

"AN EVALUATION OF SOCIAL NETWORK  
TIES AND INFORMAL LEADERSHIP  
STRUCTURE IN CENTRAL DIVISION OF  
LAIKIPIA DISTRICT"

Charles Oduko Muhombe

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of Masters of Arts in Anthropology of  
the Institute of African Studies, the University of Nairobi.

October 1995

FOR USE IN THE LIBRARY ONLY

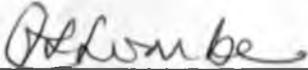
UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI LIBRARY



0144042 9

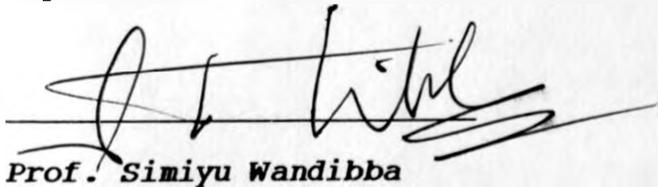
**DECLARATION**

*I, Charles Oduko Muhombe, hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and that it has not been presented for a degree to any other University.*



**Charles Oduko Muhombe**

*I, Prof. Simiyu Wandibba, hereby declare that this thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University supervisor.*



**Prof. Simiyu Wandibba**

**DEDICATION**

***To my parents and  
the people of Mukima farm,  
for their hospitality.***

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables.....	v
Acknowledgements.....	vi
Abstract.....	vii

### CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	3
1.3 The Objectives of the study.....	4
1.4 Conceptual interpretation of the objectives.....	4
1.4.1 Social Networks.....	4
1.4.2 Social Interaction.....	6
1.4.3 Community Building.....	6
1.4.4 Leadership.....	7
1.4.5 The Scope and Limitations of the study....	9
1.5 The Significance of the Study.....	10
1.6 Synopsis.....	11

### CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

2.0 Introduction.....	14
2.1 Social Networks.....	15
2.1.1 The Meaning of Social Networks.....	15

2.1.2 Purpose of Social Networks.....	16
2.1.3 Determinants of Social Network Ties.....	22
2.1.4 General Studies on Social Networks.....	24
2.1.5 Summary.....	28
2.2 Leadership.....	29
2.2.1 Meaning of Leadership.....	29
2.2.2 Functions of Leadership.....	30
2.2.3 Types of Leadership.....	31
2.2.4 Emergent Leadership.....	33
2.3 Theoretical Orientation.....	40
2.3.1 Choice Constraint Model.....	40
2.3.2 General Interaction Theory.....	41
2.4 Hypotheses.....	43
2.5 Operational Definitions.....	44
2.5.1 Independent Variables.....	44
2.5.2 Dependent Variables.....	45
2.6 Summary.....	45
 CHAPTER THREE: SITE DESCRIPTION AND METHODOLOGY	
3.0 Introduction.....	47
3.1 Area of Study.....	48

3.1.1 Position.....	48
3.1.2 Climate.....	48
3.1.3 Population.....	49
3.1.4 Resources.....	49
3.1.5 The Farms.....	50
3.2 Sampling.....	51
3.2.1 The form of relations.....	53
3.2.2 The level of analysis.....	54
3.3 Methods of data collection.....	56
3.3.1 Questionnaire.....	56
3.3.2 Observation.....	57
3.3.3 Family trees.....	58
3.3.4 Case Studies.....	57
3.3.5 Interviews.....	61
3.4 Data processing.....	61
3.4.1 Legend.....	61
3.4.2 Pile Sorting.....	62
3.4.3 Coding.....	62
3.4.4 Data Sheets.....	62
3.5 Data analysis.....	63

3.5.1 Quantitative Analysis.....	63
3.5.2 Qualitative Analysis.....	64
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: SOCIAL NETWORK TIES AND COMMUNITY BUILDING</b>	
4.0 Introduction .....	66
4.1 Kinship and Interpersonal Interaction.....	66
4.1.1 Social Interaction.....	75
4.2 Individual Decision and Choice.....	78
4.2.1 Community Building.....	84
4.2.2 Decision and Choice.....	91
4.3 Age of Settlement and Pre-Settlement Home Ties...	94
4.3.1 Social Networks.....	101
4.4 Summary.....	103
<b>CHAPTER FIVE: INFORMAL LEADERSHIP</b>	
5.0 Introduction.....	105
5.1 Self-Help Activity and Informal Leadership.....	105
5.1.1 Conceptualisation of Leadership.....	110
5.1.2 Social Status and Leadership.....	115
5.2 Summary .....	119
<b>CHAPTER SIX: GENERAL SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS</b>	
6.0 Introduction.....	122

**6.1 Conclusion.....123**

**6.2 Recommendations.....129**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY.....131**

**List of Tables**

**5.1: Informal Leaders: How Quality was observed.....108**

**5.2: Consensus on Kinship Ties as a factor of Informal Leadership.....118**

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to the Laikipia Research programme (LRP) for sponsoring the study as part of their support for postgraduate training to heighten ASAL awareness and research capacity within the University of Nairobi. I am specifically grateful to their coordinators, Drs. Wiesman and Herren, for the personal and official assistance they individually proffered.

I sincerely acknowledge the invaluable support of Dr. J. A. R. Wembah-Rashid who supervised this work and spent many hours tirelessly reading the draft to ensure the study was well presented. Prof. Simiyu Wanddiba, Director of the Institute of African Studies (IAS) spared time to read through my work and made invaluable comments for which I am grateful.

I wish to thank Mumo Maundu of IAS., for coordinating our reconnaissance of Laikipia District in 1991, as well as Thomas Hoesli and William Wachira of LRP for their guidance in computer information and data analysis.

Finally, very special thanks go to Mrs Jane Njeri Wacuma whose able assistance was very significant, especially in the generation and analysis of data. My gratitude also goes to all members of the LRP for their personal and official support.

**ABSTRACT**

This was a descriptive study which sought to understand the process of building social ties and communities in planned settlements. The work, therefore, is a documentation, description and analysis of the results of investigations conducted during a three month period in two settlements, Mukima and Weruini farms, in Laikipia district.

The gist of the investigation, therefore, is the interplay between patterns of inter-personal ties that migrant households established from their new homes, and the subtle forms of leadership in the shaping up of a new community fabric. Our basic assumption was that either kinship or friendship affiliations would influence social relations significantly.

From a universe of 115 and 252 households for Mukima and Weruini farms, respectively, we randomly selected a total of 84 informants for the study. Data collection was through surveys, using questionnaires, observation, case studies, family trees and interviews. Frequencies, simple cross-tabulations and percentages were used in the analysis and interpretation of the data. The analysis was therefore based on a combination of quantitative and qualitative information.

This study had four main findings:

(i) Households in both farms maintained active network ties locally with non-kin as well as with their kins in the pre-

settlement areas of origin. Therefore, while friendship was an important factor in forging social relations, kin ties were not completely severed.

(ii) The building of a bona fide community, especially as exemplified by Mukima farm, was enhanced by mutual and collective approach to common goals in the settlement. Members of the community depended on one another for their survival.

(iii) New households, especially in Weruini farm, tended to be individualistic in their activities.

(iv) Leadership was looked upon as a viable avenue for enhancing the quality of life by fostering a cohesive social fabric.

The main recommendation of this study is that there exists opportunities of provoking broad based community well being in resettlement areas that need to be carefully evaluated, enhanced and sustained. The potential exists in the settlements to link networks up as a new and viable approach of helping people develop through self reliance. This promises to strengthen the social fabric of the communities and enhance the quality of life.

In conclusion, it is our hope that the issues outlined above, which are discussed in detail in subsequent pages, will contribute to the existing knowledge on the subject of social relations in resettlement situations with particular reference to the social dynamics as they apply in Central division of Laikipia district.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we present the focus of the study. A proper conceptual background to the study is achieved by introducing an anthropological perspective to the problem, together with a contextual interpretation of the objectives of the study.

#### 1.1 Background

Anthropologists generally agree that there is a reciprocal relationship between ecology and the form or character of human culture. Cultural elements such as settlement and residence patterns, economic activities, political and religious beliefs and practices which humans develop are manifestations of the degree and extent of that relationship. More explicitly, environment and culture are each defined in terms of the other (Steward 1972).

Vivelo (1978:35-102) has devised universal models of cultural economic typologies to explain the manifestations of the foregoing relationship. In his scheme he has categories for hunter foragers, pastoralists and horticulturalists or small-scale cultivators, among others.

The three categories listed above are characterized by, among other elements, subsistence economies that operate in rural environments and they are guided by kinship ideologies. Thus, their settlement and residence patterns, personal, group, community interactions and the choice of their leaders, all hinge on kinship ties.

Laikipia District, where this study was conducted, is a rural environment populated by subsistence pastoralists and small scale cultivators. Although the population is composed of old settlers and those who migrated into the area through a government engineered programme, it does provide a reasonably fitting ground to test the above generalization.

During a feasibility study of Laikipia district in 1991 we had the impression that the old, i.e., the pre-settlement population, had lived in the area guided by principles of kinship ideology. On the other hand, it seemed that the new immigrants into the district were attracted by factors other than, or in addition to, kinship ties, for example, the possibility to obtain land. Records from the Laikipia Research Programme (LRP) indicated that 80% of the adults originated from outside the district. It was also noted that more immigrants continued to join the various settlements. The immigrants come from high potential areas of neighbouring districts where pressure on land is great and people are forced to go out to seek new lands for settlement. Another impression we had was that the immigrants maintained strong affiliations with the areas of their origin. Flury (1986) observed that the majority of the

population which has migrated into Laikipia district has strong ties with relatives living in original home areas.

### 1.2 Statement of the problem

Consequent to the above impressions and assumptions, we sought to establish the patterns along which communities had evolved in the settlements and how members of these communities went about establishing networks of interpersonal interaction. Several questions needed to be asked to guide the investigation of this broadly stated aim.

Given the fact that Laikipia district is rural and predominantly settled by subsistence pastoralists and small scale cultivators, what is the form or character of its local communities? In other words, is kinship ideology a basis for individuals considering themselves as belonging to communities to which they belong; or are there other criteria? And if there are, what are they?

The study was also interested in establishing the nature of personal, group and community interactions that existed among the immigrants. What was the character of the networks that individuals and groups maintained and why? If kinship did not influence the interactive networks observable on the ground, what did?

The other issue investigated was that of leadership at the grass roots level. If the settlers formed their interactive groups based on criteria other than kinship, how did they identify their leaders in the new environment? What qualities or characteristics made a leader in this multi-

ethnic situation where non-kins found themselves obliged to live together as single community members.

### 1.3 The Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study was to investigate the development of local community structures in newly resettled areas of the Laikipia district. Precisely we set out to:

- (i) Study, describe and analyze the form or character of social networks and social interaction
- (ii) Study community building and the concept or qualities of leadership

### 1.4 Conceptual interpretation of the objectives

#### 1.4.1 Social Networks

Social networks are close interpersonal links created and maintained by people in a group or community. These manifest themselves in the form of, among others, kinship relations, instrumental relations and sentimental relations, which basically serve to fortify social relationships. There is a purpose to these relations because of some interest which either or both parties consciously recognise and sometimes unconsciously become involved in. Linkages are based on knowledge of each other and some shared interests and concerns. However, interests are not always explicitly expressed.

Our analysis of social networks followed our aim of examining and describing the social interrelationships that are maintained on the farms. It was our aim to establish how

interpersonal interaction was being affected by the absence or presence of kinship relations between households on the farms. We also hoped to establish how the growth of leadership was catered for under the existing kind of social relationships. Therefore, the idea of social networks was intended to describe an order of social relationships which is important in uncovering and providing a way of describing patterns in non-kinship relations.

Recent studies in community organisation have recognised the significance of networks within communities. one can understand communities when one recognises what these networks are and how they work. It is contended that network ties anchored on the basis of individuals has an established fact that they help in a wide variety of ways and that there is a correlation between quality of life indicators and such factors as the size, density and utilisation of one's network. On the basis of the Choice-Constraint model (Fischer et al. 1977) the description and analysis of network ties help us to understand how new links involving substitute rights and obligations following resettlement are developed.

In small scale rural societies people recognise an extended range of relationships outside the immediate household, with kins people and relatives-in-law. A large part of individuals' activities and time is involved in these relationships. Men and women rely for support, insurance and protection on these kin or affines. Thus, relationship with relatives control not only domestic, but also economic, political and other types of relationship

with others (cf. Bott 1972: xiii-xxx).

#### 1.4.2 Social Interaction

Social interaction is, in fact, intimately interwoven with social networks. But of its own, interaction comprises the reciprocal influencing of the acts of persons and groups. In this study, social interaction per se provides a way of depicting and describing patterns of ties in this rural non kinship relations. It is the mirror that facilitates the analysis of the conception of network ties as ties of dependency relations that have precise purposes in members of a community.

Fischer et al. (1977) argue that it is from local social relations that people get intimate friendship and support, and that people who have moved recently are more likely to be isolated. Most people cope and feel good about themselves as long as they maintain and develop connections with people through marriage and parenthood, close friendship with neighbours, work colleagues, church members, school community or cultural associations. Thus, social networks facilitate the mapping out of patterns of such contacts as operationalised by actors on the ground, and through the network analysis we are able to formalise these contacts and specify how these affect some characteristics of the people involved.

#### 1.4.3 Community building

When one looks at any specified community one can easily deduce whether or not its constituent persons depict

a collective and mutual approach to life. The Laikipia situation has for long been characterised by transition. Eighty per cent of the adults are not originating from the district. Consequences for community building here are of our interest. The people, in their network ties, remain relatively more affiliated to their pre-settlement areas of origin. It would further seem that the setting is one that is not resourcefully productive and, therefore, not assisting. In such a case a social system of individualistic members not embracing all aspects of social life would seem likely to emerge.

Communal participation tends to focus only on matters of accessibility to water, especially through human made furrows from the perennial rivers. Once water is sufficiently available activities have been observed to become relatively more individualised. As such it is of our interest to find in the members' own perception their criteria for that feeling of belonging to the transitional community. Meanwhile, activities of a social gathering nature such as tea parties, merry-go-rounds and religious wakes can be observed on the ground. Their creation and their role in community interaction is one of those that have to be investigated. Whether they are some of the causes or effects of community building is what we wanted to establish.

#### 1.4.4 Leadership

Leadership, broadly stated, implies the presence of a particular influence relationship between two or more

persons. In this study we are focussing on leadership entirely in its emergent form. This applies to leadership which is perceived only in the informal character where those leading are neither elected nor appointed to any official positions in the strict sense of the term. They exercise subtle roles of leadership instead by virtue of that ability to offer information, skills or material resources which are valued by the members of the community. We are in this way considering the concept of leadership primarily to improve our understanding of the development of the local community structure in this newly settled areas as this must determine the community knittedness.

Leadership also happens to be a much talked about subject among the residents of Laikipia district. This is perhaps most aptly illustrated by the sentimentality to which the Gikuyu translation of the term leader, *mtongoria*, is held. Of all the subjects of general discourse, the one of leadership seems to come up frequently and preoccupy both young and old. We came across several matatus, for instance, simply christened *mtongoria* and in several of our informants' households the portraits of the founding father of the nation had the remark, *mtongoria njamba* (brave leader), engraved on them. And close friends would invariably refer to one another by the same word in informal conversation, undoubtedly underscoring the significance in which leadership is regarded. In our interviews the subject of leadership, whenever broached, seemed to pick up quickly and was often addressed in the most solemn and choice words by our informants.

Leadership behaviour, therefore, affects the activities of a group and exercises a determining effect on the attitudes of others. Perhaps more than anywhere else there was consensus on this among the Gikuyu immigrants that we interviewed.

#### 1.4.5 The Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study was primarily envisaged to contribute to two courses, namely, (i) the authors' postgraduate studies and, (ii) enrich baseline data on familial networks and community building, for LRP, who were the sponsors of the authors' postgraduate studies.

Basically, therefore, the study was to address the concept of community building, through a networks analysis, with an emphasis on how members participated in the management of the affairs of their settlements, in the face of a web of familial networks that were neither identical nor confined within the settlements.

Central division [it was confounding that the division was split into two different divisions long after our sample had been selected and the study was in progress] was identified as a suitable setting for the study since the farms here were settled by members from different origins, even though the Agikuyu were in the majority.

The major factors that proved limiting to the study were (i) the lack of adequate prior education on the subject of network analysis to the author and, (ii) the unavailability of adequate published information, locally.

on this complex subject. Relevant literature was hard to come by; it was mostly availed in the forms of xeroxed copies of chapters of published books which were unavailable locally [the author is grateful to Dr Herren for his assistance]. But often these were not sufficient, yet we were not just about to infringe on copyright laws by xeroxing entire texts. There can be no doubt that a much more refined study could have been achieved faster if the two impediments had not prevailed.

The original form of the study as conceived by the author was practically gradually lost, as literature became available piecemeal and, with it, new ideas and information that tended to confuse and delay the formulation of the study problem and objectives. Also the objectives had partly to suit the interests of the LRP. Nevertheless, much was achieved and the author felt safer through widening the field of scope by including an analysis of an emerging community structure through a survey on leadership which was, therefore, enjoined to our objectives.

### 1.5 The significance of the study

1. The study was originally conceived as part of a survey under the auspices of the Institute's District Socio-Cultural Profiles Project. Findings from these studies will enrich the baseline data for Laikipia district.

2. A clear understanding of network relations should be an essential means of tackling difficulties of promoting self-help initiatives in Laikipia district where some parts have a chronic water shortage; yet kinship leadership which

organised self help activities may not be available.

3. Information on the structure and process of emergent leadership should throw some light on how the government could go about recruiting future local and national leaders in Kenyas' multi ethnic communities. It seems that Laikipia district can be viewed as a microcosm of the national model that is in the process of construction, the integration of poly-ethnic groups into one nation.

4. The study also endeavours to make a contribution in testing the validity of the selected theory and model about the building of social networks and leadership in rural communities.

### 1.6 Synopsis

Many studies may have been conducted on migration and resettlement of rural households in Kenya. However, not much is known of the resultant social relations and the patterns through which typical rural non-kinship relations are established. Also little is known on how ties operate between these resettled households and their kin in the places of origin. Information is also lacking on how institutions for local level interaction are created, instigated and sustained.

The study presented in this work addresses these points. It aims at understanding the social and role relations of members in a rural resettlement situation, the majority of whom were not previously nor are they currently kin related.

The study was conducted in Laikipia district in Kenya's Rift Valley Province, with assistance from the Laikipia Research Programme (LRP), a project of the Universities of Bern and Nairobi, whose objective was to support postgraduate training of Kenyan students with a focus on practical experiences in arid and semi-arid lands.

Chapter One is a brief description of the background to the research, the statement of the problem and the objectives of the study. Chapter Two is the review and synthesis of the relevant literature on social networks and leadership, including a discussion of the theory and model which are informing the study, the research hypotheses, and the operationalisations of the variables.

Chapter Three, which outlines the specifications of the research area and describes the research techniques, also includes brief discussions of both the form of relations and level of analysis. The contribution of this study is in both its interpretations and the facts described. We investigated the concept of informal leadership primarily to improve our understanding of the relationship between resettlement in the context of settlement patterns and the social structure or, more specifically, kinship ideology. In essence we examined patterns of kin-related informal social networks, e.g., in households and among relatives and those of community members, i.e., among friends and neighbours. We also investigated the factors that influenced such patterns. We found out that the factors that influenced the observed patterns were several and that they were associated with the

relevant population's dispersal through migration and resettlement as well as the length of stay of the individuals in the two farms studied.

In chapter Four we discuss these factors and some of their effects on the social networks of selected households. Interpretations and analysis are arrived at by making comparisons between households. We continue the analysis in chapter Five by looking at informal leadership and end with a general summary of the study and recommendations in chapter Six.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

#### 2.0 Introduction

Literature is reviewed under two subheadings, namely, Social Networks and Leadership. Social network analysis is reportedly a relatively recent approach in community studies (Foster 1982; Maguire 1983). Evidently, not much is known of this concept. Therefore, it calls for a detailed review and explanation. In this chapter, therefore, we shall focus on this concept mainly in its relevant application to our study. Definitely there is much more to social networks but, in this chapter, the concept is reviewed in terms of:

- the meaning of social networks;
- the purpose of social networks;
- the determinants of social network ties and;
- general studies of social networks.

In this chapter, we also review the subject of leadership. One of our aims in this study is to address the concept of

emergent leadership, a form of leadership that is frequently informal rather than formal. To give a proper conceptual perspective to our aim, therefore, we review the subject in terms of:

- meaning of leadership;
- functions of leadership;
- types of leadership and;
- emergent leadership.

Finally we focuss on the choice-constraint model (Fischer et al. 1977) and the general interaction theory (Gibb 1968), concepts which are not only derived directly from the two subjects of the review, respectively, but also which adequately inform the study to the extent of shaping the conception of our hypotheses.

## 2.1 SOCIAL NETWORKS

### 2.1.1 The Meaning of Social Networks

Many authors have placed differing emphasis on the meaning and concept of social networks. Some have used it to describe different processes of, and approaches to, analysis of interpersonal relations. Barnes (1954:43) defines social networks on the basis of their analytical capabilities, describing them as a set of points which are joined by lines; the points of the

image are people or, sometimes, groups, and lines indicate which people interact with each other. Barnes further explains that in the social sciences, the term networks is used by some writers metaphorically to refer to a general network of social relations. It is distinguished from the term social network which is usually reserved for scientists who use mathematically based analytical approaches for measuring, graphing and statistically defining the social bonds, causal connections and interrelationships within networks.

Walker et al. (1977:35) define social networks as those sets of personal contacts through which the individual maintains social identity and receives emotional support, material aid and services, information and new social contacts. These views represent the mainstream definitions that have gained currency although, as earlier noted, different scientists will often employ different emphases to the concept. In this study we subscribe to the latter definition since it expresses in simple and vivid terms what is basic to the concept, interpersonal relations.

### 2.1.2 Purpose of Social Networks

Social networks can be analyzed using various techniques and analytical variables (Barnes 1954; Boissevain and Mitchell 1973; Fischer et al 1977; Mitchell 1969). The purpose of such analyses is to examine in detail the relationships people have between and among themselves so that the causes and effects of

such relationships can be understood.

Recent methodology, which has combined qualitative and statistical procedures in data collection and analysis, has given a far greater understanding of human interaction. Of particular benefit are assessments of how and why people develop friendships (Fisher et al. 1977) or go to certain friends or relatives as opposed to others for favours, support and help. In this study we elicited a general description of the nature of networks in order to understand their influence on social structure in terms of morphological and interactive criteria of the links.

According to Mitchell (1969) the image of social relations as used to represent a complex set of interrelationships in a social system has had a long history. This use of the term networks, however, is purely metaphorical. It is different from the notion of a social network as a specific set of linkages amongst a defined set of persons. The latter has the additional property in that the characteristics of these linkages as a whole may be used to interpret the social behaviour of the persons involved.

When Radcliffe-Brown (1952:190), for example, defined social structure as a 'network of actually existing social relationships', he was using the term network metaphorically and not in an analytical sense. His use of the word evoked an image of the interconnections of social relationships. He did not, however, specify the properties of the interconnections which

could be used in interpreting social actions except at the abstract level of structure (Mitchell 1969:2-3). Mitchell further explains that an important point in the use of the notion of social networks in the interpretation of field data is that it is complementary to and not a substitute for conventional sociological or anthropological frameworks of analysis. The notion was introduced into British social anthropology because the conventional categories of structural functional analysis appeared inadequate when anthropologists conducted studies outside of the ordinary run of small-scale isolated communities. He, however, contends that those who have used the notion in their work have found it necessary to distinguish certain characteristics of these networks as being germane to the explanation of the behaviour they have sought.

Many scholars have worked to expand network analytic concepts into a comprehensive structural formulation of sociology and anthropology by trying to interpret all social structure from a network analytic perspective. White et al (1976; 732) assert that the existing, largely categorical descriptions of social structure have no solid theoretical grounding. They further argue that network concepts may provide the only way to construct a theory of social structure.

The foregoing notwithstanding, the strength of network analysis in structural studies is quite apparent. For one thing, it lays emphasis on understanding the reasons that make people act the way they do and sees ties as voluntarily chosen. Another

important attention is that it analyses the patterns of ties that link members of a community as a more direct way of studying a social system. In addition, because social network analysis emphasizes on studying the structural properties of networks, it also informs the ways in which analysts pose research questions, organise data collection and develop analytic methods. All these are important points since there is usually an in-built mechanism or ability to examine the ways in which structural properties affect behaviour over and above the effects of normative prescriptions, personal attributes and dyadic relationships. As such, individuals are influenced and integrated into society through their personal network.

Obviously, the network approach captures vividly the changing social relations and the things that are emphasized in these relations. It portrays that the numbers and types of people with whom individuals have contact are the same people with whom they have the possibility of negotiating for material goods and status. The networks determine the pattern of access to resources and take into account relations that occur and those that do not exist among the actors. Personal networks which are defined from the standpoints of focal individuals assist the study of how the composition, content and configuration of ties affect the flow of resources to these persons (cf. Gottlieb 1981; Wellman 1981a).

Studies of searches for abortionists (Lee 1969) and jobs (Granovetter 1973) have demonstrated the effects of different

network patterns on access to resources. The discussion on the notion of "the strength of weak ties" (Granovetter 1983), for instance, is concerned with the effect of network density. He argues that people with very many dense networks, in which friends all know each other will, for that reason, tend to be relatively cut off from information and from contact with the wider population. Loosely knit networks and weak ties are very important not only in spreading information and fostering cohesion in a large society but also in furthering individuals' goals. Mere acquaintances, for example, are more likely to give one a lead to a job opening than one's close friends, since by definition, they move in different circles and have access to different information.

There is also the view that people have a variety of specific needs, such as for love, intimacy and affection, for the satisfaction of feelings of nurturance and dependency and for help with tasks (Caplan 1974). Most people will cope and feel good about themselves as long as they maintain and develop connections with people through marriage and parenthood, close friendships with neighbours, work colleagues, church members, school community or cultural associations.

Self-help groups are significant in networks because many of them develop from natural networks of friends who share a concern or problem. The difference between self-help and naturally developed networks is primarily in the depth of the

form of organisation and not in their essential characteristics. That networks, especially in the contexts of action sets, may also influence and produce structural leadership status is part of our investigation. An individual who joins and helps organize a self-help group shares a particular problem or concern and is motivated by a desire to give and receive help from similarly afflicted people or others who share a strong concern about some issue. The fellow members of the group identify with this person and a bond of trust and friendship may develop based on sharing and reciprocity.

Recent studies in community organisation have recognized the significance of networks within communities (cf. Cunningham and Kotler 1983; Froland *et al.* 1981; Garbarino and Stocking 1980; Maguire and Biegel 1982; Maguire 1983; Naperstek *et al.* 1982; Warren 1981). The conceptualization and study of communities on the basis of their network configuration came, initially, from anthropology. Maguire (1983) observes that anthropology is sensitive to, and conducts in-depth unobtrusive analysis of cultures and the patterns of interaction and influence among their members. He points out that this makes it easier to understand communities through recognizing what these networks are and how they work and what can and cannot be done with them. Maguire further contends in reference to communities, that the network ties anchored on the basis of individuals has an established fact that they help in a wide variety of ways and that there is a correlation between quality of life indicators

and such factors as the size, density and utilization of one's networks.

### 2.1.3 Determinants of Social Network Ties

Individuals rely on the social networks of family, friends and neighbourhood or work colleagues for a variety of practical resources and/ or services. Maguire (1983) states that communities are composed of networks and networks are composed of people helping one another. When these natural helping networks are linked together, or at least when the potential exists within a community to link them up in order to help people the social fabric of a community is strengthened and the quality of life in that community enhanced. Thus, we may speak of the contents of the links in a persons' network. This content may be, among other possibilities, economic assistance, kinship obligations, religious affiliation or friendship.

One major use of network analysis in anthropology has been to uncover the social structure of a total system. Systems may be a native village, church or market. The regular pattern of relations among the positions composed of concrete actors constitutes the social structure of the system (Knoke and Kuklinsky 1982).

As part of his analysis of the determinants of social structure and change, Collins (1983) provides a typology of the resources people bring to this struggle. Among others he emphasises the resources people possess in their "store of

cultural devices for invoking emotional solidarity". By this he means the people's ability to create and maintain a shared view of how things are and should be, which also sustains the favoured position of those promoting that view. This view introduces, for our purposes, the question of informal leadership in newly settled areas.

Potential members of a person's network may be defined as a category of people who, in terms of the general norms of values of the community, might be expected to provide ego with some specified type of service or support or alternatively who might expect ego to provide them with some specified service or support. The relationship may be diffuse and imply services and support of a general nature such as implied by neighbourliness or kinship.

Maguire (1983) further explains that the structure of a network is, therefore, established by asking the ego or the central figure to identify network members on the basis of relationships in each of five spheres of influence. These spheres are family or relatives, friends, neighbours, work colleagues and other helpers. The basis of relationships may include the ability of the members in the five areas of influence to provide resources to ego and ego's degree of access to those resources. The resources may include money, housing, personal contacts and access to information or jobs. These and other characteristics of personal networks have emerged as relevant in the course of studies of networks. No one study has taken into account all of

these characteristics; one or the other of the characteristics, rather, has been selected in one study as of major importance and another in a different study as portrayed in the examples of some past studies as we have described below.

#### 2.1.4 General Studies on Social Networks

Approaches on the subject of network analysis vary. Knoke and Kuklinsky (1982) concede that network analyses may take many forms to suit researchers' diverse theoretical and substantive concerns. But there is a necessity to focus clearly on and delineate precisely what one is studying in a network. For instance, social network analyses have been used to study how certain people feel about one another. We could relate the structure of friendship choices in a group to leadership or the performance of tasks. We may also use the concept to draw the distinction between the types of social networks which would characterise a recently settled community like that of Weruini farm and the type which would be characteristic of a long established community such as at Mukima farm. The interest would be in the morphological features and their implication to interaction and social structure. Wellman (1981a) discusses how researchers began using a network analytic approach to study third world migrants from rural areas to cities. These migrants were no longer members of solidary village communities. Yet many migrants continued to maintain ties in their ancestral villages as well as form new urban ties. Their complex social networks, composed of rural and urban ties, aided them greatly in obtaining

resources from both the village and the city to cope with the demands of modern life.

Network analysts came to study the conditions under which these migrants were able to maintain viable dispersed "personal communities". Using a network approach they were able to account for the continuing communal integration of migrants under conditions of capitalistic transformation, urbanisation and long distance spatial and social mobility (Boissevain and Mitchell 1973).

Whitten and Wolfe (1982) put emphasis on network analysis as a strategy for studying social systems by focussing on ramifying relationships. They say that attention became focussed on "patterns of activities and interactions that cannot be accounted for by the official structure", but "which find expression in a network of social relationships and in prevailing practices". Social network analysis in the 1970s is one important expression of a theoretical trend in all social sciences since the 1940s saw a trend away from concepts implying relatively static cultural patterns or fixed social institutions and towards concepts implying adaptation and adaptability (Whitten and Wolfe 1992).

Fischer et al. (1977) used network analysis to examine one of the most durable views of modern life- that in the process of moving from agricultural village to urban life, individuals get cut off from any authentic community and become a nation of

strangers. It should follow, they argue, that from local social relations people get intimate friendship and support. Similarly, people who are newcomers in a settlement or residence area are more likely to be isolated and suffer psychologically. Philip Mayer (1961, 1962, 1964) and Pauw (1963) used the idea of social networks to elucidate the behaviour of different types of migrants and of settled townsmen in East London, South Africa. They analyzed the behaviours of people who were members of a close knit group of friends to find out whether it was likely to be strongly influenced by the wishes and expectations of these friends as a whole or not.

Adrian Mayer (1966) used the idea of a social network somewhat differently. He traced the chains of influence through which a candidate in an election solicited support and showed how the successful candidate was able to reach a particularly extensive body of potential supporters in this way.

On the basis of an examination of the social contacts of one of his African research assistants over a few days, Epstein (1961) suggested that a division of social networks into closed and open types could be applied to different parts of a single personal network, the relatively closed parts forming an effective network and the relatively open part forming the extended network. He used this idea to explain how the norms and values of the local elites in a town percolated into the ranks of the non-elites with whom the elites themselves had no direct contact. He also showed how gossip, which flowed along a chain in

the network of a typical member of the social elite of Ndola town, was transmitted against a background of the norms and values of the social status of the people in that chain.

Several studies, all published in 1969, have illustrated further extensions of the use of social networks as discussed below. Wheeldon (1969) examined a challenge to leadership in a voluntary association in a Eurafrikan community in a Central African town. She used the concept of social networks to show how an established leadership was able to bring pressure to bear upon its antagonists by means of links through common intermediaries. Kapferer (1969) analyzed a dispute that arose in a processing plant on a mine. The parties in the dispute activated links with their fellows to mobilize support for their own particular points of view. On the other hand, Boswell (1969) described how people in three different sets of social circumstances in Lusaka city, when they were bereaved utilized existing links with people to mobilize help. Finally, Harries-Jones (1969) showed how links based on common rural origin, kinship and proximity were used to establish the grassroots organization of a political party in a copper belt town.

It should be evident, therefore, that the concern of network analysis is to formalize the complicated contacts people have with each other. It describes their underlying shape and characteristics and specifies how these affect the behaviour of the people involved in the networks in question (cf. Wallace and

Wolf 1980). It uncovers the social structures of total systems which may be villages, a community or society and maps out patterns and relations as operationalised by actors on the ground (cf. Linton 1936; Nadel 1957). In this study, we describe social networks in order to assess and explain their implication for interpersonal interaction and community building among a predominantly immigrant lot. Social networks, thus, may be used to interpret behaviour in a wide variety of social situations. In such applications the notion is used in the Barnes' (1969) analytical sense.

#### 2.1.5 Summary

The concern of network analysis is, therefore, to formalise the complicated contacts people have with each other. It describes their underlying shape and characteristics and specifies how these affect the behaviour of the people involved in the network in question (cf. Wallace and Wolfe 1986). It uncovers the social structure of a total system which may be a village, community or society and maps out patterns and relations as operationalised by actors on the ground. In this study, we describe social networks in order to assess and explain their implication for interpersonal interaction and community building among a predominantly migrant lot.

## 2.2 LEADERSHIP

### 2.2.1 Meaning of leadership

According to Gibb (1968), there is a great variety of ways in which one individual stands out from others in social situations and in which such an individual may be said to be "leading" the others. He thinks that these ways are so diverse that any one concept attempting to encompass them all as "leadership" does lose the specificity and precision that is necessary to scientific thinking. He adds that to call someone a leading artist may mean only that as a writer or painter he or she enjoys greater public acclaim and probably greater sales than do others similarly engaged. It may also mean that others are aware of him or her and that in subtle ways he or she exercises influence upon them.

In general, it is an essential feature of the concept of leading that influence is exerted by one individual upon another or, more commonly, that one or a few individuals influence a larger number. Use of the concept "influence" marked a step in the direction of generality and abstraction in defining leadership. Tead (1935), for example, defined it as "the activity of influencing people to cooperate toward some goal which they come to find desirable". Tannenbaum *et al.* (1961) defined leadership as "interpersonal influence, exercised in a situation and directed through the communication process toward the attainment of a specified goal or goals". For Cartwright (1965)

leadership is equated with the domain of influence. It is Stogdill's view that the influence concept recognizes the fact that individuals differ in the extent to which their behaviour affect the activities of a group or groups. It implies a reciprocal relationship between leader and followers, but one not necessarily characterized by domination, control or induction of compliance on the part of the leader. It merely states that leadership exercises a determining effect on the behaviours of the group members and on activities of the group (Stogdill 1974: 10).

Other writers define leadership in terms of acts or behaviours. For instance, Carter (1953:210- 11), suggests that leadership behaviours "... are any behaviors the experimenter wishes to so designate, or more generally, any behaviors which experts in this area wish to consider as leadership behaviors".

### 2.2.2 Functions of leadership

"Leading" implies a shared direction and this, in turn, often implies that all parties to the leadership relation have a common goal or at least similar or compatible goals. And, as Hollander and Julien (1964) state, "leader influence suggests positive contribution toward the attainment of these goals". Thus, any act of leading is one form of inter- individual influence (Gibb 1968) which may be very brief and of varying importance for long term interaction. In this way the existence of many is utilized for the satisfaction of some needs of each

(Cattell 1951; Gibb 1954).

The functions of leadership within this context can be identified from the standpoint of the several patterns of behaviour appearing to characterise emergent leadership. Among them, Jennings (1943) listed the following:

- i. Protects and encourages the weak;
- ii. Exhibits personal integrity and dependability;
- iii. Shows tactful consideration of others;
- iv. Inspires confidence and encouragement;
- v. Widens the field of participation for others;
- vi. Initiates spontaneity in others;
- vii. Controls own moods rather than inflicting depressions and anxieties on others;
- viii. Establishes rapport quickly with a wide range of personalities.

The group member who possesses resources enabling him to contribute more than other members to solution of the group task tends to emerge as leader. The emergent leader in experimental and in natural groups tends to be valued because his spontaneity is contagious and stimulates spontaneity in others.

### 2.2.3 Types of leadership

Leadership is closely related to power, but so is it to influence, both of which stem from various sources. Power within a group frequently resides, in whole or in part, in a person appointed within the parent organisation to exercise it as

delegated to him by the organisation. That such a person exercises influence over other group members, there can be no question. However, the source of the power, the nature of the relevant and effective sanctions and that of the relation between the influence agent and recipient are in this case qualitatively very different from those to be observed in a voluntary group or association. There seem to be specific advantages for clarity in maintaining this distinction (Pigors 1935), and in using the term "Headship" for the former, reserving "Leadership" for the latter only. While many characteristics differentiate leadership and headship, basically the two differ with respect to the source of the authority. In Sherif's (1962) words, "the leadership status itself is within the group and not outside it". The leader's authority is spontaneously accorded him by his fellow group members, the followers. The authority of the head derives from some extra-group power that he has over members, who cannot meaningfully be called his followers.

Leaders may either be formal or informal. Formal ones are sometimes referred to as direct leaders while informal ones are indirect leaders (Collins and Guetzkow 1964). Whereas formal leaders are individuals who occupy leadership positions, informal leaders are individuals with ability to offer information, skills, or material resources which are valued by the group. They are neither officially elected nor appointed to any leadership positions.

Group approach to leadership notes that leadership could be

regarded as a disembodied process which could be shared by some or all members of the group. Whoever happens to be providing a needed or effective function at a given time is the leader at that moment. An appointed leader is only necessary as a safety net if the group failed to direct itself. In this approach the distinction between a leader and a follower is blurred in every possible way. But this sort of thing emerges in a *laissez faire* or free-reign context. The people motivate themselves based on their needs, wants and desires. They have a goal and develop their own ingenuity to achieve it and the emergent process of leadership amounts to little more than passive acceptance of status.

#### 2.2.4 Emergent leadership

Among the earliest literature on leadership was the concern with seeking to account for the emergence of leadership either by examining the qualities of the leaders or the elements of the situation (Stogdill 1974: 5). The early sociological theorists tended to explain leadership in terms of either the person or the environment. Recent scholarship views leadership as an aspect of role differentiation and performance or an outgrowth of social interaction processes. Obviously, there is a variety of approaches used in identifying leaders in specific groups at given times, thus representing different emphases. The sociometric method has also demonstrated that interpersonal designation of leaders varies in any group from time to time as goals, tasks, and internal structures change. Hollander (1961)

points out that social interaction leads to an implicit interpersonal assessment which the perceiver reaches by comparing task related elements and behaviour with some social standard.

The current study seeks to identify those individuals who exercise influence over others in a shared direction with a view to establishing the source of their power to influence others. In this respect, situation is an important variable and its elements are:-

- i The structure of interpersonal relations within a group;
- ii The characteristics of the group as group, and taken as a unit;
- iii The characteristics of the larger culture in which the group exists and from which the group members have been drawn,
- iv The physical conditions within which the group finds itself constrained to act; and
- v The perceptual representation, within the group, and among its members of these elements and the attitudes and values engendered by them.

The foregoing is liable to modification through changes in interpersonal relations: the entrance of new members and departures of others and changes in physical conditions. These factors, in turn, alter action possibilities and, consequently, the perceived probabilities of goal attainment or assessment of costs. According to Stogdill (1948) and Gibb (1954) a person does not become a leader solely by virtue of any particular pattern of

personality traits. Rather, he/ she does that by possession of any attribute that by virtue of its relevance to the situation and its situationally determined evaluation by other group members establishes a relation of leading- following.

Groups tend to have two primary needs, for achievement of 'goals' or 'valued' states and for maintenance of the group. So it is to be expected that two primary categories of acts of leading exist and that, in turn, two primary models of leading appear. Bales (1953) found empirical evidence that in small goal-oriented discussion groups there were both "instrumental" and "socio-emotional" leaders. The provision of leadership in a group is thus a complex but limited act of the more general process of role differentiation by which a group develops 'specialists' in the performance of recurring functions.

There is a limitation to the knowledge of the process by which roles are differentiated and status of persons established. Gibb (1949) observed that in newly formed groups some degree of leadership emerged within the first few minutes of interaction. The enigma of this phenomenon has yet to be elucidated. While it can be confidently asserted (Collins and Guetzkow 1964) that "the greater the personal attraction of other group members to a single individual, the greater the power of that individual", there remains little understanding of the sources and nature of differential personal attraction.

Stogdill (1974) observes that several theorists have viewed

leadership not as a cause or control but as an effect of group action. Anderson (1940) considers that "a true leader in the psychological sense is one who can make the most of individual differences, who can bring out the most out of the differences in the group and therefore reveal to the group a sounder base for defining common purposes".

The foregoing view was important in calling attention to the fact that leadership grows out of the interaction process itself. It can be observed that it truly exists only when acknowledged and conferred by other members of the group. This view suggests that the foregoing qualification amounts to passive acceptance of status. In reality, an individual usually has leadership conferred upon him or her because he or she exhibits behaviours that arouse expectation in group members that he or she more than any other member would serve them more usefully as leader.

For Gordon (1955), leadership can be conceptualized as an interaction between a person and his or her group members. Each participant in this interaction may be said to play a role and in some way these roles must be differentiated from each other. The basis of this differentiation seems a matter of influence. Sherif and Sherif (1956) suggest that leadership is a role within the scheme of relations and is defined by reciprocal expectations between the leader and other members. The leadership role is defined, as are other roles, by stabilized expectations (norms)

which in most matters and situations of consequence to the group, are more exacting and require greater obligations and responsibility than those for other positions.

Newcomb et al. (1965) observed that members of a group make different contributions to goal achievement. In so far as any member's contributions are particularly indispensable they may be regarded as leader like; and in so far as any member is recognized by others as a dependable source of such contributions, he or she is leader-like. To be so recognized is equivalent to having a role relationship to other members.

The principal insistence of interaction theories is that the major variables in terms of which leadership might be understood are:-

- i The leader's personality;
- ii The needs attitudes and problems of followers;
- iii The group itself in terms of both interpersonal structure and syntality; and
- ii The situation in terms of both the physical circumstances and the group task.

Further, it is understood that the investigator needs to deal with the perception of each of these variables by the leader and by the members of the group to which he or she belongs. The interactional approach has opened the way to understanding the relation between personality and leadership (Gibb 1968). In its context there is room for a thorough exploration of the extent to

which attributes of the leader are related to the process of leadership. Probably the earliest explanation of leadership phenomena was given in terms of personal qualities. Although partially modifiable and learnable, they characterized the individual and established his or her dominance of and influence in any situation (Sills 1968: 97). Beginning from the 1950s many studies have provided evidence that personality factors contribute to the emergence and maintenance of leadership status. This has been especially true of those studies in which the situation variance has not been relatively great.

Implicit in the recognition that leadership is situation contingent, is the understanding that leader behaviour varies with such group factors as organisation structure and pattern of communication. The most prominent determinant of variation in these structural respects may be that of the duration within which the group has been in existence.

In the early stages of group development, persons emerge as organizational leaders by virtue of their control over problem related resources. They may also emerge as positively cathected leaders by virtue of both their command of resources and the readiness members show to relate themselves emotionally to others on the basis of first impressions (Gibb 1954). As interaction persists structure is stabilized for a variety of reasons. With time, the early congruence of the cognitive relation to the person controlling resources and the positive cathexis of that

same person is reduced. When stability of structure is then formalized so that offices are held for a stated time without reference to contemporary contributory strength in problem solving, leadership becomes less functional and the office holder is supported by structure rigidity. His leadership may now be said to have become "headship". Subsequently, the dynamics of the group almost certainly become complicated by the emergence of new leaders, thrown up by the complex of forces which now include the behaviour of the formal office holders. Other studies indicate that the member who participates most actively in group activities is most likely to emerge as a leader (Stogdill 1974).

At this point we agree with Tannenbaum et al. (1961), that the concept of leadership should be understood as encompassing a wide range of activities. In this study we focus on leadership as it applies to the relatively diffuse process of influence in establishing norms of activity, style and opinion. We consider that such influence has the ability to distinguish a person from others in terms of status visibility and in any of a number of characteristic traits such as decisiveness, courage, integrity, and intelligence, even where power relations do not apply.

In the same vein, we also consider the issue of opinion leaders. This forms one of the implicit aspects of this study. Opinion leaders play a major role in defining important issues and in influencing other individuals' opinion regarding them. But opinion leaders are not confined only to prominent figures in public life. There are persons in every group to whom others look

for guidance on certain subjects. Thus, one person may be thought of by those in his or her own social group as especially qualified in the realm of local politics, another as a reliable guide in cultural affairs and a third as an expert in religious issues. These local opinion leaders are relatively unknown outside their own circle of friends and acquaintances, but their cumulative influence in the formation of public opinion is substantial. We have to note, however, that such flexibility in deciding indicators to leadership may blur the dividing line between leaders and others if taken rather casually. The point to emphasise is that a variety of factors contribute to the emergence of leadership. The extent to which one factor is dominant over the others may vary with the perceived demands of the situation.

### **2.3 Theoretical Orientation**

We have used the choice constraint model to explain the dynamics of network ties and the theory of general interaction for leadership structure.

#### **2.3.1 Choice Constraint Model**

The choice constraint model, developed by Fischer et al. (1977), explains the process of developing or maintaining networks. It maintains that one chooses one's social relations and network members on the basis of certain limited alternatives and resources. Individual choices vary with their preference as well as their options. It is a person's views, opportunities and

constraints rather than simply geographic mobility or population density that decides with whom he or she will relate. Social networks are perceived to be a product of individual choice in selection rather than an "a priori" structure or simple mechanistic cause-effect relations for guiding the choice of friends. This choice constraint approach emphasizes that networks are formed on the basis of rewards, costs and social context. All these factors change continuously based on such considerations as life cycles, death, mobility, economic changes and interpersonal events. Relationships are maintained as long as the costs do not go too far and exceed the rewards. If the costs of maintaining one's networks and one's friendship increase or decline, the bonds or links are likely to weaken. For example, when one of the parties involved moves to another place, or loses interest in a mutual hobby or sport, they will see each other less often. Individuals, therefore, develop new linkages with new friends and networks based on shifts and rewards and costs, always seeking to maximize rewards and minimize costs.

### 2.3.2 General Interaction Theory

The important aspects of the general interaction theory (Gibb 1968) have been stated as follows: First, groups are mechanisms for achieving individual satisfaction and, conversely, persons interact with each other for the achievement of group satisfactions. Second, role differentiation, which includes leadership, is part and parcel of a group's locomotion towards its goals and, thus, the satisfaction of the needs of the

individual members. Third, leadership is a concept applied to the interaction of two or more persons when the evaluation of one or some of the participants to the interaction is such that he, she or they come to control or direct the actions of the others in the pursuit of common or compatible ends. Any group is a system of interactions. Within this system a structure emerges as a result of the development of relatively stable sets of expectations for the behaviour of each member. These expectations are an expression of the member's interaction with all other members. Thus, the particular role an individual member achieves within the group is determined both by the functional or role needs of the group in a situation and by the members' particular attributes of personality, ability, and skill, which differentiate him or her perceptually from others in the group. Leadership is basically a function of personality and social system in dynamic interaction. Fourth, the evaluation of one subject to interaction by another is itself an integration of perceptual and emotional relationships; it is a product of perception of instrumentality in need satisfaction and of emotional attachment. This form of conceptualization leads to a recognition of a complex of emotional relationships which, in turn, define a variety of leadership relations. Among these may be identified:-

- i Patriarchal leadership, in which the person upon whom the members perceive themselves to be dependent is both loved and feared;
- ii Tyrannical leadership, where the emotional relationship is

dominated by fear; and

iii "Ideal" or charismatic leadership, in which the interpersonal relationship is characterised by leader affection.

In so far as attention is given only to the momentary capacity of a group to mobilize its resources for a particular task, the emotional quality of the relations to a leader may be irrelevant. It is a part of the general interaction theory that even if consideration is given only to those groups in which the sources of all influence and control are within the group (i.e., if headship situations are ignored), the concept of leadership still embraces a wide variety of interactive relationships, all of which must be expected to have different effects in terms of group behaviour.

#### 2.4 Hypotheses

1. Kinship ideology is not an important factor in shaping the current interaction among the community members of Central Division in Laikipia District.

2. Old and new migrants in the Central Division of Laikipia District maintain strong ties with kin people in their respective previous settlements.

3. In the Central Division of Laikipia district, individual decisions and choices of the immigrants determine persons with whom to interact.

4. In the rural communities of Laikipia district it is

likely that informal leadership is an outgrowth of voluntary self-help activity.

## 2.5 Operational Definitions

### 2.5.1 Independent variables:

#### i. Kinship ideology; Indicators include:-

- (a) Visits to area of roots;
- (b) Social relationships or ties;
- (c) Land holding and use of unoccupied plots;
- (d) Household structure;
- (e) Residence pattern.

#### ii. Old and new migrant settlers.

- (a) origin;
- (b) Year of settlement;
- (c) Degree of settlement.

#### iii Individual choice.

- (a) Specification of friend/contact;
- (b) Explanation/reason
- (c) Location.

#### iv. Communal self-help activity

- (a) Nature of activity;
- (b) Purpose;
- (c) origin of idea;
- (d) Participation;
- (e) Consensus.

### 2.5.2 Dependent variables

#### i. Current interaction

- (a) Friendship considerations;
- (b) Mutual assistances;
- (c) Knowledge on community affairs;
- (d) Social security;
- (e) Leadership.

#### ii. Strong ties with kinfolks

- (a) Frequency of visits to kin;
- (b) Mutual aid.

#### iii. Subjects of interaction

- (a) Individual specifications;
- (b) Frequency of contact;
- (c) Content;

#### iv. Informal leadership

- (a) Influence;
- (b) Source of influence;
- (c) Activity;
- (d) Familiarity.

## 2.6 Summary

We have, basically, discussed two issues, namely, social networks and leadership. Both have roles they play in community building. Our approach therefore is to survey and understand the community from the two standpoints.

From the two subjects we derived the two theoretical models which we adopted to inform our study. It would have been quite



## CHAPTER THREE

### SITE DESCRIPTION AND METHODOLOGY

#### 3.0 Introduction

This chapter starts with a general description of the site of this study which is the Central division of Laikipia district. Important information about the district is briefly described especially with regard to the fact that at least 80 % of the district is ASAL. The majority of the population, who are small scale farmers, have migrated into the district from other parts of the country due to the availability of land for settlement.

The methodology presented in the chapter was developed to study how household members in Central division of the district went about establishing networks of interaction. It was also designed to determine the role of kinship affiliation and other interaction variables in this process. Basically, the survey sought to elucidate some effects of physical mobility on the household's external relationships. For instance, Young and Willmott (1957) and Mogey (1956), in their respective studies of physical mobility in London, indicated that contact with kin and friends in the old areas is gradually reduced. In their place new relationships are established.

### 3.1 Area of Study

#### 3.1.1 Position

Laikipia district is in the Rift Valley Province. It comprises an area of about 10,000 km.sq. lying north-west of Mt. Kenya, between 1600 - 2200m above sea level. It is bordered by Samburu district to the North, Isiolo district to the East, Meru district to the South-East, Nyeri to the South, Nyandarua to the South-West and Nakuru and Baringo districts to the West. The district headquarters is at Nanyuki.

There are now five administrative divisions in the district, namely, Central, Mukogodo, Ng'arua, Rumuruti and the latest creation Lamuria. The Central division, which is our main focus, is situated in the south of Laikipia district on the lower slopes of Mt. Kenya in the south-east and of the Nyandarua mountains in the south-west and covers an area of about 3285 km.sq. on both sides of the equator. A part of the recently created Lamuria division is also included in this particular consideration since the change occurred as the study progressed.

#### 3.1.2 Climate

The area lies on the equator, but due to its leeward position in regard to Mt. Kenya, it is comparatively dry. Rainfall is between 500 - 1000mm. per year and shows great variability. As with the larger part of the entire district the ecology of the area with respect to crop production is determined, on the one hand, by its leeward position behind Mt. Kenya in regard to the moisture carrying eastern winds and, on the other hand, by its altitude which reduces the average temperatures to about 15°C. This situation causes the unreliable

short rainy season and also the reduced temperatures, which together determine and constrain the production potential.

### 3.1.3 Population

A total of 218,957 people live here according to the 1989 Kenya population census (Republic of Kenya 1989 vol 1). The Central division has absorbed a large share of migrants from outside the district. Total population in Central Division is currently 78,192, with 41,617 males and 36,575 females. The division, which spans 3,471 sq. km. , has a population density of 23 per sq. km. with a total of 18,836 households. The area includes Nanyuki town as the District headquarters with the administration and central services. But this recent settlement is taking place in a very scattered way as the farms are sold one by one on different conditions. The provision of goods as well as private and public services of these newcomers can be organized either by mutual help among neighbours or by newly built centres with shops and workshops run by local farmers or by businessmen from outside.

### 3.1.4 Resources

In pre-colonial times, the region formed part of the grazing lands of the Maasai. Under the colonial administration, they were forced to leave the area, which was then added to the White Highlands for European settlement. Since Kenya's independence in 1963, the area was opened for settlement by Kenyans. Africans, mainly originating from densely populated Gikuyuland southwest of Mt. Kenya, started to migrate into the district. They either live in towns and rural market places, or are settling down in rural areas as small scale farmers.

Small scale farming is, thus, a new way of farming in Laikipia. This kind of farming, however, encounters a series of problems, the most serious being scant and unreliable rainfall. The development of Central division is not based on an existing and stable socio-economic structure, nor is it determined by a people who have the experience and skills of managing a semi arid environment. And the development process consists, in the main, of building new structures (Flury 1986). This process continues in a very chaotic and uncontrolled way as the subdividing of the former European farms continues.

### 3.1.5 The Farms

The two farms selected for study are settled by small scale farming households.

#### Mukima Farm

This farm is an old settlement in Central division where most households moved in before 1978, although it is still sparsely settled with a low degree of settlement of 36%. The area is away from the main roads and central places, e.g., markets and administrative centres and is, therefore, isolated. The soils are drier and the place experiences acute water shortages which have forced some families to abandon their homes. Some of the oldest households were those of tenant labourers who had lived and worked on the farm during the colonial period. The owner sold the entire farm to a land buying group in the early 1970s which subdivided it to its shareholders. The squatters were, however, given priority in that exercise.

Noteworthy is the fact that many people at this farm were

living a very marginalised life because of the peripherality of the area as well as its poor environmental conditions. Consequently, the farmers interviewed were quick to open up their feelings to us and shared a great deal of information, especially, that which focused on the kind of problems they were experiencing. There was enthusiasm due to the fact that they could talk about their plight to some outsider and, perhaps, with a hope that they would elicit assistance.

### Weruini Farm

This farm is a recently settled one, most households went there in 1984, but is more densely settled with a 50% degree of settlement. The farm had no tenant labourers. Most households comprise younger couples compared to the situation in Mukima farm. Almost all of the settlers originated from Nyeri district where they were experiencing land pressure. Although farmers here frequently experience attacks from wildlife, settlement is actively in process. The local ecological conditions are not as harsh as those of Mukima farm. Social services are fairly adequate, with markets, shops and health facilities evenly distributed. Weruini farm was incorporated into a new division, Lamuria, in the course of our study.

### 3.2 Sampling

The universe of this study was composed of all household in the whole of Mukima farm and Weruini farm of Central and the later Lamuria divisions, respectively, who numbered a total of 367. Our unit of analysis was the household head or his/her representative. These samples were selected through a non-probability method and were drawn from a sampling frame which was

available at the Laikipia Research Programme, following an overview survey which they had conducted to prepare an inventory of all households in the farms only two months prior to our survey. In precise terms, the social organisation of our focus consisted of the communities on the two farms. The nodes - that is, the sets of persons on which the network was defined - and their length of settlement constituted the units of analysis.

A two-stage sampling procedure had therefore to be followed to select, first two clusters of population (hereby represented as farms or settlement areas). From each of these clusters (Mukima farm and Weruini farm) a stratified random sample was conducted to select the actual units of study.

We began our sample selection with an inventory of plots for the two farms. Each plot had a plot number and had names of respective household heads. From this list of names we made another list of all plots that were settled. The latter were then rank-ordered for each farm in terms of age of settlement, beginning with the oldest settled plots at the top of the lists down to the latest settled plots at the base. In this manner, though the plots were systematically arranged on the list in terms of years of settlement, they were completely jumbled in terms of actual location on the ground. Thus, they were well spread out through the farms' layout to assure an unbiased sample in terms of differential physical and environmental attributes.

Finally, the median of the years of settlement was calculated and 21 plots selected above and below the median from the lists for each of the two farms. Subsequently, we had 42 plots for each farm and a total of 84 plots from which to draw

our informants. In this manner , we interviewed 54 male household heads and 30 female household heads.

A sample of 84 informants was deemed adequate considering that the variables that were being studied were considered to vary inconsiderably among the members of the universe. Further the stratification procedure aimed at including households which had moved here right from the inception of the farms to the present to enable an analysis based on time length of individual informant's stay in the settlements. This duration, it was assumed, would be central in the process of establishing ties among informants. Therefore, we hoped that even if the observations were few, they provided adequate criteria and basis for comparisons and we were bound to obtain relatively satisfactory results. In any case, the fewer the cases, the easier it was to clearly demonstrate changes and variations in the network character of the informants. This survey also had its own limitations which had a direct implication on the sample size. A very large sample would have been impracticable.

### 3.2.1 The form of relations

A network exists in the recognition by people of sets of obligation and rights in respect of certain other identified people. At times these recognized relationships may be utilized for a specific purpose to achieve some object, to acquire or pass on some information to influence some other person in a desired direction.

We focused, therefore, on the relational form and content of the networks, that is, properties of the ties between pairs of actors that exist independently of specific content and the

substantive type of relation represented in the connections, respectively, for example, helping or advice. Of the relational content that we observed, instrumental relations, where people got into contact with one another in an effort to secure services; sentimental relations where individuals expressed their feelings of deference or admiration towards others; and kinship relations where individuals indicated what kind of kinship ties they frequently activated even in the face of geographical dispersal, had relevant bearing to our study's hypotheses on leadership, friendship and kinship, respectively.

Different types of relations identify different networks even when imposed on the identical set of elements (persons, events or objects). We are interested in identifying how sets of actors are linked together, and then estimate the implication of this aggregate structure to interaction in that context, on the basis of this configuration of present and apparent absent ties among the actors in the social system. This is because an important explicit premise in network approach is that the structure of relations among actors and the location of individual actors in the network have important behavioural, perceptual and attitudinal consequences, both for the individual units and for the system as a whole.

### 3.2.2 The level of analysis

After selecting the sampling units and the relational properties the level of analysis was the complete network, since our purpose was to evaluate network in the communities on the two farms. In this task we used the complete information about the patterning of ties among all actors to ascertain the existence of

some meaningful patterns of relations within the community and to describe the nature of such relations.

We started with well formed hypotheses, and hoped that one could consequently generalize from the findings of our sample to the general population. The research households were studied as examples of typical households, but obtained as a representative sample.

While our informants tended to remain the household heads or their representatives, other factors were allowed to remain varied because we were then able to regard some effects of different socioeconomic circumstances and environments on the interpersonal relationships. From respective informants we obtained a picture of their household's network ties relating to specific nodes, but for practical purposes the informants provided the data as individuals, not as representatives of the entire household.

In summary the network analysis is used to answer the following two questions: One, how is the pattern of ties affecting the interactions ramifying in such small scale rural community? Two, how are new links involving substitute rights and obligations in the new locations developed in the absence of a unified kinship context?.

Based on the foregoing considerations, we had designed a survey procedure that would in about 40 minutes identify and elicit descriptions of informants' associates who, by implication, would suggest or determine the informants' social networks.

We arranged two *barazas* where we respectively informed the people of each farm about the essence of the study, with an especial effect for Mukima farm. Preceding each interview also we gave a letter of introduction to the informant and explained in vivid terms the purpose of the study. Afterwards, we allowed the informant to ask for any clarifications there could be and it was only when we were satisfied that the informant was ready that we commenced the interview. All the questionnaires were administered jointly by the researcher and the interpreter. Earlier on, the questionnaire had been pretested at a nearby settlement area and appropriately amended before being used in the final survey.

### 3.3 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

We needed information about individual settlers of the general population on the two farms and thus a survey was conducted. The survey permitted the supplementation of the qualitative in-depth research with data on more varied and representative phenomena. This allowed us to compare the varied environmental experiences, social relations and feelings of well being of informants in the two farms that subsequently provided the basis of our research conclusions.

#### 3.3.1 Questionnaire

In the tradition of many previous social network surveys that utilised questionnaires in data collection (summarised by Bott 1972), we developed for our study a questionnaire of structured questions for eliciting information which was of interest to our inquiry.

This formed the main method of data collection and

consisted of a section that examined the actual networks of all informants, both socially and spatially. We examined proxies of community activities, e.g., voluntary associations, as well as possible linkages between participation in community activities, such as self help work, and the potential leadership role. The questions elicited information that enabled us to compare between individual informants and also abstracting some of it in explaining some of the general statements we made about the population.

Where closed ended questions were used, the choices were made to suit the requirements of our research. Most free-answer questions were designed for coding. Generally, we elicited multiple answers in the same question which produced problems of quantification, though what we considered important was whether the answers were qualitatively relevant to issues being probed. Many of our informants had experience with questionnaires in studies which had earlier been conducted in the district. We did not experience any difficulties in dealing with individuals in this general group. All the questionnaires were administered jointly by the researcher and the interpreter. Earlier, the questionnaire had been pretested at a nearby settlement area and appropriately amended before being used in the final survey.

### 3.3.2 Observation

In our study, the unit of analysis was basically the individual, i.e., the household head or his/her representative where he or she was not available. We had not arranged observation as a basic tool for gathering our data. As it turned out, however, much of our interpretations of schedule response

were greatly assisted by observation. In the course of the interviews, we observed events, some of which had immense relevance to our network hypotheses. We recorded this in a field note book which we later, sometimes, abstracted and incorporated into our data for analysis. In fact, our analysis has greatly made use of data and impressions gained from observation. These observational data enhanced our ability to interpret much of the information we had obtained in the schedule with accuracy and reliability. We have illustrated our analysis of various points with relevant facts noted down following our observation. Generally, our observations were conducted simultaneously during interviews or when on informal visits, e.g., dinner invitations, church services and when helping in the farms.

### 3.3.3 Family trees

The reconstruction of family trees was aimed at placing in appropriate perspective all the informants selected for our sample in respect to the rest of their family members and within the community members of their neighbourhood. We sought to establish information about the informants' relatives, and where they resided, and the distance of their relationship as manifested by regularity of visits they paid to each other and for what purpose. The procedure for their use involved transferring the trees of all sample households from the overview survey sheets mentioned earlier, to our questionnaire schedule so that when we talked to the informant we could verify the tree structure as well as note any other details relevant to our survey. Earlier, we had worked out a notational system which was capable of recording various kinds of social relations among the Agikuyu, for example, spouse's father, spouse's mother, and so

on. We were, therefore, in a position to record around the tree elementary data about the informant's kin contacts, such as their sex, relation and location of residence for each of the member on the tree.

#### 3.3.4 Case studies

We conducted case studies of 12 specific informants who belonged to our initial sample to gain further insights into the nature of interactions that residents forged in their new surroundings. We used unique experiences elicited spontaneously in our questionnaire from these informants to probe on how ties of interactions had been facilitated. One lady, for example, lost her right arm in the Mukima farm, while another lost her husband barely three months after settling. A young informant lost both his parents tragically. Such peculiar cases exposed the links that were used to mobilise support and special help.

Having made enquiries about community goals, we also set about tracing how such particular goals were determined and achieved. The concept of self-help, for instance, founded on indigenous social institutions of the Agikuyu, embodied ideas of mutual assistance and community self reliance. It was applied in day to day life in such ways as collective neighbourhood house building, bush clearing and furrow digging. Mbithi (1971) shows that among the Agikuyu of Nyeri, the basic social units involved in this form of social exchange were female groups differentiated in terms of functions by age and by kinship and mixed kin groups such as clans, neighbourhood or village groups. Mbithi and Rasmussen (1977) further observed that the essence of collective effort and community self reliance is hinged on very specific

participation values.

Of significance is the participation of individuals in self-help guided by the principle of the collective good rather than individual gain. This is evidenced by the fact that participation is organised in such a way that the self image of each individual is reinforced and enhanced. Under these circumstances the effort deployed becomes psychologically more meaningful to the individual, he or she becomes identified with the community which enhances his or her commitment to it. When one makes such a contribution one gains a sense of belonging, worthiness and being needed in one's community.

The general procedure we adopted was to trace the nature of the various social contacts that were activated following particular incidents in the experiences of the informants as well as the identification of some important community goals. The emphasis lay on the network which was induced and then existed situationally. This resembled the links such as in the action sets as discussed by Boissevain (1974), which are mobilised to cope with a particular crisis or task. The description of such network was obtained from the informant through detailed interview about the particular incident. The action sets that were depicted often created further field for our examination of the specific types of relations linking defined sets of persons which led us to uncover the most superficial of social structures in this largely immigrant communities. This was made possible through identifying significant positions within given network relations that linked the people.

### 3.3.5 Interviews

Both structured and unstructured interviews were part of our techniques of data collection. These were best suited to measure the information of interest about the people being interviewed. We recorded the responses in our field notebook on the spot and subsequently coded them and later abstracted what we felt relevant for use in our analysis.

It was necessary to draw from a wide variety of experiences by informants if we were to arrive at a reliable assessment of community interaction and interviews were best suited for eliciting relevant data. We were particularly interested in obtaining the assessment of community characteristics from the informant's own estimate of them. This exercise would provide or establish an aggregate of sentiments and a field for analysing the common features of, for instance, a leader.

## 3.4 DATA PROCESSING

The period after data collection was spent on various tasks for preparing the data for analysis.

### 3.4.1 Legend

A legend to all the responses as given by the informants was prepared. This involved going through our questionnaire sheets and extracting all the responses we obtained for each question including the pre-coded questions. Then we listed them in a separate sheet. We skipped noting down a response only if it had been given by an informant, and already listed in the same words earlier.

### 3.4.2 Pile sorting

After preparing the legend each entry was written down neatly on loose catalogue cards and kept separate according to the question item (variable) for which it was given. For each of these response categories, the cards were matched according to the similarity of essence, or the common underlying meaning or content of each response, grouping them into batches and assigning each batch an identity - a word or expression describing the content of all the responses in the batch. These were arranged into as mutually exclusive categories as possible, consequently coming to 14 to 16 categories for some variables.

### 3.4.3 Coding

Having separated all responses from informants into mutually exclusive categories, we assigned each category a digit, which then became the code for the category of response, without, however, assigning any value to these codes. We had code ranges from 1 to 16. Names of towns and locations were similarly categorised by use of some scheme and coded. Informants' names were replaced by individual plot numbers, with their sex and positions in the households given in codes. But the names of members of the informants' network and the years of acquaintance to such members were retained as given by the informants. This made it easier now to enter the data into the data sheets.

### 3.4.4 Data sheets

Data sheets were designed such that each variable (in precise terms, unit of analysis) was included and had a space besides it, where we noted in the informants' relevant response or response codes. A single data sheet thereby contained all the

information obtained from a single informant. The procedure for recording the data involved looking at each questionnaire separately and, for each response written, identifying which code it had been sorted amongst, and writing down this code in the appropriate entry on the data sheets. All the uncoded data were entered as given by the informant, but our coded categories also included the no response and not applicable options. As such we prepared and entered data into 84 data sheets, representing 84 informants against 54 distinct units of analysis.

### 3.5 DATA ANALYSIS

Analysis of data consisted of both quantitative and qualitative techniques.

#### 3.5.1 Quantitative Analysis

##### 3.5.1.1 Frequency distributions

Our data were fed into a computer using the Lotus 123 programme and we were able to calculate the frequency distributions as our initial step in our quantitative analysis.

Having dealt mostly with nominal variables in our study, we found that it was through frequency distributions that we could establish the number of times each case or response appeared. This facilitated our quantitative and also qualitative descriptions of the patterns that were observable in our data.

##### 3.5.1.2 Proportions

The use of proportions was initially not intended in our analysis. Some obtrusive factors, however, operated in the course of time. There was a disproportionate enlargement of the number

of new households in the Weruini farm sample which had originally been intended to be 21. It was, therefore, difficult to compare the data in terms of old/new informants because of their different sizes. We had 11 old and 31 new households. So expressing the data in terms of proportions enabled us to make a direct comparison.

### 3.5.1.3 Percentages

Percentages were used in order to standardise for size, by calculating the numbers of individuals or cases that would be in a given category if the total number of cases were 100. Thus, percentages were used for comparing between variables and informants. For example, we calculated percentages to compare the number of households that maintained kinship ties locally and externally, and for old households as against new households. The percentages were thus calculated on the basis of the frequency distributions, but for most of the frequencies, the number of cases were sometimes very small to warrant the use of percentages in actual comparisons.

### 3.6.2 Qualitative Analysis

Our study depended largely on the qualitative interpretation of the data. This involved testing our own ideas against our observations. Our observations also included looking for patterns in the information we had obtained from the informants. We also abstracted information both from our interviews and observations for testing our hypotheses.

In order to illustrate our explanations explicitly, and also to provide plausible explanations, we presented

intermittently some selected anecdotes and comments from informants. In this manner, we found differences in the way informants reflected on interactional dynamics, the way informants in the age cohorts dealt with needs for personal support, and the way the perception of leadership was shaped in the various contexts.

The situational approach in our data analysis examined specific events and incidences, setting out to show how these would help interpret the level of integration in the new communities. The field work upon which such analysis was based was of course much deeper and more extensive than mere recounting of events. It involved the knowledge of ecological and institutional background of the participants. The systemization of the categories of information to be recorded helped also to improve the quality of such analyses which was made on the basis of observations.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### SOCIAL NETWORK TIES AND COMMUNITY BUILDING

#### 4.0 Introduction

In this chapter we examine a broad spectrum of social interaction indices, with particular emphasis on friendship, and try to reach a picture of their possible consequence to the structure of the community in the settlements.

We also focus on kinship ties with a view to assessing whether they may play any decisive role in the emerging community structure. Therefore, we make a detailed analysis of social networks in order to obtain their intensities and locations of anchorage, with a view to deriving a concise picture of the social relations of people in the settlements of the Central division, Laikipia district, keep.

#### 4.1 Kinship and interpersonal interaction

We identified some sectors (see below) of the general social and economic processes typical of the every day lives of the rural populations concerned. We asked informants to freely list all the people with whom they interacted and identify out of these those they often met and were their

relatives. By in-depth and systematic questioning we were able to establish individuals that the informants were closely related to, for example, those they invite to parties, obtain monetary assistance from in times of need and cooperate with in joint farm chores. We also solicited information regarding those individuals that informants sought advice from when they had to make important decisions and those that provide assistance other than monetary in times of need.

On the basis of the foregoing, an account of the daily interaction between informants and their partners were constructed. That construction formed general interpersonal interaction profiles. Upon those profiles we based our qualitative views on the patterns of relations, i e., whether based on kinship or not and, if not, what these other criteria were or are.

Parties in the context of our study population involved small time affairs mainly in the form of tea get-togethers to celebrate or mark such things as child birth, birthday and wedding anniversaries, or acquisition of some valued property. Some of our informants who had hosted such parties recounted profiles of guests they invited.

At the Weruini farm, profiles of such guests indicated that 23% were kin to their respective hosts while 77% were non-kin. The same data indicated that out of nine informants who invited kins, six had all the guests being kins, while the other three had both kin and non-kin for the parties. The remaining 26 informants had all guests at their parties

being non-kin.

It is also worth noting that of all the 17 kin that were guests at the parties, only four were from Central Province, three were from other towns outside Laikipia and Central Province, four were resident in the same settlement as the informants, one was from a nearby settlement and five others were from other areas within Laikipia.

At the Mukima farm, guest profiles indicated that 48% were kin to their hosts while 52% were non-kin. Four of our informants had hosted no parties since settling. Eight of the hosts invited entirely kinspeople and all came from Central Province. The remaining 42 informants invited all non-kin guests. These were known to their hosts in the settlement through involvement in mutual assistance especially based on proximity of their respective households. Of the 39 guests who were hosted by their kin, only four resided in the same settlement as the latter.

Patterns of interaction on monetary assistance likewise showed more contacts between non-kins than kin. At the Weruini farm, for instance, of the 34 members contacted for financial assistance, 18% were kin to those seeking assistance from them and all lived away from the informants' settlement while 82% contacts were of non-kin and resided in the same settlement with informants. Half the informants involved in these transactions further indicated that their contacts in this network were determined by the spirit of mutual assistance on the basis of proximity in the neighbourhood. In fact, only four of the informants were

known to their contacts from the pre-settlement period.

At the Mukima farm, profiles of contacts on monetary assistance indicated that from the 39 contacts in this network 46% were kin to those seeking assistance and 54% were non-kin. It was indicated further that most of these contacts were established in the settlement on the basis of mutual assistance although five informants had pre-settlement acquaintance. Among the 18 kin members in this network of contacts, only three were residing at Mukima farm while the remainder resided in various places of Central Province.

Patterns of interaction on farm or household chores again portrayed more contacts with non-kin network members than kin. At Weruini farm of the 25 contacts who helped with work at some informants' households, only one was kin to his host and only four of these contacts knew each other before settling there. The rest of the acquaintances occurred through contacts made during mutual assistances on the basis of proximity. At Mukima farm 33 contacts had helped at some informants' household farms of which eight were kin and 25 were non-kin. Although five such contacts were known to one another in the pre-settlement period most of the informants in this chore helping network established acquaintance through ties of origin and neighbourhood proximity.

As far as advice giving network was concerned, at Weruini farm only 39% were kin to their respective advice giving contacts. It was apparent that all the individuals contacted resided outside the settlement; however, only six

knew one another prior to settling there. Sixty- one percent of the individuals were not kin to those they gave advice, and all of them lived at Weruini farm and various explanations were given for these particular acquaintances. Contact patterns at Mukima farm from 37 informants interviewed indicated that 35% of these contacts were kin to one another while 64% were non-kin to those they advised. Most of those in the latter case met in the settlement while eight of them lived outside the settlement, and only five knew one another prior to their coming to the settlement.

Finally, as regards significant help other than monetary, at Weruini farm out of the 19 individuals contacted by specific informants, 26% were kin to the latter and all lived outside the farm; the remaining 74% were non-kin. The 26% in the former group were known to our informants prior to settlement but various explanations were given by the informants on their acquaintance to the other 74% in this same settlement. At Mukima farm out of the 24 individuals contacted, 46% were kin, and five of these resided outside Mukima farm. The other 54% were non-kin. Most of the members who forged acquaintances in this network were either met and known to the respective informants in the same settlement on the basis of proximity and mutual assistance or they came from the same places of origin.

Frequencies computed on the selected interpersonal interaction indices in terms of no contacts, contacts with kin and contacts with non-kin further provided a vivid picture to our qualitative observations. They show that we have only 18% interaction cases involving kinship ties of

all informants compared to 43%, and 40% for non-kin and no interaction cases, respectively.

At Mukima farm, 20% of interpersonal interaction cases among the old immigrants involved contact with kin, with 40% non-kin contacts; another 40% maintained no contacts. Among the later immigrants 28% cases involved contact with kin, 40% with non-kin, and 32% maintained no contacts. It seems that the new immigrants are inclined to having more contacts with kin in their interpersonal interaction compared to old settlers.

In contrast, data for Weruini farm indicate that 12% of interpersonal interaction cases among the old immigrants involved contact with kin while 47% involved contact with non-kin and 41% maintained no contacts. Among the new immigrants, 9% of the cases are hinged on kin contacts, with 42% involving contact with non-kin and 49% maintained no contacts. Our observation then, is that it is the old immigrants who are more inclined to having contacts with kin than their new counterparts.

In order to establish further the criteria that were determining the patterns of relations we made an analysis of the data on dyadic ties (see hypothesis two). We observed that friendship constituted a dominant form of primary social relationship among the migrant farmers. A core element in that friendship network is the concept of reciprocity or mutual assistance. This appears to be the leading criterion, not only in determining friendship ties but also for sustaining them. It represents 24% in a list of

eight other criteria in which the second leading represents only 14%.

These foregoing findings generally conform to some assumptions we initially had. The basic point to note is that in both farms kinship ties are neither very intense nor important in determining interpersonal interactions on the ground. That is to say, they exist but are only limited to as low as 18%.

The observed pattern of kinship contacts among the old and new immigrants can also be differently but plausibly explained (hypothesis 3). Mukima farm is an old settlement area, where the majority of the farmers moved into the area in 1978, compared to Weruini farm where that process was at peak in 1985. But immigrants to Mukima farm exhibit slightly more intense attachment to their kinspeople outside the settlement than their counterparts at Weruini farm do. About 95% of the kin cited in this general network do not reside within Laikipia district. Above all, however, the level of the influence of kin ties in the interpersonal interactions in the division is as we predicted, fairly low. Patterns of interaction that ramify, instead hinge on non-kinship relations i.e., instrumental as well as sentimental relations.

We noted, on the other hand, that a substantial number of our informants (40 %) indicate that they have no one to contact on matters such as those posed in our questions. For most rural communities these type of matters cited above are, in fact, broad based. They usually call for kin or

neighbourly contacts and consultations, not necessarily as a way of obtaining material support but also as a means of venting psychological frustrations and anxiety. What emerges in our area of study can mean that our informants or indeed most of the residents live in relative social isolation devoid of essential social contacts.

On the basis of the foregoing views, our hypothesis that kinship ideology is not a significant factor in shaping the current interaction among the community members of Central Division is valid. For whether or not individuals sometimes contact kin, the kinship effect in the interpersonal interaction currently ramifying on the ground is relatively negligible. One informant's sentiments vividly portrays this:

In this new settlement the one who is near you is the one you invite, unlike in the area of origin where one could start with relatives such as brothers or half brothers. Here most of us have no such relatives around.

Another informant at Weruini farm expressed her sentiments almost in a similar manner when in response to our question she replied:

I invite my church colleagues. You have to understand that, in my experience, a friend is one who is near you. And it is in the church that one is near people and I have no reason to segregate against some of them when I have a party. So I invite all of them since they are all my friends.

Probably this issue is more of religious fraternity hidden in the notion of neighbourhood.

It is our observation that the kind of linkages with kin that we find in Central Division can be explained in

terms of extraneous factors for which we did not control. Kohler (1987) found that settlers' circumstances in Laikipia are difficult. The greatest problem is out of inadequate water supplies. Crop yields are low and, in the case of maize, failures are frequent. Cattle mortality (and rustling) are considerably high. In short, almost all households, especially on Mukima farm, encounter problems attributable to the marginality and peripherality of the environment (cf. Kohler 1987).

Consequent upon these realities a substantial proportion of the settlers live on the margin of subsistence. It is noteworthy, therefore, that some migrants periodically received money and foodstuffs from their kin living outside the district. Their livestock was often transferred to places outside the district and taken care of, on their behalf, whenever drought became too severe for it to survive in the settlement. Then there is the issue of proximity to Central Province where the majority of the farmers under study originated from and have relatives. Proximity per se is an important influence towards contact among kinspeople. In other words, distance from Laikipia district to towns such as Karatina, Nyeri, and Kiganjo, in Central Province, where some kins live, does not hinder mutual visits and claim for support from kinspeople. In addition, one has to examine matters such as the reasons for migrating, levels of economic well being, and conformity to normative demands, by individual families to account for the ties to kins.

Mbithi and Barnes (1975) point out that identity is

established through one's lineage, clan and ethnic group. If a person lives outside his or her place of ancestral origin, he or she returns there relatively frequently to maintain ties and to perform obligatory kinship functions. In fact, one can, therefore, argue that reduced or curtailed contact with kin and friends who live in the old area is an indication of the insignificance of the need to identify with one's lineage, clan and probably ethnic group members. This is the situation developing in the area of study. It is important to realise, however, that relations with kin even when reduced, still remain relatively more enduring. Interaction with and among distant kin becomes infrequent, but those with and among parents and siblings are maintained. Our suggestion is that patterns of contact observable in the area of study are uniquely influenced by factors such as geographical distance from places of origin, settlement density and resources, among other factors. In our interviews, for example, 15% of the informants said that almost every other settler around there had difficult circumstances similar to theirs. Some observed that households were far apart and each one of them minded their own welfare.

In short, we established that kin ties are an essential part of self identity and are rarely completely and permanently severed even under such circumstance as geographical separation.

#### 4.1.1 Social Interaction

Our interest in social interaction was to identify the

typical structures that affected interaction among the households studied. The prevailing neighbourhood encouraged the localization of networks. For instance, while in both areas of study there was no homogeneity in the population in terms of origin or kinship affiliation, there was a relative homogeneity in ethnicity and with regard to socioeconomic statuses, and aspirations which served to foster an amiable interaction network. In this study we also wanted to elucidate the effects of (i) patriarchal tendencies, (ii) occupation of household head, (iii) polygyny or extended family, and (iv) sexual bias on the interaction network. It was apparent from our interviews that while male household heads determined significantly the direction and the force of links with pre-settlement homes, their wives were faster in establishing contacts with local counterparts in neighbouring households. Often also, men worked in the fields, grazed their herds, and/ or frequented towns in pursuit of wage employment. This meant that the wives who they left at home took the initiative to forge new ties and friendships with neighbours. Most of these ties developed into the formation of voluntary socioeconomic associations. In about 36% of our sample households, the heads were men who lived and worked away in towns, and another 24% of the male household heads commuted from home to towns daily, to Nanyuki and other divisional centres. Therefore as they left home for work daily, all neighbourhood matters and interaction became the responsibility of the second in command in the household, the housewives.

The new migrant population as well as the old one

belong to a patrilineal social system in which patriarchal modes of relations such as in decision making over roles and division of labour, are vested in males who are heads of households. We expected that these elements would either impinge or direct decisively on network relations. We thus expected that female headed households which are few would experience limited or constrained participation in community affairs and the establishment of interpersonal relations between neighbouring households. We assumed that these issues would be on the whole determined by the sex of the household heads, with female headed households experiencing limited interaction. This, however, was not the case. In some cases, for example, where some household heads worked away from home during the day, and we sought to interview them when they returned in the evenings or weekends, they referred most of our network and community activity questions back to their wives. They believed that their respective wives were better informed on such matters. For instance, on the matter of invitation to parties one informant had this to say:

I am afraid I may not know in detail the profiles of those who attend parties at this residence. Often I am not here since I work away from home. So this question may be satisfactorily answered by my wife who permanently resides here and knows who she hosts.

In one specific circumstance, we had made about four appointments in an attempt to talk to the male household head, his elderly wife having insisted that it would be appropriate for us to interview him personally. When we finally had the opportunity to interview the old man he

showed clearly that he lacked knowledge of most of the village activities and explained that he spent all his daytime in the fields looking after his livestock. He referred us to his wife and the other family members. He told us, however, that he had no kin to visit in Central Province, having lived on the farm since childhood when it was managed by a white settler. In essence, therefore, sex was not an important issue in forging or not forging interaction between household heads.

In some polygynous families the men maintained additional households outside Laikipia district in Central Province. This phenomenon was particularly prevalent at Weruini farm. In twelve households from our sample the male household heads were away visiting their other households in Nyeri. Consequent to this practice some households consisted of single parents living with some of the children, while the other parent lived in Nyeri with other children. In one case an elderly man was living on his son's plot with his two grandchildren while his wife lived in Nyeri with the rest of the family members. At another household a man lived alone with his elderly mother on his own plot. We specially noted such family dynamics because they reflected the active ties with ancestral places of origin and, therefore, the typical new contexts within which some network structures emerged and were defined in the settlements under discussion.

#### 4.2 Individual Decision and Choice

The contacts that individuals maintain in their

networks depend not only on external circumstances (social forces), but also on their own independent decisions. Although they cannot control the forces of the total environment they can select from among the various courses of action or options to which these forces give rise. It is the variability of the total environment that make choice possible, but it is the individual that makes the actual decisions. Indeed, decisions are shaped by situational factors but they also depend on how individual personalities react to the situational factors. In our view, personal needs and attitudes, both conscious and unconscious, also affect choice of interaction relations that endure between individuals in the social situation in which they find themselves. Some of these assertions are demonstrated by the data we collected in Central division of Laikipia district which we set out to analyse below. First we need to explain how we went about collecting the data.

Interaction, of course, involves two or more parties, in this case people, acting on each other in social relations. In order to examine adequately the element of free choice and decision in such interaction we first focused on friendship. Informants were asked to freely list the names of all their friends. They named as many people as they wished in response to this question. We, however, considered for analysis only up to three names. We made this decision for two reasons. First, we assumed that informants would be able to mention the first three best friends without much hesitation, and, second, our trial interviews indicated that most of the informants we asked could not go

beyond listing three friends.

Having done so we then obtained further information about each of the identified friends to establish where they resided, whether they were kin or non-kin, manifestations of their friendship in terms of gift exchanges, and the length of period they have known each other.

We then asked more specific questions on these relationships but confining ourselves to friendship ties with individuals in the same settlement. Finally we obtained the determining factors the informants claimed to account for the choice of their friends.

All through this exercise, informants were allowed to express their ideas and feelings as freely as possible. This approach permitted us a wide scope to obtain greater variety of descriptions of the role of the relationships involved. It was also one way of establishing reliability of the information provided. We were able to detect some contradictions which we then rectified in the process.

Except for two informants, we obtained from all others lists of names of between one and three friends. Many of the reasons for establishing friendship with the stated individual overlapped or were the same for all their friends although differently stated. Subsequently, we collapsed the reasons in order to obtain the total frequency of occurrence for each.

Mutual assistance or reciprocity scored highest, appearing 54 times in the list of all cores obtained,

representing 24% of the cases. Reciprocity, therefore, is a significant factor in both choice and endurance of friendship links. Surprisingly, prominent cores included also kinship and same place of origin, which represented 14% in each case. Of these particular friendship ties, 53% had their anchorage in the same settlement as the informants, while the remainder related to nodes in the Central Province and a few other towns like Timau, Exelewa, Nyahururu and Ol Kalou.

Through in-depth interviewing, we obtained data on the factors that informants felt guided desirable friendship choices, whether enduring or not. Generosity represented 23% and was the leading factor favourable to friendship choice, while harmony was the second most favourable factor, with 20%. Other factors guiding friendship choice after the first two mentioned above are honesty, resourcefulness, humility and similar status with the informant, in that descending order. The remaining factors, i.e., proximity, ethnicity and kinship, in apparent contradiction to earlier assertions, were of less significance with rankings of less than 3.3%.

We obtained further considerations that guided decisions of interpersonal interaction choices on the ground by looking at, and analyzing emergent relations that were already ramifying between close neighbours. For all the 84 interviews we conducted, 55 informants suggested that they were not in intimate relation with any of their close neighbours. The remaining 29 informants claimed to maintain intimate ties with at least some of their neighbours. We then set to find out and establish what was core to these

few intimacies.

We found that only three informants had intimate ties with two separate neighbours, and four others mentioned two separate reasons for maintaining intimacy with the neighbours they had identified.

From the preceding data we make a generalization to the effect that for every given intimate tie to a single neighbour there was a reason determining such intimacy. Leading among all reasons given for intimacy was reciprocity, accounting for eleven times of all intimate ties between neighbours. Other cores for such intimacies are kinship, trust and proximity, each explaining for five, six and three times intimate ties with key neighbours, respectively.

These findings confirm observations by Fischer *et al.* (1977) that networks are formed on the basis of rewards, costs and social context. All these factors change continuously, based on such considerations as mobility and the concomitant economic changes, among other factors. These have most likely transpired in varying forms among our study population. We observed that in the active social ties where intimacy was a part, these were products of individual choice in decision making. There was no *a priori* structure for guiding these choices of friendship.

Firth (1954) makes a plausible analysis of concepts of social organization and structure which illuminates further the operation of decision and choice. He observes that the former concept focuses on those aspects of dynamics or

processes in which choice is exercised within available alternatives. In such contexts resources are mobilized and decisions are taken in the light of probable costs and benefits. Structural units are created and maintained through organizations in which the exercise of individual choice is of basic importance. In this way the working arrangements that keep a society's form and how relations between groups are made operative and become effective rest upon individual decision and choice. However, on the ground networks place constraints and resources for individual actor's social action. This is the reason for focusing on individuals' activities in social network studies.

Another important contribution is made by Adams (1967a) when he notes that the basic properties of kinship are concern and obligation expressed in mutual aid and ceremonies, whereas the basic property of friendship is consensus (shared interests) manifested in voluntary social activities. And, shared interests thus manifested often involve the elements of decision and choice.

Our findings in this study on friendship ties show accounts which differed markedly with regard to some informants' most important friends. There seemed to be some objective criteria which consciously solemnized what endured as an important friendship tie in this resettlement situation, as compared to the normal social relations bereft of some serious core in terms of rewards. In such a way, the element of choice became even more illuminated as it evidently became clear that there was usually no serious consideration of norms which left alternative options that

allowed for the operationalisation of the exercise of making a decision and choice. We collected some histories of acquaintances, or rather how acquaintances, with important friends came about. Evidently, certain events had greatest effect in stimulating some important friendship ties that endured. One informant, for example, told us thus of an acquaintance she named as an important friend:

He used to help my husband to look for casual labourers to work on the farm. At that time, we resided in the town where my husband worked, so we could not organise much work on the plot. But since he resided on his plot which was close to ours he sometimes hired and supervised labour for us.

There is thus no doubt as to the genesis of this friendship tie. In addition, it is quite clear that it was less more of norms that dictated this genesis than decision taken in the light of the then accruing rewards.

#### 4.2.1 Community building

According to Mercer (1956: 27) a human community is, broadly speaking, a functionally related aggregate of people who live in a particular geographic locality at a particular time, share a common culture, are arranged in a social structure and exhibit an awareness of their uniqueness and separate identity as a group. It is obvious that determining the prevalence of these variables in a community can be difficult. Through our network approach, however, we obtained accounts which we took as manifestations of actual integration into a community of immigrants that formed.

We found that the constitute persons on the farms

depicted a mutual and collective approach to life. Therefore, interaction approximated a closely-knit social fabric, although this was relatively more pronounced at Mukima farm. As we have noted, some factors were important in influencing such harmonious life in these groups of people who had unrelated origins and kinship ties. For instance, the period characterising the intermediate settlement, the migrants were basically rural peasants who had become marginal operators due to land pressure in Central Province. In their new settlements in Laikipia, formally rangeland, they found they were isolated from most government services. So they resorted to the self-help approach in order to secure for themselves those services they considered to be most essential to them, such as dips, roads, schools and, water schemes. They therefore created their own leaders and got underway in their own organised activities to improve their living standards.

Community building is, therefore, realised through a common identity, influenced by comparability of circumstances on the farms and common goals, giving rise to a network of ties of mutual interdependence and thereby fortifying a feeling of sameness.

Friendship ties contributed to the cohesiveness of members of the households in the settlements. Opportunities for the creation of intimate friendship ties were many and varied. They ranged from concerns and obligations expressed in mutual aid and ceremonies as well as consensus manifested in voluntary social activities, especially where non kinship considerations related.

Analyses of the profiles through which informants made acquaintances with intimate friends suggested that structural constraints and opportunities explained friendship ties perhaps more frequently than did normative motivation. Basic reality is, therefore, in individuals' values and choices. One informant observed thus:

My wife has been a close friend to his wife so we also became great friends as well. Since then we have shared a lot together. I can tell him any problem which I might be experiencing and he is ever willing to listen.

Statements such as these show us that decisions and choices are prominent even in friendship ties. At the same time, the settlement pattern in Laikipia predispose an uneven distribution of norms. No one happens to settle with the same people with whom he or she had been socialized.

But it is also possible to illustrate cases of ties where normative guidance played a more prominent role. We asked informants to recount how they had established intimate ties with any one of their neighbours. One informant stated:

We had known each other back at the place of our origin. When I first visited this plot, I found that he had settled on the plot next to mine already. Now I expected fewer problems as I started to construct my house because I would not only shelter in his home, but would also keep here my construction equipment and materials. So our friendship endured from then.

Yet another informant told us:

I am close to all my neighbours. They are all my relatives and we all came from Nyeri and settled on adjacent plots here.

Finally, a third informant said:

We ( herself and husband ) are friendly to one neighbour's household because of matrimonial relations. Our son married their daughter and since then we have been close.

In cases such as these, choices were indeed made but this was within the framework of some normative predisposition.

It was our observation in some circumstances, that some of our informants were not well versed with the identity of their close neighbours. They could not tell the full names of their neighbours. Conventional reference to mothers through their children's names was frequent. In many cases it turned out that the informants did not, in fact, know the actual names of the mothers. Consequently, in identifying their neighbourhood contacts such informants did not go beyond the conventional *nyina wa ng'ania*, meaning the mother of so and so.

Some structural constraints and opportunities that could be considered to characterise the general situation in the new settlement include economic changes, spatial mobility, absence of kin and opportunities for reciprocal activities. All these constraints impinge differentially on the nature of ties households are called upon to activate for fruitful socioeconomic exchanges. Our observation therefore was that the basic frameworks within which choices were made could broadly be stated under three points. First, absence of kin in the informants' immediate neighbourhood. The very old couples who were living alone were particularly instructive in this category. Some of these no longer had kinspeople in the Central Province to activate ties with.

But they also had no means to activate ties other than those with their helpers from church affiliated associations in the neighbourhood. Generally, their network was, thus, localised.

In contrast, the younger couples recognised that they had no kin relations in the immediate neighbourhood. But while they maintained kin based obligatory contacts with their kin, largely in Central Province, they also found need to substitute the missing local kinship relations with equally important friendship ties. Costs involved in this network also ensured that most of the friendship ties were within the settlement. In fact, of all the friendship ties we mapped, 53.4% had their anchorage in the same settlement as the informants. Basically, they exercised their right to choice through establishing rewarding friendship contacts at minimum costs.

The second framework is that of the role of reciprocity. Those households that forged friendship ties had to effectively discharge the demands to such roles. This was manifested through the exchange of information and materials. Such networks were based on and contributed to the emerging shared interests concerning mutual aid and cultural goals. These network ties were a manifestation of their members' shared or potential for shared interests, a basic ingredient in the shaping of a new community.

Finally, comparability among the immigrants was also an apparent important basis for decision and choice on interaction partners. This came into play in two distinct

ways. On the one hand, similar hardships posed by the marginality of the environment in the settlements encouraged households to maintain strong outward ties through which they could claim periodic help. On the other hand, the same hardships encouraged households to work together in a bid to alleviate their problems by means of voluntary associations. As Bott (1972) observed, kinship and friendship are the most important types of primary social relationships, neighbours and voluntary associations being important largely in that they provide a pool of potential friends and may overlap with the kinship and friendship categories.

In our study, for instance, although neighbours tended to be quite separately distinguished from friends, one can see that it is the cooperation between neighbours which often led to membership in voluntary associations. The latter, in addition to the church based interaction, provided the pool of potential friends which, further to our analysis, comprised largely the existing primary social relationships. Incidentally, these voluntary associations and the church based activities were the leading platforms through which ideal leadership traits were identified. Thus, friendship greatly supported interpersonal interaction and, as our data show, it was greatly influenced by reciprocal relations and mutual aid.

It is also important to point out that the most basic point to the understanding of any group of people is their relationship to their environment. Some couples definitely live in comparative social isolation. But they choose or are forced to live that way because they are migrants from far

away and the internal functioning of their entire group is affected by the new environment, hence determining their relationship towards one another.

In addition personal characteristics are among some very important factors affecting choices, although the choices are also being limited and shaped by a number of forces such as costs, rewards and environmental conditioning, as we have seen already, over which the households may not have direct control. However, informants who were asked to compare the nature of interpersonal interaction in their previous settlements with the present one intimated that in the former settlements they had experienced more intense and rewarding interaction. They attributed this to the fact that in their places of origin there had been fewer hardships compared to the case of Laikipia. And, where hardships existed, kinspeople were usually ready to alleviate them.

There were varied ways in which informants felt about their neighbours. In one case of a Mukima housewife whose husband had a well paying job in a town outside the district, her network of contacts suggested that wealth or higher economic status determined the choice of one's network structure. In her network of contacts there were very few members from her immediate neighbourhood. She was also less informed on community activities and pointed out that she got all the services she required by paying for them. This should not imply that she lived in relative physical or social isolation. For, to the contrary, we found that most of her neighbours who constituted part of our

sample, reserved considerable praise for her. They cited her household as one from which they had derived substantial assistance for a long time. For example, this couple had offered residence for some government security personnel who then became extremely useful to the residents of this inaccessible location where insecurity was, in fact, a major problem.

The element of asymmetry in network ties, thus, operated in this case. Friendship and benefits extended towards this household by the neighbours was not equitably reciprocated in the perception of the couple, nor did it predispose friendship ties; to them, their role relation to the neighbours was that of providers rather than receivers of generosity. So, one can see that within certain limits a household can make choices in the sense that is purely structural. Even if they understand that their neighbours are obligated to them they are not compelled to recognize an interaction network on this basis. It exemplified the notion of reciprocity between unequal parties. The benefits are not necessarily material but may manifest in prestige or may even be deferred. As for our interest, it is noteworthy that at least other criteria, besides mutual aid, enter into the choice of friends. Maybe this could still be relevant in explaining the statuses that are concomitant in the progression of the settlers' lot into a community.

#### 4.2.2 Decision and choice

One elderly informant who lived alone on his son's plot portrayed the element of decision and choice perhaps

more vividly. He explained that he found no pressing need to make new acquaintances in terms of friends here. In effect he ignored many of his neighbours, for he argued that since he did not recognize the farm as his permanent place of residence he found little need to be obligated to those who lived there.

It was further obvious that people based their decisions of choice of friends on different criteria. An elderly couple who lived alone and for most part answered our questions jointly (some specific parts such as help on farm chores were left to the wife to answer), drew their three best friends strictly from among their own children. The husband, in apparent consensus with his wife, first gave names of his three children and enquired from the wife whether a fourth, named Ngonyo, needed be included in this list.

Another intriguing observation in the same vein involved the interpersonal perception among some neighbours. Some of our informants, upon being asked to list their respective neighbours, hesitated first. It turned out that, in some cases, they were first quietly considering which from among, say, seven or ten of their immediate neighbours, they would prefer in the five name list. Our subsequent attempt to understand such hesitation often showed that either it was some stereotypical prejudices at play or, sometimes, an uncertainty as to who legitimately could be described as a neighbour and who could not in some given circumstances. We established cases where there was mutual prejudice between immigrants from Mathira and those from

other areas of Nyeri district. In a few cases, informants who had settled with their close relatives on adjacent plots were inclined to view their respective households as constituting one unit and not just neighbours. But again all that this served was, in effect, to reminiscent the option of decision and choice that guided one's selection of interaction network members and, subsequently, community structure.

We were also struck by the gender bias of network links. We noticed that most informants reported a network of interaction partners largely composed of members of their sex. Our female informants even frequently identified their neighbours' households by their female heads present (those ranked second in household position), even where there was a known male household head. And their day to day contacts as they listed them were also predominantly female. But on coming to kin contacts in areas of previous residence, they spontaneously named their husbands' kin. Thus, the interpretation of the kinship network was often viewed in terms of the conjugal role. As to whether the element of gender bias was indeed real and structural in accordance with some demands, we could not determine directly. Interestingly, we also recall no less than three female informants who included male members in their friendship network. And when this cropped up, we had become otherwise conditioned that it now caused some amusement.

Cases of informants proposing their close kin, for example, children, brothers and sisters, as their most intimate friends, struck us as quite out of the ordinary.

But it seemed to originate from the situation of transition where the "teething" trouble encountered on settling demanded that they sustain themselves from their offspring, siblings and sometimes parents' assistance to make it in the new home. They proved for themselves that blood was indeed thicker than water. Our own orientation was inclined towards regarding kin and kith as quite separately distinguished.

#### 4.3. Age of Settlement and Pre-Settlement Home Ties

In order to obtain the type of data needed in this analysis we first categorised all informants in terms of the length of time they had lived in the settlement. Ultimately, we had two broad classifications of old and new migrants for our two clusters of the study population. At the Mukima farm the old immigrants were those who had settled between 1964-76 while those who had settled after were the new comers. For the Weruini farm, the old immigrants were those who had settled between 1979-86 while those settling after were the newcomers. After that we sought to measure the nature and frequency our informants were in contact with kin at their respective places of origin.

Questions were constructed and selected to assess the intensity of contact with kin in these previous areas of residence. We then elicited names of persons with whom informants interacted personally, and of the role relationships with them, as well as their residences. That is, we proceeded by establishing for each name directly, where the contacts resided and also noted the role relationship here, i.e., whether kin or non-kin, friend or

just a neighbour. We obtained further information by having the informants describe their family trees, and give the residences of all members on the trees. We then circled around members of the tree each informant reported to visit frequently. From the informants' most important friends, we noted who were kin for each informant and where each, if kin, resided. Finally, we asked each informant to indicate who they contacted when they had a serious problem. They then told us the location and role relation of such contacts and gave a brief account of how they actually solved their problems. The questions asked represented matters that usually called for contacts, with either kinsmen or neighbours.

This approach enabled us to estimate the times an informant was in touch with kin on such interaction indices as inviting them to parties, asking for monetary assistance, seeking advice and receiving help. All these questions aimed at systematically probing the nature of contacts maintained by all our informants in their day to day experiences and activities. This is what we described as the first order network zone of an informant. We wanted at the end of the day to be able to evaluate the intensity of the contacts maintained with kin in respective areas of origin.

We found that Mukima farm, the older of the two settlement areas, has the highest cases of interaction with kin. Among the new migrants of Mukima, 40% of interpersonal interaction intensity is with kin, while for the old migrants it is 37%. For Weruini farm, the interpersonal interaction cases involving kin is 21% and 17% for the old

and new migrants, respectively.

The most remarkable finding, however, is that interaction with non-kin contacts overwhelms the interaction with kins. This indicates that the migrants have forged new relationships among themselves. It also indicated that some desirable friendship ties have evolved between some neighbours and other migrants to fill the gap created by the absence of kins in the settlements. But also noteworthy is the evidence that some informants report no interaction ties either way. This reveals that amongst them some live in comparative social isolation and neither maintain contacts with fellow immigrants nor their kins.

Weruini farm has a majority of immigrants who have reduced contact with kins. This is illustrated by the low figures of those who involve kins in their first order interactions. This may be attributed to their relatively more productive environment which facilitates a faster achievement of independence from their kinspeople.

Looking through the list of contacts in the data we established the respective locations of the residences of all the listed contacts. This showed that most cases of interpersonal interaction are confined to contacts within each farm, irrespective of the age of settlement. Cases of interpersonal interaction that link informants with contacts in same localities are 257, while 32 cases have links with kinspeople in Central Province.

Data from the family trees indicated that about 88% of the informants had their kins living in Central Province.

Only two informants of Mukima farm had the majority of their close kins residing with them in the same settlement. Among the remaining informants four had their kin living in other towns outside the district, three in other areas within Laikipia, and one in a nearby settlement. There were also indications of frequent visits to Central Province as shown by 88% of the informants who visited parents, siblings and other extended family members. Another 12% of the informants had no major links to Central Province and were, therefore, not visiting any one there. Out of these, three at Weruini farm had their kinspeople living at some nearby settlement in the district where they paid obligatory visits. The remaining who were at Mukima farm had kinspeople living either in the same settlement or in some other parts of the country, where they often paid obligatory visits

The other variable from which we obtained data was friendship vis- a-vis the kinship role. We found that, overall, the kinship content or role in friendship constitutes only 26% of our informants' friendship networks. The majority of the informants have friendship ties where kinship plays no role. Precisely, 74% of the total friendship ties we mapped have no kinship basis. However, Mukima farm leads with a higher percentage of an interaction of the kinship variable in the important friendship contacts. There is thus a content of kinship in 67% of the important friendship contacts as compared to 33% for Weruini farm.

As for the comparison between the old and the new immigrants within each farm, Mukima farm has the new

immigrants with less kinship content in their important friendship contacts, with 17 cases. The old immigrants recorded 24 cases. For Weruini farm the old immigrants have 17 kin oriented friendship, while the new immigrants have three similar cases. Generally, it is shown that the majority of important friendship contacts reside in the same settlement as the informants. However, in a total of 61 kin oriented friendship networks, 55 of the kins reside in Central Province. This represents less than half of the friendship contact cases and shows, by implication, that ties with pre-settlement areas of origin are few.

On the other hand, cases that involve problem solving networks show that there are strong ties to kins, largely linking immigrants to their kinspeople in Central Province.

Data indicated that some informants, occasionally, have encountered some serious problems. Some among these have braced and borne the full brunt of such problems. In an instance of 39 serious problems, however, kin were contacted for help, advice or information. In another instance of 31 serious problems faced by some of the informants non-kin contacts were involved in alleviating the informants' problems. The non-kin included immediate neighbours, friends and other acquaintances. Further to this, we sought to trace the locations of all ties that were activated in solving serious problems.

The basic point emerging from the data is that many of both old and new migrant informants have ties with their previous settlements in Central Province. Most of such ties,

however, are not as extensive, strong and preoccupying, as is generally thought, but hinge on specially defined principles. Age of settlement does seem to determine the extent and intensity of such ties. Our data indicate that residents of Mukima farm have more ties with their kin than is the case with the Weruini migrants. This goes contrary to our assumption, that Mukima farm with 1979 as the average year of settlement, would exhibit less network ties anchoring to nodes in pre-settlement places of origin, these having waned or faded with time, relative to Weruini farm whose average settlement period is 1985. In precise terms, we discerned three distinct classifications in terms of external ties:

Households which were categorised as old at Mukima farm in particular had very few or no pre-settlement home ties. These households were those which had lived on the farm earlier as tenant labourers when it was then owned by a white settler. Thus, these households had had their attachment to their origins long severed. They had few relatives still alive in Central Province and so had no home ties as such.

Households which were categorised as new at the same farm and old at Weruini farm, had active home ties. These were typically composed of families which had settled in the intermediate period of our consideration. These were families which were most probably forced away from their native origin due to acute land pressure. Their aspirations had been to find a place where they could establish their households on a piece of land they could call their own,

keeping blind to the practical hardships they were possibly plunging into. They were not cushioned against hardships by any form of income from wage employment. It is these households that had a higher attachment to their respective places of pre-settlement origins since they had a lot of help to claim here.

Finally, the new households of Weruini farm consist of the most latest families to settle. They have relatively more youthful members where the heads of the households are mostly earning incomes from employment and various other forms of enterprises. They, like their counterparts, had moved to Laikipia because of land shortage in Central Province. But they were relatively self dependent given their incomes from employment such as teaching, trading, the civil service and transport businesses, among others. Other than obligatory kinship relations, they do not require constant material aid from their kin in the pre-settlement places of origin.

Age of settlement, therefore, had a somewhat direct correspondence to the character of home ties. Reduced contact with pre-settlement homes in Mukima farm was more related to the labour tenancy effect while for Weruini farm this had to do mostly with economic independence. That is to say that the old households at Mukima exhibited a dependance network which was much more localized. These households were the ones which typically relied upon self-help associations, especially those affiliated to the churches to oversee to their welfare. In contrast, the intermediate households claimed help from their pre-settlement homes of origin. A

few of the farmers who found the new environment difficult to cope with relocated themselves by selling off their plots or simply deserting them. However, most of the new households of Weruini farm were accommodating themselves in their new environment and generally giving little attention to external and internal ties. We may suppose that a survey to determine exactly why individual families moved to settle in Laikipia should put the pattern into a proper conceptual perception.

#### 4.3.1 Social Networks

Flury (1986), among other issues, discussed the question of household ties in Laikipia district with reference to the prevailing socioeconomic structure. He observes that the majority of the migrant population has strong ties with their previous home areas, and their relatives living there. He suggests that the exchange of capital and goods might still be considerable. Our hypothesis was thereby framed within the context of Flury's observation.

But in the process of collecting our data, we encountered about 18 informants who, in our interviews, asserted that neighbours, irrespective of their kinship affiliations, were important in their lives. These were the people who come to their aid first in times of need and were always close and immediate helpers.

There is an elaborate web of social ties concentrated within the settlements. These manifest in the form of ties of instrumental relations and sentimental relations. But

there are also network ties of kinship and dependence relations relating to pre-settlement homes, anchored on parents and siblings. The network of ties ramifying on the farms are fostered, as we have seen, first and foremost, by friendship, the latter which arises out of mutual interdependence of households in the farms. But a clear distinction ought to be drawn. As earlier observed, some of the households at Mukima were originally labour tenants on the white settler owned farm. Very few of them may still be having holdings in their original home areas. Whereas for Weruini farm dwellers, they maintain ancestral ties with their original homes, fortified by some kind of assistance and vice versa for relatives there. But this households seem to be few and, specifically, to have been established here as satellite farms for the extended family in the original home area

One intriguing point involved the informants' perception of their own status as regards why they could not provide the names of their neighbours, or enumerate some communal self-help projects. In response, they observed that they were still new in the settlement and so could not be expected to know such details. We, however, noted that one of the informants who made such claim had in fact settled at Mukima farm from 1974 and therefore qualified as an old settler. In contrast, some informants were categorical that one could not fail to know one's neighbour. Our suggestion that such acquaintance in such a resettlement situation would often have been triggered by some specific encounter, was denied. Their argument was that knowing one's neighbour

is usually something that is gradual and indiscreet and it would be difficult to reconstruct.

In our sample for Mukima farm, there were also households of very old couples, two of whom were living alone. These were couples whose household heads had worked and lived on the farm since their youth when the farm belonged to a white settler. When the latter departed these couples were among those that purchased some of the demarcated plots that were acquired by the various Land Buying Companies. From such couples we were able to find that they not only had no other pre-settlement residences with kinship links to cleave to, but also that their network structure was identical and localized. Their contact was with members of the church groups who took the responsibility of ensuring that these couples had, among other things, water and firewood fetched for them, food provided and cooked for them and homesteads maintained. It was only in another such case that we learnt from the couple that they had sons and daughters working or living in other towns, including Nanyuki, and that these attended to them as frequently as they could manage.

#### 4.4 Summary

There were basic differences across the study units, which, discernibly, appeared to be related to the nature of the settlement. For example, old age and little formal employment for Mukima household heads, compared to younger ages and more formal employment for Weruini household heads.

Back-home ties do not necessarily increase with

brevity of settlement period. Instead, they reflect an interplay of different factors including, kinship obligations and the period of settlement, but with particular emphasis on reasons that motivated migration and subsequent settlement in the new farms.

Knowledge of factors that promote friendship between and among communities' members is of practical significance. This is because the basic property of friendship is consensus manifested in voluntary social activities. Therefore, if forums through which friendship can be fostered may be accurately identified and strengthened, the overall result can be the general well being of the entire community.

Kinship ties anchored in pre-settlement homes of origin serve no practical negative purpose in terms of social integration in the new settlement. They are purely obligatory relations serving, mainly, the function of identity, and continuity and, generally also, some form of mutual aid between kins. They have insignificant influence on the forms of relations on the farms. They are neither a barrier to social cohesion, nor to the infusion of new locally bred ideas and collective participation in community activities.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### INFORMAL LEADERSHIP

#### 5.0 Introduction

In this chapter we are focussing on leadership perceived entirely in its emergent form. This applies mainly to leadership in its informal character. Those leading may or may not be elected or appointed to any official positions in the strict sense of the term. In our investigation of leadership we assumed that leadership in this area tended to emerge spontaneously, i.e., without imposition from established institutions such as of political or religious nature. We took note of the fact that at some stage, however, it could be hijacked by the established institutions. First we determined its local form or characteristic among the Laikipia immigrants.

#### 5.1 Voluntary Self- Help Activity and Informal Leadership

Through our free listing approach and detailed enquiries we built portraits of leadership as conceived in

the area of our study. Those portraits were actually consensus models for leadership in the area whose main criterion was initiating and engagement in community activities or collective efforts towards self reliance.

In our first step, the informants were probed in an attempt to identify local informal leaders they knew. Each informant named as many as he or she knew; most did not go beyond five names. Having done that we probed the informants to try and identify if any, from those named, held any formal positions. The informants then provided information on the places these individuals resided, and when and how they got to know them. Our second step was to probe informants on their knowledge of community projects and voluntarily initiated activities (cattle dip projects, road works, wildlife control etc.). We wanted to know all communal projects that were going on in the villages, the organizers and where they resided, their actual role in these projects and an assessment of the projects themselves, i.e., whether successful or not and why.

At Mukima farm, from 21 informants, we elicited 16 names of informal leaders. The remaining 21 either did not know any leaders, or could not identify any credible persons as informal leaders. At Weruini farm, from 22 informants, we elicited 13 names of informal leaders. The remaining 20 knew no leaders, or could not identify any credible persons as informal leaders.

At Mukima farm, out of 42 informants 30 provided 20 names of leading initiators of self-help activities. Twelve

informants did not propose any names. On the other hand, at Weruini farm, out of 42 informants 33 provided 18 different names of leading initiators. Nine informants did not propose any names. We then proceeded to compare the lists of names of the identified local informal leaders against that of the initiators of self-help activities.

At Mukima farm, 4 names of informal leaders appeared in the 20 name list of the leading initiators of self help activities, representing only 20 % of the cases. At Weruini farm from among 14 names of the leading initiators, 7 of the same were in the list of informal leaders, representing 50 % of the total cases. Some names of organizers of voluntary and self help activities also appeared on the list of informal leaders.

We have 23 names of individuals organizing local voluntary self-help projects at Mukima farm. From among these, 11 individuals reappeared in the list of informal leaders. At Weruini farm, we obtained 9 names of organizers of local voluntary self help projects. However, only one name reappeared in the list of informal leaders at Weruini. The same name appears three different times on the lists of organizers of local self help activities.

Informants indicate, however, that they came to know those they identified as informal leaders at or through self-help activities in the respective local areas. Table 5.1 shows the data we had obtained in this respect.

Table 5.1 Informal Leaders: How Quality was Observed

	Mukima	Weruini	Total
S H A	36	24	60
H R	6	1	7
Other	0	5	5
Total	42	30	72

*Legend:**S H A:- self-help activity**H R:- harmonious relation to people*

An individual's active participation in community self-help activities thus contributed immensely to his or her being known, and evaluated in a leadership status. At Mukima farm involvement in self-help activities represented 86% of the reasons for such evaluation.

There was no substantive role of social connections for the bestowing of leadership status. In only 16% of the cases were there links between the identified informal leaders and some local high profile families. In 82% of the cases there were no such ties and the identified leaders, plus their emergent statuses, owed it to their roles in the initiation of self-help activities. Finally, in the remaining 3% of the cases there was no concrete knowledge by informants of any possible high profile ties for the leaders.

Most of our observations in the field corresponded well with the assumption that a variety of factors contribute to the emergence of leadership. However, there is an apparent inconsistency in the accounts of our informants

as regards the sources of leadership qualities for those they considered to be emergent leaders.

There is evidence that many individuals identified to have leadership qualities have had such statuses bestowed onto them. They were also acknowledged on the basis of the interaction process itself. Our informants were, however, neither categorical nor unanimous as to whether the participation in the initiation and organization of self-help projects was what won all of them the said qualities or not. Many individuals were listed as having done exactly what many others did in their respective communities, but only a few in each case were identified as informal leaders. It seems then that there is something else not explicitly expressed that accounts for informal leadership qualities for those identified. That something else did not show up in our data.

Most Laikipia residents suffer from acute water shortage. Rainfall is inadequate for rain-fed agriculture and this often causes drought and food shortages. To compound their problem is usually the wildlife and the cattle rustling menace. It is within such context that situations calling for leadership arise. Concerns that sought to account for the emergence of leadership in previous studies have usually emphasized on examining the elements of the situation such as those observed here (cf. Stogdill 1974:5).

However, Gibb (1954) observes that a variety of approaches to the identification of leaders in specific

groups do not necessarily lead to the identification of different leaders within a group at a given time. It is our view that the leadership positions we identified in our study were real and situationally both relevant and determined.

### 5.1.1 Conceptualisation of Leadership

Most of the leaders identified became acknowledged as deserving those positions following their role in determined efforts to overcome community problems. They emerged as a force to rally community support in efforts to solve local problems, largely arising from marginal environmental conditions, through collective efforts in their communities. Consequently, their acknowledged leadership role stems from implicit interpersonal assessment of the informants of these individuals. Such assessment was reached by comparing task related situations and the type of characters the individuals portray and the positive impact this triggers in others in this context.

Informal leaders are therefore individuals with the ability to offer information, skills or material resources and induce spontaneity among the others. They are neither officially elected nor appointed to any leadership positions. These are the kind of individuals Collins and Guetzkow (1964) refer to as indirect, as opposed to direct, leaders.

Critical observation of the context of leadership in this rural setting, therefore, portrays a free-reign style or *laissez faire* leadership, where leadership exists in

strata. A first stratum of official leaders is juxtaposed upon or alongside a second stratum of unofficial leaders. The two categories work diffusely in self-reliance activities. The people motivate themselves based on their needs, wants and desires. It is here that the unofficial leaders become prominent. They influence the people to identify with common goals and attempt to go over them via their own ingenuity. Even appointed or official leaders amongst them, such as chiefs and their assistants, often are subsumed in the role of goal members.

The antithesis to our review and observations to this subject so far occurs in some informants' own perceptions. For a start, we must highlight the particular difficulty and, sometimes, confusion our attempts to elicit the views of some informants on this subject encountered. For the most part we only managed noncommittal and evasive responses. Our own conclusion was that perhaps this was due to the then prevailing political mood in the country. Some informants could have been on their guard in what they had to say. We could have been taken to be government spies. At times, therefore, some of our informants identified some individuals as being leaders but were unwilling to say why. But it is also possible that this could have been a manifestation of a lack of knowledge on the subject by such informants a fact which they, however, were unwilling to admit [possibly then accounting for the wide variance in the lists of proposed leaders].

The notion of informal leadership did not always appear consistent in some of our informants' minds as it is

in theory. In some cases our informants refused to accept that an unelected individual could exert significant influence and lead them on in activities that affected their every day lives. They argued that an unelected person could not exert his or her will on them, and that even if they tried none would submit to his or her authority. They insisted that such individuals lacked the legitimacy required to justify such influence. These views marked the confusion some arguments proffered on this subject of leadership posed. Central to this must have been the question of legitimacy. It is our view that our informants were narrowing their scope in the perception of leadership, to the situations where power is the mainstay to leadership. They were thus consciously or unconsciously demonstrating their particular disapproval to this kind of arrangement, or it reflected the political mood of the particular time this study was conducted. In the case cited above, the issue at hand was an attempt to discredit and even condemn a trend that prevailed in the political life of the country then. Leaders were being irregularly selected by the political power brokers in the community, rather than being popularly elected. One informant at Mukima farm argued:

Just like in Nyeri where I have my other home, we cannot possibly accept here to be led by someone we have not elected. Furthermore, here the situation is even more aggravated by the fact that people are different. They originate from different places and their perceptions are different. There is no possibility that they could compromise on an unelected leader, they probably do not even know; not unless through an election.

It is possible that informants feared to lend credence to this trend of things if they recognized any type of self

styled leadership. In their view, leaders should not be imposed by those wielding power in disregard of the will of the majority.

Our view on this contentious point followed our observation that, frequently, further discussions with informants of this recalcitrant stance eventually elicited positive assessment of individuals they had earlier discredited. They recognised the role such individuals had played in the initiation of important and viable measures of self reliance, such as water supply projects and cattle dip procurement. They further agreed that the characters they had in mind in this regard not only contained the relevant ingredients for, but also sustained, the notion of informal leadership in the final analysis.

Noteworthy was also the evidence of mistrust towards some former leaders of the Land Buying Companies (LBCs), specifically as portrayed in those responsible for arranging the settlement of one of the two farms. Two or three officials of the LBC were sometimes cited as culprits in shady and selfish deals. For example, the shortage of furrow water in the lower reaches of the settlement was sometimes blamed on one such former official who had misused both his position and the people's trust to divert water to his sprawling farm where he was extravagantly irrigating his crops to the disadvantage of the rest. Now, our interest here is solely the point that such leadership was occasionally cited to vindicate the broad idea of informal leadership as unrealistic since it epitomized the point of subsequent conflicts and misunderstandings that could easily

take root once leadership office was not elective.

Two former LBC officials who were part of our sample, however, had plenty of praise for themselves. Citing themselves as suitable models of what grass-root leadership meant, they both registered their satisfaction acknowledging that there were some young and upcoming unofficial leaders destined to continue from their effort in trying to influence development in their communities. We came across one upcoming leader, a university student then, who was widely acclaimed in Mukima farm as excellent in measures and efforts towards self-reliance. He was said to spend the better part of his college vacations playing a leading role in varied activities of a self-help nature with his close friends. Their critics, however, took exception to their habit of conversing in English during group meetings, claiming that this not only constituted showing off, but also served to lock out the illiterates from mainstream discussions.

To conclude, we found that basically some informants had no idea of what was meant by informal leadership. Unfortunately, however, our attempts to explain the concept served to predispose the responses. It also narrowed the informants' perception of the concept of leadership to terms of physical acts, ignoring the numerous other covert characteristics, for example, influence. It became evident that our desire to study the concept of informal leadership was perhaps too over-ambitious, in the absence of a concrete preview of this concept in the rural situations. One informant, for example, stated:

Frankly, I have some particular misgivings about the grassroots leadership that I see around here. Take the self-help activities, for instance; here is where the question of leadership best illuminates peoples' actual desires. Every one wants to lead but they themselves do not want to be led. And the usual opportunity to squander members' financial contributions is the main motivation.

This kind of assessment, therefore, partially conflicts with some assumption from the general interaction theory. It introduces selfish motivations and thereby questions the argument that it is the particular member's indispensable contribution to goal achievement that marks one as the leader of the moment. It also shows the weakness persisting in most other assumptions about informal leadership.

On the other hand, there was some remarkable correspondence between particular informants who in themselves portrayed a good grasp of community affairs and their consistent agreement on who were informal leaders. A case from Weruini farm, where one female informant was well versed with community matters, was particularly striking. She identified one individual as an informal leader, who apparently was not even a neighbour but his name had been frequently mentioned by other informants at the opposite end of the vast settlement. She also identified another individual who had also already featured prominently in our preceding interviews. She was among the few informants at Weruini to identify two informal leaders.

### 5.1.2 Social Status and Leadership

Our attempt to understand the relationship between

social status and informal leadership derived from a comparison between the basic indicators of high socioeconomic status and the accruing consensus on the list of the local acclaimed informal leaders. We first elicited from the informants lists of names of their neighbours who were most successful socioeconomically. Informants then told us about their role relation to such neighbours, the nature of the success they had in mind about these neighbours, and when and how they got acquainted with the subjects.

Second, each informant was asked to identify informal leaders, that is, if there were any that he or she knew locally. They also provided information on whether these individuals held any formal office, their character, how such character was observed and also noted the role relation between informants and such individuals as well as with some important people. This was designed to enable us to compare the list of the high social status subjects vis - a - vis the list of all the proposed informal leaders.

Thirdly, we sought to evaluate the general level of consensus between different informants on the local well known successful persons. Informants compared and gave their own views on the socio - economic standing of individuals considered successful. Finally, we revisited the list of informal leaders and asked for each name whether the informant knew of special social ties that could have conferred upon them the esteem they were currently enjoying.

At Mukima farm, from the first question we obtained a total of 17 named successful individuals from 27 informants.

Of these, a total of ten names came from 13 informants of the old category while from the new category of the immigrants, we had seven names from a total of 14 informants. Eight old informants and seven new informants either did not know or were unable to identify relevant individuals. At Weruini farm there was a total of 29 successful members for the whole farm. Of these, 22 were proposed by the old immigrants and seven by the new immigrants. These findings were compared to answers in our second question.

For this question 12 informal leaders were listed from 13 old immigrants compared to seven informal leaders from only eight new immigrants at Mukima farm. At Weruini farm, we had a total of 15 informal leaders from all the informants, consisting of ten from the old settlers and five new ones.

In the analysis for Mukima farm only one name appeared in both the lists. Thus, only one individual is highly regarded for both high social status as well as for informal leadership. At Weruini farm four names appeared in both the lists. Further to this we also observe that 50 % of those identified as successful by the old immigrants at Mukima farm are also so identified by the new immigrants. Similarly, the lists of those identified as informal leaders by both new and old settlers here correspond in 25 % of the cases. The findings for Weruini farm show that only two names of those identified as successful correspond for both old and new immigrants in a total of 29 names of individuals so identified. And only three names of those identified as

informal leaders correspond for both old and new immigrants on this specific farm. This may suggest that the level of social integration varies between the farms and that age of settlement may affect the degree of homogeneity or consensus on interpersonal assessment.

We also sought to know the extent to which the informants would confirm or dispel the position that personal social ties played a significant role in bestowing informal leadership status in this rural situation (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Consensus on Kinship Ties as a Factor of Informal Leadership

	Mukima	Weruini	Total
Yes	0	0	0
No	19	19	38
Don't know	0	3	3

Many informants who had information on the subject also indicated that, in general terms, positions of formal office and relation to very important people (kin or otherwise) contributed little to the status of informal leadership of the individuals they had identified. It was evident that the kind of leadership we sampled had very little basis in one's official capacity as well as social connections. Reference is made further to how characteristics of the emergent informal leaders was observed, with 83% of them being identified through involvement with community self-help activities. 81% of all

the leaders named had no known ties with important personalities. This means that their status emerges because they possess special attributes that are relevant to the socioeconomic situation of the settlement.

When we revisit the subject of our hypothesis, the first thing that we learn from the data reviewed above is that high social clout has very little to do with bestowing leadership. On the contrary, we wish to suggest that we have identified a form of leadership which emerges when the individuals are spontaneously accorded such positions by the members in groups that they belong to. To this extent, our findings correspond with Stogdill's (1948) and Gibb's (1954) studies where they both discuss a situation where a person becomes a leader by possession of any attribute that by virtue of its relevance to the situation and its situationally determined evaluation by other group members establishes a relation of leading - following.

## 5.2 Summary

Through a social networks analysis we aimed at establishing how leadership was conceived in people from different backgrounds. The prime point was to examine how leadership evolved in such a mixed group of migrants. It is evident that a persons' leadership role might in part be understood in the light of the pattern of ties, meaning that a leadership conferring network can be identified.

That members originate from vastly different backgrounds does not engender non-cooperation in communal affairs. The physical conditions within which the members

find themselves constrained to act compels them to harmonise their expectations and, thus, determines the structure of interpersonal relations within the community.

From the point of view of the study we did not seek to strictly illustrate the socio-economic indicators associated with high social status but, however, from discussions with informants it was possible to link employment [white-collar], irrigation of crops on one's plot and size of the dwelling house to this.

Three main categories of leaders discerned were within the following frameworks;

- leading initiators of communal spontaneity in self-help activity
- organisers of ongoing projects
- unofficial leaders.

Those within the first framework may have been conceived in terms of the informant's own networks of instrumental needs. The second could have been conceived in terms of situational demands, while the last may represent individuals that had a persisting influential role in this rural set up, such as leaders of religious groups, and teachers who were naturally looked upon as opinion shapers.

We observed that the concept of self-help could be made much more suitable to a resettlement situation by applying it at the broader community [village] level. Self-help focussing on women, church and youth groups reflected narrow and sometimes mis-applied interests [and looked to marginalise the members]. Even then, for this settlement in

Particular, they were not in conformity with the conception of self-help among the Agikuyu of Nyeri as discussed by Mbithi and Rassmussen (1977)

The approach where the whole community is engaged in systematic and collective activities should be enhanced. This is more spontaneous, broad based and enjoys much more good will from members of the community, who look up on one another for inspiration, since it tends to focus on basic problems and solutions to them. Such activities, therefore, give practical expression to peoples' participation in the structure and process of their own welfare. Their strength lie in the spontaneity inspired in others by the emergent situational leaders, who are best placed to comprehend the primary issues that need to be addressed, and are able to interpret them to the others and mobilise them into activity.

## CHAPTER SIX

### GENERAL SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 6.0 Introduction

Broadly stated, this study, which falls in the anthropological realm of social change, focused on the kinds of social relationships attendant to a situation of immigration and resettlement. We, therefore, examined a spectrum of social network profiles or indicators and their possible ramifications on interpersonal interaction in a community of mostly Agikuyu migrants from Central Province who continue to settle in the Central Division of Laikipia district. We wanted to be able to establish and describe for analysis the socioeconomic and demographic factors that shape forms of social relations there with specific reference to interpersonal interaction. We also considered the variation in kinship ties. This was discussed in terms of how the role of kinship affected the anchorage of network ties and what ramifications this had on the social relations that prevailed in the settlement.

## 6.1 Conclusion

We found that informants were very clear on the identity of the important persons they were involved with in their most important interactions while still in their respective pre-settlement homes. These included parents, siblings and close neighbours who, in any case, were also their kins. As for the case of the new settlement, however, we established that the trend was such that in the absence of kin in close proximity, non-kin neighbours and church colleagues became important interaction partners.

Mutual assistance based on proximity of households determined most of the relations. Kinship affiliations were insignificant. Though cases of interaction with kins who remained in areas of the migrants' origins prevailed also, many households forged ties and interacted freely with non-kins. Most of these new ties developed primarily between immediate neighbourhood residents and/ or those from church affiliations and the local voluntary associations. We, however, also took note that a few households reported no substantive local contacts. But the assumption that households in the settlement would exhibit individualism because of maintaining strong place of origin kin network ties, e.g., with parents and siblings, was proved wrong.

In our investigation of the extent to which residents made independent decisions and choices and the reasons related to these we found that kinship ties had very little

or no influence. Informants based their decisions and choices of network members not merely on norms and traditional values but, significantly, on some consciously perceived rewards which, in most cases, were economic and to a lesser extent attitudinal.

Reciprocity, manifested through mutual aid, was a core element in both the choice and endurance of friendship links particularly within the same settlement. There were a few cases in which reciprocal activities between kins were actively maintained. Examples for this came from households which had part of their members residing in urban areas where they were employed or were running private enterprises, or from other members who remained in other farms in more productive areas of Central Province

The limitations to our analysis of such factors that counted in social relations here were, however, the obvious ambiguities that were posed in loaded terms such as 'friend', 'intimacy' and 'neighbour'. One point was explicit however; reciprocity and friendship were highly correlated and there was no doubt whatsoever that they played a pivotal role in the social relations that the members of the settlement forged. Basically, our hypothesis on independent decision and choice of interaction partners was positively proved since we established that the majority of the settlement members formed new networks on this basis. It was our observation that another basic property of friendship

was shared interests, mainly manifested in voluntary social and economic activities. This observation supported the validity of the elements or reasons of decision and choice as was proposed in our hypothesis.

In the final analysis it is acceptable to state that friendship was the most important type of primary social relationship characterising the community in the settlement. Neighbours and members of various local voluntary associations were important in the sense that they both provided fora and pools for potential friends. In the process of building a community in a new settlement, the voluntary associations and church affiliations were the leading fora through which ideal leadership traits were identified. This latter point, and the recognition by individual households of the importance of friendship, were the leading factors in nurturing the emerging communities' self identities in these settlements.

Some interesting cases regarding the definition or notion of friendship showed up. For some households close kins such as parents, siblings and offsprings were defined as important friends. The sense here was that resettlement situations often called for heavy kinship obligations in the form of economic support. And this apparently extraordinary notion of friendship, must be seen in the context of the ancient adage that friendship in need is friendship in deed.

In our effort to further understand the interaction dynamics prevailing on the farms we investigated the settlement patterns on the basis of the age of individual farms as well as the length of stay in the farm of our informants. The findings from the exercise indicate that household ties to the pre-settlement origins operated across all categories of households. The important point, however, was that we established that the ties were neither intense nor so preoccupying as to hinder important local social ties on the farms, for both categories of households.

In summary, the important points that came to light were as follows:

There was frequent interaction between non-kins than that with kins. This indicated that members of households had forged new relationships among themselves. It also indicated that the activation and maintenance of kinship ideology as a major factor in forging social interaction is heavily dependent on proximity and socioeconomic interdependence of the parties concerned.

Several informants had profiles of contacts devoid of substantive local ties as well as ties to their pre-settlement homes. Age of settlement was not an important determinant in the extent and intensity of such ties. And, most such ties were neither novel nor extensive enough to be an important factor in themselves. These were within

expectation of the households' endeavour to perform their obligatory role relations with kins and to receive appropriate reciprocal attention from them. Neighbours, irrespective of their kinship affiliations, were important in most households' profiles.

Although spontaneous leadership was emerging within these new settlement communities, we could not explicitly or with a clear consensus establish the characteristics or qualities considered important by informants in apportioning that leadership status. There were apparent inconsistencies in the accounts our informants gave on the subject. Thus, our hypothesis that it was likely that informal leadership was an outgrowth of communal self-help activity, proved elusive to verify though quite obviously apparent. But certainly there was a fifty to fifty correlation between leadership and local voluntary self-help activities.

While we realise that our method of measuring this hypothesis might have been cumbersome, pre study knowledge of the settlements contributed to some factors which strengthen our conclusion. Because of settlement age, for instance, and the variety of activities simultaneously taking place in the settlements, identification of the leaders in specific acts or groups does not necessarily lead to their being identified as such at the broader settlement level. Local communities are still in their formative stages and there hardly exists an umbrella community that could be

viewed as catering for entire settlements; the localised small and formative communities have no ties either. However, the leadership qualities or traits identified in the various situations correlated with the incumbent personalities and were therefore contextually realistic.

It is noteworthy also that the environment significantly played a decisive role in the observations we made in the dependent variables and especially more so in reference to the Mukima farm. Therefore, the patterns of community interaction that we observed may be seen as being influenced by factors of community- environment interaction.

The study was obviously challenging, and we observed that the concept of social networks had significant practical and theoretical grounding. We learnt how much our informants were capable of delineating specific details guiding the variations in their contacts and acquaintances, and how they could logically articulate their standpoints. We also learnt how some of them were deficient of these qualities. In the latter case, there were obvious instances of contradictory viewpoints during data collection. There were informants who, for example, represented their households in such a way that they appeared to be living in dire social isolation; while they also gave accounts of ties which they maintained and frequently activated as need arose. Kinship ties with parents and siblings in pre-settlement areas of origin remained enduring and

significant. Relations with previous neighbours and friends remained in memory but not in current interaction. Old friends were talked about in such vivid terms yet they were not living locally. For some, there had been no face to face contacts for years. But they still remained important to the informants as they had a crucial role to play in the latter's sense of self identity and continuity.

## 6.2 Recommendations

(1) It is our contention that support to rural social development in this resettlement situation should be directed at the broader level of the community in toto rather than at the narrower level of specific self-help groups. Opportunity for such intervention exists on both farms in the forms of water projects (water is recognized as the major determinant of development in the division), livestock development and rural access roadworks. There is also potential for community based wildlife conservation, environmental management and old age care, at the broader community level.

(2) The influence of land buying agencies still persists. Members of the community often meet to discuss current issues as they arise in their community and coordinate ways of solving problems which they can handle collectively. Thus, projects by external agencies or individuals should be channelled through the existing

structures to avoid disruption of what has already been built.

(3) In a nutshell, three basic things ought to be done. First, there is a need to study further and carefully, factors that promote community building, such as the spontaneous identification of common or collective social and economic goals, and the resultant structures in rural resettlement situations, especially in marginal lands. Second, the holistic self-help approach, as it relates to a network of instrumental relations and their requisite achievement should be documented. Finally, research findings regarding these development issues, network ties building processes and the emergence of spontaneous leadership should be disseminated for public consumption as a mechanism of enhancing social, economic and political development. That is, the government should endeavour to understand how households in settlement schemes in arid lands have developed their own ways of coping with developmental issues. Then it should build on that knowledge and local initiatives to broaden the base for development.

(4) The network analysis strategy exposes a leadership that is developed and put in place by the community members themselves, it therefore provides a viable structure and model of leadership that is worth being emulated at the broader national level, so as to enhance the quality of national leadership.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, B. N. (1967a) Interaction Theory and the Social Network. Sociometry, 30: 64-78
- Anderson, H. H. (1940) An examination of the Concepts of Domination and Integration in Relation to Dominance and Ascendance. Psychological Review, 47: 21-37
- Bales, R. F. (1953) The Equilibrium Problem in Small Groups. In T. Parson, R. F. Bales and E. A. Shills [Eds.]. Working Papers in The Theory of Action. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press. 170-85
- Barnes, J. A. (1954) Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish. Human Relations, 7, (1): 39-58.
- Barnes, J. A. (1969) Graph Theory and Social Networks. A Technical Comment on Connectedness and Connectivity. Sociology, 3 (2): 215-32.
- Boissevain, J. and C. J. Mitchell [Eds.] (1973) Network Analysis: Studies in Human Interaction. The Hague: Mouton.
- Boissevain, J. (1974) Friends of Friends. Networks, Manipulators and Coalitions. London: Blackwell.
- Boswell, D. M. (1969) Personal Crisis and The Mobilisation of The Social Networks. In J. C. Mitchell [Ed.] Social Networks In Urban Situations. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 245-96.

- Bott, E. (1972) Family and Social Networks. London: Tavistock.  
2nd Edn.
- Caplan, G. (1974) Support Systems and Community Mental Health.  
New York: Behavioural.
- Carter, L. F. (1953) Leadership and Small Group Behavior. In M.  
Sherif and M. O. Wilson [Eds.] Group Relations at  
Crossroads. New York: Harper.
- Cartwright, D. (1965) Influence: Leadership Control. In J. G.  
March [Ed.] Handbook of Organisations. Chicago: Rand  
McNally. 311-44
- Cattell, R. B. (1951) New Concepts for Measuring Leadership in  
Terms of Group Syntality. Human Relations, 4: 161-184.
- Collins, B. E. and H. Guetzkow (1964) A Social Psychology of  
Group Processes for Decision Making. New York: Harper.
- Collins, R. [Ed.] (1983) Sociological Theory. New York: Random  
House.
- Cunningham, J. V. and M. Kotler (1983) Building Neighborhood  
Organisations. Notre Dame, IL: University of Notre Dame  
Press.
- Epstein, A. L. (1961) The Network and Urban Social Organisation.  
Reprinted in J. C. Mitchell [Ed.] (1969) Social Networks In  
Urban Situations. Manchester: Manchester University Press.  
77-116

Firth, R. T. (1954) Social Organisatin and Social Change. Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute, 84:1-20.

Fischer, C.S., K. R. Scherer and R. P. Abeles (1977) Networks and Places: Social Relations in Urban Setting. New York: The Free Press.

Flury, M. (1986) Rainfed Agriculture in the Central Division, Laikipia District, Kenya. Suitability, Constraints and Potential for Providing Food. African Studies Series 6. Institute of Geography, University of Bern.

Foster, B. L. (1982) Formal Network Studies and the Anthropological Perspective. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Froland, C. P., L. Pancoast, N. J. Chapman and P. J. Kimboko (1981) Helping Networks and Human Service. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Garbarino, J. and S. H. Stocking (1980) Protecting Children from Abuse and Neglect. San Francisco: Jossey-Base.

Gibb, C. A. (1949) Some Tentative Comments Concerning Groups Rorschach Pointers to the Personality Traits of Leaders. Journal of Social Psychology, 30: 251-263.

Gibb, C. A. (1954) Leadership. In G. Lindsay [Ed.] Handbook of Social Psychology. Cambridge, Mass.: Adison-Wesley. 58-66.

- Gibb, C. A. (1968) Leadership: Psychological Aspects. In D. Sills [Ed.] International Encyclopaedia of The Social Sciences Vol. 9, p. 91. New York: McMillan Co. and The Free Press.
- Gordon, T. (1955) Group Centred Leadership: A Way of Releasing the Creative Power of Groups. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Granovetter, M. (1973) The Strength of Weak Ties. American Journal of Sociology. 78 (6): 1360-68
- Granovetter, M. (1983) The Strength of Weak Ties. A Network Theory Revisited. In R. Collins [Ed.], Sociological Theory. New York: Random House. 97-118
- Harries-Jones, P. (1969) "Home-Boy" Ties and Political Organisation in a Copperbelt Township. In J. C. Mitchell [Ed.], Social Networks in Urban Situations. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 297-347
- Hollander, E. P. (1961) Emergent Leadership and Social Influence. In L. Petrollo and B. N. Bass [Eds.]. Leadership and Interpersonal Behavior. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 66-107
- Jennings, H. H. (1943) Leadership and Isolation. New York: Longmans Green.

- Kapferer, B. (1969) Norms and the Manipulation of Relationships in a Work Context. In J. C. Mitchell [Ed.], Social Networks in Urban Situations. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 181-244
- Knoke, D. and J. H. Kuklinsky (1982) Network Analysis: Sage University Paper Series in Quantitative Application in the Social Sciences, 07-028. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Kohler, T. (1987) Wiumiririe: A Portrait of a Small Scale Community in Laikipia District of Kenya. Laikipia Report 7. Institute of Geography, University of Bern.
- Lee, N. H. (1969) The Search for an Abortioneer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Maguire, L. (1983) Understanding Social Networks. A Sage Human Service Guide 32. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Maguire, L. and D. E. Biegel (1982) The Use of Social Networks in Social Welfare: Jumping on the Bandwagon. In Social Welfare Forum. New York: Columbia University Press. 24-32
- Mayer, A. C. (1966) The Significance of Quasi-Groups in the Study of Complex Societies. In M. Banton [Ed.], The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies. A. S. A. Monograph No. 4. London: Tavistock. 97-122.
- Mayer, P. (1962) Migrancy and the Study of Africans in Towns. American Anthropologist, 64:576-92.

- Mbithi, P. M. (1971) Non Farm Occupation and Farm Innovations in Marginal, Medium and High Potential Regions of Eastern Kenya and Buganda. Working Paper No.114, Institute of Development Studies, University of Nairobi.
- Mbithi P. M. and C. Barnes (1975) The Spontaneous Settlement Problem in Kenya. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.
- Mbithi, P. M. and P. Rasmussen (1977) The Structure of Grassroots Harambee Within the Context of National Planning: Mimeograph. Department of Sociology, University of Nairobi.
- Mercer, B. E. (1956) The American Community. New York: Random House.
- Mitchell, J. C. (1969) The Concept and Use of Social Networks. In J. C. Mitchell [Ed.] Social Networks in Urban Situations. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1-50
- Mogey, J. M. (1956) Family and Neighbourhood. London: Oxford University Press.
- Naperstek, A., D. E. Biegel and H. Sporo (1982) Neighborhood Networks for Human Mental Health Care. New York: Plenum.
- Newcomb, T. M., R. H. Turner and P. E. Converse (1965) Social Psychology. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Pauw, B. A. (1963) The Second Generation. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

- Pigors, P. (1935) Leadership or Domination. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. (1952) Structure and Function in Primitive Society. New York: The Free Press.
- Republic of Kenya 1989 Kenya Population Census 1989 Vol. 1. Nairobi: Government Press.
- Sherif, M. (1962) Intergroup Relations and Leadership. New York: Wiley.
- Sherif, M. and C. W. Sherif (1956) An Outline of Social Psychology. New York: Harper.
- Sills, D. [Ed.] (1968) International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences Vol. 9. New York: The Macmillan Co and The Free Press.
- Steward, J. H. [Ed.] (1972) The African Tribes in Transition. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Stogdill, R. M. (1948) Personal Factors Associated With Leadership: A Survey of the Literature. Journal of Psychology, 25: 37-71.
- Stogdill, R. M. (1974) Handbook of Leadership: A Survey of Theory and Research. New York: The Free Press.
- Tannenbaum, R., R. Weschler and F. Massarik. (1961) Leadership Organisation. New York: McGraw-Hill.

- Tead, O. (1935) The Art of Leadership. New York: Mcgraw-Hill.
- Vivelo, R. (1978) Introduction to Cultural Anthropology. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage
- Walker, K. N., A. MacBride and M. H. S. Vechon (1977) Social Support Networks and the Crisis of Bereavement Social Science and Medicine, 2:35-41.
- Wallace, R. and A. Wolf (1986) Contemporary Sociological Theory Continuing the Classical Tradition. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall. 2nd Edn.
- Warren, D. (1981) Helping Networks: How People Cope with Problems in the Urban Community. Notre Dame IL: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Wellman, B. (1981a) Network Analysis From Method and Metaphore to Theory and Substance. Revised Version of a Guide to Network Analysis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wheeldon, P. D. (1969) The Operation of Voluntary Associations and Personal Networks in the Political Procresses of an Inter-Ethnic Community. In J. C. Mitchell [Ed.] Social Networks in Urban Situations. Manchester: Manchester Univerity Press. 128-180.
- White, H. C., S. A. Boorman and R. L. Breiger (1976) Social Structure from Multiple Networks. I Block Models of Roles and Positions. American Journal of Sociology, 81: 730-780.

Whitten, N. E. Jr. and A. W. Wolfe(1982) Network Analysis.  
Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Young, M. and P. Willmot (1957) Family and Kinship in East  
London. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

## APPENDIX 1

Questionnaire to the Evaluation Networks of Social Ties and Informal Leadership in Central Division of Laikipia District.Version 3      14 February, 1992NAME:  
PLOT NO:  
DATE:

## PART 1

Names   Place   Relation   Acquaint   When

1 Whom do you;

Invite to  
your party  
at home?-----  
Ask for cash  
assistance  
for immediate  
needs?-----  
Work together  
on farm chores  
e.g., weeding  
fencing etc.-----  
Consider best  
initiator of  
self-help  
spirit?  
-----

## APPENDIX 1

Questionnaire to the Evaluation of a Network of Social Ties and Informal Leadership in Central Division of Laikipia District.Version 3      14 February, 1992NAME:  
PLOT NO:  
DATE:

## PART 1

Names   Place   Relation   Acquaint   When

1 Whom do you;

Invite to  
your party  
at home?-----  
Ask for cash  
assistance  
for immediate  
needs?-----  
Work together  
on farm chores  
e.g., weeding  
fencing etc.-----  
Consider best  
initiator of  
self-help  
spirit?  
-----

APPENDIX 1

Questionnaire to the Evaluation of Social Network Ties and Leadership Structure in Central Division of Laikipia District.

Version 3      14 February, 1992

NAME:  
PLOT NO:  
DATE:

PART 1

Names   Place   Relation   Acquaint   When

1 Whom do you;

Invite to  
your party  
at home?

-----

Ask for cash  
assistance  
for immediate  
needs?

Work together  
on farm chores  
e.g., weeding  
fencing etc.

Consider best  
initiator of  
self-help  
spirit?

-----

-----  
 Admire as a  
 successful  
 neighbour?  
 -----

Ask advice  
 on your  
 domestic  
 problems?  
 -----

Know that  
 he/she has  
 helped you  
 significantly  
 since you  
 settled here?  
 -----

## 2 Who are your neighbours?

Names	R e l a t i o n		How acquainted	When
	kin	non-kin		
-----				

i \_\_\_\_\_  
 ii \_\_\_\_\_  
 iii \_\_\_\_\_  
 iv \_\_\_\_\_

## 3 Who are your three most important friends?

Names	Relation	Locations	When acquaint	Determinant
-----				

i \_\_\_\_\_  
 ii \_\_\_\_\_  
 iii \_\_\_\_\_

## Drawing of Household Tree.

4. (a) Where do your relatives stay?

(refer to family tree and complete members not included in OVS, if any).

(b) Which of them are you visiting frequently?

(circle persons on the tree)

5. (a) Do you have some friends here?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) What determines your choice of who to consider a friend?

-----  
-----  
-----

6. (a) Among your neighbours, are some of them intimate?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) What determined this intimate relation?

-----  
-----  
-----  
-----

PART 2

7.(a) At which of your neighbours' homestead have you attended a party?

-----  
-----  
-----

(b) At which of your neighbours' homestead have you attended a ceremony?

-----  
-----

(c) Does your attendance follow a formal invitation;

for party? ( ) yes ( ) no

for ceremony? ( ) yes ( ) no

8. How have you managed to establish contacts, if any, with neighbours who were not known to you before?

-----  
-----

9. (a) What do you think have been your serious problems since you settled here ?

-----  
-----  
-----

(b) In the event of your encountering any such problem who do you seek out for assistance in solving them?

Problem	Relevant contacts		Location
	kin	non-kin	
i.			
ii.			
iii.			

-----

-----

-----

(c) If you may recall one serious problem you recently had, how exactly did you go about it?

-----  
-----  
-----

10. When did you acquire your techniques of farming that you employ on this plot currently?

- ( ) before settling here
- ( ) after settling here

11. How would you describe relationships between people in this community?

- ( ) Very poor      ( ) poor      ( ) uncertain      ( ) Good      ( ) Very good

Explain:

-----  
-----  
-----  
-----

PART 3

12 What are the special qualities of leadership you may suggest from your experience around here?

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

13 (a) Do you have any informal leaders here?

- yes ( )                      ( ) not sure
- no ( )                        ( ) don't know

b) Name some of them

Names 1 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_

Any formal position.

character (qualities)

how observe character

relation to informant

relation to important people

14. Do the informal leaders influence activity around here?  
( ) a lot ( ) a bit ( ) uncertain ( ) not at all ( ) very little.

15 Do you think the personal social ties (connections) is responsible for the esteem of any of the leaders you named?  
-----  
-----

16(a) Have you had any communal projects here?  
( ) Yes ( ) No

If yes, who organizes them?

	Name	location	what done
i	_____	_____	_____
ii	_____	_____	_____
iii	_____	_____	_____

(b) Is there positive response towards the projects  
( ) yes ( ) no ( ) not sure

(c) If answer no, why not?  
-----