their

districts of origin.

The issue of security of subsistence is given greater attention due to its inclination to humanitarianism. Not only does the government emphasize humanitarianism for development plans but also for many other activities that are associated with non-governmental organizations. In the course of testing this hypothesis, it was found that some degree of what Mukras and Oucho (1982) identified as transfers/remittances for survival and social maintenance function, was being practised in Thome. These two types of exchanges or transfers are concerned with risk aversion, income generation and the maintenance of social ties, respectively.

Through the interviews carried out, it was found that sixteen respondents (22.9%) received labour assistance while nine respondents (12.9%) received food assistance. These two were the major forms of assistance exchanged among the immigrants. There was, however, one respondent who said he gave money as yet another form of assistance to his relatives. Whereas only 25 respondents (35.8%) of the sample population received food and labour assistance, those who gave out the same forms of assistance were 47 respondents (77.2%). A large proportion (68%) of the respondents who received assistance mentioned the sources of such assistances to be mainly friends. Almost all the respondents who admitted that they were receiving assistance, i.e, 17 out of the total figure of 25 respondents, had received their assistance from friends.

Conversely, assistance given out was said to be going to friends and relatives in Thome, the poor or needy and new settlers or a



combination of either of the above persons or all. The group which was the highest beneficiary of assistance was that of the poor or needy which received 21.4% of the total assistance given, followed by friends and relatives in Thome who received 20% of the assistance given out.

It is possible to argue that if one gives assistance to a poor or needy person, one does not expect such a recipient to reciprocate. In a study concerning the !Kung by Ember Carol, (1990:276) it is asserted that what determines the practice of reciprocity is not the societal class differentiations but rather "the aspects of unpredictability and scarcity of foodstuffs". One can, therefore, argue that regardless of one's social status, reception of such gifts binds one socially, to the giver as a debtor and any future relationships between the two parties concerned. In this case the articles of exchange may not necessarily be material, but other types or payment in kind like respecting the giver which becomes social capital to him.

In an attempt to establish whether the individual households had any expectations of receiving assistance in the event of difficulty, a straightforward question to that effect was asked and where there was expectation, the source of such expectations was also sought. Findings revealed that a majority of the respondents (95.7%) did not expect any assistance from anywhere. For example, one respondent in response to the question as to whether she receives any form of assistance from anywhere replied:

Ingikiuma ku? Nuu ungikuhe mbece orougwo  
thiku ici na mundu wothe ari na mathina  
make na mibango yake agiriire kurikia.

(From where? Who can give you money freely  
just like that these days? Everybody has his/her  
own problems and plans to accomplish).

A negligible 3 respondents (4.3%) said they expected assistance whenever they were hit by hunger or any other form of catastrophe. The rest of the group, which totalled 67 respondents (95.7%), did not expect any assistance although some of these ended up receiving it. The above fact is an indication of gradual decentralization of resources in the traditional African extended family system. The high incidence of no expectation of assistance shows it is likely that the respondents are seeking to be independent and self-reliant. Several indicators were used to measure the respondent's ability to subsist in Thome. Among these was the total harvest from the respondents' farms in a good harvest year, the number and type of animals that the respondents had, plus the frequency of visits made by the respondents either to their districts of origin or to their relatives in Thome. Along with this last aspect was the aim to ascertain whether the visits had any link with their subsistence in Thome.

From observations and the interviews carried out, the type of crops that were found to be growing in Thome were three dominant and several other minor ones. The three main crops were maize, potatoes and beans, while the minor ones were sugarcane, bananas, yams, cassava, sweet potatoes, sorghum and other horticultural crops like tomatoes, onions and vegetables. Evaluation of the crops was made based on the three major crops which could be valued or easily estimated.

All the three crops were found to be grown by respondents. The farmers were divided into categories so that coding would be done to reflect the amount of each of these crops they harvested. This also made it possible to overcome a situation where each respondent had his/her own figure which would have made analysis quite cumbersome. Those who harvested between 0.1-2 bags of maize were 10 respondents (14.3%) while 34 respondents (48.6%) harvested between 3-6 bags of maize. Yet another group of 15 respondents (21.4%) harvested between 7-10 bags of maize while 6 respondents (8.6%) harvested between 11-15 bags of maize at the end of a successful year.

In relation to the amount of beans harvested by the respondents in any successful year, it was found that 37 respondents (52.9%) harvested between 0.1-2 bags of beans. Another 27 respondents (38.6%) obtained between 3-6 bags of beans in a successful year. These two categories added up to 91.5% of the sample population or 64 respondents. The entire sample population confessed that they also grew potatoes. The proportion of potatoes to maize harvested was almost one to one except that perhaps the potato crop is more likely to survive the harsh climatic conditions, and hence its slightly higher proportion compared to maize. This trend could also be appropriately related to the Gikuyu traditional diet which was usually a mixture of potatoes, beans, maize and vegetables popularly known as "mukimo". There were 26 respondents (37.1%) of the sample who harvested between 0.1-2 bags of potatoes. Those who harvested between 3-6 bags were 27 respondents (38.6%) of the sample while 10 respondents (14.3%) harvested between 7-10 bags of potatoes. This information is summarized in Table 4.0 below.

TABLE 4.0: PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF CROP HARVEST BY NUMBER OF BAGS

BAGS	MAIZE	BEANS	POTATOES
1-2	10 (14%)	37 (53%)	26 (37%)
3-6)	34 (49%)	27 (39%)	27 (39%)
7-10	15 (21%)	1 (1%)	10 (14%)
11-15	6 (9%)	2 (3%)	2 (3%)
16-20	2 (3%)	1 (1%)	2 (3%)
21-30	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)
31-	2 (3%)	1 (1%)	2 (3%)
TOTAL	70 (100%)	70 (100%)	70 (100%)

Source: Sample Data.

(Figures Without Brackets Indicate Frequency Of Respondents.)

The above three groups made up for 63 respondents (90%) of the sample population. Unlike the typical practice of reciprocity where one gives out an article as a gift which the receiver in most cases would not have, the Thome case is where everybody produces the same types of crops but the quantity of production is what determines who should be assisted and who should assist.

It was necessary to examine the household size so as to determine the interaction between people and available resources. Similarly, the number of children in the homestead and their levels of education (for those who had attained the school-going age) was also investigated. Only two respondents had no children; where one of them had not yet married while the other was not able to bear children. It was noted that 25 respondents (35.7%) had between 1-3 children while 28 respondents (40%) of the sample population had between 4-6 children. Those who had 7 children and more were 15 respondents (21.4%). It was, therefore, possible to conclude on the basis of these findings that an average household

in Thome has between 4-6 children. The rate of food consumption per person as calculated by the Laikipia District Agricultural Officer (see the Laikipia District Development Plan, 1994-1996) is as follows:

Maize 135 kg; Beans 45 kg; and Potatoes 100 kg.

These figures indicate that the amount of maize needed by each household to subsist throughout the year is 135 kg multiplied by 8 people, which comes to 1080 kg per household per year. Converting this into bags comes to 1080 kg divided by 90 kg, which is equal to 12 bags of maize per household per year. The same arithmetic when applied to beans and potatoes showed that approximately 10 bags of potatoes and 4 bags of beans are needed each year to meet the subsistence needs of a household.

If these figures are used as a guideline with the amount of harvest produced by each of the households in Thome, it can be concluded that the Thome people are likely to subsist for half a year on what they produce. The question that is inevitable at this point is, "How do they subsist during the remaining part of the year?" In a situation like this where almost everybody needs some extra provision of food, it becomes rather difficult to draw conclusions on the existence of exchanges amongst the settlers. One alternative would be exchanges between the settlers and their homes of origin which, contrary to our expectations, was not existent.

Based on these findings, it can be concluded that familial interaction between Thome residents and their kin in the places of origin have gradually deteriorated. Traces of such sentiments would be seen very clearly through statements such as:

Itingioneka cia kuheana. No wiime  
turia tunini winatwo ni getha uheane?  
Ndingiona nyingi no heane.

(It is very hard to get extra so as to  
give assistance. Can you deny yourself  
the little that you have in order to give?  
If I can get extra, I can give assistance).

Another respondent answering the question as to whether he had any  
links with his place of origin replied:

Nii ndithiaga kuu kaingi. Ringi ni thutha  
wa mwaka kana iri. No gukorirwo kwina kaundu  
kanaihenya, gikuu kana murimu munene, ndithiaga  
orouguo. Magiriirwo ni kumenya nii ndiri kuu ringi.

(I do not go there regularly. Perhaps once in a  
year or two years. Unless there is an emergency,  
death or an ailment, I do not just go there. They  
should know that I am no longer there).

Fialho (1990) and Duarte (1990), in their study concerning the  
Tsonga people's subsistence networks, point out reliance on a  
system of alliances established through kinship over a  
differentiated environmental zone, and an ingenious redistributive  
exchange system entailing the distribution of surplus which has  
enabled this society to survive in a very hostile environment with  
very low and unequally distributed rainfall and being subjected to  
very severe droughts. Whereas this practice seems to work very  
well for the Tsonga people, the contrary seems to be the case for  
the Thome people. For example, 45 respondents (64.3%) reported  
that they received no assistance.

Expectation of assistance also received a negative response of  
95.7%. In this case it can be concluded that Thome people are  
likely to have developed self-reliance mechanisms for survival.  
It is noted that these settlers came from high population density  
regions with no free land for agriculture or settlement and tough  
competition among the residents. On reaching Thome, these same

people found very difficult ecological conditions with an erratic rainfall pattern within which they should organize their subsistence without any external assistance. It can, therefore, be concluded that this exposure bred in the Thome people the instinct to survive regardless of the harsh realities of life.

The type of livestock was yet another indicator which was found relevant to the search for the Thome people's security of subsistence. Interviews and observations revealed that a wide range of animals and poultry were kept. These included cattle, goats, sheep, rabbits, chicken and ducks. The data indicated that the grade cattle were preferred to the native type. This is shown by figures which indicate that whereas a half of the sample population, 36 respondents (51.5%), had exotic cattle, only 13 respondents (18.6%) had the native type of cattle. The exotic cattle owners were concentrated around the base where those who owned between 1-3 head of cattle were 23 respondents (32.9%) while those who had between 4-6 head of cattle were 7 respondents (10%). One respondent (1.4%) had between 7-10 head of exotic cattle and 3 respondents (4.3%) had between 11-20 head of exotic cattle while 2 respondents (2.9%) had over 21 head of cattle (see Table 4.1).

There were only two categories of native cattle owners where one category of 9 respondents (12.9%) had between 1-3 native cattle and 4 respondents (5.7%) owned between 4-6 head of native cattle. Various households had different sizes and types of animals but generally, all households had each of these categories with only a few households having extremely large numbers, like 200 sheep or 60 goats as was the case in two households.

**TABLE 4.1: DISTRIBUTION OF OWNERSHIP BY SIZE OF ANIMAL/HERDS.**

Size	Exotic	Native	Ducks	Rabbits
1-3	23 (33%)	9 (13%)	7 (10%)	11 (16%)
4-6	7 (10%)	4 (6%)	4 (6%)	2 (3%)
7-10	1 (1%)	—	—	4 (6%)
11-20	3 (4%)	—	—	2 (3%)
21-	2 (3%)	—	—	—
<b>Total</b>	<b>36 (51.5%)</b>	<b>13 (18.6%)</b>	<b>11 (15.7%)</b>	<b>19 (27.2%)</b>

N = 70

Source: Sample Data.

A total of 17 respondents had goats where more than a half of them, i.e., 9 respondents (12.9%), had between 1-5 goats. An additional 4 respondents (5.7%) had between 6-10 goats while 2 respondents (2.9%) had between 11-20 goats. Two other respondents (2.9%) had the highest figure of between 41-60 goats. The trend changed a bit in regard to sheep owners where a total of 36 respondents had sheep and those who owned between 1-5 sheep were 11 respondents (15.7%). This information is summarized in Table 4.2 below.



**TABLE 4.2: PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LIVESTOCK OWNERSHIP BY SIZE OF ANIMAL/HERDS**

Size	Goats	Sheep	Chicken
1-5	9 (13%)	11 (16%)	16 (23%)
6-10	4 (6%)	12 (17%)	25 (36%)
11-20	2 (3%)	9 (13%)	15 (21%)
21-40	2 (3%)	—	5 (7%)
41-60	—	2 (3%)	—
61-	—	2 (3%)	—
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>17 (25%)</b>	<b>36 (52%)</b>	<b>61 (87%)</b>

N = 70

Source: Sample Data.

Those who had between 6-10 sheep were 12 respondents (17.1%) and 9 respondents (12.9%) had between 11-20 sheep. Two respondents (2.9%) had between 21-40 sheep while two other respondents (2.9%) had over 61 sheep. Through interviews, it was made clear that sheep were kept in large proportions, i.e, slightly higher than half the sample population (51.4%), because they could be easily converted into money so as to organize other subsistence needs in the homestead. Sheep were also said to be more resistant or tolerant to drought, a trend which is common in Thome. This trend is in agreement with what Mucuthi (1992) established in his study about the economic aspects of small ruminants. In his study based in western Laikipia, Mucuthi found that sheep were preferred because they are docile to herd (82%), are more resistant to diseases (14%) and they do not destroy trees (4%). Sheep were also said to be more manageable when herding with other livestock as compared to the goats which tend to stray into crop lands.

Mucuthi went further to suggest that there are several advantages of keeping small ruminants over the large ones. He stated that small ruminants can be looked after by children or the elderly and are easy to establish and dispose off. They also have higher reproductive and survival rates than large ruminants. The rearing of more goats might have been hampered by the small size of farms in Thome (averagely 2 ha). This is due to their unruly nature and their tendency to play havoc with the neighbour's crops and start quarrels. Cattle rearing demands a large grazing land and are less likely to survive the periodic droughts in the area, hence the small numbers kept.

Chickens and ducks were the only types of poultry kept. Chickens were reported in almost all households while ducks missed in some households. A high figure of 87.1% (61 respondents) reported that they kept chickens. The chicken owners were also concentrated at the top and the middle but only a few respondents were at the extreme high end of owning over 61 chickens. Those who had between 1-5 chickens were 16 respondents (22.9%) while 25 respondents (35.7%) had between 6-10 chickens. Those who owned between 11-20 chickens were 15 respondents (21.4%) while 5 respondents (7.1%) had between 21-40 chickens. Ducks were reported among only 11 respondents. Those who had between 1-3 ducks were 7 respondents (10%) while the other 4 respondents (5.7%) had between 4-6 ducks. Last in the line of animals and poultry were rabbits, which were reported among 18 respondents. The largest category of rabbit owners was comprised of 11 respondents (15.7%) and these had between 1-3 rabbits.

Two respondents (2.9%) fell in the category which owned between 4-6 rabbits. Next was a group of 4 respondents (5.7%) who had between 7-10 rabbits and the last group consisted of only two respondents (2.9%) who had between 11-20, which was the highest number of rabbits kept. Rabbits were said to be kept by male children in the various households. After some duration, one or two of these rabbits would be slaughtered to make stew for the family. The rabbits were also exchanged between the youth, not only for money but also as gifts to their peers for social cohesion amongst them.

The exotic cattle were described as the main source of milk among the Thome people. The respondents who had more exotic animals, and therefore more milk, supplied this much needed commodity to those who either had less or none at all. Such provision, however, was not free but was organized on monthly payments or payment on demand. A co operative set up by Thome farmers was catering for the farmers' transportation and sale of the larger quantity of their milk to the K.C.C. depot at Kiganjo.

The frequency of visits by the respondents to their relatives in Thome was seen to be quite regular. The only limitation was that about a half of our sample population, i.e., 32 respondents, had no relatives in Thome. Those who had relatives in Thome were 38 respondents. Among these, 33 respondents (47.1%) had between 1-3 relatives while only 5 respondents (7.1%) had between 4-6 relatives in Thome. The frequency of visits to the Thome relatives for the 33 respondents above was as follows: daily (19); weekly (13); fortnightly (1); and monthly or longer (5). These figures indicate that the frequency of visits between the Thome relatives is quite high.

Most respondents said that their relatives were close to them or lived on the same compound and therefore meeting with them simply meant walking to a neighbour's home. Social gatherings like church meetings on Sundays or other weekdays were also mentioned as one other avenue through which the Thome relatives would meet frequently.

#### 4.3 THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE IMMIGRANT INFLUENCES HIS/HER SOCIAL STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

The above hypothesis had the assumption that the immigrants' social status is indicative of their economic status. In other words, the dependent variable in this case is the social status while the independent variable, which actually precedes the dependent one, is the economic status. Various indicators were sought in order to verify this hypothesis through the field research. Among these were the forms of social organizations or groups that respondents subscribed to at the time of the study, the types of responsibilities they held in those social groups and reasons why they were elected or appointed to those posts. Further still was the examination of the aspect of the respondents' church attendance and responsibilities in the church organizations. Other areas which were explored included: One's marital status; mode of transport; level of education; possession of radio and frequency of listening to the radio; source of water for household use and the state of the house; plus one's own and neighbours' perceptions about them. Regarding the economic status, there was observation of such issues as the state of the house, whether permanent, semi-permanent or temporary. Other observable features like the property on the plot and household

These were women groups, water project and business partnerships. The first two were more significant in that a total of 38 respondents (54.3%) were members of the water project. Another 6 respondents (8.6%), were members of women groups. As suggested by the name, those who said they were members of women groups were exclusively women. A combination of both women groups and water project was another significant category, and recorded a membership of 14 respondents (20%).

It was, however, noted that some ten respondents (14.3%) did not subscribe to any social group. These were either newly settled people or the very poor people who viewed group membership as an economic venture which would strain them further. It was only one respondent who was a member of both the water project and business partnership. No respondent was found to be a member of business partnership alone except that the two who were business partners were also members of the water project and/or both water project and women groups. The roles of the respondents in these groups were quite clear. Slightly over three quarters, i.e., 54 respondents (77.1%) were members of these social groups. The other category consisted of one respondent who was the chairman of the water project and 5 respondents (7.1%) who were officials of the various organizations. Various reasons had been considered in determining which people to be chosen as leaders. Four (4) of the leaders (5.7%) stated that they were chosen on the basis of their marital status ; one was selected due to his age while another one was chosen because of her educational prowess.

For church attendance, investigations revealed that only two respondents did not attend any church, nor were they members of any church at all. The rest, i.e., 68 respondents (97.1%) were members of various churches on Thome market. The churches were as follows: Presbyterian church of East Africa (10); Catholic (33); Independent church (13); Pentecostal Assemblies of God (4); Seventh Day Adventist (2); Church of the Province of Kenya (1); Full Gospel Church (4); and African Divine Church (1). Out of this universe, 9 respondents (12.9%) were leaders in different church organizations of various categories. The remaining 59 respondents (84.3%) were mere members. Regarding the aspect of participation in weddings, harambees or social welfare gatherings, it was evident that except for two respondents who admitted that they did not participate, the rest of the respondents took part or contributed to such occasions.

Tracing the leaders so as to determine their economic status would in this case be quite easy since they were only a few. Several distinct characteristics were observed among the six leaders of the various social organizations. The chairman of the water project is a farmer with 13 head of exotic cattle, 14 sheep and 30 chickens. The harvest he gets in any successful year is 15 bags of maize, 2 bags of beans and 5 bags of potatoes. The size of the landholding for this respondent was 1.2 ha which he bought from another person. In terms of livestock, this respondent had on average, higher level of livestock than other respondents. The property on the plot, was as follows: The house was semi-permanent with wooden walls and an iron sheet roof. The floor was cemented and he had a television set in the house which he operated using a battery.

Another official of the water project was a man who said he was chosen due to his marital status. Whereas people perceived him as an economically average person, he himself said he was a poor man. He had a plot of 0.8 ha on which he harvested 7 bags of maize, 5 bags of beans and 4 bags of potatoes. He also had only two sheep and 9 chickens. His house was semi-permanent with an iron sheet roof and wooden walls, doors and windows. The homestead was fenced with sticks and posts. This respondent is seen as an average person and therefore his election as a leader does not correspond with the expected high economic status.

Yet another official was an old man (75 years) who said it was because of his advanced age that he was made an official in the water project. He had 2 ha of land which he had bought from another person. On the farm, he was harvesting 6 bags of maize, 2 bags of beans and 2 bags of potatoes in any successful year. The animals he rears included 5 exotic cattle, 20 goats, 6 sheep, 4 chickens and 10 rabbits. This respondent had a semi-permanent house with wooden walls, windows and doors. One could conclude that in terms of livestock ownership especially cattle, the respondent has a high economic status but in all the other features, he is of average status by Thome standards.

Another official who was a committee member in the water project was a woman who indicated that she was chosen due to her marital status. She had only 0.4 ha of land and harvested 7 bags of maize, 2 bags of beans and 5 bags of potatoes. She had 3 exotic type of cattle, 1 duck and 2 rabbits. The state of her house was semi-permanent, with an iron sheet roof and wooden walls. Not only was she a farmer but also a business woman.

The characteristics of another official were as follows: She was the secretary of a women's group. She was chosen on the basis of her education. She had 0.8 ha of land on which she harvested 10 bags of maize, 2 bags of beans and 3 bags of potatoes. She only had three mixed (cross breed) cattle and 6 native chickens. Her house was semi-permanent. Her educational level was secondary school.

The last respondent who was an official with the water project (vice-secretary), stated that she had been appointed on the basis of her marital status. Her husband was a headmaster in a nearby primary school. She had 1.6 ha of land which she bought from another person. She harvests 6 bags of maize, 2 bags of beans and 5 bags of potatoes. She only had 1 exotic type of cattle and 10 native chickens. Her educational level, like the other woman leader, was secondary school (form two). Perhaps if no consideration was given to the husband's position, then this respondent would be categorized as average. Her house is semi-permanent, albeit with a cemented floor, and the homestead fenced with barbed wire and beautiful trees growing and providing shade in the homestead. Several indicators were used in the establishment of the respondents' economic status. Among these was the state of the house. There were only two types of houses existent in Thome. These were the semi-permanent and temporary types of houses. Only 7 respondents (10%) had temporary shelter while 63 respondents (90%) had semi-permanent structures for their shelter. This indicates that Thome farmers have an average economic status as reflected in their shelter structures.



The source of water and mode of transport are other key areas of interest. Whereas 12 respondents (17.1%) have tap water, 35 respondents (50%) drew their water from the furrow being managed by the Thome Water Project Committee. This is a community development project which draws labour from the members every Saturday for cleaning and clearing. Twenty two respondents, especially those who stay near rivers Tigithi and Ewaso Nyiro drew their water from those rivers. These people are those who are on the extreme borders of the scheme. One respondent drew water from both the furrow and the river. The source of water is a very critical measure of one's economic status in this community because abstracting water from the furrow, which itself is abstracted from river Tigithi, is an expensive adventure. One needs about three to ten kilometres of pipes depending on one's plot relative to the point of abstraction.

That aside, one needs a tap and other gadgets that go with the installation of the water in the home or house. Even for the twelve respondents who have tap water on their farms or homes, the flow of that water throughout the year is not guaranteed. Often when the level of water went down, this would affect the flow and often such taps would dry up until when enough water was flowing in the rivers or furrow.

The dominant mode of transport for the Thome people was found to be public transport vehicles, the matatu, which was reported among 62 respondents (88.6%). A combination of walking and matatu, depending on the distance to be made, had three respondents (4.3%). Two respondents stated that their mode of transport was walking. Only one person stated that when travelling to Nyeri or Nanyuki, he would use his bicycle. Those who used either matatu

or bicycles were 2 respondents (2.9%).

Occupation was another yardstick to determine the economic status of Thome people. There were those who had formal employment and those who were informally or self-employed. Farming was considered separately in its own category as another form of employment. Fifty six respondents (80%) were farmers. Those who were in the formal employment were 5 respondents (7.1%) and those who were self-employed were 9 respondents (12.9%).

Through the interview schedule the respondents' future plans were established. This was one key source of one's dreams which in most cases are fashioned by one's economic abilities. It was interesting to learn that most respondents' future plans revolved around their farms. A total of 27 respondents (25.7%) (where some respondents gave more than one future plan) said they wanted to buy grade animals or increase the size of their livestock. Another 24 respondents (22.9%) said they wanted to work hard on the farm. These talked of investing more on the farm or ploughing a bigger portion of their land so as to achieve better yields for their security of subsistence in the area. In addition, 18 respondents (17.1%) wished to have piped water in their homes or farms. It should be noted that these three closely related plans accounted for (65.7%) of all the responses, a fact which suggests heavy reliance on agriculture for a livelihood (see Table 4.3).

TABLE 4.3: DISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMIC VENTURES AS FUTURE PLANS

FUTURE PLAN	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Buy more grade livestock	27	27.2%
Work harder on the farm	24	24.7%
Get piped water at home	18	18.1%
Start business	10	10.0%
Fence plot	4	4.0%
Poultry keeping	4	4.0%
Build permanent house	4	4.0%
Educate children	3	3.0%
Improve business	2	2.0%
Build water storage tank	2	2.0%
Equip house	1	1.0%
Total	99	100%

Source: Sample Data.

The size of the plots for the Thome farmers also indicated that most of the respondents were extremely small scale farmers. A majority of the respondents were found to be owning only 0.8 ha of land. Out of the whole sample size of 70 respondents, 30 of them, i.e., (42.9%), had only 0.8 ha of land. Another 10 respondents (14.3%) had only 0.4 ha while those who had 1.2 ha land were 8 residents (11.4%). Those respondents who owned more than 5 ha of land were only 6, with the highest having 20.4 ha. This respondent disclosed that this was family land which he was only taking care of while awaiting subdivision between the family members. The other five respondents who had their own pieces of land, which could be considered as averagely large in Thome had 6, 8, 8.04, 10.4 and 10.8 hectares, respectively.

Calculating the average size of plots among our respondents gave 1.36 ha for each respondent. This figure agrees with Kohler's (1987) estimate of the average small scale farms at 0.8-2 hectares. With this small size of land, it is difficult for one to do any successful agricultural enterprises. Bearing in mind that this figure has been exaggerated by the extreme cases of over 8 hectares for the five respondents, and also given that the family size of the Thome people from the estimates shows a figure of six people, the adequacy of this plots to provide subsistence for them is definitely questionable.

The amount of harvests per successful year and the number of animals owned by the respondents were also sought and established. These were, however, put in several categories so as to avoid having as many categories as the number of respondents. Such a situation could obviously hamper any meaningful analysis. The animals were also grouped in their categories based on their types so that as in the case of cattle, we had the exotic cattle and the native type. Exotic cattle were owned as follows: There were 23 respondents (32.9%) who had between 1-3 exotic cattle, while 7 respondents (10%) had between 4-6 exotic cattle. The remaining three categories had only 5 respondents, representing 8.6% of the sample. Most of these respondents owned low numbers of grade cattle due to the expense of maintaining, feeding and the initial cost of grade cattle. They could only afford to keep between 1-3 head of cattle due to the size of their land which, according to Kohler (1987), exceeds the carrying capacity of the land owned by the immigrant. He goes further to state that a single head of cattle needs three hectares of land to subsist and therefore a 0.8 hectare plot of land is 3.5 times less than the subsistence needs

of one head of cattle. The other animals owned and the frequency among respondents were as shown in Table 4.4 below.

**TABLE 4.4: PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF ANIMAL OWNERSHIP BY NUMBERS**

NUMBER	EXOTIC CATTLE	NATIVE CATTLE	DUCKS	RABBITS
1-3	23 (32.9%)	9 (12.9%)	7 (10%)	11 (15.7%)
4-6	7 (10%)	4 (5.7%)	4 (5.7%)	2 (2.9%)
7-10	1 (1.4%)	—	—	4 (5.7%)
11-20	3 (4.3%)	—	—	2 (2.9%)
21-	2 (2.9%)	—	—	—
TOTAL	36 (51.5%)	13 (18.6%)	11 (15.7%)	19 (27.2%)

N = 70

Source: Sample Data.

Very few respondents had 10 or more animals. One would suggest that not only was the limitation capital for purchasing the livestock but also the cost of maintaining such livestock determined the size of their flock. The level of native cattle ownership relative to the exotic one have a very sharp difference. Whereas 35 respondents had the exotic type of cows, only 13 respondents had the native type. This could reveal the significance of rearing grade cows for their milk production, an aspect which directly affects their subsistence networks. Milk (*iria*) is considered very vital by the community and it is one of the commodities being traded in the area. Those who have more than enough milk either send it to the K.C.C through the co-operative or they sell it locally for ready cash for their other subsistence needs.

Ducks and rabbits were kept in low proportions because they are

either not very useful economically or not in the regular dietary system of the Gikuyu community. These were, therefore, kept for the sake of keeping or, in most cases, especially for the rabbits, they were kept by the sons of the various respondents. It should also be noted that the highest frequencies appeared at the low levels while the highest point had very low frequencies or even none at all. This takes us back to the fact that most of the respondents sought self-sufficiency through the domestication of these animals which provided milk and meat or could be sold for other minor household needs. With such an objective, it becomes clear why they should not enter into risking chances of maintaining large flocks or birds which is constrained by the existing structures.

The other type of small ruminants and birds was preferred to the first category in terms of numbers. Although all the respondents reared at least one of these small ruminants and chickens, the same trend of few respondents rearing higher numbers and more rearing fewer animals was existent. For example, out of a total of 61 respondents who owned chickens, 58.6% of the sample had between 1-10 chickens. This is almost 75% of the sample and, therefore, only 25% was left owning more than 10 chickens. As earlier noted by Mucuthi (1992), small ruminants are preferred in the A.S.A.L. region by the farmers due to their resistance or tolerance to drought and the fact that they can be disposed off quickly. However, these were also reared by most people but in very small proportions due to the land size and maintenance costs, for medication, deworming and provision of shelter, among other things.

Sheep are reared in large numbers than goats partly due to the fact that they are docile and, as argued by Mucuthi (1992), they can be reared with large ruminants without any difficulty. Perhaps it would be appropriate to add that sheep are also preferred because of the dietary habits of the surrounding population who prefer eating mutton as was the case on Thome market where most butcheries slaughtered sheep more than goats. This has gone a long way to influence the preference of farmers in which type of small ruminants to rear with the target of achieving ready market from within the locality.

Thome farmers are, therefore, average rearers and not commercial ones as would be expected. Their target appears to be achieving self-reliance in all sectors of life so that they do not seek assistance. After food security is achieved, it can be projected that they start pursuing enterprising activities like commercialization of rearing and other related lucrative trades. Crop production in the area could be said to be average. The crops grown include maize, beans, potatoes, sugarcane, horticultural crops (such as onions, tomatoes and vegetables), sorghum, millet plus some bananas in a few areas. Our discussion will be based on the three major crops in the region as shown in Table 4.5 below.

TABLE 4.5: PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF CROP HARVESTS

BAGS	MAIZE	BEANS	POTATOES
0-2	10 (14%)	37 (52.9%)	26 (37%)
3-6	34 (49%)	27 (38.6%)	27 (39%)
7-10	15 (21%)	1 (1.4%)	10 (14%)
11-15	6 (9.0%)	2 (3.0%)	2 (3.0%)
16-20	2 (3.0%)	1 (1.4%)	2 (3.0%)
21-30	1 (1.4%)	1 (1.4%)	1 (1.4%)
31-	2 (3.0%)	1 (1.4%)	2 (3.0%)
TOTAL	70 (100%)	70 (100%)	70 (100%)

N = 70

Source: Sample Data.

Research findings and projections by Food and Agricultural Organization (1980), revealed that the average amount of calory consumption per one adult per year for the three major crops was as follows:

Maize (dry grain) 327 calories/100 grams 1 A.C.R. = 259 kgs.

= 2.68 bgs.

Beans (dry grain) 341 calories/100 grams 1 A.C.R. = 248 kgs

= 2.76 bags.

Potatoes (fresh tuber) 70 calories/100 grams 1 A.C.R. = 1210 kgs.

= 17.28 bgs.

(Source: F.A.O. 1980:340).

Based on this information, it is necessary to establish the average household size in Thome so as to relate it to the prevailing conditions. Research findings in Thome indicate that homes comprise either one or two adults with an average of six children. In terms of food consumption these children make up for



three adults, thereby bringing the average family size to four adults. It can be stated that an average family of seven people in Thome requires food equivalent to meet the calory needs of four adults each year. Therefore, calculations based on the figures above for an average family in Thome would be:

Maize  $2.88 \times 4 = 11.52$  bags per year.  
 Beans  $2.76 \times 4 = 11.04$  bags per year.  
 Potatoes  $17.28 \times 4 = 69.12$  bags per year.

The above calculations are done with an average size of maize bags and beans weighing 90 kg. On the other hand, potato bags weigh 70 kg. each. It can be noted, therefore, that only those families which can reach such levels of production are self sufficient in terms of their family calory needs each year. However, most families have far much below the above figures in terms of production and, worse still, could be having large family sizes than the estimated one.

There are, however, small family sizes with a higher production level than the targeted calory requirement per person as calculated by F.A.O. (1980). According to such records, no family in Thome is self-sufficient in terms of annual calory requirements for potatoes. Only two respondents who harvested over 31 bags of potatoes each successful year. A majority of the population, i.e., 63 respondents (90%) only harvested up to 10 bags of potatoes. This is only a seventh of their calory requirements each year. Regarding maize and beans, 11 respondents were found to be not only self sufficient but some had something slightly or much higher than their needs. This group constituted 15.8% of the sample population. The remaining 84.3% were categorized as those who have food deficit in any successful year.

Beans were preferred by many people although the harvests indicated that very little was being achieved due to bad climatic conditions or the breed of the seeds. A group of 64 respondents were found to fall in the first two categories of harvesting between 0-2 and 3-6 bags of beans. These people accounted for 91.5% of the sample population. The remaining group was insignificant and this was the group that neared the expected harvest that meets the annual calory needs for the family each year. It, therefore, is evident that the Thome farmers can only produce beans enough to suffice for them for a half a year after which they start depending on unspecified sources for their subsistence.

As seen from the livestock and crop harvests, evidence is pointing to the fact that the Thome people cannot subsist on their own throughout the year. Such a situation renders the entire region and scheme tagged as of a low economic status because if one cannot subsist on one's own then the issue of having to compete on the economic scale is ruled out. It is not enough, however, to stop at condemning the farmers for failing to be self sufficient in food and other subsistence needs. One would be wise to consider the ecological conditions, availability/unavailability of agricultural workers and the size of the land holdings that is typical of the small scale farms in Laikipia district.

If an economic scale was to be drawn or fashioned from the Thome farmers only, then a different story would be told about who is economically low and/or high. It actually works out automatically that those who have bigger farm sizes can also have larger flocks and harvest more from their farms. The fact, therefore, is that the farmers who are original members seem to be of a higher

economic status than those who have bought small plots from other members. This is especially so for the original members who have large plots and who have retained them to this day.

Another distinguishing factor which creates class stratification on the economic side is the issue of occupation. Those respondents whose spouses, or both, were in formal employment exhibited a higher economic status than those whose main occupation and source of livelihood was the farm. For example, all the teachers and civil servants whom we interviewed had tapped water on their plots except for those who were in Kiburuti region, an extremely dry region not reached by the furrow water.

Business persons were also marked with impressive economic performances on their plots and homesteads. One business person, for example, had the largest number of exotic cattle while others had piped water in their homesteads. This aspect of tapping water to one's homestead is a status symbol which also elevates one socially and is an indicator of high economic status.

#### 4.4.0 CONTROL STUDY.

##### 4.4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the course of our field study, it was realist that a control study would help reveal the social networks in and outside Thome in a better way. This was mainly because respondents for one reason or the other seemed to be either overstating or understating some information. The control study comprised issues such as the people's other relatives apart from those in the places of their origin and those in Thome, and the kinds of things exchanged between them. This second aspect was examined with a different approach from the former one and this facilitated achievement of the required answers. A questionnaire was, therefore, constructed and, through it, the desired issues were extracted from the respondents. Sampling for this control study was done purposively with the researcher targeting already known households. The sample size was only 19 respondents who were drawn from the entire scheme having the 11 clusters with a total of 272 households by December 1993. These were specialists in various fields including the local administrators.

The specific issues which were sought included: Other economic activities apart from farming; other relatives apart from those in Thome and places of origin; kinds of items brought by relatives to them and those the respondents take to their relatives elsewhere. The concepts of "ngwatio" and "gitati" were also sought from the respondents, especially regarding whether they knew them, practised them and their significance to the respondents. Relief aid in relation to the respondents' security of subsistence was also another important issue to be investigated. The objective

here was to establish the source of such relief aid, implications to the people in terms of distribution, quantity and reliability of such relief aid.

Findings from interviews carried out on administrators and other cultural specialists, revealed that apart from farming and formal employment there were quite a number of other economic activities which were indulged in by the respondents. These were cited as: charcoal burning (1 respondent); horticultural hawking (3 respondents); and milk hawking (8 respondents). Hide and skin selling was yet another economic activity which was practised by only one respondent. There were also those respondents who did not participate in any economic activity, and these were 4 respondents. A combination of milk and horticultural hawking treated separately, was represented by 8 respondents (see Table 4.6).

**TABLE 4.6: PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF OTHER ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES**

Economic activity	No of respondents	Percentage
None	4	21.1%
Charcoal Burning	1	5.3%
Horticultural hawking	3	15.8%
Milk hawking	2	10.5%
hides and skin selling	1	5.3%
Horticulture/Milk hawking	8	42.1%
Total	19	100%

(N = 19)

Source: Sample Data.

All the respondents said that apart from their relatives in Thome and their places of origin, they had other relatives elsewhere. These places were varied and so a record could not be kept of all of them plus the link to their respective respondents. The issue of items which were exchanged between the above stated relatives and their Thome counterparts were varied. However, most of them were inclined towards agricultural produce. Items sent included grains, horticultural produce and poultry.

There were 5 respondents (26.3%) who gave grains while those who gave horticultural produce were 3 respondents (15.8%). A combination of the above two groups treated separately had 8 respondents (42.1%). Only one respondent (5.3%) sent grains and others and another respondent took horticultural produce and others from Thome to his relatives elsewhere. Lastly, was one respondent who took grains, horticultural produce and poultry from Thome to his relatives. Most respondents reported that these exchanges were taking place on very rare occasions such as after durations of two or four years, as was reported by some respondents. Respondents mentioned various items which had been brought by their relatives. Like those given out by the respondents, these items were also farm products as well as purchases. Those respondents who had received horticultural products were 5 (26.3%). Only one respondent (5.3%) had received purchases.

Purchases included things like sugar, bread, tea leaves, rice and any other thing that did not come directly from the farm. One respondent said that he did not receive anything from his relatives. He claimed that he did not receive any relatives for visitation and, therefore, according to him, receiving gifts or

assistance of any kind was out of question. There was a group of three respondents who received money for fare or for other purposes when they visited their relatives. The African tradition has generally held that when one visits, one carries something as a gift and when returning home, one is expected to carry something in return. The Agikuyu called this kind of practice "*guthuka kiondo*", meaning (To mend the basket). This concept was aimed at cementing familial or other relationships for posterity and prosperity on either side.

One respondent received both grains and money from his relatives. The kinds of grains received were similar to those grown in Thome. This is because Thome's produce does not suffice for the people's subsistence needs throughout the year. Another one respondent received both the horticultural produce and grains while yet another respondent received both horticultural produce and money. One other respondent received a combination of grains, horticultural produce and others (which included things like farm tools and building materials). Grains, purchases and money were received by one respondent while yet another respondent said he received horticultural produce, farm tools and money from his relatives.

Although the kinds of items received differed with those sent, the difference was quite minimal and this was related to the money issue which has a direct link to the economic prowess of a person. None of the respondents admitted that they gave fare or any other money to their relatives but they said that when leaving their relatives' places after a visit, they were given some money for fare or otherwise.

The issue of the two concepts, "*ngwatio*" and "*gitati*", was found to be quite interesting. These are traditional communal exchange practices. We sought to know from the respondents whether they understood what the two concepts meant and whether they (respondents) practised them. Several responses were drawn from the respondents. With respect to "*ngwatio*", 18 respondents (94.7%) said that it was rotation of farmwork by a group of people. This is what is commonly referred to as "merry-go-round", but the items of exchange being labour on the members plots. One respondent reported that "*ngwatio*" was merry-go-round in its wider perspective and not limited to farmwork only. The case for "*gitati*" was a bit different with three alternative answers.

A group of 14 respondents (73.7%) said that "*gitati*" was community welfare work. Examples cited here were the widely practised exercise of furrow clearing every Saturday in the area and perhaps digging a school or other foundation. The second group of three (3) respondents (15.8%) said that "*gitati*" was any work done without pay. This is in agreement with the first definition which in essence is actually work without pay. Two respondents (10.5%) said that "*gitati*" was any group contribution so as to assist one another. These two could not draw the distinction between "*ngwatio*" and "*gitati*" but instead mixed examples of the two concepts and finally concluded that the two practices are the same. It was, however, learned that "*ngwatio*" was wider in scope and involved exchange of many items like money, utensils and even work. In "*ngwatio*", one was forced to pay back favours or services/money given.



In his study on small holder household labour characteristics in Laikipia district, Opondo (1994) notes that "ngwatio" was practiced for two major reasons:

- (i) Maintain and fulfil moral and social obligations and
- (ii) Achieve economic gain.

Opondo, however, adds that the practice of "ngwatio" is disintegrating because of the changing lifestyles with labour primarily assuming a monetary value. It was also suggested that the Agikuyu are no longer homogeneous as a result of interaction with other communities. This is further explained by the development of individualism and diversification of roles as a result of changing agricultural systems which are seen to be killing the spirit of mutual assistance. Opondo (1994) also found that relatives who were further apart did not practise "ngwatio" because of the distance between them. This was also the case for the Thome people who asserted that their relatives were so far away that thinking about kindred as a source of assistance would mean perishing with hunger.

These findings are in accord with what Carlsen (1980), plus Kongstad and Monsted (1980) found in their studies. These authors argued that commercialization of land and labour has created market relations within communities which gave room for individualistic lifestyles that in turn eradicated dependency on communal labour. Most of the respondents in the Thome study stated that there was need and indeed they had developed self-reliance, individualistic and independent lifestyles.

The case of "gitati" was where no repayment was done and, in most cases, it went with self-help work which had collective responsibility. It was important to establish those who were engaged in the two practices. A total of 17 respondents (89.5%) practised the two forms of exchange while the remaining two respondents (10.5%) did not take part in any of them. One of the two respondents said that he did not need to be a member of the "ngwatio" group because he had a big family and so when it came to the labour exchange on the family basis, he stood to be the loser by contributing more labour than other members. He, therefore, had decided to rely on his family which was self-sufficient in labour provision for his farm. Nevertheless, such exchange was not limited to labour only but involved many other issues like money, utensils, clothing and furniture.

The other respondent simply did not practise "ngwatio" because she was poor and the practice needed some payment of money for membership plus a monthly subscription. Those who participated in both practices cited several advantages which they said accrued from their participation. The respondents who practised "ngwatio" stated that it had advantages such as work being done faster and more easily. The first category who said that "ngwatio" allowed for work to be done fast were 6 respondents (31.6%) while 2 respondents (10.5%) said that "ngwatio" made work easier. Another two respondents (10.5%) said that not only is work done fast with "ngwatio" but also the participants get friends and associates through the practice.

Yet another group of 4 respondents (21.1%) asserted that "*ngwatio*" enables a combination of work being done fast and being made easier. The last group was made of three respondents (15.8%) who stated that "*ngwatio*" made work easier and allowed for association and friendships. The various benefits cited by the respondents who participated in "*gitati*" were as follows:

Eleven (11) respondents (57.9%) said that they used the water from the furrow which they helped in cleaning. One (1) respondent (5.3%) said that she had bought household utensils plus clothes through her participation in "*gitati*". Various other benefits were mentioned with each having only one respondent. These were either single or double benefits which included making roads and bridges, digging school foundations, guarding crops against wild animals, getting money for subsistence or other use and buying iron sheets for roofing. It is indicated here that for the Thome people, water was the key benefit due to its vitality in the daily household chores along with farming without which subsistence would be made unmanageable.

Through the first phase of the research findings, we learned that the Thome people could only subsist for half a year and therefore it was necessary to investigate whether they have been receiving any relief food aid and the sources of such aid. The respondents interviewed reported that there had been some relief food in 1984, 1989, 1992 and consecutively thereafter up to 1994. Among the items given to the people as relief aid were grains, milk and fertilizers plus seeds for the sake of boosting the people's food production levels. There were, however, conflicting reports over when such aid was received by the chief's official records and the people who received the aid.

The report from the administrative side gave five years within which such aid had been given to the Thome and other people in Matanya location. The respondents on their side cited only three years, i.e., 1984, 1993 and 1994. One is left with the option to choose between the two reports baring in mind the people's political affiliation of the time and the commitment of the government officials in rendering services to wananchi.

Additionally, one should also examine the quantity of the assistance dished out to the needy people and the mode of distribution, whether such is fair by normal standards or unfair. Nine respondents (47.4%) said that they had received the aid which was in the form of grains. There were two respondents (10.5%) who had received relief aid in the form of fertilizers and seeds. Other two respondents denied ever having received any relief aid from anywhere. A combination of grains and cooking fat was the response for two other respondents (10.5%). One respondent (5.3%) said that he had received grains and milk during the 1984 government relief aid. It should be noted that both the government source and wananchi indicated that it was only the government which provided the relief aid to the people in the area.

The requirements or qualification for one to get assistance was that first, one should be needy and, secondly, the needy person was required to indicate his/her plot number in the area plus producing one's national identity card. The area chief reported to us that village elders were used in the identification of the needy people so that only those who were most hit by drought or other disaster were assisted through the relief aid. However, regarding the procedure of identifying the needy people,

respondents were a bit divided. Whereas some alleged that the chief's administrative personnel and the entire provincial administration was grabbing the lion's share of the relief aid and leaving very little, if anything, for the genuine needy households, some admitted that the needy people were provided with, but the quantity of such aid was negligible.

Due to the large numbers of the needy people, such aid which was limited was subdivided into very small bits which would only be used for a week or so after which the same or worse off situations would befall the victims. With regard to whether the distribution was fair or unfair, respondents threw their weight on the unfair side. Out of the total population size of 19 respondents, 13 respondents (68.4%) stated that the distribution was unfair while the remaining 6 respondents (31.6%) said that the relief aid was distributed fairly. The government's report from the chief's office stated that the distribution was fair and that this was so because village elders had been used both in the identification of the needy people and the distribution which they said was done equitably.

The respondents' opinion about the most suitable or lasting solution for subsistence during unpredictable climatic conditions was also sought. Most respondents suggested that first and foremost, water should be made accessible to them. A group of 7 respondents (36.8%) underscored the role of water in the region. Six (6) respondents (31.6%) stressed that availability of water for home use and farming plus receiving regular assistance from the government or donor agencies would be the most fitting solution to the persistent subsistence problems of the people.

The two groups made 68.4% of the sample population, a fact which is a pointer to the importance of water for the Thome people. One respondent said that not only should food aid be distributed through schools but such aid should be regular. By feeding children in schools, parents would have a lighter burden of feeding them only at supper and or at breakfast.

Another respondent felt that it was necessary for the government through the Kenya Wildlife Service (K.W.S.) to stop wildlife from destroying their crops. Most respondents were so emphatic about this issue in the first phase of this study that they pleaded with the researcher to do all he could (hoping that he had powers), to ensure that wild animals were kept out of their farms. They complained that at a time when some hope of a good harvest would be lingering on their doors, the elephants from the neighbouring ranches would come one night and destroy the whole crop. This had demoralized them so much that some were asserting that all natural plus some other human forces had allied and were committed to sabotaging their lives in the area.

To get a check for the reports acquired from the respondents, it was necessary, as earlier noted, to get the local administrators' view of the Thome people in relation to the key issue of security of subsistence. A questionnaire was, therefore, designed for the area chief. The questions were related to the administrative issues of Thome people and the already discussed issue of relief aid. The chief reported that Thome people do not have any administrative problems and further added that, "Thome people are humble and they like dealing with their work most of the time." The chief further stated that Thome residents did not have any weaknesses or problems. However, posed with the question of what

solutions would be recommended for Thome people's shortcomings, the chief said that at least two game wardens should be permanently stationed on the Thome borders so that elephants do not destroy the people's crops. He further said that in the recent past, there had been stock thefts in the area where thieves escaped through the extensive ranches. He suggested that this should be curbed by having a police post in Thome. The proximity of Matanya administration police post to Thome means that such an idea is most unlikely to be implemented by the government.

The locational Community Development Assistant (C.D.A.), was also interviewed with the aim of getting the people's participation in social activities and their successes, strengths and limitations or weaknesses. The Community Development Assistant stated that Thome people's participation in social activities was excellent and that they were very cooperative. Regarding constraints or limitations to the people's participation, she stated that they had low incomes due to the frequent droughts in the area which led to poor production of food. She added that this meant that the little money that they got was used in buying food, a fact which meant that social activities were sacrificed on the altar of subsistence.

The C.D.A. went ahead to say that Thome people had, through their hard work, maintained the Thome water project which supplied them with water for their household and farm use. She added that Lechugu Primary School in Thome has permanent buildings, a fact which is spectacular of Thome and very few other schools in the whole location. Thome people are said to have managed building this school through hard work and co operation one with another. Several suggestions were made by the C.D.A. concerning the

fostering of Thome people's security of subsistence in the area and active participation in social activities for the general development agenda. She reiterated that water alone was the prime concern for Thome people. She asserted that if water was provided to the people, it would be used for irrigation so as to earn them money to uplift the projects within the area. She stated that so far, Thome people had contributed about 100,000 shillings towards the starting of a major water project or putting up a permanent intake.

Gauging from the C.D.A.'s and chief's views, about Thome people, it can be appropriately deduced that these people do not have any serious internal or administrative constraints to the security of their subsistence but rather all the factors are natural calamities about which the people can do very little to alleviate except adjusting so as to cope. The aspect of relief aid in times of drought or crop failure shows that not only is it insufficient but it is also distributed with a number of flaws. This leaves the most hit people in a worse state while a few officials grab the major part of the relief aid.



## CHAPTER FIVE.

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.0 INTRODUCTION.

Chapter five is the discussion of research findings giving deductions and inductions from the data. Based on the findings, conclusions on each hypothesis will be made and consequent recommendations given. Lastly, a general conclusion for the whole study will also be made.

#### 5.1 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

##### 5.1.1. MOTIVES FOR MIGRATION.

Based on the findings, it can be argued that the major reason or motive behind these migrations into Thome settlement scheme is the pursuit for land. This can further be explained by the disparities in the population densities of the districts of origin as compared to Laikipia district which is the destination. The districts of origin were Kiambu, Nyeri, Murang'a, Kirinyaga, Nakuru and Uasin-Gishu, in that order of importance.

According to the Kenya population census (1979), Kiambu district, which also records the highest level of out-migration into Laikipia district, had a population density of 280 persons per km<sup>2</sup>. This was followed by Murang'a, 261 people per km<sup>2</sup>., and Nyeri, 148 people per km<sup>2</sup>. Kirinyaga district had a population density of 202 people per km<sup>2</sup>, while Nakuru and Uasin-Gishu had a population density of 90 and 89 persons per km<sup>2</sup>. respectively. On

the other hand, Laikipia district had a population density of only 13 persons per km<sup>2</sup>.

The data collected reveal that most of the people in Thome migrated from Kiambu. Out of the total sample population, 33 respondents (47%) came from Kiambu district. Nyeri district, which is closer to Laikipia, had a representation of 21 respondents (30%) of the sample population. Lastly, Murang'a district had 9 respondents or 13% of the sample population.

**TABLE 5.1: DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY DISTRICT OF ORIGIN**

District	Frequency	Percentage
Kiambu	33	47%
Nyeri	21	30%
Murang'a	9	13%
Kirinyaga	2	3%
Nakuru	1	2%
Uasin-Gishu	1	2%
Laikipia	3	3%
Total	70	100%

N = 70

*Source: C.B.S 1979 Kenya Population Census.*

The Thome Land-buying Company was founded in Githunguri division of Kiambu district. This is probably the explanation for the high incidence of out-migration from Kiambu district into Thome settlement scheme. The proximity of Githunguri people to the headquarters of the land-buying company was advantageous to them in providing first-hand information about the availability of

land. Through the interviews, it was ascertained that most of the pioneer members of Thome settlement scheme had come from Kiambu district.

The other members, especially those who had come from Nyeri district, had actually bought their pieces of land from some of the Kiambu people who did not prefer to settle. Evidence is given through the information obtained in our interviews that most of the people from Nyeri district actually bought their land from the original members from Kiambu district. These new buyers, however, had gone through the formal procedures of land-transfer and had their pieces registered under their names. All the people who had settled in Thome had obtained their land title deeds.

It was interesting to note the people's perception of their lives in Thome. According to interviews carried out, 100% of the respondents suggested that they were ready to stay in Thome regardless of the circumstances there. Statements given by respondents confirmed what Ominde (1968) had noted that in some areas of emigration in Kenya, the available land cannot maintain an adequate standard of living or even support improved living conditions. He goes further to argue that it is either because of poor agricultural land or excessive land fragmentation and the resulting inability of the available resources to support the growing population which leads to emigration. In response to the question as to whether the respondents were planning to move out or stay in Thome permanently, one respondent stated:

Tutingiuma guku tondu tutiri gwa guthii.  
Tutiatigite migunda kuria twoimite na kuona  
ungi ni hinya muno.

(We shall not move from here because we have nowhere else to go. We did not leave farms where we came from and there is no hope for us of getting any other farm elsewhere).

These statements are a testimony to the fact that the respondent is sure of permanent residence in Thome. He reveals that there is no alternative for Thome or a better place and neither is there a possibility for him to retreat to his origin. The only option left for him is to face the challenges in Thome and strive to be content and comfortable. Another respondent who had very closely related views had this to say,

Kuri riua kana kuri mbura ni gutura biu.  
Ni wendi wa Ngai ati no njikari guku.  
Kuogwo uria ingiika ni kugeria guikara guku.

(Come rain or sunshine, I am here to stay permanently. It is God's will for me to be here and so all I can do is to try and survive here).

Some respondents were skeptical about the objective of the researcher especially because of the time of the research which was preceded by political ideologies which threatened their security in the area. Rumours had gone round that with the political outcry of majimboism, all ethnic communities would be repatriated to their districts of origin. It was therefore inevitable that in responding to our questions, signs of reservations over their districts of origin and whether they were planning to move out or remain in Thome permanently would emerge quite clearly. Such sentiments were exhibited in one respondent who said:

Nginya thi igathira nirio ngauma guku.  
Ona mundu angiuka na matinga ma kungucia  
ndingiuma. Ndingigithii ku?

(Until the end of the world is when I shall leave here. Even if somebody were to bring a tractor to drag me out, I would not. Where would I go?)

In some instances the ending words would almost emerge as questions posed to the interpreter and researcher. We were fast at identifying with them and dismissing any such assertions as regrouping Kenyans on ethnic lines and repatriating them to their districts of origin. The fact that there was this high degree of respondents stating that they had come for land settlement and were not ready to leave Thome shows that their migration is directly linked to the pursuit of economic factors, in this case land.

It can, however, be argued that the respondents' fears of eventualities in the area could have influenced such high negative responses. This could be so because most respondents perceived the researcher and interpreter as government agents who would have authority to determine their dislocation from the area. Perhaps a more demographic argument would be that there was in this case more of the push factors in play than the pull factors. However weighing the two sides and in terms of costs and benefits of either moving or staying in their places of origin, the people opted to move to Thome. There was overpopulation and landlessness in the respondents' districts of origin while Thome was spacious albeit with very difficult geographical conditions.

The argument given by Kanogo (1989:23), concerning the Gikuyu concept of utuuro, which associates existence with land ownership, is relevant to this study. Whereas it is quite difficult to organize one's subsistence in Thome, the respondents seemed to be contented with life and are determined never to leave the place. It is this cultural and economic attachment to land ownership

which makes most people feel that they have accomplished something in life by having a piece of land which they could call their own.

It can therefore be concluded that Thome people migrated from their original districts into this area because of the desire to settle on their pieces of land; and for those who did not own any land earlier on, this was an opportunity to have a piece of land. To them, it did not matter what the economic potential or productivity of the land but rather what was foremost was the fact that they had land which they did not have then. A very high percentage (97.1%) stated that they had come to the area because of the desire to settle on their plots.

The relative economic potential of the destination and origin areas showed that the destination had larger plot sizes but not as agriculturally productive as the origin districts. Whereas the origin had high population densities, the destination had a very low population density of 13 persons per square Kilometer (Kenya Pop. Census 1979). The distance between the origin and the destination showed that there was a positive trend since the three major sources or origin districts were close to the destination. Those districts which were very far from the destination showed negative responses partly due to the flow of information and (or maybe) the cost of transportation.

#### **5.1.2 SECURITY OF SUBSISTENCE / FAMILIAL NETWORKS.**

The hypothesis which stated that, "the security of subsistence for the Thome people was secured through kinship ties in the form of remittances to and from relatives, friends and neighbours", was tested through various questions. In the first place, respondents

were asked whether they expected any assistance from anywhere in the course of the year. Interestingly enough, 95.7% of the respondents did not expect any assistance from anywhere. This shows that Thome people had lost the hope of relying on the cultural remedy which is embedded in the obligation upon kindred to assist each other in times of difficulty. Lack of expectation of assistance is also an indication that people plan for eventualities in life independently and in good time.

Expecting assistance could breed in one the laxity to do anything constructive to get out of a problem. This situation is therefore an asset to the Thome people because it has instilled in them the desire to be enterprising in life. According to responses given, visiting the place of origin was either uneconomical or that unless there was a serious cause to warrant going to their places of origin, people had no business just going there. A majority, i.e., 45 respondents (64.3%), said they went to their places of origin once per year. All the respondents affirmed that they actually visited their places of origin. The other significant group was made up of 13 respondents (18.6%) who indicated that they visited their places of origin within periods of more than a year, with some giving durations as long as three or even eight years.

It can be concluded that there is a detachment between the people in Thome and their relatives in their districts of origin. It was ascertained that the main reasons for such visits were greetings and meeting friends or relatives in the places of origin. This, therefore, means that the Thome people do not rely on their relatives within Thome or places of origin for the security of their subsistence. This revelation is contrary to what Sottas and

Wiesmann (1993) found to be operational among the immigrants in Marura scheme. In their study, they concluded that because of the constant visits between Marura and the places of origin, this regular origin/destination interaction ensured the security of subsistence in the Marura scheme. Whereas in Marura, there was constant contact between the destination and origin with an exchange purpose between the two areas, the Thome case was not so.

Thome people had rare contacts between them and their places of origin, and the purposes of such rare contacts had no relationship with exchanges but rather, were casual or simply for greetings. In other words, the case of exchanges between Thome and the places of origin of the immigrants is that of degree. One can comment that the significance of this phenomenon in Thome is minimal. Our own submission is that perhaps the changing times could be one pointer to such a discrepancy from the traditional cultural practices.

It could also be timely here to add that this trend is in line with the behaviour of culture, which is dynamic and not static. Most people are casting off some antiquated cultural practices and adopting new ones which are more suited to the current demands and challenges. Reciprocity as a concept and practice can be said to have been outlived due to the present monetary based economy where everybody produces for sale so as to meet other needs, a fact which negates social obligations or reciprocity.

Competition amongst humanity, further reduces chances of reciprocity in such a manner that giving is viewed as reducing one's chances of survival and bettering the recipient's chances over oneself. This is definitely detrimental to the concept of



reciprocity which is embedded in social and economic exchanges aimed at accumulating social and economic capital.

The dictates of the times have made it only possible for one to pursue economic capital, therefore fulfilling the interest theory. Closely connected with the above issue is the fact that there are some limits or levels beyond which the practice of reciprocity is made impracticable. This is when one has insufficient subsistence supplies and has nowhere to turn to for assistance. The neighbour is either in a similar situation or worse off. Such is the situation for the Thome people and which actually justifies their practice of self-reliance in the provision of their subsistence needs. In the same line of thought, the reasons for going to their places of origin were not strongly related to subsistence. Almost a similar number of respondents (41), who said that they rarely went to their origin, also said that they visited simply to say hallow to their relatives.

There were however 11 respondents who said that they visited their origin districts to seek food assistance. Seven respondents went to their origins to solve problems while 3 respondents went on ceremonial occasions. Eight respondents had pieces of land in their origin areas and so went to work on them. Even if it can be said that people went to their origin for food assistance, it can also be countered with another argument that due to the rare contacts between these two points, such assistance can not be relied upon throughout the year.

With regard to food production, our respondents indicated that most of them could subsist on what they produced for only half a year. A total of 51 respondents (63.8%) could subsist on their farm produce for a period of between one month and nine months. This group is composed of people who can be said to be having food deficiency throughout the year. Only 27.2% of the respondents could subsist comfortably on what they produced from their farms. Due to such a situation, one wonders how they manage to survive in the lean part of the year.

Special interviews with administrators, cultural specialists and village elders revealed that there were two cultural practises to which people subscribed to avoid severe moments. These were "gitati" and "ngwatio", both of which are aimed at enhancing secure subsistence for the community. Other economic activities were also being practised by the respondents. Among these were noticeably charcoal burning and milk and horticultural hawking. The government on its part was keen on giving relief aid to those people who were adversely affected by the drought.

The relief aid was however said to be distributed with a number of flaws, where officials grabbed most of the aid and therefore very little of the aid ended up reaching the target group. This hypothesis is, therefore, not very important and could be said to have been disapproved by the research findings in Thome. The null hypothesis, that immigrants in Thome do not subsist through social or familial networks in the form of remittances to and from relatives, friends and neighbours is therefore true.

Thome people showed an affinity for self-reliance in their acquisition of subsistence needs. Exchanges were being done on rare occasions and among the items of exchange were agricultural products which were meant to cement the social or kinship ties between the participants. The rare visits which were made when an emergency or very critical agendas arose, shows that the relationship between visits and assistances between the destination and other areas, including the origin, was not strong. A total of 58 out of 70 respondents visited their relatives elsewhere apart from Thome in one or more years, depending on the prevailing circumstances.

Thome people did not expect any assistance from whichever source even though government sources indicated that whenever there had been severe droughts in the area, the government organized to provide relief aid to the people. Such relief aid, however, was said to be distributed unfairly and the quantity was quite minimal, thereby rendering its purpose unfruitful and inconsequential.

The level of food production and animal possession by the Thome people can be valued as average. Most of the households could only subsist for half a year on what they produced, and their livestock did not meet all their livestock-related-needs like milk and meat. In addition, the farm size for the majority of Thome people was quite small (an average of 1.2 ha). This also indicates that any fruitful agricultural adventure can achieve very little due to the structural constraints in place.

### 5.1.3 ECONOMIC STATUS / SOCIAL STATUS.

The social and economic status were measured through various questions in the questionnaire and interview. Social status had indicators like participation in social welfare organizations, church organizations, leadership in the social, economic and political circles plus the neighbours' perception and self perception. On the other hand, farm size together with livestock and crop production are key areas which can not be neglected in evaluating the economic status. Kohler, (1987) states that the average plot size for the small scale farmers in Laikipia district is 0.8 - 2 ha. The Thome case had an average plot size of 1.2 ha, a figure which includes a few extreme cases which if left out would bring the average to either 0.4 ha or 0.8 ha per household. Such a size of land limits the farmers' scope of agricultural adventure and thus leaving most of them in deprivation and therefore be within the low social and economic status. These small plot sizes are strained further by the difficult ecological conditions in which Thome settlement scheme is found. Therefore, a combination of the two factors dictates the fate of the Thome farmers. In terms of occupation, 80% of the respondents were farmers while 7.1% were in formal employment. Self-employment had a representation of 12.9% of the respondents.

As is expected, respondents who had formal employment also had higher social and economic status and managed their affairs better than the farmers. The natural law dictates that the minority take leadership roles. The criteria for choosing leaders and an evaluation of the property of leaders showed that other factors like age, education and marital status were used in the decision of who should lead. An evaluation of the perceptions of

neighbours about the respondents revealed that 27 respondents (38.6%) were seen as poor while 39 respondents (55.7%) were perceived as average. The respondents' own perception revealed that 26 of them were poor while 42 respondents were of average status. The majority of the respondents were therefore average while a smaller proportion were poor. Although these responses are based on the Thome standards, the researcher's own experience is in agreement with such an evaluation to reflect the Kenyan national outlook.

Business people had a higher economic status as compared to the farmers and the self-employed lot. One common factor about the business persons is that they all excelled on the farm. An explanation would be that they had an integrated approach to farming and business. Most of them confessed that the profit gained from the business was used on the farm and vice versa. This ensured for risk evasion and acted as a means of diversification for one's enterprises. Therefore, the hypothesis which asserts that economic status and social status are part and parcel of one another is partially true.

However, in the Thome case, other indicators are used to determine the social status of a person. In some cases it is age which determined the social status of some people. One case was very clear where an old man who was one of the committee members of the water project had this to say:

Although I do not work on the furrow myself, when I tell the members, they respect me and work. I was chosen because of my age so that I can counsel even the young leaders on good leadership. When they are only young people they will differ and strife and hence let work lie fallow.

Some people were elevated socially due to their academic prowess. There are some issues which need an academically successful person to handle. In the religious circle, it could be unfair to suggest that the same gauge as that of the secular world is used to determine who should be a leader. All the same, secretarial and money issues need a person who is knowledgeable. Whereas there were the divine inclinations to issues in the churches, e.g., religious piety and commitment determining leadership, still education, economic ability and general character were other facets of the criteria for high social standing in the church organizations.

In the same line of thought, it is possible to argue that talent is another avenue for climbing the social ladder. Talent in this case is quite extensive in range and this encompasses musical, socialization, artistic or artisan expertise or other skills like carpentry or blacksmithing. People endowed with such rare and/or useful skills in society were also highly respected due to their indispensability or vitality.

In order to get services from such people, one had to praise or request for their attention; and when several people made such requests, the skilled or talented person had to choose who to give the services first, something which elevated him over his customers. Those who were preferred in receiving the service were also to be of some higher social standing so that skill or talent was a useful indicator or determinant of social status. These factors do not in any way overrule the association between the social status and the economic status.

Social status seems to draw from economic status and when one has social status alone, the culminating point is always economic status. The reverse is also true whereby starting with a high economic status, one leads to the achievement of a high social status. This has some relationship with the social and economic capital. For example, when somebody has skill, he acquires social esteem and a higher social esteem secures him more customers who give him money in terms of payment for the services rendered. At some point in life the once social capital is translated into economic capital which goes ahead to transfer him from a low to a high social class and the consequent fitting high economic status. Although this reality is present in Thome, other significant indicators also emerge and therefore to say that "social status is determined by the economic status" is partially a valid statement.

Respondents perceive their neighbours as either poor or average. Very few respondents feel they are thought to be rich. The self perception also revealed that most people think of themselves as either poor or average.

The entire sample population had subscribed to group membership and were of various categories. Group membership helped elevate the members' economic and by extension, the social status. The majority of these people, as is expected of any social unit, were members while the minority took leadership roles.

Slightly higher than half the sample population have radios which they listen to whenever there are programmes of their liking, but mainly during news bulletin times. This points to their level of enlightenment especially on current information around the world.

The level of literacy, which is a direct indicator of one's social and indeed economic status, shows that most people have primary or at most secondary school education. Out of the 70 respondents, 54 of them were literate in English and Kiswahili, meaning that they can handle small businesses and other basic technical issues of life.

The mode of transport in the area had a majority response of public service vehicles (Matatu), with a few suggesting that they walk or use bicycles as their mode of transport.

The essential commodity (water) was perceived with mixed feelings because some people had tap water on their plots while others drew their water from Tigithi and Ewaso Nyiro rivers. The majority, however, drew their water from the furrow including even those who had piped it to their homesteads.

The state of homesteads and especially the houses, indicated that most people had semi-permanent structures with wooden walls and iron sheet roofs plus rough floors. Only 10% of the sample population had temporary structures, made of wooden or mud walls and grass thatch. The above conclusions can be drawn about other areas within the region because Thome settlement scheme is a typical case of almost all settlement schemes in this semi-arid region.

## 5.2. RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations have been made:

- 1) Crops which take shorter durations to mature and which are more resistant to drought like sorghum, millet and cassava should



also be encouraged.

2) A perennial source of water should be established and water made available to the people both agriculture and household use.

3) There is need for the government and concerned ranching companies to control wild animals from crop destruction.

4) Due to the permanent settlement of immigrants, ways and means should be devised to develop this scheme through the provision of health facilities, water, transportation and agricultural technology.

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**(Appendix 1)**

**MAIN ENGLISH QUESTIONNAIRE**

1 How many months can you live from what you produce?

2 Do you expect any assistance from anywhere? (Specify from where and whom)

3 How much of each of these crops do you produce?

<b>Crop</b>	<b>Amount</b>
Maize	_____
Beans	_____
Potatoes	_____
Others	_____

4 What were your expectations about this new place?

- i) \_\_\_\_\_ ii) \_\_\_\_\_  
iii) \_\_\_\_\_ iv) \_\_\_\_\_

5 How far have you realized those expectations?

6 How many households in Thome are your relatives?

7 What is the main purpose of visiting either your origin or the Thome relatives and friends?

**Place of origin**

**Thome**

8 Which of the following forms of assistance do you receive?

- i) Money for daily needs \_\_\_\_\_  
ii) Labour \_\_\_\_\_  
iii) Food \_\_\_\_\_  
iv) Emergency aid \_\_\_\_\_  
v) No assistance \_\_\_\_\_  
vi) Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

(Indicate from where and who gives the assistance)

9 Which of the following forms of assistance do you give?

- i) Money for daily needs \_\_\_\_\_  
ii) Labour \_\_\_\_\_  
iii) Food \_\_\_\_\_  
iv) Emergency aid \_\_\_\_\_  
v) No assistance \_\_\_\_\_  
vi) Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

(Indicate to whom and where it goes)

10 How do you invest the profit out of the farm or business?

11 If you do not get any surplus or profit, then how do you manage to survive in such hard times?

12 Which of the following groups do you or members of your household belong to?

- (i) Business partnership \_\_\_\_\_
- (ii) Women group \_\_\_\_\_
- (iii) Community social welfare (H<sub>2</sub>O project) \_\_\_\_\_
- (iv) Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

13 Which role do you play in the organization?

- (i) Member \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Official \_\_\_\_\_
- (iii) Chairman \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) Patron \_\_\_\_\_

14 Why were you chosen to be a leader/official in this organization or community?

- i) Ability to contribute (\_\_\_\_\_) (ii) Maturity in age (\_\_\_\_\_) \_\_\_\_\_
- iii) Livestock Possession (\_\_\_\_\_) (iv) Marital Status (\_\_\_\_\_) \_\_\_\_\_

15 What is the perception of your neighbours about you?

- (i) Very rich \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Rich \_\_\_\_\_
- (iii) Average \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) Poor \_\_\_\_\_
- (v) Very Poor \_\_\_\_\_

16 How would you rank yourself among your neighbours in terms of material possessions?

- (i) Very rich \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Rich \_\_\_\_\_
- (iii) Average \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) Poor \_\_\_\_\_

17 How many of your children are attending formal schooling?

- (i) Boys \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Girls \_\_\_\_\_

18 At what levels are each of these children?

- (i) Primary \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Secondary \_\_\_\_\_
- (iii) College \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) University \_\_\_\_\_

19 Who pays fees for these children?

- (i) Self \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) My elder children \_\_\_\_\_
- (iii) Relatives \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) Other \_\_\_\_\_

20 How many other children apart from your own do you assist in paying school fees?

(Specify relationship) \_\_\_\_\_

21 When did you come and settle in this place?

Year \_\_\_\_\_ Month \_\_\_\_\_

22 What prompted you to move to this place?

- (i) Search for land \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Start business \_\_\_\_\_
- (iii) Prestige \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) Other \_\_\_\_\_



23 What is your district of origin?  
District \_\_\_\_\_ Division \_\_\_\_\_  
Location \_\_\_\_\_

24 Before coming here, where were you living?  
District \_\_\_\_\_ Division \_\_\_\_\_  
Location \_\_\_\_\_

25 How did you obtain the material for building your house?  
(i) Bought \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) From friends \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) From relatives \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) From neighbours \_\_\_\_\_  
(v) Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

26 How do you perceive your life in this area?  
(i) Permanent \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Temporary \_\_\_\_\_

27 How often do you visit your relatives in Thome and place of origin?

Thome

(i) Daily \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Weekly \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) Fortnightly \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) Monthly \_\_\_\_\_  
(v) After two months \_\_\_\_\_ (vi) Yearly \_\_\_\_\_

Origin

(i) Weekly \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Fortnightly \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) Monthly \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) After two months \_\_\_\_\_  
(v) Yearly \_\_\_\_\_

28 Do you have a radio?  
(i) Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) No \_\_\_\_\_

29 How often do you listen to the radio?  
(i) Four hours/day \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Throughout the day \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) Morning only \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) Evening only \_\_\_\_\_  
(v) Morning and evening \_\_\_\_\_

30 How many of each of these animals do you have?  
(Number) (Specify type)

Cows	_____	_____
Goats	_____	_____
Sheep	_____	_____
Ducks	_____	_____
Chicken	_____	_____
Rabbits	_____	_____

31 What is your marital status?  
(i) Single \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Married \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) Divorced \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) Separated \_\_\_\_\_  
(v) Widowed \_\_\_\_\_

32 How many children do you have?  
(i) 1-3 \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) 4-6 \_\_\_\_\_ (iii) 7- \_\_\_\_\_

33 How many of these children are boys? \_\_\_\_\_

34 (Men) How many other wives do you have? \_\_\_\_\_

35 (Women) How many other wives does your spouse have? \_\_\_\_\_

36 Are all wives residing on this plot?  
(i) No \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Yes \_\_\_\_\_

37 If No (In Qn. 36), then where else?  
(i) Place of origin \_\_\_\_\_  
(ii) Other place \_\_\_\_\_  
(Explain why) \_\_\_\_\_

38 Can you read and write?  
(i) No \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Yes \_\_\_\_\_

39 What is the highest level of formal education you have attended?  
(i) None \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Primary \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) Secondary \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) University \_\_\_\_\_

40 What is your mode of transport?  
(i) Walking \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Bicycle \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) Matatu \_\_\_\_\_

41 What is the source of water for your household use?  
(i) Tap \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Well \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) Surface \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) Rain \_\_\_\_\_

42 What is the state of your house? (Observe)  
(i) Temporary \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Semi-permanent \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) Permanent \_\_\_\_\_

**BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

Location \_\_\_\_\_ Sub-Location \_\_\_\_\_  
Village \_\_\_\_\_ Household No \_\_\_\_\_  
Sex of respondent \_\_\_\_\_ Age of respondent \_\_\_\_\_  
Occupation \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_  
Time Start \_\_\_\_\_ Time End \_\_\_\_\_

*(Appendix 2)*

**3.6 MAIN INTERVIEW GUIDE**

Household No \_\_\_\_\_  
Name of interviewee \_\_\_\_\_  
Age \_\_\_\_\_  
Marital status \_\_\_\_\_  
Occupation \_\_\_\_\_  
Religion \_\_\_\_\_  
Date \_\_\_\_\_  
Time \_\_\_\_\_

1 Can you narrate to us your life history starting from when and where you were born up to now?

**KEY ISSUES**

- a) Your parent's names, their location and occupation.
- b) Your siblings (brothers and sisters).
- c) Your position in the family.
- d) Marriage, education, occupation and children.
- e) Motives for migration and the actual movement.
- f) Social and economic challenges of migrating.
- g) Current dependents apart from your children i.e relatives, friends and your employees.
- h) Occupation of your dependents. How do you relate with them? Is it a give-take relationship or otherwise?
- i) The schooling of your children. Fees. Difficulties and successes.

2 Briefly comment on your farmwork activities.  
The size of the plot; How you acquired it; Farm activities  
Size of the harvest; It's uses; Is it enough for your subsistence needs? How do you supplement the farm produce?  
Do you make any profits? future plans.

3 On the social scene, what role do you play in this society?  
Leadership-Which category? Do you go to church? Where? Which role?  
Role in harambees, weddings and self-help groups.  
Decision-making in the community?

4 What other economic activities do you undertake apart from farming? Business? state where and which type of business.  
Do you make any profit? Formal employment?  
Do you use the profit to supplement farming and/or vice versa?  
Comparatively are you doing well? Future plans and strategies?

(Appendix 3)

**QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE CONTROL-STUDY**

1 Apart from farming and/or formal employment, what kind of other economic activities do you have for boosting your subsistence (Check for answers below). (Charcoal burning, Beer brewing, Horticultural hawking, Hunting, Milk hawking, Hides and Skin selling, Other)

- (i) \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) \_\_\_\_\_
- (iii) \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) \_\_\_\_\_
- (v) \_\_\_\_\_ (vi) \_\_\_\_\_

2 Do you have any other relatives anywhere else apart from your place of origin and in Thome?

- i) Yes (\_\_\_\_\_)
- ii) No (\_\_\_\_\_)

3 Fill in the following table the districts and/or towns of their present residences, their numbers, and how often you visit them.

DISTRICT	TOWN	NUMBERS	FREQUENCY

4 When you visit these relatives or any others in the place of origin or in Thome, what kinds of things do you take to them?

(i) \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (iii) \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) \_\_\_\_\_

5 When coming back after your visit, what kinds of things do they give you to bring home?

(i) \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (iii) \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) \_\_\_\_\_

6 From your own experience, explain briefly the underlying meaning behind such exchanges \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

7 What is "Ngwatio"?

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

8 Do you think Ngwatio is still important today in your daily life? (explain) \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

9 Do you practice it yourself?

(i) \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) \_\_\_\_\_

10 For either answer above, give reasons in terms of the advantages and disadvantages of the practice.

**ADVANTAGES**

(i) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (ii) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (iii) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (iv) \_\_\_\_\_

**DISADVANTAGES**

(i) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (ii) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (iii) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (iv) \_\_\_\_\_

11 What is "Gitati"?

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

12 How have you benefited from participating in Gitati?

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13 Can you recall any past Government or N.G.O. relief aid to Thome apart from the recent one of fertilizers, seeds and food grains?

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14 Would you say that the distribution was done fairly or you feel some well-to-do people got the aid while those who are most needy ended up missing?

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15 What were the government /N.G.O. conditions for one to get aid?

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16 Did the Government/N.G.O. demand or expect anything from the people in return for the aid /assistance provided?

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17 What would you say about the whole issue of relief aid in relation with the people/s security of subsistence in A.S.A.L. regions like Thome?

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NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
AGE \_\_\_\_\_ MARITAL STATUS \_\_\_\_\_  
SEX OF RESPONDENT \_\_\_\_\_ OCCUPATION \_\_\_\_\_  
DATE \_\_\_\_\_ TIME \_\_\_\_\_

(Appendix 4)

**QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANT**

1 What is the nature of Thome people's participation in social activities?

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2 What are the major limitations or constraints to their participation?

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3 In which areas do you think they could improve regarding group work?

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4 On the social scene, what have the Thome people achieved?

5 Suggest things which you feel if effected, can boost group activities in Thome.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
AGE \_\_\_\_\_ MARITAL STATUS \_\_\_\_\_  
SEX OF RESPONDENT \_\_\_\_\_ TIME \_\_\_\_\_  
DATE \_\_\_\_\_

(Appendix 5)

**QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE CHIEF (MATANYA LOCATION)**

1 Does the Government/N.G.O. give any relief aid to Thome people?

i) Yes (\_\_\_\_\_)

ii) No (\_\_\_\_\_)

2 Give names of N.G.O.s and/or Government and their forms of assistance.

**N.G.O**

**ASSISTANCE**

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**GOVERNMENT**

**ASSISTANCE**

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3 Does such assistance reach all the affected people?

i) Yes (\_\_\_\_\_)

ii) No (\_\_\_\_\_)

Why? (Explain)

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

4 In terms of the quantity of the relief aid relative to the people's needs, would you say they are comparable?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

5 Through your office records or memory, can you state the years and forms of past Government/N.G.O. assistance or aid to the Thome people?

YEAR

FORM

YEAR	FORM
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

6 What were the qualifications or characteristics laid down by either the Government and/or N.G.O. for one to get aid?

- (i) \_\_\_\_\_
- (ii) \_\_\_\_\_
- (iii) \_\_\_\_\_
- (iv) \_\_\_\_\_
- (v) \_\_\_\_\_

7 Are the above conditions realistic or achievable on the ground? (State your experience).

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

8 What does the Government or N.G.O. expect in return from the people for such assistance or aid given to them?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

9 What are the implications of such conditions and expectations on the Thome people.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

10 Given that there are many families in Thome, how do you establish those families which are most needy?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

11 When distributing the food or other aid to the people, do you use the same measure for all the people or you go by the people's needs?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

12 Do the Thome people have any administrative problems which you think could affect their security of subsistence in the area?

- (i) Yes (\_\_\_\_\_)
- (ii) No (\_\_\_\_\_)

Explain

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

13 As the area chief, what would you say are the strong points of

the Thome people?

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14 Could you also enumerate the weaknesses or problems with the Thome people?

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15 can you suggest what measures can be taken in order to curb such shortcomings for Thome's development and security of subsistence.

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NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
AGE \_\_\_\_\_ MARITAL STATUS \_\_\_\_\_  
SEX OF RESPONDENT \_\_\_\_\_ TIME \_\_\_\_\_  
DATE \_\_\_\_\_

(Appendix 6)

**MAIN QUESTIONNAIRE IN GIKUYU**

1 Hari kiria urutaga mugunda-ini uyuri,gigukinyagia ta mieri iigana?

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2 Niwetagirira uteithio kuma handu hangi (kuma ku na kuri u)?

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3 Ugethaga irio cigana ta atia kuma hari ici?

**IRIO**

Mbembe \_\_\_\_\_

Mboco \_\_\_\_\_

Waru \_\_\_\_\_

Ingi \_\_\_\_\_

**UIGANA**

4 Wiciragiria atia uhoro wa guku mbere ya ukite ?

(i) \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) \_\_\_\_\_

5 Ukinyite ha kuringana uria wiciragiria, wonete kana wikite? Ni kii?

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6 Hari aturi a Thome- ri ni micii igana ya andu anyu?

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7. Gitumi gia guchera kuria woimite- kana kwa andu anyu a Thome kana arata aku ni kii?  
Kuria woimite

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Thome

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8 Ni uriku hari uteithio uyu wonaga?

- (i) Mbeca cia utumiri o wa muthenya \_\_\_\_\_
  - (ii) Uteithio wa wira \_\_\_\_\_ (iii) Irio \_\_\_\_\_
  - (iv) Uteithio wa githirikari \_\_\_\_\_
  - (v) Gutiri uteithio \_\_\_\_\_
  - (vi) Kana uteithio uriku (gweta) \_\_\_\_\_
- 
- 

9 Wee ni uteithio uriku uheanaga hari maya ?

- (i) Mbeca cia utumiri o wa muthenya \_\_\_\_\_
  - (ii) Uteithio wa wira \_\_\_\_\_
  - (iii) Irio \_\_\_\_\_
  - (iv) Gutiri \_\_\_\_\_
  - (v) Uteithio ungi (heanaga) \_\_\_\_\_
- (Uteithio ucio uheaga uu na uthiaga ku)?
- 
- 

10 Faida iria wonaga kuma kuri mugunda kana biashara-ri umirutagithia wira uriku? \_\_\_\_\_

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11 Akorwo gutiri faida wonaga-ri uhotaga guikara atia kahinda gakagathina? \_\_\_\_\_

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12 Hari ikundi ici-ri, ni kiriku wee kana andu a nyumba yaku makoragwo?

- (i) kunyitanira biashara \_\_\_\_\_
- (ii) Gikundi gia atumia \_\_\_\_\_
- (iii) Ikundi cia guteithania.(gikundi gia mai) \_\_\_\_\_
- (iv) Kana gikundi kingi (gweta) \_\_\_\_\_

13 Hari gikundi kiu-ri ukoragwo wi u?

- (i) Umwe wao \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Umwe wa atongoria \_\_\_\_\_

(iii) Munene (Chairman) \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) Murugamiriri (patron) \_\_\_\_\_

14 Akorwo uri mutongoria kana murugamiriri-ri ni-kii giatumire uthurwo?

- (i) Uhoti wa guteithiriria kana kuheana \_\_\_\_\_  
(ii) Ukuru \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) Gukorwo na mahiu maingi \_\_\_\_\_  
(iv) Undurume kana utumia waku \_\_\_\_\_  
(v) Maundu mangi (gweta) \_\_\_\_\_

15 Andu aria muriganitie-ri, magutuaga tau?

- (i) Mutongu muno \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Mutongu \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) Ti mutongu na timuthini \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) Muthini \_\_\_\_\_  
(v) Muthini muno \_\_\_\_\_

16 Wee wiikaga ha mwenaini wa indo iria winacio hari aria muriganitie?

- (i) Mutongu muno \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Mutongu \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) Ti mutongu na ti muthini \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) Muthini \_\_\_\_\_  
(v) Muthini muno \_\_\_\_\_

17 Ni ciana cigana ciaku ithomaga?

- (i) Tuhii \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Tuiritu \_\_\_\_\_

18 Makoragwo thiini wa kirathi kiriku?

- (i) Primary \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Secondary \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) College \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) University \_\_\_\_\_

19 Nuu umarihagira mbeca cia cukuru?

- (i) Nini \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Ciana iria nguru \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) Andu anyu \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) Andu angi \_\_\_\_\_  
(gweta) \_\_\_\_\_

20 Ni ciana cigana ingi tiga ciaku urihagira cukuru (Mutuanitwo atia)? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

21 Wokire-ri guikara guku?

Mwaka \_\_\_\_\_ Mweri \_\_\_\_\_

22 Ni kii giatumire muke guku?

- (i) Gwetha Mugunda \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Kwambiriria biashara \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) Kumenyekana (Igweta) \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) Maundu mangi \_\_\_\_\_

23 Mwaumite thiini wa district iriku kiambiriria?

District \_\_\_\_\_ Division \_\_\_\_\_  
Location. \_\_\_\_\_

24 Mutanoka guku-ri mwoimite-ku?

District \_\_\_\_\_ Division \_\_\_\_\_  
Location \_\_\_\_\_

25 Mwako wa nyumba ciaku-ri wawonire atia?

- (i) Kugura \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Kuma kuri arata \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) Kuma kuri andu anyu \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) Kuri aria muriganitie \_\_\_\_\_  
(v) Mutumia kana muthuri \_\_\_\_\_ (vi) Andu angi (Gweta) \_\_\_\_\_

26 Uturo waku ukoragwo uhana-atia guku Thome?

- (i) Guka na guthii \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Kana ni gutura biu \_\_\_\_\_

(Niki) \_\_\_\_\_

27 Uthiaga ta maita maigana gucherera andu anyu Thome kana kuria woimite

**THOME**

- (i) O Kiumia \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Thutha wa ciunia igiri \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) Thutha wa mweri \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) Thutha wa mieri-iri \_\_\_\_\_  
(v) Thutha wa mwaka \_\_\_\_\_

**KURIA WOIMITE**

- (i) O kiumia \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Thutha wa ciuna igiri \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) Thutha wa mweri \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) Thutha wa mieri-iri \_\_\_\_\_  
(v) Thutha wa mwaka \_\_\_\_\_

28 Niukoragwo na kameme (Radio)?

- (i) Acha \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Ii \_\_\_\_\_

29 Uthikagiriria radio ta maita maigana?

- (i) Mathaa mana muthenya \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Muthenya wothe \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) O Kiroko-ini \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) Ohwaini \_\_\_\_\_  
(v) Kiroko na hwaini \_\_\_\_\_

30 Ni cigana hari nyamu ici cia mucii ukoragwo na cio?

<u>CIGANA</u>	<u>MUTHEMBA</u>
Ng'ombe	
Mburi	
ng'ondu	
Mbata	
Nguku	
Mbuku/Thungura	

31 Wi muhiku kana ni uhikanitie? \_\_\_\_\_

32 Ukoragwo ni ciana cigana?

- (i) 1-3 \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) 4-6 \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) 7+ \_\_\_\_\_

33 Hari ciana icio ni cigana cia tuhii? \_\_\_\_\_

34 (Athuri) Ukoragwo na atumia angi aigana? \_\_\_\_\_

35 (Atumia) Muthuri waku akoragwo na atumia angi aigana? \_\_\_\_\_

36 Atumia othe maikaraga o mugunda-ini uyu?

- (i) Acha \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Ii \_\_\_\_\_

37 Akorwo ti guku-ri ni ku?

- (i) Kuria woimite \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Kundu kungi \_\_\_\_\_

38 No uhote guthoma na kwandika?  
(i) Acha \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Ii \_\_\_\_\_

39 Wakinyite ha githomo-ini?  
(i) Gutiri \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Primary \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) Secondary \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) College \_\_\_\_\_  
(v) University \_\_\_\_\_

40 Mutumagira kii riria muguthii handu ?  
(i) Maguru \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Muithikiri \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) Matatu (Ngari) \_\_\_\_\_

41 Mai maria utumagira-ri urutaga ku?  
(i) Muberethi \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Githima \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) Rui-Mutaro \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) Mbura \_\_\_\_\_

42 Kurora nyumba  
(i) Mihirigo na nyeki \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) Ya mbau \_\_\_\_\_  
(iii) Ya ihiga \_\_\_\_\_

#### **BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

Location _____	Sub-location _____
Gichagi _____	Namba ya mucii _____
Uria uroria chiuria _____	Ukuru wake _____
Wira _____	Mweri _____
Thaa cia kwambiriria _____	Thaa cia kurikia _____

*(Appendix 7)*

#### **INTERVIEW GUIDE IN GIKUYU**

Namba ya mucii \_\_\_\_\_  
Ritwa ria uria uracokia ciuria \_\_\_\_\_  
Ukuru \_\_\_\_\_  
Muhiku na muhikaniu \_\_\_\_\_  
Wira \_\_\_\_\_ Kanitha \_\_\_\_\_  
Mweri \_\_\_\_\_

1 No utuhe karugano ka muturire waku o kuma riria waciariro na kuria waciarirwo onginya riu?

#### **KEY ISSUES**

- Maritwa ma aciari aku, wira uria marutaga ya na nmaikaraga location iriku?
- Ariu na ari anyu ni aigana?
- Wi wakaigana thiini wa mucii wanyu.
- Wimuhiku, githomo, wira na ciana ciaku.
- Gitumi gia guthama.
- Uria wokire.
- Mathina maria wonire ugithama.
- Tiga ciana ciaku, andu angi uteithagia ta andu anyu, arata kana aruti a wira.
- Wira uria marutaga, mutuanitwo atia nao, no kumahe nao makoya kana kuri undu ungi.
- Guthoma gwa ciana ciaku, mathina ma mbeca cia cukuru na uthii wa nambere.

2 Tuhe kauhoro kanini ka urimi wa mugunda waku, uigana atia? Uria wawonire na maundu ma mugunda.

Magetha maigana atia-utumiri wamo-kana nimaiganaga wee na mucii waku.

Riria magetha matari mega-ri wikaga atia?

Ureciria gwika atia?

3 Hari muikarire waku ukoragwo thiini wa ikundi iriku?

Itumi cia kuingira ikundi-ini ni iriku?

Ni ukoragwo wi mutongoria handu. Utongoria uriku?

Ni uthiaga kanitha ku? Ukoragwo wi u kuu?

Niuteithagiriria harambeini, mauhikini, kana kwamurania maunndu thiini wa ituraini riri?

4 Tiga o kurima-ri kuri undu ungi wikaga ?

Ni biashara iriku urutaga na ikoragwo ku ?

Ni ukoragwo na faida.

Ni ukoragwo wi mwandike ?

Niutumagira faida yaku gutwarithia urimi kana biashara na mbere ?

Ugiciganania na cia andu aria angi ni urathii na mbere. Ni

kahindaini kariku ka mwaka ukoragwo ukienda uteithio?

Wirigiriire gwika atia matukuini maria me guka.