

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

FACULTY OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORKS

THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL CONVENTIONS ON COMMUNITY LIVELIHOODS
AND VULNERABILITY TO DISASTERS: A CASE STUDY OF THE OSILIGI MAASAI
COMMUNITY, NAMANGA DIVISION, KAJIADO COUNTY

BY:ANNAH K. KYOYA

C50/7312/2006

A research project

submitted to the Department of sociology and social work, University of Nairobi, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Sociology(Advanced Disaster Management).

November, 2013

DECLARATION

I the undersigned hereby declare that this research project is entirely my original work and has not been submitted to any other institution, college or university for academic credits or awards.

.....

Annah K. Kyoya

Reg. Number: C50/7312/2006

.....

Date

This research project has been submitted for my approval as the University Supervisor:

.....

Dr. Robinson M. Ocharo

Supervisor

.....

Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work would not have been possible without the support and contribution of many special people a few whom deserve mention.

My special appreciation goes to my supervisor, Dr. R. M Ocharo for his close and continued professional support that provided me with the necessary guidance and rigor during this study. Secondly, I wish to appreciate my husband, Stanley, for the moral and financial support especially during my field work. My third appreciation goes to Daniel Mwebi (WVK Regional Director) for the approval needed to work with the World Vision supported Osiligi Community Integrated Program (OCIP) team (Meeme, Kitipa, and Agnes) who were very instrumental in linking me with critical KIs, allowing me to use their already established community structures, and provision of invaluable interview information. My fourth acknowledgement is to John Millia for his logistical support especially in securing for me the needed appointments with various KIs and FG members.

Other people who deserve mention include Nancy Githae for her support with logistical work and actual data collection, Wellington Sitati for his technical support in data processing, Mr Kang'ethe and Mr. Rono of Ministry of Agriculture (Namanga), Chief Daniel (Maili Tisa), enumerators (David, Martha, Rodgers, John, Jeremiah, Chris and Mutunkei), various Maasai Elders (KIs) and Focused Group Discussion members for their corporation during interviews and provision of invaluable information regarding the various elements of Maasai social conventions.

Above all, I remain deep indebted to God for the sustained moral and strength to complete this study.

DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to our two sons:

ElishamaMumo and Perez Mwendwa.

Boys, you remained a great inspiration to me during my period of study.

ABSTRACT

Current Statistics indicate an increase in the magnitude, severity and complexity of disasters from community to global level. Some of the factors blamed for this increased magnitude and severity of disasters include: changing demographics, technological, environmental degradation, climatic variability and change, and the impact of epidemics such as HIV/AIDS (UN/ISDR, 2005). This trend has been compounded by the poor's increasing vulnerability, resulting to recurrent losses of their resources, livelihood asset base and capacities. Africa region, which houses ten of the most vulnerable countries including Kenya, is one of the among the vulnerable regions (UN 2002 & 2005). The ASAL communities in Kenya, especially the pastoralists and their livelihoods, are among the hardest hit by these disasters. With the Maasai owning nearly half of the total livestock (Barrow and Mogaka, 2007) in ASAL areas, any threat to the Maasai livelihoods not only impacts on the well-being of the community itself but the country's economy.

A close scrutiny of the past and current efforts in Disaster Management and Risk Reduction (DMRR) efforts among the Kenyan pastoralist reveals a glaring omission of cultural factors as a possible root cause of community vulnerability to disasters. The current DMRR efforts have tended to focus on unsafe conditions and dynamic pressures, both of which are symptomatic, leaving out cultural factors. Secondly, these DMRR approaches pass as "hard technology" whose solutions are externally and institutionally driven with limited or no substantive "soft technology" interventions such as community participation and empowerment, which entails community capacity to identify the root causes to disasters and dialogue on livelihoods. It is this glaring omission of root causes such as "social conventions" (or Maasai ceremonies), which is a cultural issue and/or the "soft technology" approach in DMRR efforts that this study set out to investigate.

The overall objective of this study was to determine the impact of social conventions on community livelihoods and vulnerability to disasters. The four specific study objectives were to: (a) establish the various social conventions practiced by the Maasai of Osiligi community in Namanga Division; (b) establish the types and number of livestock assets used by a Maasai household in these conventions; (c) establish the existing community restocking mechanisms and their sustainability; and (d) establish the extent to which the community has understood and internalized the impact of social conventions to the household livestock base and vulnerability to food insecurity and drought related disasters. To achieve these objectives, a study was undertaken among the rural Osiligi Maasai from 10 villages in Namanga Division. A total of 219 people (i.e. 180 respondents, 14 key informants and 25 focused group members) were

interviewed. The response rate was 99.5 percent. Both probability (i.e. simple random, systematic, and cluster sampling) and non-probability sampling techniques were used in developing sampling frames and drawing sample sizes. Qualitative (i.e. KI and FGD interviews) and quantitative (i.e administration of questionnaires) methods were employed in data collection and information gathering. Quantitative data was processed using the SPSS statistical package while qualitative information was processed using MS word. Analysis was done using descriptive and inferential statistics.

The study found out that practice of social conventions accrued certain benefits to individuals, household and the community in general including: promotion of individual's identity and dignity; enhanced unit among kinsmen; opportunity to pass on valuable cultural elements as well as sustenance of Maasai culture. Despite these intrinsic and extrinsic cultural benefits, practice of social conventions was found to make heavy demands on community reproductive resources, especially livestock. The number of livestock used per ceremony ranged from one to 700 small ruminants and one to 210 cattle. The cash equivalent of these livestock ranged between Kshs 4,000/= to Kshs. 16.0 million per ceremony although this amount was said to be higher considering the livestock sold to purchase other food stuff consumed during these conventions. Other negative impacts included use of huge unproductive man-hours during preparation and execution of these conventions; high illiteracy among youths, due to involvement in *moranism* or early marriage; and environmental degradation during construction of *morancamps*. Overall, practice of social conventions impacted negatively on human, material, environmental and economic community livelihood assets, capabilities, productive and reproductive activities. In turn, these negative effects on community livelihoods contributed to increase in community's economic, social, environmental, attitudinal/motivational vulnerabilities to disasters.

Informed by these findings, this study recommended the following: social conventions should be considered and addressed as one of the factors impacting negatively on community social, financial, economic and environmental livelihood assets and vulnerability to disasters; the community should explore alternative resources for use during execution of the conventions in order to reduce the risk on livestock; there is need to diversify restocking practices to include other effective and locally acceptable restocking approaches; and finally, create community awareness and dialogue on the negative impact associated with practice of social conventions.

Future studies should investigate ways of tackling social conventions in disaster risk reduction (DRR) programming; investigate how the Maasai governance structure can be used in regulating the type and amount of resources, especially livestock used in social conventions; and investigate the impact of social conventions on formal education.

DECLARATION	1
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	2
DEDICATION	3
ABSTRACT	4
ACRONYMS	9
TABLES	10
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	11
1.1 Background of the Study.....	11
1.2 The Context of the Study.....	13
1:3 Problem statement.....	15
1.4 Key Research Questions.....	16
1:5 Objectives of the Study.....	16
1:6 Scope and limitations of the Study.....	17
1.7 Definition of Key Terminologies in the Study.....	17
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	20
2.1. Past and Current Disaster Trends.....	20
2.2 Past and Current Approaches in Disaster Management.....	21
2.3 Disaster Trends and their Impact in Kenya.....	24
2.4 Factors Contributing to Maasai Vulnerability to Disasters.....	26
2.5 Vulnerability to Disasters	28
2.6 Dimensions of Vulnerability.....	29
2.7 Theoretical Model of Vulnerability to Disaster.....	31
2.8 Community Livelihoods	34
2.9 Social Conventions.....	35
2.10 Theoretical Framework.....	36
2.10.1 Social Functionalism.....	36
2.10.2 Social Exchange Theory	37

2.11 Conceptual Framework.....	38
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODS	41
3.1 Introduction.....	41
3.2 Dependent and independent variables.....	41
3.3 Research Design.....	41
3.4 Research Methods and Techniques.....	42
3.5 Sampling.....	43
3.6 Sources of data.....	46
3.7 Units of Analysis.....	47
3.8 Data Analysis.....	47
CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS.....	48
4.1 Introduction.....	48
4.2 Demographic characteristics of the respondents.....	49
4.3 Key Maasai Social Ceremonies.....	56
4.3.1 Description of the Major Social Conventions.....	58
4.3.2Benefits of undergoing the social conventions	66
4.4 Community assets used during the social conventions.....	66
4.4.1 Factors influencing contribution of livestock resources in social conventions	70
4.5 Restocking mechanism.....	70
4.5.1 Traditional restocking approaches	72
4.5.2Initiators and enforcers of use of traditional restocking mechanisms.....	73
4.6 Internalization of the impact of social conventions.....	74
4.6.1Community perspective on causes of their vulnerability to disasters.....	79
4.7 Impact of social convention on community livelihoods.....	81
4.8 Social conventions and community vulnerability to disasters.....	82
4.9 Conclusion.....	82
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	84
5.1 Introduction.....	84

5.2	Summary of findings.....	84
5.2.1	Demographic characteristics.....	84
5.2.2	The Maasai social conventions and respective practices.....	85
5.2.3	Community assets used during social conventions.....	85
5.2.4	Community restocking mechanism.....	85
5.2.5	Internalization of the impact of social conventions.....	86
5.2.6	Impact of Social Conventions on Livelihoods and vulnerability to Disasters	86
5.3	Overall conclusion.....	87
5.4	Recommendations for community, development agents and policy makers.....	87
5.5	Recommendations for further study.....	88
BIBLIOGRAPHY		89
ANNEXES		94
	Annex 1:Survey Questionnaire.....	94
	Annex 2: Focused Groups Questionnaire.....	103
	Annex 3: Key Informant Questionnaire.....	105

ACRONYMS

ACSHPR	African Commission and Statistics on Human and People's Right
AIDs	Acquired Immune Deficiency
ASAL	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
CB	Capacity Building
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DMRR	Disaster Management and Risk Reduction
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
EWS	Early Warning System
FGD	Focused Group Discussion
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
GCS	Global Crisis Solution
GoK	Government of Kenya
HIV	Human Immune Virus
IFRC	International Federation of Red Committee
IRRC	Independent Regulatory Review Commission
ISDR	International Strategy for Disaster Reduction
KI	Key Informant(s)
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau Statistics
KRCS	Kenya Red Cross Society
LCD	Least Developed Countries
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PAR	Pressure and Release (model)
RCS	Red Cross Society
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Right of the Child
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UN	United Nations
USAID	United States Aid for International Development
USD	United States Dollar

TABLES

Table 4.1:	Age and gender distribution of individual respondents
Table 4.2:	Respondents who were born in and migrated to Namanga
Table 4.3:	Gender and marital status
Table 4.4:	Number of children
Table 4.5:	Dependency status among the singles
Table 4.6:	Education and literacy level among the respondents
Table 4.7:	Religion versus respondent's participations in various ceremonies
Table 4.8:	Religion, age and ceremonies cross tabulation
Table 4.9	Maasai ceremonies, frequencies, resources and their estimated quantities and costs
Table 4.10:	Prioritization of the resources used in various social conventions
Table 4.11:	Number of livestock used during execution of various ceremony
Table 4.12:	The community restocking mechanisms
Table 4.13:	Individual's rating on the importance of practicing social conventions
Table 4.14:	The impact of livestock use in social conventions to the household livestock base
Table 4.15:	Different community groups who are negatively impacted by use of livestock

Figure

Figure 4.1:	The main sources of income
Figure 4.2:	Respondents rating on the importance of social conventions to their lives
Figure 4.3:	Respondents rating on their involvement in various ceremonies (as an initiate)
Figure 4.4:	The key decision makers regarding continued execution of social conventions
Figure 4.5:	Different groups who authorize use of livestock in social conventions
Figure 4.6:	Initiators and enforcers of restocking mechanisms
Figure 4.7:	Rating on if the practice of social conventions was considered harmful
Figure 4.8:	Community vulnerability to food insecurity

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Current statistics indicate that disasters are on the rise with grave consequences for the survival, dignity and livelihood of individuals, particularly the poor. This trend has been compounded by increasing complexity, magnitude, and severity of these disasters, as well as high vulnerability levels of most of the affected populations (UN/ISDR, 2005). According to UN (2002), the number of disasters has more than tripled since the 1970's. Statistical evidence shows that the 84 great natural disasters recorded in the 1990s were three times as many as those that occurred in the 1960's while the combined economic losses of \$ 591 billion were eight times greater than those of 1960. At the same time, the number of people at risk grew by 70 to 80 million per year (UN, 2002).

UN (2005) has rated Africa as one of regions hardest hit by various disasters. Africa's high vulnerability to disasters has been associated with the fact that most poor communities lack the necessary capacity to predict, respond to and determine accurately the extent of impact and loss resulting from these disasters. This increasing trend in disaster occurrence in Africa has further been compounded by the increasing vulnerabilities related to changing demographic, technological, environmental degradation, climatic variability and change, geological hazards, competition for scarce resources, under-development and the impact of epidemics such as HIV/AIDS. As a result, the impact of disasters in Africa remains highly underestimated with most of its poor communities categorized as highly vulnerable to disasters (UN/ISDR, 2005 and UN, 2004).

As the world and Africa in particular continues to grapple with this monumental challenge, the poor frontline communities are faced with increased vulnerability resulting from recurrent losses of their resources, livelihood asset base and their capacities. At the same time, Africa's severely affected nations and societies continue to experience impediment of development of human condition and other immediate and long-term resources, upon which current societies and future generations depend upon. In its endeavor to address this ever growing challenge, the global community has prioritized and embraced the principle of involving those most affected by disasters. This principle hinges on the growing realization that successful Disaster Management and Risk Reduction (DMRR) should be based on the capacities of local communities to prepare for, respond to, and mitigate disasters of all types. There is now a growing realization and appreciation that the first and best line of defense against disasters is local communities (Blaikie et al 1994).

Kenya is one of the African countries that continue to grapple with the challenge of disaster and the aftermath effects. The country has continued to witness increased probability of hazards turning into disasters while affected communities' lives and livelihoods are seriously disrupted beyond their capacity to cope or withstand using their own resources (GoK, 2009).

Some of the factors predisposing Kenyan communities to disasters include droughts; floods; settlement to areas prone to perennial flooding; fires in both urban and rural areas, especially slums, semi-permanent and poorly constructed buildings; disease epidemics like malaria and HIV/AIDS; landslides; lightening/thunderstorm; road accidents; collapsing of building; fuel spillage and siphoning; mass killing by outlawed gangs; conflict especially among different tribes such as the pastoralists; and poverty (UNDP 2004 & GOK 2009). Drought has been singled out as the most serious hazard in Kenya. For example, the severe 1999 – 2001 drought which affected most parts of the country including some high potential areas saw an estimated 4.5 million Kenyan loss their livelihood and coping strategies thus depending entirely on relief food. It is estimated that the response to this drought cost the government and other stakeholders a whopping USD 340 million (GoK. 2009).

Populations living in Kenya's Arid and semi-Arid lands (ASALs) are among those hardest hit by these hazards and disasters. The Kenyan ASALs, which make up more than 80% of Kenya's landmass, supports over 30% of the human population and more than 70% of the national livestock (GOK 2005). Human population in the ASALs is sparsely distributed with majority of the people being nomadic pastoralists. However, due to increased land pressure in the high potential areas, the semi pastoralist and farming communities have in the recent years continued to migrate to the ASALs. Livestock remains the major productive asset base for most of the ASAL communities (GoK, 2005). Considering the magnitude and severity of disasters that the ASALs have continued to be faced with, both human population and livelihoods in these areas could be described as elements at risk.

The above scenario reveals a disturbing trend considering that much of the Kenya population is largely youthful. According to the Kenya 2009 Census (GoK/KNBS, 2009), 63.5% of the Kenya population is below 25 years while upto 71.8% of the country's population is below 30 years of age. With such a high percentage of its population being youthful, coupled with high poverty rates (57% of Kenyans live below the poverty line), unemployment, the HIV and AIDS scourge and an economy largely dependent on rain-fed agriculture (GoK 2009), Kenya stands a high chance of being crippled by these ever increasing disasters unless urgent measures are taken. While the government and various stakeholders have made reasonable attempts to respond to

occurring disasters, most of the affected communities are left more vulnerable to these disasters after every disaster occurrence. It is in the interest of this study to contribute to this effort by exploring some of the important and frequently practiced Maasai social conventions and their impact on the community livelihoods and vulnerability to disasters.

1.2 The context of the study

The Maasai of Kenya inhabit the southern and central parts of the country – specifically Kajiado, Narok, Transmara, Laikipia and parts of Baringo districts (ACHPR, 2005). They are among the pastoral communities living in the ASALs of Kenya, which is characterized by low and erratic rainfall with high evaporation rates and limited soil moisture, thus making pastoralism the most suitable form of land use. Of the three types of pastoralism (i.e. nomadism, transhumant, and agro-pastoral transhumant), practiced by the Maasai of Kenya, nomadism is the most common of the three (Markakis, 2004). The economies of Kajiado and Narok districts, where remnants of original Maasai live, are still dominated by pastoralism (Ekaya et al. 2005, Kajiado District Development Plan, 1997-2001). An estimated 75% of the total household income in Maasai land is generated from livestock (World Resources Institute, 2007, Homewood et al., 2009). Being pastoralists, livestock constitutes an important aspect of Maasai life and is therefore used in several ways including food (meat, milk and blood), cash from sale of skins and hides, as well as Maasai cultural ceremonies (Morton, 2007).

The Maasai are particularly known for their well-organized social systems, which are based on clan system and age-set system. According to Spear and Weller (1993), the age-set comprises of all those within a broad range of ages who are formed into a group of peers with their own separate identity. Both warriors and elders are central in the Maasai community structure. Warriors provide protection to both people and livestock and also building of Maasai homes (*kraals*), while the elders are in charge of social and traditional decision making and governance system (Kituyi, 1990, Sankan 1995). The progression from one-age set to another involves a ceremony. Some of the commonly practiced Maasai ceremonies include: senior boy ceremony (*Enkipaata*), circumcision (*Emuratta*), marriage (*Enkiama*), warrior-shaving ceremony (*Eunoto*), milk-drinking ceremony (*Eokoto e-kule*), meat-eating ceremony (*Enkangoo-nkiri*), junior elder ceremony (*Orngesherr*), and earlobe (*Eudoto/Enkigerunotooo-inkiyiaa*) (Kakuta, 2008: *Maasai Association*, www.maasai-association.org). Each of these ceremonies symbolizes a new phase in a Maasai's life. As such, every Maasai child is eager to undergo each of these rites of passage. Due to the importance attached to these ceremonies, the Maasai use livestock, which is considered to be their prime reproductive resource.

Although historically and traditionally the Maasai are still considered pure pastoralists, they have in the recent past made a shift from being purely pastoralists to agro-pastoralists and entrepreneurs. This shift has been associated with a number of factors including myriad changes in land tenure especially repossession of vast territory of Maasai land for preservation of wild life, increased urbanization, land use intensification, sedentarization, changing environmental, social-economic, and political changing landscape that has resulted to a huge loss of livestock (Osano, 2011). Today, the Maasai people live on a relatively small area of land in Kajiado and Narok Districts, surrounded by Kenya's fine game reserves. Although most of the Maasai still practice nomadic pastoralism, quite a number have been absorbed into modern day jobs including employment and working in the tourism industry where they showcase their culture to visiting tourists. Other changes associated with this modernization include change in dressing from use of animal skins to today's red Maasai attire; involvement with other religions like Christianity in addition to historical monotheistic traditional beliefs; consumption of other foods such as cereals and pulses instead of relying purely on meat and milk; as well as intermarriage with other tribes such as Kikuyus and Kambas. A number of these changes are considered as ways to adapt to change following decreased grazing land and huge losses of livestock. For example, between 2008 to 2009, a devastating drought destroyed three-quarters of Maasai cattle and two-thirds of their small stock (Western, 2010). As such, the Maasai have been considered to be one of the most vulnerable ASAL community in Kenya.

The need to reduce the Kenyan ASAL populations' vulnerability to hazards remains a priority issue in the country's poverty reduction strategies. Although home to 25% of Kenya's population, more people are now migrating to ASALs as the Kenyan population continues to grow, posing further danger to the already vulnerable communities and their livelihoods. Pastoralism remains the main form of land use in ASALs with livestock accounting for up to 90% of employment and more than 95% of household income (GoK, 2005). Of the four pastoral communities living within the ASALs (Maasai, Turkana, Rendile and the Kalenjins), the Maasai own nearly half of the total livestock (Barrow and Mogaka, 2007). As such, any increased vulnerability among the Maasai impacts, not only the community, but also the country's economy.

Factors contributing to increasing human and livelihood vulnerability to disasters among the pastoral Maasai community include: fragile ecosystem; unfavorable climatic condition that is characterized by frequent and prolonged drought; poor ASALs and market policies; exclusion from markets coupled with underdeveloped market systems; poor infrastructure; poor institutional, and ineffective governance and leadership structures; livestock diseases and

historical marginalization (GOK, 2004, Mutiso, 1995, & Rass 2006); myriad changes in land tenure such as: land use intensification, sedentarization, land fragmentation thus minimizing the originally available grazing land; inequality in especially land resource access and allocation, human-wildlife conflict, disruption of established migration pathways for livestock access to better grazing lands; and fencing grazing land into small blocks thus limiting livestock movement (Western and Nightingale 2003, Galvin, 2009);

Despite these myriad challenges, the civil society organizations (CSOs), national and foreign governments have made various efforts to respond to these disasters. These responses include: capacity building of key stakeholders; policy formulation; disaster contingency planning; provision of food and non-food stuff; provision of safe water for both people and livestock; emergency nutrition programs targeting children, elderly and adults; restocking programs with high yielding and locally adoptable livestock breeds and poultry; provision of agricultural inputs; construction of water, health and road infrastructures; enhancing access to veterinary services; treatment of diseases; management and leadership of on-going response initiatives (KRCS, 2009, 2010 & 2011; World Vision, 2011& 2012; and GOK, 2009). Other interventions include formulation of policies towards settling pastoral communities in irrigation schemes, creating group ranches and introducing alternative land use systems (GoK 2005); provision of loans to livestock owners for increasing trading capacities and improving livestock marketing practices; advocacy for better livestock management and marketing policy (USAID, 2012).

1:3 Problem statement

A careful analysis of the above factors contributing to Maasai community vulnerability to disasters revealed a glaring omission of cultural factors such as social conventions, which could be considered a possible root cause of community vulnerability to disasters. According to Blaikei et al(2005), the three categories of causes of vulnerability to disasters include: root causes, dynamic pressures, and unsafe conditions. Root causes are said to be profoundly bound up with cultural assumptions, social relations, ideology, and beliefs, all of which are considered as the basic fundamentals and ideologies on which the society is built. As such, they tend to be invisible and overlooked as a possible root cause of vulnerability. Examples of root causes include: limited access to power, deep rooted cultural practices, ideologies, political and economic systems. Unsafe conditions, which are said to be another cause of vulnerability to disasters, encompass the vulnerable contexts where people and property are exposed to risk of disasters. Examples include physical and social environments where both human and livelihoods are at risk (Global Crisis Solutions, 2002). Dynamic pressures, on the other hand, encompass those immediate causes of unsafe conditions, for example rapid urbanization. As

such, the current vulnerability and disaster causal factors among the Maasai (section 1.2 above) could be related to unsafe conditions and dynamic pressures, both of which are symptomatic, with limited and/or no inclusion of the actual root causal factors. This has the possibility of increased household vulnerability thus negating the on-going DRR efforts among the Maasai pastoralists.

Secondly, the current Disaster Management and Risk Reduction (DMRR) approaches among the pastoralist (section 1.2) pass as “hard technology” whose solutions are externally and institutionally driven with limited or no substantive focus on “soft technology” factors such as community participation. According to *Hyogo Framework for Action 2005-2015* (UN 2005), “community participation” encompasses empowerment of both communities and local authorities towards effective management and disaster risk reduction. This empowerment process involves capacity to identify the root causes of vulnerability to disasters as well as dialogue on livelihoods. It is this glaring omission of limited and/or lack of focus on “soft technology” in DMRR coupled with limited or lack of focus on root causes of community vulnerability to disasters that this study addressed. In order to address this gap, this study sought to establish the impact of social conventions on community livelihood and vulnerability to disasters.

1.4 Key Research Questions

From the foregoing problem, this study endeavored to respond to the following key questions:

- What are the various social conventions undertaken by the Maasai of Osiligi community?
- What types and quantities of livestock does a household contribute during each of these conventions?
- What are the existing community livestock replenishment mechanisms? Can these mechanisms or practices be considered sustainable in meeting the household restocking needs?
- What does the community consider as the impact of practicing these social conventions to their livestock asset base and their vulnerability to disasters?

1.5 Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of this study was to determine the impact of Maasai social conventions on their livelihoods and vulnerability to locally experienced disasters such as drought and food insecurity. The specific objectives of this study were:

1. To establish the various social conventions practiced by the Maasai of Osiligi community in Namanga Division.

2. To establish the types and number of livestock assets used by a Maasai household in their major social conventions
3. To establish the existing community restocking mechanism(s) and their sustainability
4. To establish the extent to which the community had understood and internalized the impact of social conventions to the household livestock base and vulnerability to food insecurity and drought related disasters.

1:6 Scope and limitations of the Study

This study was undertaken among the rural Maasai of Osiligi community, in Namaga division, Kajiado district. This community provided the researcher with an opportunity to interact with the remnants of the original Maasai since both Narok and Kajiado districts are said to be home to original Maasai (Kakuta, 2008) with institutional memory on Maasai social conventions. The targeted population was adult male and female, traditional elders, and the children (13-18 years). The choices of these Maasai elders was a central consideration in this study since much of the desired information for this study would mainly be tacit knowledge and hence resides within people's institutional memory

Secondly, the primary focus of the study were those Maasai social ceremonies executed annually including but not limited to senior boy ceremony (*Enkipaata*), circumcision (*Emuratta*), senior warrior's initiation (*Eunoto*) and meat-eating ceremony (*Enkangoo-nkiri*). For the purpose of this study, the term "Maasai ceremonies" or "traditional ceremonies" were used interchangeably with social conventions. Thirdly, the individual respondents of this study were male and female aged between 16 years and below 65 years. Key informants were drawn from Maasai elders (male and female), local administration, government officials from the ministry of agriculture and livestock in Namanga Division, church, schools and World Vision. Focused group discussion members were clustered according to gender for the necessary freedom of speech and discussion of the desired aspects of Maasai social conventions. Since the study was undertaken within three of the six locations of Namanga Division, the findings of this study could be generalized to Namanga Division. Finally, the source of data was both primary and secondary as detailed in the research methodology.

1.7 Definition of Key Terminologies in the Study

Community Participation

This is the community based (CB) approach in disaster risk management. Under this study, community participation meant empowerment of both communities and local authorities

towards the management and disaster risk reduction. This empowerment process involves capacity to identify the root causes to disasters as well as dialogue on community livelihoods.

Disaster

As used in this study, the term “disaster” meant a serious disruption of the normal functioning of community or a society causing widespread human, material, economic or environmental losses which exceed the ability of the affected community or society to cope using its own resources. A disaster would be considered to result from one or the combination of hazards, conditions of vulnerability and insufficient community capacity to reduce the potential negative consequences of risk.

Disaster risk reduction (Also referred to as disaster reduction)

This is understood as the systematic development and application of policies, strategies and practices to minimize vulnerabilities and disaster risks throughout a community to avoid (prevention) or to limit (mitigation and preparedness) adverse impact of hazards, within the broad context of sustainable development. This definition included:(i) Risk awareness and assessment including hazard analysis and vulnerability/capacity analysis at community level and by various stakeholders, including the community itself;(ii) Knowledge development including education, training, research and information especially on Early Warning Systems (EWS); (iii) Public commitment and institutional frameworks, policy, legislation and community action; (iv) Application of measures including environmental management, land-use and urban planning, protection of critical facilities, partnership and networking, and financial instruments (UN, 2002).

Livelihoods

These are activities, assets, and capabilities required and strategies employed by individual households within the communities as a means to their survival and to sustainably meet their basic needs thus perpetuate their lives in a dignified and sustainable manner. A livelihood is sustainable if it cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain and enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, whilst not undermining the natural resource base. Assets categories include human, social, materials, natural, physical, financial and spiritual. Capacities encompass range of people’s skills, abilities and attributes that a household employed in securing its livelihoods (Oxfam, 2002 & World Vision 2007). Livelihood has also been defined as people’s capacity to generate and maintain their means of living, enhance their well-being and that of future generations. These capacities are contingent upon the availability and accessibility of options which are ecological, economic, and political, and which are predicted on equity, ownership of resources, and participatory in decision making (Oxfam, 2002:4). From

these definitions, it's evident that term livelihood is not just about assets, but included capabilities, strategies and activities. It also included factors that make livelihoods sustainable, issues of ownership, access and decision making. This study focused on those activities, assets and capabilities related to Maasai social conventions. See further discussion on the term "livelihood" under section 2.8 of this study.

Risk

Risk is the probability of harmful consequences, or expected loss (of lives, people injured, property, livelihoods, economic activity disrupted or environment damaged) resulting from interactions between natural or human induced hazards and vulnerable/capable conditions. Conventionally risk is expressed by the equation: Risk = Hazards x Vulnerability / Capacity (UN, 2002).

Social conventions

These are communally defined and agreed upon ceremonies and the corresponding social agreements, contracts and transactions which are governed by certain beliefs, norms and socially constructed regulations. Social conventions differ from one community to another in regards to the types and quantities of assets used, frequency of practice, enforcers and participants, as well as the priority and importance the community places on each social convention as regards enhancement of one's dignity and identity (Marmor, 2006).

Sustainability

This is the capacity for current and long-term maintenance of a particular responsibility, practice, technique and/or technology employed to meet the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability and well-being of future generations to meet their own needs within an environmental, economic, social, cultural and political dimensions. Sustainability encompasses the concept of stewardship, the responsible management of resource use (UN, 2005).

Sustainable development

This is development that meets the needs of the present community without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. It contains within it two key concepts: the concept of "needs", in particular the essential needs of the community's poor, to which overriding priority should be given; and the idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment's ability to meet present and the future needs of the said community or nation (Brundtland Commission, 1987 & UN, 2002).

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Past and Current Disaster Trends

Global trends show increasing magnitude, severity and complexity in disaster occurrence leading to increasing loss of life and property. According to UN (2002), the number of disasters has more than tripled since the 1970's. Statistical evidence show that 84 great natural disasters recorded in the 1990's were three times as many as those that occurred in the 1960's while the combined economic losses of \$ 591 billion were eight times greater than those of 1960. The trend continues to worsen with the number of recorded disasters in the past 20 years doubling from approximately 200 to more than 400 per year. Disasters caused by floods have increased in frequency from about 50 in 1985 to more than 200 in 2005 damaging more areas than they did twenty years ago (ISDR/Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 2008). According to International Federation of Red Cross (IFRC, 2009), more than 200 million people are affected every year with disaster losses continuing to rise with grave consequences for the survival, livelihood and dignity of people, especially the poor. IFRC argues that if the current trends continue unchecked, natural disasters could have a global cost of more than US\$ 300 billion a year by 2050 (IRRC & RCS, 2009). This notwithstanding, chances of the situation getting worse in the coming decades remain high since climate change is expected to exacerbate the risks of disasters, not only from more frequent and intense hazard events, but also through greater vulnerability to the existing hazards. The humanitarian implications of these increasing disasters are significant thus becoming a developmental concern of global magnitude.

The spread and impact of these disasters tend to be more in poor countries. According to UN (2004), more than 90% percent of disasters affected population is in developing countries, where most of the poor live. This disproportional impact could be attributed to the intrinsic vulnerabilities to hazards and comparatively low capacities for risk reduction measures in the poor countries. With much of its population being quite poor and highly vulnerable, Africa is among the hardest hit regions globally by these disasters. UNDP (2004) has further revealed that human deaths from drought in Africa were the highest in 2004 among all regions of the world. Africa houses the ten most vulnerable countries to disasters, all of which fall within the sub-Saharan region. A greater percentage of these countries are underdeveloped and lack basic services. The current situation is exacerbated by poor infrastructure and lack of access to and provision of services. The resultant scenario poses a serious global implication hindering achievement of Millennium Development Goals targets. Women, children and people living with HIV/AIDS are more vulnerable and disproportionately at risk in poor communities. An additional concern is the level of destruction, loss of livelihoods, deaths of people and animals,

and destruction of infrastructure in Africa resulting to losses of unaccounted magnitude. With hazards increasingly becoming a constant threat, the potential impact and loss to life continues to soar annually while more and more people continue to migrate into cities where almost half of the world's population now lives (UN, 2005). The reason for this increasing trend and severity of disasters is both simple and complex; it has to do with how people and societies are becoming more vulnerable.

This growing trend of disaster occurrence is a consequence of natural, human-caused and/or biological hazards. Some of the natural disaster causal hazards comprise phenomena such as earthquakes, volcanic activity, landslides, tsunamis, tropical cyclones and other severe storms, tornadoes and high winds, river and coastal flooding, wildfires and associated haze, drought, sand and dust storms, and infestations. Human or man-made disaster causal hazards include illegal discharge of oil or accidental such as toxic spills or nuclear meltdown, changing demographic, technological and socio-economic conditions, unplanned urbanization, and development within high-risk zones, under-development, environmental degradation, climate variability and change, and geological hazards. Epidemics such as HIV/AIDs epidemic, cholera, and malaria are some examples of biological disaster causal hazards (UN, 2005). Commenting on the severity of these disaster causal hazards, the UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Disaster Risk Reduction, Margareta Wahlström, singled out earthquakes as the deadliest hazard in the past ten years and remains a serious threat for millions of people worldwide as eight out of the ten most populous cities in the world found on the earthquake fault-lines (ISDR, 2009).

2.2 Past and Current Approaches in Disaster Management

Prior to the rise of international response to disasters in early 1970s, national governments and local communities were the only source of disaster response efforts. However, since 1990, the field of disaster management has witnessed an increased role and involvement of donor, regional and local governments and Civil Societies Organizations (CSO) in disaster management. One key contribution of the international community is shift from disaster management to Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR). DRR is geared towards understanding the nature of disasters, preventing their harmful effects, as well as seeking opportunities from their occurrences. In the context of total disaster risk management, DRR promotes coordination of functions and the diverse skills and disciplines and allows communities to undertake risk management activities that have been considered as the domain of engineering experts (Guzman, 2008). The development and promotion of the total disaster risk management approach has created an opportunity for professionals previously less concerned with disaster issues to have meaningful

involvement in disaster management. It is this integration of professional and resource that is expected to bring about the much desired impact and sustainable results in management of disasters.

Additionally, the international community has established priority areas of interventions to guide regions and nations in disaster management and risk reduction as outlined in the *Hyogo Framework for Action 2005-2015* (UN/ISDR, 2004). The five priorities include: (i) ensuring that disaster risk reduction (DRR) is a national and a local priority with a strong institutional basis for implementation; (ii) identifying, assessing and monitoring disaster risks and enhancing early warning; (iii) using knowledge, innovation and education to build a culture of safety and resilience at all levels; (iv) reducing the underlying risk factors; and finally (v) strengthening disaster preparedness for effective response at all levels (ISDR, 2004:23). Other additional contributions by the global community include: coordination of global DRR working fora; policy formulation, standards and guidelines; implementation and/or strengthening legislations; institutional development and technical support to research institutions; conducting assessments of changing hazards, risk assessment and management; ensuring wide engagement of stakeholders and decentralizing planning; strengthening of early warning systems; enhancing knowledge which includes strengthening existing regional centres, mechanisms and technical capacities; resource mobilization; streamlining and scaling up financial support; enhanced integration of disaster management in all aspects of development process; institutional capacity meant to enhance adaptation, in respect to building resilience and coping with hazards like drought, floods and storms as well as addressing long term issues such as ecosystem degradation that increase vulnerability to these events (UN, 2004 & ISDR 2008).).

Within the Kenyan context, various stakeholders including the government of Kenya, CSOs, foreign Governments development missions, and to a certain extent, the affected communities, have endeavored to align with international priorities while also responding to unique contextual challenges. Disaster Management and Risk Reduction (DMRR) measures employed in Kenya tend to encompass preparedness, response, mitigation and risk reduction measures. Some of key preparation approaches employed include capacity building of both partners and community on various aspects of DMRR, policy formulation, contingency planning, and restocking or re-equipping of national and regional strategic reserves (KRCS, 2010 & 2011; GoK 2009). Under the current draft Kenya Disaster Management Policy (GoK 2009) the government has made effort to address key issues among them preparedness of communities and other stakeholders while also strengthening the disaster management institutions, partnerships, networking, and the resilience of vulnerable communities (GOK, 2009). Despite this great effort, there is a high likelihood of lack of operationalization of this policy document.

Due to the frequency, complexity and magnitude of disasters that tend to hit the Kenyan communities and their livelihoods, much of the DMRR resources are usually spend during the actual response to disasters. Beyond emergency response, stakeholders have undertaken more rehabilitation/recovery mitigation measures as a way of assisting affected community to spring back to their feet. Some of these mitigation measures include: community capacity building on vulnerability; capacity assessment; hazards mapping; development, review and implementation of community disaster contingency plans; community access to resources for effective DMRR; support to pastoralists in both veterinary services and access to water resources for both human and livestock use; restocking with high yielding and locally adaptable livestock breeds and poultry; provision of agricultural inputs; infrastructure construction and policy formulation (KRCS 2009, 2010& 2011; & World Vision-Kenya 2012 & 2011). Special interventions towards the livestock industry include policy formulation to settle pastoral communities in irrigation schemes, create group ranches and introduce alternative land use systems (GoK 2005); formation and training of livestock marketing management committees; pasture irrigation; loans to livestock owners for increasing trading capacities and improving livestock marketing practices; advocacy for better livestock management and marketing policy (USAID, 2012).

Despite these commendable contributions by both the international and local communities, there has since late 1990's been growing awareness of the unsustainability and inadequate of the current approaches since they lack one critical element- adequate participation of those communities most affected by disasters most. With the realization and appreciation of the need to centrally involve this single important partner, the pendulum has now swung back to the early 1970s model of self-reliance of communities. Community participation in DRR is now one of the five priorities in the *Hyogo Framework for Action 2005 – 2015* (UN 2004). Both individuals and governments are increasingly appreciating that the first and best line of defense against disasters. Kenya's commitment to the *Hyogo Framework for Action 2005-2015* is evidence of the countries commitment to support and promote community participation in DRR as defined in this protocol (GoK 2009).

A second concern relates to the level at which disaster assessment efforts have been focusing on. This process appears to focus on unsafe conditions and dynamic pressures with little or limited attention to actual root causes. According to Global Crisis Solutions (GCS, 2002) unsafe conditions refer to the vulnerable context where people and property are exposed to risk of disasters. The four categories of unsafe conditions include (i) physical environment like dangerous locations, unprotected buildings and infrastructure; (ii) local economy where

livelihoods at risk and income levels are low; (iii) social environment where special groups like mine workers or HIV/AIDS households are at risk; and (iv) public actions and institutions are not equipped to adequately respond to disaster. An example would be lack of disaster preparedness and prevalence of endemic diseases. On the other hand, dynamic pressures describe those immediate causes of the unsafe conditions, for example lack training, micro force such as rapid population changes, or rapid urbanization. The third category of disasters, which is the root causes, refers to the basic fundamentals and ideologies on which the society is built. Examples of the root causes category include limited access to power, culture, structures and resources, ideologies, as well as political and economic systems. Social conventions are part of culture, ideologies and beliefs upon which the community is built. There is a possibility that hidden in these social conventions are certain deep rooted, culturally accepted and propagated practices that have the potential to erode various household's assets thus increasing its vulnerability to disasters.

Since the extent to which people are affected by hazards is a function of their level of vulnerability, there is need to ensure that in addition to addressing disaster causal hazards related to unsafe condition and dynamic pressures, adequate attention has been given to underlying root causes of vulnerability to disasters especially those related to culture, ideologies and political systems. It is the intention of this study to contribute to increased community participation and empowerment in disaster management by examining the impact of social convention on community livelihoods as a possible root cause of community vulnerability to disasters.

2.3 Disaster Trends and their Impact in Kenya

In the last two decades, disaster occurrences in Kenya have reduced from a 10 year cycle in late 80s and early 90s to five years, and now 2 years or shorter. A large percentage of these disasters turn out to be of national magnitude, an indication of high vulnerability at both national and community level.

The disaster causal hazards experienced in Kenya have been categorized as natural, man-made, biological and/or a combination of these. According to government records (GoK 1992), some of the hazards which have predisposed communities to disasters since 1974 include: floods and settlement to flood prone areas; fires; slums, semi-urban and poorly constructed buildings; disease epidemics like malaria and HIV/AIDS; landslides; lightning and thunderstorms; road accidents; collapsing of buildings; fuel spillage and siphoning; mass killing by outlawed gangs; conflict especially among different communities such as pastoralists; and poverty (UNDP, 2004 & GOK, 2009). Drought has been categorized as the most serious hazard of them all. This is mainly due to the magnitude of human and livelihood losses experienced when drought strikes.

For example, by June 2011, about 3.5 million people were affected by drought in Kenya, with the worst affected being pastoralists and small scale farmers in ASALs and their livelihoods (USAID, 2011).

Disasters resulting from these hazards impact on various segments of the society and livelihoods differently. For example, fires from oil spillage tend to affect those people who gather at the accident scene to siphon the spilled oil. Collapsed buildings kill or injure construction workers most of who are men. Vehicle or ferry or air accidents kill or injure passengers from various age sets. HIV/AIDS epidemic impacts on all people in the society, although the urban and rural poor, children, the elderly have been more impacted due to their high levels of vulnerability. The severe and prolonged drought tends to hit small scale crop farmers and pastoralist quite hard. Prolonged drought tends to result to a severe shortage of grazing resources resulted to abnormal migrations, whereby pastoralists travel long distances and group livestock in areas of limited remaining pasture and water. Livestock health deteriorates, milk production goes down, crop farmers experience crop failure or poor yields, food prices rise rocket high with most household unable to purchase, and eventually most of the affected households end up experiencing food insecurity and high malnutrition rates especially among the vulnerable groups such as the under-fives, the elderly, the sick and those already living in marginalized areas. Under severe cases, pastoralists experience massive losses of livestock like was the case during the 2009-2011 Horn of Africa drought (USAID 2011).

A similar scenario as described above was experienced by Kenyan communities between May 2010 – May 2011 when Maize prices in Nairobi and Mombasa increased by 60 to 85 percent while meat prices in rural areas in Garissa District and North Eastern Province increased by about 50 percent (FAO, 2011). With decreased household purchase power coupled with absence of food at the household level, this meant increased food insecurity and poor human health. With small scale rain-fed farmers comprising more than 70% and livestock about 30% of the country's economy, the country stands to lose in a big way as vulnerability, especially among the small scale farmers and pastoralist, continues to increase. This situation is further exacerbated by the high poverty rates (57% of Kenyans live below the poverty line), unemployment, the HIV and AIDS scourge, an economy that is largely dependent on rain-fed agriculture, and a largely youthful population (about 60% of Kenya's population is under 25 years) and therefore bound to be adversely affected (GoK 2009). From the foregoing, it is of paramount importance that a more critical approach in addressing communities and livelihood vulnerabilities, especially those of pastoralist must embrace both "hard" and "soft" technology techniques. This includes any

cultural related practices that may increase community vulnerability thus undermining the current efforts in DRR

2.4 Factors Contributing to Maasai Vulnerability to Disasters

The pastoralist and other communities such as Maasia, who live in the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs) are among the hardest hit by disasters experienced in Kenya. Most of the ASAL communities rely on livelihoods which have become elements at risk. Their livelihoods are mainly livestock, who die enmass especially during prolonged and severe drought thus eroding further the household assets base and leaving the households more vulnerable to further disasters.

The Maasai community vulnerability to disaster has increased over the years. As a result, there has been shift to small stock among pastoralists in line with the market forces or demands as well as due to the fact that they are more droughts resilient especially in the face of pasture shortages. Declining dependence on herds, the emigration of young men unable to build herds, and the loss of flexibility in migration and husbandry practices has had its own repercussions on the pastoral society. The use of distant pastures is gradually falling as land around settlements diminishes. In addition, there is increased disparity in wealth within the community as the poor households are forced to sell off livestock to richer stockowners for income needed to cater for other household needs. Additionally, small herds are milked more intensively than large herds, which lower calf growth and survival during pasture shortage. Even for those who do build large herds seldom rely on them as their sole strategy due to the risks of drought, raids, predation and disease. Due to the impact of disasters, decline in livestock holdings has weakened subsistence pastoralism over the last few decades to the point that few communities can now survive entirely on their herds. Yet the decrease in the type and number of livestock under household possession continues to increase Maasai households' vulnerability to disasters (Homewood et al., 2009).

Additional causal factors to Maasai vulnerability to disaster include: land fragmentation, inequality, sedentarization, as well as human – wildlife conflict. Land loss to crop farming agriculture, parks and forests reserves, as well as immigration and land subdivision, are causing land fragmentation and loss of pastoral mobility, both of which raise the risk of drought among pastoral societies in a number of ways: First, by disrupting established migration pathways for livestock access to better grazing lands. The trend is such that the politically connected people will usually acquire the most productive lands, further marginalizing poor families, and widening inequality and drought susceptibility. Secondly, land fragmentation, especially by the government, has replaced traditional governed resources with a mandated centralized authority

based on political power. This has disrupted traditionally planned and equitably managed livestock resources thus jeopardizing the Maasai livelihoods. Thirdly, fragmentation has minimized the originally available grazing land thus impacting on pastoralism (Western and Nightingale 2003).

Fourthly, fencing the land into very small units adversely affects livestock and wildlife mobility. Western and Nightingale (2003) have however cautioned that unless well handled, further land fragmentation is likely to lead to stock losses, social strife and ecological degradation. It may also be important to note that although the benefits of land fragmentation have been feasible in productive land; similar benefits cannot be accrued on non-reproductive lands. With continued reduction of grazing area and mobility, land fragmentation has negated pastoralism while compounding the risks of drought in the already arid lands. This has increased Maasai household vulnerability to disasters as their livestock base gets further eroded.

Another causal factor is sedentarization. This is a more permanent type of settlement as opposed to pastoralism. Sedentarization among the Maasai has been driven by the demand for social amenities, fear of land loss, need for reduced mobility, and disease spread. With more grazing land taken up, pastoralists have found themselves left with no choice but to adopt permanent settlement, which has led to reduced land productivity while favoring the spread of unpalatable herbs and shrubs. On the other hand, those areas remote from permanent settlements lose the patchiness and diversity of habitats. Sedentarization has also threatened the diversity and abundance of wildlife on which new economic enterprises among pastoralists are founded (Osano, 2011). The most immediate concern over sedentarization among pastoralists is the reduced milk yield for both food and income generation. Further still is the depletion of fuel wood and fencing materials close to settlements leading to Maasai women having to travel for long distances in search of fuel (Western & Nightingale, 2003). While the gains of alternative access to social amenities like school, government offices and health facilities cannot be underestimated, the negative push-pull of sedentarization among the Maasai livelihoods and hence increased vulnerability is perceived as major undoing to their economy.

Human-wild life conflict is another key contributing factor. The “creation of national parks and state ownership of wildlife has raised the temperature of human-wildlife conflicts. This is because most wildlife resides in the pastoral rangelands. This explains the reason for deeper conflict as pressures on the land build and tolerance of wildlife falls” (Western and Nightingale 2003:22). For the Maasai, their “second cattle” have become “government cattle” and a burden rather than relief in times of drought. With wildlife benefits accruing almost exclusively to

government, councils and the tourist industry, with little or no benefit reaching the rural communities, resentment on land demarcation for wildlife runs deep. This has led to unending conflict between the government and the Maasai community. Additionally, wildlife have been known to move freely out of parks onto pastoral lands, spreading disease to livestock and often causing stock and human deaths. Despite community, government and various stakeholder efforts to address and minimize this human-wildlife conflict, reduction in land size, destruction and depletion of cattle pasture by wildlife and human deaths continue to be some of the thorny issues in this government-Maasai community dialogue and hence perceived as contributing to the Maasai vulnerability to disasters.

HIV/AIDS is another contributing factor to Maasai people vulnerability to disasters. Until recently, the Maasai community fiercely guarded and preserved its cultural practices, traditions and norms in the face of modernization. By remaining closed with its traditional way of life, this largely pastoral community had insulated itself from the AIDS pandemic. However, with the shift in lifestyle as a way of coping with eroded livestock base, the Maasai started trading, mingling and intermarrying with other communities thus increasing their vulnerability to the spread of HIV/AIDS. According to World Vision (2006), other cultural traditions that lead to fast spread of HIV include sexual initiation with several *Moranis*, female circumcision using the same instrument for several girls, early marriage of young girls to polygamous elderly men, polygamous practice, and sexual intimacy with an “age-mate”. HIV/AIDS continue to erode household’s asset base since households are forced to sell most of their small livestock to cater for the treatment and food costs of the infected and affected household members. The overall impact has been increased household vulnerability.

Other causes of vulnerability among the Maasai include drought that leads to shortage of pasture, water and famine, livestock diseases, cattle raiding, flash floods, and fires (UNDP, 2005). From the foregoing, it is evident that practice of social conventions is not considered as a possible cause of the Maasai vulnerability to disasters. As such, this study sought to address this glaring omission of social conventions as one of the factors contributing to increased Maasai vulnerability to disasters.

2.5 Vulnerability to Disasters

The concept of vulnerability was in the disaster literature as early as the 1970s. It then spread quickly in the 1980s as reflected in the climate change and development literature (Gaillard 2010). Over the years, the term vulnerability has gained various definitions. According to UN (2004) vulnerability is “a set of conditions and processes resulting from physical, social,

economic and environmental factors and pressures which increase the susceptibility of a community to the impact of hazards”. Woreda (2000:2) defines vulnerability as “the full ranges of factors that place people at risk of becoming affected by disaster. It is the propensity of people to experience substantial damages and disruption as a result of hazards and encompasses the difficulty to cope with and recover from these disasters”. According to Woreda, the two factors of vulnerability are external exposure to disaster and the lack of means to cope without suffering damaging loss.

Blaikie et al (2005: 11) defines vulnerability as the “characteristics of a person or a group and their situation that influence their capacity to anticipate, cope with resist, and recover from the impact of natural hazards. It involves a combination of factors that determine the degree to which someone’s life, livelihoods, property and other assets are put at risk by a discreet and identifiable event in nature and in society”. Global Crisis Solution (2002) argues that vulnerability is a “set of prevailing or consequential conditions, which adversely affect the community’s ability to prevent, mitigate, prepare for or respond to hazard events. These long-term factors, weaknesses or constraints affect a household’s, community’s or society’s ability (or inability) to absorb losses after disasters and to recover from the damage”. According to Kemp (2007), vulnerability is the condition resulting from occurrence of hazardous events. Kemp is of the view that communities living in hazard prone areas may be made susceptible to negative impacts of the hazard conditions determined by physical factors, weak social organizations, limited economic opportunities, political processes and other factors within the local environment.

Informed by the above definitions and perspectives, the term “vulnerability” as used in this study, means the characteristics or conditions of a person, a household, a group, a community, society, and the prevailing situation that results from physical, social-cultural, economic, political and environmental underlying factors, pressures and unsafe conditions which increase their susceptibility to and reduce the capacity to anticipate, cope with, mitigate and recover from impact of all types of hazards (U.N 2004, Blaikie et al. 2003 and Kemp, 2007). Vulnerability will also be viewed as the condition or state which make it possible for an individual, household, community, their livelihoods and assets to become susceptible to or an hazardous state to becoming a disaster.

2.6 Dimensions of Vulnerability

According to UN (2006), there are four dimensions of vulnerability namely: physical, social, economic, and environmental. However, ActionAid (2003) points out five vulnerability dimensions namely social, generational, geographical, economic and political. ActionAid argues

that the impact of hazards to people under these dimensions vary with influencing factors being class, occupation, caste ethnicity, gender, disability and health status, age and immigration status, and the extend of social networks among others.

a). Physical or material vulnerability

This refers to susceptibilities of the built environment and may be described as “exposure”. Cannon et al (2001:10) argues that this is the most visible area of vulnerability. Some examples under this category include infrastructure, basic services, insecure or risky sources of livelihoods, climate, environment, housing, technologies, lack of access and control over means of production like land, farm, inputs, animals, and capitals.

b). Economic vulnerability

According to Kumpulainen (2006), economic dimension of vulnerability represents the risk to production, distribution and consumption. This dimension characterizes people who are less privileged in class or caste, ethnic minorities, the very young and old, the disadvantaged, and often women who are primarily responsible for providing essential shelter and basic needs. The poor and predominantly female and elderly populations are characterized by higher economic vulnerability as they suffer proportionally larger losses in disasters and have limited capacity to recover. Similarly, an economy lacking a diverse productive base is generally more vulnerable to disasters in the sense that it is less likely to sustain recovery from disaster impacts.

c). Environmental vulnerability

This refers to the extent of natural resource degradation. Examples include contaminated air, water and inadequate sanitation. According to Kemp (2007), environmental factors are either a causal or an exacerbating factor of many disasters. For example, while drought on one hand is a natural phenomenon, the impact of drought condition may be exacerbated by poor cropping patterns, overgrazing, the stripping of top-soil, poor conservation and farming techniques, depletion as well as uncontrolled urbanization.

d). Motivational/Attitudinal Vulnerability

According to Cannon et al (2003), this type of vulnerability includes how people in society view themselves and their ability to affect their environment. Some examples of this category include negative attitude towards change, passivity, fatalism, hopelessness, and dependent; lack of unity, cooperation and solidarity; negative beliefs/ideologies; and unaware about hazards and consequences among other things.

e). **Social Vulnerability**

Cannon et al. (2003) argues that social vulnerability is complex set of characteristics that includes a person's initial wellbeing, livelihood and resilience, self-protection, social protection and social and political networks and institutions. It is about how the society is organized, its internal conflicts, and how it manages them. Although less visible and less understood, this dimension of vulnerability is just as important as the physical/material dimension. This dimension includes formal political structures and informal systems through which people get things done. Some examples of this dimension of vulnerability include levels of literacy and education, health infrastructure, the existence of peace and security, access to basic human rights, systems of good governance, social equity, traditional values, customs and ideological beliefs and overall collective organizational systems (Kemp 2007:17).

The finding of this study were used to determine which of the above five types of vulnerability prevailed among the Maasia of Osiligi.

2.7 Theoretical Model of Vulnerability to Disaster

According to Crunch and/or Pressure and Release (PAR) model, a disaster occurs only if a hazard meets a vulnerable situation (Tearfund, 2006 & Blaikie et al 2003). For example, an earthquake of a particular magnitude could lead to loss of lives or destruction of buildings, roads and bridges in a large scale in one site while less scale of destruction in a different location. The difference in the degree of injury or loss in the two locations depend of the level of people's vulnerability. According to Tearfund (2004), vulnerability exists because of pressures acting on individuals and communities. Blaikie et al (2005) views vulnerability as rooted in social processes and underlying causes, which in most cases are quite remote from the disaster itself. Pressures are structures and processes that create vulnerable conditions and are caused and increased by a set of underlying causes which encourage those in positions of power to behave in a certain way. Some of the underlying causes include political ideologies, economic principles or cultural issues.

Expressed schematically (see figure 2.0 below), the risk faced by people could be seen as a cross-cutting combination of vulnerability and hazard. That means that there would not be a disaster until a hazard comes into contact with vulnerability. Risk occurs when a significant number of vulnerable people experience a hazard and suffer severe damage and/or disruption of their livelihood system in such a way that recovery is unlikely without external aid. The term recovery in this case embraces psychological and physical aspects of the victims and the replacement of physical resources and the social relations required to use them (Blaikie et al, 2005). As demonstrated in the diagram below, a disaster is therefore a function of a risk process,

results from the combination of hazards, conditions of vulnerability and insufficient capacity or measures to reduce the potential negative consequences of risk.

The progress of Vulnerability

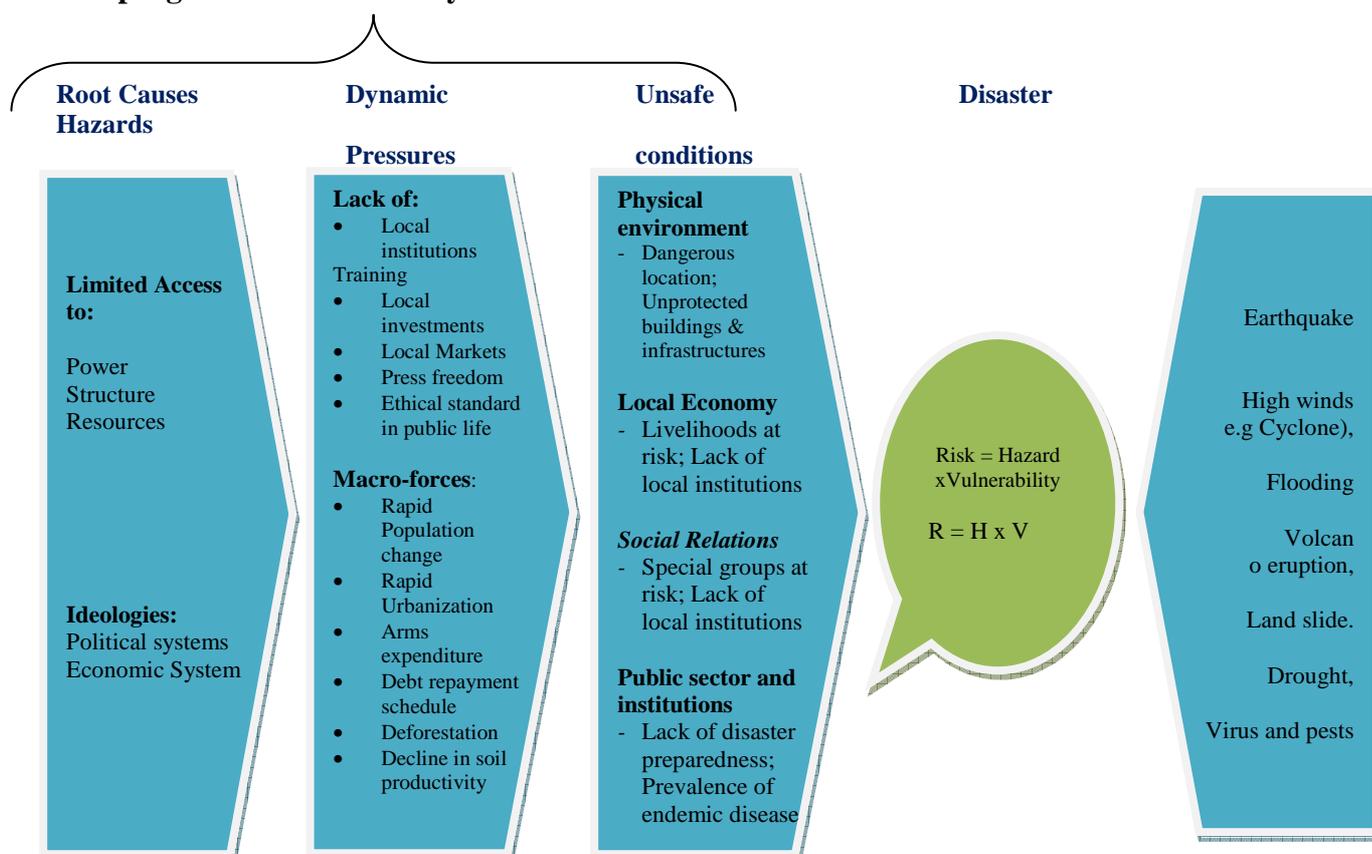


Figure 2: Pressure and Release (PAR) model: The progress of vulnerability (Blaikie et al 2005:51)

According to the Pressure and Release (PAR) model above, the three causes of vulnerability are categorized as (i) root causes, (ii) dynamic pressure, and (iii) unsafe conditions, with the most distant of the three being the root causes.

Blaikie et al (2005) describes these *root causes* as being partial distant, temporary distant, and being profoundly bound up with cultural assumptions, ideology, beliefs and social relations. With beliefs and social relations being invisible and weaved into people’s day to day life, they are usually taken for granted and in most cases over looked as possible root causes of vulnerability. Root causes are also said to be connected with the function (dysfunction) of the state, nature and control exercised by police and military, type of governance, rule of law and the capabilities of the administration. Wars are also categorized as root causes because experience has shown that their effects tend to linger for a very long time like has been the case in Somalia and Southern Sudan, where the countries have been at war with themselves for over 20 years.

People living in unstable environments are vulnerable in three ways: firstly, they have access to insecure and awarding livelihoods and resources, with their activities having a high likelihoods of generating higher levels of vulnerability. Secondly, they are likely to be low priority for government interventions intended to deal with hazard mitigation; and thirdly, they are economically and politically marginalized and more likely to stop trusting their own methods of self-protection, and thus lose confidence in their own local knowledge. Despite this reality, Blaikie's power dynamic model seems to focus on the economically able and the marginalized, leaving out another hidden yet very influential power dynamics, the "god-complex" captivities or culturally embedded power dynamics and systems within the community structures (Chambers 1993). According to Chambers, it is these "god-complex" captivities that tend to control and perpetuate the practice of social conventions. Chambers further advises that these social conventions make heavy demands on households' livelihoods thus eroding especially the reproductive resources of any community.

The second category of vulnerability causes according to this model is dynamic pressures. Blaikie et al (2005) defines dynamic pressures as processes and activities that translate the effects of the root causes, both temporarily and spatially, into unsafe conditions. These dynamic pressures affect households differently. For example people who are undernourished and sick succumb fast to any hazard like famine or diseases compared to those who are well-nourished and healthy. Rural-urban migration is another dynamic pressure that arises in many Least Developed Countries (LDCs) in response to the economic and social inequalities inherent in root causes. These variations in relation to dynamic pressures can also be seen across various groups such as different gender, disabilities, and marginalized ethnic groups within households in a community, a scenarios said to be quite common in is common most African communities.

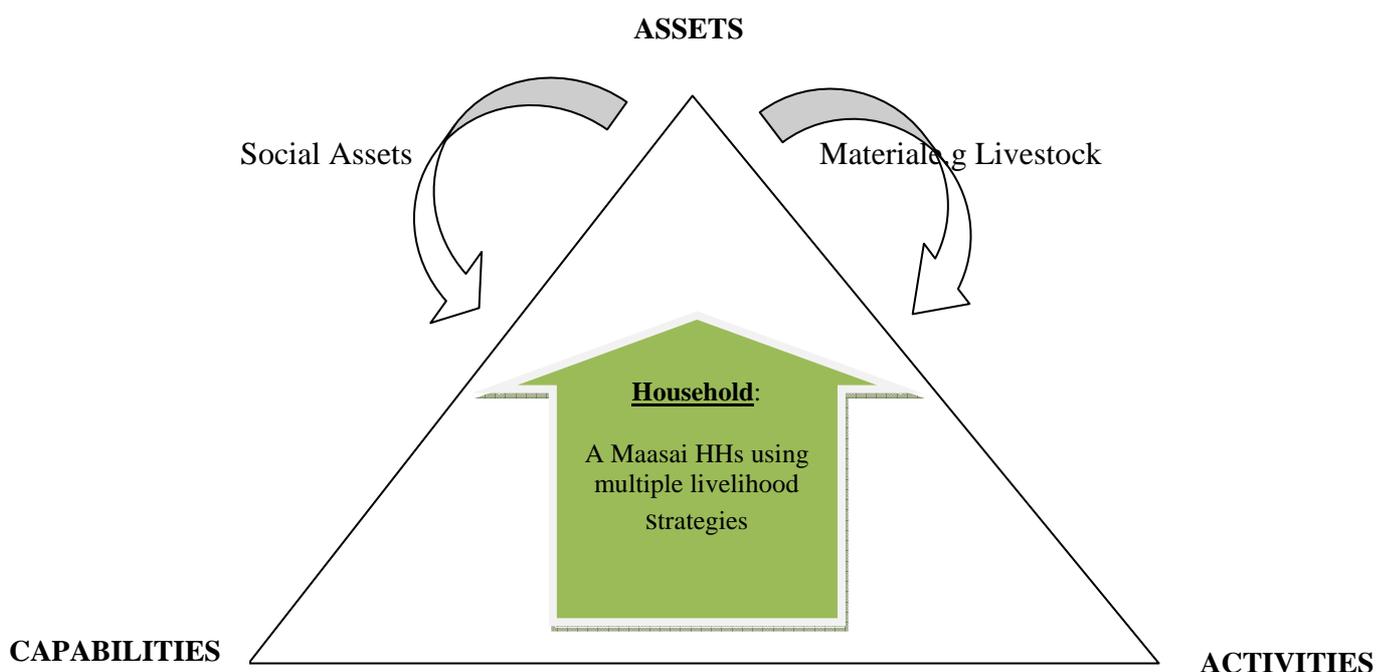
The third category of causes of vulnerability according to PAR model is *unsafe conditions*. These are the specific forms in which vulnerability of populations is expressed in time and space in conjunction with hazards (Blaikie et al 2005). Examples of unsafe conditions include people living in hazardous conditions like close to chemical industries, engaging in dangerous livelihoods like prostitution and cattle rustling, and inability to afford a safe living building among others (Venton & Hansford, 2006). Blaikie et al argues that unsafe conditions are dependent upon the initial level of well-being of the people, and how this level varies between households, communities, countries, micro-regions, and regions. For example it is highly probable that the same magnitude of earthquake that hit Haiti in January 2010 would cause lesser devastation if it occurred in a country like United Kingdom where building codes and standards are strictly observed than in a poor country like Haiti.

From the above model, this study is of the view that under its vulnerability reduction strategies, the government of Kenya and other stakeholders should focus more on identifying and dealing with the “root causes” category of vulnerability while also addressing dynamic pressures, unsafe conditions. This is because the other two categories are considered a byproduct of the rootcauses. This study endeavored to contribute to this effort since social conventions are considered to fall under the root cause category.

2.8 Community Livelihoods

Oxfam (2002) defines livelihoods as comprising of assets, capabilities, and activities required for a means of living. Assets are of both social and materials nature, and can either be accessed or owned (controlled). According to World Vision (2007), there are six capital asset capitals namely: human, social, natural, physical, financial and spiritual. Assets are said to be affected by historical trends and seasonality. Social networks are an example of social assets. Materials assets on the other hand are things such as land, natural resources, infrastructure, livestock, and equipment. A major focus of this study was the livestock aspect of material assets.

The second component of livelihoods is the capabilities. According to Oxfam (2002), capacities can be described as a mix of a range of people’s skills, abilities and attributes that a household draws from in securing its livelihood. The third category of livelihood is activity. Oxfam (2002) defines “activities” as the different things that people do to sustain the household and make a living. They include productive, reproductive and community maintenance activities.



The “Household Triangle” to assets - modified; Oxfam (2002:60)

According to Schuyt (2005), livelihoods do not only comprise of activities, assets, and capabilities but also strategies that are required and employed as a means of living. Schuyt therefore advises that livelihoods could be considered as a combination of the resources used and the strategies undertaken in order to live. These resources include human capital (individual skills and abilities), financial capital (savings), natural capital (land), physical capital (equipment) and social capital (relationships). According to Schuyt, livelihood are only considered sustainable if they can cope with and recover from stresses as well as enhance their capabilities and assets both at present and in the future (Oxfam, 2002). Unlike the social assets which are intangible, the material assets are tangible. They can be quantified and are the actual physical things which people own, control or have access to.

From the foregoing definitions, livelihood in this study will mean the sum of assets, materials, activities and the respective strategies through which people sustainably meet their basic needs and thus perpetuate their lives in a dignified and sustainable manner. When people's livelihoods and their sustainability mechanisms begin to get eroded, then vulnerability begins to set in. This study will among other assets, focus on livestock as an important livelihood element.

2.9 Social Conventions

According to Marmor (2009), a convention is a social rule that emerge as practical solution to a wide scale recurrent or coordination problems. A convention must be practiced or followed by a population in order to exist. It must also be binding to the relevant population and must have a certain goodness or value add towards a worthy end. Marmor adds that any convention can only continue to be practiced or followed as long as the reason to prefer it is stronger than the reason why an alternative convention is followed by others.

There are two types of conventions, coordination social conventions and constitutive social conventions. Coordination social conventions are those that are perceived as a solution to large-scale coordination problems (Marmor, 2009). An example could be a standard established to govern how people should behave in certain global business practices like in the forex world. On the other hand, constitutive social conventions are those types of conventional rules whose practices and values are inherent in a particular cultural setting. They are employed in regulating people's way of living as well as define new forms of behavior. They also constitute the practice, regulate conduct, and define what is permissible and impermissible in governing a certain people's practice (Marmor, 2009). Constitutive social conventions could therefore be defined as those communally agreed upon traditions, ceremonies, and social transactions which are governed by certain beliefs, norms and socially agreed regulations. They are also termed as

agreements and social contracts. The Maasai social conventions, which are the focus of this study, could be categorized as constitutive social conventions.

Every community has certain constitutive social conventions. The manner in which these conventions differ is found in a number of things including: the type and quantities of assets used during their practice, who practices and upholds them, season and frequency of practice, and priority and importance the community places on the social convention as regards an individual's identity, dignity and self-worth. In his contribution to this debate, Chambers (1993) defines social conventions as those ceremonies and cultural traditions practiced by communities towards maintaining their identity and culture such as dowry payment and circumcision ceremonies.

2.10 Theoretical Framework

According to Haralambos&Holborn (2004:934), "a theory is a set of ideas that provides an explanation for something". Sociological theory on the other hand is "a set of ideas that provides an explanation for human society". Like all theory, a sociological theory is selective and as such, no one theory can explain everything or encompass endless ways of viewing reality. Since theories are selective in terms of their priorities and perspectives but also provide a particular and partial view of a certain reality, the following two theories and theoretical perspectives were selected to inform the subject issue under study.

2.10.1 Social Functionalism

Functionalism is a perspective used to analyze societies and their component features that focuses on their mutual integration and interconnection. This theoretical perspective views society as a system, analyses the way society as a whole fits together or work, and how the various elements of the social system perform with regard to the system as a whole. The basic unit of analysis is society, and its various parts are understood primarily in terms of their relationship to the whole. In other words, social structures are placed at the center of analysis while social functions are deduced from these structures. Structural functionalism implies that social institutions, collectively forming a social structure, function to maintain the harmony of the social whole. The functionalists base their model of society around the assumption of functional prerequisites or basic needs and further explain how different parts of the society help to meet those needs (Haralombos&Holborn, 2004).

Early functionalists often drew an analogy between society and an organism such as the human body. These functionalists argued that in order to understand and appreciate the any organ in

the body such as the heart or lungs, this involved an understanding of its relationship to other body organs and, in particular, its contribution towards the maintenance of the organism. In the same way, to understand any part of the society requires an analysis of its relationship to other parts of the same society, but most importantly, its contribution to the maintenance of the society. While advancing this analogy, the functionalists argued that, just the way an organism has certain basic needs that must be met if it is to survive, so does the society have basic needs that must be met if it has to continue to exist (Adams & Sydie, 2002). Under this theoretical perspective, institutions such as family, household, and religions are analyzed as a part of the social system rather than as isolated units. But more important, these parts are understood with reference to the contribution they make to the system as a whole.

The basic needs or the necessary conditions for the society to exist are sometimes known as functional prerequisites of society. Although various approaches have been used to identify these social prerequisites, Davis and Moore (1967) claim that all societies have some form of social stratification while Murdock (1949) maintains that the family is a common social prerequisite in every known human society. And although it's assumed the social stratification and family, meet the same need in every society, the truth is a stratification system or a family may perform different functions in different societies. Informed by functionalism theoretical perspective, participation of and contribution of resources towards excursion and sustained existence of social conventions among the Maasai fits well within the advanced arguments in this theory.

2.10.2 Social Exchange Theory

Social exchange theory proposes that social behavior is the result of an exchange process. The purpose of this exchange is to maximize benefits and minimize costs. According to this theory, people weigh the potential benefits and risks of social relationships and if the risks outweigh the rewards, people will terminate or abandon that relationship. Costs could involve things that are seen as negatives to the individual such as having to put money, while the benefits could be things that the individual gets out the relationship such friendship, companionship and social support. This theory suggests that the concerned individuals essentially take the benefits and minus the costs in order to determine how much a relationship is worth. Positive relationships are considered to be those where the benefits outweigh the costs, while negative relationships occur when the costs are greater than the benefits (2002: <http://psychology>)

In his endeavor to explain how this interaction could yield stable patterns of social order, Homan (Craig C. et al., 2002) argues that when this exchange of goods, materials and non-

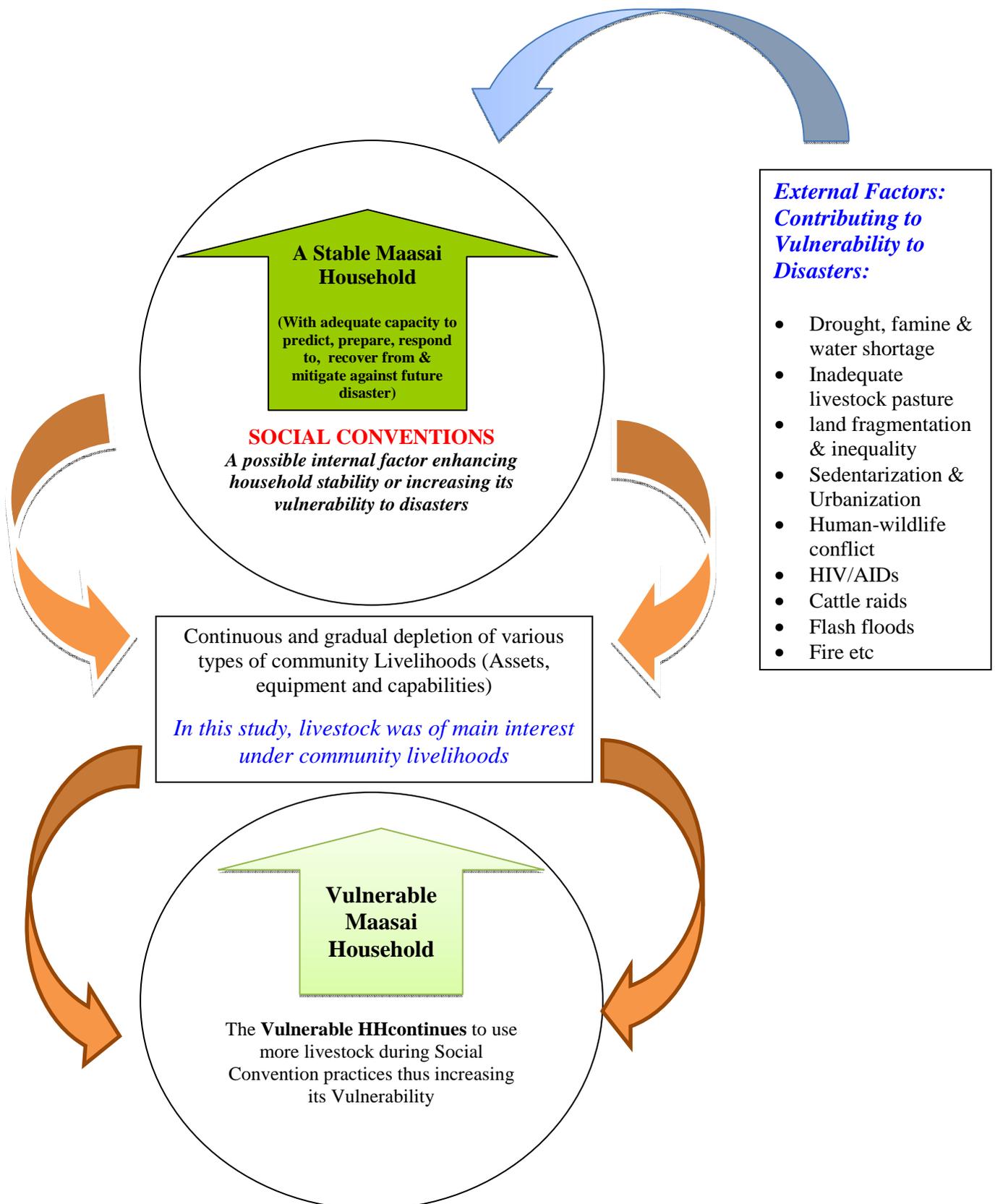
materials is done to the extent of becoming a norm, such norms are upheld because people want to avoid the punishment that comes with violating this norm. So, what was initially a choice motivated by the benefits a norm brings to the individual, it changes and becomes a norm whose violation has certain negative consequences.

In the *Contemporary Sociological Theory* (Craig, C et al. 2002), Blau further argues that instead of just being motivated by operant conditioning, social interactions have value to people and that people become involved in social exchanges for the same reason that they become involved in economic exchange – they need things from each other or their associations which they may not provide for themselves. According to Blau, "the basis for social exchange rests on the anticipated rewards of the association. These rewards could be intrinsic (the inner pleasure of being with someone), extrinsic (a tangible good or service that someone can provide) or both". As such, social exchange, just like economic exchange, occurs when associations provide both parties with a reward they could not get on their own" (Craig, C et al. 2002: 83).

The fact that the practice of Maasai social conventions has existed since time immemorial, it is good proof that the Masaai derive certain benefits from their practice notwithstanding the fact that adherence to practice could also be due to fear of punishment in case of failure to uphold this norm.

2.11 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework below is a schematic representation of the relationship between a stable Maasai household, external and internal disaster causal factors, and how these two categories of hazards overtime increases the household vulnerability to disasters. The diagram also attempts to bring out the fact that there seems to be an emphasis on external disaster causal factor with little or no inclusion of those causal factors emanating from the community itself. Under this study, a stable household is one which is able to adequately predict, prepare, respond to, recover and effectively mitigate disaster risks and the effects of any disasters that hit it.



Empirical evidence (UN, 2004, KRCS 2010 & 2011 & GoK 2005 & 2009) shows that most of the pastoralist households in Kenya could today be considered ill equipped to predict, respond to, recover, mitigate and manage risks associated with disasters. This could be explained by the fact that in the recent past, the households have been faced with continued erosion of their asset

base by the ever increasing complexity, magnitude and number of disaster causal hazards as explained in (See sections 1.1, 1.2, 2.3 & 2.4 above). An examination of these disaster causal hazards and factors reveals a glaring omission of the Maasai social conventions as potential disaster causal hazards. Social conventions among the Maasai could however play two roles first, as community livestock management and mitigation approach, and second, as a household destocking factor. Livestock play a central role in the life of a Maasai. As such, any factor leading to erosion of livestock asset base could easily increase the household vulnerability to subsequent disaster causal hazards.

The above framework endeavors to explain this relationship and show how a stable Maasai household can be rendered vulnerable to more disasters over time when faced with both external and internal disaster causal hazards. This study sought to investigate how the Maasai social conventions impact on community livelihoods, especially livestock asset, and vulnerability to disaster.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODS

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the study presents the research design, research methods and techniques, sampling, data sources and analysis techniques as was applied this study.

3.2 Dependent and independent variables

The independent variable in this study was the social conventions. As established during this study, Maasai social conventions are a critical aspect of Maasai culture, whose perpetuation and execution is not dependent on individuals' interests, opinions, or even state of household livelihoods but rather it is a social agreement or norm whose sustained execution and practice is governed by an established community power structure vested within the Maasai traditional elders. The two depended variables in this study were "livelihoods" and "vulnerability". As established during this study, both livelihoods (livestock) and vulnerability (to food security and drought) were dependent on practice of social conventions.

3.3 Research Design

The objective of the study was to establish the impact of social conventions on community livelihoods and vulnerability to disaster. The study employed a case study research design. Use of case study provided an opportunity for the researcher to investigate a cultural phenomenon within its real-life context and in a fairly in-depth manner. Multiple sources of evidence were used during the study including direct respondents, key informants and focused group interviews, and secondary data.

During this study, the researcher explored the eleven social conventions considered key in the life of a Maasai, their impact on household livestock base and community vulnerability especially to food insecurity and drought. The study also explored the frequency of practicing these conventions, those involved in each of the ceremonies, type and quantities of livestock used, the community restocking practices and their adequacy in meeting household restocking needs, the community governance and control structures as regards perpetuation of these conventions, as well as the level of community understanding and appreciate of the impact of these conventions. The study then drew inferences on the impact these social conventions had on the household livestock asset base and community vulnerability to disasters.

3.4 Research Methods and Techniques

Both qualitative and quantitative methods were used in this study. This was to ensure that there was complementary and enhanced objectivity in the data and information gathered, findings and conclusions drawn, as well as recommendations made. Quantitative methods were used to gather evidence on the frequency of practice of some eight selected social conventions, type and number of livestock used by an individual household during these conventions, restocking mechanisms and their adequacy in meeting household restocking needs, individual preferences and rating on the importance of selected list of conventions to their dignity, community power control in relation to those conventions, as well as the community internalization regarding the impact of these conventions on household livestock base and vulnerability to disasters. With most of the questions standardized and thus focusing the respondents to an already pre-determines response, a few open ended questions were included in the survey questionnaire so as to solicit individuals diverse, unique and objective responses to some of the questions. The questionnaire was then administered by six enumerators to 180 respondents of 16 years and above. This method adhered to researcher–respondent duality assumption (Marvasti, 2004).

Prior to actual data collection, the researcher held a meeting with the enumerators with a purpose of clarifying any concern in the questionnaire. The team also reviewed and agreed on the appropriate translation of certain terms or phrases from English to Maa language. The team also agreed on the need to adhere to critical ethical research issues including self-introduction and seeking permission for respondent’s time before administering the questionnaire, care not to manipulate any respondent on any question or response especially considering that all the enumerators were Maasai, use of non-directive follow-up probes to elicit in-depth responses especially in qualitative interviews, recording verbatim responses without interpretation or editing especially in case of open ended questions; as well as maintaining professional and neutral relationship with the respondent.

Under qualitative method, structured interviews with 14 key informants (KIs) and 25 focused groups’ discussants (FGDs) were conducted. In both cases, open-ended structured questionnaires guided the interviews and discussions. Effort was made to structure the interview exercises in such a way that a relaxed atmosphere was created while questions were asked in a manner that triggered a good degree of participation and contribution, freedom to share opinions, knowledge experience, and motivation to share both historical and current social convention practices. The researcher’s observation was that all key informants were excited to share much more than was asked about the Maasai social conventions, except in relation to female circumcision. This was explained by the already standing alert regarding a “foreigner”

since such a person could have been a government agent investigating on possible community practice on FGM, which has already been made illegal and punishable in a court of law. The other observation was that women, children, and youth could not speak freely in the presence or in the vicinity of a Maasai elder. As a result, the researcher ensured that these three categories of people were interviewed separately and where possible in shielded locations. Additionally, few Morans were willing to take the survey.

The qualitative interviews with the KIs and FGDs focused on the key ceremonies undertaken by the Maasai, their frequency, type and quantities of resources used. The interviews further focused on participants' benefits and disadvantages of the conventions, types of restocking practices and their sustainability. Effort was also made to understand the individual's appreciation on the impact of these conventions to the household livestock base, the respondents' view on the causes of food security and drought related disasters, as well as their perception on the causes of community vulnerability to food insecurity and drought related disasters. Furthermore, the researcher made observations on the types and condition of livelihoods within the interviewed households and the general targeted population, types of entrepreneurship and who was undertaking them, as well as the general condition of the local environment. Although the researcher managed to interact with Maasaimorans while in the field, she did not manage to observe any of the studied ceremonies in progress.

A week prior to undertaking the survey, twelve questionnaires were pre-tested within Maili Tisa area. The purpose of the pre-testing was to gauge if the selected questions or language used was appropriate in eliciting the desired information. This was also to establish if the wording was clear and if there were questions that would lead to bias or cause discomfort to the respondents. This was expected to minimize errors in data collection as well as ensure appropriateness of the questions being asked. The feedback was used in revising relevant questions. The final questionnaires were then serialized for enhanced accountability. During the actual data collection, the researcher ensured that all questionnaires that were issued to enumerators were returned at the end of every day as per serial numbers. The research also scrutinized a sample of questionnaires to ensure completeness. A brief check-in session with the enumerators was done to ensure any unique observations were noted and any necessary clarifications were done on a daily basis before proceeding to the field the following day.

3.5 Sampling

The study location was Namanga Division, Kajiado district whose total population is 18,531 people. This population is spread within six locations and housed within 3915 households (GoK, 2009).

Location	Male	Female	Total Population	Households
Eluanata	1075	1173	2248	475
Kumpa	1791	1953	3744	791
Lorngosua	1675	1827	3502	740
Mailwa	1041	1136	2177	460
Meto	2275	2482	4757	1005
Ruanche	1005	1096	2101	444
Total	8863	9668	18,531	3915

Source: 2009 Kenya National Census.

During this study, both probability and non-probability sampling techniques were employed in drawing the study sample. Use of probability sampling was expected to minimize sampling error and provided each unit in the population with an equally likely chance of being selected (Bryman 2004). The four probability sampling methods employed include: simple random sampling, systematic, and cluster sampling. The sample units included location, villages, *Manyattasor* clustered homesteads, households, and individuals. Key respondents included adult men and women, youth all as direct respondents, key informants and focused groups, youths, government officers, and NGO representatives. With social conventions being the focus of this study, in-depth knowledge of the same was a key criterion in the selection of key informants. Use of diverse sampling techniques was meant to ensure adequate representation of key characteristics found in the entire population including diversity, gender balance, various age sets, adequate and equitable representation of key informants, accessibility of the study population, as well as background and current knowledge of the subject of the study.

The simple random sampling technique was used while selecting the three locations where the study was undertaken. The six administrative locations were numbered from one to six on separate pieces of paper. Six pieces of paper were identically folded, put in a container and thoroughly mixed. One paper was picked randomly. A lottery method or non-replacement method was employed. The container was then shaken again and the random picking process repeated until the three locations were picked. This ensured that each of the six locations had equal chance of being picked. The probability of the first administrative location being selected out of the total number was a sixth (1/6). The second was a fifth (1/5), while the third was a quarter (1/4). The three locations picked were Eluanata, Mailwa and Lorngosua. This was done a week to the actual field work so as to facilitate identification and booking of appointments with some of the key informants. A schedule on proposed dates of visit to each location was made.

Once in the field, a sample frame comprising all the twenty two (22) villages within the three selected administrative locations was developed. Systematic sampling technique was employed

in selecting the 10 villages from the established sample frame. The 10 villages were an equivalent of 45 percent of all the villages within the sample frame. A list of all the twenty two (22) villages in Eluanata, Lorngosua and Mailuwawas compiled. The k^{th} value ($k^{\text{th}} = N/n$) of two (2) was determined by dividing the total of the three locations population ($N = 7927$) by the estimated sample population ($n = 3603$) of 10 villages. The first village, which happened to be the 3rd village in the list, was then randomly selected from the list of the twenty two villages. Every other village after the initial one (3rd village) was picked at an interval of 2 until all the remaining nine villages were sampled. The 10 villages selected were an equivalent of 45 percent of all the 22 villages in within the sample frame.

Within each of the three locations, a combination of cluster and simple random sampling techniques were then used in clustering *Manyattasor* closely settled homesteads where survey was to be undertaken. Cluster sampling was preferred in this case since it suited the “natural” groupings that are found among the Maasai settlements in Namanga area where several households cluster into a “settlement cluster”. Secondly, the population within the study area was widely or sparsely populated. Clustering was to be informed by the proximity of *Manyattasor* homesteads to each other as well as geographical orientation. The researcher worked with World Vision (WV) community staff and volunteers in ensuring that the list of villages and homesteads was comprehensive, accurate, reliable and appropriate before clustering. The objective of ensuring this level of comprehensiveness and accuracy was to minimize error in sampling.

Data was gathered from the established clusters of homesteads. A random approach was used in identifying the interviewees from the visited homesteads. This was done by interviewing any individual (>15years) in the *Manyatta* homesteads within each selected village. The actual number of respondents interviewed from each location was 60 people. Gender equity was taken into consideration while administering the questionnaire. The one-on-one questionnaire was administered to a total of 180 people out of the targeted 220 or 5% of the total population. An additional 39 people were reached through focused group discussions and key informants. Considering the nature of Maasai settlement where several households live within clustered homesteads, the target sample size of 220 or 5% is considered realistic. A total of 219 people were altogether interviewed.

Non-random purposeful sampling was used in the identification of key informants and Focused Group Discussants. After identifying the three administrative locations a week prior to the study, the research worked with a field focal point community person, and WV Community cluster

workers and the Development Coordinator in identifying and booking appointments with KIs. The field focal point person was guided regarding the type of KI required for the study. The KIs included traditional Maasai elders (male and female), Morans, Ministry of Agriculture staff, local administration, local pastors and WV staff. The researcher ensured that the sample size was fairly representative especially in terms of age, gender, geographical location, and depth of knowledge of social conventions. This was expected to minimize sample errors, increase reliability and replicability, as well as ensure that a reasonable level of confidence level is upheld (Kothari, 2005).

The scope of key informants enabled the researcher to maximize on traditional knowledge on the selected Maasai social conventions as well as current practices related to social conventions, livestock use and management, as well as DRR issues in Namanga. The local leadership administrative structure and WV community networks were used in the identification and selection of the most knowledgeable and reliable key informants. The youth FGD members were drawn from Maasai youths who had undergone some of the age appropriate social conventions. Face to face interviews were conducted with both key informants and focused group members. Only one key informant (the WV Manager for the Osiligi Integrated Program) who was interviewed on phone since he was not available in the field during the date designated for his interview.

3.6 Sources of data

Both primary and secondary data were collected. Primary data was gathered directly from different categories of respondents through structured, non-structured interviews and observations. Secondary data was obtained before and after field work. This included existing written and electronic data about the Maasai of Kenya, Kajiado, the selected locations of study and Osiligi community in general. Some of the key sources considered included Journals, UN, government, Civil Society organization such as WV, private publications, electronic websites, and local newspapers. Effort was made to access and utilize recent data that is not older than 10 years. As part of the government of Kenya requirement, the researcher obtained prior government approval through the local administration in Namangato undertake this study. The focus of the study in primary and secondary data sources was in relation to the Maasai social conventions, assets utilized in the conventions, community restocking practices, what the community considered as the causes of food and drought disasters, and the community's level of understanding and appreciation of the impact of these conventions on the household livestock base and vulnerability to disasters.

3.7 Units of Analysis

The key unit of analysis in this study was the practice of social conventions and the impact they have on Maasai household livestock base and the resulting relationship this erosion has on community vulnerability to locally experienced disasters. Other related units of analysis to social conventions included individuals and groups of people providing the information required for this study such as adult men and women, the youth, and Maasai elders and community leaders with vital information on Maasai norms, cultural practices, and livestock, as well as the local administrative units such as locations and villages.

3.8 Data Analysis

Before analysis, data organization was undertaken. This involved processing or cleaning of field data with a purpose of correcting any apparent inconsistencies, ambiguities, recording errors, or elimination of any unusable or contradictory data related to questions. After pre-processing, the data was classified and coded. This entailed prescription of how all possible answers were treated, and in case of numerical data, the codes were assigned to it. After coding, the data was then analyzed. Some of the simple techniques used in data analysis included calculation of averages, dispersion of data around averages, correlations, as well as percentages. Quantitative data analysis was done using SPSS (Version 17.0) and excel while qualitative descriptive and inference statistics was manually analyzed using MS word.

Both content and thematic data analysis was undertaken. Use of themes ensured that major concepts or themes were captured during analysis, while content analysis enabled the researcher to identify trends or issues of interest as well as frequencies associated with the variables in question. Quantitative analysis entailed capturing numerical values from which descriptions were made. Where possible, correlations, especially of causal-comparative type were done to try and determine the relationships between certain elements of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents data analysis, interpretation and discussions of the study on Maasaisocial conventions. The study was undertaken in Eluanata, Lorngusua and Mailwa locations of Namanga Division, Kajiado District. Namanga town is about 160 kilometers from Nairobi although this study was undertaken from Maili Tisa, which is about 10kilometres before Namanga town. The overall objective of this study was to establish the impact of social conventions on community livelihoods and vulnerability to disasters. The specific objectives of the study included: establishing the various social conventions undertaken by the Maasai of Osiligi community; establishing the types and numbers of livestock used by a Maasai household during the execution of these social conventions; establishing the existing community restocking mechanism(s) and their sustainability potential; and establishing the extent to which the community had understood and internalized the impact of social conventions. The term “social conventions” as used in this study meant those communally defined and agreed upon traditional ceremonies, social agreements and contracts, as well as practices and the transactions related to those traditional ceremonies, and whose execution is governed by certain beliefs, norms and socially governed regulations.

The ten (10) villages where this study was undertaken were identified using the systematic sampling method. A list of all the twenty two (22) villages in Eluanata, Lorngosua and Mailwa was compiled and the k^{th} value ($k^{\text{th}} = N/n$) of two (2) determined by dividing the total population of the of the three administrative locations ($N = 7927$) by the estimated sample population ($n = 3603$) of the 10 villages. The first village was then randomly selected from the list of the twenty two villages, which happened to be the 3rd village on the list. The other nine villages were selected by picking every other 2nd village from the initial 3rd village in the list. Although the initial planned sample size for this study was 220 people (180 direct respondents, 25 FGDs and 15 KIs), the actual number of those interviews was 219. This comprised of 180 individual respondents, 25 FGDs and 14 KIs. The 219 respondents was an equivalent of six percent (6%) of the total sample population ($n=3603$) and 99.5 percent response rate. The high response rate could be attributed to the following factors: prior planning of field work, conducting survey within an existing World Vision-Osiligi community structure, use of enumerators in administering questionnaires and facilitating FGDs and KIs interviews, as well as support and close monitoring of the enumerators by the researcher. The rationale for the proposed sample size of 220 was twofold: to ensure enhanced representativeness in relation to the total population of the targeted area, and enhance the substantiveness and objectivity on the

findings of the study, meant to inform the on-going development and Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) initiatives in Namanga Division.

4.2 Demographic characteristics of the respondents

This section of the study presents the characteristics of personal attributes of the survey respondents such as gender, age, marital status, education level, dependency, religion and sources of income among the 180 individual respondents. These characteristics were used as benchmarks for comparison under various elements in this study.

Table 4.1: Age and gender distribution of individual respondents

N = 180

Age category (yrs)	Frequency (#)			Percentage (%)
	Male	Female	Total	
16-25	54	46	100	55.6
26-35	26	19	45	25.0
36-45	12	5	17	9.5
46-55	3	8	11	6.0
56-65	2	2	4	2.2
Above 65	1	2	3	1.7
Total	98	82	180	100.0

Table 4.1 above indicates that out of the 180 respondents interviewed, 55.6 percent were between 16 and 25 years, 25 percent between 26 and 35 years, 9.5 percent between 36 and 35 years, 6.0 percent between 46 and 55 years, 1.7 percent were above 65 years of age, 2.2 percent between 56 and 65 years. This means that most (80.8%) of the respondents were young (16-35 years). This agrees with the current trends of Kenyan population where a large percentage (63.5%) of the country's population is below 25 years while up to 71.8 percent is below 30 years of age (KNBS, 2009). In a context where most (57%) of the population lives below the poverty line, coupled with high unemployment and HIV and AIDS scourge (GoK 2009), the Osiligi community stands increasingly vulnerable to different disasters.

Table 4.2: Respondents who were born in and migrated to Namanga**N=180**

Location of birth	Frequency of respondents (#)	Percentage (%)
Born in Namanga Division	161	89.4
Migrated to Namanga Division	19	10.6
Total	180	100.0

The nature of this study warranted to be undertaken within a Maasai community where the remnants of original Maasai could be found and where the target population was bound by similar social cultural practices. As such, the study sought to establish the percentage of respondents who had been born and were living in Namanga division during the time of this study. As indicated in table 4.2 above, 89.4 percent of the respondents were born in Namanga Division while only 10.6 percent had migrated to Namanga from other parts of Kajiado and Narok districts. This meant that most (89.4 Percent) of the respondents were indigenous people and thus bound by similar social-cultural ties and practices hence the appropriate target population for the study.

In support of this finding, a 73 year old key informant from Mailwa village said that his great grandparents had settled in Namanga as early as 1914, before establishment of the Kenya-Tanzania border. Since then, his family had lived in Mailwa and for all that time, they had been practicing various Maasai cultural ceremonies.

These findings agree with Eunice Siripo's (2012) records on the history of Maasai that the remnants of original Maasai are today found in various parts of Kajiado and Narok districts. As such, the local population was considered to house individuals with reliable institutional memory on Maasai social conventions thus appropriate for this study.

Table 4.3: Gender and marital status**N = 180**

Gender	Marital Status			Total (#)	Percentage (%)
	Married	Single	Windowed		
Female	42	56	0	98	54.4
Male	51	22	9	82	44.6
Total	93	78	9	180	100
Percentage (%)	51.7	43.3	5.0	100	

Table 4.3 above shows that out of the 180 respondents, 51.7 percent were married, 43.3 percent single and 5.0 percent widowed. The 93 married (51.7%) respondents comprised of 42 female and 51 male while 78 single (43.3%) respondents comprised of 56 female and 22 male while the. All the 9 widowed (5.5%) respondents were male. Out of the 180 respondents, 54.4 percent were female while 44.6 percent male. All the 98 females comprised of 56 single and 42 married respondents while the 82 male comprised of 51 married, 22 single and 9 widowed respondents. The absent of widowed females could mean that no widowed female respondents were interviewed or any widowed female respondents had been remarried. Considering that 55.6 percent of the 180 respondents were between 16 and 25 years (see table 4.1) and only 43.3 percent were single (table 4.3 above), this means that early marriages were common in the target community as pointed out by World Vision (2006) study on the Osiligi community that established that Maasai girls were married off as early as 12-13 years thus compromising the girls' development, participation and protection rights (UNCRC, 1989).

Table 4.4: Number of children

N=180

Number of Children	Frequency (#)	Percentage (%)
00	91	50.6
1 - 5	73	40.5
6-10	16	8.9
Total	180	100

According to table 4.4 above, 50.6 percent of the respondents had no children, 40.5 percent had children ranging from one and five, while 8.9 percent had children ranging from six to ten. These findings meant that most (50.6%) of the respondents did not have children while the largest number (40.5%) of those with children had less than five (5) children. The average number of children among the 180 respondents was two translating to an average family size of four (4) people. This could be considered a small family size since the average Kenyan family is six people (GoK, 2009). However, as gathered during the study, most of the Maasai households are polygamous with an average of three wives married to one man thus making the average size of the household increase to 10 people. This could be considered a large family in the Kenyan context.

Table 4.5: Dependency status among the singles

N=78

Dependency status	Frequency (#)	Percentage (%)
Living with parent	60	76.9
Not living with parents	18	23.1
Total	78	100

Table 4.5 above shows that 76.9 percent of the single respondents (equivalent to 33.3% of all the 180 respondents) lived with their parents while 23.1 percent did not. This high dependency among the singles on their parents meant increased burden on household resources within already large polygamous families. With most (95%) of the households relying on livestock as their main source of income yet livestock is considered an element at risk (GoK, 2005), the Osiligi community is already susceptible to any occurring hazards and thus could be termed as vulnerable. This observation agrees with UN (2004) and Blaikie et al. (2003) argument that vulnerability will usually occur when a certain condition or state makes it possible for an individual, household, community, their livelihoods and assets to become susceptible to an hazard or hazardous state becoming a disaster.

Table 4.6: Education and literacy level among the respondents

N=180

Gender	Education Status							Total (#)	Percentage (%)
	Never been to School	Dropped out of school		In school					
		Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	College	University		
Female	59	7	2	9	4	1	0	82	45.6
Male	44	13	2	23	9	4	2	98	54.4
Total	103	20	4	32	13	5	2	180	100.0
Percentage (%)	57.2	11.1	2.2	17.8	7.2	3.3	1.1	100.0	

As indicated in table 4.6 above, 57.2 percent of the respondents had never been to school, 29.4 percent in school (17.8% in primary, 7.2% in secondary, 3.3% in college, and 1.1% in university), and 13.3 percent dropped out of school (11.1% in primary and 2.2% in secondary). A further scrutiny of the findings shows that the female gender experiences high illiteracy levels than the male gender with 59 females never having been to school against 44 males. Additionally, 36 males were in school (i.e. 23 in primary, 9 in secondary, 4 in college, and 2 in university) against 14 females in school (i.e. 9 in primary, 4 in secondary, 1 in college, and none in university). With a 57.2 percent of the respondents having never been to school, 13.3 percent

school drop outs, and gender disparity in both school attendance and level of education, the illiteracy level in this community was considered to be high thus leading to social vulnerability. According to Kemp (2007), illiteracy is an indication of social vulnerability and although less visible and less understood, social vulnerability is just as much a concern as other dimensions of vulnerability such as physical, economic and attitudinal. This deep preference and commitment to cultural practices agrees with Haralambos and Holborn's (2004) observation that culture, to a large degree, determines how a society thinks and feels, directs its members' actions, and ultimately defines their outlook of life.

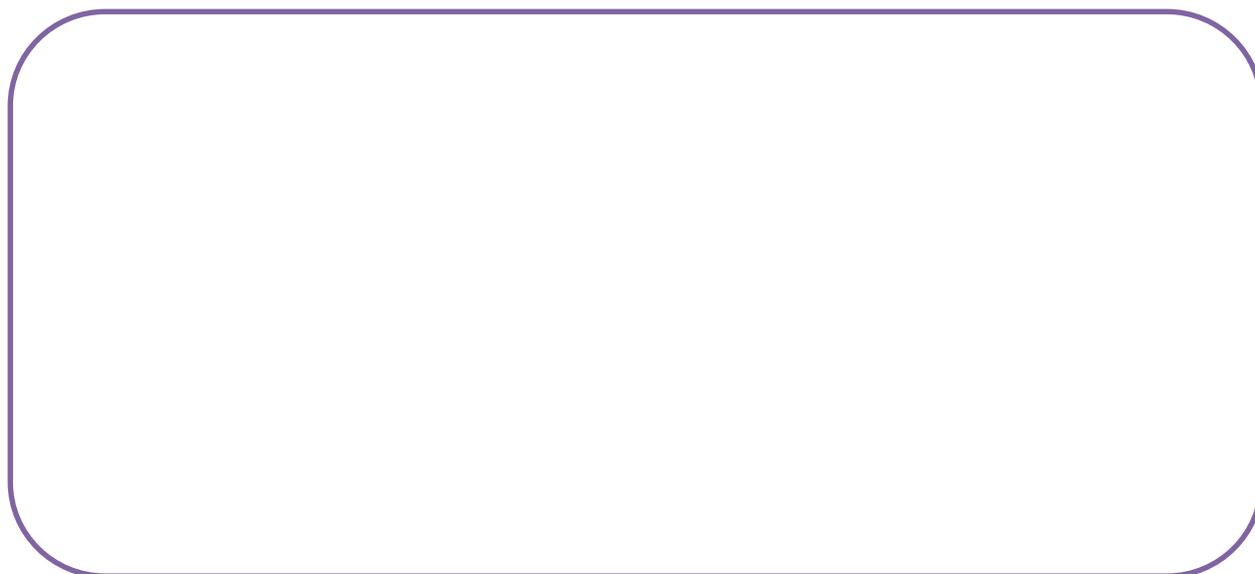
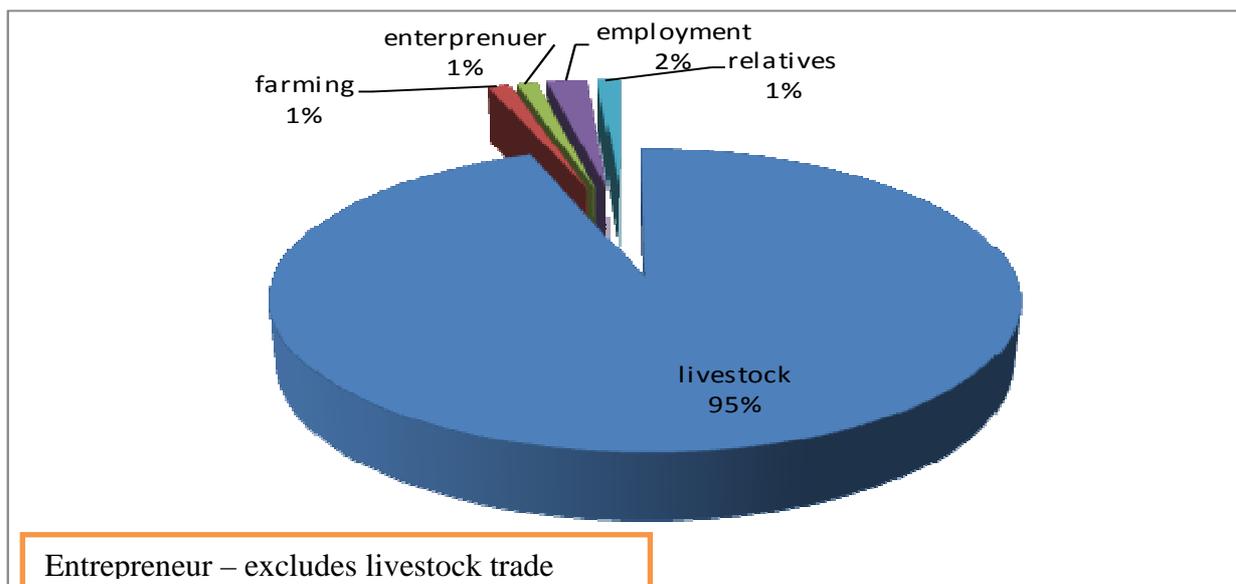


Figure 4.1: The main sources of income

N=180



According to figure 4.1 above, 95 percent of the respondents relied on livestock as their main source of income while 5 percent relied on other sources including farming (1%),

entrepreneurship (1%), employment (2%) and support by relatives (1%). This means that livestock is almost the sole source of income among the Maasai of Namanga. This finding agrees with the World Bank Institute (2007) findings that an estimated 75 percent of the total household income in Maasai land is generated from livestock. On the other hand, the limited diversification agrees with Osano's (2011) observation that although historically and traditionally considered pure pastoralists, the Maasai have in the recent past made a shift from being purely pastoralists to agro-pastoralism and entrepreneurs. This gradual shift has been associated with a number of factors including myriad changes in land tenure, land use intensification, sedentarization, changing environmental, social-economic, and political changing landscape that has resulted to a huge loss of livestock. According to Cannon et al. (2001), lack of access and control over means of production like land is described as material vulnerability.

Table 4.7: Religion versus respondent's participations in various ceremonies

N=180

Religion	Ceremonies							
	Senior boy	Warrior Shaving	Milk drinking	Meat eating	Earlobe	Junior elder	Circumcision	Marriage
Catholic (47)	28	28	29	28	29	28	42	34
Protestant (119)	64	75	63	68	48	48	97	95
Muslims (1)	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
Animist (0)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
None (12)	1	2	2	3	0	1	5	4
Others (1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total (180)	93	105	95	100	77	77	145	134
Percentage (%)	51.7	58.3	52.8	55.6	42.8	42.8	85.6	74.4

The study sought to establish if the respondents' religious affiliation and their level of participation social conventions had any influence on the respondent's participation in various ceremonies. A cross tabulation between religion and respondents participation in eight selected ceremonies was then done. Findings of table 4.7 above shows that the initiate's participation in different religious background varied from a low of 42.8 percent in earlobe and junior ceremonies to a high of 85.6 percent in circumcision. For the Catholics (26.1%), their participation in eight ceremonies varied from 59.6 percent in senior boy, warrior shaving and junior elders' ceremonies to 89.4 percent in circumcision, while that of the protestants (66.1%) ranges from 40.3 percent in earlobe and junior elder ceremonies to 81.5 percent in circumcision. Considering only the Christians (92.2%), it can be said that religion had limited impact on respondents' participation in all the eight ceremonies, and especially in marriage (74.4%) and circumcision (85.6%). This is a clear pointer to the value the community tags on especially

marriage and circumcision ceremonies. As explained earlier, this preference has a lot to do with the value, dignity and privileges associated with one's involvement in these social conventions. For example, a married woman within a Maasai culture commands special respect from the community while a circumcised young man qualifies to join moranism thus becoming a Maasai warrior.

Table 4.8: Religion, age and ceremonies cross tabulation

Religion		Age (years)					Total	
		16-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65		> 65
Catholics (47)		34	8	1	2	1	1	47
Ceremonies	Senior boy	21	6	1	0	0	0	28
	Warrior shaving	21	6	1	0	0	0	28
	Milk drinking	22	6	1	0	0	0	29
	Meat eating	20	7	1	0	0	0	28
	Earlobe	22	5	1	1	0	0	29
	Junior elder	20	7	1	0	0	0	28
	Circumcision	31	8	1	2	0	0	42
	Marriage	24	8	1	1	0	0	34
Protestants (119)		64	32	11	7	3	2	119
Ceremonies	Senior boy	33	16	7	5	2	1	64
	Warrior shaving	39	18	9	6	2	1	75
	Milk drinking	33	16	6	5	2	1	63
	Meat eating	35	18	8	4	2	1	68
	Earlobe	28	12	2	3	2	1	48
	Junior elder	24	14	4	3	2	1	48
	Circumcision	49	28	11	6	1	2	97
	Marriage	48	26	10	7	2	2	95

In order to determine the age range within which the participating respondents fell, a correlation was done between religion (Christian), age and eight selected ceremonies. Since Christian comprised 92.2 percent of all the religions, correlations with such a number would give a representative view. As indicated in table 4.8 above, a large percentage (71-76%) of the participating Catholics and 50 to 58 percent of the participating Protestants fell within the age range 16-25 years. This further confirms that religion had very limited influence on the participation of respondents in their social ceremonies, a pointer to the value the Maasai tag to their ceremonies.

4.3 Key Maasai Social Ceremonies

This section of the study sought to establish the various social conventions undertaken by the Maasai of Osiligi community. A summary of findings of the ceremonies undergone by a Maasai from birth to a senior elder, their frequencies, type and number of participants, type and number of resources utilized, as well as the estimated market value of the livestock used during these ceremonies is captured in this section. This section also includes a description of five of the eleven ceremonies which are considered key in terms of the number of participants, duration of practice and cost of the ceremony. Also captured in this section are the respondents' ratings on the importance and level of participation in a selected list of Maasai ceremonies as well as the various enforcers of the practice of these ceremonies. The findings have been interpreted and discussed.

Table 4.9 Maasai ceremonies, frequencies, resources and estimated quantities and costs

N=34(KIs and FGDs)

S/N.	Name of the ceremony	Frequency and duration	Participants	Type and quantities (est.) of resource used	Estimated cost of livestock resource'	
					Unit Price (Ksh)	Cumulative Amount (Ksh)
1.	Child birth ceremony (<i>EinotoEnkerai</i>)	Every time a child is born; ceremony lasts 1 day	Around 15-20 women per ceremony	1-2 goats/sheep; rice, milk, tea and traditional beer	Goat/sheep: 4000 - 6000/=	4,000 - 12,000/=
					Total	4-12,000
2.	First child's naming ceremony (<i>Ebaranotoenkarai</i>)	3 months after child birth; ceremony lasts 1 day	Parents and selected elders	1-2 sheep/goat; rice, tea, milk and traditional beer	Goat/sheep: 4000-6000/=.	4,000 - 12,000/=
					Total	60-120,000
3.	Junior boys' ceremony (<i>Enkipaata/AitupukuEnkarai</i>)	Undertaken once or twice per year;	1500-2000 people (includes initiates)	4-10 cows, and 50 - 60 sheep/goat; rice, tea, beer	Sheep/goat: 4000 - 6000/=; Cow: 35,000 - 60,000/=	200,000 - 360,000/= 140,000 - 600,000/=
					Total	34-960,000
4.	Second naming ceremony (<i>EnkitupukunotoEnkarai</i>)	Prior to circumcision ritual; lasts 1 day	Parents, relatives, and elders	1 sheep/goat Rice, milk, tea and traditional beer	Sheep/goat: 4000-6000/=.	4000-6,000/=
					Total	4-6000/=

5.	Circumcision ceremony (<i>Emuratta</i>):	Undertaken once or twice per year; actual ceremony last 1-2 days	20-40 people (Initiates, parents, relatives and elders)	1-2 steers, 1 -3 sheep/goats, 50 kgs of rice, tea and beer	Goat/sheep: 4000 - 6000/=; Steer: 35,000 – 60,000/= ;	4,000 – 18,000 35,000 – 120,000
					Total	44 – 138,000
6.	<i>Moranism</i> (4-6 years when morans live together in a camp)	Undertaken for a period of 4-6 years;	1000-2000 (from 7 regions or schemes)	NB: Livestock during the 4-6 yrs period only described as “huge”.	Goat/sheep: 4000 - 6000/=; Steer: 35,000 – 60,000/= ;	Not estimated
					Total	No estimate
7.	Meat- eating ceremony during <i>moranism</i> period (<i>Enkangoo-nkiri</i>)	1-2 times per year	Groups of 10-20 morans and their siblings	1 cow; and 10-20 goats/sheep per group	Goat/sheep: 4000 - 6000/=; Steer: 35,000 – 60,000/=	40,000 – 120,000 35,000 – 60,000
					Total	75-180,000/=
8.	<i>Oloibonism</i> (Maasai Seer);	Prior to any major graduation ceremonies	63 people (42 morans and 21 elders)	49 steers; traditional beer, tobacco/snuff, and sugar	Steer: Ksh 35,000 – 70,000/=	1.715 – 3.43m
					Total	1.715 – 3.430m
9.	Morans or senior boy graduation ceremony (<i>Eunoto</i>)	Once after 4-6 years; ceremony lasts 3-4 months	Above 2000 people (included grandaunts)	Goat/sheep: 150-700; Cows: 50-100 (7 schemes or regions)	Goat/sheep: 4000 - 6000/=; Cow/Steer: 35,000 – 60,000/=	650,000-4.2m 1.75 – 6.0m
					Total	2.40-10.20m
10.	Junior elder ceremony (<i>Orngesherr</i>) :	Frequency: 4-5 years, Duration: 3-5 months	Above 2,000 people from the 7 schemes	Goats/Sheep: 500-700 Cows: 180 - 210 300-400 bags of rice; and tea	Goat/sheep: 4000 - 6000/=; Cow/steer: 35,000 – 60,000/=	2.0 – 4.2 m 6.3- 12.6 m
					Total	8.30 – 16.80m
11.	Marriage (<i>Enkiama</i>):	Frequency: Any time in the years	Participating households	Goats /sheep: 3-5	Goat/sheep: 4000 - 6000/=;	12 – 30,000
					Total	12-30,000/=

Table 4.9 above is a summary of the eleven social conventions as practiced by the Maasai of Osiligi. Five of these eleven are executed annually, while six are undertaken periodically. Those seven annual ceremonies included: Child birth ceremony (*EinotoEnkerai*), first and second naming ceremonies (*Baranotoenkarai* and *EnkitupukunotoEnkarai*), meat eating during *moranism* period (*Enkangoo-nkiri*), and marriage (*Enkiama*). The other six, which were said to be executed periodically include: the junior boy ceremony (*Enkipaata*), circumcision ceremony (*Emuratta*) Training of Maasai warrior (*Moranism*), moran graduation (*Eunoto*), senior elder's graduation (*Orlngosua*) and Consulting with the Maasai seer (*Oloibonism*). The different people participating in these ceremonies include: the initiates and their siblings, initiates' parents and guardians, relatives, elders and other community members. The number of people who participating in a particular ceremony depends on the type of ceremony and ranged from 15-20 in child birth ceremony to over 2000 in large ceremonies like Moran graduation (*Eunoto*).

The total estimated cost of livestock consumed per ceremony varied from ksh 4000 per ceremony such as child birth, to a high of ksh 16.8 million in senior elders' graduation ceremony. The actual cost of resources used per ceremony was said to go higher especially where livestock are sold to generate income for purchase of other food stuff like sugar, tea leaves, honey and rice. It is however evident from these figures that the practice of social conventions puts a heavy demand on household resources.

4.3.1 Description of the Major Social Conventions

Of the eleven social conventions outlined in table 4.9 above, five could be considered major in terms of amount of resources utilized, number of participants and the communal approach employed in their planning and execution. The six include: (i) Junior boys' ceremony (*Enkipaata/AitupukuEnkarai*), (ii) circumcision (*Emuratt*); (iii) Training of warriors (*moranism*), (iv) Consulting with Maasai seer (*Oloibonism*), (v) Senior boy graduation ceremony (*Eunoto*), and (vi) Junior elder graduation ceremony (*Orngesherr*). Below is a brief description of each of these social conventions:

a). Junior Boys' Ceremony (*Enkipaata/AitupukuEnkarai*)

This ceremony is meant to prepare boys (*Olaiyoni*) and girls (*Entito*) for circumcision. All the candidates usually fall within the same age set (*Esirit*), which is around 13-15 years. The boys, drawn from the seven "schemes" of Namanga Division, are usually gather at a common location, where they are smeared with "white" soil, dance and eat for about two days. They then walk in a single file to a certain dam where they are further smeared with fat extracted from a sheep and blessed by a special group of elders. After this ritual, the boys return to a selected

homestead or “boma” where they dance, eat meat and drink soup served on animal skin, an oath of unit. During this ceremony, the elders select a respected leader, or the group’s chief counselor (*Olaiguenani*) to lead the group.

It was estimated that during each of the *Enkipaata* ceremony, about 4-10 cows and about 50 – 60 small ruminants were slaughtered in addition to other food stuff such as rice, tea and traditional beer. The amount of rice consumed during this ceremony was estimated to be about 300kgs. Going by the estimated cost of the type of cattle (i.e. Ksh 35,000/= to Ksh 60,000/=) and small ruminants(Ksh. 4,000 to Ksh 6,000/=) used in these ceremonies, the total estimated value of livestock per *Enkipaata*ceremony ranged between Ksh. 345,000 to Ksh. 960,000/=. The actual cost of resources consumed was said to be higher considering that more livestock would be sold to buy other food stuff consumed in these conventions. Additionally, the community spent massive uncompensated man hours in preparation and actual execution of these conventions. The number of those participating ranged between 1500-2000 people. The participants includedthe initiates themselves, their siblings, parents, guardians, relatives, andgeneral community members. Although the actual ceremony was said to last about three to four days, the preparations for this ceremony was said to take several weeks prior to the actual event. Considering the number of participants, frequency of this ceremony and the number of resources consumed in the face of other disasters, the participating households stand vulnerable over time.

b). Circumcision Ceremony (*Emuratta*):

The *Enkipaata* graduates are usually the ones who undergo circumcision.The boys must be mature before undergoing circumcision and therefore elders wait until enough number of boys that can guard the community has been realized. Circumcision is usually executed at household or *Manyatta* levelwith a few homesteads undertaking the activity together. Both boys and girl undergo circumcision. Prior to the actual circumcision ceremony, traditional beer is brewed, mainly by women. During the day of circumcision, a branch (*latim*) from a specific tree (*Eiti* or *Enkoilalei* or *Enkoiren* tree) is cut and erected at the door of the initiate’s *manyatta*. A bull is then slaughtered and the meat eaten by the concerned household (*Olkitengloolbaa*). In case of a girl circumcision, a mature bull is paid by the man who has booked the girl for marriage and eaten during this ceremony, while for the boy; his father provides a bull which is slaughtered during the ceremony. Oxen are slaughtered for both fat and meat purposes.

Prior to the actual circumcision, the initiates are separated according to their sex. The boys undergo a certain oath to confirm their virginity. Those who have failed to keep their virginity

upto this point are usually penalized by paying a certain number of cattle. The girls are however not subjected to chastity test since it is traditionally expected that they are eloped by *Morans* who engage in sex with them especially during their 4-6 years training as warriors. At the material circumcision day, the boys are taken outside the “boma” where they are circumcised while the girls are circumcised within the “boma”. The boys and girls circumcision rituals are undertaken by special male and female elders respectively. Failure to use of protective material like gloves by the initiates coupled with the use of the same knife to circumcise all the initiates have been blamed for spread of HIV/AIDs and other sexually transmitted diseases among both the initiates and the circumcisers. In a given household circumcision ceremony, an average of 1-2 steers, 1-3 sheep/goats, about 50 kilograms of rice, traditional beer, and tea are consumed. Cumulatively, this ceremony consumes massive community resources (livestock, time and other food stuff) considering the number of people involved. In addition to depletion of household livestock base, the practice of this ceremony poses a health threat to both the initiates and the initiators thus increasing their vulnerability to various disasters.

c). Training a Maasai Warrior (*Moranism*): This is one of the most valued events in the growth of a Maasai man. The warrior training was said to last between 4-6 years. After circumcision and special hair shaving, the boys join *Moranism* while most of the girls get married except in a case where there is a protest by either the family, government or other stakeholders advocating for children right issues, especially the right to education. Ideally, all the circumcised *morans* within a certain particular age set are drawn together from the seven schemes of Namanga division. They then choose a certain location far away from their homes where they, with the support of their mothers, construct *manyattas* for their abode. There are 5 *manyattas* where all milk is kept and where the *morans* go to drink milk from. After drinking milk, which occurs around 2.00pm to 3.00pm, the *morans* celebrate by singing and dancing until tired or ready to sleep. The mothers to the *morans* also move into the camp to support comfortable living of the *morans*. One of the major role of these mothers is to ensure that the *morans* welfare, especially food, is taken care of. A *moran* could sleep in the *manyatta* of another *moran*'s mother but not in his mother's *manyatta*. *Morans* were also said to elope young uncircumcised girls and have sex with them. Most of the girls prevented pregnancy by eating certain wild herbs. This practice has also been blamed for spread of sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDs.

A *moran*'s regular diet during his 4-6 years training period is primarily blood, milk and meat. *Morans* are not supposed to eat oily or fried food by their mothers during this period. Before each *Moran* moves to the camp, he is given a certain number of livestock by his father. Although all resources are pooled together and managed communally within the camp, the initial stock can

only last a limited duration considering the large number of people living in the camp. Once the initial stock of livestock is exhausted, the *Morans* fend for themselves. Some of the fending approaches employed include hunting for wild game meat, raiding for more livestock from individual household stock, especially when grazing, and/or periodically camping in someone's homestead for 2-3 days where they are fed. In addition to these self-fending practices, there are times when the parents of these *Morans* send additional livestock to the camp to boost the *Morans'* food stock. Although considered costly by the affected households, one of the NGO staff dealing with Anti-FGM programming in Osiligi community reported that this practice is still being practiced by the community to date.

Once or twice a year, the *Moran* hold a meat eating ceremony (*Enkangoo-nkiri*) where 15-20 *Morans* slaughter at least one bull and several goats. Each *Moran* contributes one goat for this ceremony. They usually bring along their siblings to this ceremony to feast together. At certain times during their training, the *Morans* hold periodic ceremonies where all their fathers and relatives are invited. The number of ceremonies is determined by a team of elders and witchdoctors. During the entire period of training, *Morans* operate in small groups of 15-20 people. The researcher learnt that when *Morans* raid someone's livestock, they usually go for the best quality livestock. These kinds of raids were said to be communally accepted since *Morans* are considered to be community warriors or Maasai "army" whose major responsibility is to protect the community. At some point during his training as a warrior, a *Moran* must kill a lion or buffalo as a way of proving bravery. This feat is achieved within the small warrior groups.

The respondents could not estimate the actual resources consumed during the 4-6 years of *moran* training period and only described it as "huge". The respondents also reported environmental destruction considering the large numbers of *Morans* who settle in one location for long. Since these large populations did not use toilets, open disposal of human faecal matter poses health and environmental hazard, especially during the rainy season when such waste is washed away by rain into various water points, some of which were said to be drinking water sources. Considering the massive livestock consumed during *Moranism*, uncompensated man hours, lost schooling opportunity among the youth, possible water contamination and environmental degradation, practice of *Moranism* is considered to have negatively impacted on community livestock assets and capacities as well as contributing to community's social, economic, behavioural, and environmental vulnerability to disaster.

d). Consulting the Maasai seer or *Oloiboni*

Prior to the commencement of the *moran* graduation ceremony (*Eunoto*), the Maasai seer (*Oloiboni*) is consulted for direction, blessing and commissioning of the *Eunoto* ceremony. This consultation involves a visit to the *Oloiboni* by a team of 63 people (i.e. 42

of the graduating morans and 21 elders) from the seven schemes. The team carries with it 49 female cows, traditional beer, tobacco, milk, tobacco/snuff, and sugar for. During the visit, *Oloiboni* gives his blessing and permission to conduct the *Eunoto* ceremony by giving the team a concoction of blood, milk and certain traditional herbs (*Emasho*). The estimated livestock value of the 49 cattle taken to *Oloiboni* was between Ksh. 1.715 million and Ksh. 3.430 million although the actual cost was said to be higher considering the value of other items taken together with the livestock and the transport cost of the visiting team. Although periodically executed, this single ceremony draws heavily on community livestock resources. Considering that livestock is already “an element at risk”, this practice possesses further risk to Maasai livestock assets and overall well-being.

e). Moran Graduation (*Eunoto*): At the end of the *Moranism* period, a graduation ceremony (*Eunoto*) is held. The number of people participating in the graduation ceremony said to be more 1500 people since the participants included parents, relatives, elders and general community members. Although the morans food was primarily meat during *moranism*, after graduating from Moranism, the graduand (*Elaata Enkeena*) is now permitted to eat food prepared by his mother or by a woman. During the *Eunoto* ceremony, one cow is slaughtered and its blood is drunk by all the graduating *Morans*. Specially selected elders and witchdoctors then conduct a “blessing” ritual on all the graduates. The presiding team is given “a lot of animals” by the age-set they preside over. The livestock given to the presiding elders was not quantified but described as “a lot of livestock”. The rest of livestock and food stuff contributed for this ceremony are then consumed by those attending the ceremony, including the graduates. During this ceremony, two age-set leaders are selected. The senior leader (*Olatuno*) and his deputy (*Oloborue- enkeene*) must be persons of excellent character. The two leaders are initially identified by the entire age-set with the final choice made by the elders. Age-set members find wives for their two leaders and also pay dowry for these wives. The two leaders also have special *manyatta* (*Osinkira*) maintained by special girls chosen by the age-set. The two leaders ensure order and discipline is maintained within the age-set.

The number of livestock consumed during the *Eunoto* ceremony was estimated to range between 50-100 cows and 150-700 small ruminants, in addition to what was described as “large quantities” of rice, tea and traditional beer. Going by the estimated market value (see table 4.9) of the type and size of cattle and ruminants consumed during Maasai ceremonies, the estimated cost of livestock value per *Eunoto* ceremony was Ksh. 2.4 million to Ksh. 10.2 million. However, the actual number of livestock used in this ceremony depended on the number of people attending the ceremony since this dictated the actual quantities of food stuff consumed. Each

scheme contributes a specific number of livestock and food stuff as apportioned by the planning committee of elders.

The entire *Eunoto* ceremony can last between 3-4 months but was said to take place once after every 3-5 years. It is evident from the foregoing that the execution of *Eunoto* ceremony is costly in terms of household livestock assets, human capital and the unproductive man-hours consumed during this period. The overall impact on household livestock base is one of increased economic vulnerability in the face of increasing intensity, severity and complexity of other hazards and disasters.

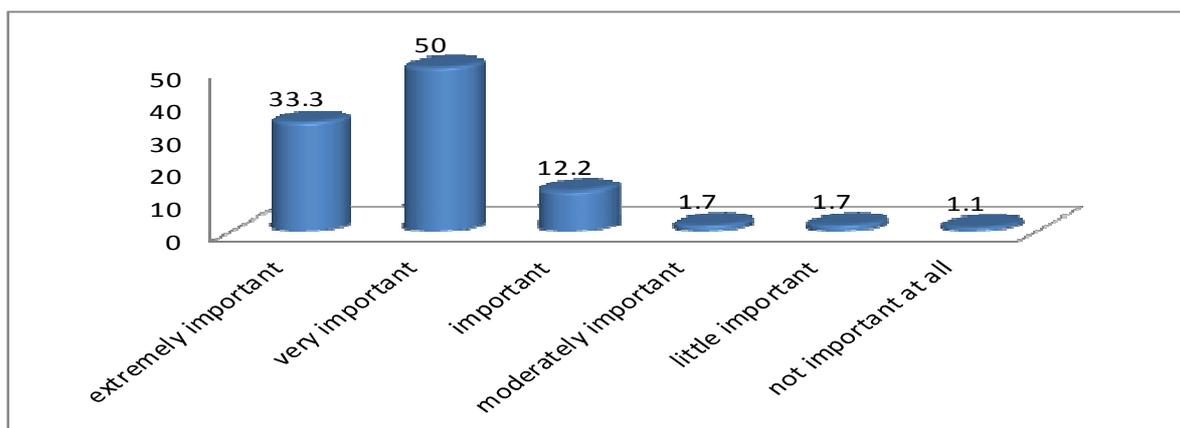
f). Junior Elder Ceremony (*Orngesherr*):

This ceremony is conducted around 4-5 years after graduation of *morans*. Its preparation and actual execution is estimated to last 3-5 months, depending on the total number of participating people. Two generations, traditionally referred to as the “left” (*Emurata e-tatene*) and “right” (*Emurataekedianye*) generations come together during this ceremony. During the ceremony, every one of the seven schemes contributes its allocated share of resources. The estimated quantity of resources used during a *Orngesherr* ceremony included: 500-700 ruminants, 180-201 cattle, and 300-400 bags of rice. Estimated livestock value translates to Ksh. 8.30 – 16.80 million. According to a member of the organizing committee for the 2006 *Orngesherr* ceremony, community contributions included 30 cows, 100 goats/sheep, 300-400 bags of 50kgs rice, and Ksh 100,000/=. In total, the seven schemes contributed 210 cows, 700 goats/sheep, Ksh. 700,000/= in cash. The Ksh700,000/= was used to buy food stuff such as sugar and honey required for tea and making of traditional beer. Coordination of resources required during execution of the communally held social conventions is done by male elders from the seven schemes. At the climax of this ceremony, every graduate sits on a Maasai traditional stool while the elders bless them. The graduates are then qualified to be junior elders and can marry as well as perform the duties of a Maasai elder. This is the entry point of eldership in a Maasai structure.

And frequency if the various of ceremonies a household is involved in, the uncompensated man-hours expended, the cumulative livestock consumed, and the monetary expenditure incurred on other foodstuff during these ceremonies, it is evident that a Maasai household spends a humongous amount of resources. This finding agrees with Chambers’ (1993) observation that expenditure incurred on social conventions makes heavy demands on the household’s reproductive resources thus impacting negatively on the livelihoods. The ultimate impact is reduced household stability against various hazards and disasters.

Figure 4.2: Respondents rating on the importance of social conventions to their lives

N=180



The study sought to establish respondents' opinion regarding the importance of practicing social conventions to their identity and dignity. Figure 4.2 shows that 33.3 percent considered it extremely important, 50 percent very important, 12.2 percent important, 1.7 percent moderately important, 1.7 percent little importance, and 1.1 percent not important at all. Overall, 95.5 percent rated the practice of social conventions as important (i.e. 33.3 percent extremely important, 50.0 percent very important and 12.2 percent important) to their identity and dignity, a clear indication of the value the Maasai put on these social conventions. According to Blau (Craig. et al, 2002), the high value tagged to these conventions could be associate with the kind of intrinsic and extrinsic social rewards the Maasai derive from these conventions.

Figure 4.3: Respondents rating on their involvement in various ceremonies (as an initiate)

N = 180

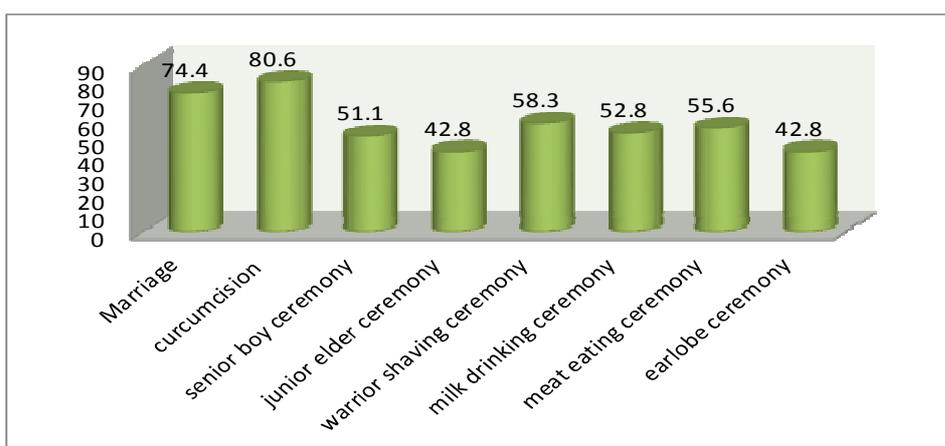


Figure 4.3 above shows the respondents' rating on the different ceremonies which they have been involved as an initiate at some point in their life. The level of participation include 80.6 percent in circumcision, 74.4 percent in marriage, 58.3 percent in warrior shaving ceremony, 55.6 percent in meat eating, 52.8 percent in milk drinking, 51.1 percent in senior boy ceremony, and 42.8 in both the junior elder and earlobe ceremonies. Except in junior elder and earlobe

ceremonies, participation in all the other 6 ceremonies was above 50 percent and indication of the importance the Maasai tag to their ceremonies. According to Kakuta, (2012), each of these ceremonies is considered a rite of passage and symbolizes a new phase in a Maasai life and as such, every Maasai child is eager to go through these ceremonies as vital stage of life. This high participation in various ceremonies could be explained by the anticipated rewards that an individual obtains from participating in these social interactions or fear of social punishment that accompanies failure to uphold the already created norms of participating and executing such social conventions (craig et al, 2002)

Figure 4.4: The key decision makers regarding continued execution of social conventions
N=180

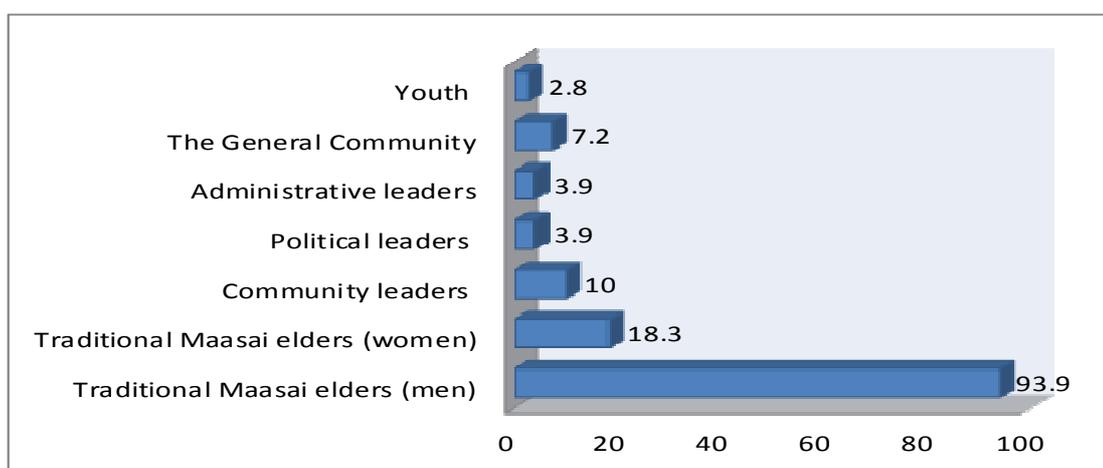


Figure 4.4 above shows male traditional Maasai elders (93.9%) as the main decision makers regarding perpetuation and execution of Maasai social conventions. The fact that the local administration chief, most politicians and female Maasai elders are also considered as Maasai elders, the respondents gave multiple responses under this question. This finding points to the existence of a well-established Maasai power structure among the Maasai. These “god-complex” captivities, as Chambers (1993) calls them, are culturally embedded power dynamics and systems within the community structures which ensure continued practice of social conventions thus maintaining a certain cultural and societal order.

This finding agrees with functional theorists who argue that a certain degree of order and stability is essential for the maintenance of harmony of the whole. And while value consensus is largely credited for this order and stability (Haralombos & Holborn, 2004), the society has developed two other methods of ensuring conformity to social order. The two methods are informal and formal social control, with informal being the most common. Informal social control refers to the mechanisms that are used to reinforce socialization, which are either rewards and

encouragement or good behavior or compliance, and/or punishment for none compliance or adherence to the norm(Adams &sydie , 2004).

4.3.2 Benefits of undergoing the social conventions

As established from FGDs, the respondents considered practice of social conventions as important in enhancing a Maasai's identify and dignity. The following reasons were given for this high (92.5%) rating: the respect accorded to the individual by the community after undergoing these rights of passage; rights and privileges associated with graduation of an individual in certain ceremonies for example the right of a girl to be married after circumcision while the boy join *moranism*; the opportunity to be blessed by elders, a factor perceived as the reason for one's prosperity; the right by the elders (both male and female) to drink specially made traditional beer during communal ceremonies; the privilege to marry out a daughter after circumcision and get more wealth; and the treasured leadership opportunity in matters related to the household and/or community affairs. Other reasons included unity among kinsmen and the opportunity to "culture" a Maasai child into a "true" Maasai.

4.3.3 Challenges of practicing social conventions

As gathered from KIs and FGD interviews, the practice of social conventions was said to have had its share of challenges which included: utilization of huge amounts of different resources, especially livestock and time; compromise of precious youth life best suited for formal learning as was the case when children and youth married early after circumcision or by joining *moranism*; consumption of huge uncompensated productive man hours at the expense of other productive investments like employment or entrepreneurship, both of which were said to cushion the community during harsh economic times; over-reliance on livestock for income and food source, coupled with limited alternative sources of income; heavy charcoal burning and degradation of the environment to complement diminishing livestock resources; as well as violation of children's development and protection rights through early and unconsented marriages, and Female Genital Mutilation (FGM).

4.4 Community assets used during the social conventions

This part of the study sought to determine the type of resources and number of livestock used by a Maasai household during their social conventions. Lists of eight selected social conventions were studied. Findings, interpretation and discussion on prioritization of the resources used by a household in each of the eight ceremonies as well as the average number of livestock and estimated cost a household uses in all the same eight ceremonies. This section also presents

findings on the authorities ensuring continued use of livestock during execution of these resources.

Table 4.10: Prioritization of the resources used in various social conventions

N=180

Social Ceremonies	Resources used during social ceremonies (conventions)													
	Cattle	Goat	Sheep	Food Stuff	Others	No response	Total	Cattle	Goat	Sheep	Food Stuff	Others	No response	Total
	Most important Resource (%)							2 nd most important resource (%)						
Circumcision	88.9	8.9	0.6	1.6	0.0	0.0	100	0.6	48.3	12.2	36.7	2.2	0.0	100
Earlobe Ceremony	0.0	0.0	8.9	58.9	8.9	23.3	100	0.6	7.6	1.1	5.0	7.2	78.9	100
Junior Elder graduation	88.3	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	100	0.6	37.2	7.8	37.2	1.7	15.6	100
Marriage	86.5	6.8	5.0	1.1	0.6	0.0	100	0.6	48.3	12.2	36.7	2.2	0.0	100
Meat eating	83.9	6.1	1.1	0.0	0.0	8.9	100	6.1	30.6	6.7	37.2	5.6	14.0	100
Milk drinking	50.0	32.2	7.2	0.6	0.0	10.0	100	0.0	28.9	10.0	46.1	1.1	13.9	100
Senior boy graduation	87.2	0.6	1.1	0.0	1.1	10.0	100	1.7	29.4	13.2	37.3	5.6	12.8	100
Warrior shaving	53.9	35.6	4.4	0.0	0.0	6.1	100	0.6	35.0	10.6	44.4	2.2	7.2	100
Cell representative (%)	67.3	11.5	3.5	7.8	1.3	8.5	100	1.4	32.3	9.3	35.5	3.5	18.2	100

The study sought to establish the types and prioritization of resources used in eight selected social ceremonies (conventions). As indicated in Table 4.10 above, 67.3 percent of the cell performance rated cattle (livestock) as the most important resource used in all the eight social ceremonies. Across the eight ceremonies, cattle are the most important resources in seven of the eight ceremonies with ratings ranging from 50 to 88.9 percent. Additionally, the second most important resource used is food stuff with cell performances of 35.5 percent. However, performance of individual cells vary with goat being the second most important resource under circumcision ceremony (48.3%), and marriage (48.3%) while food stuff is the second most important resource under meat eating (37.2%), milk drinking (46.1%), senior boy graduation (37.3%) and warrior shaving (44.4%).

While commenting on the high value a Maasai attachesto a cattle, an elder from Lorngosua said that he had rather retain the skin of a dead cow than sell off my livestock. While agreeing with this statement, an NGO staff working in the areas reported that on a second thought after selling a cow, certain cattle owners would return the cash to a buyer or follow the cow to a slaughter house and redeem it rather than watch it die.In a similarly rejoinder, a KI from Maili Tisa reported that many elderly Maasai men would commit suicide when they witnessed massive loss of livestock during severe drought. He cited a case where his family had to keep a close watch over their father so that he does not commit suicide following massive loss of his livestock due to the effects of the 2010 prolonged and severe drought.

Table 4.11: Number of livestock used during execution of various ceremony

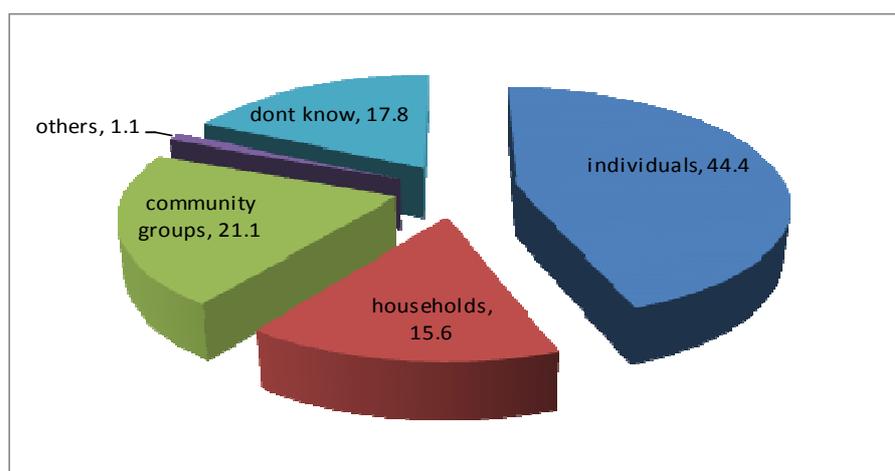
Ceremony	Average number of the livestock contribution per household		
	Cattle	Goats	Sheep
1.Marriage Ceremony	2	1	1
2.Circumcision	2	2	1
3.Senior Boy Ceremony	1	1	1
4. Warrior-shaving ceremony	1	1	0
5. Milk-drinking ceremony	1	0	0
6. Meat –eating ceremony	2	0	0
7. Earlobe ceremony	0	0	0
8. Junior-elder ceremony	1	0	0
Total	10	5	3

The study also sought to establish the average number of livestock a household uses across eight ceremonies. From table 4.11 above, a household contributed upto 10 cows and 8 goats and/or sheep for these ceremonies. Of the eight ceremonies, five(circumcision, senior boy, milk drinking,worrior shaving and meat eating) are undertaken annually. As such, a household would contribute at least 5 goats/sheep and 7 cattle towards these annual events. Going by the estimated cost of kshs. 4000 to Kshs. 6,000 per goat/sheep, and Kshs. 35,000 to Kshs. 60,000/= per cattle, Maasai household would contribute livestock equivalent amounts ranging from Kshs. 265,000 to Kshs. 648,000 per annumfor the five annual ceremonies indicated above.The minimum an individual or household can spent is Kshs 4,000, which is the lowest estimated market value of a goat/sheep. The study however established that the actual expenditure would ordinarily be higher than the above estimates considering that additional livestock are usually sold to procure other required food stuff such as sugar and rice.

According to Blau (Craig et al., 2002), the basis for social exchange rests on the anticipated rewards of the association. This is basically because social interactions have value to people and that people become involved in social exchanges because they need things from their associations which they may not provide for themselves. These rewards could either be intrinsic, extrinsic or both. One such reward is shared culture, which according to Durkheim (1845) exists over and above the wishes and choices of individuals thus containing their behavior.

Figure 4.5: Different groups that authorize use of livestock in social conventions

N=180



The study sought to establish who authorizes the use of livestock in social conventions. According to figure 4.5 above, use of livestock in social conventions is authorized largely by individuals (44.4%), followed by community groups (21.1%), and then households (15.6%). This means that more individuals have more say when it comes to authorizing use of resources towards execution of social conventions. According to Barnard et al. (2004), this type of control is categorized as an informal social control and is necessary in maintaining order within any society. Informal social control refers to the mechanisms that are used to reinforce socialization, which is based on rewards and encouragement for correct behavior and punishment or sanctions for incorrect behavior.

Findings from FGDs and KIs interviews revealed that a committee of selected Maasai elders committees ordinarily plans the actual execution of especially all community ceremonies such as Morans (*Eunoto*) and Senior elders (*Orngesherr*) graduation ceremonies. The elders committee

4.4.1 Factors influencing contribution of livestock resources in social conventions

As established from KIs and FGDs interviews, some of the motivating factors influencing individuals and households contribution, and use of huge livestock resources towards execution of social conventions included: need to preserve the Maasia culture and heritage; promote the values associated with rites of passage, which earn the initiates and their families special recognition and respect from the larger community; need for preservation social unit and community togetherness; opportunity for nurture personal sense of cultural pride; fear of isolation by kinsmen for non- participation; and an opportunity for wealthy individuals to showcase their wealth, thus boosting a the inter-generational transfer of cultural values and practices in a sustainable and cost sharing manner.

4.5 Restocking mechanism

This part of the study sought to establish the type of restocking practices in place and if they were adequate in ensuring that households could sufficiently replenish the number of livestock used during execution of social conventions. To establish this, respondents' opinionson seven statement statements on Maasai restocking mechanism were obtained, as well as the enforcers of the use of these traditional restocking mechanisms. This section presents the findings, interpretation and discussions on the Maasai restocking practices or mechanism.

Table: 4.12: The community restocking mechanisms

N=180

Restocking mechanisms/practices	Strongly Agree (6)	Agree (5)	Neutral (4)	Disagree (3)	Strongly disagree (2)	Don't Know (1)	Total
1. The community restocking practices are primarily used as a way of managing livestock base by households	(27) 15.0%	(33) 18.3%	(37) 20.6%	(51) 28.3%	(24) 13.3%	(8) 4.5%	(180) 100.0%
2. The community restocking practices are the most effective restocking approach for the household.	(12) 6.7%	42) 23.3%	(31) 17.2%	(59) 32.8%	(25) 13.9%	(11) 6.1%	(180) 100.0%
3. The community restocking practices are the most preferred restocking approach by the households in this community	(18) 10.0%	(34) 18.9%	(33) 18.3%	(64) 35.6%	(23) 12.8%	(8) 4.4%	(180) 100.0%
4. The community restocking practices do not adequately meeting the restocking needs of the households in the community.	(27) 15.0%	(39) 21.7%	(32) 17.8%	(41) 22.8%	(27) 15.0%	(14) 7.7%	(180) 100.0%
5. Although the community restocking practices may not be the most preferred restocking approach by the households in this community, they are still in use	(29) 16.1%	(50) 27.8%	(29) 16.1%	(42) 23.3%	(16) 8.9%	(14) 7.8%	(180) 100.0%
6. The community restocking practices are no longer in use in this community	(5) 2.8%	(28) 15.6%	(13) 7.2%	(58) 32.2%	(57) 31.7%	(19) 10.5%	(180) 100.0%
7. The community restocking practices are inadequate and should be abolished	(16) 8.9%	(45) 25.0%	(25) 13.9%	(39) 21.7%	(42) 23.3%	(13) 7.2%	(180) 100.0%
Total	134	271	200	354	214	87	1260
Cell representative (%)	10.6	21.5	15.9	28.1	17.0	6.9	100.0

The study endeavored to determine if the existing community restocking practices were employed as livestock management practices and if they were adequate in meeting the household restocking needs. The cells in figure 4.12 above are assumed to be competing favorably where each cell has a chance of scoring a 100 percent meaning all the variables could influence the adequacy of restocking practices in livestock management. Findings on respondents' opinion regarding the adequacy of community restocking mechanisms in relation to the number of livestock being used during execution of various social conventions showed a cell of disagreement with an overall cell performance of 28.1 percent against cell performance of agreement of 21.5 percent. The study further found out that out of the seven indicators, there was

a cell disagreement of 32.8 percent cell performance with the statement that “the community restocking practices are the most effective restocking approach for the household”. Further still, there was a cell disagreement of 35.6 percent cell performance with the statement that “community restocking practices were the most preferred restocking practices by the household in the community.” Additionally, the study revealed a cell disagreement of 22.8 percent cell performance with the statement that “the community restocking practices do not adequately meet the restocking needs of the household”.

The study however established that although the community restocking mechanisms were not adequate in meeting the household restocking needs, they were still in use as demonstrated by a cell disagreement of 32.2 percent cell performance with the statement “the community restocking practices are no longer in use in the community”. And although found to be inadequate, the score on whether the community restocking practices should be abolished or not was split with 25 percent of the respondents agreeing that the inadequate traditional restocking practices needed to be done away compared to 23.3 percent disagreements. This finding agrees with Blau (Craig. C et al. 2002) argument that individuals in a society will usually weigh the benefits and disadvantages of a norm and if the advantages outweigh the disadvantages, then they will usually uphold the practice.

Considering the cumulative number of livestock used in these conventions, the frequency of these conventions, and the heavy (95%) reliance on livestock as the main source of household income, the participating households stand economically vulnerable in the face of increasing complexity and frequency of other hazards and disaster facing the pastoral communities in the Kenyan ASALs.

4.5.1 Traditional restocking approaches

As gathered from FGDs and KIs interviews, the following are some of the traditional restocking practices employed by households in Osiligi community: exchange of livestock among relatives and/or households ahead of social conventions; livestock gifts from friends, relatives and community members, especially following severe drought; special livestock provided by kinsmen in support of junior boy ceremony (*Enkipaata*), usually held within an elder’s homestead; purchase of younger and stronger livestock using income from sale of the older and weaker animals, employment or entrepreneurial activities; and livestock multiplication through the natural process of reproduction. In addition to serving restocking purposes, practice of these restocking practices was perceived as a unifying factor among relatives and kinsmen. Other complementary restocking practices by the government included the purchase of livestock from

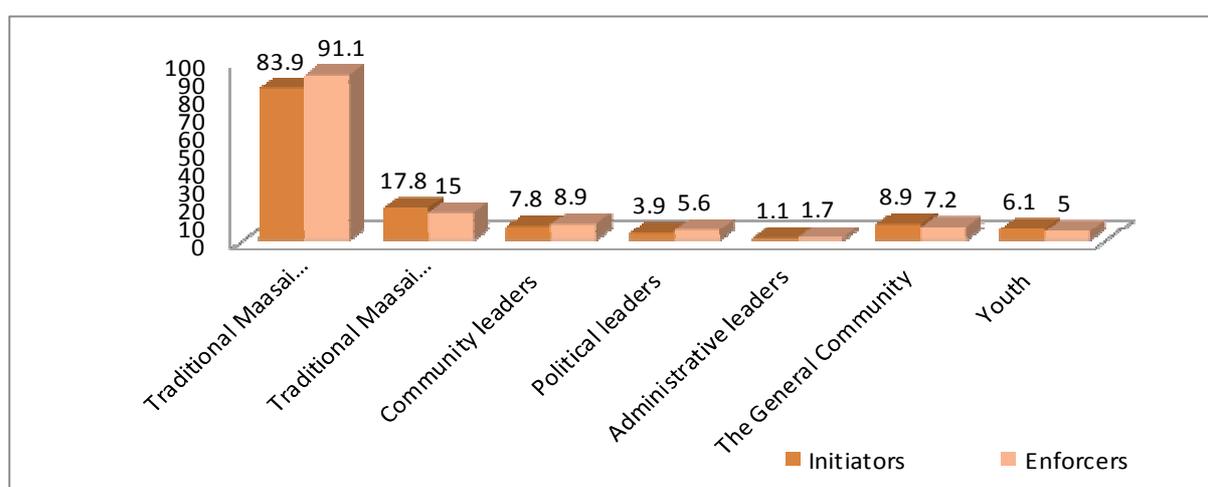
other pastoralist and providing to households whose stock was seriously depleted especially by drought, and water harvesting for both human and livestock. An example was the multi-year “Njaamarufuku” initiative in Namanga.

4.5.2 Initiators and enforcers of use of traditional restocking mechanisms

According to table 4.6 below, the traditional Maasai elders were the main establishers (83.9%) and enforcers (91.1%) of use of the traditional restocking practices outlined in section 4.5.1 above

Figure 4.6: Initiators and enforcers of restocking mechanisms

N=180



This high rating of establishers and enforcers is a pointer to the fact that power to ensure sustained practice of societal norms among the Maasais is vested in traditional Maasai elders. The central role played by the traditional Maasai elders in perpetuation of traditional restocking practices means that the Maasai elders are key when it comes to negotiations or any dialogue geared towards improvement of restocking practices among the Maasai of Osiligi.

As gathered from the KIs, the elders’ commitment to ensuring continued practice of these ceremonies could be attributed to a number of benefits and privileges accruing directly to them. These included: the high respect accorded to the position of an elder by the community; opportunity to preside over various ceremonies; blessing initiates, gifts of choice livestock; and drinking of specially brewed traditional beer during communally held social conventions.

This finding agrees with Homan (Craig C. et al., 2002) argument that when exchange of goods, materials and non-materials is done within any society to the extent of becoming a norm, such norms are upheld because people want to avoid the punishment that comes with violating this norm. So, what was initially a choice motivated by the benefits a particular norm brings to the individual, it changes and becomes a norm whose violation has certain negative consequences.

4.6 Internalization of the impact of social conventions

This part of the study sought to establish the extent to which the Maasai of Osiligi had understood and internalized the impact of social conventions to their livelihood and their vulnerability to disasters. This section therefore presents findings, interpretation, critique and discussions on what the Maasai of Osiligi consider as the benefits and disadvantages of practicing their social conventions, their perception on the impact of livestock use during social conventions to their livestock base and the household vulnerability to other disasters especially food insecurity and drought related disaster, as well as the segment of household considered to be most negatively impacted by these practices.

Table 4.13 Rating regarding if practicing social conventions was considered beneficial to the individual’s life

N=180

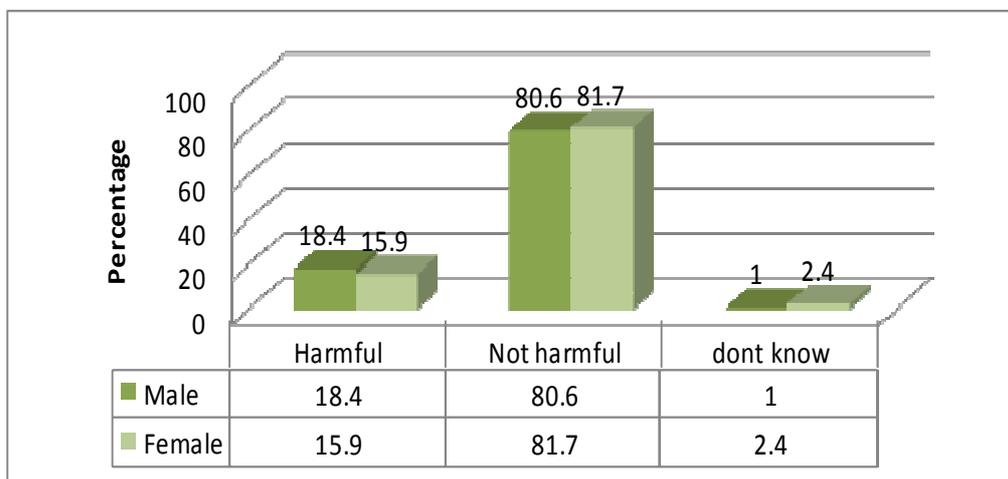
Age	Frequency (%)		
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
16-25	90.7	93.3	92.0
26-35	88.5	68.4	78.5
36-45	75.0	100.0	87.5
46-55	66.7	75.0	70.9
56-65	50.0	50.0	50.0
<65	100.0	100.0	100.0

The study sought to establish if the respondents considered practicing of social conventions beneficial in their lives. Table 4.13 above shows that both gender between ages 16 years to below 65 years considered practice of social conventions in their lives important, with the lowest frequency being 50 percent among the age group 56 years to 65 years and the highest frequency being 100 percent among those below 65 years. The high percentage (92%) of respondents between 16-25 years shows that both the young and old consider practice of social important as very important in their lives.

As gathered from FGD interviews, some of the established benefits of practicing social conventions included: respect and honor bestowed to the individual by the community; unit fostered among kinsmen; promotion of peace and security in the society; opportunity to pass on important cultural virtues like respect to the elders, generosity, care for each other; and an opportunity to be blessed by the elders – a key factor considered to determine individual’s prosperity among the Maasai of Osiligi.

The high rating (92%) of the importance of social conventions in an individual’s life across the young and old is a pointer to the great value the Maasai tag on their social conventions and the potential for perpetuation of these conventions in the future years. This is also a possible explanation of why the community chooses to invest its most valuable resource (livestock) towards the execution of these ceremonies. This observation agrees with Blau’s argument that instead of being motivated by operant conditioning, social interactions have value to people and that people become involved in social exchanges for the same reason that they become involved in economic exchange – they need things from each other or their associations which they may not provide for themselves (Craig. C et al. 2002).

Figure 4.7: Rating on if the practice of social conventions was considered harmful
N=180



The study on the other hand, sought to establish if the respondents considered the practice of social conventions disadvantageous. As indicated in figure 4.7.above, 81.2 percent (81.7% female and 80.6% of the male) respondents did not consider practicing social conventions to be harmful or disadvantageous to the individual despite the huge resources utilized during these conventions. The 17.2 percent (18.4% male and 15.9% female) who felt that practice of social conventions was harmful gave the following as some of the key disadvantages: extravagant use of resources (especially livestock); “productive” time wasted on “unproductive activities” like

moranism; interference of formal education especially during moranism period; depletion of the household livestock base; huge financial expenditure on beer and other food items such as rice and sugar; impunity of morans to use community resources undeterred especially when morans raid household livestock for their up-keep; use of one unsterilized knife to circumcise many boys and girls; female genital mutilation (FGM); and erosion of moral values, especially when morans engage in “free” sex with uncircumcised girls during their moranism period.

The high percentage (81.2%) of those who consider practice of social conventions as not harmful is a pointer to the fact that the respondents consider the practice of social conventions more beneficial than harmful. The findings agreed with the Blau (2002) argument that people weigh the potential benefits and risks of social relationships and if the risks outweigh the rewards, they abandon the relationship but if the benefits outweigh the losses, then such a relationship is considered positive and is pursued and sustained.

Table 4.14: The impact of livestock use in social conventions to the household livestock base

S/N	Statements on livestock use during conventions and community vulnerability	Rating						Total
		Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Dis-agree	Strongly disagree	Don't know	
1.	Livestock use during social conventions leads to depletion of the household livestock base	(25) 13.9%	(35) 19.4%	(23) 12.8%	(43) 23.9%	(50) 27.8%	(4) 2.2%	(180) 100%
2.	Livestock use during social conventions does not negatively affect the household livestock base	(25) 13.9%	(59) 32.8%	(28) 15.6%	(40) 22.2%	(24) 13.3%	(4) 2.2%	(180) 100%
3.	Livestock use during social conventions is one of the major contributing factors to community's vulnerability to food insecurity disaster	(6) 3.3%	(16) 8.9%	(23) 12.8%	(52) 28.9%	(61) 33.9%	(22) 18.9%	(180) 100%
4.	Although livestock use during social conventions is a contributing factor to community's vulnerability to food insecurity, it is not a serious threat/problem.	(8) 4.4%	(44) 24.4%	(18) 10.0%	(27) 15.0%	(49) 27.3%	(34) 18.9%	(180) 100%
5.	Livestock use during social conventions does not in any way contribute to community's vulnerability to food insecurity disaster	(24) 13.3%	(67) 37.2%	(20) 11.1%	(26) 14.4%	(19) 10.6%	(24) 13.4%	(180) 100%
	Total	88	221	112	188	203	88	900
	Cell representation (%)	10	25	12	21	23	10	100%

The study sought to gauge the respondent's opinion regarding the impact of livestock use in social conventions on the household livestock base and the overall household vulnerability to food insecurity. The cells are assumed to be competing favorably where each cell has a chance of scoring a 100 percent meaning all the variables could influence the result on the impact the livestock used during social conventions has on the household livestock base and vulnerability to disasters. Out of the five indicators in table 4.14 above, there was an overall cell of agreement of 25 percent with the fact that livestock use during social conventions negatively affects household livestock base and contributes to community vulnerability to food insecurity, against cell of disagreement of 21 percent. This was further supported by the cell of strongly disagreement of 27.3 percent on the statement that "although livestock use during social conventions was a contributing factor to community's vulnerability to food insecurity, it was not a serious threat".

The study finding however showed a differing position at individual cell level with a cell score of strongly disagreement of 27.8 percent on the statement "livestock use during social conventions leads to depletion of the household livestock base" against a cell of agreement of 19.4 percent cell performance. Study findings also showed a strongly disagreement of 33.9 percent with the statement "livestock use during social conventions is one of the major contributing factors to community's vulnerability to food insecurity" against a cell agreement of 8.9 percent cell performance. Additionally, there was an agreement of 37.2 percent with the statement that "livestock use during social conventions does not in any way contribute to community's vulnerability to food insecurity disaster". These conflicting ratings could mean that although use of livestock in social conventions is a serious threat, the respondents did not view this threat as contributing to depletion of household livestock base (agreement of 32.8 percent) nor did it contribute to food in security (agreement of 37.2 percent). The conflicting finding is also a pointer to the level of understanding, appreciation and internalization the community had regarding the impact of social conventions to the livestock and its relationship with their vulnerability status.

Table 4.15: Different community groups who are negatively impacted by use of livestock in social conventions

N=82

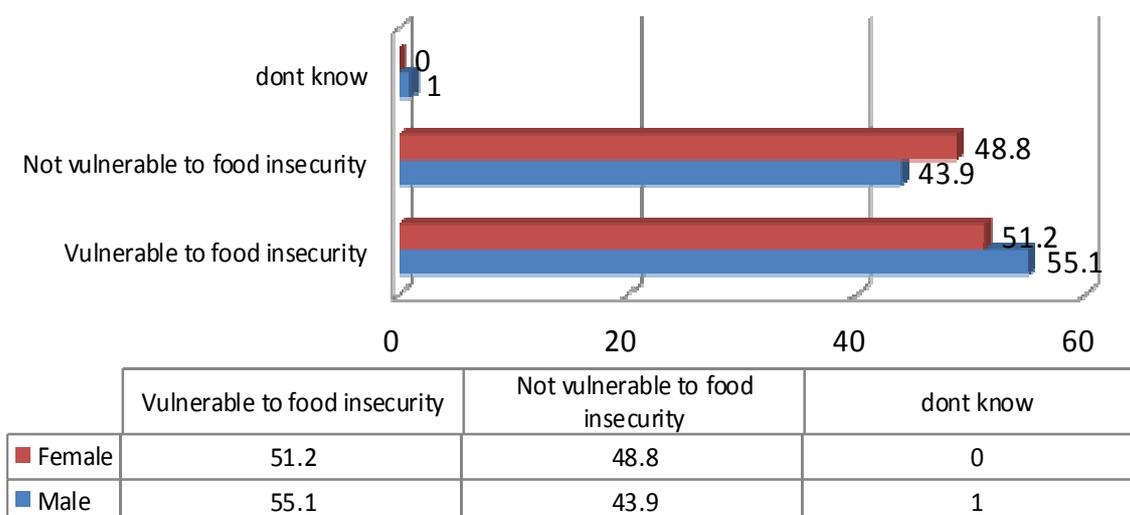
Category Affected	Most affected	Affected	Moderately affected	Fairly affected	Least affected	Not affected at all	Total
1. Children	34, (41.7%)	26, (31.7%)	3, (3.3%)	1, (1.7%)	3, (3.3%)	15, (18.3%)	82, 100%
2. Youth (above 18 yrs)	12, (15.0%)	16, (20.0%)	11, (13.3%)	22, (26.7%)	5, (6.7%)	15, (18.3%)	82, 100%
3. Women (adults)	16, (20.0%)	18, (21.7%)	22, (26.7%)	5, (6.6%)	8, (10.0%)	12, (15.0%)	82, 100%
4. Men (adults)	16, (20.0%)	8, (10.0%)	18, (21.7%)	3, (3.3%)	12, (15.0%)	25, (30.0%)	82, 100%
Total	79	68	53	31	29	67	328
Cell Representative (%)	24.2	20.9	16.3	9.6	8.8	20.4	100

To further gauge the level of the community’s appreciation and internalization of the impact of social conventions on the household livestock base and vulnerability to disasters, the study sought the opinion of the 82 respondents who agreed with statements (1) and three (3) in table 4.14 above. As indicated in table 4.15 above, the overall cell performance of 24.2 percent is an indication that all the four categories of the community are most negatively affected. Overall however, children form the highest number of those most affected (41.7%) against 3.3 percent least affected, followed by women with 20.0 percent most affected against 10 percent least affected and 15 percent not affected at all. Men have the highest number of those least affected (12%) and not affected at all (30.0%).

With practice of social conventions having highest negative impact to two of the groups (women and children) professionally considered to be most vulnerable, this points to potential existence of economic vulnerability and agrees with Kumpulainen (2006) that the economic dimension of vulnerability characterizes people who are less privileged in class or caste, ethnic minorities, the very young and old, the disadvantaged, and often women who are primarily responsible for providing essential shelter and basic needs.

Figure 4.8: Community vulnerability to food insecurity

N=180



The study also sought to establish if the community considered itself vulnerable to food insecurity and drought related disasters. As indicated in figure 4.8 above, 53.7 percent of the respondents (55.1% male and 51.2% female) felt that the community was vulnerable to food insecurity and drought related disasters against 46.4 percent (48.8% female and 43.9% male) respondents.

The study also sought to establish if the respondents considered use of livestock in social conventions as one of the factors contributing to food insecurity. Most of them however didn't think so since they argued that the number of livestock used during these ceremonies are obtained from various community members, thus the burden is shared and hence no negative impact. This argument appeared to be oblivious of the cumulative numbers of livestock used during these ceremonies and the frequency of practice of these ceremonies versus the inadequate restocking practices. This perspective is a pointer to the limited level of community internalization and understanding of the impact of these social conventions to the community's well-being.

4.6.1 Community perspective on causes of their vulnerability to disasters

As gathered from FGDs and KIs, factors associated with community vulnerability to disasters included: frequent and severe drought that lead to livestock loss and crop failure; climatic change coupled with inadequate rainfall both which were blamed for crops failure, reduced pasture and lack of water; diminished grazing land resulting from increased land sale to "outsiders" and "urbanization"; decreased livestock value due to drought and diseases; over

reliance on livestock as the main source of household food income; and community handling of livestock during drought.

Another reported factor was the community practice when drought struck. As reported by a KI (Ministry of Agriculture/Livestock, Namanga Division), households would sell off the more healthy small livestock (goat and sheep) to generate income for purchase fodder needed to sustain the larger livestock (cattle) during drought. This was due to the value placed on the cattle. This practice was perceived as working against the herders since the smaller animals were said to be better survivors of drought than the larger animals. Besides, most of the larger animals end up dying if drought persisted thus leading to double losses for the households. According to this Officer, the OsiligiMaasai were more vulnerable during the time of this interview than 27 years ago when he started working in Kajiado district. This traditional practice increased household vulnerability.

Additionally, use of livestock in what was described as the “many” Maasai ceremonies, especially those that last several years such as *Moranism* was also considered another factor contributing to community vulnerability to disaster. The challenge was the imbalance between the livestock production cycle and the number of livestock consumed in various social conventions during a given cycle. For example, a cow was said to calve once per year while it took about 4-5 years before the same calf could mature for slaughter, yet during the same 4-5 years period, several cattle would be used in various social conventions. This imbalance meant that more cattle was used in these conventions compared to those maturing for use within a given period. This imbalance was further exacerbated by the number of livestock lost through other hazards like drought. While commenting on vulnerability among the Maasai of Mailwa location, one of the local chiefs explained that livestock use in Maasai ceremonies was gradually eroding the remaining livestock after impact of drought. According to the administrator, the OsiligiMaasai were by far weaker today against many disasters than they had been several years ago.

Despite this, a Namanga Division Ministry of Agriculture (MoA) officer in charge of livelihoods in the Division commented the Maasai for their invaluable knowledge in livestock management especially in prevention of in-breeding; accuracy in determination of early warning drought signs; and timely provision of early warning information used in drought mitigation measures. While emphasizing on the critical role the communities should play in Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR), Margaret Walhstrom says “disaster risk reduction begins at home – in our schools, places of work and worship, and throughout our local communities. It is here where we will either save lives – or lose them – depending on the steps we take today to reduce our

vulnerability to tomorrow's hazards. For greatest impact, these steps must be grounded in local knowledge and communicated broadly so that everyone, from a local school child to a village grandmother to the municipal mayor, knows how to protect him or herself" (UN, 2007: iii).

4.7 Impact of social convention on community livelihoods

In this study, livelihood was defined as the activities, assets, and capabilities required and the respective strategies employed by individual households within the communities as means to survive and sustainably meet their basic needs thus perpetuate their lives in a dignified and sustainable manner. There are six asset capitals namely: human capital (individual skills and abilities), social capital (relationships and social networks), material capital (livestock), natural capital (land), physical capital (equipment) financial capital (savings), and spiritual. Capacities encompass a range of people's skills, abilities and attributes that a household employed in securing its livelihood. Activities (productive, reproductive and maintenance) are the different things that people do to sustain the household and make a living (Oxfam, 2002, Schuyt, 2005 & World Vision 2007).

Regarding the impact of social conventions to community livelihoods, the study found both positive and negative elements. Positively, social conventions enhance the social networks of the community, individual's self-esteem, dignity and identity. They also provided an opportunity for educate and sustained practice of positive cultural such as pride in one's culture, respect, generosity, honesty, bravely, leadership, conflict resolution and societal unity.

Despite these benefits, practice of these conventions was found to make heavy demands on household and community livelihoods assets, activities and capabilities. For example, upto 700 ruminants and 210 cattle (about ksh 16.0 million) were consumed per ceremony in addition to other food resources while a household spent livestock of equivalents of 265,000 to Kshs. 648,000 per annum in these conventions. Livelihood assets impacted negatively include: (i) materials assets such as livestock contributed and used in these conventions; (ii) environmental degradation especially when establishing and running *Moran* camp, and the related health impact of population in these camps; (iii) human assets include the massive uncompensated man hours spend during preparation and execution of these conventions, the lost and/or compromised formal learning opportunities for children and youth especially those opting or forced into early marriages and *Moranim*, health risks associated with use of same circumcision instruments for several initiates, as well as unprotected sex during warrior training; and (iv) financial assets include cash spend to purchase various food stuff consumed during these conventions.

These conventions also negatively affect people's capacities considering the massive number of man-hours spent while preparing and executing these conventions compared to the time invested in preparing individuals secure their livelihood and/or take up other income generating opportunities like employment, entrepreneurship or farming. With 95 percent of the respondents relying on livestock as the main source of income, limited investment in productive, reproductive and maintenance activities, skills and abilities such as formal learning thus compromised the youth's preparedness to take up additional income generating opportunities besides livestock keeping. Overall, this impacted negatively on the individual and household well-being.

4.8 Social conventions and community vulnerability to disasters

As used in this study, the term vulnerability means characteristics or conditions of a person, a household, a group, a community, society, and the prevailing situation that result from physical, social-cultural, economic, political and environment underlying factors, pressures and unsafe conditions which increase their susceptibility and reduce the capacity to anticipate, cope with, mitigate and recover from impact of all types of hazards (U.N 2004, Blaikie et al. 2003 and Kemp, 2007). Vulnerability will also be viewed as the condition or state which makes it possible for an individual, household, community, and their livelihoods to become susceptible to an hazard state or disaster.

From the finding of this study, the practice of social conventions has contributed to the following aspects of community vulnerability to disasters: (i) Social vulnerability which is reflected in this study by the high illiteracy rates (57% never attended school and 13.3% school drop-outs); (ii) Materials vulnerability associated with huge consumption of livestock in social conventions; (iii) Economic vulnerability associate with limited diversification of means of production as well as sell of livestock to generate cash for purchase of huge quantities of food used in various communal social conventions yet livestock is already an element at risk considering the complexity; (iv) Environmental vulnerability associated with clearing of bushes to for establishment of Moran camps and possible water contamination from human fecal matter since Moran populations do not use latrines; and (v) Motivational/attitudinal vulnerability which is reflected in some of the retrogressive cultural practices such as female circumcision, early marriages, and Moranism.

4.9 Conclusion

Overall, the study found out that most (95.5%) of the respondents considered practice of social conventions important in the individual's dignity and self-worth. The high value the Maasai tag

to these conventions was reflected in the types, quantities, and value of resource spent by individuals, households and the entire community toward the execution of these conventions.

Despite the benefits accrued to the individuals and the community in general, practicing of social conventions was found to make huge demands on community resources, especially livestock, thus resulting to the depletion of household livestock base. Additionally, individuals and household spend massive uncompensated man-hours or “unreproductive investments” while preparing and executing these conventions. Another impact was compromise formal learning among children and youth, while construction of *Morancamps* and large Moran populations in these camps impacted negatively on the environment.

Regarding the resulting vulnerability to disasters, the study established five types of vulnerabilities facing the Osiligi community as a result of continued practice of social conventions. They included: social, economic, environmental, materials and attitudinal vulnerabilities. The study’s overall conclusion was that practice of social conventions among the Maasai of Odsiligi community impacted negatively on the community’s livelihoods (social, within a context of inadequate community restocking mechanism and increased severity and complexity of other disaster hazards poses undeniable and significant threat the current and future well-being of the individuals, household and the Osiligicommunity.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a brief summary of the findings of this study as presented in chapter four, a brief examination of the implications of the results and the recommendations of the study.

5.2 Summary of findings

The overall objective of this study was to establish the impact of social conventions on community livelihoods and vulnerability to disasters. The study examined the most frequently practiced social conventions, the types of resources and number of livestock assets used in these conventions, the community restocking mechanisms and their adequacy in meeting the household restocking needs, as well as the extent to which the community had understood and internalized the impact of these conventions. The findings of this study are summarized below.

5.2.1 Demographic characteristics

The study revealed that 80.5 percent of the respondents were young (16-35 year), a reflection of the youthful Kenyan population as per the 2009 Kenyan census. Additionally, 51.7 percent of the respondents were married, 43.3 percent single and 5 percent widowed. A total of 50.6 percent had no children, 40.5 percent had 1-5 children while the average number of children per respondent was two thus considered a small family size. A combination of high dependency (76.9%) among the singles and with polygamous nature of the households meant considerable burden on household resources especially considering that 95 percent of the respondents relied on livestock. This meant that most households were potentially vulnerable to any hazards negatively affecting livestock.

Illiteracy among the respondents was high with 57.2 percent having never been to school and 13.3 percent school dropout. The high illiteracy and gender disparity among the youth was considered a contributing factor to social and economic vulnerabilities since it denies the youth an opportunity to be prepared to take up other economic opportunities. Religion did not seem to deter respondents' participation in social conventions since 92.2 percent of those taking part in various ceremonies were Christians. The study found out that 54.4 percent of the participating Christians were youths aged 16-25 years, implying that practice of social conventions was well embraced by the youth, a fact that could be attributed to the high intrinsic and extrinsic value contributed by these social conventions to the individual.

5.2.2 The Maasai social conventions and respective practices

The study established eleven important traditional ceremonies which a Maasai undergoes between birth and being an elder. Seven of these eleven are performed annually while the other four are undertaken periodically. Resources used during execution of these ceremonies included livestock and food stuff such as rice and sugar. Cattle were the most (87.5%) important resource in eight different ceremonies. The total number of livestock consumed per ceremony varied with different ceremonies, and ranged between 1 to 700 for ruminants and 1 to 210 cattle per ceremony. The equivalent estimated market value of livestock used in these conventions ranged between ksh 4,000 to ksh 16.8 million per ceremony although the actual cost was said to be higher due to the extra livestock sold to purchase other food stuff consumed in these conventions. The value this convention had to individual's dignity and identity was a key motivating in contributing resources towards execution of these resources. As confirmed by 93.9 percent of the respondents, traditional Maasai elders ensure continued practice of these conventions. Considering the number and frequencies of various ceremonies, as well as cumulative number of livestock and uncompensated man-hours, practice of social convention impacted negatively on the household livestock base and contributed to economic vulnerability to disasters.

5.2.3 Community assets used during social conventions

This study found that livestock (cattle, goat, and sheep) and foodstuff were the common resources used during execution of social convention with cattle being the most (67.3%) important resource across eight selected ceremonies. Across eight selected Maasai ceremonies, a household cumulatively contributed 7-10 cows and about 5-8 goats/sheep. The total estimated cash equivalent for the total livestock a household would contribute annually towards eight selected ceremonies ranged from kshs 265,000 to kshs 648,000. Authorization of livestock use in social conventions was done by individuals (44.4 percent), households (15.5 percent) and community groups (21.1 percent). Committee of Maasai elders coordinated contribution of resources and execution of the communally held ceremonies such as Moranism and junior elders graduation. Being most important resource to a Maasai, use of cattle as the number one resource in these conventions could be considered clear pointer to the value a Maasai tags on these ceremonies. However, considering the amount of resources a household spend on these convention, it is clear that these conventions made heavy demands on especially households livestock resource base thus increasing its vulnerability to disasters.

5.2.4 Community restocking mechanism

The study found a disagreement of 28.1 percent cell representative performance that Maasai traditional restocking mechanisms adequately met the restocking needs of a Maasai

household against an agreement of 21.5 percent cell representative performance. This was supported by a disagreement of 32.8 percent cell performance with the statement “community restocking practices were the most effective restocking approach for the household” against an agreement of 23.3 percent cell performance, and a further disagreement of 35.6 percent with the statement “community restocking practices were the most preferred restocking practices by the household in the community” against an agreement of 18.9 percent cell performance. Despite this, Maasai traditional restocking practices remained in use as supported by a disagreement of 32.2 percent cell performance on the statement “community restocking practices are no longer in use in this community” against an agreement of 15.6 percent cell performance. This continued use of traditional restocking mechanisms despite their inadequacy could be attributed to enforcement by Maasai elders (91.1 percent) and the perceived benefits by the community.

5.2.5 Internalization of the impact of social conventions

The study found out that 100 percent of respondents considered the practice of social conventions important in enhancing their dignity and that most (81.2 percent) of the respondents did not consider practice of social conventions harmful to their lives despite the demand these convention put on their resource base, compromised learning opportunities among the youth, and lost opportunities for engagements in other alternative productive opportunities such as formal employment or entrepreneurship. The 17.8 percent of those who considered practice of social conventions harmful rate children (41.7 percent) and women (16.0 percent) as the two most negatively affected community groups by these convention. A further examination of five related factors on the level of community appreciation and internalization on the impact of social conventions revealed an overall cell performance of 25.0 percent on the proposed argument that use of livestock in social conventions negatively impacts on household livestock base and contribute to food insecurity, against a disagreement of 21.0 percent cell performance. This almost split overall score, coupled with a disagreement of 28.7 percent cell performance with the statement “livestock use during social conventions leads to depletion of household livestock base” against agreement of 13.9 percent points to the limited degree of appreciation of then negative impact of social conventions to the household livestock base and vulnerability to food insecurity disaster.

5.2.6 Impact of Social Conventions on Community Livelihoods and vulnerability to Disasters

The study found out that practice of social conventions accrued positive benefits to individuals and the community in general such as enhanced individuals dignity and identity, strengthened community unit as well as promotion of treasured cultural values. Despite these benefits,

conventions was found to make huge demands on community resources, especially livestock, thus resulting to depletion of household livestock base; compromised formal learning among children and youth; consumed massive uncompensated man-hours or “unreproductive investments”; while development of Moran camps and respective populations in those camps impacted negatively on the environment. These negative impacts on livelihoods contributed to five types of vulnerabilities namely: social, economic, environmental, materials and attitudinal vulnerabilities.

5.3 Overall conclusion

The study revealed that although practice of social conventions accrued important benefits to a Maasai individual, household and the community in general, practice of the same impacted negatively on community livelihood assets (materials, human, environment and economic assets), capabilities and activities thus resulting to social, materials, economic and attitudinal vulnerabilities. Despite this trend in depletion of various community assets, livelihoods assets, capabilities and activities, as well as the corresponding vulnerabilities, the level of community appreciation and internalization of the negative impacts of social conventional was found to be low.

5.4 Recommendations for community, development agents and policy makers

Taking into consideration the centrality of social conventions in the life of a Maasai, the heavy demands made of community resources, and the resulting vulnerabilities in the face of increasing complexity, intensity and magnitude of disasters facing the Maasai pastoralist, this study recommends the following:

- 1 The quantity of livestock used during social conventions various stakeholders working towards Maasai well-being should be considered and addressed practice of social conventions as one of the main factors leading to depletion of household livestock base and community vulnerability to disasters.
- 2 Since cattle are the main resource used during execution of most (88%) of these social conventions, the Osiligi community should explore and possibly utilize alternative resources during execution of social conventions in order to reduce the risk on livestock.
- 3 Since the current community restocking practices are inadequate in meeting the restocking needs of the household, the community needs to diversify restocking practices to include other effective and locally acceptable restocking approaches.

- 4 With limited understanding and appreciation of the impact of social conventions on community livelihoods and vulnerability, various stakeholders operating within Osiligi community should work with especially the Maasai leadership structure in creating awareness and nurturing dialogue on the negative impact associated with practice of social conventions.

5.5 Recommendations for further study

1. It is recommended that a study be done on ways of tackling social conventions in Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) efforts or programming.
2. Considering that Maasai elders are the key (93%) decision makers regarding initiation and sustained practice of social conventions, there is need to investigate how the Maasai governance structure can be used in regulating the type and amount of resources used in social conventions.
3. With practice of social conventions attributed to the high (57%) illiteracy among the Maasai of Osiligi Division, there is need to establish ways in which practice of social conventions impacts on formal education.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams N. Bert and Sydie R.A, 2002: *Sociological Theories*, Pine Forge Press, Thousand Oaks, California USA

Blaikie et al., 2005: *At Risk: Natural Hazards, People's Vulnerability and Disease. Second Edition*. Peri-Peri, Johannesburg, South Africa

Barrow, Edmund., and HezronMogak, 2007: *Kenya's Drylands: Wastelands or an Undervalued National Economic Resource*. edited by R. Behnke: IUCN (The World Conservation Union)

Bluman Allan G., 2009: *Elementary Statistics: A Step by Step Approach (Eight Edition)*. McGraw-Hill Companies Inc. New York, US

Bryman Alan: 2004: *Social Research Methods: 5th Edition*. Oxford University Press, London. United Kingdom

Galvi, Kathleen A., 2009: *Transitions: Pastoralists Living with Change*, View of Anthropology 38, No. 1

Cannon, T., Twigg J., & Rowell J., 2001: *Social Vulnerability, Sustainable Livelihoods and Disasters*, A report to DFID Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance Department (CHAD) and Sustainable Livelihoods Support Office:

Chambers Robert., 1993: *Rural Development: Putting the Last First*. Longman Scientific & Technical, England, United Kingdom

Christian, Jaykumar. 1999 :*God of the Empty-Handed*. World Vision International, Monirovia, United States of American

Craig C. et al., 2002: *Contemporary Sociological Theory*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd. Malden, USA

Flick, Uwe. 2005: *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. SAGE Publications Ltd. London, United Kingdom .

Frankfort-Nachmias C. & Nachmias D. 2005: *Research Methods in the Social Sciences: 5th Edition*. Hodder Arnold, Euston Road, London, United Kingdom

Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). 2001: *Pastoralism in the New Millennium*. Publishing and Media Service, Rome, Italy

Gillard J.C , 2010: Journal of International Development J. Int. Dev. 22, 218–232 (2010), *Vulnerability, Capacity and Resilience: Perspectives for Climate Change and Development Policy*. University of the Philippines, Diliman, Philippines

Global Crisis Solutions, 2007: A discussion paper, *Understanding Vulnerability: Ensuring Appropriate and Effective Responses*:

Government of Kenya/DFID, 2009: *Capacity Building Manual for District Steering Groups*. Nairobi, Kenya

Government of Kenya (GoK), 2009: *The 2009 Kenya Census Report*, Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, Nairobi, Kenya

Government of Kenya (GoK), 2009: *Draft National Policy for Disaster Management in Kenya*, Ministry of Special Programme, Nairobi, Kenya

Government of Kenya (GoK), 2005: *Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (Asal) National Vision and Strategy for Natural Resource Management (2005-2010)*, Nairobi: Arid Land Management Programme (ALMP)

Government of Kenya (GoK), 1994: *The Kenya National Environment Action Plan*. Government Printers, Nairobi, Kenya

Government of Kenya (GoK), 1992: *Development Policy for the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALS)*, Government printers, Nairobi, Kenya

Haralambos Michael and HolbornHeald, 2004: *Sociology Themes and Perspectives, Sixth Edition*, HarperCollins Publishers Limited, London W6 8JB, UK

Homewood, K., P. Kristjanson, and Pepper Trench, C., eds. 2009: *Staying Maasai? Livelihoods, Conservation and Development in East Africa's Rangelands*: Springer

Kituyi, M. (1990): *Becoming Kenyans: Socia-Economic Transformation of Pastoral Maasai*, African Centre for Technology and Studies (ACTS) Press, Nairobi, Kenya

Kombo, D.K and Tromp A.L.D, 2006: *An Introduction to Proposal and Thesis Writing*: Pauline Publications Africa, Nairobi, Kenya

Kothari C.R., 2004: *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques*. New Age International Publishers, Daryaganj, New Delhi

Kumpulainen, S. 2006: *Vulnerability Concepts in Hazard and Risk Assessment*, Luolamiehentie, Finland

International Strategy for Disaster Management/UN, 2007: *Building Disaster Resilient Communities: Good Practices and Lessons Learned A Publication of the "Global Network of NGOs" for Disaster Risk Reduction*. Geneva, Switzerland

Marvasti B. Amir, 2004: *Qualitative Research in Sociology*. SAGE Publications Ltd. London, United Kingdom

Markakis, John. 2004: *A Report on Pastoralism on the Margin*, Minority Rights Group International, United Kingdom

Marmor, Andrei. 2009: *Social Conventions: From Language to Law*. Princeton University Press, Oxford, United Kingdom

Masharen Ole Sironka, 2009: *The Maasai Pionners: The First Modern Cream*. Sironka Ole Masharen, Nairobi, Kenya

Morton, John F. 2007: *The Impact of Climate Change on Smallholder and Subsistence Agriculture*. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 104, no. 50 (2007)

Mutiso S.K., 1995: A paper on *Adaptive Strategies for Sustainable Livelihoods: A Review and Analysis of Development Policy for the Arid and Semi-arid Areas of Kenya*, Nairobi, Kenya

Ng'ang'a Wanguhu. 2006: *Kenya's Ethnic Communities: Foundation of the Nation* Gatundu Publishers Limited, Nairobi, Kenya

Osano, Philip, 2011: *Life at the Crossroad: Climate Change Threatens the Existence of Maasai*. The Centre for International Governance Innovation, 57 Erb Street West, Ontario N2L 6C2, Canada

Sankan, S.S (1995): *The Maasai*, Kenya Literature Bureau, Nairobi, Kenya

Satge de Rick/Oxfam, 2002: *Learning About Livelihoods: Insights from Southern Africa*.

Periperi publications, Johannesburg, South Africa

Rass, N. 2006: Working Paper N. 37 for the Pro-Poor Livestock Policy Initiative (PPLPI) on *Policies and Strategies to Address the Vulnerability of Pastoralists in Sub-Sahara Africa*, Animal Production and Health Division, Viale delle Terme di Caracalla, Rome Italy

Rennie, J.K, Singh, N and Titi V., 1995: *Participatory Research for Sustainable Livelihoods in Arid and Semi Arid Lands: A Guide Book for Field Projects on Adaptive Strategies*. Nairobi, Kenya

Spear Thomas & Waller Richard, 1993: *Being Maasai: Ethnicity and Identity in East Africa*. East African Educational Publishers, Nairobi, Kenya

United Nation Development Program (UNDP), 2004: *Kenya Natural Disaster Profile*. Nairobi, Kenya

United Nations & International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (UN/ISDR), 2005: *Hyogo Framework for Action 2005-2015: Building the Resilience of Nations and Communities to Disaster*; Kobe, Hyogo, Japan

United Nations (UN), 2007: *Draft Report First Africa Regional Platform for Disaster Risk Reduction Consultative Meeting 26-27 April 2007*. Nairobi, Kenya

United Nations (UN), 2004: *Living with Risk: A global Review of Disaster Reduction Initiatives*, Geneva, Switzerland

United Nations (UN), 2002: *Living with Risk: A global Review of Disaster Reduction Initiatives*, Geneva, Switzerland

United Nations (UN), 2000: *On Better Terms: A glance at Key Climate Change and Disaster Risk Reduction Concepts*. Geneva, Switzerland

Venton, P and Hansford, B. 2006: *Reducing Risks of Disasters in our communities*, Tear fund, England

Western, D. 2010: *Conservation in an Age of Climate Change*. SWARA.

Western D. & Nightingale D. L. M., 2003: Chapter 3: *Environmental Change and the Vulnerability of Pastoralists to Drought: Case Study of the Maasai in Amboseli, Kenya* in the “Africa Environment Outlook for Youth Report” Nairobi, Kenya

Woreda Ahferom, 2000: *A Paper on Vulnerability Profile: Strengthening Emergency Response Abilities*, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

World Vision International (WVI), 2007: *A Draft Paper on Transformed Livelihoods Approach (TLA): The art and science of holistic planning that result in “healthy children living in secure households forming resilient communities”*, Nairobi Kenya

Internet Websites:

2013: <http://www.kenya-information-guide.com/maasai-tribe.html>

2012: <http://www.wvafrica.org/>. *The Kenya Government Declares Current Drought a Disaster*

2012: <http://psychology.about.com/od/sindex/g/socialexchange.htm>. What is Social Exchange Theory?

2012: http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/humanitarian_assistance. USAID: *Building Pastoralists Resilience: Success Story USAID: Kenya Drought Fact Sheet #2*

2010: <http://www.masaikenya.org>, *Maasai of Kenya*

2010: <http://www.globalhealth.org/publications/article.php3?id=1596>, *The Maasai: Preserving Culture and Protecting Girls*.

2009: <http://www.maasai.association.org/ceremonies.html>. *Preserving and celebrating Maasai Cultural Heritage: Maasai Ceremonies and Rituals*

2009: <http://www.fao.org/DOCREP/004/AB396E/ab396e02.htm>., A paper by FAO on *Socio-economic and Ecological Characteristics*, (2006)

2009: <http://www.acbproject.org/pool/leaving-disasters-behind-chapter-2-key>:.Chapter 2 of the book - “*Leaving disasters behind*” by Randall Kemp

2009: <http://www.savethechildren.org/programs/livelihoods/>? *Save the Children: Livelihoods*

ANNEXES

Annex 1: Survey Questionnaire

Introduction

Serial Number.....

Hallo! my name is..... I'm here to carry out a research on Maasai ceremonies (or social conventions) as part of an academic requirement for Anne Kyoya, who is a student in University of Nairobi. I would like to assure you that any information you provide will be treated with utmost confidentiality and since it will be consolidated with other people's responses, it will not be associated with you/your name. I would appreciate if you could spare some of you precious time for this interview.

Location..... Village.....

Part I: Respondents Background Information:

1. Name of the respondent.....
2. Gender of the respondent:
 - (1) Male
 - (2) Female
3. Age of the respondent (select the range within which age of the respondent falls)
 - (1) 16 -25 yrs
 - (2) <25 – 35 yrs
 - (3) <35 – 45 yrs
 - (4) <45-55 yrs
 - (5) <55 – 65 yrs
 - (6) < 65 yrs
4. Marital Status:
 - (1) Single
 - (2) Married
 - (3) Divorced/Separated
 - (4) Windowed
 - (5) Others
5. If married, are you living with your spouse?
 - (1) Yes
 - (2) No
 - (3) No response
 - (4) N/AIf married but not living with spouse, explain.....
6. If not married, are you living with your parents?
 - (1) Yes
 - (2) No
 - (3) No response
 - (4) N/AIf no, please explain.....

7. If you are married, do you have children?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (3) No response
- (4) N/A

8. If yes, how many?.....(provide their details in the table below)

S/N.	Gender or Sex of the child	Age (years)	Indicate if in school or not	If in school, which grade	Indicate which Maasai Ceremony she/he has gone through
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					

9. Are you the head of the Family?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No.
- (3) No response

10. If “No”, is the head of the family living within the homestead at the moment?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (3) No response

If “No”, explain where he/she live most of the time.....

11. Indicate your religion/denomination

- (1) Catholic
- (2) Protestant (Includes any mainline Church/denomination)
- (3) Muslim
- (4) Animist
- (5) None
- (6) Others.....(Indicate)

12. What is your **main** source of income?

- (1). Livestock
- (2). Farming
- (3) Entrepreneur (excludes sell of livestock)
- (4) Employment
- (5) Support from relatives or friends
- (6) Other sources (name the source

13. If Livestock is your main source of income, complete the table below on which livestock is considered important in order of priority:

Most important source of income	Most Important type of livestock	2 nd most important	3 rd most important
Livestock			

14. Were you born in this village?

- (1). Yes (3) Don't know
(2). No (4)No response

15. If yes, how long have your lived in this village?.....

16. If "NO", what was your previous community and how long have you lived here?

Respondent	Name of the district of your previous community	Duration of stay in this community

17. Indicate your highest level of education.

S/N.	Highest level of education	Current Grade	Grade Completed
1.	Never been to school at all	-	
2.	In primary school		
3.	Dropped out of Primary school		
4.	Is secondary school		
5.	Dropped out of Secondary		
6.	College education (Certificate/Diploma)		
7.	University Education (Degree/Post-graduate)		

Part II: Cultural Ceremonies (Social Conventions)

18. Which of the following social conventions (ceremonies) does your community practice?

- (1) Marriage (*Enkiama*),
(2) Circumcision (*Emuratta*),
(3) Senior Boy Ceremony (*Enkipaata*)
(4) Junior elder ceremony (*Orngesherr*),
(5) Warrior-shaving ceremony (*Eunoto*),
(6) Milk-drinking ceremony (*Eokoto e-kule*),
(7) Meat-eating ceremony (*Enkangoo-nkiri*),
(8) Earlobe (*Eudoto/Enkigerunotoooo-inkiyiaa*) and
(9) Others (name).....

19. Which of these ceremonies are undertaken every year/annually?

- (1).....
(2).....
(3).....
(4).....

20. Which of the following social conventions/ceremonies have you personally been involved in?

<i>Type of Ceremony you been involved in</i>	<i>Tick the correct one</i>	<i>Number of times you have been involved in this ceremony within the last 2 years.</i>
1. Marriage Ceremony		
2. Circumcision		
3. Senior Boy Ceremony		
4. Warrior-shaving ceremony		
5. Milk-drinking ceremony		
6. Meat –eating ceremony		
7. Earlobe ceremony		
8. Junior-elder ceremony		
9. Others		

21. How would you rate the importance of these conventions to your identity and dignity as a Maasai?

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (1) Extremely important | (5). Little Importance |
| (2) Very important | (6), Very Little Importance |
| (3) Important | (7) Not Important at all |
| (4) Moderately important | |

22. Which different groups participate in those social conventions (ceremonies)?

<i>Ceremony</i>	<i>Community groups</i>
1. Marriage Ceremony	
2. Circumcision	
3. Senior Boy Ceremony	
4. Warrior-shaving ceremony	
5. Milk-drinking ceremony	
6. Meat eating ceremony	
7. Earlobe ceremony	
8. Junior-elder ceremony	
9. Others	

23. Who decides the specific time of the year when these annual ceremonies should be conducted?

- (1) Traditional Maasai elders (men)
- (2) Traditional Maasai elders (women)
- (3) Community leaders (Could include more than traditional elders)
- (4) Political leaders
- (5) Administrative leaders
- (6) The General Community
- (7) Youth (indicate if boys or girls or both).....
- (8) Others.....

Part III: Community assets used during Social Convention (Ceremonies)

24. Indicate the types of resources (assets) used during the following social conventions, starting with the most important.

<i>Ceremony</i>	<i>Resources/Asset</i>		
	1 (Most important)	2 nd Resource	Other Resources
1. Marriage Ceremony			
2. Circumcision			
3. Senior Boy Ceremony			
4. Warrior-shaving ceremony			
5. Milk-drinking ceremony			
6. Meat eating ceremony			
7. Earlobe ceremony			
8. Junior-elder ceremony			
9. Others			

25. If livestock is one of the resources used in any of these social conventions/traditional ceremonies, complete the table below.

<i>Ceremony</i>	<i>Type of Livestock</i>	<i>Number of livestock per household</i>
1. Marriage Ceremony		
2. Circumcision		
3. Senior Boy Ceremony		
4. Warrior-shaving ceremony		
5. Milk-drinking ceremony		
6. Meat –eating ceremony		
7. Earlobe ceremony		
8. Junior-elder ceremony		
9. Others		

26. If livestock is one of the resources used during the social conventions/traditional ceremonies as indicated in Q25 above, who in the household authorizes their use of the livestock during these ceremonies?

- (1) Individuals (Name the individual’s position within the household).....
- (2) Households.....
- (3) Community groups (name them.....)
- (4) Others.....

27. What motivates the participating households to contribute their assets towards the excursion of these social conventions?.....

.....

Part IV: Community Restocking Mechanism

28. If livestock are consumed during the excursion of social conventions, how do those providing them replenish their stock?.....
29. How long has this/these replenishment/restocking mechanism(s) been in use by the community?
30. Who established/started these restocking mechanism(s)?

Category	Response
1. Traditional Maasai elders (men)	
2. Traditional Maasai Elders (women)	
3. Community leaders	
4. Local political leaders	
5. Local Administrative leaders	
6. Community	
7. Youths	
8. Others	

31. Who ensures that the practice of the restocking mechanisms is sustained (continue to be practiced)?
- (1) Traditional Maasai elders (men)
 - (2) Traditional Maasai elders (women)
 - (3) Community leaders
 - (4) Political leaders
 - (5) Administrative leaders
 - (6) The General Community
 - (7) Youth (Indicate if boys or girls or both)....
 - (8) Others.....

32. Please explain how the restocking mechanism works.....

.....

33. Indicate your level of agreement/disagreement in the following statements. For each statement, indicate whether you:

Rating scale: (1) Strongly Agree, (2) Agree, (3) Neutral, (5)Disagree, (4) Strongly Disagree, (6) Don't know.

No.	Statements about Restocking Mechanism	Rating					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	The community restocking practice is primarily used as a way of managing livestock base by households	1	2	3	4	5	6
2.	The community restocking practice is the most effective (adequately meets the household restocking needs) approach of restocking for a household in this community	1	2	3	4	5	6
3.	The community restocking practice is the most preferred restocking approach by the households in this community	1	2	3	4	5	6
4.	The community restocking practice does not adequately meeting the restocking needs of households in this community	1	2	3	4	5	6
5.	Although the community restocking practice may not be the most preferred restocking approach by the households in this community, it is still in use in this community.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6.	The community restocking practice is no longer in use in this community	1	2	3	4	5	6
7.	The community restocking practice is inadequate and should be done away with.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Part V: *Internalization of the impact of social conventions*

34. Do you consider practicing these ceremonies (social conventions) beneficial to you?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (3) Don't know
- (4) No response

35. If your answer to Q34 above is "Yes", what are the benefits?

- (1) (4)
- (2) (5)
- (3) (6)

36. Do you consider practicing social conventions harmful or disadvantageous to you?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (3) Don't know
- (4) No response

37. If your response is "Yes" to Q36, what the disadvantages?

- (1)
- (2)
- (3)
- (4)

38. Do you consider your community as vulnerable to food insecurity and drought related disasters?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (3) Don't Know,
- (4) No response

39. If your answer to Q38 above is “Yes”, what would you consider as the contributing factors community vulnerability to food insecurity?

- 1).
- 2).
- 3).
- 4).
- 5).

40. Indicate your level of agreement/disagreement in the following statements. For each statement, indicate whether you:

Rating scale: (1) Strongly Agree, (2) Agree, (3) Neutral (4) Disagree, (5) Strongly Disagree, (6) Don't know

No.	<i>Statements on livestock use during conventions and community vulnerability</i>	<i>Rating</i>					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Livestock use during social conventions leads to depletion of the household livestock base	1	2	3	4	5	6
2.	Livestock use during social conventions does not negatively affect the household livestock base	1	2	3	4	5	6
3.	Livestock use during social conventions is one of the major (among the top 5 factors) contributing factors to community's vulnerability to food insecurity disaster	1	2	3	4	5	6
4.	Although livestock use during social conventions is a contributing factor to community's vulnerability to food insecurity, it is not a serious threat/problem.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5.	Livestock use during social conventions does not in any way contribute to community's vulnerability to food insecurity disaster	1	2	3	4	5	6

41. If you strongly agree or agree that livestock use during social conventions leads to erosion or depletion of the household livestock base, complete the table below regarding who is most negatively or least negatively affected by this depletion?

Rating scale: 1). Most affect; 2). Affect; 3). Moderately affected; 4) Fairly affected; 5). Least affected; and 6). Not affected at all.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Categories affected</i>	<i>Response/Rating</i>					
1.	Children	1	2	3	4	5	6
2.	Youth (above 18 yrs)	1	2	3	4	5	6
3.	Women (adults)	1	2	3	4	5	6
4.	Men (adults)	1	2	3	4	5	6
5.	All in the household	1	2	3	4	5	6

42. If you consider livestock use during Maasai Social conventions (ceremonies) as one of the major causes of community vulnerability to food insecurity in this community, what is your recommendation about future practice of these social conventions?

.....

43. What role do you play in responding to disasters in this community?

44. What role does the community play in responding to disaster in this area?

Annex 2: Focused Groups Questionnaire

Introduction

Good morning/afternoon. My name is I'm here to undertake (or support Anne Kyoya) to undertake her research on Maasai ceremonies as part of University studies. Can you allow me some of your precious time?

Background information

Name of the Division.....Location.....Village.....

Name the type of Group.....

Discussion Questions

1. Were you all born here?.....If not born in this community, how long have you lived here.....?
2. Which are the various Maasai ceremonies (social conventions) practiced in this community. Establish those involved in each of the ceremony mentioned, its frequency, types and quantities of resources used, and their estimated cost of livestock (if used).

Name of the Ceremony	Who is involved	Frequency of the ceremony	Types of resources used.	If livestock, indicate the quantities	Estimated monetary value (ksh) of each livestock used
1.					
2					
etc					

3. When did the Maasai start practicing these ceremonies? Which of these ceremonies are undertaken annually?
4. Who provides the resources used during these ceremonies? Which of these resources is the most important?
5. If livestock is used during these ceremonies, how do the affected households get back (replenish) the used stock?
6. Who decided when and the number of times (frequency) when each of these ceremonies should be conducted?
7. What are the benefits of these ceremonies to the individuals participating in these ceremonies?
8. Are there disadvantages of these ceremonies? If yes, what are they?

9. Does your community experience food insecurity and drought? If yes, what are the causes of
(i) food insecurity; (ii) drought
10. If livestock is used during any of these ceremonies, do you consider this as one of the possible causes of food insecurity?
11. If “YES”, explain.....if “NO”
explain.....
12. If this community ever experiences disasters like food insecurity (famine) and drought, what role does the community play in:
 - (a) Preparing for these disasters
 - (b) Managing these disasters
 - (c) Recovering from these disasters
13. With the current changes e’g less land for livestock migration, less pasture, more towns coming up in former livestock grazing land?, what would you say regarding continued practice of the various Maasia ceremonies?

Annex 3: Key Informant Questionnaire

Introduction

Good morning/afternoon. My name isI/We are here to assist Anne Kyoya, a student from University of Nairobi to learn more about the Maasai ceremonies (or social conventions) as part of her University studies. Can you spare some of you precious time to answer our questions?

Name of key Informant..... Age.....

Indicate if a Maasai or Outsider.....

If outsider, durance lived in Namanga.....

Discussion Questions

1. When did you settle here in Namanga? Where were they coming from before they came to Namanga?
2. Which are the various Maasai ceremonies (social conventions) practiced in this community?
3. When did the Maasai start practicing these ceremonies?
4. What has made the Maasai keep practicing these ceremonies until today?
5. Why are these ceremonies important to the Maasai?
6. Who participates in these ceremonies and what role do they play? [Guide the respondent to speak on one ceremony at a time.

Type of Ceremony	Participant	Role of participant
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		

7. Which of these ceremonies does the community undertake every year?
8. Who decides when these ceremonies should be held, and the frequency of their practice?
9. What are the benefits (advantages) of these ceremonies to a Maasai?
10. What type of community resources and in what quantities do the participating individuals or household contribute towards these ceremonies, especially those undertaken annually?

Types of Resources	Quantities
1.	
2.	
3.	

11. Who provides the resources?

12. Are livestock used during these ceremonies? If yes which type of livestock are used (indicate per ceremony)?

Name of Ceremony	Type Livestock	Number/Quantity of Livestock
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		

13. If livestock are used during social conventions, how do the contributing households restock their herd?

14. Do you consider the current restocking mechanisms adequate and if not, why?

15. Do you consider your community to be vulnerable to food insecurity and drought?

16. If the answer to Q15 above is yes, what do you think are the causes of community vulnerable to food insecurity?

17. If livestock are used during Maasai traditional ceremonies, (or social conventions), do you consider this as one of the causal factors to community vulnerability to food insecurity?

18. If No, explain why you think so.....; If yes, explain why you think so.....

19. If yes to Q20, what would be your recommendations regarding continued practice of the Maasai social ceremonies (social conventions)?