Socio-economic Implications of Resettlement:

The case of Nyansiongo Settlement Scheme,
Kisii District Kenva.

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Supervisors

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UNIVERSITY OF NAIROB!

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment for the a ward of degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology of the University of Nairobi.

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Declaration

This is my original work and has not been presented to any other University for the award of a degree.

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This work has been presented with our approval as
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ABSTRACT

Nyansiongo settlement scheme was started in 1963, soon after Kenya's attainment of independence. Its objectives were to resettle selected members of the Abagusii in the former Whitehighland area. It was intended to ease the prevailing land pressure in Kisii and Nyamira districts; the project also aimed at providing the settlers with development loans to enable them to initiate a high productivity farming target set by European farmers who previously managed these areas. It was also hoped that the project would enable the country attain self sufficiency in food production and to produce a cash export crop (tea) to earn the country some foreign exchange. The farmers were supposed to transform from just being traditional subsistence producers to modern market oriented producers.

This study was conducted between November 1989 to February 1990, and its purpose was to establish the direction and magnitude of change that had occurred among the resettled farmers socially and economically. To achieve that goal it became necessary to document and analyze the socio-economic and cultural changes among the resettlers in the scheme. An evaluation of kinship organization and neighbourhood interactional patterns has been done and the results indicate that organized corporate groups such as lineages and clans are no longer operative in the settlement scheme.

The methods of data collection used in this study comprised closed and open ended questionnaires, participant observation, both

formal and informal interviews and case studies. All those methods were considered necessary in order to cross-check and reinforce information and also to ensure validity and reliability of data collected.

The farmers have by and large transformed their farming methods from traditional subsistence oriented to market oriented ones. Socially the farmers have to a large extent adapted to the new environment by leading lifestyles that tend to be urbanlike characterized by such features as investing in the environment, living in permanent houses, being more individualistic and self-reliant rather than relying on social net-works in performing their farming activities and have taken farming as a specialized and a commercial activity.

The study adopted the dialogical modernization model which presupposes that for any meaningful changes to be effected government change agents such as veterinary and agricultural extension workers should have dialogue with the farmers. The findings show that the overall Abagusii farmers in Nyansiongo settlement have undergone significant socio-economic and cultural changes. They definitely enjoy a higher standard of living than they did in the pre-settlement area. They have bigger pieces of land which they have utilized in the production of more food and cash crops. They live in better houses and earn sufficient income from both farming and non-farming activities.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

An examination of the general purposes and goals for the establishment of resettlement schemes reveals that many of them are designed to relocate persons displaced by calamities, e.g, wars, floods, droughts or earthquakes. However, in some countries planned socio-economic change has also necessitated resettlement of certain sections of communities. In the latter case, resettlement is intended to contribute to and foster national development. They either produce cash crops for which there is demand in the international market or food crops which will reduce national food imports and dependency on other nations.

The history of settlement schemes in former British colonies in Africa shows that these schemes were started long before independence (Haugwitz 1972). After independence, the newly formed African governments adopted the same strategy in an effort to improve the socio-economic status of their people. /

In Kenya, for example, resettlement programme was established whose main objective was to settle landless Africans. Under this programme farmers would produce cash and food crops which would alleviate food imports, generate income for the farmers and earn the country some foreign exchange. Nyansiongo settlement scheme, which is the focus of this study is part of that resettlement programme established with the above objectives in mind.

It is now almost a quarter of a century since this programme started and it is felt that a study to evaluate its socio-economic performance is timely. Nyansiongo settlement scheme was chosen as a case study of all the resettlement schemes of its type because this is one of the most densely populated settlements in Kenya. The research that was conducted has identified and documented the socio-economic changes that have occurred among the resettled farmers. It has gone further and discussed the main elements which have come into play in that process of change.

Nyansiongo settlement scheme was located in Kisii District, when the study was conducted, at present it is within Nyamira District, Nyanza Province. The District is generally fertile and well watered which makes it possible to support a mixed form of farming.

The Abagusii are active cultivators of coffee, tea, pyrethrum, maize and bananas besides other subsistence crops (Nyamwaya 1986). Livestock rearing is also a long established form of economic activity.

1.2 THE PROBLEM STATEMENT

During Kenya's colonial period, areas of land designated white-highlands were reserved for the exclusive use of Europeans particularly those of British origin. At the time of independence, the greatest hope for many landless Africans was to be allocated to land preferably in the then white highlands. The Kenya government responded to this hope and need of the landless by coming up with

a resettlement programme termed the million-acre resettlement scheme. Administratively, this scheme was to resettle 30,000 African families (Haugwitz 1972). Consequent to these decisions a number of settlement schemes were established in Kisii District one of which is Nyansiongo.

While the resettling of 30,000 families in the former white-highlands was a response to the land problem among the Africans, the million-acre resettlement scheme in general was also part of a national programme for socio-economic development of the small-holder farmer in Kenya. The resettlement of the small-holder farmers in various schemes of Kenya was expected to work according to spelt out guidelines. In order to effect change, the prevailing predominantly traditional agricultural mode of production was to be transformed to a modern one. In general terms, the farmers in resettlement schemes were expected to accept a new system of land tenure, adopt a new farming system and farm management; and marketing techniques for their commodities.

In the Nyansiongo rescttlement scheme the general principles outlined above were also applicable. Farmers were required to adopt a tripartite mixed form of economy consisting of dairying, and the cultivation of tea and maize. If the suggested economic format was carried out as planned, the small-holder farmers would not just produce food and cash crops for subsistence but a cash crop for sale. As and when these goals were realized settlement schemes would greatly reduce Kenya's food importations, boost exports and foreign exchange earnings. These changes would also

generate employment for the fast growing population in both rural and urban areas.

According to the planners therefore, an overall socio-economic change particularly beneficial to the resettled farmers and Kenya as a country would eventually take place. This study makes an evaluation of the changes that have occurred in the area of study by probing into several questions. For instance, the study examines the forms of social and economic organization which have developed in the new environment, and how small-holder farmers have been able to adopt to the requirements of socio-economic change within the context of the scheme.

Emphasis is placed on trying to provide acceptable explanations for the socio-economic changes observed and suggestions as to what direction they may take in future. Of special interest is a close examination of how the changes have affected individual farmers' roles and relationships with members of their families, lineages, clans and neighbourhood groupings. That exercise is done through the highlighting of the changes that have taken place within the institutions operative at family, lineage, clan and neighbourhood levels. It has often been argued that acceptance and adoption of "modern" socio-economic mode of living brings along with it the elements of individualism, which does not feature in traditional peasant groups. By looking at the roles and relationships of individuals vis-a-vis their social and economic institutions, this study confirms this view. The study also examines the socio-economic institutions which have replaced

the traditional ones and the difference they have made in the socio-economic life of the settlers.

Socio-economic change carries several interpretations and as a result it can be ambiguous if not clarified in advance. In this study that issue has been clarified; the author has made introductory remarks in relation to the term as discerned in the million-acre resettlement scheme blue-print and also from his knowledge and impressions of Nyansiongo scheme.

The small-holder farmers of Nyansiongo settlement scheme came from various parts of Kisii district; that is, there are no known cases of farmers from outside Kisii district joining the scheme. On the face of it what this means is that the scheme started off with people who predominantly came from more or less the same socio-economic background. This may, however, not be necessarily the case. There may have been dissimilarities based on allegiances or biases to certain elements in their institutions as manifestations of more localized values. The foregoing statement is particularly true in view of the fact that the Abagusii comprised a conglomerate of local groups who did not see themselves as one great ethnolingustic group before they were effectively colonized by the British (Ochieng 1974). The values, beliefs and practices which were operative at family, lineage, clan and neighbourhood levels may not necessarily have been similar throughout the district in pre-settlement days. From the author's own experience as a member of the district this observation is true even today.

1.3 OBJECTIVES

Since the study was intended to evaluate planned socioeconomic change at the levels of family, lineage, clan and
neighbourhood among the Abagusii who took up resettlement in
Nyansiongo, it became necessary that data be collected pertaining
to the Abagusii traditional socio-economic system. That is as it
is known to have been in the pre-settlement period. Secondly,
current data on the socio-economic organization of the Abagusii in
Nyansiongo was collected.

The contrast and comparison of the two sets of data constitute the basis for the evaluation of the socio-economic performance of the settlement scheme. Thirdly, the study contributes to our understanding of the resettled farmers adjustment process in the new area. It identifies, documents and comments upon the direction and implication of the changes that have occurred; which in other words, amount to the impact the scheme has had on the farmers.

1.4 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Many studies have been conducted on settlement schemes, e.g. Freitag (1963), Chambers (1969), Colson (1971), Palmer (1971) and Wembah-Rashid (1983), among others. Howevet, only a few of these studies have emphasized the sociological aspects of resettlement. Some have dealt with ecological elements while others have dealt with political and economic domains. In this work the author is examining the problem from a cultural standpoint in which elements of social organization and relations are highlighted. Under the

circumstances it is hoped that policy makers, planners and implementors of development programmes would find the anthropological input a useful data source for their work.

Given that this study comes nearly 25 years after the establishment of the scheme, it should show us whether the objectives of the scheme have been achieved or not. This is important especially when we consider the fact that social and economic changes as cultural processes do not take place overnight. A quarter of a century should be a fairly reasonable period of time to undertake an evaluation. In a sense this study is making a departure from earlier approaches which evaluated resettlement schemes two to three years after their establishment.

The author has indicated that he places great importance on the cultural dimension in evaluating socio-economic changes, which he feels was underplayed in the works he has come across. It is hoped, therefore, that the current study will make a contribution in building some hypotheses in this area which will take into consideration cultural elements.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 GUSII SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

2.1.1 THE FAMILY

For the Abagusii the family is the smallest unit in their social organization in that it can consist of a married couple with or without their offspring. But its composition is also flexible, for a man may have more than one wife, several children and dependants who may be accommodated in a single house or several houses. Some schools have defined the family in various other ways. For example, (Murdock 1949:1) defines the family as: a social group characterized by common residence, economic co-operation and reproduction.

It also ought to be pointed out that not all family units are as a result of marriage bond, nor do all offsprings come out of the living together of man and woman (Wembah-Rashid 1983:92).

Among the Abagusii usually a family consists of a man with his wife or wives and unmarried and uninitiated sons, who can be accommodated in one or several houses termed as a homestead Levine (1966:32). Thus a homestead or a residence of a family may consist of one or a number of houses, chinyomba, which are linked to one another through the husband who is free to rotate round the houses of the wives. The homestead was both a social and economic unit.

The following pattern was followed for the layout of the homestead. The house of the first wife was usually built on the right hand side of the gate, that of the second wife and those of all the other wives were built on the left hand side, and the small dormitory houses for the initiated boys were built to the south of their parents' houses. Other structures within the homestead included granaries, chiage, and cattle bomas, amacri. As a protective measure against wild animals homesteads were usually fenced with a strong fence, orobago, which allowed only one gate, egeita, which was firmly locked at night. Nowadays, however, with the disappearance of wild animals as a result of the bushes being cleared for human cultivation and cattle raiding having considerably declined, it has become possible for most homesteads to exist without firm fences around them.

In terms of power relations, in the social sphere the husband was always the head of the homestead. He was the main decision maker in matters pertaining to the distribution of land to his sons, its allocation for cultivation to his wives. The husband also distributed cows for milking to his wives, and the number of cattle depending on how many he had. He also gave the cattle to his sons for bride wealth. He resolved family disputes, he was the head representative of the family at social activities for the lineage and clan, e.g., during funerals and sacrifices. He was the chief counsellor to his children and served as a model for the socialization process of his homestead, more especially sons. He was supposed to display such virtues as brayery, honesty, hardwork

and resoluteness to his sons.

The economic organization in the family was also hinged around the husband. He was owner or controller of the means of production, decision making and the use of labour as well as the distribution of the proceeds, i.e, land and cattle. The husband allocated part of his lineage land to his first wife, the second wife could be allocated land by sub-dividing part of the land originally allocated to the first wife. He also directed his wives and children on cultivation, storage and marketing of the food crops.

Having examined the duties of the husband as the head of the homestead, an examination of the duties of the wife or wives could now be done. The wife was responsible for household activities, e.g., firewood, processing and preparing food, cleaning the house, washing domestic utensils, cultivating her own food crops, such as bananas, beans, eleusine grain and a variety of vegetables.

Children assisted their parents, and their duties depended on their sex and age. Initiated boys grazed their fathers'cattle, helped their fathers with fencing, thatching houses and ran errands for them. Girls helped their mothers with looking after the young children, fetching water and firewood, sweeping the houses, washing domestic utensils and removing weeds from cleusine plants, among other tasks. It is also important to note that a rigid and defined behavioral code was followed in the way family members related to one another and even in wider social contexts. This behaviour was centred on extreme familiarity on the one hand, and strict

avoidance on the other. Children were supposed to show respect to their parents, by ensuring that they did not engage in obscene talk in the presence of the parents. They were supposed to exhibit sexual shame, nsoni, and avoid ccheche (joking). Nsoni was the concept that signified the central value surrounding extreme rigid attitudes between parents and children.

Male children, for example, were expected to exhibit nsoni to their mothers, by not entering their bedrooms, avoiding to shake hands with them, not sitting near the fireplace when the mother was cooking, lest the mother's skirt could pull up and the boy saw her thighs, to the embarrassment of both of them. Girls were also expected to show nsoni particularly to their fathers, as observed by Nagashima (1981:85).

In the homestead, sexual shame operates more intensively in a daughter - father relationship. Since the training of a daughter in domestic work is shouldered by the mother, the father's general attitude is that of indifference. Daughters usually cook and eat in the kitchen, and seldom share the same dining table with their fathers.

Fathers also showed msoni to their children in various ways. e.g, a father could not enter his married son's house, and was not allowed to be present at the place of his son's wife's childbirth. Although the mother was allowed to enter her married son's house, she, however, was not allowed to go beyond the sitting room. To climb into the parental bed was considered the greatest taboo, which could even result in parental sterility. For this reason circumcised boys were not allowed to enter their parents' bedrooms. Girls were, however, only allowed to enter their parents'

bedrooms in the absence of their fathers. Seeing the parents' nudity was also firmly prohibited; thus children had to keep away from places where their parents were bathing, going to the toilet and from their bedrooms. However, these strict avoidance rules did not apply for the children in regard with their relationship with grandparents and uncles, which was characterized with extreme familiarity.

Concerning the economic relations within the homestead, the husband wielded great authority in terms of decision making, he decided for example who to farm where, who to milk which cow, which cows to be lent out to other homesteads, i.e, sent to esagare, among other things.

Although women did not have legal rights to allocate or dispose land, they were however, protected by usufructory rights to land. They acquired rights to land by virtue of being married. It was thus the duty of the husband to allocate part of his lineage land to his wife or wives. From this they could cultivate and grow food crops to feed themselves and their children.

It ought to be observed that prior to being married a woman had no rights to land other than usufructory rights in her father's home. She acquired what can be termed as her land after marriage, but she could only claim these rights to land as long as she remained married in that homestead. In case of divorce which was quite rare though, she stood to lose her rights to land and cattle allocated to her by her husband.

All the proceeds from the land allocated to her by the husband

were hers and her children's. However the husband had the right to lend out a small fraction of the proceeds to needy friends and relatives if called upon to do so.

In the Abagusii as in the Luo community as observed by Achola Pala (1983:85), women were quite conscious of the fact that they were the heads of their individual houses, chinyomba, whereas the husbands were the heads of the homesteads, emechie. As head of her house, the wife knew that the resources she had at hand constituted what she could allocate to her sons in future when they also took wives and established their own houses. In this aspect the Abagusii traditions resembled those of the Luo. For example Achola Pala (1983:76) asserts that:

The wife's house(ot) is the locus of female autonomy - whose legitimacy derived largely from the socio-economic and legal status of a wife(dhako) one of its main functions has been to locate which sons inherit what land and livestock.

In the Abagusii community, as in that of the Luo, after a wife had been allocated land and livestock by her husband, she wielded great power in allocating the same to her children. Sons could only expect to inherit land that had been allocated to their mother.

A person could claim land as legally belonging to him if the land had been cultivated by his mother. A person had rights to built or cultivate on land that had been allocated to his mother. This is in line with Murdock's (1949:16) and Long's (1988:80) observations, that rules of residence reflect general social economic and cultural conditions.

2.1.2 THE LINEAGE SYSTEM

The Abagusii society is organized on patrilineal and patrilocal principles called egasaku. Only men are full members of this system. Egesaku manifests both genealogical and residential unity. Mayer (1949:5) observes that Abagusii rarely know the names of maternal ancestors other than mothers own parents. This is because marriage is strictly patrilocal and that women are recruited into the exogamous patrilineal clans of their husbands, contact with their maternal sides is often minimal.

It follows, therefore, that the most obvious criteria for lineage membership for Abagusii are patrimonial rights, defence obligation and ritual duties to the ancestral spirits. Mayer (1949) and Levine (1966) note that lineage members observed a rule of ritual head shaving during funerals that concern them. They also ate the sacrificial ment together at the funerals and were at one time responsible for providing compensation for homicide cases committed by one of their members (Levine 1966:31).

The lineage was the largest kin group in which members exhibited much hospitality and intimacy. Often lineage members assisted each other with heavy farm labour, grazed their cattle jointly and, in general, helped each other in times of need. Lineage members could also carry out jointly ventures for offence and defence reasons. A man who was unfortunate to have no sons could have his property inherited by a member from his lineage group. Members of a lineage group were always exogamous, that is, they could not intermarry but always married from other lineage

groups. In general there were strict avoidance rules governing the behaviour of the members of the lineage group. An agemete of one's father was to be given all the respect that one gave to one's own father. These rules governed relations to sex, marriage and ways of greetings.

In summary the Abagusii lineage system was a set of organized social groups, based on common descent through paternal lines. These groups often occupied a common territory or locality and assisted each other from time to time.

2.1.3 THE CLAN SYSTEM

According to Radelife Brown (1952:32), a clan is a corporate group. On theother hand, Leslie White (1938:150-151) describes a clan as: a unilateral grouping that has become a distinct unit set apart from other like groupings by customs of exogamy and distinguished from them by name. I find the latter definition more comprehensive.

In the Abagusii community a clan is a conglomerate formed by several related lineages. In this sense Abagusii conform with Murdock's (1949:16) definition of social organization in the sense that it is a relationship of parts of \society. And that relationship is evident when considered functionally. Its function is that of co-ordinating the activities of the society so that the parts become inter-dependent and the social system works as an organized unit.

The clan, as part of the Abagusii social organization forms

one of the largest units of the neighbourhood groups. In traditional times this unit was the most integrated socially through the observance of exogamous rules. Members of the same clan were designated as camate. Another area of integration was manifested through political activities, under the leadership of omotureti. The omotureti was responsible for guiding the clans in major decisions, e.g., military. The omotureti guided the clan in deciding when to wage a defensive or offensive war against other clans, or ethnic groups, such as the Luo and the Kipsigis or the Maasai. He guided the clan in deciding when to offer sacrifices to the ancestors. He was obliged to defend the boundaries of the clan from intruders. Land disputes among clan members were resolved at meetings chaired by the omotureti.

There are seven major clans of the Abagusii. Some of these clans are divided into sub-clans. For example, the Nyaribari clan, where the author comes from, the following sub-clans exist: Bonyamoyio, Bonyamasicho. Mwamoriago, Mwamonda and Mwaboto. In-laws clans or sub-clans, Abako to the Nyaribari main clan and its segments include, Ababuria. Abaguche, Abatondo, Abagusero and Abasigisa. However, not all in-law sub-clans belong to the same clans. It is recorded for example in oral traditions that the Ababuria clan descended from Abakuria and Abatondo from the Sotik Maasai. The Abatondo story seems convincing because according to Ekegusii, the language of Abagusii, the word getonda, from which the word Abatondo is derived, means to buy.

The story runs that the Abatondo clansmen were bought from

the Maasai during a severe drought which killed all the Maasai livestock, compelling them to sell some of their children to the Abagusii in exchange for eleusine grain. Henceforth the descendants of the Maasai children bought by the Abagusii were to be known as Abatondo. However, leaving the many sub-clans aside the major clans constituting Abagusii society are Bogetutu, Nyaribari, Machoge, Bassi, Bonchari, Bogirango north and Bogirango south. These are the seven clans, occupying distinct geographical units in Gusii.

2.1.4 THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Among the Abagusii several lineages may form a mourning group abanyamatati as well as a work group, risaga, and these become neighbourhood groups. Neighbourhood members are usually from the same clan. Boundaries marking neighbourhood groups are, however, not well demarcated but often physical features such as rivers and mountains mark the beginnings and ends of neighbourhood groups. In terms of residence a neighbourhood group is formed by a cluster of homesteads. In that environment the residents visit one another more frequently than they do with other members of the same community. Within these neighbourhoods there is no institutionalized leadership, as also observed by Levine (1966:36).

The foregoing review portrays the picture of the Abagusii society in the pre-settlement days. This state of affairs manifests the structural relationships that existed between its rules of residence and the general social economic and cultural conditions.

The results of this work indicate that certain elements within the Abagusii social organization have been abandoned, whereas some are still in operation. For example, the clan as a determinant of residential patterns in the pre-settlement area is no longer so in the settlement scheme. The settlers are people drawn from different parts of Kisii district and from different clans and are therefore not subject to same clan rules.

Certain social obligations such as sharing and eating of the sacrificial meat together during funerals no longer operate as they used to in the pre-settlement area because in the settlement scheme there are no organized clans and lineages. However, some elements such as rules of exogamy are still in force, as people still enquire as to what extent they are related before they can get married.

There is evidently more individualism in the settlement scheme than in the pre-settlement areas where close relatives live close to one another. Settlement neighbours, however, maintain some social obligations which the pre-settlement neighbours had to each other, such as attending funerals of neighbours, friends and relatives together, assisting each other during sickness, or times of major difficulties, resolving disputes together and helping one another when in need. In short although the neighbours in the settlement scheme do not belong to one clan or lineage, they still maintain some traditional social obligations, while they have abandoned some others.

2.1.5 GUSII ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION:

The economy of Abagusii is based on farming, i.e, cattle herding and cultivation. Wage employment, e.g. in the tea and coffee farms is considered secondary (Uchendu 1975:75). Traditionally social economic status was measured in terms of the number of people one commanded in a homestead and the cattle one owned. A man rich in these two aspects was designated omogaka omonene (c.f. Mayer 1973:123). This then may be the probable explanation for the desire of most Abagusii to marry many wives and to get many children.

Animal husbandry is not as important as it used to be in presettlement times due to farmer's adoption of grade cattle, in Nyansiongo Settlement, among other reasons. In the past Abagusii had large herds of cattle besides being cultivators. Livestock impinged upon the agricultural cycle at several important points. For example livestock manure could be used by the Abagusii to act as fertilizer for their crops. The variety of crops cultivated which used livestock manure include maize, beans, potatoes and bananas.

During famine Abagusii exchanged livestock for grain with other communities. Furthermore, livestock was considered the most important property and an item of security. It could, for instance, be used as insurance against famine in bad years and therefore ensuring that owners had enough strength to carry out cultivation to the next season. Abagusii applied cattle manure in two major ways, in the first instance they grazed their cattle in

the fields after a harvest. Secondly, they deposited the composite cattle manure in the holes where new seeds were to be planted. The former method was the most preferred due probably to its less energy requirements.

Among the Abagusii cattle served both social and economic functions. Economically, they supplied the owners with milk and occasionally meat. They were also used as an insurance against major catastrophes such as famines as well as being used for paying fines. Cattle could be slaughtered to provide meat for various ceremonies such as circumcision, sacrifices, marriage and other rituals. If a man died his sons sacrificed to him in order to bring his spirit home, that is, okoirania omogaka nyomba, bringing back the father's spirit to the homestead. During circumcision ceremonies it is cattle and goats that were slaughtered to provide meat for the guests. Cattle gave one status because they could be exchanged for grain to feed one's family. The role of cattle among the Abagusii can best be compared with the Wagogo of Central Tanzania where Rigby (1969:41) observes that:

The most obvious direct economic use of cattle' is in the consumption of milk, milk is a highly valued food and one to which the prestige of wealth attaches. The staple thick porridge(ugali) made from sorghum or millet flour is always served with a side dish of some kind. When milk is scarce these are usually made from green vegetables.

Similarly, among the Abagusii milk is highly valued. The importance of milk as food for the rich can be shown by the Abagusii saying that botaka bwa mabere, mbongana botaka bwa besa which means being poor in milk is not even comparable to lacking

money. A person with no cattle was considered poor, and a rich man was one with many cattle and thus much milk in his homestead. Since cows were the major unit of exchange especially for bridewealth, a man with many cattle stood the chance of marrying many wives and thus getting many children who could increase his status and power in the community. Children, especially if they were boys were highly valued in the community.

The other aspect of the use of livestock among the Abagusii and which can also be best compared with the Wagogo of central Tanzania is the institution of cattle trusteeship. A Mogusii with more than ten cows could not keep them all in his homestead. Instead he would lend out some of them to friends and relatives in distant areas. This was usually done before eye witnesses. The purpose of lending out cattle was to ensure that the manure could be distributed to non cattle owning homesteads and that milk which is essential for the growth of children is made available to all homesteads. Furthermore, this practice also acted as an insurance, that is, in case of an epidemic outbreak a person would not lose all his livestock. Or in case of being raided by enemy clans or surrounding ethnic groups such as the Kipsigis and the Maasai a person could remain with at least some stock to rely on. It was in short a way of ensuring that people do not put all their eggs in one basket. When a person lent out his cows in this way the Abagusii say that the person has put his cows to esagare. The rules for giving out one's cattle to esagare were first that the receiver of cattle would have the exclusive use of milk and milk fat

produced from it, that all the calves produced by the cattle were the exclusive property of the owner. In case the cows died the receiver should show the owner the hides as soon as possible. The contract could be terminated by either party without notice, provided it was done before witnesses.

This probably explains the Abagusii expression that eyabande emagoroba egoosia, meaning somebody else's cow stops lactating in the evening. Thus warning people not to exclusively depend on cattle trusted on them, because the owners could terminate the contract any time without notice. Wealth in cattle was highly valued among the Abagusii as among the Wagogo of central Tanzania where Rigby (1969:54) says that:

Wealth in livestock means gathering dependents about one within the homestead group. Which is of fundamental importance in all spheres, economic political and ritual. This is achieved through not only the acquisition of wives and children but also accretion of dependent kin, affines and even non relatives.

The Abagusii traditionally combined cultivation of crops and livestock rearing. Their main food was obokima, i.e, ugali. bananas, potatoes and eleusine porridge. Soured milk and ugali formed the main traditional meals. Eleusine was the major grain crop grown in the pre-colonial period, however, maize, a crop introduced by the colonialists, has replaced it. The Abagusii also grow a variety of supplementary crops such as sweet potatoes, beans and bananas. The traditional crops which included eleusine and sorghum are nowadays planted in limited quantities to the extent that they have almost lost subsistence significance. Animal

husbandry was a long established form of livelihood (Nyamwaya 1986), especially where there was plenty of land. However, with the rapidly increasing population especially during the last two decades, most of the Abagusii have turned more and more to intensive agriculture supplemented by wage labour.

Occasionally young men carried out raids into neighbouring clans and ethnic groups, such as the Kipsigis and the Luo in order to increase their herds of cattle. However, with the introduction of cash crops, market economy and Western education, which requires that all children of school age go to school, this culturally defined division of labour has been disrupted. Men tend to migrate to settlement schemes and urban areas in search of wage employment, leaving women back with a double work load. Women have to perform jobs that were traditionally meant for them, such as fetching water, firewood, cooking and feeding children in addition to playing traditionally male roles such as fencing and ploughing the land using oxen drawn ploughs. This situation has generally resulted in the overburdening of women in society. Women are left with little time to attend to children and to improve their socioeconomic status by developing their skills.

2.1.6 SETTLEMENT SCHEME AS CENTRES OF PLANNED SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGE

The last two decades of British colonial rule saw the introduction of systematic settlement schemes in the colonies. These schemes were supposed to solve diverse problems in the respective colonies in which they were introduced. In some countries they were intended to ease population pressure. In some others they were supposed to solve the problem of managing dispersed population. In both cases, the overall aim was to bring about socio-economic change through the surplus production of food crops for home consumption and raw materials for metropolitan industries. In Nigeria, for example, the British started the Mokwa project for oil seeds (Baldwin (1957); Hance (1958); while Sudan they had the Gezira and Zande cotton schemes (Gaitskell 1959:138).

In Kenya, settlement schemes had an additional role, i.e, to remove political and economic anomalies. Colonial rule had created a racial society and a dual economy which developed as a result of the white highlands being given more developmental emphasis at the expense of the African land reserves. At another level the schemes were meant to raise agricultural productivity and to earn the country some foreign exchange. Many of the settlement schemes started at independence were agricultural based because almost all the newly independent states' economies were based on agriculture. For example, the Mwea Tebere settlement was based on rice, (Chambers 1969), the Nyakashaka scheme on tea (Hutton 1968a, 1968b), the Kenya white - highlands schemes on coffee, sisal and

maize (Haugwitz and Thorward 1972:30-46). The Shimba Hills schemes were planned to produce chilies bixa for food colouring and more lately there are cashewnut and cotton schemes at the coast (Palmer 1971:10-51).

After independence the nationalist governments in these ex-British colonies continued using the same strategy in their plans for socio-economic development. The reasons were more or less the same as those advanced by their ex-colonial masters. For example, the Nyakashaka resettlement scheme in Uganda was started in 1963 to solve problems of unemployed school leavers (Apthorpe 1966:1-2) by means of creating modern agricultural organizations and making rural life more attractive. The Niger agricultural project was intended to ease over-population (Reining 1966:214-217).

In Tanzania the long term aim of the villagization programme was to bring about changes in agriculture as a pre-requisite for creating a base for socio-economic development. That is, among other things, it was expected to ease the processes of providing social amenities such as water, health, electricity and eduction, in a country with a dispersed population. The earlier ones were intended to curb urban unemployment and control the rural-urban flow of the youth (Wembah - Rashid 1983). While these were genuine reasons for the establishment of schemes in various and respective countries, in Kenya there was another pressing need, that is to resettle landless people. The majority of the people in this group were directly displaced by the independence struggle activities,

for example, the ex-concentration camp victims and Mau-Mau guerilla fighters. These people indirectly came from the long term process of colonization by Europeans of the most fertile lands, e.g., parts of Rift Valley, Central and Western Provinces.

As large tracts of land were alienated by white settlers and population grew larger over the years, many indigenous Africans were rendered landless. At independence therefore, the Kenya government started the million-acre settlement schemes to solve this problem of the landless and unemployment. It was envisaged also that the same would improve the living standards of Africans (Haugwitz 1972; Apthorpe 1966; Chambers 1969; Moris 1968; Scudder 1981a, 1981b, 1984, 1985; Della 1986).

A fairly large portion of the literature on settlement schemes manifests certain common characteristics. The most obvious is that it comprises evaluations on the administrative, economic, and extension officer performance looked at versus the time factor. Planners have a time scale for implementing programmes which include evaluation. However, it is becoming increasingly evident that socio-economic change which includes the ability to accept and adopt new administrative values and the techniques introduced by extension officers and new economic systems, e.g. from subsistence to surplus production are, above all, in themselves processes of cultural change. They involve the willingness to drop old ways and adopt new ones, which requires an overall remoulding of individuals and whole groups of people. The time scale for this transformation set by economic oriented planners in agriculture is

heavily based on the crops, how long they will take to cultivate, and harvest, market and pay back the initial capital invested in the project. No consideration is taken as to how long it will take the people to adopt the new ideas and practices. Or at least it is categorically assumed that they will change or adopt with the farming process of the crop.

For this reason it is the author's view that earlier studies particularly on the administrative and economic performance, and the role of extension officers, have fulfilled their intentions. However, there are some shortcomings in these studies. It is felt that the time factor for judging the success or failure of the schemes was too short, e.g. (Palmer 1971) on the Shimba Hills Settlement Scheme, Hutton (1968a, 1968b) on the Kenya White Highlands schemes, and Reining (1966) on the Zande scheme in Sudan. Because the foregoing approach does not exert the same weight on the socio-cultural elements. it makes the impact of planned change lose its essence as a programme of development.

Harbeson (1966) notes that Kenya's development strategy puts primary emphasis on the expansion of the economy on the basis of economically useful institutions, thereby ignoring the sociocultural component. Transformation of social attitudes and behaviour is given subordinate emphasis and is supposed to take place by and through institutions of economic expansion such as schools, co-operatives and financial institutions. He concludes that this is wrong, especially in a settlement situation, where social factors play a major role in determining economic factors.

Kenya's development cannot, therefore, take place through emphasis on economic factors without socio - cultural factors being equally emphasized.

By implication the economic and administrative approach for evaluating settlement schemes look at development in terms of how well human beings or communities can be mobilized or regimentalized for action in order to have their energies harnessed to produce economic commodities. In a sense very little or no consideration is given to social relations, networks and institutions which usually take longer to be moulded. The relations are salient in that they project inner human values which sometimes defy administration powers and material appetite. Therefore, they can be manifestations of the acceptance or non acceptance of planned change.

The modernization theory which has mainly dominated the field of development studies as propounded by Moore (1963) has met a lot of criticism from recent scholars such as Todaro (1977), Devries (1978) and Suda (1986). The criticism is that the model has failed to achieve the objective for which it stood, e.g, the gap between the modern sector and the traditional sector is widening more than ever before. The above scholars also argue that modernization basically meant westernization which was always portrayed by positive aspects. But the negative qualities of westernization hitherto hidden or unexpected are now known. There is, for example, pollution and exploitation which outweigh the goodness of westernization often glorified and longed for. This theory also

makes one grievous assumption that people have to transform completely from the traditional to the modern sector (Morris 1966:5) which implies that all that which is traditional is negative. But traditional societies have their own culture and no culture can survive on negative attributes only. Transformation should include retention of good traditional elements.

Modernization also emphasizes the top down approach. It assumes that it is the government policy makers and extension officers who know all and whose duty, therefore, is to educate the ignorant traditional peasants and ultimately transform them into new and modern people. Such assumptions breed a bureaucratic and authoritative approach to development that ignores the views of farmers and treats them like children. At most this approach compares with 19th century missionary and colonial mentality situation. ethnocetricism.

As an alternative to the modernization theory, this study adopts Nyerere's (1967) dialogical theory, which he terms the humanistic concept of modernization. The theory rests on the idea that people should be educated not only as a means of development but as a goal in itself. Nyerere (1967:59) states that:

...the goal of development is the greater freedom and well being of the people ...for the truth is that development means people, roads. buildings, increase of crop production and other things of this nature are not development they are tools of development.

Since the settlement schemes under study were intended to bring about planned social and economic change to people, both social and economic elements are essential to community

development. It is necessary that they be examined as two symbiotically related and interacting components. This is why the dialogical modernization theory is utilized in this study.

From its popularity in the late 1960s and early 1970s
(Nyerere 1967: Freire 1970: Blakely 1971), it placed emphasis on the existence of dialogue between policy makers and those who the policy is meant to benefit. In other words, the target groups for development programmes must participate in the decisions on those things which concern the shaping of their lives. This is a humanistic and liberating concept of development, as the term implies. It emphasizes dialogue between farmers, policy makers and implementors. The emergence of this theory was also influenced by the failure of modernization theory to meet the objectives as earlier observed, and the temptations of most African governments to engage in white - elephant projects confusing them to be indicators of development. But as Nyerere (1976) correctly observes:

development is for man, by man and of man. Its purpose is the liberation of man from the restrains and limitations of ignorance and dependency.

Consequently, the theory puts emphasis on the fact that for any meaningful development to occur there must be dialogue between the parties involved. Furthermore, the people for whom development is meant to affect must have a say in the direction which that development has to take. They must be involved in the decision making process right from the beginning. Nyerere (1976) puts this point more clearly when he says that:

... the personal and physical aspects of development cannot be separated. it is in the process of deciding for himself what is development and in deciding in what direction it should take his society and in implementing those decisions that man develops himself. for man does not develop himself in a vacuum, in isolation from his society and environment and he certainly cannot be developed by others. Man's consciousness is developed in the process of thinking, deciding and acting. His capacity is developed in the process of doing things.

Freire's (1970:19) concept of dialogue out of which the name for this model is derived emphasizes the need for the two way open communication. He says that:

... Dialogue is the horizontal sharing of ideas between learners/learners and learners/teachers in the process of reflecting and acting on the world in order to understand and change it

Dialogue is, therefore, based on the idea that people can have faith in each other and in the capability to co operate with each other, to know their situation and to act on and therefore change it.

In this sense it departs from the modernization theory which emphasizes on the top-down approach, a one way communication system. Dialogue assumes that both the learner and the teacher have something to learn from each other. And, even if one may have more knowledge or better knowledge, in the sense that he or she can critically reflect on the situation being dealt with, that does not make the person superior to the other party humanistically speaking. Many government planners and extension officers hold the opinion that farmers are backward, lazy and ignorant. This attitude has influenced some farmers to come to believe that they are helpless creatures who know nothing (c.f. Donde 1975:171), attitudes that in turn drain away their morale for development. Donde (op-cit) suggests that for any

development to be realized the farmers self confidence should be restored. One way of doing this is by recruiting agents from among the farmers themselves. In this way the farmers become participants in their own development process. Nyerere (1968:12) observes that:

....People cannot be developed, they can only develop themselves. For while it is possible for an outsider to build a man's house, an outsider cannot give the man pride and self confidence in himself as a human being. Those things a man has to create himself and in his own actions. He develops himself by making his own decisions. by increasing his own knowledge and ability and by his own full participation as an equal in the life of the community he lives in.

Another element manifest and generative in dialogical modernization model is its emphasis on flexibility and potential for adaptation to local situations. Unlike the classical modernization model it does not go to the rural farmer with a ready made blue-print that is usually of a national character. Rather it develops one appropriate to the specific environment. At the time of collecting data for this study the dialogical modernization theory was practically operative in Nyansiongo settlement. The agricultural officers encountered by the author clearly favoured the idea of having dialogue with the farmers in the course of disseminating new techniques of agricultural production. A good demonstration of this dialogue concerned the process of replacing indigenous cattle with new grade ones in the settlement. Previously it was prohibited for the farmers to keep indigenous cattle breeds in the scheme, but now the veterinary officers encourage farmers to keep indigenous breeds and up-grade them by cross-breeding with grade ones. Mixed breeds often produce more milk than indigenous breeds and have the added advantage of being more resistant to tropical diseases than

the exotic breeds. This shows a clear case where settlement officers have relaxed settlement rules through dialogue.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

2.2.1 THE DIALOGICAL MODERNIZATION MODEL

As pointed out earlier in this study, the dialogical modernization model was adopted to guide the research. The idea of dialogue is derived from Nyerere (1967) and Freire (1970). They propound the view that development should always be based on humanistic concept. The dialogical modernization model basically argues that people should be involved in the decision making process and no authoritarian bureaucratic methods should be employed to force people to transform. In other words the people should be allowed to participate in their own transformation or development. Transformation as implied by Morris (1966) takes the view that resettlement is a mean's of rural transformation, from a predominantly traditional subsistence peasant farming system to a market oriented one. The model also presumes that once this transformation has taken place it results in a permanent change of status for the farmers and they become completely committed to the modern sector.

The study illustrates that the Nyansiongo farmers have undergone transformation, and that they do participate in the decision making process, for example, farmers now up-grade their indigenous cattle by cross-breeding them with the grade breeds

through artificial insemination, whereas in the past farmers were not allowed to keep any type of cattle breeds other than the grade cattle. Farmers are free to keep even the mixed and indigenous breeds so long as they observe settlement regulations of dipping them once a week to kill ticks which spread diseases, such as east coast fever. This situation has come about due to dialogue between veterinary officers and the farmers. The farmers have also been allowed to keep other types of livestock, such as goats and sheep which they were not allowed to keep in the early days of resettlement. All these point to the fact that the dialogical modernization theory is at work in Nyansiongo settlement scheme. Further evidence of these transformation of the Nyansiongo farmers is demonstrated by their readiness to plant crops in rows, practise artificial insemination, dehorn their cattle, apply chemical fertilizers when planting, plant hybrid seeds and a given number of seeds within a hole, and dip their cattle weekly. They also apply pesticides to protect their crop in stores and keep their animals in paddocks.

Furthermore, whereas before resettlement the hoe was the main tool for cultivation in Nyansiongo settlement now the farmers make use of the tractor to cultivate their farms. This situation has been brought about by the fact that Nyansiongo farms are far much larger than the farms in the traditional reserve areas which therefore makes the tractor the most convenient tool for farming. Whereas also in the pre-settlement area the purpose of farming was for subsistence, in Nyansiongo farmers farm for both subsistence

and commercial purposes. They therefore grow maize not only for subsistence but for commercial purposes. In addition, they grow tea as a cash crop. As a result of the surplus production of maize the government has built a huge maize store at Nyansiongo divisional headquarters to facilitate the sale of this crop and also to ensure that farmers directly benefit from their own labour by selling the crop at fairly high prices controlled by the government. This transformation is also demonstrated by the type of houses they are able to construct. In the pre-settlement area, the majority of the Nyansiongo farmers used to stay in grass thatched houses now in the settlement they stay in modern permanent houses.

They exhibit modern orientations by the way they organize their farms. The majority of the farmers have fenced their farms well and divided their land into paddocks which enables them to manage their livestock more easily. On looking around the fields one would easily notice that the cattle were kept on separate paddocks according to their type and age, e.g, the calves grazed on separate fields to those of lactating cows.

Nearly all farmers interviewed said that they normally planted their crops in rows and on separate stands. In the traditional area maize and beans could be planted together, in the settlement scheme maize and beans were planted separately. The dialogical modernization model was chosen for this study due to its very pragmatic and practical views. The model is indeed relevant to the Nyansiongo situation. From the author's discussions with the

agricultural officers in the settlement lead him to conclude that the dialogical modernization model is being put into use in Nyansiongo scheme.

The advantages accruing from this model include the fact that farmers feel free to speak out the problems they are experiencing. Agricultural officers also get to understand the farmers problems more readily and therefore it becomes easier to strike a balance between the views of the farmers and those of the extensions officers. As a result the problems are quickly identified and dealt with. The major weakness of this model is in the fact that farmers may be tempted to look down upon the advice offered to them by the extension officers since they are so free with them. That is, Familiarity Breeds Contempt. Extension Officers may also neglect their work hoping that farmers naturally know what they are supposed to do. However, it is important to add that when there is mutual understanding between the two parties, this model can prove to be very useful.

2.2.2 THE DEMONSTRATION MODEL

The demonstration model views settlement schemes as centres of planned socio-economic change through which new farm practices can spread to the immediate and distant areas (Morris 1966:10). It presumes that the surrounding areas will come to benefit by emulating what goes on in the settlement schemes. In other words, settlement schemes are demonstration centres for new techniques of farming. This process is supposed to take place through two

principal ways. In one way the neighbours to the settlement scheme come to learn new techniques of farming, through formal and deliberate teaching, through systematic programmes arranged by the agents of change (agricultural extension workers). Alternatively, those who have acquired the new ways e.g settlement farmers go out and teach their neighbours in the reserve areas, i.e., presettlement areas through organized programmes. In the third case, neighbours of the settlement scheme learn by observing what is being done by farmers in the scheme or come to know the techniques through discussions in informal encounters with the settlement scheme members.

It was generally observable that production in Nyansiongo settlement was higher than that in the surrounding reserve areas. The Nyansiongo farmers are generally considered to be richer than their counterparts in the pre-settlement areas. This is attributable to the abundance of milk and meat produced by these farmers. Currently maize and milk form the staple foods of the Abagusii and the latter is highly valued for it also serves as a measure of wealth and poverty in homesteads. Due to the abundance of milk, the farmers in Nyansiongo are considered richer than their counterparts in the reserve by Abagusii standards. The idea of milk serving as food for the rich is not only found among the Abagusii people, but also among the Wagogo of Central Tanzania (Rigby 1969), and Plateau Tonga (Colson 1951). According to the traditions of the Abagusii a rich man was one who had many cows, wives and children.

The second factor which makes the Nyansiongo farmers richer than the farmers of the surrounding areas is that they have relatively bigger plots of land which have enabled them to keep large herds of cattle, grow more maize and other crops, in addition to growing tea as a cash crop.

Following the general impression that life in the settlement was easier and more comfortable than in the reserve areas, the author asked the following questions. "What made life difficult in the pre-settlement area?". The answers received were as follows 20(21.7%) of the respondents said that life was difficult in the pre-settlement area due to more land conflicts: 15(16.3%) said that life in the pre-settlement area was more difficult than in the new settled area because of the land being small or limited; 13(14.1%) of the respondents said that life in the pre-settlement area was difficult due to food shortages. It is evident from all these observations, that land shortage could be said to be the single major cause of all the other difficulties or problems experienced in the reserve area. It is because of land shortage that all other problems developed. For example, land shortage leads to less food because people who have small farms cannot grow sufficient food crops to satisfy all their subsistence needs. Furthermore, it ought to be observed that it is due to land pressure in the reserve that forced Africans to take up arms to fight the colonial settlers who had alienated most of the fertile lands for themselves.

It can also be recalled that one of the major objectives for

the establishment of resettlement schemes in Kenya was to solve the land problem which had become acute as a result of the colonial system which alienated most of the best lands for themselves, leaving Africans to suffer in the overcrowded reserve areas. Zwanenberg (1973:5) observes that:

Under colonial rule the traditional land tenure systems were ignored and Africans found themselves being restricted to reserves. These were areas designed for Africans alone. While the white-highlands which formed the most fertile parts of the country were reserved for white settlers only.

At the time of Kenya's independence the question of land stood high in the political agenda. As has been observed earlier resettlement schemes were to act as demonstration centres of planned social change. Resettlement schemes were started due to political and economic factors. Politically they were to settle selected Africans in the white highland areas formerly reserved for whites only. They were therefore meant to demonstrate that the policies of racial discrimination had come to an end with the change of power from white colonialists to Africans. They were also meant to demonstrate that under the new African government the dual economy established by the colonial government had come to an end. Thirdly, the new African settlers had to increase production which would in turn improve the Africans' standard of living.

Since it is observable that Nyansiongo settlers are satisfied with their life in the settlement scheme, this could be a demonstration that settlement schemes can be viable programmes for planned social and economic change. Secondly, the fact that they

perceive land shortage in the pre-settlement area as one of the major factors that made life difficult. demonstrates that resettlement has achieved for those involved one of the major objectives that stood high in the African agenda at the time of independence, namely, the easing land pressure.

Since this study is an evaluation of the socio-economic changes that have occurred among the farmers, it can be correctly asserted that the farmers in Nyansiongo have improved their social and economic lifestyles. This assertion is proven by the observations made by the author during fieldwork and by the responses derived from the farmers themselves.

However, it needs to be pointed out that the question of land shortage may not be fully solved by resettlement perse. As long as the population continues to rapidly increase, Nyansiongo may soon be faced with a similar crisis as the one that existed before independence. The settlers are recognized by the adjacent neighbours as being both lucky and richer for possessing bigger plots of land. The author also noticed that the settlers were considering themselves lucky because of the same reasons. Even if the settlers complained about the repayment of loans, none of the interviewees expressed the wish to return to the pre-settlement areas. The rejection to return to the pre-settlement areas was viewed by the author as evidence that the life in the settlement scheme was better than in the pre-settlement area. It was therefore construed to mean that the settlers were quite happy to be where they were, thus demonstrating that resettlement schemes can be good

2.3 SOCIAL FACTORS AND ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE IN NYANSIONGO SCHEME:

As pointed out by Van Arkadie (1966), Mbithi (1972), Morris (1966), Schultz (1964), Dillion (1970), Heyes (1981), La Anyane (1966), and De Wilde (1966), among others, there was a tendency during the colonial period among administrators to attribute lack of innovation amongst the indigenous people to the social factor. Social factors were mainly equated with the traditional social and cultural systems of the people concerned.

The main argument posed by administrators was that the indigenous African cultures had some elements which inhibited development from taking place. Reciprocity and redistribution mechanisms that prevailed were particularly singled out as typical examples.

However, it is worth pointing out that traditional African cultures like any other culture for that matter have their own merit. And it is necessary to reiterate here that no culture can survive on negative attributes only. For this reason as the Nyansiongo case demonstrates, the Abagusii who took to resettlement and do maintain some of their traditional cultural elements have nevertheless adapted to socio-economic development within only a span of a quarter of a century. It is thus obvious that for the Nyansiongo settlers to fittingly continue settling in their new environment they had to adjust in many ways. Such a development to a certain degree meant that it required them to

abandon some of their cultural elements which were unsuitable to life in the new setting. At the same time they maintained those elements which they thought would foster development. And this is a healthy process in cultural change.

For example, the new residence rules necessitated that people abandon lineage and clan organizations or at least pay little attention to them in order to be able to co_exist with people drawn from the various parts and clans of the Abagusii districts of Nyamira and Kisii. It is a plausible observation that as far as socio-economic transformation of Nyamsiongo settlement is concerned, social factors play a very important role. The realization of economic factors is dependant upon the degree of flexibility that can be exerted upon the social components, values, beliefs and practices. If, for instance, Abagusii attached very little significance to milk, the adoption of grade cattle could have taken (probably), a slower pace than what has been witnessed.

The most important social factor, that has served to influence the economic success of Nyansiongo settlement is that the settlers have by and large identified themselves with the development targets set by the government at the time of resettlement. The farmers self perceptions are among the social factors that tend to influence their productivity. In the settlement the farmers started operating with property and finance that belonged to the government. For this reason they had to strive to work hard to repay government loans so that the land and other properties could eventually belong to them, as a result they were willing to use

them as the government authorities intended. The loans given to them therefore served to act as incentives for hard work.

Looked from another point of view, it can be argued that the loan stood in the same relationship or perception as a cow the Abagusii used to hold in trust for their neighbours. The cow gave them milk which was food, money gave them either a cow, land or fertilizers which ultimately were turned to milk. The salient issue is that the principle of taking or giving a loan was prevalent in their culture, they only made use of it in a new context.

Secondly, the expectations of the Nyansiongo settlers were quite high. From the very start the idea was to maintain the high standards set by the colonial white settlers. The probable reason for the high determination among farmers was therefore to maintain farm productivity and secondly to remove the misconception among most people at the time that Africans were naturally inferior to Europeans and could not manage their own affairs. Most of these settlers had been labourers in the white settlers farms, they knew the new ways of doing things, they realized how the settlers realized much profit from their farms. They hungered for land, when the opportunity came they had the will and the motivation. And because these lands were highly competitive, they had to demonstrate that they deserved being allocated to them. One way of doing that was by maintaining the standards set by European farmers, an exercise that in turn yielded dividends.

Thirdly, the ethnic factor is an important element in Nyansiongo settlement, as noted earlier in the study, the settlers

are all Abagusii. It was therefore easier to develop a cohesive society, because all the settlers could speak and understand one language and they all shared similar cultural traditions with only slight differences originating out of different geographical origins. This factor among others such as the predominance of the Christian religion both in the pre-settlement and settlement area, combined to enable the settlers quickly adjust to life in Nyansiongo settlement scheme.

Furthermore, the indigenous religion of the Abagusii and Christianity share certain common characteristics which can be identified as boosters of socio-economic development. For example, they both encourage industriousness and self reliance. For this reason, it was easier for the Abagusii who took up resettlement to adopt new agricultural techniques of farming emphasized by the government extension workers. Practices such as planting in rows, proper plant spacing, use of artificial insemination, and use of fertilizer perceived to be catalysts for the increase of production were readily acceptable.

2.4 HYPOTHESES

H¹ Traditional Kinship Organization and neighbourhood interactional patterns have not been carried over into Nyansiongo settlement scheme.

H² Settlement in the scheme has affected cattle rearing and crop

production but not social organization.

H¹ The characteristics of socio-cultural and economic organization in Nyansiongo are correlated with characteristics of urbanism.

H[†] The Abagusii who moved to Nyansiongo settlement scheme have benefited socially, culturally and economically.

2.5 DEFINITIONS OF CONCEPTS

Kinship organization implies social relationships, or rules which govern filiation (between individual parents and offspring and marriage ties between particular spouses. These rules also govern residential patterns between individuals.

2.5.1 Cattle Rearing

Dairy cattle are the major cattle breeds reared by the Nyansiogo farmers. These are exotic breeds of cattle commonly referred to as grade cattle, such as Friesians and Jersey, all originating from Europe and brought to Kenya by the former European settlers.

2.5.2 Crop Production

The major crops grown by the Nyansiongo farmers are maize and tea, both of these crops are exotic and were brought to Kenya by the former European settlers.

2.5.3 Urbanism

Urbanism can be described as a way of life characterised by behaviours of town and city dwellers. Such behaviours include a high degree of individualism, a taste for and acquisition of modern material goods, adoption of monetary form of economy.

2.5.4 Benefits

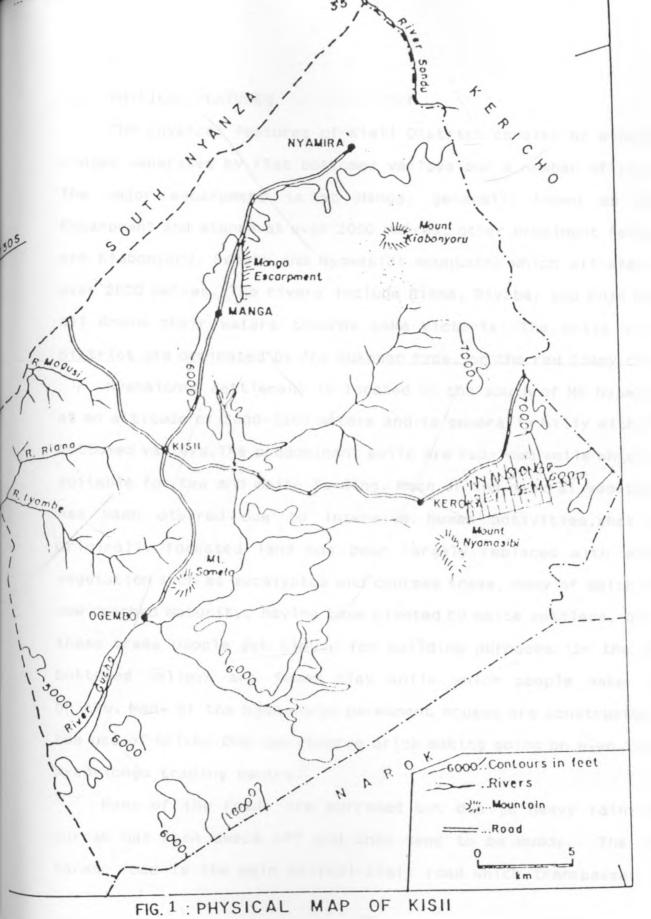
Benefits can be defined as the advantages, profits or gains; these can be social, cultural, or economic.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN, STUDY SITE AND METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

3.1 LOCATION OF NYANSIONGO

Nyansiongo settlement scheme is situated in Nyansiongo division of present day Nyamira District, Nyanza Province of Kenya. The area lies approximately 400 kilometres from Nairobi and 50 kilometres from Kisii town. It is located in the eastern side of Nyamira District and is bordered by Manga settlement scheme to the east, Gesima scheme to the north and Isoga scheme to the south. Nyansiongo settlement scheme forms part of west Borabu location of North Mugirango constituency. The exact location of this settlement is shown in Fig 1 (page 48). The settlement is administered by a District Officer whose offices are in the Nyansiongo trading centre, and a chief whose offices are in the same trading centre.



SHOWING THE LOCATION OF NYANSIONGO SETTLEMENT SCHEME
Source: adopted from Kisii District Socio-Cultural profile (1986).

3.2 PHYSICAL FEATURES

The physical features of Kisii District consist of elongated ridges separated by flat bottomed valleys and a number of rivers. The major escarpment is at Manga, generally known as Manga Escarpment and stands at over 2000 metres; other prominent features are Kiabonyoru, Sameta and Nyamasibi mountains which all stand at over 2000 metres. The rivers include Riana, Riyabe, and Kuja which all drain their waters towards Lake Victoria. The soils in the district are dominated by the Bukoban type, or the red loamy soils.

Nyansiongo settlement is located to the south of Mt Nyamasibi at an altitude of 2000-2350 meters and is generally hilly with flat bottomed valleys. The predominant soils are red-loam soils which are suitable for tea and maize farming. Much of the natural vegetation has been cleared due to intensive human activities. What was originally forested land has been largely replaced with exotic vegetation such as eucalyptus and cypress trees, many of which have now reached maturity, having been planted by white settlers. Out of these trees people get timber for building purposes. 'In the flat bottomed valleys are found clay soils which people make into bricks. Many of the Nyansiongo permanent houses are constructed by the use of bricks. One can observe brick making going on even in the Nyansiongo trading centre.

Many of the roads are murramed but due to heavy rains the murram has been swept off and they tend to be muddy. The only tarmac road is the main Nairobi-Kisii road which transpasses the

settlement and goes via Keroka, Kegati and then Kisii. One of the murramed roads branches at Nyansiongo divisional headquarters and connects the settlement to others to the east, e.g., Manga and Lietago settlements. There are five primary schools in the scheme, that is, Nyandoche Ibere, Menyenya, Nyansiongo D.O.K., Nyansiongo D.E.B. and Reinsune Primary.

There is a mixed boarding secondary school at Menyenya near the divisional headquarters. Nyansiongo Boys Rigoko and Ensoko Secondary Schools. The settlement has only one major dispensary located near Nyansiongo Boys Secondary school. However, a few people have established their own health clinics at the trading centre in Nyansiongo. The area is served with a few telephone lines and an electricity network with the main lines running only along the main road to Keroka and Kisii. However, at the time of this study the government was in the process of extending these lines to Riangombe health centre in Manga Scheme. It is hoped that when this work becomes completed the majority of Nyansiongo homesteads would have access to electricity and telephone services. The area is drained by Nyandoche Ibere river, and dams built during the colonial period by farmers.

3.3 CLIMATE AND RAINFALL

Uchendu (1975:11) and Sterkenburd & Major (1981) observe that generally Kisii district has an agreeable climate with night temperatures averaging 10 centigrade and 29 centigrade as the maximum day temperature. The rainfall is fairly heavy and well

distributed throughout the year, with December and January being the drier months and April and May the most wet months. It rains nearly every afternoon throughout the year and this makes it suitable for farming.

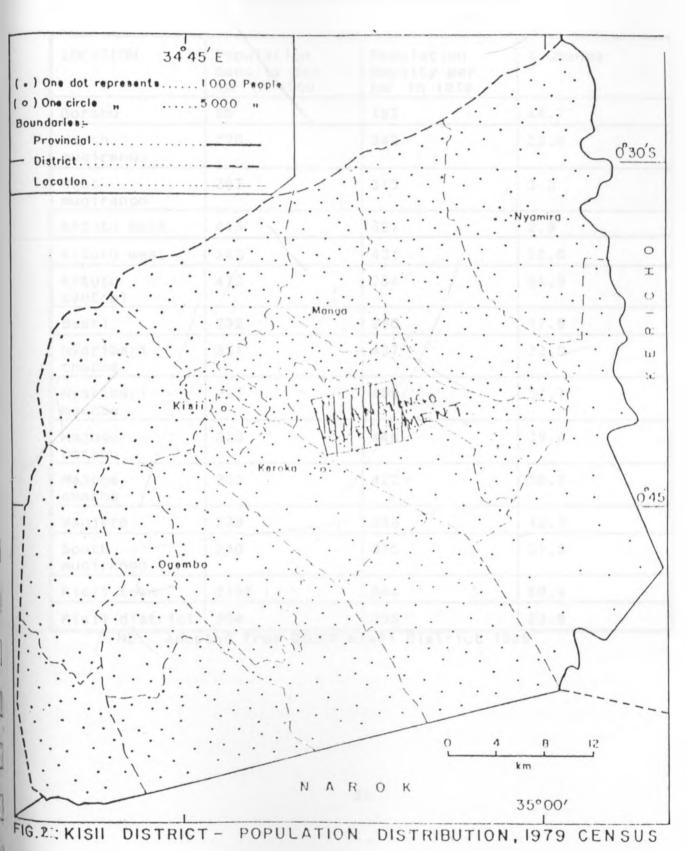
3.4 VEGETATION AND LAND USE

Nyansiongo settlement lies in a high agricultural potential area; the natural vegetation include bush and woodlands. As a result of the good fertile red loam soil and reliable rainfall, a variety of farming activities are practised by the people. The predominant mode of farming is mixed farming consisting of tea, maize and dairy husbandry. The majority of the Nyansiongo people take farming as their major occupational activity. However, there are a number of people who combine farming with other none farming activities, especially those with over 40 hectares. Usually these farmers have another activity. The criterion for being given 40 hectares of land was that one had to have substantial income. The people who managed to raise the sum of money required were the fairly well educated and salaried Africans. In Nyansiongo, therefore, one would find teachers, accountants, politicians, religious leaders and veterinary officers. Apart from the cultivation of maize as the major staple food crop, a variety of food crops are also grown and these include potatoes, beans, cabbage and various vegetables. Apart from dairy cattle people also keep a number of other breeds of livestock, such as poultry, sheep, and beef cattle such as Borans.

3.5 POPULATION PATTERNS OF THE DISTRICT

According to Bogonko (1986), Kisii district had 304 persons per square kilometre in 1969 population census and 395 per square kilometre in 1979 census. Nyansiongo settlement as part of Borabu location registered 85 people per square kilometre in 1969 and 123 people per square kilometre in 1979 census. This gives us a change of 44.7% between the two censuses. Therefore it can be correctly argued that Nyansiongo is sparsely populated by Gusii standards.

Further illustration on population district in Kisii and Nyansiongo settlement could be derived from the table 1 on population density and intercensal changes between 1969 and 1979. In this table it is shown that Nyansiongo registered 85 persons per square kilometre. The settlement draws its members from Kisii and Nyamira districts. The two districts are settled by the Abagusii and therefore the settlement is predominantly occupied by them. The population distribution of Nyansiongo Settlement Scheme is shown on Figure 2.



SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF NYANSIONGO SETTLEMENT Source: adopted from Kisii District Socio-Cultural profile (1986)

Table 0.1

POPULATION DENSITY AND INTERCENSAL

CHANGES BETWEEN 1969 AND 1979

LOCATION	Population density per km² in 1969	Population density per km² in 1979	% Change
Borabu	85	123	44.7
North mugirango	278	342	23.0
West mugirango	367	379	3.3
Kitutu east	415	427	2.9
Kitutu west	342	431	56.0
Kitutu central	472	764	61.9
Bassi	332	390	17.5
Nyaribari chache	331	437	32.0
Nyaribari masaba	297	409	37.7
Majoge borabu	320	446	39.4
Majoge chache	303	422	38.3
Wanjare	279	398	42.7'
South mugirango	240	315	31.3
Kisii town	2156	844 \	60.9
Kisii district	304	395	29.9

NB: Adopted from DSCPP Kisii District 1986

3.6 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design adopted by the study as the basic technique for data collection was the structured questionnaire. However, other methods were also utilized such as documentary techniques, interviews and participant observation. A description of what is entailed in each of these methods follows.

3.7 DOCUMENTARY INFORMATION

To obtain documentary information on Nyansiongo settlement scheme, library material was made use of both at the Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library of the University of Nairobi and the Kabete campus Library. This information was supplemented by some from the Ministry of Lands Settlement and Housing offices in Nairobi and district and divisional headquarters in Kisii. The information obtained through this technique proved useful in enriching that collected by the author from the respondents during his two months stay in the field.

3.8 STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE

This was the central method used in this study. Before going for fieldwork the author designed a structured questionnaire, from which every respondent was expected to respond to identical questions whose answers the author would record. The structured questionnaire consisted of both "open ended" and "closed ended" questions. The respondents were allowed to respond to the questions freely in open ended questions.

In closed questions the respondents were confined to giving specific alternative answers, e.g., yes/no, for some questions. The structured questionnaire was particularly important in revealing information on the age, sex, family size, and religious beliefs of the respondents. Prewitt (1975) observes that the structured questionnaire is important in as far as it standardizes the stimulus presented by the respondents. The structured questionnaire therefore enabled the author in this study to come up with a high level of reliable information. However, one cannot fail to point out that one of the major short-comings of this method is in the validity of the information. This weakness was taken care of through the other methods employed in the study.

3.9 INTERVIEWS

Both formal and informal interviews were conducted in this study. As Prewitt (1975:42) observes, in the interview approach the researcher or an interviewer interacts directly with the respondents, questions are asked and the answers recorded on a person to person level. The interview provides the researcher with some measure of control over the research setting. Even if there were no formal questions designed various selected farmers were interviewed in detail on matters presented in the structured questionnaire. Various leaders such as church leaders, political leaders and government officials, were also interviewed informally. One of the advantages of this method is that the questions could be modified or rephrased if they were misunderstood by the

respondents, probes could also be made use of to get detailed information.

As already indicated, the informal interviews were done through discussions. Whenever time allowed the author engaged in discussions with particular individual farmers, extension officers, leaders of one kind or another to get information on their socioeconomic lives in the settlement scheme. Through this method much information especially that related to religious beliefs, economic transactions, interactions between the settlers and pre-settlement neighbours was gained. This method therefore contributed a great deal to obtaining qualitative data. Through this method reliability was ensured because it acted as a cross-check to the other methods described earlier. Finally, through this method the author's working relationship with the respondents was improved. As Prewitt (1975:64) observes:

An interview is a social exchange between the interviewer and the respondent insight intuition and personal rapport play a part in the outcome of this exchange, just as they do in any other social situation. A good interviewer realizes that the interviewee is guessing at the motives of the interviewer and is perhaps tailoring the answers accordingly. Thus it is very important that the interviewer realizes how his own behaviour and dress and manner might affect the interview situation.

This is the exact situation that the author was faced with in the field but being aware of these facts he tried as much as possible to minimize those aspects which could detract him from the goal of obtaining detailed and reliable information.

3.10 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

The author also used participant observation method in observing socio-economic activities of the Nyansiongo farmers. He visited the farmers right on their farms and observed their farming activities, social and cultural practices. This method was advantageous in giving information that the farmers were reluctant to supply verbally. This method has been commended for studying small communities and institutions since it enables the researcher to see for himself or herself how people live or how they behave in given situations. Among the scholars who have used and recommended this method especially for collecting data on non-verbal behaviour are Bailey (1952), Dalton and Moses (1971), Prewitt (1975) and Wembah-Rashid (1983), among others.

3.11 THE SAMPLE

In this study the household was taken as the sample unit and the heads of households the main respondents. 92 units were considered large enough to reduce the number of errors and therefore to make it possible for the author to make reliable generalizations about the Nyansiongo population. Prewitt (1975:42) points out that:

The size of the sample is determined by the costs of the study, with the homogeneity of the population, with the numbers of traits to be drawn (simple random, multistage, stratified) and with the size of sample error the investigator is willing to tolerate.

All the above factors were taken into consideration when drawing the sample of the 92 units.

3.12 SAMPLING TECHNIQUES

Probability random sampling was utilized in this study, in particular systematic technique, whereby every third farmer was selected from a list of plot owners. This method was preferred because of the fact that it could give everyone an equal chance of being sampled. That is, each individual had a non-zero chance of being selected.

3.13 DATA ANALYSIS

Two statistical techniques were used to analyze the data.

These are cross-tabulation and pearson correlation.

3.14 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

The respondents and all the government officials the author encountered in the field were all co-operative. However, the study was not completed without any problems. During the time of the study it was raining very heavily in Kisii and this made the roads, most of which are not tarmac nor murramed almost impassable by motor vehicles. This resulted in the author spending a lot of time in the process of trying to reach his respondents. He had to brave hostile weather and sometimes walk long distances. The research was also conducted in the months of November and December, a period full of festivities, considering the limited finances at the disposal of the author life generally was not easy going.

There was also the problem of some respondents being sceptical about the whole research exercise, some guipped that it all

amounted to a mere waste of time since it could not yield any immediate benefits to them. However, the author tried to explain to them the necessity of the study and the logic behind the whole exercise of fieldwork. Some respondents also complained of the length of the questionnaire which sometimes took as long as one and half hours to administer. But the author tried as much as possible to convince them of the need for having a long questionnaire.

WAZ - III

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0

DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter makes an interpretation and analysis of the data so as to determine the nature of the relationships among the variables within the context of respective hypotheses

4.1 KINSHIP ORGANIZATION AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GRANDPARENTS

TABLE 1

PRE-NYANSIONGO GRANDPARENTS BY NYANSIONGO GRANDPARENTS

PRE-NYANSIONGO GRANDPARENTS

NYANSIONGO GRANDPARENTS	Abasamaro	Mwabogonko	Abamobea	Abamobacho
Yes	_	10.0(8)	5.0(4)	2.5(2)
No	1.2(1)	-	_	1.2(1)
Total	1.2(1)	10.0(8)	5.0(4)	2.5(2)

TABLE 1 CONT'D

PRE-NYANSIONGO GRANDPARENTS

NYANSIONGO GRANDPARENTS	Abamasige	Abatabori	Abamachabe	Abasiango
Yes	1.3(1)	6.3(5)	5.0(4)	1.3(1)
No	=	_	-	_
Total	1,3(1)	6.3(5)	5.0(4)	1.3(1)

TABLE 1 CONT'D

PRE-NYANSIONGO GRANDPARENTS

NYANSIONGO GRANDPARENTS	Abaguche	Abatondo	Abageka	Mwanya -kundi	Mwanyasae
Yes	3.8(3)	13.8(11)	8.8(7)	2.5(2)	1.3(1)
No	_	-		W-0	-
Total	3.8(3)	13.8(11)	8.8(7)	2.5(2)	1.3(1)

TABLE 1 CONT'D

PRE-NYANSIONGO GRANDPARENTS

NYANSIONGO GRANDPARENTS	Abagusero	Abanyakoni	Abanya- mondo	Mwaboto	Mwamo- sioma
Yes	3.8(3)	6.3(5)	7.5(6)	3.8(3)	1.3(1)
No		_	1.2(1)	-	_
Total	3.8(3)	6.3(5)	7.5(6)	3.8(3)	1.3(1)

TABLE 1 CONT'D

PRE-NYANSIONGO GRANDPARENTS

NYANSIONGO GRAND- PARENTS	Abasigisa	Abasansa'	Mwogechi	Mwamoreta
Yes	2.5(2)	1.3(1)	1.3(1)	- /
No	_	1.2(1)	-	_
Total	2.5(2)	1.3(1)	1.3(1)	

TABLE 1 CONT'D

PRE-NYANSIONGO GRANDPARENTS

NYANSIONGO GRANDPARENTS	Girango	Abanyamasicho	Abanyamatuta	Abasonsa
Yes	2.5(2)	1.3(1)	1.3(1)	1.3(1)
No	_	-	_	-
Total	2.5(2)	1.3(1)	1.3(1)	1.3(1)

TABLE 1 CONT'D

PRE-NYANSIONGO GRANDPARENTS

NYANSIONGO GRANDPARENTS	Mwamotari	Abagichora	Mwamoriango	Total
Yes	1.3(1)	1.3(1)	1.3(1)	92.2(80)
No	-	4-9	-	4.8(4)
Total	1.3(1)	1.3(1)	1.3(1)	100(84)

Chi-square = 50.9250

Significance level = .01

D.F. = 29

Contigency coefficient = .61435

The first hypothesis presumes that traditional kinship organization and neighbourhood interactional patterns have not been carried over to Nyansiongo scheme. One of the traditional kinship organizational patterns is a close attachment to the grandparents. who were considered part of family members. In most Abagusii homesteads grandparents stay in the homesteads of their grandchildren or nearby. Grandparents are considered to be very close relatives. The study wanted to test this pattern to show

whether there has been any change in the people's interaction with their grandparents as a result of resettlement in Nyansiongo. The respondents who were interviewed in regard to this hypothesis were also asked to state the name of the Abagusii clan they came from. These clans have been listed in the above table. The objective was to show the cross-section of people who stayed with their grandparents. The findings showed a contingency coefficient of .61435 which shows a fairly high degree of association between people who stayed with their grandparents. The chi-square test shows that the association is significant at 1% risk: The hypothesis is therefore supported. Table 2 continues with the analysis.

4.2 KINSHIP ORGANIZATION AND NEIGHBOURHOOD INTERACTION

TABLE 2 PRE-NYANSIONGO NEIGHBOURS BY NYANSIONGO NEIGHBOURS

PRE-NYANSIONGO NEIGHBOURS		R	F	NY	'A	NS	T	40	IGO	NE	T	GH	RC	Ш	RS	3
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THE WAY TO THE TENTE OF THE TEN								
NYANSIONGO NEIGHBOURS	Others	Your clan	Total					
Your clan	96.7(89)	1.1(1)	97.8(90)					
Others	2.2(2)	- \	2.2(2)					
Total	98.9(91)	1.1(1)	100.0(92)					

NOTE: The figures in parenthesis are the actual observations.

Chi-square = .02247

Not significant level at = .01

D.F. = 1

Table 2 shows who were the neighbours of the Nyansiongo settlers in both the pre-Nyansiongo and Nyansiongo areas. The contingency coefficient of .0152 shows lack of association between the pre-Nyansiongo and Nyansiongo neighbours. The Chi-square .02247 is not significant at 1% risk, which indicates that there has been a fairly big change between pre-Nyansiongo neighbours and Nyansiongo neighbours. It was observed that 97.8% of the neighbours in the pre-Nyansiongo area were members of one clan. whereas 98.9% of Nyansiongo neighbours were members of other clans. This is because Nyansiongo settlers are drawn from various Abaqusii lineages and clans. The hypothesis that there has been a change in kinship organization and neighbourhood interactional patterns is therefore supported.

4.3 CATTLE REARING AND CROP PRODUCTION IN NYANSIONGO

Hypothesis two tests the changes that have taken place in cattle rearing and crop production. The hypothesis states that settlement in the scheme has affected cattle rearing and crop production but not social organization. It is presumed in the hypothesis that the Abagusii who took up resettlement in Nyansiongo have adopted new crops and new breeds pf cattle but their social organization has not undergone any changes.

The study demonstrates that indeed Nyansiongo settlers have adopted new agricultural crops and new cattle breeds for dairy purposes. The new crops are tea and maize. In the pre-Nyansiongo

area the predominant crops were eleusine (finger millet) which is still grown in Nyansiongo but in small quantities; the crop is popular for making porridge (uji), and is the source of yeast for brewing local beer. A variety of legumes were also grown, notably beans, cow peas, and groundnuts. Other crops were sorghum, bananas, sweet potatoes, passion fruits, pineapples, and cassava, among others. Most of these crops were grown by scattering seeds, while cassava, pineapples and bananas were grown by planting buds, but not necessarily in rows.

It was observed that the planting method of the new crops require new techniques of planting, and the new cattle breeds (grade cattle) require new techniques of rearing. These changes were not supposed to affect the social organization. However, it was notable from the study that some social changes have also taken place - e.g. the abandonment of communal grazing. In order to prevent diseases farmers are encouraged to graze their cattle on their individual farms. Furthermore, because the land is well demarcated most farmers have managed to fence their farms well without any conflict with their neighbours.

Farmers also like confining their cattle to their farms to prevent their cows from mating with their neighbours' bulls. It is essential that the cows should only be fertilized by A.I. (artificial insemination) methods, in order to maintain high cattle breeds. Another change that was noted was the eradication of the Abagusii tradition of lending cattle to neighbours and relatives. In the pre-Nyansiongo area, a man who had no cattle could easily be

lent some by sympathetic neighbours and relatives. In this way, the man could have his family benefit from the milk produced by the cows, but the cows and their calves belonged to the owner. This system ensured that no child was malnourished due to lack of milk. This was because society valued all the children, since children were seen as the ones to maintain the future survival of the society. This institution of lending cattle to neighbours is no longer operative in the scheme due to a number of reasons.

Firstly, grade cattle were obtained through loans, and the conditions of such loans did not allow a person to lend out what was loaned to him. Secondly, the institution was impossible to operate because grade cattle are very expensive to maintain as compared to the indigenous cattle, to the extent that no one will attempt to risk his cows being in the custody of another person. Thirdly, the government has eradicated cattle raiding and most diseases through dipping and other modern methods, thereby minimizing the danger of a person losing all his cattle instantly. It is therefore not wise to lend one's cattle to a neighbour or relative. Fifthly, the symbolic role of cattle as a measure and store of wealth is no longer in operation. Other items such as cars, tractors, money generating businesses and education and good jobs have by and large replaced cattle as indicators of wealth. Therefore it is no longer necessary to keep a large herd which one cannot maintain in his own field. Having said that, the study now turns to the use of cross-tabulation tables to analyse data on this hypothesis.

The following cross-classification table elaborates information on use of fertilizer.

4.4 USE OF FERTILIZER BY SOURCE OF INFORMATION

TABLE 3 USE OF FERTILIZER

SOURCE OF INFORMATION	Yes	No	Total
Parents	7.6(7)	3.3(3)	10.9(10)
Agricultural officers	68.5(64)	8.7(8)	78.2(72)
Children	6.6(6)	1(1)	7.6(7)
Others	3.3(3)	0(0)	3.3(3)
Total	87.0(80)	13.0(12)	100(92)

Note: The figures in parentisis are actual observations.

Chi-square

= 16.2741

D.f.

= 3

significant at

= .01

Contingency coefficient = .3877

It is observed from the above table that 69.5% of the respondents learned about the use of fertilizers from agricultural officers. The chi-square test of 16.2741 was significant at .01 level. What the above figures therefore show is that the majority of these farmers have adopted the use of fertilizers through some deliberate effort on the part of the government to educate them on the necessity of using fertilizers in order to boost production. In doing this the author believes that the government was out to attain its objective of maintaining settlement schemes as centres of planned socio-economic change, designed to achieve self-

sufficiency in food production. Nyansiongo is producing enough plus a surplus for export in order to reduce dependency on other nations. The hypothesis that Nyansiongo has affected crop production is therefore supported.

TABLE 4 PRE-NYANSIONGO PLANTING TOOLS BY NYANSIONGO PLANTING TOOLS.

PRE-NYANSIONGO PLANTI	NG T	FOOLS
-----------------------	------	-------

NYANS. PLANTING TOOLS	Hoes	Ox- plough	Tractor	Hoes and plough	Total
Hoes	95.6(86)	1.1(1)	1.1(1)	1.1(1)	98.9(89)
Hoes and	_	1.1(1)	_	. =//-	1.1(1)
Total	95.6(86)	2.2(2)	1.1(1)	1.1(1)	100.0(90)

NOTE: The figures in parenthesis are the actual observations.

chi-square = 44.49

No significance at = .01

D.f. = 3

contingency coefficient = .57518

The contingency coefficient (.57518) shows the existence of a big degree of association between pre-Nyansiongo and Nyansiongo planting tools. This shows that there has been insignificant change between pre-Nyansiongo planting tools and Nyansiongo planting tools. The hypothesis is therefore unsupported. The hypothesis continues to be tested by evaluating the mode of sowing.

4.5 KINSHIP ORGANISATION AND MODE OF SOWING

TABLE 5 PRE-NYANSIONGO MODE OF SOWING BY NYANSIONGO MODE OF SOWING

PRE-NYANSIONGO MODE OF SOWING

NYANSIONGO MODE OF SOWING	Sowing in rows	Sowing not in rows	Total
Yes	91.3(84)	-	91.3(84)
No	6.5(6)	2.2(2)	8.7(8)
Total	97.8(90)	2.2(2)	100.0(92)

Note: The figures in parenthesis are the actual observations.

Chi-square = 11.32050

Significance level = .01

D.f. = 1

Contingency coefficient = .43496

The contingency coefficient revealed a fairly high degree of association between settlement and pre-settlement mode of sowing. This suggests that most farmers have adopted the modern technique of planting their crops in rows. The chi-square (11.32050) test showed that this association is significant at 1% risk. Sowing in rows is probably preferable to the traditional method of scattering seeds because it provides for easy application of fertilizer, easy weeding and harvesting besides saving farmers wastage of seeds when planting; it is thus a more economical method than scattering methods. The hypothesis is therefore supported.

The study continues testing the hypothesis by comparing the tools used for harvesting in both the pre-Nyansiongo and Nyansiongo

area. The following cross-tabulation table elaborates this relationship.

TABLE 6 PRE-NYANSIONGO HARVESTING TOOLS BY NYANSIONGO HARVESTING TOOLS

PRE-YANSIONGO HARVESTING TOOLS

MANGTONGO	Hoos	Troc	Doo	Honda	Pag	104	Doo	T-4-7
NYANSIONGO HARVESTING TOOLS	Hoes	Trac- tor	Bas- kets	Hands	Bas- kets & Hands	Ox- cart	Bas- kets	Total
Hoes	2.2	1.1	-	1.1	1.1	1.1	-	6.7
Baskets	-	La mi	8.9	3.3	-	-	-	12.2
Hoes	-	-	-	in u e	1.1		-	1.1
Baskets	-	-	-	-	char/s	-	-	-
Hands	2.2	-	1.1	72.2		Fred A	11	75.6 (68)
Baskets & Hands	-	7.	-	1.1	1.1	7	-	2.2
Hands	-	1	-	-	-	- "	-	_
Baskets & Hands	-	El el mare		- /	-	l ul m		-
0x-cart	-/ cs lev	-	-	1.1	1.1	-	- /	2.2(2
Basket & Ox-cart	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	4.4 (4)	1.1	10.0	78.9	3.3	-	-	100.0

Chi-square = 220.92772

Not significance at = . 0

D.f. = 54

Contingency coefficient = .84294

The chi-square (220.92772) indicates that this relationship is not significant. This shows that the hypothesis can neither be supported nor rejected: because the chi-square (220.92772) shows a highly chance relationship. The Nyansiongo settlers still use almost the same tools for harvesting as in the pre-Nyansiongo area. The hypothesis remains unsupported.

The analysis how considers changes in cattle rearing. A cross-

TABLE 7 PRE-NYANSIONGO TYPE OF CATTLE BY NYANSIONGO TYPE OF CATTLE

PRE-NYANSIONGO TYPE OF CATTLE					
NYANSIONGO TYPE OF CATTLE	Indigenous	Improved	Improved & indigenous	Total	
Indigenous	3.4 (3)	94.4(84)	1.1(1)	98.9(88)	
Improved	1.1(1)	-	-	1.1(1)	
Total	4.5(4)	94.4(84)	1.1(1)	100.0(89)	

Note: The figures in parenthesis are the actual observations.

Chi-square = 21.49148

Significance level = .01

D.f. = 2

Contingency coefficient = .44103

Table 7 suggests that Nyansiongo settlers have increasingly adopted the improved cattle breeds relative to the indigenous and the so called mixtures, i.e., cross-breeds between the traditional Zebu cattle and the exotic (grade) cattle. The contingency coefficient (.44103) shows a

marked degree of association between resettlement and the adoption of improved breeds of cattle. The hypothesis that settlement in the scheme has affected cattle rearing is therefore supported.

The adoption of the improved breeds of cattle by a big number of the Nyansiongo farmers could probably be due to their high milk yields, which makes them more economic relative to the other cattle breeds.

4.6 SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION RELATIVE TO URBANISM

The analysis now proceeds to test the third hypothesis which states that the characteristics of socio-cultural and economic organization are related to the characteristics of urbanism.

What is implied in this hypothesis is that Nyansiongo scheme, although a predominantly rural area, has developed some urban characteristics in its socio-cultural and economic organization. In order for a given area to be termed urban it has to possess some typical characteristics found in all urban centres. Vivelo (1978) points out that some of the characteristics of urban communities include specialization of labour, ownership and control of resources and a well developed notion of territoriality.

Specialization of labour means a condition where an individual earns a living by selling specialized services or commodities, e.g. a doctor who earns a living by treating people or a teacher by teaching. Nyansiongo farmers can be categorised as specialized commercial farmers because they earn their living from their farming activities.

The notion of territoriality presumes that an individual or group of people have a clear view of certain areas of land, i.e., territory,

which they rightfully consider theirs and which they will not allow anybody else to possess except through willing purchaser and willing seller basis. As a result, individuals or groups are willing to defend that right at all costs and to make long lasting investments in those areas. They, for example, are willing to build permanent houses in their farms because they know they have the right of staying in their land for good. Nyansiongo lands are well surveyed and demarcated, and farmers have utilized them well. Hyansiongo is thus termed urban-like, both in physical structure and in the activities going on.

It is therefore considered that one way in which Nyansiongo settlers exhibit urban characteristics is by the type of houses they live in. Most urban centres are known to be predominated by houses built by concrete bricks or wooden poles, neatly plastered and arranged in a certain pattern. The table below cross-classifies pre-Nyansiongo and Nyansiongo house types to bring out this point.

TABLE 8 PRE-NYANSIONGO TYPE OF HOUSE BY NYANSIONGO TYPE OF HOUSE

PRE-NYANSIONGO TYPE OF HOUSE

NYANSIONGO TYPE OF HOUSE	Grass thatched	Iron-roof & mud walled	Semi- permanent	Permanent	Total
Grass thatched	-	1.1(1)	35.9(33)	32.6(30)	69.6
Iron-roof & mud Walled	-	1.1(1)	2.7(2)	1.1(1)	4.3(4)
Semi- permanent	1.1(1)	_	15.2(14)	4.3(4)	20.7
Permanent	-	-	-	5.5(5)	5.4(5)
Total	1.1(1)	2.2(2)	53.3(49)	43.5(40)	100.0

Note: The figures in parenthesis are the actual observations.

Chi-square = 24.61012

D.f. = 9

Contingency coefficient = .45940

Not significant at = .01

The contingency coefficient (.45940) indicates that there is no association between pre-Nyansiongo type of house and Nyansiongo type of house. This coefficient is not significant because the chi-square is not significant. Therefore Nyansiongo houses are in terms of physical structure different fro pre-Nyansiongo houses in the sense that they are characteristically urban. It is important to note that a greater number of Nyansiongo farmers now stay in permanent houses than they used to in the pre-Nyansiongo area. Whereas the majority of these farmers have constructed this type of houses, some inherited them directly from the former European farmers who were the previous owners of these lands. That a big number of the houses are built following a certain pattern. preferably at the extreme corner of the farms also confirms that Nyansiongo has developed some urban characteristics.

The discussion turns next to the ownership of radios and television sets as instruments of mass education, at the same time as indicators of urban characteristics in Nyansiongo. It is presumed that the radio as an instrument of mass media has a big influence on the farming activities of the farmers, i.e., assuming that the farmers regularly listen to news from their radios. Farmers who own radios were therefore thought to be better informed than those who do not in modern methods of farming. The radio was therefore considered to be a major instrument

for cultural change. A cross-tabulation was carried out to show the percentage of farmers who owned a radio in the pre-Nyansiongo and Nyansiongo areas.

TABLE 9 PRE-NYANSIONGO RADIO OWNING BY NYANSIONGO RADIO OWNING

PRE-NYANSIONGO RADIO OWNING

NYANSIONGO RADIO OWNING	Owned radio	Not owned radio	Total
Yes	78.0(71)	5.5(5)	83.5(76)
No	13.2(12)	3.3(3)	16.5(15)
Total	91.2(83)	8.8(8)	100.0(91)

Note: The figures in parenthesis are the actual observations.

Chi-square = 4.27

Significance level = .01

D.f. = 1

Contingency coefficient = .21175

The contingency coefficient (.21175) suggests a considerable degree of association between farmers who own radios, in the pre-Nyansiongo and Nyansiongo areas. The chi-square test indicates that the relationship is significant (.2336) at 1% risk. This shows that a big number of Nyansiongo farmers own radios and are presumably well informed in local, national and international news. They can be said to be well informed in current developments in farming and other fields. It is a characteristic of modern urban centres that most households own instruments of mass media and are well informed in current developments. It is fashionable for even the poorest of families to own a radio in

urban areas. Nyansiongo is urban-like in this respect. The hypothesis that Nyansiongo has become urbanlike is therefore supported.

The discussion turns to television ownership as another instrument of mass education and also as an indicator of urbanization. The television was considered to be a better instrument of mass education and by association cultural change than a radio. A cross-categorization was carried out to determine how many farmers owned this instrument in the pre-Nyansiongo and Nyansiongo areas. The following table displays the quantitative information.

TABLE 10 PRE-NYANSIONGO TELEVISION OWNING BY NYANSIONGO TELEVISION
OWNING

PRE-NYANSIONGO	TELEVISION	OWNING
----------------	------------	--------

NYANSIONGO TELEVISION OWNING	Owned television	Not owned television	Total
Yes	1.1(1)	2.2(2)	3.3(3)
No	38.5(35)	58.2(53)	96.7(88)
Total	39.6(36)	60.4(55)	100.0(91)

Note: The figures in parenthesis are the actual observations.

Chi-square = .05031

D,f, = 1

Significance level = .01

Contingent coefficient = .02351

The contingency coefficient .02351 suggests a low association between pre-Nyansiongo television owners and Nyansiongo television owners. The chi-square test shows a fairly big increase in television ownership in the scheme significant at (.8225). This shows that the

number of television owners has considerably increased. A number of factors must have contributed to Nyansiongo farmers being able to purchase more television sets. First their purchasing ability must have improved most probably due to adoption of cash crop farming. Second. their tastes have changed indicating a desire for acquisition of modern material goods. Third, the presence of rural electrification, makes it convenient to own televisions. The hypothesis is therefore supported.

4.7 SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF SETTLEMENTS IN NYANSIONGO

The research also presumed that the amount of income earned by an individual determines his tastes and expenditure habits. Clothing was considered to be one way in which most people spend their income. It should be noted that in many communities the kind of clothes an individual puts on especially during public occasions is indicative of his/her ranking in the community. Therefore people who put on low quality clothes are generally categorized as being poorer than those who wear expensive ones. The fourth hypothesis presumed that the Abagusii who moved to Nyansiongo have benefited socially, culturally and economically. It is presupposed in this hypothesis that the Nyansiongo settlers have derived benefits from resettlement, they are well clothed, well fed and well housed.

A cross-tabulation of expenditure on clothes in terms of Nyansiongo and pre-Nyansiongo areas was done to show how many farmers regularly spent their income on clothing. The results of the cross-categorization are shown in table 11.

TABLE 11 PRE-NYANSIONGO EXPENDITURE ON CLOTHES BY NYANSIONGO EXPENDITURE ON CLOTHES

PRE-NYANSTONGO	EXPENDITURE	OF CLOTHES
ERE-NIANS FINGU	EVELIANTINGE	Or GIUIMES

NYANSIONGO EXPENDITURE ON CLOTHES	Spend income on clothes	No income on clothes	Total
Yes	93.3(84)	4.4(4)	97.8(88)
No	2.2(2)	-	2.2(2)
Total	95.6(86)	4.4(4)	100.0(90)

Note: The figures in parenthesis are the actual observations.

Chi-square = 09514

D.f. = 1

Not significant at = .01

Contingent coefficient = .03250

There is a general supposition from the table that a very bin number of the respondents regularly spend their income on clothing 97.8% of the respondents used to spend their income on clothes in the pre-Nyansiongo area, whereas, 95.6% spent their income on clothes in the scheme. This actually shows that the number of farmers who regularly spend their income on clothes in the scheme has hardly gone down expenditure on clothes does not therefore significantly differentiated Nyansiongo and pre-Nyansiongo areas as evidenced by the chi-square and cross-tabulation percentage values.

Investment is both an economic and cultural variable. Some societies, e.g., hunting and gathering societies, by virtue of their culture and environment do not put much emphasis on long term investments. This is because of the nature of their economy which

requires them the move from place to place in search of food. However agrarian and industrial societies are keen on making long lastin investments. It was therefore reasonable to find out what changes hav taken place as far as the farmers' attitude to investments is concerned As Ogburn (958:634) points out, the direction of social change is o great importance; change is inevitable but it is not always favourable Investments are important because they influence future consumptio trends.

The following table elaborates this information.

TABLE 12 PRE-NYANSIONGO INCOME INVESTMENT BY NYANSIONGO INCOME INVESTMENT

PRE-NYANSIONGO INCOME INVESTMENT				
NYANS.INCOME INVESTMENT	Income investment	No income investment	Total	
Yes	81.3(74)	3.3(3)	84.6(77)	
No	12.1(11)	3.3(3)	15.4(44)	
Total	93.4(85)	6.6(6)	100.0(91)	

Note: The figures in parenthesis are the actual observations.

chi-square = 5.91

D.F. = 1

contingency coefficient = .24700

significant at = .'01

It is observed from table 12 above that there has been an increase in the number of farmers who invest their income. The contingency coefficient (.24700) is of fair magnitude. This means

that there is more income investment in Nyansiongo than pre-Nyansiongo areas. This shows that the farmers are quite conscious of the future and do not live from hand to mouth.

It is probably possible for most farmers to invest their income due to the weakening of redistributive mechanisms in the scheme. Socially and economically the farmers have become more independent and more self reliant. They no longer rely on social networks such as the amasaga work groups to cultivate their shambas. They have to invest to get enough income to pay their own farm labourers. The hypothesis is therefore supported.

In short it can be validly argued that the weakening of traditional social networks has acted as an incentive for the farmers to invest. Some of the areas in which the farmers invest their money include small scale businesses, e.g., shops. transport, i.e., buying "matatu" vehicles, purchasing power mills and hardware businesses.

Another cultural benefit derived from the resettlement in the scheme, is the adoption of the individualistic lifestyles which in itself is a basis for accumulation of capital.farmers are sure that much of what they produce goes directly to benefit them. This motivates them to produce more. A cross-tabulation to bring out Nyansiongo farmer's expenditure on kinsmen in both the pre-Nyansiongo are and in Nyansiongo area was done to this effect.

TABLE 13 PRE-NYANSIONGO EXPENDITURE ON KINSMEN BY NYANSIONGO EXPENDITURE ON KINSMEN

PRE-NYANSIONGO	EXPENDITURE	OF KINSMEN
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NYANSIONGO EXPENDITURE ON KINSMEN	Yes	No '	Totals
Yes	21.3(19)	57.3(51)	78.7(70)
No	1.1(1)	20.2(18)	21.3(19)
Total	22.5(20)	77.5(69)	100.0(89)

Note: The figures in parenthesis are the actual observations.

chi-square

= 4.10625

Not significance at

= .01

D.f.

= 1

contingency coefficient = .21001

Table 13 indicates that 78.7% of the respondents spent some of their income on kinsmen in the pre-settlement area, whereas in the settlement scheme only 22.5% do so. The chi-square was calculated to be 4.10625, with a probability level of less than 1% This means that there is no association between Nyansiongo and pre-Nyansiongo expenditure on kinsmen. Some of the farmers no longer spend their income on kinsmen. This shows that the change is a positive one because it makes farmers to easily spend their incomes on investments. The hypothesis is therefore supported. The fact that farmers spend the larger portion of their income for themselves or their families can be seen as something beneficial to them. This is

an economic benefit from resettlig in Nyansiongo.

Cultural activities such as sponsoring beer drinking parties aimed at entertaining kinsfolk are no longer obtainable in the scheme. The study now continues to analyse the data using the Pearson correlation coefficient method.

```
V002
V003
          0.7123
          0.6026
                  0.3042
V004
          0.2859 -0.0341
                          0.1475
V005
                                    0.1489
          0.1641 -0.0059
                          -0.1753
v006
          0.2026
                   0.1978
                          -0.0374
                                    0.0157
                                              0.1665
V007
                                    0.0515
                                              0.0321
                                                         0.1
          0.4174
                   0.5024
                           0.2746
800V
                                              -0.06
                                                      0.1886
                                                                0.699
          0.3973
                   0.4811
                            0.0549
                                    0.1164
V009
                                                                        0.3264
                                                               0.6559
          0.3388
                  0.2812
                           0.4348
                                    0.1614
                                            -0.1485
                                                     -0.1075
V010
                                                     -0.0218
                                                             -0.1934
                                                                        0.0873 -0.0562
         -0.0274 -0.0244
                          -0.0711
                                   -0.0907
                                            -0.1325
V011
                                            -0.1076
                                                       0.0948
                                                              0.0177
                                                                        -0.0617
                                                                                 -0.151
                                                                                            3917
         -0.1311 -0.0903
                          -0.0577
                                   -0.0753
V012
                                                                        -0.0938
                                                                                -0.1496
                                                                                           0.3831
                                                                                                    0.7435
                                   -0.0013
                                            -0.0785
                                                       0.0587
                                                              -0.0396
         -0.0489 -0.1106
                            0.0099
V013
                                                                                           0.2621
                                                                                                    0.0842
                                                                         0.2693
                                                                                  0.0306
                            0.0936
                                    -0.0386
                                            -0.0598
                                                       0.045
                                                                0.0736
                                                                                                             0.0629
         -0.0415
                   0.0165
V027
                                                                                                             V013 V027
                                                                 V008
                                                                         V009
                                                                                   V010
                                                                                           V011
                                                                                                     V012
                                            V006
                                                       V007
VARIABLES VOO2
                   V003
                            V004
                                    V005
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KBY
V002 How many people live in this household?
V003 How many household members are sons?
V004 How many household members are daughters?
V005 How many household members are cousins?
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How many relatives stay in this household?
V006
        How many wives stay with you?
V007
        Mar are your neighbours? (lineage and clan members or others?)
V008
        Who major obligations do you have to your neighbours?
V009
        Which clan do you belong?
V010
        Ho do you plant crops? (in rows or not in rows?)
V011
        Which type of cattle do you keep?
V012
V013
        Which type of house do you live?
        H # many acres of land have you put under production?
¥027
```

4.8 PEARSON CORRELATION ANALYSIS

It was hypothesized that traditional kinship organization and neighbourhood interactional patterns have not been carried over to Nyansiongo. A Pearson correlation coefficient to determine how neighbours interacted and what obligations they had to each other revealed a positive relationship of (r=.6690). This shows that although Nyansiongo neighbours are not kinsmen they still maintain traditional socialisation such as assisting each other during times of hardships, celebrating together during such occasions like births, weddings and circumcision ceremonies. This, however, does not make them kinsmen.

It was also hypothesized that Nyansiongo settlers maintain an interactional pattern not based on kinship. A correlation coefficient between Nyansiongo settlers whose neighbours are members of their respective clans and those whose neighbours are not was computed. The correlation coefficient revealed a negative relationship of (-.1485). This confirms the first hypothesis that neighbourhood interactional patterns have not been carried over to Nyansiongo. Nyansiongo settlers interact with people from various Abagusii clans and lineages.

It was also hypothesized that resettlement in Nyansiongo has affected cattle rearing and crop production but not social organization. It was consequently presumed that the new crops grown by Nyansiongo farmers required different methods of planting from the ones used in planting traditional crops. A

correlation coefficient was computed and it revealed a negative relationship of (-.1311). This means that, indeed, there has been a change in the planting techniques. A big number of the Nyansiongo farmers now plant their crops in rows rather than the traditional method of scattering seeds.

It was also presumed that many farmers have put larger parts of their land under crop production, relative to the sizes of their plots. A correlation coefficient of negative value (-.0415) was revealed. This means that the number of hectares planted with crops is higher relative to the ones that are not. Farmers may probably have been encouraged to plant more crops due to the higher yields realized as a result of adopting modern methods of crop production such as planting in rows and application of chemical fertilizers. They also have to plant more crops due to the need to sell to get money to repay government loans and also as a source of revenue to purchase modern goods and to invest.

The third hypothesis presumes that Nyansiongo settlers have adopted some urban tendencies. One of those tendencies obtaining in urban centres is the predominant existence of nuclear families. composed of a husband, his wife and children. A correlation coefficient between household members was done and it revealed a positive relationship of (.6026). This shows that Nyansiongo households are not yet urbanized in this respect because they are not yet nuclear in nature. The hypothesis was not therefore supported.

Secondly, a correlation coefficient to determine whether

Nyansiongo settlers stay mostly with their wives was done and it revealed a positive relationship of .2026. This implies that with respect to this variable. Nyansiongo families have by and large not taken on urban characteristics. Most urban areas in Kenya are characterized by migrants who leave their wives in rural areas while they seek employment in urban centres, and they regularly send remittances to their wives who are left behind to man their farms in the rural areas.

In the fourth hypothesis it was advanced that the Abagusii who moved to Nyansiongo have benefited socially, culturally and economically. It was therefore expected that one of the economic benefits which these farmers have derived out of the whole process of resettlement was to earn enough money from their farming activities to put up permanent houses. An inverse correlation coefficient of (-.1106) was revealed between farmers who stay in permanent houses and those who do not. This, therefore, shows that the number of farmers who stay in permanent houses is increasing whereas those who stay in non-permanent houses is decreasing. The direction of this coefficient is consistent with and supportive of the hypothesis.

The study also evaluated the type of cattle kept by the Nyansiongo farmers with a view to determining whether they are predominantly traditional breeds, exotic breeds or mixed breeds. A correlation coefficient of negative (.-1331) was revealed. This shows that a considerable proportion of farmers in Nyansiongo now keep grade cattle which are more economic breeds because of their

higher milk yields than the traditional zebu cattle. However, it should be noted that a few Nyansiongo farmers still keep the traditional zebu cattle and cross-breeds, between them and exotic ones. Although the rate of acquisition of grade cattle among Nyansiongo farmers is not as high as that of the cross breed type, the latter still provide higher milk yields compared to yields from zebu cattle. It is evident thus that the Abagusii who moved into the resettlement are economically benefiting.

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CHAPTER FIVE

5.1 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The objectives of this chapter is to make a presentation of the results of the study in the form of general conclusions as revealed by the research findings. Furthermore, an attempt will be made to make suggestions aimed at benefiting any future resettlement programmes. In a nutshell, an evaluation of the socio-economic implications of resettlement would be made and new ways of improving the social and economic lifestyle of settlers would be suggested.

5.1.1 CONCLUSION

The study has shown that both social and economic factors are important for the attainment of settlement scheme objectives. Just in the same way that these factors were important for the establishment of the scheme so also do they continue being important in determining its success. It has also been shown that despite the settlers being members of one ethnic group, they have developed a new social organization, whereby the rules governing kinship neighbourhood and interactional patterns have considerably changed. The implication here is that resettlement has given rise to an entirely new social order or, more precisely, is transforming it.

It has also been observed that resettlement has given rise to elements pertinent to urbanism whereby the settlers now exhibit a

lifestyle akin to that found in most urbanized areas, centred on individualism and acquisition of modern commodities. It has also been demonstrated that the Nyansiongo farmers exhibit this urbanized element by reading the latest newspapers and magazines. watching Televisions, listening to radios and generally showing a concern for the acquisition of new knowledge.

Nyansiongo farmers exhibit an urbanized lifestyle because they live in permanent buildings with iron roofs, rectangular in shape with either concrete brick walls or plastered walls. They have also built modern primary and secondary schools for the provision of qualitative education for their children, there is also a shopping centre where a variety of manufactured goods are sold, such as soap, sugar and clothing. These shops also sell farm implements such as ox-drawn ploughs, hoes, knives for pruning tea and other farm inputs such as fertilizers, hybrid seeds, insecticides and concentrates for dairy cattle.

An attempt has also been made to show that settlement schemes can be viable programmes for social and economic development. It has been shown that Nyansiongo settlers are by and large performing the role of agricultural extension officers to the surrounding areas. This is done by the neighbours in the reserve areas coming to view what goes on in the farms of the settlers, or by the settlers themselves visiting their neighbours and teaching them how to farm better. Furthermore, it has been observed that the dialogical modernization model now followed by the agricultural extension officers is yielding desired results. For example, it has

served to improve the working relationship between the settlers and their neighbours in the reserve areas.

Lastly, it has been shown that Nyansiongo settlers owe their success to the efforts of settlement extension officers and the Government's overall encouragement coupled with their own individual efforts.

Nyansiongo farmers have also benefited economically by the whole process of resettlement. They now own bigger pieces of land than they used to in the pre-Nyansiongo area. They have utilised these pieces of land to grow more cash crops and food crops, which is beneficial to them because it earns them substantial income and makes them self-reliant besides earning the country some foreign exchange and therefore reducing dependency on other nations.

The scheme has also reduced land pressure in the former pre-Nyansiongo areas, i.e., Kisii and Nyamira districts thus achieving one of the objectives of the settlement. It has also served to demonstrate that Africans are not necessarily lazy and nonachieving people for, if given opportunities and incentives, they can be as productive as any other people.

In Nyansiongo the government provided the farmers with the necessary opportunities by giving them land, with agricultural extension workers to advise and encourage them. The results are impressive, high production of food and cash crops.

Nyansiongo farmers have also come to understand the economic system of the country better than they did in the pre-settlement

area. After they were advanced loans which most of them have repaid they are now in a position to understand how the monetary system works. That many of them have come to realize that the money given to them as loans is not just a gift but money that should put to productive use. This is because it has to be repaid with interest.

Culturally, the farmers have come to abandon some practices such as cattle lending to neighbours and relatives. Thus they have developed into more self - reliant individuals who can exist on their own at all times without relying on kinship oriented networks. They have also come to understand that having many cattle do not symbolize being wealthy except when the cattle are productive, thus it is possible for a farmer to keep a few but qualitative cattle instead of keeping many but poor quality cattle.

The farmers have also benefited from the advice given by government extension workers, which has gone a long way to assist them in increasing their production in the farms. Favourable weather conditions have also contributed to the farmers' economic success. Except for the 1971 and 1984 drought the rest of the years since resettlement have experienced fairly reliable rainfall, thus ensuring that the farmers have had favourable yields throughout.

The farmers have invested the money they earn wisely, by building permanent houses and other structures on their farms. As a group the farmers have also contributed money for the building of schools and a health centre at Nyansiongo, some of the farmers have

also invested their money in small scale businesses such as shops, transport, business, carpentry and masonary. New employment opportunities have developed out of the established institutions and businesses.

Farmers have also identified themselves with government policies and programmes, such as achieving self sufficiency in food production, taking their children to school, maintaining high hygienic standards and improving the general living standards.

In conclusion the resettlement programme has enabled the people restore their self confidence as human beings in running their own affairs. It has opened new employment opportunities for the settlers. It has made people abandon some of their cultural beliefs that are not compatible with modern living. It has enabled people view themselves as united Abagusii and Kenyans in general thus fostering nationalism. It has enabled them benefit from government extension services and loan system, thus making them identify with government policies and programmes, because the people feel that they are part and parcel of their government.

5.1.2 RECOMMENDATION

Research findings show that the socio-economic status of the Nyansiongo farmers depends on their own individual efforts coupled with the Government's efforts expressed through agricultural extension officers. For these two parties to continue working for the overall success of the resettlement programme they have to base their working relationship on the views articulated in the

dialogical modernization model. They have to respect each other first as human beings. It is therefore recommended that this model be applied to all future resettlement programmes.

Secondly, it is recommended that more resettlement schemes be opened to act as demonstration centres for planned social-economic change and also to ease population pressure in the more overcrowded Districts of Kenya such as Kisii, Kakamega and Kiambu.

When opening up these areas, essential services such as provision of clean water, health facilities and electricity should be provided. Nyansiongo settlement lacks most of the facilities mentioned above. At the time of the study there was no piped water, the roads were more or less impassable during the heavy rain season as a result of their not being tarmaced. Consequently, farmers experienced difficulties in marketing their farm produce.

In short, the Government needs to improve the general infrastructure of the area as this is a high agricultural potential area. In view of the fact that the settlement is a major milk producing area the Government should consider building a milk plant there to facilitate the processing and marketing of this product, just as is the case with maize which has huge storage facilities at the divisional headquarters. Currently Nyansiongo milk is taken all the way to Sotik where the nearest milk plant is situated, this reduces the farmers' earnings through transportation costs.

The study also recommends that the Government establish a hospital in the area. Currently the settlement has one situated near Nyansiongo secondary school and run by the Catholic Church.

This hospital has a few beds for emergency cases only. The settlers need a bigger hospital to cater for their health needs. Financial institutions should also open their branches in the settlement. At the time the study was conducted farmers had to travel all the way to Keroka and Sotik for their banking services. A final recommendation could be that more studies on socio-economic implications of resettlement schemes be done for the purpose of comparison.

APPENDIX

CASE STUDY

INTERVIEWEES

CASE 1: MR MORRIS NYABUTO

Because his farm is generally recognized by agricultural extension officers as the best in Nyansiongo scheme, he is frequently visited by the agricultural officers. He has won many presents in recognition of his well kept tea plants, which include wheelburrows, fertilizer and forked hoes.

At the time of this study, his farm was among the few in which the author met gricultural officers giving their instructions. Morris himself as a farmer had a lot to offer as far as tea farming is concerned. He knows quite a lot about when to apply fertilizers to it, how to pluck the tea leaves properly, and the best recommended pesticides for tea in Nyansiongo. He also informed the author that he reads agricultural magazines on tea farming most of which he gets from the tea factory at Nyansiongo. He is the only farmer who takes his tea direct to the factory in Nyansiongo, all the other farmers have to sell their tea to the factory through the tea buying centres. He takes tea directly to the factory because his farm is quite big, he has over 24 hactares

of tea and is located very near to the factory.

It was understandable that because of the commitment which this particular farmer shows to tea farming, the agricultural extension workers also respond by providing him with all the necessary advice on how to succeed in tea farming. His good relationship with the extension officers is therefore vital to his success. It is thus a commendable reciprocal relationship. It goes a long way also to reinforce the theoretical model that the dialogical modernization theory if well applied can result in the farmers' success. It also shows that this theory is already in operation in the settlement scheme. This theory puts emphasis on dialogue between the extension workers and the farmers. Morris farm is also a good example of the demonstration effect of resettlement.

According to him it is not only the extension workers who pay him frequent visits but also other farmers from within and without the settlement scheme. They come to learn the practical aspects of tea farming with the intention of transferring the knowledge to their own farms. Other personal information derived from this particular farmers is that he is a prominent businessman in Kisii town, having well invested the money he has earned from tea farming over the years. He, for example, owns one of the biggest and tallest buildings in the town. He drives a good saloon car and has educated his children well. Three of his sons are University graduates and are now working in Nairobi. He has built a good permanent house at his farm in Nyansiongo. His farm

homestead looks as good as any of the good ones found in urban centres, complete with electricity, television, good sofa sets, well fenced compound with well tamed flowers, and a lawn mower for cutting grass in his compound. In short, his high income is reflected in his standard of living.

He told us that he was one of the first people to plant tea, when it was introduced by the colonialists in Kisii in 1957 and therefore, he has a long and accumulated knowledge of how this crop should be grown. The example of Morris confirms one of our hypotheses in this study and that is, the farmers in the settlement have benefited socially and economically.

CASE TWO: MR MAONCHA.

This particular farmer is one of the prominent figures in Nyansiongo settlement scheme. He is also one of those farmers frequently visited by the agricultural extension officers and who is considered to be one of the successful farmers by the agricultural officers.

Mr Maoncha is, however, a unique farmer, especially in the context of his religious beliefs. Initially, he was a Seventh Day Adventist (S.D.A) Christian. but soon after resettlement in Nyansiongo he changed to Islam. According to his own account he came to change his religion from Christianity to Islam after receiving the truth. After several seasons of meditation and soul searching for the truth he came to believe that the only true religion is Islam. Mr Maoncha is so obsessed with Islamic beliefs

that he has even started building his own Mosque at Nyansiongo. At the time of this study he said that his followers had increased from 5 to 35 within one year. The government has already allocated him a plot where he can build his Mosque in Nyansiongo trading centre. Mr Maoncha was quite optimistic that in only a few years to come the Moslem community would greatly expand in Nyansiongo.

Mr Maoncha is one of the very few Nyansiongo farmers who are polygamists. He said that he married his second and third wives, soon after receiving the truth, that is, after being converted to Islam. Islam allows a person to marry an even number of wives, and so he is on the lookout for a fourth wife. According to him he decided to be a polygamist after learning that there is nowhere in the Koran or Bible where it is written that polygamy is evil. Furthermore he argued that the great men of God in the Bible such as Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were all polygamists. He therefore dismissed the argument against polygamy as mere western European culture that distorts biblical teachings.

Maoncha is unique also because despite being a polygamist he has managed to build three good permanent houses in his homestead one for each of his wives. All the houses are of the same size and design. He said that he thought of building the houses in the same design and size to reflect that he treats all his wives equally.

He emphasized the point that one of the things
that can ruin a polygamous home is if the husband starts giving
preferential treatment to some or one of his wives.

At the time the interview was carried out, Mr. Maoncha was

found in his farm, picking tea with his wives and some of his children. Maoncha is one of the farmers in Nyansiongo settlement who has won so many K.T.D.A prizes for keeping his tea plants to the required standards. He has educated his children well, three of them now work in Nairobi. He was quick to point out that most of the money he used for building his permanent houses was from tea bonuses. Asked about the future prospects of his children he expressed the view that his desire is to see that all his children acquire the best education possible which can enable them get good jobs and be self-reliant.

He said that his vision for the future lies on his children working in urban centres, but if for bad luck some of his children would not perform well in school, then he will consider starting small businesses for them, so that they also can be self supporting. He, however, did not entertain the view that any of his children should bank hopes on inheriting his farm from him. That he said was his own emonga, that is, property for himself and his wives.

Mr Maoncha is thus one of the examples of a progressive farmer in Nyansiongo settlement. His farm serves to show the effect of the demonstration and transformation model. It also serves to show that overall, there has been a change socially, culturally and economically among the Nyansiongo farmers due to resettlement. His money is mostly invested in educating his children, building good permanent houses and general improvement of the living standards of his family members. Much of it is also

ploughed back into the farm through the buying of farm implements inputs, fertilizers and pesticides. During this study he was the only farmer with a big stock of fertilizer for his tea plants. He said that he expects his stock of fertilizer to last him for five years. He emphasized that it is better for a farmer to buy a large stock of fertilizer to beat the increasing prices of this commodity. In that way one is likely to benefit instead of using large sums of money buying small quantities of fertilizers.

In conclusion it was observed that Maoncha has concentrated more on tea farming than on the other two farming activities operational in the settlement scheme, i.e, dairying and maize farming. He finds dairy farming much more expensive due to the frequency of disease outbreaks, such as East Coast Fever, Foot and Mouth disease and Anthrax which kill many cows, resulting in big losses. Further-more, he said since his farm is located far from the milk buying centres, he finds transporting the milk to be a quite bothersome exercise to his family members. He, therefore, keeps only a few cattle to meet the milk needs of his family. Finally, Maoncha's home looks relatively well developed compared to his neighbours' homes.

CASE THREE

INTERVIEW WITH FATHER ALLOYS: A CATHOLIC PRIEST IN NYANSIONGO SETTLEMENT:

- Q1. What would you say is the dominant religion of the Nyansiongo farmers?
- A. Christianity is the dominate religion and the Seventh Day Adventists dominate as a sect, although Catholicism is fast developing.
- Q2. What is the role of the Catholic Church in the social and economic development of the Nyansiongo farmers?

A.The church has played a very significant role in the socio economic development of the Nyansiongo farmers, considering the fact that this is a newly settled area. There are a lot of projects that the church has sponsored within a relatively short period of time. Take the Nyansiongo health hospital for instance, we have about 25 beds for in-patients, a surgery and maternity wing. We also operate health centres at Kijauri and Eronge. On the educational sphere, the Catholic Church has established six secondary schools, and also one youth village polytechnic. The village polytechnic is particularly useful in imparting practical skills on school leavers. It assists boys and girls to learn important skills such as masonry, carpentry and modern techniques of farming, which would go long way into equipping them for the challenges of modern living.

The church also has a programme for teaching modern farming skills to the local farmers. It has five adult literacy centres where the illiterate farmers are taught the basic skills of how to read and write. The church has also what would be termed as a banking system or credit union comprised of 36 members. These members contribute money and loan it to each other. The repayment terms are quite soft. However, I want to point out that this is a newly established programme and it will need time to develop. At the moment the 36 members have only a share capital of Ksh 15,000/=. Furthermore, the church has had people trained, who go around advising the farmers on natural family planning methods, because the church is in favour of this method of family planning. The church's view is that artificial family planning methods expose the users to many dangers, sometimes resulting in permanent side effects, especially the women.

Furthermore, it increases abortions which the catholic church is strongly opposed to. Natural family planning methods should be encouraged and the church is happy to report encouraging progress among the farmers in Nyansiongo.

The church also has field experts trained by the diocese who go around instructing farmers on modern farming techniques such as zero grazing. There are field workers provided with motor-bikes by the diocese to inspect farmers on their farms. The church had started poultry farms but these failed because the area is far from towns and it was difficult to get a market for the eggs.

Q3. How strong are the traditional beliefs of the Nyansiongo farmers? and which of these beliefs would you say are detrimental to socio-economic development? and what is the role of the church in eradicating those beliefs?

A. The belief in circumcision is very strong, even that of women.

However, the church is doing everything possible to discourage female circumcision (clitoridectomy) because of its dangers on the health of women. This I will say hinders socio-economic development because women are the main producers in the farm. If their health gets endangered farm production automatically goes down.

Another very strong belief is that of taking sick people to indigenous medicine men when they do not notice any quick improvement on the patient. For example, recently there was a case in which one of the nurses whose husband, a teacher by profession, had fallen ill. He was brought to the hospital, but when the wife (nurse) noticed that the husband was not making quick improvement, she with the help of her relatives removed him from the hospital to perform traditional rites on him before they again brought him back to the hospital. The nurse and her relatives strongly believe that the traditional rite had to be performed before the modern medicine could work.

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THE QUESTIONNAIRE

IDENTIFICATION	1 1	
1. Name of respondent	- 1	
Date of Interview		
Questionnaire No.		
Division	2 2 9	
Location		
Sub-location		
Village		
2. Sex: (2) Male	(3) Female	
3. Age: When were ye	ou born?	
Calculate and enter	age	
4. What is your marit	al status?	
(1) Single	- "	
(2) Married	*	
(3) Separated	J-a y	
(4) Divorced		7
(5) Widowed		
5. How many members o	f this household stay here?	
e.g.	1 3, 1	
Sons	A STATE OF THE STA	
Daughters	17	
Wives/Wife		

Nephews	
Cousins	
Others	
In the pre-settlement area how many members	were in your household?
	e.g.
Sons	
Daughters	
Nephews	
Cousins	
Wives/Wife	
Others	
7. How many members of this household stay	elsewhere?
6	e.g.
Sons	
Daughters	
Nephews	
Cousins	
Wives/wife	
8. In the pre-settlement area whom did you	consider to be members
of your lineage and how were they related	to you? e.g.
1. Cousins	\
2. Nephews	
3. Uncles	
A such dia a	

5. Gr	andparents
6. Ot	hers
9. In	this settlement whom do you consider to be members of your
lineag	e and how are they related to you? e.g.
1. Co	pusins
2. Ne	phews
3. Un	ocles
4. Au	inties
5. Gr	andparents
6. Ot	hers
10. In	the pre-settlement area which clan did you belong to?
and wh	at was the size and composition of that clan?
Name o	of Lineages that composed it
(1)	(2)
(3)	
11.In	this settlement which clan do you belong to and what lineage
compos	se the clan?
(1) _	
(2)	
(3) _	
12. In	the pre-settlement area what were the \major obligations o
clan m	nembers to each other?
(1) _	

(2)		
(3)		
	In this settlement what are the major obligations of copers to each other?	lan
(1)		
(2)	t e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e	
(3)		
14.	In the pre-settlement area who were your neighbours? e.g.	
(1)	Members of your lineage	
(2)	Members of your clan	
(3)	Others	
15.	In this settlement who are your neighbours? e.g.	
(1)	Members of your lineage	
(2)	Members of your clan	
(3)	Others (Specify)	
16.	What were the major obligations of neighbours to each other	in
the	pre-settlement area?	
(1)		
(2)	1	
(3)		
17.	What are the major obligations of neighbours to each other	in
this	s settlement?	
(1)		

(2)	
(3)	
18.	What leadership position did you hold in the pre-settlement
area	? Tick appropriately.
(0)	None
(1)	Clan leader
(2)	Religious leader
(3)	Chairman of Co-operative
(4)	Others (specify)
19.	Which leadership do you hold in this scheme? Tick where
appl	icable
(0)	None
(1)'	Clan elder
(2)	Religious leader
(3)	Chairman of Co-operative
(4)	Others (specify)
20.	Give the names of people who assist you in performing the
foll	owing:
Pers	ons who Relationship to the
Type	of Activity Assist head of household
(1)	Planting \
(2)	Weeding
(3)	Harvesting

(4) Others(specify) ____

21. Name the people who assist you in the event of the following
(1) Death and sickness
(2) Marriage and births
(3) Initiation needs
(4) Financial needs
(5) Others (specify)
22. List the major food crops that you usually cultivate:
(1)
(2)
(3)
23. List the major cash crops that you usually cultivate:
(1)
(2)
(3)
24. Of number (22) above which do you consume personally in terms
of -
(1) Sacks
25. Give the names of all the people you used to offer food in pre-
settlement area.
Name of person Sacks of food givenRelationship
(1)
(2)
(2)

26. Give the names of all the people you offered some of your	food
crops this year:	
Name of personSacks of food givenRelationship	
(1)	
(2)	
(3)	
27. In the pre-settlement area how many acres of land did you	u put
under crop production e.g.	
AcresTotal acres	
(1) Maize	
(2) Tea	
(3) Others	
28. How did you plant your crop in the pre-settlement area.	In
rows or not in rows? Tick appropriately.	
YesNo	
29. How do you plant your crops in this scheme? In rows or No	ot in
rows? Tick one.	
YesNo	
30. In the pre-settlement area did you plant your crops of	using
fertilizers? Tick one: (If No skip to Question 32)	

Yes _____No ____

31.	If 30(1) which fertilizer did you use?
(1)	Animal manure
(2)	Chemical Fertilizer
(3)	Plant manure.
32.	Where did you get information on how to use this fertilizer?
(1)	Parents
(2)	Children
(3)	Agricultural Officers
(4)	F.T.C.
(5)	Radio/T.V.
(6)	Barazas
33.	In this settlement do you use fertilizers? Tick one, (If No
skip	to Question 35)
Yes	No
34.	If number 33(1) who did you learn from? Tick where applicable:
(1)	Parents
(2)	Agricultural Officers
(3)	Children '
(4)	Others (specify)
35.	If you have ever seen other people use it? (If no skip to
Ques	tion 37)
Yes	No

36. I	f number 35(1) which are these people? Tick where applicable:
(1)	Parents
(2)	Children
(3)	Agricultural Officers
(4)	Others (specify)
37. W	which tools did you use for performing the following tasks in
the p	pre-settlement area?
Task	Tools used
(1)	Cultivating
(2)	Planting
(3)'	Weeding
(4)	Harvesting
(5)	Spraying
(6)	Others (specify)
38. V	Which tools do you use for performing the following tasks in
this	settlement?
Tasks	Tools used
(1)	Cultivating
(2)	Planting
(3)	Harvesting
(4)	Weeding

(5) Spraying
(6) Others(specify)
39. Which type of cattle did you keep in the pre-settlement area?
Tick appropriately.
(1) Indigenous
(2) Improved
40. Of number 39 above how many did you own?
41. What type of cows do you keep in this settlement?
Tick appropriately:
(1) Indigenous
(2) Improved
42. Of number 41 above how many do you own?
43. Of number 39 above how many gallons of milk were they
yielding?
44. Of number 41 above how many gallons of milk do they yield
An in the state of
45. How many bulls do you own in the pre-settlement area?
46. How many bulls do you own in this settlement?
47. How did you inseminate your cows in the pre-settlement area?
e.g. Tick one:
(1) Bulls
(2) Artificial Insemination
48. What is your current mode of insemination?

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF THE SETTLERS

49. In the pre-settlement scheme how many people used to eat in

your household? e.g.	
Sons	
Daughters	
Wife/Wives	
Nephew	
Friends	
Others	
50. In this settlement how many people	have their meals in this
house-hold? e.g.	
Sons	
Daughters	
Wife/Wives	
Nephew	
Friends	
Others	
51. In the pre-settlement home how many	meals did you have daily?
e.g.	
Breakfast	
Lunch	/-
Supper	
Dinner	\
Others	
52. In this settlement how many meals	do you have daily? Tick
appropriately:	
(1)	

(2)	
(3)	
53.	Of question 49 above what were you eating for:
(1)	Breakfast
(2)	Lunch
(3)	Supper
(4)	Other(specify)
54.	Of question 52 above what do you eat for:
(1)	Breakfast
(2)	Lunch
(3)	Supper
(4)	Other(specify)
55.	In the pre-settlement area what form of fuel were you using for
cook	ing your meals? e.g.
(1)	Firewood
(2)	Paraffin
(3)	Gas
(4)	Electricity
(5)	Others(specify)
56.	In this settlement what form of fuel do you use for cooking
your	meals? e.g.
(1)	Firewood ,
(2)	Paraffin
(3)	Gas
(4)	Electricity
(5)	Others(specify)

- 57. What type of house did you live in, in the pre-settlement area? e.g.
- (1) Grass-thatched
- (2) Iron-roofed and mud walled
- (3) Semi-permanent
- (4) Permanent
- (5) Timber house
- (6) Others(specify)
- 58. In this settlement what type of house do you live in? Tick appropriately:
- (1) Grass-thatched
- (2) Iron-roofed and mud walled
- (3) Semi-permanent
- (4) Permanent
- (5) Timber house
- (6) Others(specify)
- 59. Of the following items which one did you own in the presettlement area? Tick appropriately:
- (1) Glass plates
- (2) Bicycle
- (3) Radio and Television
- (4) Tractor
- (5) Pick up vehicles
- (6) Sofa sets.
- 60. In this settlement which of the following items do you own?

Tick appropriately:
(1) Glass plates
(2) Bicycle
(3) Radio and Television
(4) Tractor
(5) Pick up vehicle
(6) Others (specify)
61. What religion or denomination did you belong to when you were
in the pre-settlement home?(probe)
62. What religion or denomination do you belong to in this
settlement?
63. If you now belong to a different religion or denomination other
than the one you belonged to in the pre-settlement area?
What made you to change your religion affliation?
64. How much income did you earn from all of your economic
activities in the pre-settlement area? e.g.
Income from
Tea cultivationKshs\
Tea cultivationKshs\ MaizeKshs,
MaizeKshs,
MaizeKshs, Milk productionKshs

Income fromIncome

(1) Tea cultivation Kshs	
(2) Maize cultivationKshs	
(3) Milk production Kshs	
(3) Others(specify) Total Kshs	
66. How were you spending your	income in the pre-settlement? e.g
Tick appropriately:	
(1) Buying clothes	
(2) Entertainment	
(3) Paying school fees	
(4) Investing	
(5) Helping kinsmen	
(6) Others (specify)	
67. How do you currently spend y	your income? Tick appropriately:
(1) Buying clothes	
(2) Paying school fees	*
(3) Investing	
(4) Repaying loans	/
(5) Entertainment	
(6) Helping kinsmen	\
68. What major changes have you s	seen in the way money is earned an
spent since you moved into this	scheme?
(1)	
(2)	
(3)	

69.	What will you say are the major economic benefits in this
sch	eme?
(1)	
(2)	
70.	What will you say are the major social benefits in this scheme?
(1)	
(3)	
71.	Was life better or worse in the settlement area? Tick one:
Yes	No
(If	'No skip to question 73)
72.	If 69(1) What made it better?
(1)	
(2)	
(3)	
73.	If 69(2) What made it worse?
(1)	/
(2)	
(3)	
74.	What will you say are the economic benefits of resettlement for
you	r children?
(1)	
(2)	
(3)	

75.	What will you say are the social benefits of resettlement for
your	r children?
(1)	
(2)	
76.	What will you say are the major economic disadvantages for
com	ing to stay in the settlement?
(1)	
(2)	
77.	What would you say are the major social loses for coming to
stay	y in settlement?
(1)	
(2)	
(3)	
78.	What type of cows do people surrounding the scheme own
(1)	Indigenous
(2)	Improved
79.	What kind of crops do they plant? e.g.
Food	d crops Cash crops
(1)	(1)
(2)	(2)
80.	How often do people surrounding the settlement visit your farm?
e.g.	
(1)	Frequently

- (2) Occasionally
- (3) Rarely.
- 81. How often do you visit them in their farms? e.g.
- (1) Frequently
- (2) Occasionally
- (3) Rarely.
- 82. How often do your kinsmen visit you here in the settlement e.g.
- (1) Frequently
- (2) Occasionally
- (3) Rarely.