

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS

OF

BANDEK LAND SETTLEMENT SCHEME

By

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A thesis submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts
in the University of East Africa.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the African Studies Programme of Sociology at Makerere University College for the facilities, advice and financial assistance with which they provided me. I would also like to thank the Makerere Institute of Social Research for the grant which it made available to me. In particular I would like to thank Professor Raymond Apthorpe of the Department of Sociology for his guidance.

I am especially appreciative of the assistance which Mr. and Mrs. Gourlay and family of Makerere University College offered me during the final stages of the preparation of this thesis.

This thesis could not have been completed without the help of my field assistance Mr. Michael Kipkorir Arap Koech. He was an invaluable assistant and a good friend. I owe him my deepest gratitude.

For a variety of reasons this thesis was written entirely in the field, some two hundred and fifty miles from the nearest library. As a result of this fact it does not contain copious references to the published literature on land settlement.

" Hoc erat in votis: modus agri non ita magnus.
Hortus ubi et tecto vicinus iugis aquae fons
Et apulum silvae super his foret."

" This was what I prayed for: a plot of land
not too large, containing a garden, and near
the house a fresh spring of water, and a bit
of forest to complete it."

Horace 65 - 8 B.C.
Satires, II. vi. I.

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THESIS SYNOPSIS

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF BANDEK LAND SETTLEMENT SCHEME

The thesis will consist of a sociological case study of a Land Settlement Scheme located in Kericho District in the Republic of Kenya. The topics which will be discussed in the thesis are as follows:

- 1. The sources from which the plot-holders obtained information about Land Settlement.
2. The actions which the plot-holders took in order to obtain a plot on the Scheme.
3. The conceptions that the settlers had about Land Settlement before they took up their plots.
- 4. The socio-economic background of the plot-holders.
5. The reactions of the plot-holders when they learned of the regulations which they were expected to obey.
6. The conceptions which the settlers held of the type of farming practised by the Europeans who formerly owned the land.
7. The difficulties associated with the ownership and management of the European breeds of cattle.
8. The role of the veterinary staff on the Scheme.
9. The problem of Artificial Insemination (A.I.) A.I. as an innovation which is not accepted.
- 10. Social factors effecting agricultural production. The question of the "work ethic" and "peasant fatalism".

11. The problem of mortgage payments. How traditional attitudes towards credit effects the functioning of the Scheme.
12. Friendship patterns on the Scheme.
13. The role of women and paid labourers on the Scheme.
14. The problem of disputes and dispute settlement.
15. The role of the Co-operative Society.
16. Leadership and authority on the Scheme. The question of legitimacy.
17. The relations between the Scheme and the neighbouring areas. The question of the "demonstration effect."
18. The types of houses that are found on the Scheme.

The topics which are given the greatest consideration are the social factors effecting agricultural production, the problem of A.I., dispute settlement, the Co-operative Society and loan repayments.

The thesis states that agricultural production on the Scheme is strikingly greater than it is on the neighbouring freehold lands, but that the per acre production is considerably below that achieved by the Europeans that formerly occupied the land. The explanation given for this phenomenon is that the plot-holders are committed to producing for the cash economy to a much greater degree than are the people in the neighbouring freehold land,

but they are not completely committed to the concept of farming as a commercial enterprise. The "economizing ethic" is not at the centre of the plot-holders' attitude toward farming. This contention will be supported by data collected in interviews and by observation. A discussion of the agricultural techniques practised by the plot-holders will be presented.

The plot-holders are willing to accept an innovation provided that it yields clearly recognizable rewards and does not run counter to traditional values or require a substantial investment in either time or money. The reactions of the plot-holders to innovations such as passion fruit, hybrid maize, fertilizers, European breeds of cattle and artificial insemination will be used as examples to support this contention.

The reason that Artificial insemination (A.I.) has not been successful on the Scheme is not due to any "moral" or "ethical" objections, but rather on the grounds that it has not been effective enough to be satisfactory to the plot-holders. The plot-holders consider A.I. to be a waste of money. A presentation of the reasons why cows on the Scheme often do not conceive after being served by A.I. several times will be made. Among the reasons for A.I. not being effective is poor animal husbandry being practised by the plot-holders and the lack of

experienced veterinary staff. The contention that there is no strong moral bias against A.I. will be supported by data collected in interviews with the plot-holders. A number of statements made by the plot-holders themselves will be presented.

The failure of the plot-holders to accept passion fruit as a cash crop will be shown to be based on their reluctance to accept an innovation which requires a good deal of intensive labour. It will be shown that the way passion fruit was introduced militated against its acceptance. Data collected in interviews with the plot-holders will be presented.

Kipsigis jurisprudence is not concerned with the search for "Justice", but rather the search for an equitable solution to a dispute. The ideal of Kipsigis jurisprudence is not that "for every wrong there is a redress in the law", but rather that peaceful relations should be maintained in the community. A solution to a dispute which leaves bitterness is not considered to be a satisfactory solution. The "Reasonable Man" in Kipsigis law is the one who does not force his rights against another person. These contentions will be supported by an examination of six cases of dispute settlement which took place on the Scheme. The cases that are presented range from the offence of malicious gossip to attempted matricide. All six cases took place while the author was resident on the Scheme.

The primary factor determining friendship networks on the Scheme is proximity. Kinship, age-set affiliation, and previous acquaintanceship will be shown to be unimportant factors in determining friendship networks. Clanship will be shown to be of particularly slight importance. Any social relations that existed prior to moving on the Scheme will wither if the persons involved in them do not live close to each other on the Scheme.

The primary unit of social interaction is the neighbourhood or kokwet. The kokwet consists of from eight to fifteen families who live in close proximity to each other. It is the unit within which disputes arise and are settled. It is the unit within which the communal work group is organized. If a member of the kokwet is offensive in his behaviour over a substantial period of time the kokwet will react by excluding him from all the social activities of the community. They will not, however, invite outside authority to take action against him even if he has committed a serious criminal offence. These contentions will be supported by interviews and observations made on the Scheme. A detailed description of one kokwet will be presented.

There are two types of leaders on the Scheme. The first type of leader is a man who is widely known all over the Scheme, and is generally recognized as a man who is more experienced and/or

educated than the average plot-holder. These leaders include the Chairman of the Co-operative Society, the sub-chief and the Member of Parliament that lives on the Scheme. Among the qualifications for leadership of this type are the ability to speak well in public and the willingness to travel off of the Scheme to represent the plot-holders at meetings and conferences. The other type of leader is not generally well known throughout the Scheme. He may not be more experienced or educated than the other plot-holders. He is a leader at the kokwet level. He is highly respected within his own community, and his neighbours look to him for assistance and advice. The primary qualification for this type of leadership is the willingness to offer assistance and guidance to any member of the community who seeks it. Generosity and hospitality are important qualifications for this type of leadership. Description of both types of leaders will be presented in the thesis.

The Co-operative Society lacks support because it is not seen as an organization that yields any benefits to the plot-holders. It is seen as a "para-governmental" institution. It will be shown that the element of voluntary co-operation was totally lacking in the organization of the Society. All the plot-holders were required to become members of the Society at the time they were allocated their plots. All milk produced on the Scheme which is not used for subsistence purposes must be sold to the Society.

A person who sells his milk elsewhere is subject to a fine. Many of the plot-holders sell their milk to consumers living in neighbouring areas rather than to the Society. They do this because the people living in the neighbouring areas pay much more for milk than does the Society. The consumers buy the milk at two to three times the price that the Society pays. The plot-holders are not interested in attending meetings of the Society because they can see no benefit which can be derived from taking an active interest in the affairs of the Society. Data collected from interviews with the plot-holders will be present.

The majority of the plot-holders were not aware of the great number of rules and restrictions which are associated with Land Settlement. Many of them were surprised to learn that they would have to be making mortgage payments for thirty years. The need to make mortgage payments is regarded by the plot-holders as the most disagreeable part of Land Settlement. While the plot-holders recognize the legitimacy of having to pay for their land, they consider the mortgage payments to be excessive.

Despite the fact that many of the plot-holders find certain aspects of the Scheme unpleasant, only a small minority of them have chosen to sell

their plots and move elsewhere. The great majority of the plot-holders consider the Scheme to be their permanent home.

CHAPTER I
PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS CONCERNING LAND
SETTLEMENT AMONG THE KIPSIGIS

Introduction

Bandek Land Settlement Scheme, hereafter referred to as "The Scheme," constitutes part of the Million Acre land settlement programme that has taken place in Kenya in the last five years. The Scheme is located in Kericho District, at 35° East and 5' South in an area which was formerly known as the "White Highlands." The land is well watered, receiving 70 inches of rainfall yearly, mostly in the period from the middle of March to the middle of May. There are usually no sustained periods of drought. It is at an elevation of approximately 7,000 feet. The land which now comprises the Scheme, was, until 1962, held by eleven European farmers. The land was bought by Settlement Authorities in the period 1962-1964, while the first plot holders came in July, 1964. The Scheme was completed in March, 1965. It consists of 368 plots ranging in size from 24 acres for completely arable land, to about 70 acres for land which must be used entirely for pastoralism.

All the plot-holders on the Scheme are Kipsigis. Kipsigis country is almost congruent with the Kericho District of Kenya. The plot-holders come from all the Locations of the District. The Settlement regulations require that all plot-holders be Kipsigis, but beyond this requirement there are no restrictions on the place of origin of the plot-holders. Before coming on the Scheme many of the plot-holders had been working outside of Kipsigis country. While there is no marked rivalry between the various areas of Kipsigis country, some Kipsigis are able to detect variation in pronunciation depending on a man's place of origin. Some plot-holders belong to Kisii clans, while others are members of clans that are located primarily in Nandi country, but this is not an important factor in social relations among the Kipsigis.

The Kipsigis are a Kalenjin speaking people, belonging to the larger Nilo-Hamitic group of peoples. They are linguistically and culturally related to the Nandi, Tugen and Elgeyo people of Kenya and to a lesser extent to the Sebei people of Uganda. They are bordered by the Luo on the North, by the Maasai on

the South and South-East, and by the Kisii on the South-West.

Thirty six of the plots have been grouped together to form 13 one hundred acre plots. The one hundred acre plots are classified as "Z" plots. The average size for all plots on the Scheme is 37.6 acres. About 51% of the plots are comprised of entirely arable land and are therefore classified as "A" plots. Eighteen per cent are of mixed arable and non-arable land/are classified as "B" plots. The remaining 21% are comprised entirely of non-arable land and are classified as "C" plots.¹ The "C" plots are waterlogged during the rainy season, thus making maize production practically impossible.

The Scheme is "High Density" with a budgeted income of Shs. 1,400/-, after subsistence and loan repayments. Loan payments amount to Shs. 420/- due six monthly. The "A" plots-holders are expected to derive an income from maize, cattle, and passion fruit. The "B" plots are budgeted for maize and cattle, and the "C" plots for cattle alone.

1. Settlement Office Records.

The senior officer resident on the Scheme is the Settlement Officer (S.O.). The Settlement Officer is responsible for all aspects of the administration and functioning of the Scheme. He is assisted by a Clerk, four Veterinary Scouts, an Agricultural Assistant and a Co-operative Assistant. As his title indicates, the Co-operative Assistant is primarily concerned with the administration of the Co-operative Society, and must counter sign all cheques issued by it. He is responsible both to the S.O. and to his superior in the Ministry of Co-operatives and Social Services of the Central Government. The sub-chief, with the assistance of the two Administration Policemen (A.P's) is responsible for general law and order in the Scheme. He is also responsible for the collection of taxes. Although he was elected by the plot-holders, he may not be dismissed by them and he is paid by the Central Government. The function of the Veterinary Scouts (V/S) will be discussed below. They are directly responsible both to the S.O. and to the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry, as is the agricultural instructor. The S.O. is responsible to the Senior Settlement Officer (S.S.O) Kapkoech, and to the Area Settlement Controller,

(Nakuru). The Chairman of the Co-operative Society is elected by the plot-holders and is unsalaried. He functions as a general representative of the plot-holders. The Co-operative Society has a number of salaried employees, including a clerk, a driver, and five men to operate the dairies and dips. The Chairman is responsible to a ten member Executive Committee.

Field work was conducted for twelve months from November, 1966 until November, 1967. During that time the author was resident in the Scheme. Long open-ended interviews were conducted with plot-holders from all parts of the Scheme, and in the course of the research, approximately eighty per cent of the plot-holders were visited. The percentages stated in this paper are the result of interviews, observation and examination of Settlement records. Unless otherwise stated, they are not intended to be absolute, but rather they are intended to indicate the approximate degree to which a certain belief is held or practice followed. With very few exceptions the plot-holders were co-operative. Many originally believed the author was a Peace Corps Volunteer (P.C.V.) employed by the Settlement Authorities, but most

accepted the explanation that he was a research student not employed by the Government. Many people stated that they hoped the author would convey all their problems to the Government. The S.O's who have been on the Scheme have been most helpful, particularly as regards supplying me with statistics for the Scheme as a whole. The sub-chief spent many hours explaining various aspects of the Scheme to me. He was a valuable source of information. The Chairman of the Co-operative Society was also quite helpful. The subordinate staff were also, on the whole, co-operative.

Among my close neighbours on the Scheme I was able to develop a high degree of rapport. They were anxious to help me with my research, often volunteering information which I otherwise would not have been able to obtain.

The statements which I make concerning the Kipsigis Reserves are based on observation and informal interviews I have made during various weekend visits.

Whatever may have been, or still may be, the

motivating forces for the creation and maintainance of Land Schemes in Kenya, they require radical shifts from traditional behaviour. Bandek Settlement Scheme must be viewed as an experiment in social change. This thesis will present those factors which make it so, and will discuss the reaction that the plot-holders have had to these innovations. A Land Settlement Scheme is basically a farm, and it is therefore necessary to consider agriculture as a main consideration in any discussion. This chapter will attempt to present the primary social factors affecting agricultural production. Social relations among the plot-holders will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter.

Certain terms must be made clear at the outset.

A "grade cow" refers to a cow which is of a breed originating in Europe. The breeds of grade cow found on the Scheme are Ayshire, Friesian, and Red Poll, indigenous stocks are referred to as "Zebu" cows. A "cattle dip" is a long, deep, trough filled with water and disinfectant through which a cow is driven in order to rid it of disease carrying ticks.

The word "Reserve" refers to land which has always been reserved for African usage. Since there

are no longer racial restrictions placed on land usage in Kenya the term is an anachronism, but it is still widely used by both Africans and Europeans alike to distinguish ^{it} from "Scheme". Officially it is known as the former African Trust Lands. A social distinction between "Scheme" and "Reserve" does exist. A "bag" of maize refers to 200 pounds of maize kernals. A "debe" is a four gallon tin which is commonly used as a measure of maize. There are six debes to a bag of maize.

A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF SOCIAL CHANGE AMONG THE
KIPSIGIS PRIOR TO LAND SETTLEMENT

The Kipsigis had been considered by the Colonial administration to be a highly "progressive", "model" tribe,¹ which is to say they rapidly adopted themselves to certain institutions associated with the colonial administration. This view has also been supported by a recent anthropological study of the Kipsigis.² This thesis will first consider

1. Barwell, C.W. "A Note on Some Changes in the Economy of the Kipsigis Tribe" Journal of African Administration Vol. VIII No. 2 pp.95-101 April, 1956.

2. Manners, Robert A. "The Kipsigis of Kenya - Culture Change in a 'Model' East African Tribe pp.205-359 in Contemporary Change in Traditional Societies, Stewart, Julian - Ed. Univ. of Illinois Press Urbana, London 1967, Chicago."

the changes that have taken place among the Kipsigis in the past sixty years and then demonstrate that they have been in many ways materially different from the changes to which the plot-holders on the Scheme are expected to adopt themselves. No attempt will be made to portray the Kipsigis as "highly conservative" or "backward". Rather an attempt will be made to show that heretofore change among the Kipsigis was to a large extent an adoption of new traits into the traditional culture pattern, with the modification of both the new traits and the traditional culture, while the innovations involved in Land Settlement are much less subject to adoption into the traditional culture.

Traditionally the Kipsigis practised both agriculture and pastoralism. Pastoralism was based upon the accumulation of cattle and not on the quality of a few highly productive cows. Traditionally there was little purpose in keeping a few high quality animals which could be lost due to drought, warfare or disease. It was the practice among the Kipsigis, as among other cattle-keeping people, for a man to keep as large a number of animals as

possible, and to distribute them among friends and relatives so that he would not be likely to lose all his cattle in a single disaster. Although a man would select an especially good bull for breeding, and many men appreciated the need to enrich the cow's diet with mineral salts, traditionally the primary concern of a Kipsigis man was to have many cattle, to be used for social, ritual and subsistence purposes. Cattle served as an important item in ceremonial activities, and were absolutely necessary to legitimize a marriage. The cow was the medium through which a man obtained a wife and legitimate heirs to carry on his line. Cows were used by a man as a means of having numerous sons, and gaining a sense of immortality. Without sons a man would be considered pitiful both by himself and neighbours. The cow is also one of the basic items of subsistence. Milk, eaten with millet or maize, is one of the basic foods of the Kipsigis. Meat is an important supplement to the diet, as is blood, drunk either fresh, or mixed with milk. Blood is commonly given to women as a tonic and as a reward for having given birth to a child.

Grazing land was communally held, and, except in times of drought, there was sufficient pasture for all. There was no necessity to supplement the diet of the cattle in times of sufficient rainfall, and it was impossible to do so in times of drought. To increase his yield from cattle, a man would think in terms of increasing the size of his herd, not in terms of increasing the yield he obtained from each animal. An important factor which caused a man to consider quantity rather than quality was the fact that the Kipsigis were (and still are to a limited extent) raided by their neighbours the Luo, Kisii, and Maasai. Likewise, the Kipsigis raided their neighbours. A man who was brave in warfare could increase his herd and take a second wife without having to concern himself with the day to day problems of animal husbandry. In the same way, a man could lose a good part of his herd due to an enemy raid.

Agriculture was subsistence, and land was a free item. Land "belonged" to the man who cleared it and was using it. The ordinary agricultural activities were the responsibility of the women, although men usually did the heavy work such as clearing

virgin bush.¹ A man was interested in producing food sufficient for his family's needs and for certain social obligations. A man of middle age would normally be expected to have many children coming up for circumcision and would therefore have to produce grain in considerable excess of his own domestic needs in order to meet his obligation to supply copious amounts of beer and food for his children's ceremonies. For this reason agricultural production was made to exceed bare subsistence needs. However, with an abundance of open and fertile land, there was no need to extract the highest possible yield from an acre of land. If a man for some reason was interested in increasing the amount of millet he harvested he could simply cultivate more land. The land was usually planted for two or three years and then fresh land was cleared. If a man wished, he could return to land which he had previously cultivated, after it had lain fallow long enough to recover its fertility. Fertilizers in the form of dung were used only to a limited extent for small gardens which were used for the growing of greens.

1. Peristiany, J.G. The Social Institutions of the Kipsigis George Routledge & Sons Ltd. London 1939.

Hunting, but not fishing was practiced; not as a matter of necessity, but rather as a supplement to the diet, and as sport. Some greens were cultivated, and others picked wild. Honey was also collected and made into an alcoholic beverage, or given to a woman who had recently given birth to a child. When honey was collected no effort was used to preserve the bee ~~swarm~~, and the collection of honey resulted in the death of the bees that produced it.

As is the case in "subsistence" economies, among the Kipsigis, it was either impossible or profitless to try to maximize yield. Once subsistence and social obligations were met, there was no purpose in increasing production. The only item which it was profitable or possible to accumulate over a long period of time was cattle. As Bohannan and Dalton point out, in traditional African economies, "the movement of material goods is reciprocal and redistributive....[and] cannot be understood outside of the context of the social situation of which they form an integral part."¹

1. Bohannan, Paul and Dalton, George Markets in Africa, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, p.4, 1962.

An important part of the social system of the Kipsigis, was and still is based on a pattern of obligations to help friends and kin. This was clearly a wealth levelling influence. In a traditional subsistence economy "the safest form of investment and often the only one, is still to be found in building up claims against persons."¹

Traditionally a man gained prestige not only through material wealth, although he had to have a reasonable number of cattle and sons to attain leadership, but through becoming widely known as a man who could settle disputes with intelligence and tact. A man's own personality was the most important factor which determined whether a person would be a leader among the Kipsigis or not. Orchardson states, "class distinction, whether of birth or wealth are unknown. Any prominence or authority an individual attains is due chiefly to his character, his seniority and the sanction of public opinion."²

1. Colson, Elizabeth Africa Today 'Native Culture and Social Patterns in Contemporary Africa' C.O., Haines Ed. Baltimore, 1955.

2. Orchardson I. "The Kipsigis" Ed. Matson A.I. Eagle Press Nairobi, 1961 pp.10

Orchardson also suggests that a man may fall from a position of prominence if he fails to fill his position adequately.

While a system of subsistence agriculture and pastoralism combined with interlocking economic obligations is by no means unique in East Africa it is important to consider what effect this system has had upon Kipsigis reaction to social change as a whole, and Land Settlement in particular. Many of the factors usually associated with rapid social change were not present in the Kipsigis experience. Although there was a great deal of land alienated from the tribe, both for private European farms and for tea estates, there has not, until very recently, been substantial land pressure. As Pilgrim¹ points out it will be the young men growing up now who will form the "landless class" of Kipsigis. There has been for some time a class of Kipsigis "squatters" who live on European farms, earn a cash income and are given a small plot of land for their subsistence

1. Pilgrim, John The Social and Economic Consequences of Land Enclosure in the Kipsigis Reserve Makerere Institute of Social Research 1961 (Unpublished).

needs. This class of landless "squatters" was developed not as the result of there being insufficient land in the Reserves, but rather from the desire on the part of some men to take part in the cash economy as permanent farm labourers. The Kipsigis live on well watered, fertile land and although drought and famine are not unknown, they are not so severe as to make labour migration an absolute necessity. Relatively few Kipsigis became "squatters". On the tea estates within Kipsigis land there are a greater number of people coming from distant tribes than there are Kipsigis. This is the case in Kericho town as well. The Kipsigis did join the Army and Police in large numbers, but for other than purely economic motivations.

The fact that the Kipsigis were the first tribe in East Africa to take part voluntarily in land enclosure had two effects. First, it encouraged certain aspects of agricultural development. A man knew that any permanent improvements he made would belong to him. It also made the Kipsigis more willing to accept advice on erosion control. Rows of trees

and terraced and contour ploughing are not an uncommon sight in the Kipsigis Reserves.

The second effect was to isolate the Kipsigis from the acculturative influences that a tribe less fortunate in terms of land would have experienced. There was very little need for the Kipsigis to maximize yield per acre, to "economize" or to invest a great deal in the education of their children. As the need for cash grew, in order to pay tax, to buy clothes, and sugar and tea, the demands were easily met by producing a little for the market. This increased production, however, did not basically alter the concepts associated with agricultural production. If there were no special needs or difficulty it was possible for a man to sell a cow, a goat or a sheep, or to sell a few debes of maize in order to meet the need for cash. This could be done without basically upsetting the traditional pattern of agriculture. During the recent colonial period, any unskilled worker employed on a farm in Kericho District would earn between Shs. 120/- and Shs.360/- per year plus maize for subsistence. At the same time an average zebu cow would fetch between Shs.80/-

and Shs. 100/-. If a man had reasonably good fortune with his animals he could sell one or two of them for about the same amount of money that he would have earned through an entire year's labour. Selling a cow certainly represents acceptance of one kind of non-traditional economic behaviour, but it does not basically alter the subsistence ideology, nor need it deeply affect cultural patterns. A subsistence agriculturalist could well expect to have a cow or two, or even a few goats ready for sale each year.

An important event in the history of Kipsigis agriculture was the introduction of the plough by Protestant missionaries. It did not have a revolutionary effect. Although some men used the plough to bring large areas of land under cultivation, the acceptance of the plough does not necessarily bring about an increase in productivity. The plough can be, and in many cases was, used simply as a time and labour saving device. Thus, an acre of land could be cultivated in half the time it took traditionally, but still give the same yield. In many areas of Kipsigis land where it is accepted,

subsistence agriculture is still practiced. A technological improvement, even if it is completely accepted does not necessarily bring about an increase either in the quality or quantity of production. The rapid and widespread acceptance by the Kipsigis of the plough does not represent an early and widespread acceptance of modern conceptions of agricultural production.

Traditionally with hoe agriculture, it was possible for a family to derive their subsistence from an acre or two of millet. To derive their subsistence from maize a family must put five to six acres under cultivation. Millet, however, takes a great deal of care in terms of weeding and harvesting, which is extremely tedious labour. Thus the introduction of the plough increased the number of acres under cultivation but did not, of itself, increase productivity. The switch from hoe to plough agriculture, besides paving the way for the replacement of millet by maize, transferred primary responsibility for the cultivation from women to men. Ploughing involves the manipulation of oxen and is therefore a male responsibility.

The Kipsigis practiced a system of shifting agriculture. In this system, maintenance of the fertility of the soil does not represent a particular problem. If a man followed the same methods of agriculture year after year, he might expect no increase in his yields, but likewise he might expect no decrease. However, when the land is enclosed, and a man cannot shift from one location to another, then the maintenance of a conservative attitude will cause his yields to go down due to exhaustion of the soil. Land enclosure, if it is not accompanied by other changes in agriculture, can lead to the lowering of productivity. This has happened in many areas of the Kipsigis Reserve.

Cattle dips are not an uncommon sight in many areas of Kipsigis country. These dips represent the acceptance of an important technological innovation, but they do not necessarily represent an acceptance of the ideology behind them. The Veterinary or Community Development Officer who encourages the people to build dips has in mind the increased sale of milk and meat, while the people who build the dip are very likely to be concerned

only with an increase in the absolute number of cows in each man's herd. Dipping protects cattle from tick borne disease, it does not change the essential qualities of the animals, it merely helps increase the total size of the herd. Dipping, rather than being in conflict with traditional values, is in keeping with those values. The use of the plough and the dip may be seen as the adaptation of synchro-tisms. In a like manner, many zebu cows in the Reserves, even in isolated areas bear brands indicating that they have been vaccinated against various common diseases. The inoculations are given free of charge and require no commitment on the part of the owner, except that he must bring his animals to the veterinary scouts at the proper time. Inoculations increase the total number of stock while effecting little else. Factors such as land enclosure, the use of the plough and the acceptance of some veterinary services do not of themselves represent a strong commitment to modernization. Acceptance of technology does not necessarily represent acceptance of ideologies.

The school is usually cited as the place where great pressure for social change is exerted upon the

individual. The fact that there are today relatively few Kipsigis in high posts in Government and business indicate that the Kipsigis did not send their children to school in great number in the past. Until recently a man who passed the Kenya Preliminary Examination (Standard VII) was looked upon as a man of considerable education.

It is necessary to consider briefly some of the main characteristics of the school as a force for social change in order that the characteristics of Land Settlement as a force for social change may be brought into greater relief. Bandek Scheme itself is served by eleven primary schools, one of which is located on the Scheme. The influence which these schools have on the Scheme will be discussed below.

Education as a form of investment is practised only to a limited extent. There is an expectation that the older children will assume the financial burden of education and possibly the subsistence of the younger children. The local primary school does not necessarily have a great influence on the community it serves. This is true

both for schools serving children in the Reserves, and those on or near the Scheme. Although the course of study theoretically requires regular work schedules and regimentation, as well as the introduction of two foreign languages, (Swahili and English) and a world religion, in practice these requirements are met only to a limited degree. The school committee, selected from the elders of the community which the school serves, has a good deal of influence on the management of the school. They are able to remit school fees, to cancel disciplinary measures taken by the headmaster, and to work for the dismissal of the headmaster or a member of his staff.

The teachers are drawn from the local community, and many of them have not completed primary school themselves. A great many of the teachers have difficulty with English. The need for the student to maintain regular work and study habits is not great since attendance is very often not taken and classes are often not held due to various other activities. It is a common procedure in the Kapkoech area for teachers to be excused from

teaching at least once a month, and not uncommonly three and four times a month in order to collect their cheques. During the sports season class schedules are particularly irregular. Practice for various events often necessitates closing the school. Such is the case with the school which is located on the scheme. It is now Kenya Government policy that every child be promoted one standard for every year he is in school. Thus there are no incentives until the final year for regular and consistent work. Parents, partly due to their own inability to read and write, take only slight interest in their children's progress until the final year.

Neither the school building, nor the teachers themselves, are demonstrative of great shifts from traditional values. The school is often of mud and wattle construction in worse repair than many homes. This is not the case with the school on the Scheme. The Scheme school is housed in a brick building which was formerly a European home. No effort, however, is made to retard the rapid deterioration of the building in which the Scheme school is housed. The teachers do not have a concept of them-

selves as community leaders nor are they seen as such by others.

The Scheme school, which was started shortly after the creation of the Scheme does not make any effort to assume a unique position in the Scheme. It is small and does not have a Standard Seven (final year) class. Despite the sufficient land available no school garden is maintained.

There is no doubt that if a man dips his cattle, sends his children to school and practices erosion control he is making a very real commitment to the use of modern techniques, but the acceptance of these devices does not represent a commitment to an "economising" ideology which looks to the "maximization" of yield and income. Modern techniques may be used either to increase the ease with which a man gains his subsistence or to help him to leave the subsistence economy entirely and enter the market economy. It is the desire of the Settlement Authorities that the plot-holders be directed to the later course.

Initial Sources of Information Concerning Land Settlement

In order fully to understand the expectations of the plot-holders when they first came onto the Scheme it is necessary to examine the ways in which the plot-holders first became aware of Land Settlement, and how they went about obtaining a plot for themselves. Although few of the plot-holders were fully informed about the nature of the Scheme, only a small number of them feel they have been misled, or regret that they came on the Scheme.

There were three sources of information from which the plot-holders learned that the European owned farms would be divided up and sold to Africans. The three sources were: (1) The European farmers who informed their employees that they would soon be leaving the country, and that they should apply to the District Commissioner for land. (2) Those who were living in the rural areas heard about Land Settlement through the chiefs and headmen who called meetings and encouraged those under their jurisdiction to apply for plot. (3) Those who were living in urban or semi-urban areas heard the politicians say

that the Europeans would soon be returning to their homes, and that the land would be made available to the Africans. Approximately half of the plot-holders learned about Land Settlement through the chiefs, a quarter heard from the politicians and the remainder heard about Land Settlement through the European settlers.

The plots on the Scheme were specifically intended for those Kipsigis who did not own land in the Reserves. It was the policy of the Settlement Authorities that in order to be considered for a plot, a man either had to have a letter from his employer stating that he was a landless squatter, or a letter from his chief stating that he was landless. Approximately three-quarters of the plot-holders have no land in the Reserves. Almost all of the plot-holders first heard about Land Settlement between 1960 and 1963.

Typical of the way in which the plot-holders learned about Land Settlement was the way in which a twenty-eight year old man heard the information. He explained that the chief said that small plots

would be available, and that applications must be made to the District Commissioner, and that the headman called meetings to tell the landless people to apply. - He stated that at first the politicians said the land would be given to the landless free, but as soon as Independence came, there was nothing free available. Although this man and several others specifically stated that they heard some politicians make speeches in the early 1960's in which they promised that the land would be given free, a number of others stated that at no time did the politicians promise that the land would be given free. One man, who was involved in politics at the District level immediately preceding Independence explained the role of the politicians in these terms, "At first the politicians said the land would be given freely, but then the Europeans demanded some money. The politicians said the land should not be paid for because the Europeans did not bring it from abroad....[However] if the land had been given free there would have been a great scramble for the land. The Government did well by selling it, rather than giving it free." One plot-holder, who has a complete primary school education,

stated that he first heard about Land Settlement from a member of the Legislative Council who specifically stated that the land would be sold, and not given away. This plot-holder went on to say, "The people from the Reserves were waiting for free land because they said that the land belonged to the people of Kenya." He saw the requirement of a down payment as an effort at social engineering on the part of the Kenya Government. It was his belief that the down payment was a device used by the Government to discourage an excessive number of people from applying for plots.

After the applications were filed in Kericho, the prospective plot-holders were called to the District Commissioner's office to be interviewed. The Committee which interviewed those who had applied for plots consisted of the D.C., the Agricultural Officer, and several politicians. The interview was very brief, sometimes consisting of only one question, and rarely of more than two questions. The questions were as follows: (1) "Do you have sufficient cash in hand to make a down-payment for the plot?" The amount of cash which

the plot-holders remember being asked about various between Shs. 1,250/- and Shs. 1,900/-. If the interviewees were asked a second question, it was always, (2) "Do you have any other land?" None of the plot-holders remembers being asked about mortgage payment or any of the rules and restrictions associated with the Scheme.

After the interview the people were told to wait for notification that they had been allocated a plot. Those who were successful were sent a Letter of Allotment shortly after the interviews. The letter, which was written in difficult, legal English notified the recipient of the letter that he should present himself at the Scheme on a certain day, and should be prepared to make a cash downpayment of Shs. 1,250/-. The Letter of Allotment gave the name of the Scheme, and the number of the plot which the person had been assigned, but it indicated neither the location of the Scheme, nor the location of the plot. After receiving their Letters of Allotment a small number of plot-holders went to inspect the plot which they had been assigned. One man rented a lorry so that his neighbours and

relatives could go with him to look over the land. Some of the prospective plot-holders had a familiarity with the land, having worked on it when it was owned by the Europeans, but the great majority saw their plots only after they had made their downpayments. The willingness of the people who had been allocated plots to pay a downpayment for land which they had never seen reflects both the fact that many of them had either to accept the plot or face the prospect of going landless the rest of their lives, and the fact that they were aware that there was a ready market for Land Settlement plots if the land proved satisfactory. All the plot-holders did not come to make their downpayments on the same day. About half of the plot-holders came on the Scheme in July, 1964, and the rest came on during the following six months.

Many of the plot-holders lived at a considerable distance from the Scheme, and in order to insure that they would arrive at the Scheme in time to make the downpayment they stayed with friends living near the Scheme, or in hotels in Kapkoech. At the time that the people signed, or placed their

thumb prints on the documents in which they promised to conform to Settlement regulations, the rules of the Scheme were explained to them. They were also told that they would have to pay a thirty year mortgage. One man described the reaction of the plot-holders when they learned of the regulations in these terms, "Most people were surprised to hear these things, but nobody left. Some people began to complain, but nobody asked any questions."

Although about eighty per cent of the plot-holders stated that the first time that they heard about the Settlement Regulations and mortgage payments was when they went to make their downpayments, the rules that the plot-holders would have to follow were sent to them with their Letters of Allotment. A small number of the plot-holders stated that it was not until they had taken up their plots that they learned about the various restrictions.

The document which each plot-holders signed stated that he would agree to:¹ (1) Farm in a way

1. Nottidge, C.P.R. and Goldsack, J.R. The Million Acre Settlement Scheme -- 1962 - 1966 Department of Settlement, The Government Printer Nairobi, Appendix 1967.

considered satisfactory to the Settlement Authorities. When plot-holders first came on the Scheme they were told that "satisfactory" farming included the building of fences and latrines, as well as taking the cows to the dip. The erecting of a fence was seen by all the plot-holders as a normal procedure with which they had been familiar. The use of barbed wire instead of thorn bush did not present any difficulties to the people who came on the Scheme. Every plot on the Scheme is now fenced with at least three strands of barbed wire. Latrines were built on all of the plots, but at present they are little used. (2) Not to "change, transfer [or] lease" the plot without prior consent of the Settlement Authorities. As will be pointed out, this part of the agreement has been violated several times. (3) Not keep other than approved livestock on the Scheme. The only approved livestock are grade cows, castrated grade bulls, and non-grade oxen (two per plot). (4) Be a member of the Co-operative Society and to sell milk to it, and (5) Reside on the Scheme. There was no direct mention of the possibility of eviction, but rather of the cancellation of the mortgage. The agreement states:

"The whole of the money shall become immediately due and payable: (a) Where default is made by the Borrower for one month. (b) If there be any breach by Borrower of any other agreement." After the loan has been cancelled a man must pay the entire amount of the mortgage or be evicted.

Although the plot-holders, are, with very few exceptions not aware of all the political and economic motivations which resulted in the creation of Land Settlement Schemes, they are aware of the basic forces which made the creation of the Scheme, necessary. The achievement of Independence under a popularly elected African Government was the basic force leading to the creation of Land Settlement Schemes. The existence of a large, expatriate, land holding community is not politically desirable in an independent country in which land is a scarce commodity. Further, many of the Europeans settlers had no desire to live in a country which was governed by an independent African Government. Landlessness among the African population has been an important political issue in Kenya. Land Settlement was therefore created as a means of both

reducing the size of the foreign land holding community, and of providing more land to the indigenous population.

Many of the plot-holders are also aware that the Government of the United Kingdom supplied the majority of the money needed to finance the land transfer. A former squatter explained that, "The Government divided the plots into small divisions to enable the poor to buy land. The land was not given freely because the Europeans who left wanted something for their efforts." However, he also went on to say, "We made the downpayment, but we do not know who received the money." An "A" plot-holder explained that the Government had created the Scheme, "because the Europeans had left the land and the wananchi (Sw. 'the owners of the land', i.e. the Africans) wanted to settle properly, they did not want any more foreigners. The Europeans had to be paid and that is why there are loans." Like other formerly landless people, this man stated that he had been assigned a plot because he had no other land. Although the plot-holders had to make a substantial downpayment to get the land,

the majority stated that the Scheme was intended for the poor, landless people. None of the plot-holders mentioned agricultural development or the desire of the Government to promote improved agricultural techniques among African farmers as a factor leading to Land Settlement. None of those interviewed spoke of Land Settlement as a way for the Africans to recover land which had been stolen from them by Europeans, nor did any of them state that they thought the land should have been given to the landless free.

As in many African societies, among the Kipsigis, the possession of land is a good and desirable thing in and of itself. The more land a man has, the more rich and secure he feels.¹ There were thus two types of "land hunger" which led people to seek land on the Scheme. The first type was that of a man who had no land elsewhere, and was pleased at the opportunity of acquiring any land which he was able to afford. A plot-holder who had been landless

1. Carey - Jones, N.S. "The Decolonization of the White Highlands of Kenya" Geographical Review Vol.131 Part II 1965 pp. 181-201.

before he came on the Scheme explained that after he had been given the number of the plot which he had been allocated he went to see the land, and was pleased to see that it was fertile. He went on to say, however, that he would have accepted the land even if it had been poor. That the Scheme was intended for the landless is indicated by the fact that in the pre-settlement interview only those people who stated that they were landless were assigned plots.

Approximately one quarter of the plot-holders have land either in the Reserves, on other Settlement Schemes, or have an interest in Farming Society. These plot-holders saw Land Settlement as an opportunity to increase their holdings and to acquire fertile land at a price considerably below its true market value. These people had the second type of "land hunger". After acquiring land on the Scheme such a person had the options of keeping all his land, selling one of his holdings, or giving one of his holdings to a brother or son. There was also a feeling that the Kipsigis must take over as much of the former White Highlands as possible in order to prevent other tribes, in

particular the Kikuyu, from settling on the land.¹

In A Tentative Check list of Questions About Settlement Schemes, one² part of which is concerned with the desire or reluctance of prospective plot-holders to move on a scheme, the authors suggest that there are both "anti - push (= inertia, entropy, reluctance to change)" factors and anti-pull (=reluctance to join). This classification of factors is of importance in understanding how Bandek Scheme compares and contrasts with other Land Settlement projects.

The "anti-push" factors have not been of great importance in the plot-holders view of the Scheme, but "anti-pull" factors have been of great important. The "anti-push" factors have not been important because the desire to acquire land was for the plot-holders a much greater force than fear of social disruption or loss of social contacts. Except for those plot-holders who had been living as squatters, coming onto the Scheme did not require a man to sever his previous social relations. All those interviewed stated that all of the people with whom they discussed the idea of moving onto the Scheme thought

1. Ibid., op.cit.

2. Apthorpe, R. & Chambers, R. et al A Tentative Checklist of Question About Settlement Schemes Department of Sociology, Makerere University College, Kampala, 1966.

it was a good idea. There was no sense in which moving onto the Scheme required a painful break with one's previous home. The Scheme is not more than a few hours away by bus from any but the most isolated parts of Kipsigis country. If a man moved to the Scheme his father could well expect to visit him as frequently as he wished. A man's close relative who remained in the Reserve could expect increased financial assistance after he moved onto the Scheme, where he would find fertile land. Those who had been squatters did not indicate that they felt any desire to visit the farms where they had lived for many years. One man stated he would never return to the place that he had worked because, "The farm has become part of a scheme, and it is now filled with Kisiis." He felt that he had been working in an area which was not his home and that on the Scheme he would be able to make a proper home.

Loan repayments are considered to be the most unfavourable aspect of Land Settlement. The only factor that is ever mentioned that would lead a "reasonable man" to leave an 'A' or 'B' plot is fear that the Settlement Authorities might evict him.

The anti-pull factor of "insecurity of tenure" represents the greater source of dissatisfaction with the Scheme.

The Early Activities of the Plot-holders

On the day that the plot-holders made their downpayments the Veterinary Scouts were available to guide the plot-holders to their new homes. In some cases the land was entirely bush, while on others there was half grown maize. Before the plot-holders arrived on the Scheme their names and plot numbers were posted on trees or posts on their plots. Those who found maize growing on their plots were informed that they should harvest and sell it. They were also told that the value of the half-grown maize would be added onto their development loan.

The new plot-holders saw their first need as the construction of a home. This was in keeping both with the requirement of the Settlement Authorities, that a man give evidence that he intended to reside on the Scheme, and with Kipsigis tradition. Traditionally a man strengthened his claim to a piece of land considerably if he built a house

on it. After building his house a man was able to bring his wife onto the Scheme to help him with the preparation of the soil. The building of a home took the plot-holders about one month. Wood and thatch for the house were readily available. Most of the houses built at this time were quite small. Many of the original houses have been supplemented by larger homes which the plot-holders have built at their convenience.

During the month before the houses were built the new plot-holders lived in the labour lines of the former European estates. Although voluntary work groups were organized it was necessary for labourers to be hired from the near-by Reserves in order to be sure that the houses would be constructed and the fence was erected in time to permit the land to be cultivated and seed planted before the beginning of the dry season. Those who had been allocated plots on which the land had not previously been cultivated cleared an acre of land as quickly as they could in order to insure a harvest of maize which would at least be sufficient for subsistence purposes. The remainder of their plots was left to be cleared in

later years. In order to receive his ~~cows~~ a man had to have completed the fencing of his land. Due to the shortage of available livestock it was not possible for the Settlement Authorities to give a man his quota of cows for several months. During the first six months of living on the Scheme the plot-holders had either to bring maize from the land which they owned elsewhere, or purchase in the Reserves, or from those who found maize on their plots.

CHAPTER II

INNOVATIONS ON THE SCHEME

THE PROBLEM OF ARTIFICIAL INSEMINATION

One of the difficulties associated with agricultural development on the Scheme is that the plot-holders are asked to accept innovations which may not be considered desirable by them. These techniques are viewed by agriculturalists as necessary to maintain high production. Among them are artificial insemination (A.I.), fodder crops, hybrid seeds, fertilizers, and non-traditional cash crops. Introduction of these innovations together with the demand for regular mortgage payments are the revolutionary aspects of the Scheme. These innovations require a great amount of investment in time and money, and demand changes in the way the plot-holders go about conducting their work.

The factor which has caused the greatest amount of consternation both to the plot-holders and the Settlement Authorities has been A.I. It is not surprising that this represents an area of difficulty. It might be expected that the difficulty would arise from a feeling on the part of the plot-holders that such a practice was an interference with the basic

laws of nature. Although there is a great deal of resistance to A.I. in the Reserves, where it is voluntary, and a great deal of resentment of it on the Scheme, where it is mandatory, this does not seem to be caused by moral or ethical objections. Rather it appears to be based on utilitarian grounds. The difficulties generated by A.I. are felt not only by the plot-holders, but the Settlement Authorities as well. Several letters and circulars have been sent by the Veterinary and Settlement Departments indicating great concern, and sometimes great annoyance concerning the fact that many of the plot-holders do not use A.I.

Despite the fact that the author probed numerous plot-holders concerning possible moral objection to A.I., in only two instances did a respondent state that there was anything morally wrong with the use of A.I. One case must be discounted because it involved simply a series of crude remarks by a person widely known for such behaviour. The only clear case of "moral aversion," (Kipsigis tengekto), literally "to do what is against right," came from a senior member of the Co-operative Committee.

A man who is one of the largest loan defaulters despite the fact that he has an "A" plot. When he was asked if he knew why the Government wanted everyone living on the Scheme to use A.I., he replied that he had no idea, but went on to say that perhaps, "they want to make some money from the bulls in Kabete" (the origin of the sperm). Making himself quite explicit he said, "Not having a bull is a terrible thing. Everything has a bull, everything from chickens to people. A.I. is no good even if it gives calves. It is just not right for a man to be inseminating a cow. It is a very bad thing What is the reason for God making a bull." The man who made these remarks went on to explain that as a member of the Co-operative Committee he asked the Veterinary Surgeon the reason for the use of A.I. but was given an unsatisfactory reply. Despite the fact that the Government has organized meetings and conferences on the subject, this respondent claimed that he was told simply that the Government required its use. He went on to say that he did not believe that anyone whatever derived any benefit from A.I. Further, he stated that if a cow did conceive and give birth to a calf, it usually died after a short

time. No other plot-holders rejected A.I. on moral grounds.

A more typical statement was made by a man of thirty-eight who lives on a "C" plot, and is therefore dependent on his cows as his sole source of income. Although a nominal member of the African Inland Church (A.I.C.), he is not a highly progressive farmer. He uses neither hybrid seed nor fertilizer on the small area of his land on which maize can be grown. However, he states that he appreciates that A.I. prevents the spread of disease, and that he has gotten two excellent calves by using it. His main objection, as it is with most of the plot-holders, is summed up in his statement, "If it worked, Shs. 5/- would be a fair price, but it does not work and therefore it is no good." One of the more progressive farmers, who has an income of Shs. 180/- per month from his three cows, the theoretically maximum yield attainable, feels the same way. He states, "A.I. takes a lot of money, yet it does not cause the cow to conceive, sometimes the Veterinary Scout (V/S) has to wash the cow, and that costs money and gives loss. It

is good, but it costs money and gives lossIt is good, but it does not work." He went on to say he would like to be able to order his own semen and do his own inseminations. This man, along with several other people mentioned that when A.I. was first used the semen was kept iced and therefore fresh, but nowadays ice was not used and the sperms were killed by the sun. Settlement Officials concede that originally the semen was delivered iced, but they reject the idea that the present lack of ice reduces the effectiveness of the semen. They believe that poor husbandry, and cultural conservation factors which are discussed below, to be responsible for the lack of success of A.I. on the Scheme.

To most of the plot-holders A.I. is viewed as an affliction, as one of a number of things that the Government does without good reason. They state that the Government does not understand that A.I. does not work, and have on numerous occasions asked the author to convey this information to the Government. One of the few plot-holders to express unequivocal support for A.I. was a "Z" plot-holder

who is also a Member of Parliament. He felt that A.I. was most necessary to the functioning of the Scheme, and any failures could be attributed to poor husbandry and ignorance on the part of the plot-holders. He stated he was very much opposed to allowing bulls on the Scheme.

If one eliminates moral aversion as the main cause for the failure of A.I. to gain wide acceptance, then other factors must be considered. Part of the difficulty arises from the fact that A.I. in order to be effective in stopping the spread of disease and keeping the quality of the stock high, requires that no mature bulls be on the Scheme. To the Kipsigis the bull does not represent as valuable an animal as the cow, but is a part of the traditional culture, and a man often took pride in his bull. However, the accumulation of a great number of bulls was not a traditional value; cows were more highly valued since they produce young and give milk. In more recent years oxen have increased in value as a source of energy and for sale. Since the rules of Settlement permit two Zebu oxen on each

plot, and up to twenty grade steers and cows, the absence of a bull would not be a source of complaint if A I. succeeded in causing a man's cows to conceive. Twenty grade cattle would make a man wealthy both in the traditional and in the modern economy.

FACTORS WHICH PREVENT THE WIDESPREAD ACCEPTANCE OF A.I.

One of the major factor leading to the lack of adoption of A.I., lies in the behaviour of the plot-holders. When a bull is present in the herd, it is not necessary for the owner of the herd to be aware of when the cow is on heat. When A.I. is being used, the owner of the herd must recognize the signs and then go some distance to have a V/S administer the semen. Although the signs are fairly clear, there are several factors which mitigate against a cow being conceived by A.I. It is possible that a plot-holder may simply not recognize the signs of heat. Some of the plot-holders had very limited agricultural experience before they came on the Scheme. Cows on the Scheme are very often herded by young children, often as young as five or six or by paid employees. The herdboys may not recognize the signs of heat, or recognizing them,

make no effort to have them inseminated. Cows are very often milked by paid employees who have no intimate concern with the increase of the herd. A fertile cow may thus pass through its period of heat several times without being taken for service.

A second important factor is that grade cows are susceptible to disease which render them sterile. These diseases may be on the increase on the Scheme due to poor husbandry. If a cow fails to conceive after four attempts, the plot-holder may, if he so wishes, have the cow examined and treated by a Veterinary Officer at his own expense. If after treatment the cow still fails to conceive he is advised to sell it for meat.

Another factor to be considered is that by advising the plot-holders to use A.I. instead of a bull, the Settlement Authorities are telling a man to pay for a service which traditionally was obtained at no cost. At the inception of the Scheme the charge was Shs. 10/- which was later reduced to Shs. 6/- and is now Shs. 5/-. If a cow fails to conceive after being served by a bull, there is

no financial lose, but if it fails after A.I. it is equal to the loss of a debe of maize. The Ministry of Lands and Settlement states, "statistics show that in the best run A.I. Scheme ^{no} less than 1.8 inseminations are required on average to effect one pregnancy. The figure incidentally, is almost the same where natural service is used."¹ In natural insemination the bull "naturally" takes care of the extra service.

The fact that A.I. is successful, on average, only half the time is an important fact. It means that even if all conditions are satisfactory, the plot-holders will experience a history of almost 50% failure. A prime difficulty, therefore, centres around the fact that the plot-holder must pay for a service which was traditionally available at no expense or inconvenience, and which is only 50% effective.

The attitude of the Settlement Authorities towards the plot-holders' use of A.I. is summed

1. Annual Report Ministry of Lands and Settlement, 1965-66 Government Printer, Nairobi p.7.

up in a letter from the Area Settlement Controller to the Chairman of the Bandek Co-operative Society. He wrote that the plot-holders were "too lazy to attend"¹ training classes organized to explain the purpose and advantage of A.I. The classes were attended by a total of only eight plot-holders even though classes were held at all the dairies, and were therefore in easy reach of anyone who wished to attend. The Area Settlement Controller's conclusion was that, "You and your members are quite obviously not interested in progress."² He went on to write, "...the livestock breeding rate on your Scheme is poor, [and] the calves are of poor quality. The average sale of milk from my Nakuru and Kapkoech Settlement Schemes is approximately 200 gallons per cow per year. Yours is 70 gallons per cow per year."³ This letter does not seem to have influenced the acceptance of A.I. on the Scheme, but it does reflect the feeling of frustration experienced by the Settlement Authorities.

1. Letter dated 9th August, 1966. From: Area Settlement Controller To: Chairman, Co-operative Society, Settlement Office Records.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

A good deal of the resentment against A.I. is directed against Settlement in general and the Veterinary Scouts (V/S) in particular. There is a feeling among some of the plot-holders that the Veterinary Department and the V/S's are involved in a project whose aim is not to maintain and increase the quality of stock on the Scheme but rather to earn money for the Veterinary Department. This feeling persists despite the fact that a majority of the plot-holders can state at least one reason, and some as many as three or four, why it is theoretically advantageous to use A.I. Those who do mention the theoretical advantages state that the prevention of disease and the high quality of the calves are the two primary benefits. There have been numerous General Meetings held to discuss A.I., and when an official from Nairobi comes to the Scheme, he is usually confronted with numerous questions concerning A.I. and why it is required. The plot-holders are told by the Authorities that (1) The plots on the Scheme are too small to allow every man to have a bull. (2) The A.I. prevents the spread of disease (3) The semen comes from selected champion bulls (4) The calves produced will be of high quality.

These facts mean little if a cow fails to conceive after being served with A.I.

Although a man may have several high quality calves from A.I. he will feel cheated if his cow does not conceive every time A.I. is used. An intelligent man of twenty seven on a "A" plot, who is sending several brothers and sisters to school, stated that although he had got six calves from seven inseminations he was not satisfied because he felt that, "If a cow fails to conceive after being served by A.I. they should do it again for nothing." He stated, however, that he planned to continue to use A.I. Many people expressed the feeling that, "It is a great loss when the cow does not conceive."

The Chairman of the Co-operative Society, a very progressive farmer with ten years of education, believed that the primary difficulty rested with the Veterinary Scouts. He explained it in these terms: "We have only V/S's and they don't know very much. The Veterinary Surgeon is very far away. Sometimes the V/S's will not come in time, especially they will not come on Sundays because they are going for liquor. The Settlement Officer is always talking

about it, but the V/S's never bother to talk to people about A.I., they just say they are doing their jobs!"

The cost of A.I. does not seem to be a major obstacle to acceptance. Very few people felt that the cost was too high. Some of the plot-holders stated that it would be preferable if A.I. were only Shs. 2/50, as it is in the Reserves, but these same people stated that Shs. 5/- would not be too high a price to pay for A.I. if it worked.

For those who live conveniently near a grade bull in the Reserves, it is possible to take the cow to be served at a stud fee of Shs. 10/-. In September 1966 the Livestock Officer wrote a letter stating that, "Veterinary Staff inform me that the majority of Reserve farmers with shambas (Swahili: farms) bordering the Scheme are the proud possessors of grade bulls. With these bulls they conduct a most profitable business during the course of each and every night as apparently settlers are queuing up to use the said bulls. Settlers not using A.I. could be fined by the Co-operative but there the

problem is that the members of the Co-operative Committee are undoubtedly users of bulls."¹

Although it is quite true that cows are taken to the Reserves to be served by grade bulls many of the same difficulties arising from the use of A.I. are involved in taking the cow to the Reserves, and it is highly doubtful that the "plot-holders are queing' up" to use grade bulls.

Many (approximately half) of the plot-holders would like to have "scheme bulls" which could be used by a large numbers of plot-holders, a "solution" which is not acceptable to Settlement Authorities. Mature bulls are strictly forbidden on the Scheme. If a young bull is taken to the dip it is castrated. It is possible, if a man wished to risk the death of his young bull to refrain from taking it to the dip. At the present time (December, 1967) there are very few mature bulls on the Scheme, but unless Veterinary restrictions are strictly enforced, it seems likely that in a few years there will be a number of bulls.

1. Letter dated 2nd September, 1966. From: Live-stock Officer/Kapkoech, To: Co-operative Officer, Department of Settlement (Nakuru),BandeK Settlement Office Records.

The Role of Subordinate Veterinary Staff in Relation to A.I.

The failure of A.I. to be accepted on the Scheme is in part due to the behaviour of the V/S's, and in part due to the way in which this service is made available to the plot-holders. While the plot-holder may buy an A.I. ticket from the V/S, he is encouraged to buy tickets for A.I. from the clerk to the Co-operative Society and have them on hand when he desires to have his cow served. The Co-operative Society makes a small commission from this service. This procedure has led to further confusion. The minutes of the Co-operative Society state, "Bado wanacommittee hawajafahamu", the members of the Committee do not yet understand what they are supposed to do.

As the Chairman of the Co-operative stated, it is not always possible for a plot-holder to have his cow served when it is in heat. Each of the six A.I. crushes is attended only one half hour a day. If a man's cow goes in to heat at any other time, or on Sundays or holidays there is a strong likelihood that his cow will not be served. Neither of the two

Veterinary Scouts has a complete primary school education; one has professional training of two months, and the other of one year. Both were sent on an A.I. short course of six weeks. It is not surprising that the V/S's, with their limited education and their position at the bottom of the Settlement hierarchy are not extremely efficient.

The relationship between the V/S's and the Settlement Authorities is of considerable importance. If the V/S's feel that working on the Scheme is a "punishment" they are not likely to be active and enthusiastic agents of social change. The administration of the Scheme is such that the V/S's, who, because of limited background, are not likely to be firmly committed to the innovations associated with Land Settlement are the direct recipients of the resentment that the plot-holders may feel towards the Settlement regulations. The more active a V/S is in meeting his responsibility to castrate all of the bulls on the Scheme, the greater is the hostility of those with whom he must associate. A Scout is thus faced with the choice of meeting his responsibilities and facing the hostility of those with whom he

must live, or if neglecting his responsibilities and living harmoniously with them.

Veterinary Scouts have on a number of occasions been the source of concern to the Veterinary Department. As early as March, 1964 a Veterinary Officer wrote a letter stating that he had received complaints from his field staff. The letter stated, "Settlement Officers must remember that these seconded staff are Government paid and cannot be treated in the same way as other employees on farming operations."¹ In June, 1964 another Veterinary Officer stated that, "Veterinary Assistants and Veterinary Scouts regard Settlement as punishment stations."² In October, 1966 a group of eight men broke into a Settlement owned house and cut off the hand of one of the V/S's working on the Scheme. The attack was not made by men from the Scheme, but rather by a group of men from the Reserves who were resentful of the Veterinary Scouts for enforcing

1. Letter dated 13th March 1964 From: Veterinary Officer To: Senior Settlement Officer.

2. Minutes of Veterinary Staff Meeting (Nakuru) 25th June, 1964.

rules against allowing zebu stock entering or crossing through the Scheme. In May, 1964 the former Chairman of the Co-operative Society threatened a V/S after one of his cows died of East Coast Fever, an incurable disease.

Although the Veterinary Scouts did not complain about work conditions when they were interviewed, in June, 1967 the Livestock Officer noted, "with great concern the deterioration [of relations] between Veterinary Staff and Settlement Officers.... in some schemes there has been little or total lack of unity between the two... In some instances the Veterinary Staff has been left alone, if not totally ignored,....I am writing this letter to inform you all this lack of unity between you and the Veterinary Staff should be improved, otherwise I fail to see how a high standard of work can be carried out....."¹ Bandek Scheme was not specifically named as being at fault, but it was not excluded from the charges.

1. Letter dated 20th June, 1967 From: Livestock Officer To: Senior Settlement Officer.

In July, 1967 the Area Settlement Controller wrote to all S.O's under his jurisdiction that he had "received a complaint that Settlement Officers are not assisting Veterinary Staff with transport when they or their families are sick".¹ The Area Settlement Controller advised all S.O's to afford this service in the future.

The Veterinary Scout is the Settlement official most often seen by the plot-holders, and it is he who must do the actual castration of young bulls. The castration of young bulls is a source of tension on the Scheme not only because many of the plot-holders would like to raise a bull to maturity, but because, as Orchardson has pointed out, "a Kipsigis does not like being directed by others, and has no wish to direct others himself."² He does not want anyone to enter his plot without permission or to castrate his bulls without permission. While many plot-holders voluntarily take their bulls to be castrated,

1. Letter dated 17th July, 1967 From: Area Settlement Controller To: All Settlement Officers.

2. Orchardson, I.O. Edited by Matson, A.T. The Kipsigis, Eagle Press Nairobi, 1961, p.108.

and others will permit them to be castrated when they are taken to the dip, no Kipsigis approves of the idea of any man interfering with another's stock. Occasionally a V/S may ask the Settlement Officer to send one or two Administration Policemen to go with him when he is going to castrate a bull, in order to have a restraining influence on the plot-holders to whom the bull belongs. Castration of bulls without the owner's consent is a practice which interferes with traditional values, and may be a source of some of the resentment felt against the V/S's and A.I.

Among the Kipsigis authority traditionally rested with a senior elder by virtue of his integrity and ability, but he had no power or authority to interfere with another man's stock unless he was doing so at the express authorization of the community. Bulls, although they are of limited value, are needed from time to time for ceremonial purposes, as well as, on rare occasions, for the entertainment of a special guest. Depriving a man of these services without his consent is offensive to Kipsigis tradition. This offensiveness is compounded by the fact that many

plot-holders now view castration as a means by which they lose the possibility of increasing the size of their herds. Mandatory castration of bulls is viewed by the plot-holders as a burden placed upon their shoulders and is a source of resentment, but it is definitely not the major source of difficulty associated with the use of A.I. on the Scheme. If the plot-holders believed that A.I. was effective, the resentment against mandatory castration would dwindle.

The Settlement Authorities have not remained deaf to the complaints of the plot-holders. They explain that the elimination of frozen semen was intended as a measure to improve the reliability of the semen, not as a device to conserve costs. The Veterinary Officer (A.I.) explained that one of the difficulties with the frozen semen was that if it were allowed to thaw the sperms would die.¹ He explained that it sometimes happened that the V/S's accidentally allowed the semen to thaw, and then

1. Personal Interview Veterinary Officer (A.I.) Kericho, 11th October, 1967.

refroze it, presuming that by refreezing it they would restore its viability. This resulted in several A.I. inseminations being made with sperms that were dead. The Veterinary Officer went on to say that it is now Kenya Government policy that A.I. be administered by using a fluid comprised of semen mixed with coconut milk. This mixture can be kept at room temperature for as long as five days without losing its viability. Extensive tests both in Britain and Kenya showed that under the conditions that existed in Kenya, coconut milk was the best medium for the transmission of A.I.

The Officer indicated that it was his intention to improve the record keeping associated with A.I. In order to prevent the V/S's from becoming negligent he has required all V/S's to keep a record of all insemination which they do. It is also his desire to introduce a system of "guaranteed conception." Under this system a man would pay S_ns. 10/- for the first insemination, and would be given a card showing the amount of money he had paid, and the date on which the insemination had taken place. If the cow failed to conceive it would be

given another insemination without an additional charge. If the cow failed to conceive a second time, the plot-holder would take his card, which would show the dates of the previous inseminations, to the Veterinary Surgeon who would then give the animal a free examination and treatment. If the cow failed to conceive on the third attempt, the plot-holder would be given permission by the Settlement Authorities to sell the animal.

According to the Veterinary Officer there would be two advantages to such a system. (1) A plot-holder would have to pay for the A.I. only once. Although the initial cost would be higher, the plot-holder would be assured that his cow would have a free examination if it failed to conceive. (2) Accurate records would be available on the number of inseminations and the number of conceptions that took place on the Scheme.

THE PROBLEM OF GRADE COWS

An important aspect of Land Settlement is the rule that no zebu stock, with the exception of two work oxen per plot, are allowed to be kept on

the Scheme. This rule is of great importance because it is, with mortgage payments, the factor which most clearly distinguishes the Scheme from the Reserves. It also runs strongly counter to the Kipsigis value of keeping as many cows as are able to subsist on one's land. The tradition of keeping a large number of cows is a very strong one. Since land enclosure has begun this tradition has in many areas led to over grazing. The Settlement Authorities want to discourage this attitude, and hope it will be quickly abandoned by the plot-holders. The Scheme has been based on the concept that after the plot-holders have been given grade cows and provided with adequate instructions, they will become committed to good animal husbandry, and the Scheme will become a high milk producing area.

Requiring a man to keep a small number of cows ranging in cash value from Shs. 500/- to Shs. 750/- instead of many cows ranging in value from Shs. 100/- to Shs. 300/- is a radical shift not only from tradition, but also from recently accepted attitudes toward cattle keeping. A man who owned several zebu cows of relatively low value would

not feel he was taking a drastic step if he sold one of them in order to meet the need for cash. However, if a man owns only four head of cattle he is reluctant to sell even a full grown steer which yields no commercial benefits to him. While plot-holders are encouraged to sell their steers they are prohibited by the terms of the Settlement loan to sell cows. Plot-holders are reluctant to sell their steers because to do so would yield more money than would ordinarily be needed immediately and would seriously reduce the size of the herd. Plot-holders often feel anxious about their grade cows because the death of one represents a great loss, both in terms of one's ability to adequately provide for one's family, and to make loan repayments. There are a number of people who have lost their entire herd of three or four cows within a few weeks or months of coming on the Scheme.

A widow who owns a large "C" plot on which it is impossible to grow even a subsistence crop of maize has stated that she would like to be able to keep local stock. She would like to buy young steers in the Reserves and fatten them for market.

Some plots have as few as six or seven cows on a seventy acre plot. The strict prohibition of zebu cows on the Scheme prevents the "C" plot-holders from exploiting their land to the fullest.

Only a small number of plot-holders (about fifteen per cent) stated that they would like to have zebu stock on the Scheme. Even a smaller number actually do keep unapproved stock on the Scheme. One man who wants to be allowed to have zebu stock is an "A" plot-holder of about sixty years of age. He did not want to replace his grade cows with zebu, but he wanted to keep both. He explained that zebu cows "belonged" to the Kipsigis, and they could be used for bridewealth. Although he himself was not planning to marry, he had responsibilities to provide bridewealth for his sons.

The more "progressive" point of view was expressed by a twenty eight year old man with eight years of education who also lived on a "A" plot. He stated that all Kipsigis stock, sheep and goats as well as cows were profitless and should be excluded from the Scheme. He felt that there was simply

insufficient acreage on the Scheme to allow both zebu and grade stock to be present. Three-quarters of the plot-holders substantially supported this point of view. The fact that there is only a small number of plot-holders who would like to keep zebu stock on the Scheme does not necessarily indicate a strong commitment on the part of the plot-holders to the acceptance of grade stock to the exclusion of local stock. Many of the plot-holders own land in the Reserves on which they can keep "Kipsigis cows". Those who do not own their own land in the Reserves may keep local cattle on the land of friends or relatives. A man who desires to own zebu stock either for reasons of security or prestige or both, but does not want to violate Settlement rules may simply buy zebu cows and put them on the plot of an age-mate living on the Reserves. Local stock are a source of security because they are a good deal more handy than grade cattle. Almost none of the plot-holders were interested in keeping Kipsigis breeds of sheep or goats. Despite the fact that small stock are numerous in the Reserves, in accordance with Settlement regulations, there are no small

stock on the Scheme. The plot-holders felt that small stock would be an inconvenience on the Scheme because of the time needed to herd them. Further many stated that small stock would interfere with maize production by grazing on maize plants. Despite the fact that small stock are a traditional part of Kipsigis husbandry the majority of plot-holders felt their introduction on the Scheme would lead to a great many civil cases resulting from one man's goats grazing on another man's maize. A quarter of the plot-holders stated that they would like to keep "European type" meat producing sheep as an additional source of income. The lack of concern shown by the plot-holders for small stock is the related fact that among the Kipsigis sheep and goats carry little prestige or emotional value. Small stock are often included in bride-wealth payments, but they are not an essential part of the marriage contract.

Of seventy-four Warning Notices (Eviction) issued between July, 1965 and July 1966 only nine were issued because of the presence of "illicit stock" on the plot. These were nine concerned with

the presence of bulls and non-grade cows, not small stock. The remainder were issued due to non-payments of loan.¹

The fact that the use of grade cows on the Scheme has been only a partial success does not result from the unwillingness of the plot-holders to use them or the fact that they attempt to destroy them. Several of the plot-holders enjoy relating the story of how, when the European Administration first told the Kipsigis to plant maize instead of their traditional millet, the Kipsigis elders responded by ordering that the maize seed be boiled before it was planted. This clearly is not the attitude which the plot-holders have toward grade cows. Despite this fact, it is possible to observe calves which are the result of a mating between a grade cow and a zebu bull. A plot-holder will take his grade cow and have it bred to a local bull because he desires to have the cow in calf so that it will lactate. The fact that the resulting calf will be of relatively low value is not a pressing concern to the plot-holders.

1. Bandek Settlement Office Records.

The plot-holders enjoy the abundance of milk which the grade cow produces, and regret that they do not have more of them. The difficulty with their use arises from the fact that grade cows require a much greater investment in time, money and work to yield their maximum benefits, than do local stock. The plot-holders are reluctant to make these investments because even if they do not make them, their yield per cow per day from a grade cow will be considerably higher from a zebu cow. If a man formerly got a quart of milk a day from his local cow, and now gets three quarts of milk a day from his grade cow without in anyway changing his methods of husbandry, then he may feel very little incentive to adopt improved animal husbandry techniques. Veterinary Authorities state that if a grade cow is given good husbandry it will yield from one and a half to two gallons of milk a day. This fact seems to have little influence on a farmer who is already getting three times more milk per cow than he has ever gotten before.

The lack of desire on the part of the plot-holders to increase their yield to maximum reflects the fact

that they do not have a commitment to the "economizing ethic," that they are not committed to make every asset give its highest possible yield. It is this fact which makes it difficult for Settlement Authorities to persuade the plot-holders to make greater investments in their animals.

The plot-holders' failure to maximize their income does not result from egalitarian motives. Most of them have worked for cash income, and there is no stigma attached to the accumulation of wealth. A rich man is expected to be a good host, and not to be proud, but he is not expected to dissipate his wealth to the point that he is reduced to the level of his neighbours. To the plot-holders, increased wealth is not the result of increased investment on the part of the individual himself, but rather the result of good fortune and/or having a great deal of inherited wealth. A high cash income and a large herd of healthy grade cows is considered highly desirable, but it is not considered something which a man can do very much about.

Although lack of commitment to the "economizing ethic" would appear to be the cause of the relatively low production on the Scheme, the lack of factual information concerning good animal husbandry is an important secondary factor. During the period of field work no meeting or class was arranged to discuss or teach the proper method of feeding grade cows. Peace Corps Volunteers (P.C.V.) are sometimes assigned to various schemes to encourage farmers to keep their dairies clean, but there is none regularly assigned to Bandek Scheme. One of the P.C.V.'s presented a Swahili language movie on the subject of clean milk production, but this failed to provoke much interest on the part of the plot-holders, and it has had no noticeable effect on the methods of milk production. Veterinary Authorities have indicated that there are seven essential factors involved in establishing and maintaining a high yield from grade cows:-

- 1) A.I. must be used in order to assure that high quality calves are produced. The difficulties associated with A.I. on the Scheme have already been discussed.

- 2). Fodder crops must be grown, or high protein food supplements must be purchased.
- 3). Mineral supplements are essential to maintain the health and fertility of the animals.
- 4). A proper milking technique must be used in order to avoid infection.
- 5). The dairy must be kept clean in order to ensure that the milk will not be down-graded when it reaches its point of sale.
- 6). High prices must be offered for the milk in order to encourage production.
- 7). Good veterinary services must be made available.¹

Although mineral supplements in the form of salt bearing soils were traditionally given to animals, the other factors cited above are innovations which require investment in time or money, or the learning of new behaviour.

Dumont² has stated that fodder crops are essential for increased cattle productivity even when grade cows are not a consideration. He points

1. Personal Interview Livestock Officer (A.I.) Kericho, 11th October, 1967.

2. Dumont, Rene African Agricultural Development - Reflections on the Major Lines of Advance and the Barriers to Progress, Food and Agricultural Organization of the U.N.O., New York, 1966.

out that in traditional methods of cattle management the cattle are expected to yield milk, meat, blood, energy, fertilizers, and clothing without having their grazing supplemented by other foods. The concept that cattle can be exploited in this way is the basis of animal husbandry on the Scheme. Only one plot-holder plants a fodder crop. A few plot-holders who own their own maize grinders prepare coarse meal for their cows. This, however, is not a very good diet supplement because it is difficult for the cow to digest, and it is not extremely rich in proteins. Although half of the plot-holders have in the past year spent money on diet supplements, usually salt lick, in only a very few cases was enough money spent to raise significantly the yield of milk produced. One man spent Shs. 2,400/- to supplement the diet of his six cows, and grossed Shs. 3,600/- from dairy production. For those that do spend money on diet supplements for their cows, the average amount is only Shs. 8/- to 10/- per month.

To be willing to grow a fodder crop in order to ensure a regular and sufficient diet supplement

involves transferring the land out of maize production, which yields direct profits, into fodder crop production, which yields only indirect profits, and which cannot be used for subsistence purposes. Thus the plot-holder must forgo present benefits, in terms of an income from maize, in order to have the possibility of achieving greater benefits in the future, in terms of higher dairy production. As long as income from both maize and dairy are considered to be high, there is a reluctance on the part of the plot-holders to change the pattern of their agriculture. Since a grade cow is able to produce milk on a diet of pure grass, for many of the plot-holders there does not exist a valid reason to invest either land or money in food supplements for his cow.

Improved milking techniques are another innovation which the plot-holders have been slow to accept. Almost every Kipsigis man, unless he grew up in the town or on a European farm, has known how to milk cows since he was very young. It is a procedure with which he considers himself familiar, and capable of performing without outside instruction. The fact remains, however, that the traditional methods

of milking a cow may lead to infection. For a man to change his methods of performing a task which he has done thousands of times in his life requires a good deal of effort. The rewards for making such an effort would have to be clear and substantial, and they are not in this case.

The improvement of milking techniques on the Scheme would require a two step process. A plot-holder would first have to learn the new procedures himself, and then teach them to his employees. Hygienic milking techniques require more time and labour than do traditional methods, and it is therefore unlikely that an employee would accept the new techniques without being specifically told to do so by his employer. This also applies to an improvement in the hygiene associated with other aspects of milk production.

The problem of clean milk is one which has been of major concern to the Settlement Authorities. The proper handling of milk requires that the dairies and the milk cans be absolutely clean, and that the hands of the man doing the milking as well as the

cow's udder be washed before milking is commenced. The Settlement Authorities have assigned P.C.V's the task of trying to persuade the plot-holders to accept improved milking procedures. The efforts of the P.C.V's have not been successful. Most milking on the Scheme is done by paid employees, some earning as little as Shs.15/- per month. A low paid employee has very little interest in maintaining the cleanness of his employer's milk. Maintaining hygienic standards requires increased effort at milking time, and does not directly yield increased productivity. If a man does not maintain hygienic standards, the negative results of his behaviour may take some time to make themselves apparent. His cow may develop an infection or his milk may be downgraded or rejected by the Kenya Co-operative Creameries (KCC). He may not learn for as long as three months that his milk has been rejected or downgraded. For the period 1st April to 30th June, 1967, the period of greatest milk production because of the heavy rainfall, the Bandek Co-operative Society sold 12,255 gallons of milk to the KCC of which 6.3% was downgraded and .41% was rejected. At the end of the dry season, in February, 1967 the

rejected milk reached 2.1%.¹ Down-graded milk represents a loss of about 50% in the price paid for the milk, and rejected milk is bought for -/05 a gallon.

Some milk is down-graded or rejected due to spoilage as a result of delays in handling. The percentages stated for down-graded and rejected milk do not give a true picture of the quality of the milk produced on the Scheme. The inaccuracy stems from the fact that many plot-holders do not sell any of their milk to the Co-operative Society, and many of them do not sell all of their milk to the Society. The total amount of milk produced on the Scheme is greater than the amount stated by the Co-operative Society, and the percentage of low grade milk is higher. Those plot-holders who are likely to have their milk rejected or down-graded are most likely not to sell their milk to the Society. Some may sell their milk to people living in the Reserves, and others may simply increase their family's consumption of milk. To the Kipsigis an abundance of milk is traditionally part of the "good life". Many families on the Scheme have

1. Co-operative Society Records.

replaced greens with milk as their primary relish. This practice causes a good deal of milk to be consumed in the traditional way, as a subsistence food, rather than to be used primarily as a source of cash income.

Another factor which reduces the amount of milk sold is the fact that among the Kipsigis the Scheme is considered a milk rich area. A plot-holder who has relatives in the neighbouring Reserve may be called upon frequently to donate milk for one of a number of ceremonies. To refuse to do so would be very much against Kipsigis tradition, and would give a man a very poor reputation. If a relative comes merely for a social visit he may well expect that he will go home with a large gourd of milk. A quarter of the plot-holders have relatives outside of their nuclear family living on the Scheme with them. These most often include widowed mothers and landless brothers. These people must be supplied with generous amounts of milk.

The consumption of milk on the Scheme is further increased by the fact that all the plot-holders employ between one and three workmen throughout the year. Furthermore, it is not uncommon for the employees to eat with the plot-holders. Under these conditions the home consumption of milk is further increased. The home consumption of milk per plot is between one and two gallons per day. This represents the entire yield of at least one cow, and sometimes almost two. In the Reserves, where milk is less abundant, greens are used more frequently, without any apparent detrimental effect on the health of the people, but to the Kipsigis milk is much more desirable than greens.

A very large amount of milk is consumed at a ceremony. Although a plot-holder may expect to be given milk from friends and relatives of the Scheme, when he has a ceremony the responsibility for supplying milk falls primarily on the plot-holder himself. The three main ceremonial occasions in Kipsigis life, male circumcision, female circumcision, and marriage have all taken place on the Scheme. A ceremony for such an occasion may require

in excess of twenty-five gallons of milk. As the average age and wealth of the plot-holders increase it can be expected that the number of ceremonies taking place on the Scheme will substantially increase. The age of initiation has now been reduced to the early teens. Many of the plot-holders who are now between thirty and fifty will have several children coming up for circumcision. A man in middle age may expect to have to organize ceremonies semi-annually for several years. Ceremonies very often take place in December to coincide with the school holidays. December falls during the dry season, and therefore a ceremony may consume a substantial part of a man's produce for the entire month. Milk is collected and stored in gourds, where it may remain for several weeks without becoming unsuitable for use.

Although beer is the most important food involved in social intercourse, tea is the most common. During the harvest season in October, when communal work groups harvest the maize, the plot-holder who receives the benefit of the labour does not reward the group with beer, which requires a great deal of time and effort to prepare, but with

tea, served with copious quantities of milk. The work group numbers in size from fifteen to twenty, and represents the consumption of a not inconsiderable amount of milk. The milk used, however, does yield a good deal of labour. The maize is harvested at less expense than if the plot-holder were to hire workmen. However, a plot-holder will never attempt to economize on the expense of having the work group to his plot by limiting the number of people who may join the group.

The plot-holders are willing to sell a good deal of milk, which represents a high degree of acceptance of the cash economy, but they will not enter the cash economy to the extent that it interferes with traditional values to a large extent or requires an "excessive" investment. The plot-holders fully commit themselves neither to completely traditional behaviour, nor to completely commercial behaviour.

In answer to the question, "If one of your neighbours on the Scheme has unexpected guests and he came to borrow some milk from you, would you

ask him for money or not," seventy-five per cent of the people made it clear that they would give their neighbours milk free in case of an unexpected need, but they would want to be paid if for some reason the neighbour wanted to get milk regularly. One man living on the Scheme pays his neighbour Shs. 24/- per month for milk for his family. All of the cows given to this man died shortly after he came on the Scheme and he must now buy milk. In this case, the man selling the milk does not demand the full market price for his milk, which he would if he were selling to a man in the Reserves. The seller is following a middle course between a strict commitment to the cash economy, which would entail demanding the full market price for his milk, and a strict commitment to traditional values which would entail giving the milk to his needy neighbour free.

A "C" plot-holder of about fifty, answering the question as to whether or not he would expect to pay his neighbour for milk stated, "Yes, I would have to pay, because he also has someone else's money." He felt that the need to make the mortgage

payments made it impossible for anyone living on the Scheme to give free milk. Another man, who derives a good income from his cows, put it in these terms, "The grade cows are not for friendliness, they are loaned, and you must not give it (milk), you must sell it, even to a friend, so that you will be able to repay the loans." The author regularly bought milk at the market price, but from time to time was given a gallon of milk free, as an act of . . . neighbourliness.

Grade cows are very susceptible to disease. It is essential to their well-being that they are dipped into, or sprayed with, disinfectant at least once a week. The spraying and dipping are necessary to kill the disease carrying ticks which are endemic to Kenya. The zebu stock with which the Kipsigis are familiar are much less susceptible to these diseases. In the Reserves the use of these disinfectants is of course voluntary. A man takes his cows to the dip if he wishes to. On the Scheme it is a requirement of the terms of the Development Loan that a man takes his cows to be dipped at least once a week. The regulations of Settlement give the

Settlement Officer the right to cancel the loans of any of the plot-holders who do not regularly take their cows to be dipped. The S.O. is also given the authority to charge an individual plot-holder for the cost of any expenses associated with the care and maintainance of the dips. The cost of the dip is twenty-five cents per animal. A man who is taking milk to the Co-operative Society may have the cost of the dip charged against his dairy income.

Despite the fact that the dips are conveniently located, and a man need not have cash at hand when he goes to the dip, only about three quarters of the plot-holders regularly take their cows to be dipped.¹ Although a certain number of plot-holders own their own spray facilities, and are therefore not included in the three-quarters, this figure indicates that a substantial percentage of the plot-holders are unwilling to make the regular weekly investment in time and money required to

1. Letter dated 20th May, 1967, From: Settlement Officer/Bandek To: S.S.O. Kapkoech, Bandek Settlement Officer Records.

protect their cows against disease. Since Veterinary Authorities consider it essential that dipping be conducted regularly on all animals in the Scheme, the twenty-five per cent that do not dip their cattle represent an important factor on the Scheme.

Those who do make use of the dips are often reluctant to make the necessary investments needed to make them fully effective. The responsibility for the ~~maintainance~~ of the dips rests with the plot-holders themselves, through the Co-operative Society. The Society is often reluctant to transfer money from other areas into dip maintainance. The income from the dips is intended to be sufficient for their maintainance, but plot-holders often fail to pay for dipping services which they have taken on credit. If the debts are not paid, then the disinfectant is not purchased. One of the men concerned with the management of the dips stated, "When we learn the dip needs chemicals we buy as much as we can, and put it in. If there is enough money for a gallon we put a gallon, if there is enough for a half gallon, then we put in half a gallon." The concept of the dip as a useful item

of animal husbandry is widely accepted on the Scheme, but the commitment needed to make it work to its full advantage is often not made. For the month of June, 1967 one dip was 68% under strength. On the report stating this condition was appended the comment, "Very dirty -- advise drain and refill."¹

The Chairman of the Co-operative Society maintains his own spray facilities because he does not feel that the Co-operative dip gives his animals adequate protection. He himself is a man very much committed to modernization, but rather than attempt to force the issue of dips and dipping, he simply makes an investment in his own equipment. Those with "Z" plots also maintain their own spray facilities. Despite the fact that if one man does not dip his cow it endangers his neighbour's stock, no man has yet complained to the S.O. that his neighbour is not dipping his cattle. One man threatened to do so after having a dispute with one of his neighbours, but later decided against

it. To report one's neighbour for a breach of veterinary regulations is a step that none of the plot-holders are willing to take. It would require the sacrifice of the traditional value of "good neighbourliness" to the commercial values of animal husbandry. Even the most modernizing of plot-holders is unwilling to do this.

SOCIAL CHANGE AS IT RELATES TO AGRICULTURAL TECHNIQUES

Although cattle on the Scheme are subject to a greater control and regulation than is maize, for the "A" and "B" plot-holders maize represents the chief source of income. Despite the fact that historically the Kipsigis were primarily a pastoral people, practising agriculture as a subordinate activity, on the Scheme a great deal more time is spent on maize production than is spent on dairy production. On the Scheme agriculture, and not pastoralism, is the main occupation of the people. Since there is no danger on the Scheme of a cattle raid from a neighbouring tribe, and water is available within two miles of any of the plots, it is the practice for the plot-holders to allow

their young children to take care of their cows. If a man hires a workman to milk and take his cows to the dip, he needs to spend very little time with his animals.

Maize production requires a good deal of labour. The owner of the plot along with his labourers, his wives and children must work. At ploughing and harvest time, the Kipagenge (communal work group) is called in to give assistance. Ploughing requires a great deal of physical exertion, and is the heaviest agricultural labour that a man does throughout the year. A man spends several hours a day for two or three weeks ploughing the soil. A small steel plough is used with two to six oxen in harness. The plough is universally accepted on the Scheme, the hoe being reserved for weeding, which is the responsibility of the women.

Preparation of the soil begins by allowing the cows to graze on the dry maize stalks after the maize has been harvested. This usually takes place in October and November. Most farmers will then plough the soil to ensure that the remaining

plant material decomposes and adds to the humus in the soil. The majority of plot-holders then allow the land to remain untouched in October and November. The period between October and the beginning of the preparation of the soil in January is a time during which very little work is done. It is a time to enjoy the fruits of one's labour. With the close of school in early December there is a good deal of beer brewed in association with circumcision ceremonies which take place during that month due to the school holidays. A few plot-holders use this time to make arrangements for the purchase of seed and fertilizer and to prepare their implements for the coming season. Some plot-holders will use the time to begin their ploughing. By ploughing in December, a man is able to give his land one or two extra ploughings, which will increase his yield. The work schedule which is described above refers to the 1966-1967 season, which is typical of the Scheme. However, at the end of 1967 it became apparent to the plot-holders that there was an unusual abundance of rain, and so the majority planted their maize in December. This will permit them to harvest in June or July. Those

that are interested in doing so will now be able to plant a second crop.

Since each plot-holder is permitted to have only two zebu oxen on the Scheme, most of the plot-holders must borrow oxen from their neighbours when they wish to plough. A few of the farmers have trained grade steers to become oxen, but the majority own only two oxen. This does not represent any special difficulty because the communal work group is a part of traditional Kipsigis culture. It is not uncommon on the Scheme for twenty people using five ploughs and twenty oxen to be cultivating a thirty acre plot. The host of the Kipagenge will give general instructions on what work needs to be done, but he will not usually supervise closely. The Kipagenge meets two to three times a week for three to four hours a day until the work is completed. A man will usually work alone on his plot for one to three days a week during this period. Ploughing is an essential part of maize production. Poor preparation of the soil seriously reduces the yield. Ploughing is a heavy, tiring work, and for this reason many of the plot-holders

may not prepare their soil adequately. The farmer on the Scheme who gets the highest yield ploughs his land six times before planting, the average farmer ploughs only four times.

About fifteen per cent of the plot-holders hire a tractor for aid in cultivation. This figure does not include the "Z" plot-holders, all of whom own their own tractors. Under the conditions which prevail on the Scheme, the use of a tractor provides no additional benefits and represents a substantial financial loss. "Recent F.A.O. studies point out that in certain cases, mechanical energy in Africa proved to be nine times more expensive than animal energy."¹ Tractors may be hired from outside of the Scheme, or from "Z" plot-holders who own tractors. The fee is Shs. 55/- an acre for each ploughing. If a tractor is used for the complete preparation of the soil the cost is between Shs. 220/- and Shs. 330/- per acre. Since a man with the help of his neighbours can cultivate his plot with a very small cash outlay, the tractor

1. Dumont, Rene Ibid, p.74

represents a rather expensive labour saving device. The maximum acreage a man not living on a "Z" plot can put under cultivation is fifteen acres, and a tractor is not essential for a plot of that size.

To get maximum yield from an acre of maize it is necessary to plant the seeds at the correct distance from one another. One small bag of hybrid maize seed is sufficient to plant one acre. If a man wishes to reduce the amount of money he invests in seed, he can make the seed cover one and half or two acres. On some of the plots the seeds are planted far apart and widely scattered. This practice further reduces yield.

Within one or two months of planting the maize, it is necessary to weed it, a process which take two to three weeks. A second weeding takes place about a month after the first. Weeding is done by the entire family with long handle hoes. Although there was only one plot-holder who entirely neglected weeding, many of the plot-holders weeded late and not in a completely thorough manner. If weeding is delayed, or not done thoroughly, it reduces yield.

As in the case with difficulties associated with grade cows the failure of the plot-holders fully to utilize the maize producing capacity of their land stems partly from lack of knowledge. There is a lack of information concerning the proper methods of growing maize. To the knowledge of the author there has never been any course organized, or demonstration made to show farmers how to cultivate hybrid maize properly. However, of equal importance is the fact that, "So far Africa has not been able to establish a work discipline as stern as that which made rapid progress possible in Japan and China."¹ The soil on the "A" and "B" plots is fertile, and the use of hybrid seed and fertilizers assures a yield far above that customarily obtained, even if sufficient cultivation and weeding does not take place. Some plot-holders have expressed a desire to improve their farming techniques, but most are satisfied with a yield of eight to twelve bags an acre, which is three to six times above that obtained in the Reserves.

1. Dumont, Rene Ibid, p.12.

Viewed from a sociological point of view, there is a similarity between hybrid maize and grade cows in relation to social change. Both are variations upon items with which the Kipsigis have long been familiar; and both require a measure of investment which was not heretofore required. Hybrid seeds cost Shs. 17/- to Shs. 18/- per acre, and grade cows are costly both in their initial cost and their maintainance cost. Despite these apparent similarities, the plot-holders' attitude towards these two innovations is different. Whereas grade stock are associated with a myriad of regulations and difficulties, hybrid seed has been widely and voluntarily accepted. Many of the plot-holders are willing to experiment with the use of a variety of different strains of hybrid to determine which gives the highest yield. Part of the reason ninety per cent of the farmers on the Scheme are using hybrid seed is that this innovation was introduced under almost ideal conditions. Arriving on the Scheme in July many of the plot-holders found "Kitale Synthetic Maize" growing on their land. The maize was planted by Settlement but was harvested by the plot-holders themselves. The plot-holders saw

for themselves the high yield this strain gives. The following year, encouraged by Settlement Authorities many of the plot-holders planted this seed for themselves. A few of the plot-holders, having worked on European farms, planted other, more productive hybrids. A demonstration effect occurred, and most of the farmers switched to the more productive hybrids.

The second factor which has led to the widespread acceptance of hybrids is the fact that hybrid maize does not require extra care to give extra yield. Further they are not more susceptible to disease than the maize which the Kipsigis have been using for the past sixty years. Unlike grade cows, the use of hybrid maize does not involve sacrificing quantity for quality. There is no additional risk involved with its use. Given the same care which is given to "ordinary" maize the hybrid strains will give a significantly higher yield. Hybrid maize can be easily adopted into traditional work and agricultural patterns. Its use increases yield without adding significantly to the amount of labour required in farming. It

is readily available from the Co-operative Society or it can be purchased in two shops in Kapkoech.

Fertilizers, usually in the form of single superphosphate are also widely used on the Scheme. A bag of fertilizers sufficient for one acre costs Shs. 16/50 and is available through the Co-operative Society or in Kapkoech. Fertilizers are applied at the time of planting and although requiring an investment in money, they do not require a substantial investment in labour. Many of the farmers make a bag of fertilizers cover more than one acre, thus reducing its effectiveness. There is no attempt to force plot-holders to use hybrid seed or fertilizers, but a small number of plot-holders have begun to apply phosphates to their minor crops, such as potatoes. Besides encouraging the farmers to use fertilizers there has been no organized instruction in their use. Hybrid seed and phosphates are considered to be a normal part of agriculture by the plot-holders, and they are not considered as strange as are grade cows.

Production of maize on the Scheme is considerably below the potential yield. The yield per acre

is 8 to 10 bags among the least productive farmers, and 25 bags among the most productive farmers, 8 to 12 bags per acre is the average yield. Thirty bags per acre is considered to be the maximum potential yield. The yield in the Reserves is 2 to 4 bags per acre. Although the plot-holders produce only one third to one half of their possible yield they produce four to six times as much as is attained in the neighbouring Reserves. Family consumption of maize is between ten and twenty bags per year. Even at the low end of the scale of production, the plot-holders are producing maize in quantities far above subsistence needs.

One quarter of the farmers on the Scheme are now planting a second cash crop. Those who do plough their soil immediately after the harvest and plant potatoes and beans in time to get the benefit of the short rains in September and October. Some of the plot-holders have been able to earn a thousand shillings or more from a single acre of potatoes. Although potatoes are becoming an increasingly popular cash crop, many of the plot-holders remain reluctant to plant potatoes. It

requires a cash investment of about Shs. 240/- per acre, plus a considerable investment in time during a period when agricultural labour is usually light. Further, potatoes are much more susceptible to total failure than is maize. If there is an excessive rainfall, or the potatoes are planted at the wrong time, they are likely to rot in the ground. Many of the plot-holders who do not now grow potatoes explained that they had tried them once but they were a failure and they will not plant them again. To attempt to grow potatoes a second time after an initial failure is not something the plot-holders are willing to do. There is no necessity to plant potatoes because maize yields a comfortable income. Only those considerably interested in increasing their income plant a second cash crop.

A small number of plot-holders plant peas and beans as a second cash crop. Even fewer people plant these two vegetables than plant potatoes. Beans and peas are susceptible to excessive rainfall and to disease. Beans, peas and potatoes are not traditionally eaten by the Kipsigis, and so are not used as both a subsistence and a cash crop, as is the case with maize.

Neither potatoes nor beans have been encouraged by the Settlement Authorities, nor is the Co-operative Society concerned with their marketing. The appearance of these crops on the Scheme has been at the initiative of the plot-holders themselves. The growing of potatoes has been stimulated by Kikuyu traders who come on the Scheme with a lorry to buy potatoes for shipment to urban centres. These traders often come onto the Scheme with their own labourers, and uproot the potatoes, thus relieving the farmer of one of the difficulties of growing potatoes. Since there is no price control on potatoes, they are subject to great price fluctuations. In a "good year" the price for ^atwo hundred pound bag of potatoes may be as high as Shs. 40/- and in a year in which the price is depressed, it may be as little as Shs. 18/-. This fluctuation in price is another factor which limits production.

Marketing of beans and peas presents a slightly more difficult situation. These crops are usually sold to small restaurants and hotels catering to the large African middle class in Kericho, and/or to women trading in the open air market in Kericho.

A small amount of peas and beans are consumed at home as a relish with the basic maize food, but they are not considered to be a very tasty food.

Cabbages are widely grown on the Scheme, both as a cash crop, and for subsistence. Cabbage are well liked, and are often preferred to the traditional Kipsigis greens. The growing of cabbages requires only a very small cash investment. For fifty cents it is possible to buy enough seeds to plant a good size garden. Cabbages are cultivated by hoe, and are a woman's responsibility. A man need not concern himself with them after he has directed his wife to plant them. Cabbages do not require a good deal of attention, and if they are not attacked by insects they represent a reliable source of fresh greens throughout the rainy season. Although cabbage seeds are available in all the shops in the Scheme, there has been no official encouragement of this crop. Those few plot-holders that grow cash crop cabbages to a considerable degree do so by arranging a contract with one of the many small restaurants in Kericho, or by selling them to Kikuyu traders. A small number of cabbages are sold to

occasional customers such as subordinate Settlement Staff and workmen and a few are sold in the shops on the Scheme. Despite the heavy demand for cabbages by small restaurants in the immediate area, cash cropping of cabbages is carried on only to a limited extent. Cabbages have become part of the wife's domestic duties and have simply been adopted into the traditional culture without yielding benefits other than being a convenient source of greens. The average expenditure for cabbage is one shilling per year, and the average income is nil.

Of interest, however, is the fact that potatoes, beans, peas and cabbages were planted entirely on the initiative of the plot-holders themselves and marketing arrangements have been satisfactorily negotiated without the aid of the Co-operative Society. Income from these crops was not budgeted in the Scheme budget, and must be viewed as a significant attempt on the part of a small number of plot-holders to increase their cash income.

Beer and whisky brewing is another source of income on the Scheme, but it is not practised to

the same extent to which it is practised in the Reserves. Both beer and whisky are made from a combination of ground maize and germinated millet, which acts as the yeast. To prepare whisky, it is necessary to add large amounts of sugar to the beer to increase its alcoholic content and then to distill it. The profits which can be obtained from a small cash investment and large investment in labour are quite substantial. Beer can be sold at four to five times the value of the maize and millet which it contains, whisky yields a smaller profit and requires more work, but it can be stored indefinitely, which cannot be done with beer. Although whisky brewing is strictly prohibited by law and beer brewing is permitted only under certain specified conditions, there is little danger of official interference with this possible source of income. In the eyes of almost all of the people, including the Administration Policemen, this activity is not a crime. There is no moral objection to the manufacturing of intoxicants and the great majority of the plot-holders are consumers of this drink. Despite the large profits available there are only two regular brewers of intoxicants

on the Scheme.

The reluctance to brew stems not from legal or moral objections, but rather from the same factors which keep milk and maize production below their potential. Maize can always be sold at a good price with very little effort to people coming on the Scheme to buy it, while beer brewing requires a good deal of work. To brew beer one must spend many hours in laborious preparation of the product, and then many more hours supervising its sale. Plot-holders usually have cash immediately available to them, and therefore prefer to spend their weekends drinking in the neighbouring Reserves, free from commercial responsibilities. In the Reserve, which is agriculturally much more conservative than the Scheme, commercial brewing is conducted to a much greater extent. This results not from a spirit of lawlessness in the Reserves, but rather ~~from~~ a high need to obtain a cash income. The amount of money which moves from the Scheme to the Reserves to pay for the intoxicants is considerable. Workmen as well as plot-holders spend money in the Reserves. A good deal of beer

is brewed on the Scheme, but this is usually done for social and not commercial motivations. Part of the "good-life" which the Scheme affords to the plot-holders is the ability to enjoy one's self at the weekends.

Tea has been widely discussed as a possible additional source of income on the Scheme. Specialists in tea production have been on the Scheme to investigate the possibility of introducing the valuable cash crop on the Scheme. At a General Meeting held in February, 1967 an announcement was made that tea planting was imminent and a list of those plots which were suitable for tea planting was announced. The plots on which tea was to be planted were "A" plots owned by people who had indicated a desire to plant tea. Since that time it has been decided that test planting will be made sometime in the future, and the planting to take place afterwards. Unless unforeseen difficulties arise the Scheme should be suitable for tea planting.

In many of the nearby areas tea planting has been successful. Although extremely few of the plot-holders have experience with tea, they consider tea to be an excellent source of increased income. Many of the plot-holders are enthusiastic about the possibility of growing tea. Although tea yields a high income, it requires intensive care for three to five years before it begins to yield a profit. It is not clear whether or not the plot-holders will be willing to make the necessary investments in labour needed to make tea successful, or whether they will be willing to sacrifice immediate profits which maize production yields. One of the effects of introducing tea on the Scheme, would be to increase the gap between the income on the "A" plots and that on the "C" plots.

Other crops of small importance are grown on the Scheme. Small patches of millet and a few patches of wheat are found on the Scheme. These are primarily used in beer brewing. One man grows sugar cane and pineapples on his plot but they are not successful because of the high altitude. Another man, a progressive owner of a "Z" plot grows onions

at a good profit.

Of the three sources of income which are budgeted for Bandek Scheme, one of them, passion fruit, has yielded almost no income at all. It has been almost a complete failure. Only one farmer on the Scheme grows passion fruit commercially. He is a "Z" plot-holder who is widely recognized as being one of the most progressive farmers in the District. A few of the plot-holders have passion fruit growing on vines which have attached themselves to trees. The wires that were originally intended to be used for passion fruit have been used to make repairs on fences, or for other household uses. Those few who still have passion fruit vines growing up trees regard them as pleasant weeds, and the fruits are given to children as sweets. The Scheme is located in an area which is considered excellent for passion fruit growing. One of the Europeans who owned the land before the Scheme was created successfully cultivated five acres of passion fruit which gave a good yield. There is a passion fruit squash factory located in Kapkoech which would buy all of the fruit produced on the Scheme. For this

reason Settlement Authorities believed that passion fruit would be an excellent small cash crop on the Scheme. It had been planned that the Co-operative Society would carry the passion fruit to Kapkoech at the same time as it was carrying the milk, thus reducing transportation costs.

The failure of passion fruit on the Scheme can be attributed both to the Settlement Authorities, and to the plot-holders. Before the plot-holders came on the Scheme, those plots which had soil which was deemed suitable for passion fruit had one half of an acre cultivated as a seed bed. After the plot-holders on the selected plots moved on the Scheme they were told that the seed bed which they found was for passion fruit, and that they should collect the seedlings from the nursery that had been established. They were also told that they had been charged an extra Shs. 50/- for the cultivation. They were told to buy the necessary wires from their development loan. The plot-holders who were scheduled to have passion fruit did plant the seedlings and put up the wires. These people did not wish to risk appearing unco-operative to the Settlement Authorities immediately after moving onto

the Scheme. Instruction in passion fruit horticulture was available to those who wished to make the special efforts needed to obtain it. Most of the plot-holders had a limited knowledge of the fruit as a refreshment which is sold in the market by women at a price of six for ten cents.

Part of the reason for the lack of success of passion fruit on the Scheme rests with the Settlement Authority's initial expectation that the new plot-holders would immediately recognize the advantages of spending a good deal of time on a minor crop, which most of the plot-holders had never grown before. Settlement Authorities further expected that the plot-holders would actively seek out additional information on the care of passion fruit at the same time as they were being introduced to hybrid maize and grade cows. These expectations were fulfilled in only one instance, by a man who had been using grade cows and hybrid seed in the Reserve before he came on the Scheme. To the plot-holders, passion fruit became another burden which Settlement placed upon them. Many of the plot-holders who were charged Shs. 50/- for the cultivation of the seed bed, and subsequently derived no benefit from it, feel that they

were taken unfair advantage of by the Settlement Authorities.

The Settlement staff maintains that the cause for the failure of passion fruit lies primarily in the conservatism of the plot-holders themselves. They explained that, "The Kipsigis only want their cows", and that, "The Kisii are growing a good deal of passion fruit in the same soil."

One of the reasons why the farmers on the Scheme did not accept passion fruit rests in the fact that this crop requires a good deal of intensive care to keep it from dying and to maintain a high yield. The fruit must be harvested daily, as it falls from the vine. The soil underneath the vines on which the fruit grows must be cultivated weekly. Diseased plants must be uprooted and destroyed before they spread their disease to the other plants. A secondary school teacher who is a plot-holder explained it in these terms, "It involved a lot of work and some people were reluctant to continue....The price is very low, fifteen cents a pound... The agricultural instructor was very keen on it, and so was I, but nobody else was...You had to buy wires and

weeding was a lot of work." He went on to explain that his own passion fruit was doing well, but since no one else was growing it, he decided to uproot it. In answer to the question, "Did you plant passion fruit," ninety per cent of the "A" and "Z" plot-holders answered, "Yes, but it got dry and black and died." Several people added, "and now we must pay the loans for it."

The potential profits from an acre of passion fruit are high. The one man who does grow passion fruit earns a gross income of over Shs. 1000/- a year per acre. This contrasts with the Shs. 300/- to Shs. 900/- a plot-holder may expect to earn per acre from maize. Despite the fact that passion fruit yields a considerably higher cash income, than maize, it is not attractive to the plot-holders because it requires substantially more labour than maize. There is also a higher probability of total failure. By eliminating half an acre of passion fruit a man increases the amount of land he has under maize by half an acre. Even the man who does grow passion fruit on the Scheme, and conscientiously tends it everyday, has been told that his plants are diseased and must be uprooted and

burned. There is still a passion fruit extension worker operating in the area, but on the Scheme passion fruit is no longer a subject of interest, nor is it ever discussed by any of the plot-holders. Settlement staff consider the failure of passion fruit to be a considerable loss, but this loss has been to a large degree reduced by the acceptance of other secondary crops in place of passion fruit. Potatoes have become the third source of income.

CHAPTER III

THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY

The Forms of Co-operation in the Traditional Culture

The Co-operative Society, henceforth referred to as "the Society", is an institution with which the plot-holders were not familiar before coming on the Scheme. Those who had been producing actively for the cash economy sold their produce directly to the consumer or the small scale dealers. Traditionally the Kipsigis did form communal work groups to plant and harvest, but the yield from a given area of land belonged to the owner of the land, and not to the people who had helped him cultivate. Those who lived on European farms sold their surplus produce to their employers.

Among the Kipsigis there was no tradition of two men, even brothers, holding cultivated land jointly. Before land enclosure began and land became in scarce commodity, land "belonged" to the community. Every adult male had usufruct rights in the land that he had cleared. Each man was able to have possession of his own plot.

It is now the practice for sons to inherit land from their fathers. If a man has three wives his land will be divided into three equal portions, and then each portion will be sub-divided for the sons of each house. Ideally, each son has his own plot, which is his against the claims of his brothers, who also have their own plots. Traditionally grazing land and water were held communally. In the past thirty years, however, with the development of land enclosure and an increased population, pasture land has also become subject to private ownership. At the present time the only land which is not privately owned in the Reserves are paths which give access to rivers and streams. Paths range in width from one to six yards. There are also government built dams in the drier areas of Kipsigis country to which all members of the community have an equal right to use. Primary and nursery schools as well as dips are often built on land which is jointly owned by the community. When a community wishes to build a school, money is collected to purchase land and materials, and ownership is vested in a committee representing the community. In the Kipsigis Reserve the only land which is communally held is that which is clearly needed and used by all members

of the community.

Cattle received for bridewealth are held by the father of the bride who has an obligation to see that they are available when one of his sons wishes to marry. Although the ceremonial and emotional ties of marriage encompass a wide range of kin, the actual exchange of bridewealth usually involves only the father, brother and uncle of the contracting parties. A man may have cattle on his land which are not his, and he may have his own cows on other people's plots, but this represents an insurance against the loss of one's entire herd, and not a commitment to communal ownership. By keeping his cattle on another man's plot a man does not lose his ownership of the cattle.

Although communal ownership in the sense of a group of men owning a single animal or piece of cultivated land did not exist among the Kipsigis, a wide range of interlocking "social obligations" did exist. A man was expected to give material aid to his parents and siblings, as well as his wife's parents. Those with whom a man ^{was} circumcised, as well as his neighbours, had the right to make demands upon

him for material assistance. These demands could be ignored, but only at the cost of becoming known as a stingy and unpleasant person. Hospitality and generosity are widely recognized as virtues among the Kipsigis. To be known as stingy or mean is a highly undesirable position for a Kipsigis to find himself in.¹

Co-operation and mutual aid was part of the social systems of Kipsigis culture. It functioned to make agricultural labour less burdensome but not to increase production or profits. Aside from the sanction of public opinion there was no coercion involved in the traditional forms of co-operation. Communal work groups were based on the voluntary agreement of those involved. There was no direct supervision, and there was no involvement of anyone outside of the community. Material assistance to a relative, friend or neighbour was based on the personal status and effective relationship between the two parties, not on legal compulsion. Mutual help was not based on a series of legal obligations. Neglect of

1. Orchardson, I.Q. The Kipsigis A.T. Matson Editor, The Eagle Press, Nairobi, 1961.

these social obligations did not ordinarily lead to legal proceedings. Kipsigis culture did not have, except during combat, a status position which permitted one man to direct the joint activities of the entire community.

The Recruitment of Members

The rules of Settlement require that each plot-holder be a member of the Society, and sell all the milk which he produces above subsistence need to the Society. The requirement appears to stem, at least in part, from the belief that a marketing organization owned and operated by the plot-holders themselves will yield greater benefits to the plot-holders than one which is privately owned. Part of the motivation lies in the ideology of "African Socialism" as expressed in Sessional Paper No. 10 of the Kenya Government.¹ It is hoped that by organizing the people living on Land Settlement Schemes into Societies the profits that they receive will be increased and

1. Kenya Government African Socialism and Its Application to Planning in Kenya, Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965, Government Printer Nairobi.

the influence which non-citizens have in the economy of Kenya will be decreased. The belief was widely held that since there is a traditional base of co-operation and socialism in African culture, co-operative societies would flourish.¹ It is the hope of the Settlement Authorities that the Society will gradually assume an increasing responsibility for the administration of the Scheme, particularly as regards handling loan repayments.

As with other aspects of Land Settlement the Society has only partially fulfilled the expectations of the planners. The idea that the Society is a beneficial institution has been accepted only to a limited degree by the plot-holders. All the plot-holders on the Scheme are members of the Society. This fact does not reflect a widespread support for the Society, but is the result of the requirement that to be allocated a plot, each prospective plot-holder had to pay Shs. 25/- to become a member of the Society. This money was collected at the time that the initial downpayment was made. The majority of plot-holders were not aware that a small part of the downpayment was to be used for the foundation of a Society. The majority of

1. Ibid.

the plot-holders cannot read Kipsigis, and very few are able to read English. The rules of the Scheme were available only in English. The plot-holders were concerned simply with the total amount of cash required to obtain land, and not with the purpose to which it would be put.

The positive result of the procedure of requiring every prospective plot-holder to pay for his membership in the Society before allocating him a plot was to guarantee that all were members of the Society. This created the potential for a good deal of disinterest and apathy concerning Society affairs. Having become members of the Society without being aware of it, or making any conscious commitment to it, many of the plot-holders have taken only a very limited interest in the Society. Twenty-five shillings was a relatively small amount to prospective plot-holders who were making a cash payment of over Shs. 1,250/-. Like grade cows and hybrid seed, the Society was an innovation to which the plot-holders were introduced after they had moved onto the Scheme.

The administration of the Society is a radical departure from the traditional methods of co-operation

which the Kipsigis practised. Membership is not voluntary and it is impossible to leave the Society without leaving the Scheme entirely. The Society lacks the element of voluntary association with which the Word "co-operative" is usually associated. The people who came on the Scheme were anxious to obtain land. Most people viewed the fee of Shs. 25/- for joining the Society like the stamp tax, as a miscellaneous expense that had to be paid in order to obtain a plot, but which could safely be forgotten after that. They were not concerned about organizations which they might be asked to join after they obtained their land.

At a **general** meeting held shortly after the plot-holders moved onto the Scheme they were told that there would be a society to which they would sell their milk. The people living on the Scheme, however, did not organize the Society themselves. Rather, the Settlement Authorities told them that they were members of a Society and that they must sell milk to it. This did not lead to resentment or bitterness, but it did make the plot-holders begin to view the Society as an institution which was part

of the Government machinery on the Scheme, and not an organization which belonged to the plot-holders themselves. As they saw it the only task for the plot-holders to perform was to elect a Chairman and an eleven member Executive Committee.

There was no spontaneous movement toward the establishment of a Society by the people themselves. Those few who were aware of the existence of co-operative societies elsewhere in Kenya were familiar with the "land societies" in which a man was part of a large group of people who jointly bought a European owned farm. In these societies a man does not own his own cows and has little responsibility for the management of the farm. This is not the type of Society which exists on the Scheme. On the Scheme a man has his own plot and is expected to develop it to the best of his ability. The Scheme is clearly not a group farm in which each man shares equally in the profits. The plot-holders themselves fully expect that there will be variation of wealth among their neighbours, and they did not enter the Scheme with an ideology of egalitarianism, or with the expectation that

everyone would work for the benefit of everyone else. The people who came onto the Scheme did so because they desired to have land which they would be able to exploit for their own advantage and that of their kin, but not necessarily for the advantage of their neighbours. The Scheme has drawn people from all over Kipsigis country, from most of the clans and from three of the age-sets. Although all of the people on the Scheme who own plots are of a single ethnic group, the majority of them were, at the time the Scheme was begun, strangers to each other. Age-set grouping as a force for drawing Kipsigis from various parts of the country together has decreased in importance, and the regimental unit system no longer functions. Clan is not an important social group among the Kipsigis. Although age-set groupings are still of considerable importance in ceremonial activities, and in determining whom a man may marry, they are not in any way strong cohesive social units. The division of Kipsigis country into military wards no longer exists. Young men are no longer assigned to regiments. There is no military organization or activity on the Scheme. Clans are of importance in

determining who a man may marry, but they are of little importance in other areas of the culture. The clan is not a property owning group, and does not represent a force for social cohesion. There were, therefore, no factors aside from the sharing of a common language and culture which acted to draw the Kipsigis of various backgrounds and home Locations into a single group.

The plot-holders took up their plots at different times over an area comprising approximately twenty square miles. The land varies from highly fertile, well drained land to waterlogged land which will not support agricultural production. Among the Kipsigis, traditionally, as well as at the present time, the primary social unit was the kokwet, or neighbourhood. It is within this group, comprising eight to twenty families that social interaction is most intense.

The need to protect their economic interests from exploitation or competition was not a matter with which the plot-holders concerned themselves. Those plot-holders who were familiar with commercial

milk production had experience either as employees in large scale European farms in which milk was sold directly to the K.C.C., or as independent producers who sold directly to consumers who paid the market price for the milk. The need or value of a Co-operative Society as a method of increasing one's income from milk does not appear to have been part of the thinking of the plot-holders. In view of the fact that the new plot-holders were being introduced to a large number of innovations and were busy building their houses and fencing their land, it is not surprising that there was no immediate or spontaneous movement towards the establishment of a Society.

The Organization of the Society

The Society is organized as a produce marketing agency which puts at least some of the responsibility for the marketing of milk into the hands of the plot-holders themselves. The rules of Settlement require that all plot-holders sell all of the whole milk and butterfat which they do not consume for domestic purposes to the Society.

A resolution has been passed by the Executive Committee of the Society which states that, "...anyone found selling milk outside the Scheme will be fined Shs. 50/- from 1st May, 1966."¹ Despite the many warnings and appeals which have been issued on this subject, no fines have ever been levied against any plot-holders, either for unlawful sale of milk, or for any other reason. The Society owns cream separators, and if a man wishes he may sell only butterfat to the Society, and sell skimmed milk to the people living in the Reserves. A man who sells his whole milk off the Scheme may be subject not only to a fine, but possible eviction from the Scheme.

The Society is headed by an unsalaried Chairman who is elected yearly at a general meeting of the Society. There are also eleven members of an Executive Committee who are elected for two year terms, half of the Committee being elected each year. Seven of the members of the Committee are elected to represent the main part of the Scheme, and four to represent a somewhat isolated section. The sub-chief is a member of the Committee ex-officio. The Committee is responsible for the operation of the

1. Settlement Office Records.

Society. The senior paid employee of the Society is the clerk. He is responsible for keeping the records of dairy production, and the deductions which must be made from the plot-holders' incomes to pay for dip charges and mortgage payments. The clerk has a desk in the Settlement Office and works a four day week. The clerk who is presently employed is the son of one of the plot-holders. He has no clerical training and does not speak English. The technical aspects of the administration of the Society are the responsibility of the Co-operative Assistant, an employee of the Central Government. The Chairman or one of the members of the Committee is responsible for any correspondence which the Society may enter into. The salary of the clerk, who does not have a complete primary school education is Shs. 160/- per month. Earning the same salary as the clerk is the driver of the Society lorry. The driver works a six day week, and is responsible for transporting the milk from the Scheme to the main road to Kericho where it is picked up by another lorry. The driver is not a plot-holder because no properly licensed driver among the plot-holders was available. The General Manager of the Society

is elected yearly at a general meeting. He is paid Shs. 70/- per month and has the responsibility of supervising the use of the lorry and the functioning of the dips and dairies. The General Manager is a plot-holder as well as a member of the Executive Committee. He has a full primary school education. The Society also employs three dairy clerks who operate the cream separator, record milk deliveries to the Society dairies, and operate and take payment for the dips. They are responsible for the cleanliness of the dairies. The salary for a dairy clerk is Shs. 45/- per month. All three of the dairy clerks are the sons of plot-holders. Any of the employees of the Society may be dismissed by a vote of the Committee. During the period of research there has been a substantial employee turnover. The manager, the driver, the turnboy for the lorry, and two of the three dairy clerks have been replaced. At least one of the dairy clerks was dismissed because of dishonesty.

The Leadership of the Society

The leadership of the Society has, to a good measure, remained the same during the **three**

years of its existence. The first Chairman of the Society was a man of considerable political experience, but held office for only six months. He was removed from office under suspicion of having misappropriated funds. The man elected to replace him is an individual who is highly respected by the plot-holders. He has a full primary education and has three years of post-primary education at a Bible College. His work career includes employment as the clerk, the secretary, and the treasurer of a church based organization. He has also been active in religious education. His background makes him one of the most educated and experienced men of the Scheme. Despite the fact that he is a total abstainer, and thereby removes himself from a good many of the social activities of the Scheme, he is universally regarded as one of the important and influential men on the Scheme. The second Chairman has held office from the time of his election in July, 1965, to the present time (January, 1968).

The first Chairman was a man who had previously held elective office, and was well known throughout

Kipsigis country. He was an effective speaker, and the great majority of the people living on the Scheme considered him to be a "leader". The fact that he was known to almost all of the plot-holders before he came on the Scheme was an important factor in his election. His dismissal following accusations of having misappropriated money has caused him to completely withdraw from the social activities of the Scheme.

Perhaps in reaction to the forceful and somewhat overbearing leadership of the first Chairman, the man the plot-holders elected to replace him exhibits a much less bombastic style of leadership. While the first Chairman cast himself in the role of the successful and wealthy politician, the second Chairman has preferred to assume the role of primus inter pares. It is possible that the plot-holders felt that a politically experienced and worldly man was needed to guide the Society during its first few months, but that a more humble Chairman was needed after the Society was established.

With the exception of a few people, the members of the Executive Committee are not notably more

progressive farmers nor are they more conscientious in their mortgage payments than are the other plot-holders.

The amount owed by each of the members of the Executive Committee and each of the Village Leaders (who will be discussed below) is indicated in Table I. Milk production for a 'typical' month

TABLE NO. I EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Plot No.	Loan Repayment Amount Owed As of October 1967	Milk Sales March, 1967	No. of Children in School for the School Year 1967
35	678/-	97/50	One
57	8,200/- "Z"	92/65	Three
77	264/- "Z"	Not listed	Two
149	1,865/-	Nil	Two
170	276/-	Nil	-
173	1,321/-	8/55	-
204	492/-	Nil	-
222	2,028/-	Nil	Two
269	1,121/-	Nil	-
300	923/-	Nil	One
353	1,781/-	19/10	-
355	842/-	Nil	-
<u>VILLAGE LEADERS</u>			
4	789/-	Nil	Three
72	1,601/-	Nil	-
129	2,241/-	Nil	Three
159	376/-	43/20	Four
204	492/-	Nil	-
222	2,028/-	Nil	Two
300	923/-	Nil	One
328	972/-	Nil	-
363	6,796/- "Z"	165/10	-

is also presented. The production figures for March, 1967 were the latest available to the author at the time research was completed. They are representative because March marks the beginning of the rainy season, when milk production increases. Other statistics on milk production will be presented below.

Among the members of the Committee is one of the largest loan defaulters on the Scheme (Plot No. 222). Although this man is an 'A' plot-holder he finds it difficult to obtain enough income from his plot to make his mortgage payments. This results from the fact that he spends a great deal of his time off his plot representing the Scheme in a wide variety of activities. He frequently attends agricultural short courses designed by the Government to upgrade the standard of agriculture on the Scheme. The courses do not influence the standard of agriculture which he practises. This man is a popular member of the Committee both because he is highly articulate and eloquent when speaking in public, and because he is always willing to offer advice to anyone who comes seeking help. The ability

to speak well in public, and to defend one's opinion without unpleasantness, are important qualifications for leadership in the Society.

There are three benefits which accrue from being a member of the Committee. First, it is the practice of the Society to make loans available to Members of the Committee. These loans range in size from Shs. 40/- to Shs. 1,000/-. They are made at 6½% interest. Second, sitting and travel allowances are paid to the Members of the Committee. The sitting allowance is Shs. 5/-. The transportation allowance is Shs. 10/- for anyone going to Kapkoech on Society business and Shs. 20/- for an official trip to Kericho. A return trip to Kapkoech costs Shs. 2/80, and a return trip to Kericho costs 8/80. In view of the fact that the wages for an unskilled labourer are Shs. 25/- to Shs. 45/- per month, these allowances represent considerable amounts of money. Third, membership in the Committee provides an increased opportunity to represent the Scheme on short courses and conferences. There is also an increased opportunity to meet important guests who may come on the Scheme. The members of the Committee sit in

chairs in front of the Society meetings, while the other members sit on the ground. Since the first Chairman left office, and a Co-operative Assistant was appointed by the Government, there has been no mention of financial malpractices on the part of the Society.

There have been two Secretaries of the Society. The first was a former Assistant Superintendent of Police who had resigned his post before coming on the Scheme. He was not successful as the Secretary because he operated a tractor hire service which occupied much of his time. He was asked to resign as Secretary because of his frequent failure to attend meetings. He no longer interests himself in Scheme activities. He has been replaced by a man, who, though less educated, fills the position more adequately.

Since the Scheme was begun there has been only one treasurer. He is a 'Z' plot-holder who is also one of the most highly educated men on the Scheme. He has a Cambridge School Certificate and two years of additional education at a Teachers

Training College. This man is also the Member of Parliament (M.P.) for a neighbouring area, and as such finds it difficult to attend meetings.

Although his work requires him to be in Nairobi much of the time, he is a highly respected individual, and his opinions and advice are sought out on a wide variety of subjects.

The Functioning of the Society

Cows on the Scheme are milked twice daily, once in the early hours of the morning, and once in the later afternoon. Ordinarily the milk from the morning milking is sold, and that from the afternoon milking is used for subsistence. Most of the milk from the evening milking is consumed in the home as whole milk, and is therefore not taken to the dairy. Those people who have obtained more milk from the evening milking than they need for subsistence may take the excess to the dairy to be processed into cream and skimmed milk. If possible the skimmed milk is sold to people living in the Reserves. The price at which skimmed milk is sold in the Reserves is only slightly less than the price

which the Society pays for whole milk. Skimmed milk is considered by the plot-holders to be a somewhat undesirable, poor man's drink, and for that reason it is not the practice of the plot-holders to take all of their evening milk to the dairy in order to sell the butterfat and use the skimmed milk for subsistence purposes. Those plot-holders who had worked on European farms were accustomed to drinking skimmed milk, but none of them continues to do so despite the substantial financial advantages which could be derived from this.

There are several criteria which can be used to assess the degree to which the Society has become an important part of the Scheme, and the degree to which the plot-holders look to it as a useful innovation. They are:

1. The number of members who are interested in regularly attending meetings of the Society, and in ~~campaigning~~ for posts on the Executive Committee.
2. The extent to which the Society is looked upon as a court of appeal to discuss

disputes which may have arisen.

3. The extent to which matters not directly affecting agricultural production are discussed at Society meetings. The extent to which Society meetings have become general forums for discussion.

4. The extent to which voluntary support is given to a request by the Society for aid in maintaining the dips and dairies in good, clean condition.

5. The amount of milk which is sold to the Society versus the amount which is sold in the Reserves.

6. The volume of produce other than milk and butterfat which is sold through the Society.

7. The extent to which the Society has increased the number and volume of social services. The number of dispensaries, adult education classes, nursery and primary schools which the Society has sponsored.

8. The extent to which the Society has promoted agricultural development on the Scheme.
9. The extent to which the Society has made hybrid seed and fertilizers conveniently available on the Scheme.
10. The efficiency with which the Society markets the milk produced on the Scheme.
11. The efficiency with which the Society maintains the dips.

Measured against the above criteria the record of the Society is outstanding neither for the degree to which it has succeeded, nor the degree to which it has failed. As with other aspects of the Scheme, the Society is only partially successful. The plot-holders do not conceive of the Society as being an organization which plays an important part in their lives, or to which they want to extend a large measure of support or loyalty.

Those men who had been able to make the substantial downpayment needed to obtain a Land Settlement plot were men who had been able to accumulate a substantial amount of cash either through

the exploitation of their plots in the Reserves or by working for a cash income. The plot-holders had expected that they would be able to call on their neighbours for assistance and would in turn be expected to extend aid, but there was no expectation that they would be made involuntary members of a large "self-help" organization made up of over three hundred and fifty families. An ideology of communalism or joint community effort which extends past the family group or the kokwet was not part of the thinking of the people who came on the Scheme. One of the major factors which inhibits the growth of the Society is the tendency of the people on the Scheme to think of the kokwet as the primary unit of social interaction, and to think of the Scheme or Society as units which are too large and too diverse to be of great personal importance. The size of the Scheme mitigates against the Society becoming the primary unit of social interaction. The varied backgrounds and work histories of the plot-holders further reduces the possibility of the Society becoming a cohesive group. The way in which the Society was founded, and the tasks that were assigned to it prevent its wholehearted acceptance

by the plot-holders. It must be emphasized that the Society is not a voluntary association of farmers who have come together to form a co-operative for their mutual benefit. As stated above, the element of voluntary membership is totally non-existent in the Society.

The Marketing of Milk.

After becoming members of the Society, the Settlement Authorities told the plot-holders that they would benefit considerably from being members of the Society, and they would be paid a high price for the milk which they sold to the Society. The plot-holders were further told that it was their duty to sell as much milk as they could to the Society in order to strengthen it. They were told that if everyone sold a good deal of milk to the Society, it could increase the benefits that it made available to its members. Finally, the plot-holders were told that if they wished to sell their milk elsewhere they would have to obtain the permission of the Executive Committee, and they would have to pay the Society a fee equal to the commission

which they would have paid if they sold the milk to the Society. These regulations were not set by the plot-holders themselves or by the Executive Committee. They are rules which the Settlement Authorities have laid down, and there can be no changes made by the people living on the Scheme.

Initially the plot-holders were told that these regulations would guarantee them a high price for their milk. This, however, has not been the case. The price which the Society offers for a gallon is one-third to one-half the price which can be obtained from selling milk to buyers in the Reserves. The price differential is compounded by the fact that while the Society will not accept fractions of a gallon of milk, it is possible to sell milk in the Reserves in twenty-four ounce bottles. It has become clear to the plot-holders that the Society is not buying milk at as high a price as they could obtain elsewhere. One 'Z' plot-holder has a private contract with a small hotel in Kapkoech to which he sells all of his milk.

For the month of June, 1966 only one hundred

and eighty-one plot-holders sold dairy products to the Society.¹ This number does not include some of the 'Z' plots which are not registered with the Society dairies, but which do pay a commission. In the same month, over two years after the creation of the Scheme, only two hundred plots were registered with the Society dairies.² This clearly indicates that a substantial number of plot-holders have never registered with the Society, and therefore have never sold any dairy produce to it. A small number of those who are not registered are those plot-holders who suffered the misfortune of having all of their cows die before they could begin selling milk, but the majority of those who have not registered have simply found more lucrative markets. In the month of March, 1967 the Society sold a total of 3,300 gallons of milk.³ Of this all but eighty-nine gallons was Grade I.⁴ This represents an average of slightly less than ten gallons of milk per plot per month sold to the

1. Co-operative Society Records.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

Society. (See Appendix No. One). Although this average does not allow for milk which was sold to the Society as butterfat, it does indicate that the amount of milk sold through the Society is not great. The Co-operative Assistant has estimated that the amount of milk sold to the Society is one-fourth of what it would be if all the plot-holders were selling all of their milk to the Society. The Assistant explained in his report for August, 1967 that the low milk sales to the Society were due to "The Black Market influence in the area, even though everything possible is being done to topple the situation."¹

At general meetings of the Society the officers regularly exhort those in attendance to bring their milk to be sold through the Society. These exhortations are usually associated with the promise that if more of the plot-holders sell their milk to the Society, then the services rendered by the Society will be increased and improved, and a higher price will be paid for milk. These appeals appear to have very little effect on the volume of milk sold to the Society. In October, 1967 a lengthy notice

1. Ibid.

was posted in several public places on the Scheme. The notice, which was written in Kipsigis and titled Kateunet (Warning), informed all the plot-holders that henceforth they would be subject to a fine of an unspecified amount if they were found selling milk to the Reserves without permission. The warning also stated that no appeals would be permitted. The warning was signed by the general manager of the Society. It was widely read and entirely ignored. At the time of writing no further action has taken place to prevent the illicit sale of milk.

The size of the Scheme makes it entirely impossible to enforce the restrictions which the Settlement Authorities have placed on the sale of milk. Without the voluntary compliance of the plot-holders it would take an extraordinary number of policemen to prevent milk from being sold off the Scheme. Even those few who actively support the Society are most reluctant to report any of their neighbours who are selling milk unlawfully. To do so would be to create permanent bad relations with one's neighbours. To create bad relations for the sake of possibly improving the marketing position of

the Society is something none of the plot-holders would do. It is clearly impossible to use coercive methods to enforce Society regulations, and until the Society is made more attractive to the plot-holders in economic terms it is doubtful if its marketing position will improve appreciably.

When asked why the plot-holders are not permitted to sell their milk where they choose, the Co-operative Assistant explained that if the plot-holders were permitted to sell their milk where they wished three things would happen. First, the Society would lose its milk quota, which would depress still further the price which the Society pays for milk. Second, the Reserves would become flooded with milk and the price which is paid for milk in the Reserves would go down very quickly. Third, if the Society were to market less milk than it does now, the commission which it charges for transportation would have to be increased to meet fixed overhead costs. It is the belief of the Assistant that if the plot-holders were permitted to sell milk directly to the Reserves, this market would quickly become glutted, and the plot-holders would be in a far

worse economic position than they are at the present time.¹

A certain amount of milk is sold to a private dairy operating in Kapkoech. One part of the Scheme extends to Kapkoech, and it is quite convenient for the people living in that part of the Scheme to sell to the dairy. The private dairy buys milk at two shillings per gallon, which is considerably above the price which the Society pays. It is also possible for the people living near the town to sell directly to consumers in the town.

It is doubtful that the lifting of the ban on the direct sale of milk would have an adverse effect on the Society. Those people who sell their milk to the Society do so for the convenience it provides. They are willing to sacrifice a high price for their milk in order to be relieved of the responsibility of having to spend several hours in the Reserves each day selling milk in small quantities. Those who choose to sell their milk in

1. Personal Interview, 16th November, 1967.

the Reserves are willing to make the extra effort of walking several miles in order to get immediate payment and a high price for their milk. The rule restricting the sale of milk has little effect except to instill resentment in the plot-holders. The plot-holders view milk marketing in pragmatic, economic terms, not in terms of supporting the Co-operative movement in Kenya.

The Problem of Transport.

For approximately a year and a half after the Society was organized the milk which was sold to the Society was transported in a lorry belonging to another, older Society. In November, 1965 at a general meeting of the Society an appeal was made for every plot-holder to contribute Shs. 60/- towards the purchase of a lorry. At that time the plot-holders were told that they could expect an increase in the price paid for milk once the lorry was acquired. A sufficient number of people contributed to make the purchase of a used lorry possible. The lorry was bought from one of the members of the Executive Committee who owned three vehicles. Those

that had not contributed were repeatedly asked to do so, but aside from being asked, no other action was taken towards the substantial number of people who did not contribute. The fact that the purchase of the lorry did not yield any increased benefits to the members of the Society further reduced the support which the Society enjoyed.

After the purchase of the lorry it had been hoped that the Society would obtain considerable additional revenue by transporting the maize produced on the Scheme to the Kenya Farmers Association (KFA) Branch in Kapkoech. The laws of Kenya provided that all maize produced in the country which is not used for subsistence must be sold to a licensed buyer of maize, at a fixed price. The KFA is the nearest licensed buyer of maize. The transportation of maize has not proved to be a good source of income. In September, 1966 the Senior Settlement Officer warned the Society against attempting to extract too high a profit from the transportation of maize. Discussing the proposal to charge a 20% commission for the transport of maize (the same commission which is charged for milk) the S.S.O. writes, "I am sure

that all responsible officials will agree that there is no justification for such a high rate and that the only effect will be to drive the maize business ...into the local market."¹ Despite the fact that the Society's commission is now only two shillings per bag, very few of the plot-holders take their maize to be sold through the Society. This stems from the fact that by selling directly to buyers in the Reserves the plot-holders can get a much higher price for their maize than that fixed by the Government. By selling directly to the Reserves, the plot-holders are also able to avoid the County Council Cess of one shilling a bag, the contribution to the Maize Marketing Board, transportation charges of fifty cents, the cost of a burlap sack (Shs.3/-) and the Society commission. The basic fixed price for a bag of maize sold in Kapkoech during 1967 was Shs. 20/80. During that year the price of maize sold in the Reserves fluctuated between Shs.30/- per bag immediately after the harvest to Shs. 40/-

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1. Letter Dated 8th September, 1966
To: Chairman Co-operative Society
From: Senior Settlement Officer, Settlement Office Records.

per bag immediately before the harvest of the 1967-68 crop. The area bordering the Scheme is one of the least agriculturally developed areas of Kipsigis country. The people of this area give the plot-holders a guaranteed market for the maize produced on the Scheme. The practice of selling maize to the Reserves does not represent economic exploitation on the part of the people who live on the Scheme against those in the Reserves. The price at which the plot-holders sell their maize is below the legally fixed price at which consumers are supposed to buy maize. Thus the desire of the plot-holders to sell their produce at the highest price attainable, and the desire of the people living in the Reserves to buy maize at the lowest price attainable, effectively eliminates the Society from the marketing of maize. The Society is not eliminated from the marketing of milk in the same way because it is more difficult to transport milk, it cannot be stored for several months, and it is not an absolute necessity for subsistence as is maize.

The low price paid for milk by the Society is a major source of discontent to the plot-holders and

is a primary factor inhibiting the growth and importance of the Society. There are several factors which account for the low price which the Society pays for milk. The primary reason is the fact that the milk must be transported approximately fifty miles to the Kenya Co-operative Creameries (KCC) milk depot in Kericho, from where it must be transported another forty-five miles to the milk processing factory in Molo. Of the total distance between the point of production and its final destination the Society is responsible for transporting the milk twenty-five miles over an unpaved road. It is the responsibility of the Society to transport the milk over the main road which passes through the Scheme to the point at which it intersects with the tarmac (paved) road leading to Kericho. At this intersection the milk is transferred from the Society lorry to a larger vehicle belonging to the Kapkoech Co-operative Union. The Union is an association of Co-operative societies. It is responsible for the marketing of milk for several societies and is also the corporate owner of a milk quota of five hundred gallons per pay.

The difficulties involved with the transportation of milk are substantial. During the rainy season (March-May) the roads on the Scheme over which the lorry must pass are in very bad condition. The main road passing through the Scheme is often very slippery, making driving slow and hazardous. It is not uncommon during the rainy season for the Society lorry to become delayed due to the condition of the road. Delays of this type are costly because if the Society lorry fails to meet the Union lorry it becomes necessary for the Society vehicle to go at least part way to Kericho in order to transfer its milk to the Union lorry. This is quite costly in terms of petrol consumption and in the possibility that the milk may be downgraded due to spoilage resulting from delays in transporting the milk. On occasion the condition of the roads on the Scheme completely immobilizes the Society lorry, and it becomes necessary for the milk to be transferred to a small lorry belonging to a 'Z' plot-holder. The 'Z' plot-holder is paid for the use of his vehicle. During the rainy season delays due to the condition of the roads occur as frequently as once a week. These delays are reflected in a

lower income for the plot-holders throughout the entire year.

Other Problems Associated with the Marketing of Milk

The quota which the Co-operative Union owns was purchased at the cost of Shs. 100,000/-. The money to pay for the quota was accumulated by having the Union take a 25% commission on all milk which it marketed. The quota represents a long term investment on the part of the Societies in the area. The KCC will pay Shs. 2/40 per gallon for first grade milk which is sold on the quota, and only Shs. 1/90 for milk which is sold without a quota, or which is in excess of the quota. Although the long term effect of purchasing a quota is an increase in the dairy income of the producers, the short-term effect is to lower the price of milk. The commission which the Union takes to pay for the cost of purchasing the quota represents an additional reduction in the cash income which the plot-holder receives. Further, the Union represents an additional level of administration, and therefore increases both the need for skilled managers and the

possibility of mismanagement. It was the feeling of the Co-operative Assistant that one of the causes of the low price paid for milk was the poor management of the Union.¹ The Assistant explained that it had been the practice for sometime for the Union to take payment from the KCC for milk produced on the Scheme. The Union then paid the Society, which in turn deposited the money in the savings accounts of the individual plot-holders. Despite the fact that the Union took a substantial commission for its services it fell deeply into debt. Realizing the questionable nature of the management of the Union the Bandek Society made arrangements to take payment for its milk directly from the KCC. The Bandek Society has also made arrangements to pay for its share of the quota directly. The Union continues to charge a 5% commission for the cost of transporting the milk. The Assistant stated that the commission was excessive, but was kept at that level to permit the Union to pay the debts which it had accumulated.

1. Ibid., Personal Interview, 16th November 1967.

Despite the fact that the financial operation of the Society is kept under scrutiny by the Assistant, it remains necessary for the Society to charge a 20% commission for receiving the milk, putting it into ten gallon tins, transporting it to the Union lorry, and maintaining the necessary records involved in these processes. This commission does not include the Union commission or any other special assessments which may be levied to pay for such things as the milk quota or a new lorry. Besides the factors mentioned above, the high charges made for marketing milk are the result of the fact that almost the entire income of the Society must come from milk. A small income is derived from the rental of shops on the Scheme and from the private hire of the lorry, but these do not represent substantial sources of income. Almost all the expenses and losses which the Society incurs must be met from this single source of income. Thus any losses occasioned in the operation and maintenance of the dip must be met by the income from milk. If a member of the Society fails to pay for seed or fertilizer which he may buy on credit, the loss can

be compensated for only from one source. Office overheads, bank charges and money to pay for the purchase of permanent improvements are all paid for with the commission from milk.

The Settlement Authorities want the Society to handle loan repayments by deduction of 50% of each man's income from dairy produce.¹ The Society is given a 1% commission on all money it collects in this way. This has not developed into a major source of income. In the first eight months of 1967 the Society earned only Shs. 205/-.² There are two reasons for the inability of the Society to obtain a substantial income from making deductions for loan payment. The first, as stated above, stems from the fact that many of the plot-holders do not take their milk to the Society, and so no deductions can be made from their incomes. The second reason is that while it is the stated policy of both the Settlement Authorities and the officers of the Society to make a 50% deduction

1. Personal Interview, Settlement Officer, 5th October, 1967.

2. Settlement Office Records.

from each man's dairy income, this is not done in all cases. The reason that in some cases no deductions are made is due both to the fact that no deductions of less than ten shillings are made, and to the policy of the Society of not making any deductions from the incomes of plot-holders who specifically request that no deduction be made. (See Appendix No. One). There are three reasons why the Settlement Authorities would like the Society to take mortgage payments by making deductions from the dairy incomes of the plot-holders. (1) It is a relatively painless way for the plot-holders to make their payments. (2) It provides a source of income for the Society, and (3) It relieves the Settlement Officer of some of the burden of collecting mortgage payments. Part of the reluctance of the Society to enforce strictly the fifty per cent deduction is that an inflexible policy would probably lead to a reduction in the number of people who are selling their milk to the Society. With the exception of the Chairman and the Treasurer, loan defaulting among the members of the Committee is substantially the same as it is among the other members of the Society. (See the above discussion

of Leadership). If the Committee were strictly to enforce deductions on dairy income, this would deprive the members of the Committee themselves of the right to refuse to have deductions made from their own incomes.

The Co-operative Assistant.

During most of the period of fieldwork the Co-operative Assistant was a young Kipsigis man whose home is in the Reserves bordering the Scheme. He has a full primary school education, and a limited amount of training as a book-keeper. For the Assistant to have been active in preventing the illicit sale of milk would have required him to try to prevent his own neighbours from buying milk produced on the Scheme. The Kipsigis Assistant was transferred towards the end of the period of field work, and a non-Kipsigis Assistant has been brought to the Scheme. This change does not seem to have influenced the operation of the Society.

The new Assistant is an aggressive young man who is most interested in rising in the Government bureaucracy. His intention is to take

all the necessary actions to stop the illicit sale of milk. It is his belief that the major difficulty associated with the functioning of the Society is the fact that all of the plot-holders are technically members of the Society, even if they do not sell any of their milk to the Society, and even if they are not aware that they are members of a co-operative society. It is his desire to have the Society reconstituted, and to have every plot-holder submit an application for membership in writing. Those who did not apply would be excluded from the reconstituted Society, and would be evicted from the Scheme for failure to comply with Settlement regulations which require all plot-holders to be members of the Society. The Assistant feels that this would have two beneficial effects (1) It would eliminate from the Scheme those people who were unwilling to participate in a co-operative society, and (2) It would make the remaining plot-holders more aware of the fact that they were members of a Society which has rules that must be obeyed.¹ The Assistant believes that this procedure

1. Personal interview, 16th November, 1967.

would considerably strengthen the Society even if it had to be promulgated without the support of the members of the Society. At the time of writing the institution of this plan has not yet begun.

It is another of the Assistant's hopes that the price which a plot-holder pays for having his cows dipped will be increased from twenty-five to thirty cents per full grown animal. The idea of increasing the dip charges was rejected at a general meeting of the Society. In late October, 1967, the officers of the Society indicated that they wished to hold elections which had been postponed for three months. The Assistant refused to permit the elections to take place on the grounds that he wanted the new Executive Committee to take office at the beginning of the new year. The result of this action has been to postpone elections indefinitely. It is the Assistant's feeling that a co-operative society on a Land Settlement is an organization which should be directed, organized and controlled by the Government, and not by the plot-holders themselves.¹

1. Ibid.

Voluntary Participation and Support of the Society

For more than three-quarters of the plot-holders the Society is an organization neither of importance nor of interest. Attendance at general meetings is usually minimal. At a meeting to which all plot-holders are asked to attend, attendance is usually limited to the twenty to thirty plot-holders who take an active interest in the Society, together with twenty to thirty workmen who are sent to the meeting to represent their employers. One of the reasons for the small attendance stems from the fact that discussions at these meetings usually centre around problems which have been discussed at length in previous meetings, and to which no satisfactory solutions have been found. In a general meeting held on 17th February, 1965 the following difficulties associated with life on the Scheme were brought to the attention of the Area Settlement Controller: (1) Cattle loans are too small. (2) There is a shortage of tractors. (3) School facilities are inadequate (4) Water facilities are not adequate (5) Cows are too expensive. These complaints, along with dissatisfaction with

A.I., the size of loan repayments, and the low price of milk remain the chief topics of discussion at all meetings. Over time it has become apparent to the plot-holders that with the exception of the ability to increase school facilities the Society is almost entirely powerless to do anything to influence these difficulties. During the years that the Society has been in operation the plot-holders have been given the impression that whatever the Society may resolve will have little influence on Government policy towards the Scheme. For most of the plot-holders there is therefore little reason to attend meetings.

The Chairman of the Society is the officially recognized representative of the plot-holders. His position is eroded, however, by the fact that he cannot readily bring the plot-holders' difficulties to the attention of higher authorities. He does not own any means of transport, and has no political influence outside the Scheme. The plot-holders recognize that the Member of Parliament living on the Scheme is in a much better position to forward their problems than is the Chairman of the Co-operative Society. It is common for the plot-holders who do

not regularly attend meetings of the Society to come to the M.P.'s home to discuss their grievances. This is not the result of the M.P.'s desire to undermine the position of the Society, or to increase his own prestige and authority, but rather from a recognition on the part of the plot-holders that the power to influence policy does not rest with the Society or its Chairman, but with the parliamentarians in Nairobi.

Although the office of Chairman carries with it a good measure of prestige, it carries almost no power or authority. For this reason, and because most of the members are satisfied with the present Chairman, there is very little intra-Scheme political activity. Elections for a new Chairman and for half of the Executive Committee were to be held in July, 1967, but as of January, 1968 they have not been held. The most important reason why elections have not been held is that there has not been a sufficient number of members at a general meeting to realize a quorum. For the majority of the plot-holders there is no incentive to walk several miles in order to vote in an election which will have

little effect on their problems.

The general feeling which the plot-holders have towards the Society is one of apathy. When the plot-holders were interviewed on the subject of the Society they indicated that it was not a subject which aroused their interest or to which they had given consideration. In response to the question of whether or not the Society was doing a good job, 60% of the respondents indicated that they were not happy about the way in which the Society operated. Only 12% stated that they were happy with the Society, and the remainder had no opinion. One of the small minority that was pleased with the Society was himself a member of the Executive Committee. However, even his support was not unequivocal. He stated "it [the Society] works well, but we are still young and inexperienced." The dissatisfaction with the Society is based both on the feeling that the 20% commission is excessive, and annoyance at the necessity of having to wait three months to receive payment for the milk. One man who is quite articulate in his criticism of the Society is a plot-holder of forty-seven years of age who worked for the

European who owned the land which now comprises his plot. He explained, "The Co-operative is no good because we contributed Shs. 25/- and have never seen what they did with it. They deduct a lot from the milk, but they don't buy enough Coopertox for the dips, [and as a result] the ticks are not killed by the dip. We bought the lorry and we are told that it sometimes does not run because of lack of petrol. They keep asking for money, but I don't see where the money goes." Despite this man's strong feeling on the subject, he does not attend meetings of the Society, nor does he sell any of his milk to the Society. Another man who feels strongly about the short-comings of the Society is an individual who worked as a farm manager on a European farm during the colonial period. He attends about half of the meeting of the Society and also sells at least part of his milk to the Society. He is one of the more progressive farmers on the Scheme. He too felt that the Society did not maintain the dips in proper condition. He stated, "The Co-operative does not do a good job. They don't maintain the dips well. They don't buy enough Coopertox, it is always short." When asked why he

thought this situation existed, he stated that he could not give any reason.

Non-agricultural activities of the Society

With the exception of the ownership of the building in which the Bandek School is located, and the management of the dips, the Society does not involve itself in any "community development" projects. Ownership of the school building does not represent a strong commitment on the part of the Society to interest itself in improving the social services on the Scheme. The Scheme school is only one of the nine primary schools serving the Scheme. The student body of the Scheme school is not confined to children living on the Scheme, and with the exception of the headmaster, none of the teachers are plot-holders. The School is constituted under the authority of the County Council of Kipsigis, and is managed by a school committee made up of elders from both the Scheme and the Reserves. Because of the size of the Scheme, a large number of school children living on the Scheme attend schools in the neighbouring Reserves. (See

Appendix No. Two). Despite the fact that the school is intended to serve the entire Scheme, it is of interest only to those who live in the immediate area of the school. Those that live on the Scheme, but not near the Scheme school will frequently send their children to schools in the Reserve which are nearer to their homes. The plot-holders send their children to the school which is nearest to their home, without regard to whether the school is located in the Reserves or in the Scheme. When money was needed to add two more classrooms to the school, a fund drive was organized among the people who would be likely to send their children to the school; the Society itself was not asked to contribute money for the new building. The ownership of the school building does not appreciably strengthen the position of the Society.

There are four nursery schools on the Scheme which were organized at the initiative of the plot-holders themselves. They are housed either in buildings owned by the Settlement Authorities, or ones that have been especially constructed to be nursery schools. These schools are operated as local kokwet organizations,

and are not part of the Society's activities. Each nursery is managed by a Committee of the kokwet. The nursery committee selects their own slate of officers and hires a teacher. The fee at all four of the nurseries on the Scheme is one shilling per month per child. Almost all the fees collected go to pay the teacher's salary. The teachers seldom have a complete primary education. They are plot-holders living on the Scheme. Classes are held in the morning each weekday during the regular school year. Any child of suitable age may attend, but because most of the children attending nursery school are quite young, they come from homes very near the school. English, reading, arithmetic and writing are the subjects covered. The schools are usually sparsely furnished. There is, however, one school, which has ^{as} its chairman the brother of the first Chairman of the Society, which is well furnished with chairs, a blackboard, cupboards and toys. The membership of the nursery committee is usually the same as that of the kipagenge (communal work group) in the area, and reflects the fact that the group with which the plot-holders indentify is not the Co-operative Society or the Scheme as a whole,

but rather the kokwet.

The Kokwet Adult Education Class

In one of the nursery schools, an effort was made to organize an adult education class. The class was begun spontaneously, without outside influence either from the Government or the Society. A teacher was selected from the community, and school fees of three shillings per month were fixed. The initial response to the class was enthusiastic. Several wives waited outside the school, while their husbands filled the classroom. Part of the reason for the excellent response was due to the fact that the class was begun in June, 1967, a period in which there was very little agricultural work required on the Scheme. The second weeding had been completed by that time, and the harvest was three to five months in the future. Although there were no restrictions placed on who could become a student, the people who attended class were almost all members of the kokwet that had originally organized the nursery school in which the class was meeting. The educational background of the students varied between those who had had no schooling, to those that had completed five years of education. The

teacher was a man with a complete primary school education. He had worked as a store-keeper in Uganda, and had returned to Kenya in order to be in a position to obtain^a/Land Settlement plot.

Classes were held between four and six o'clock in the afternoon, five days a week. Not all of the students attended every class, but during the three weeks in which the classes met, there was always a minimum attendance of twelve people. During the time classes were in session one of the women plot-holders, who had had experience teaching home-craft courses, began to promote the idea of organizing a class to teach women how to sew and knit. This class failed to materialize. The school was discontinued after three weeks because at the end of June the teacher received his June invoice from the Settlement Authorities. He immediately discontinued classes to give himself time to prepare the sale of some of his maize. When he was ready to resume his teaching duties, the initial enthusiasm for the class had disintegrated and the students did not return. The reason that many of the people gave for not returning to the

class was that the harvest was approaching, and there was no longer sufficient time to attend class.

Even if the teacher had not discontinued class, it is doubtful that the class would have continued. With one or two exceptions, the people who attended the class viewed it as a pleasant social way to spend the late afternoon, not as an opportunity to progress educationally. Very few of those in attendance recognized the authority of the teacher, or paid school fees. Attendance was not regular, and many of the students came to class late, while others left early. The teacher was totally inexperienced and was frequently at a loss as to how to proceed.

Despite the fact the adult education class was very short-lived, its organization and lack of success help to illustrate two aspects of the functioning of the Scheme. First, the class was organized as a kokwet institution. The people who attended class knew each other intimately. No one who did not live in the immediate area of the school

chose to attend. The Society was not involved in the project at all. No effort was made to enlist the support of the Society in any way. Second, the class illustrated the willingness of the plot-holders to spontaneously interest themselves in an innovation which they believe may yield rewards, and the rapidity with which they abandon the same innovation when it becomes apparent the rewards are not substantial, or that the innovation requires a greater degree of interest than had originally been expected.

Self-imposed Sanctions

The general maintainance and operation of the two dips on the Scheme are the responsibility of the Society. It is the manager's responsibility to buy the disinfectant, and the responsibility of the employees of the Society to operate the dip. In the course of a few months the water in the dip becomes too muddy to be used, and the dip must be drained, washed and refilled. This process requires a good deal of heavy labour. The responsibility for washing the dips rests not with the Society as

a whole, but with the actual users of each dip. Since there are only two dips on the Scheme, the cleaning of one of them involves a greater number of people than any other project. When a dip is to be cleaned the manager of the Society announces at a general meeting that one of the dips is too dirty to be used any longer, and that it must be cleaned. He tells those present that they should pass the word on to all those who use the dip. The manager also announces that anyone who does not come to help clean the dip, or does not send a workman to help, will be subject to a fine of two shillings to be paid before the absentee is allowed to dip his oows again. The fine is used to buy disinfectant for the dip. Since the dip is likely to be very dirty before plot-holders are called to clean it, there is usually a good response. The clerk of the dip records the plot number of each person present. Work begins early in the morning and is usually completed by two or three o'clock in the afternoon. Despite the fact that those who are fined may state that an unfair action has been taken against them, few, if any, of those that are asked

to pay a fine, refuse to do so. The alternative to paying the fine is to risk losing one's entire herd due to tick borne disease.

The only project which has involved a large number of plot-holders was the building of a corral and crush which were used to facilitate the vaccination of all of the cattle on the Scheme. The vaccinations were administered free of charge but a fine of three shillings was assessed against anyone who did not come to aid in the construction of the corral and crush, and who wished to have his ~~animals~~ vaccinated. One of the respected members of the Society was posted at the entrance to the crush, and collected a considerable amount of money from the large number of plot-holders who had failed to aid in the construction of the vaccination facilities. As in the case with the fines levied against those who fail to help clean a dip, many people protested, but none failed to pay it.

The periodic cleaning of the dips and the construction of vaccination facilities, are in

terms of the number of people involved, the degree of co-ordination, and the willingness to accept self-imposed sanctions, the most successful projects undertaken by the Society. These projects are not instituted for any ideological motivation, but rather they are intended to accomplish clearly defined goals. Moreover, such projects do not require a long-term commitment or a large cash investment.

Other Services Rendered by the Society

The Society transports cattle lick, hybrid maize seed and fertilizers to be sold at the Settlement Office for the convenience of the plot-holders. These supplies are brought in the K.F.A. shop in Kapkoech and transported to the Scheme by the Society lorry. There is, however, no regular farm supply shop maintained by the Society. The supplies which are sold are kept in a room in the Settlement Office. It is the responsibility of the manager to purchase farm supplies for resale, but during most of the year there are no supplies available, and it is necessary for the plot-holders to go to Kapkoech to obtain their equipment. For most of the plot-holders a trip to Kapkoech requires an

entire day.

One of the difficulties associated with the sale of farm supplies through the Society is the fact that these items may be purchased on credit. If a plot-holder does not wish to pay cash for his supplies he can pay for them by having deductions made from his **dairy** income. Because it takes three months for a man to receive payment for his milk, the minimum time needed for a man to pay his debt to the Society is three months. This difficulty is further compounded by the fact that a man's dairy income, less fifty per cent for loan repayment, may not be sufficient to pay his debt for several months. A man who does not wish to pay his debt to the Society may avoid paying it by not taking his milk to be marketed through the Society. As a result of this situation the Society itself is very often in debt for the supplies which it buys on credit. It is not uncommon for the Society to receive letters complaining that it has failed to pay an outstanding debt. The Society does not list the sale of farm supplies as one of its sources of income.

Because there is no pressing need to do so, the Society does not sponsor any self-help projects. The most common self-help projects instituted in Kipsigis country are dips, dispensaries and schools. Since the people who moved on the Scheme found both a sufficient number of dips and schools in and about the Scheme, the need for self-help projects was considerably reduced. There are two dispensaries within walking distance of the Scheme, and two fully equipped hospitals within twenty miles of the Scheme. There is also a dispensary on the Scheme run by one of the plot-holders. He is a former assistant to a European doctor and practises Western style medicine. He is a highly respected member of the community, and has an income of over Shs. 1000/- per month. Thus there is no pressing need for the plot-holders to organize a self-help dispensary.

There has never been a Community Development Assistant assigned to the Scheme, and no Community Development Officer has ever made a single visit to it.

The Budget of the Society

Although, as stated above, there are several factors which keep the income of the Society below its potential, the projected profit of the Society for 1967 was greater than that indicated in the Government produced budget. This results from the fact that the Government budget is based on a commission for dairy marketing of only 10%, while the Society charges a 20% commission. The Government budget allows for a small loss to be incurred in milk marketing, to be compensated for by a substantial income from rentals of Society owned permanent improvements, lorry rentals, and commissions on loan repayments and dips. According to the projected figures of the Society a profit of Shs. 11,609/60 will be earned for the year 1967.¹ This compares with the Government budget which predicts a profit of Shs. 7,847/-. The Society budget, however, does not list the non-recurring expense of the purchase of a milk quota, which would reduce the size of the projected profit.

1. Projected Budget for the Bandek Co-operative Society Ltd. and Government Model Budget for Bandek Co-operative Society Ltd. Official Records Settlement Scheme Office.

The Government is on record as being satisfied with the way the Society is operating. The Co-operative Assistant has reported that, "In general the Co-operative is not badly off according to a majority of members."¹ The Department of Settlement reported that for the year 1965 - 1966, "The Bandek Scheme has made some progress."²

The reception of an Honoured Visitor

During the period of field work the only project which was organized through the Society on a Scheme - wide basis was that of preparing for the visit of a high ranking member of the Government. It was the responsibility of the Society to organize a dinner and reception in his honour, and to present him with a statement indicating the major difficulties associated with life on the Scheme. The dinner and reception necessitated the collection of a relatively large sum of money for the purchase of a cow and other food stuffs.

1. August Report (1967) Co-operative Assistant Bandek Complex Official Records Settlement Scheme Office.

2. Kenya Government Annual Report (1965-1966) Ministry of Lands and Settlement, p. 42, Government Printer, Nairobi.

To collect a sufficient amount of money the Chairman and the sub-chief enlisted the aid of the "village leaders." The village leaders are men appointed by the sub-chief to assist him in his work. Their position is for the most part nominal, they are unsalaried, and, except on occasions such as the one under discussion they have no responsibilities. They are, however, all highly respected members of the community who have considerable influence. Half of them are members of the Executive Committee. Although these men were usually not mentioned when the plot-holders were asked to list the "big men" on the Scheme, they were frequently mentioned when respondents were asked to whom they would go for advice concerning their families, or to whom they would go to borrow oxen for ploughing. The village leaders maintain their positions not by the virtue of the sub-chief's appointment but rather by force of their own personalities, and the manner in which they offer advice. There are nine village leaders, one for each of the nine villages into which the Scheme is divided.

Each of the village leaders was assigned the task of collecting two shillings from every plot-holder living in his village. It was his duty to explain to each plot-holder that it was necessary to contribute because an important guest was coming to the Scheme and a special fund had been instituted by the Society to ensure that the guest was properly entertained. The guest to be entertained is a very popular individual among the plot-holders, but the sum of money collected was very small. The plot-holders refused to contribute on the grounds that the contributions would yield no benefits to the ordinary members of the Society. The plot-holders believed that this was a matter in which the ordinary plot-holders would have no role to play.

When it became evident that the village leaders had collected an insufficient amount of money, the Chairman and the sub-chief decided to call a general meeting to persuade the plot-holders to contribute more money. The meeting was attended by seventy-five plot-holders. Included in that number were most of those who were likely to meet the guest. The Chairman and the sub-chief

made strong appeals for contributions, and then read the names of those that had already contributed. After this procedure several men contributed amounts of money ranging between five to twenty shillings. Each contribution was followed by general applause and a statement of gratitude from the Chairman. After several hours, during which a number of people made speeches on the necessity of contributing, almost all those in attendance made a contribution. A sum of money in considerable excess of that obtained from a canvas of the entire Scheme was collected.

The fact that a majority of the plot-holders were not willing to make a small cash donation to promote the position of the Society, even when asked to do so by a respected member of the community, reflects the degree of support which the Society has. It must be noted, however, that a small group of people were willing to attend a meeting in which they knew they would be asked for money. A man who contributed money at this meeting received an immediate personal reward in the form of recognition from the others at the meeting. A

person who attended the meeting and did not contribute would have suffered a loss of prestige among those in attendance. The majority of the money collected for this project came not from direct appeals made personally in each of the plot-holders' homes to support the Society, but from a public appeal made to a group of people who received a good deal of personal recognition for their contributions. It is probable that an administrative circular or public notice would have yielded no cash at all.

The results of the project further eroded the position of the Society. The original goals of the Society were fulfilled, the guest was well entertained and a list of difficulties was presented to him, but the project left the Society in a weaker position than it has been originally. The great majority of the plot-holders were excluded from the slightest association with the guest. One of the organizers of the project brought a large number of relatives who did not live on the Scheme to partake of the dinner. Many of the provisions which had been purchased for the reception found their way

into private hands. Accusations of mismanagement and favouritism were rife. The result of the project was to lead to a greater cynicism towards the Society.

The Society as an Innovator

The Society does not function as an innovator because those who control the operation of the Society do not consider it one of the responsibilities of the Society to improve agriculture on the Scheme. The plot-holders hold the view that a man's agricultural activities are his own affair. No plot-holder would "interfere" with another man's agriculture unless specifically invited to do so by him. When a plot-holder who is a progressive farmer is asked, "How do you account for the fact that you get a considerably higher yield than your neighbour?", he will usually reply that he "does not know". To comment on another man's agricultural techniques would be in very poor taste. The Chairman of the Society, who is himself a progressive farmer, has never organized a meeting to improve agriculture, because for him to do so would be

to make an implied criticism of the farming conducted by his neighbours.

The Problem of "C" Plots (For the classification of plots see the Introduction)

As might be expected, there is a feeling on the part of the "C" plot-holders that they have been excluded from the benefits to be derived from Land Settlement. Despite the fact the "C" plots are usually large, between fifty and seventy acres, they are clearly less desirable plots than the "A" and "B" plots. The "C" plots are waterlogged, and the grass growing on them is not even suitable for pastoralism.¹ The land on which the "C" plots are located is very flat, and in many cases it is therefore impossible for a "C" plot-holder to build his home on land which is not waterlogged. The heavy rains in April, which assure the plot-holders on well drained land of an abundant harvest are a source of discomfort for those on waterlogged land. Many of the "C" plot-holders are unable to grow enough to fulfil their subsistence needs. There is a striking contrast between the hybrid maize

1. Personal Interview, Veterview Officer (A.I.) (Kericho), 28th September, 1967.

growing on the "A" and "B" plots, and the coarse grass growing on the "C" plots. The "C" plot-holders take only a very slight interest in the affairs of the Scheme. The meetings of the Society are usually held at the Settlement Office which is five to eight miles away from where the majority of "C" plots are located. This further discourages participation by the "C" plot-holders.

It is on these plots that interest in the Society is at its lowest, and where dissatisfaction with the Scheme in general is at its highest. The holders of waterlogged land are anxious to point out the difference between their plots and the well drained land in the other parts of the Scheme. Dry goods, shops and butcheries, which are common on other parts of the Scheme, are not found among the "C" plots. Due to the fact that almost no crops can be grown on this type of land, many of the "C" plot-holders make their permanent homes in the Reserves. The only agricultural labour which is required on these plots is to milk the cows twice a day and to take them to the dip once a week. During the dry season it is also necessary to take

the cows to be watered. These activities do not require the plot-holder himself to be present on the Scheme, nor to identify in anyway with those who are primarily concerned with maize production. While absenteeism is quite common throughout the Scheme it is particularly pronounced on the "C" plots.

The "C" plots are officially budgeted for an income from dairy production, but the grass growing on these plots is not suitable for quality dairy production. One Veterinary Officer, who was not involved in the initial phase of Land Settlement stated that the land was not suitable for agricultural production of any kind. He stated, "the only thing you could raise on that land is rabbits."¹ Some of the "C" plot-holders do attempt to grow maize sufficient for subsistence purposes. A small number of maize seeds are often planted on a small rise in the ground. This attempt only yields minimal results. The stalks of the maize are stunted and the leaves are yellow. The harvest is

1. Ibid.

quite small. As a result of the inability of the "C" plot-holders to grow enough maize to meet subsistence needs they must either rely on maize grown on land which they own elsewhere, buy maize from other plot-holders, or rent land either in the Reserves or in the Scheme. It is not a common practice for an "A" or "B" plot-holder to rent part of his land to a "C" plot-holder, but this practice does exist. This arrangement makes some of the members of the Society tenants of the other members.

The per acre production of the "C" plots is strikingly low. A herd of ten animals may graze on a pasture of seventy acres. Despite the fact that much of the waterlogged land could be used for agricultural purposes if it were drained, no effort has been made either by the Settlement Authorities, the Society or the plot-holders themselves to drain the land or to build mounds on which maize could be grown. It is not possible to grow crops such as rice on the plots because during the dry season from late December until the middle of March the land is baked hard and dry.

Other Factors Inhibiting the Growth of the Society

There are two other factors associated with the ownership and management of the plots which inhibit the growth of the Society. The first is that in some cases the man to whom the plot was originally allocated may have given over part of the land to another person. The most common reason for this procedure is to give the plot-holder's mother a small piece of land. The piece usually ranges in size from one quarter of an acre to one acre. The plot is not fenced off, but it becomes nominally the property and responsibility of the mother. Approximately twelve per cent of the plot-holders have their mothers living on the Scheme with them. There are also fifteen plots registered in women's names. This arrangement gives the mother the opportunity to feel herself usefully occupied. In some cases, however, the mother's plot is maintained by the plot-holder and does not become agriculturally separate from the rest of the plot. There is one plot which is shared by two men. The man to whom the plot was originally allocated rents half of it to another man. Each manages his half

separately. On another plot the eldest son of the plot-holder has been given a piece of land of his own to maintain his wife and small family. In recent years it has become impossible for a young man to acquire his own plot by clearing virgin land, and it has become the practise in the Reserves for a man to bring his wife to live on his father's plot. It is also the father's desire that each son have a piece of land of his own. During the period of the existence of the Scheme in only one case has a son brought his wife to live on his father's plot. This is in part due to the fact that the majority of the plot-holders do not have sons of marriageable age, and partly due to the fact that some of the plot-holders have already given their sons land in the Reserves.

One man who earned a good deal of money as an overseer on an European farm has several sons from his twelve wives, and has obtained several plots on various Land Settlement Schemes to accommodate them. The father does not work himself, and leaves the management of his plots to his sons. He spends his time moving between his numerous plots, taking

part of the profits of each plot for his own use.

The second major factor is that many of the people owning plots on the Scheme are not those people to whom the plots were originally allocated. This situation has come about in two ways. Before they came on the Scheme, several people sold their plot allocation documents to others. These documents were sold for Shs. 400/- to Shs. 500/-. The person who bought the documents had to make the downpayment himself. Such a person lives on the Scheme under the name of the person to whom the plot was originally allocated. This arrangement was not difficult to negotiate because it was not necessary for the prospective plot-holders to show his kipande (identity card) at the time that he was making the downpayment...In this way several people who were not eligible for Land Settlement plots obtained land on the Scheme. Since the Scheme was begun there have been a good number of people who have sold their plots for cash. The price at which plots are sold has been steadily rising since the Scheme began. A well cared for "A" plot can now

bring as much as Shs.10,000/-. The person who buys the plot must assume the burden of loan repayment, It is not possible to know the exact number of plots which have been sold either before or after the Scheme was opened for occupancy because the direct sale of a plot is strictly against the rules of Settlement, and is also illegal. The plot-holders who have remained on the Scheme state that the burden of loan repayment and the possibility of eviction compensation are the primary factors which make a man sell his plot.

Approximately ten per cent of the plots are held by people who bought their plots from the people to whom they had been originally assigned. As a result ten per cent of the people holding plots on the Scheme are not legally members of the Co-operative Society. The approved procedure for a plot-holder to follow if he wishes to leave the Scheme is to contact the Settlement Officer (S.O.) The S.O will then make the necessary arrangements to have another approved plot-holder come onto the Scheme. The new plot-holder would have to join the Society. This procedure has not been followed in any

case of land transfer on the Scheme.

The third factor which reduces the vitality of the Society, and prevents many of the plot-holders from attending meetings is the fact that a good number of plot-holders do not reside on the Scheme. There were three types of absenteeism apparent in a random sample of fifty-one out of three hundred and sixteen 'A', 'B' and 'C' plots (Approximately 16 per cent of the total). In the sample only sixteen of the plot-holders were on their plots at the time the sample was made. (See Appendix Three). In the greatest number of cases (16) there was either no one at all present, or those present were unable to state the whereabouts of the plot-holder or when he would return to the plot.

The second most frequent explanation for the absence of the owner of the plot was that he was engaged in employment off the Scheme. The fact that it was necessary to make a substantial cash down-payment in order to obtain a plot meant that a great many of the plot-holders had been engaged in the cash economy. Almost all the plot-holders had been

salaried employees during their lives. Eighty per cent of those owning plots on the Scheme have not continued with their pre-settlement employment and have their plots their sole source of cash income. However, a substantial minority of the plot-holders have continued with the same employment which they had before being allocated a plot. One man who earned a good income as a driver of heavy lorries resigned his position to develop his plot. Now, after three and a half years, having developed his farm, he is making every effort to find employment in his old occupation. As would be expected, those with the most education and/or the highest paying positions have either remained continuously at their jobs or have returned to their jobs after establishing their plots. Those who had been employed at low wages have remained resident on the Scheme. Of the thirty-two trained cooks owning plots on the Scheme only five are actively employed in their profession. All fifteen teachers who own plots are employed in their profession. The wages for a cook in Kericho District are between Shs. 1,500/- and Shs. 2,500/- per year, while those for a primary

school teacher are between Shs. 2,200/- and Shs. 6,000/- per year. There are several plot-holders who work as subordinate staff in various businesses, and for the County Council. Some of the plot-holders have an outside income in excess of Shs. 12,000/- per year. These includes employees of the Kenya Tea Company (Brooke Bond Group), a secondary school teacher, and the M.P. The M.P. has the largest outside income of anyone living on the Scheme. Those who have outside employment but do not have a high income or their own transportation are resident on the Scheme only when they are given a substantial leave by their employers. Those with larger incomes and their own vehicles live on the Scheme during the weekends. The affairs of the Society are not of great concern to those with outside incomes. Even if those working off the Scheme wished to attend meetings of the Society they would not do so because the meetings are held on week-days.

The Problem of Coercion

There are several factors which make it very difficult for the Settlement Authorities or the

officials of the Society to enforce Settlement regulations by means of coercion. The most important reason is that the Scheme is too large for the Authorities to prevent the plot-holders from violating the rules if they wish to. Secondly, it is not Government policy to rely heavily on coercion as means of enforcing Settlement rules. The strongest sanction which can be used against a plot-holder, that of eviction, has been used in the Scheme only twice;.....The Settlement Officer (S.O.) explained that the Government, "would prefer to talk to the Settlers... We would prefer to have barazas (meetings) and tell the people"¹ to obey the rules. The S.O. also indicated that loan defaulting is the sole justification for eviction. No action is taken against those in violation of other Settlement regulations.

The procedure leading to eviction gives the plot-holder every opportunity to avoid being forced to leave the Scheme. The S.O. selects the names of three or four of the biggest loan defaulters and files a report to the Area Settlement Controller, (A.S.C.)

1. Ibid, Personal Interview, 5th October, 1967.

If there are no mitigating circumstances to explain why the plot-holder has not made loan repayments, the S.O. will recommend to the A.S.C. that a warning Notice (of eviction) be sent to the plot-holder in question. If the A.S.C. approves the recommendation a P.C.V. is sent with a Notice to the plot-holder involved. The Notice is written in legal English, but the P.C.V. is able to explain the contents of the document. If the plot-holder is not at home, the Notice is given to his wife, or one of his employees. If there is no one present on the plot, then the Notice is posted on his plot. The Notice states that the plot-holder must pay at least half of what he owes, or suffer eviction. If after twenty-one days the plot-holder does not pay the requisite money he is given a second Notice demanding payment. If after fifteen days no money is forthcoming the A.S.C. may direct that the defaulter be taken to court, and then evicted.

Eviction of a man and his family from their plot is an extremely strong sanction, and it is therefore not surprising that the Settlement Authorities are reluctant to use it. Although the Kipsigis did

not traditionally have a mystical bond to a particular plot of land, they have a strong emotional attachment to the land on which they are living. One plot-holder stated that if he were ever evicted from his land he would "cut the throat" of the man who moved on the plot from which he had been evicted. The widespread use of the sanction of eviction to enforce Settlement regulations would probably have a disruptive effect.

One of the S.O.'s who served on the Scheme during the course of the research indicated that he intended to use the sanction of eviction against those who do not sell their milk to the Society, and to those who do not bring their cows to the dip.¹ He did not, ~~however~~, attempt to evict any one for violation of Settlement regulations.

Since imprisonment is a totally inapplicable sanction in Land Settlement, the only other sanction available to the Settlement Authorities is that of fines. Although the Society has the authority to

1. Personal Interview, Settlement Officer Bandek Complex, 22nd August, 1967.

levy fines, it has never done so and it is doubtful that it will ever do so. For a man to be found in violation of Settlement regulations he must either confess to a violation, or he must be accused by one of his neighbours. Neither of those conditions are likely ever to be met, especially as regards the illicit sale of milk. If one man sells his milk in the Reserves his neighbours do not consider it a matter about which they should concern themselves. It is therefore most difficult for the rules of the Scheme to be enforced through the use of negative sanctions.

If as indicated in the above discussion, the plot-holders do not view the restrictions issued by the Settlement Authorities as yielding any benefits to them, if they are to conform to the restrictions and to support the Society, they will do so only if they recognize the legitimacy and authority of those issuing the regulations. It has been demonstrated that the Society has almost no power to enforce its rules, and the Settlement Authorities prefer to use their power only to enforce loan repayment. The Settlement rules will therefore

be obeyed if they are recognized as rules which "should" be obeyed, because it is the "right" thing to do, or if the plot-holders consider it in their own self interest to do so. For such a phenomenon to arise the Society must have a basis of legitimacy.

Weber states that there can be four ways in which a social order attains legitimacy:¹

(1) By tradition (2) By virtue of affectual attitudes, especially emotional ones (3) By virtue of a rational belief (4) By having been established in a manner which is recognised to be legal, or which has been established through voluntary agreement.

It may be immediately recognized that the Society is not able to draw legitimacy from any of the first three sources mentioned above. It is clear that the Society cannot draw on traditional supports. The traditional kipagenge (voluntary

1. Weber, Max The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, William Hodge and Company Ltd., London 1947, Talcott Parsons Editor, p.119.

work group) is very different from the modern Co-operative Society. There are no emotional attachments to the Society. Emotional attachments could conceivably develop in time, but at the present time they clearly do not exist. There is no rational belief in the legitimacy of the Scheme regulations because the majority of the plot-holders hold the belief that the rules have a negative effect on their ability to exploit their plots. The element of voluntary association was not part of the establishment of the Society. It may therefore be seen that in the eyes of the plot-holders the Society lacks legitimacy. Thus there is no motivation for the plot-holder to obey the Settlement regulations.

It is possible that as the Society continues to function it will gain legitimacy by becoming recognized as an institution whose rules should be obeyed because there is a rational reason for doing so. This situation could develop if the Society were to become able to offer the plot-holders an attractive price for the milk which they produce. Had the Society been led by a "Charismatic" leader

at its inception it might have been able to attain legitimacy at the time of its creation. The very rapid dismissal of the first Chairman (which took place prior to the period of field work) indicates that he either lacked charisma, or lost that which he had had very rapidly.

Positive Aspects of the Society

When discussing the operation of the Society there is a danger of over-emphasizing its shortcomings. The difficulties associated with the Society are of paramount interest because they reflect the social and economic strains associated with the Scheme as a whole. It must be remembered however, that the Society does fulfil its primary function of marketing the milk produced on the Scheme. The dairies maintained by the Society provide a convenient place for the plot-holders to sell their milk. The Society gives employment to a number of plot-holders who would otherwise have no income aside from that derived from their plots. The Society lorry is available for hire to any of the plot-holders and can be used as an ambulance in

case of emergency. To a limited number of people, the Society provides experience in administration. To those who enjoy listening to, and participating in, speech making, the Society provides recreation. The Society is also available to function as the corporate recipient of aid which may be given to the Scheme from the Government or outside agencies. The Society was the recipient of a cream separator which was donated by U.N.E.S.C.O. The Society is also the corporate owner of the dairies, dips and the school, and may, if it wishes to, apply for a loan to purchase additional permanent improvements. Despite the fact that the Society is not truly representative of the plot-holders, the two Chairmen have been able to adequately represent the Society at various conferences. The Chairman and other officers have personally benefitted from the opportunity which the Society afforded them to travel to other parts of Kenya, and to meet officers from other Societies. Although the majority of the plot-holders are not satisfied with the way the Society operates, it does provide a forum for those who wish to voice their grievances publicly. In

keeping with Kipsigis tradition, at meetings of the Society any man who wishes may speak at length on any subject which is of general interest. The oratory does not lead to positive action but it does promote a limited amount of interest in Society affairs. While it is never completely clear in what pattern a social institution will develop, it is possible to indicate the probable course of the development of the Society. If no unforeseen circumstances arise, the Society is quite capable of continuing in the same pattern as it has until now. Enough milk and butterfat are sold through the Society to permit it to operate profitably, and even perhaps eventually to increase the size of its milk quota. If the population of the Scheme does not increase too greatly, then it is likely that the amount of milk sold through the Society will increase due to the increase in the number of cows on the Scheme. If the sons of the plot-holders move away instead of bringing their wives to live on the Scheme, the natural increase in milk production will lead to an increased volume of trade for the Society. As milk production

increases it will become more difficult for the plot-holders to sell all of their milk in the Reserves, and the guaranteed market afforded by the Society is likely to appear more attractive.

The Scheme Versus the Kokwet - Conclusions

In summary it is possible to list nine social activities which take place at the kc₁wet level, but which do not take place, or which take place only to a limited extent at the Scheme-wide level.

They are:

1. Borrowing and lending. Although the Society does make loans available the great majority of borrowing and lending takes place between members of the same kokwet.
2. Voluntary work groups. The voluntary work group is a common feature of the Scheme, but it is never composed of more than fifteen families. Only when a dip must be cleaned is a large percentage of the Scheme involved in a single activity.

3. The hearing of cases arising out of the violation of approved standards of behaviour. When a serious violation of a norm takes place the ideal is that the situation be resolved without involving a large number of people. The Society as a whole has never been called to hear a case.

4. Mutual invitations for food and beer. This takes place only at the kokwet level. There has never been a Society sponsored activity in which refreshments have been served.

5. Advice giving and receiving. A man will usually seek out his neighbour for advice. The Society often gives advice which the plot-holders perceive as running counter to their own self-interests. The Society's advice on the marketing of milk is widely ignored.

6. Interaction of children and wives. Women and children seldom travel far from home. For them the Scheme has little social importance.

7. Discussion of agricultural activities. People living in the same area are naturally drawn together

because they are likely to have the same type of land. Those with waterlogged land do not feel they have anything in common with those living on well-drained, high-yield land.

8. Daily interaction. Daily interaction takes place only within the kokwet. The size of the Scheme, and the lack of transportation facilities militate against social interaction on a Scheme-wide level.

9. "Self-help" activities. The kokwet, and not the Scheme is seen as the natural unit for the organization of "self-help" projects such as nursery schools. These schools are not in opposition to each other. They serve different communities within the boundaries of the Scheme.

CHAPTER IV

THE KOKWET AS THE PRIMARY UNIT OF SOCIAL INTERACTION

As has been illustrated in the discussion of the functioning of the Co-operative Society the kokwet is the most important primary social unit on the Scheme. It is the unit in which the most intense social interaction takes place, in which borrowing takes place, work groups are organized and disputes are settled. Although the word kokwet is best translated either as "neighbourhood" or "community", it has a somewhat different meaning from either of these two words. The term biik ab kokwet (the people of the kokwet) traditionally was used to refer to the married men of the community, that is, those people who had the right to take part in discussions and decision making. The definition of who are the biik ab kokwet has been modified by the plot-holders to allow for the social situation on the Scheme. On the Scheme, the biik ab kokwet are the plot-holders within a given area. Married men with children who live on the Scheme, but who are employees of the plot-holders, are not considered to be members of the kokwet. Widows who are plot-holders, and who do not have adult sons to represent

them, are members of the kokwet in which they live, with the right to speak.

The membership of a particular kokwet, and its leadership is not clearly defined, but there is considerable agreement among people within a particular area as to who is a member and who is not. Unless a person has made himself extremely offensive, or has withdrawn from social activities he will always be a member of a kokwet. The kokwet is not a strong corporate group, but several kokwotinwek (kokwets) have assumed the name given to the sub-division of the Scheme in which they are located. These sub-divisions are of very little importance and are made up of several kokwets.

The plot-holders themselves speak of the kokwet as the basic unit of social interaction. When a plot-holder brings a guest to his home, his neighbours will welcome the guest on behalf of the kokwet. The kokwet is a clear concept in the minds of the people living on the Scheme. A man will often speak of inviting the biik ab kokwet to his

home for beer, or of the need to call the kokwet together to discuss a particular problem. Although a man is only a member of one kokwet on the Scheme, there is no feeling of one kokwet being opposed or in opposition to another. If a man were to have a long-term dispute with a man of another kokwet this could conceivably put the two kokwets into opposition with each other. However, all of the disputes which took place on the Scheme during the period of research, were between people from the same kokwet. Although a man who is particularly well thought of may be invited to the social activities of neighbouring kokwets, he is not a member of two kokwets unless he owns land in two areas which are not very close to each other. A plot-holder who also has land in the Reserves may be a member of two kokwets. If a man wishes, he may withdraw from one kokwet and join another, or he may entirely remove himself from kokwet activities by ignoring those about him and farming his land without the assistance of any of his neighbours.

The number of families in a kokwet varies between eight and fifteen. This represents the number of families who live close enough together to permit daily social interaction. Only a small number of plot-holders own bicycles, and only those who have outside employment own motorcycles or cars. Although a bus service is available on the main road which runs through the Scheme, it is unreliable, and relatively expensive. Plot-holders are reluctant to spend cash in order to make casual visits. To walk the entire length of the Scheme would take well over three hours. Lack of transportation facilities greatly limits a man's ability to have social relations of outside/his own kokwet. Further, people holding plots in the same area share common agricultural interests. They are likely to have the same type of land and plots of the same size. They are thus naturally drawn together into communal work groups which form an important basis for social interaction. It is for these reasons that when a man is asked who his friends on the Scheme are, he will reply by giving the names of the men who have plots near his own. The people a plot-holder knew before he came on the Scheme and who now live some distance away do not

play an important role in his social life. Former school mates, former work associates, and former kokwet mates are not important social entities to a plot-holder unless he is currently living with them in the same kokwet. The situation was made clear by a man of forty five who stated that although there was a man on the Scheme with whom he had worked for many years, he seldom saw him because he lived in another part of the Scheme, and "everybody (on the Scheme) is busy." A thirty-two year old plot-holder stated that he knew two clansmen who lived on the Scheme, one only a few miles from his plot. However, when he was asked which men he would borrow from, or go to for advice, he mentioned neither of his clansmen.

An excellent illustration of the importance of current proximity in determining friendship network is presented by a man who worked on a European farm with four other plot-holders. He also has a circumcision mate and a clansman living on the Scheme. He sees only one of these six people daily. The man whom he does see daily has his plot immediately

adjacent to his own. The other five men, who live at varying distances from his plot, he sees only occasionally. One man who had been a bicycle repair-man in a trading centre about fifteen miles from Kericho stated that he had no clansmen on the Scheme, and had no previous acquaintance with any of the people now living on the Scheme. However, he explained that he was not worried about coming to live among strangers, because he knew "all of the people would be Kipsigis, and whatever they spoke I would understand". He went on to say that he had made friends with the members of the kokwet. When a man is asked to whom he would go to borrow money or oxen, or seek advice/^{he} will quite often reply, "biik' ab' kokwet" (the people of the neighbourhood). In several cases people coming from the same kokwet in the Reserves have been grouped together in the same kokwet in the Scheme. This has resulted from the simple administrative procedure of assigning the plots in numerical sequence. Those who were interviewed and accepted as plot-holders on the same day were assigned plots close to each other. Since people living in the same area were likely to be interviewed on the same day, several of the kokwets are made up of men who have known each other for some time. In several cases European

farmers who were selling their farms to the Settlement Authorities encouraged their employees to apply for plots, and spoke to the colonial officials on behalf of their employees. This has resulted in some kokwets being made up of men who worked on the same European farm together.

Age-set membership does not seem to play a great part in determining friendship networks. Part of the explanation lies in the fact that there are only two of the seven Kipsigis age-sets significantly represented on the Scheme. The majority of the plot-holders are of the Sawe age-set, between 20 to 35 years of age, and the remainder are primarily of the Maina age-set, between 36 to 50 years of age.

The main behavioural manifestations of friendship among the people living on the Scheme are (1) dining together, (2) mutual borrowing and lending of money and property, (3) membership in the same kipagenge (communal work group), (4) mutual invitations for beer. It is a custom among the Kipsigis that every visitor, especially if he comes from a distance, should be given food, but only close friends make a point of eating in each others homes. Borrowing and lending are a basic aspect of

Kipsigis tradition, but they are intense only between good friends or kinsmen.

Membership in a kipagenge is to a certain extent, limited by geographical considerations. Work begins before eight o'clock in the morning, and it is therefore not practical for a man to belong to a kipagenge which has members who live far from his home. A man has the opportunity of leaving one kipagenge and going to another if a dispute arises. The membership of the kipagenge usually coincides with the biik ab kokwet, plus their wives and employees. It would be possible for a man, if he wished to, to be a member of two kipagengeisyek (kipagenges), but this has never been done on the Scheme.

Mutual invitations for beer are an important manifestation of friendship among the Kipsigis. Among the Kipsigis there are three motivations for brewing beer. One is for purely commercial reasons; a subject which has been discussed above, and is not of importance in a discussion of friendship networks. The other two motivations are to mark ceremonial occasions and to entertain friends and relatives. When beer is brewed

for a ceremony it is usually produced in considerable quantities, and a man may attend even if he was not specifically invited. For certain ceremonial occasions it is required that a man brew beer. Beer which is made to entertain friends and relatives is made as a gesture of friendship. Beer brewed for purely social-recreational purposes is usually produced in small quantities, and attendance is by invitation only. Beer drinking among the Kipsigis is a formal social occasion, and ~~drunkenness and loud talk~~, although frequently present, are considered to be in very poor taste. A beer party is intended primarily as a time for quiet discussion among friends and relatives. Where a person sits at a beer party is defined by his social status as a special guest, senior elder, owner of the beer, or ordinary guest. Beer is drunk through long narrow hollow reeds called rogorosiek (Sing. rogoret), the ends of which are in a large clay pot containing the beer. Only rarely are women allowed to drink with the men. The women are usually busy serving food or adding fresh beer to the pot. The women usually drink their beer from cups in a separate room. Beer cannot be prepared on short notice, and must be the result of a week or more of preparation and extending of invitations. The wives

of the men invited will ordinarily help with the preparation of the beer, and give assistance during the party. The way in which social interaction may take place within a kokwet is illustrated by the following case study.

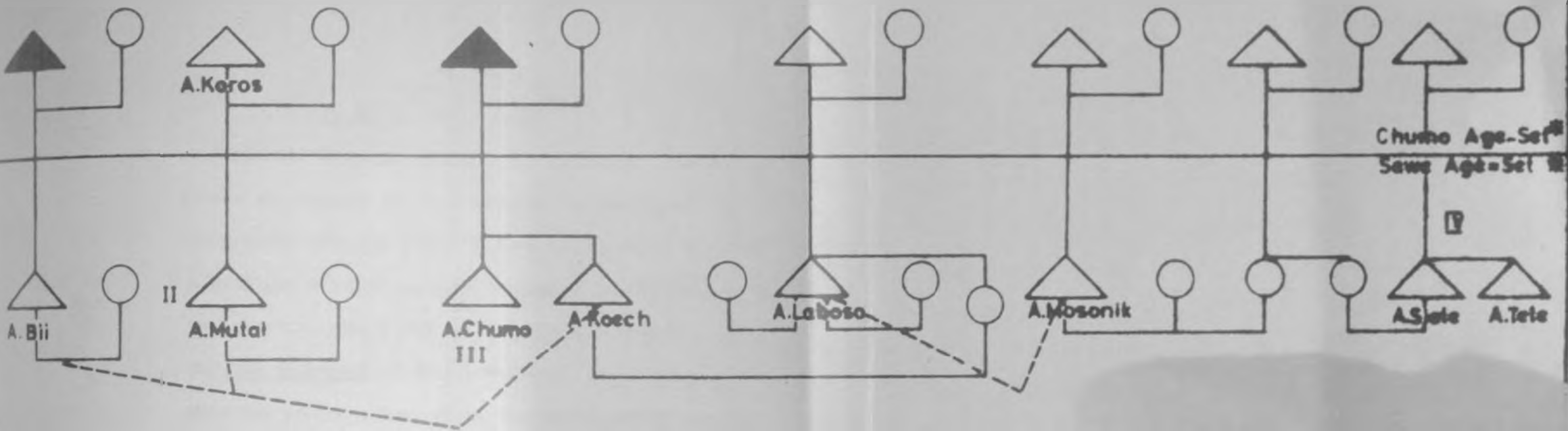
A Case Study of a Kokwet

The kokwet in which the author lived illustrates the way in which social interaction may take place within a kokwet. The most popular and well liked member of the kokwet is a former cook of thirty five years of age. He will be called Arap Mosonik. The least popular member is a divorcee of about thirty eight who works as a tailor in one of the shops on the Scheme. She will be called Obot Chelan'gat. The youngest member of the kokwet is a man of twenty who manages a plot which is in his widowed mother's name. He will be called Arap Koech. Other members include Arap Korir, aged 45, Arap Chepkwony, aged 35, Arap Siele a primary school teacher aged 34, Arap Koros, aged 43, Arap Laboso aged 35, and Arap Bii, a man of 21 who manages a plot which is owned by his widowed mother who lives on the Scheme. It is possible to discuss this kokwet in some detail because seven of the nine members were interviewed in considerable depth, and during the period of

research these people were the plot-holders with whom the author had the greatest amount of social contact. The Reserves from which the majority of these people came were visited twice. Six of the members of the kokwet came to the Scheme from the same kokwet in the Reserves. Two of those who did not come from the same kokwet as the others were school mates. In addition to having known each other for a number of years there are other ties between these people. A.Mosonik and A. Laboso were circumcized together, as were A.Koech and A.Bii. A.Koech recently married A.Laboso's sister. A.Mosonik's first wife and A.Siele's wife are sisters.

The transfer of cattle involved in A.Koech's marriage to A.Laboso's sister did not involve any Scheme animals. The ceremony took place in the natal Reserve of the principals. However, A.Koech did have his new wife brew beer in his home on the Scheme to help celebrate the wedding. The new relationship created by the marriage places A.Laboso in a position to make material demands on A.Koech from time to time. (See TABLE 2).

KIN AND AGE-SET RELATIONSHIP IN ARAP MOSONIK'S KOKWET TABLE 2.



Key

- I. The Plot is in the name of his mother, but A.Bii represents her in scheme and Kokwet affairs.
- II. The Plot is in the name of his father, but A.Mutal represents him in scheme and Kokwet affairs.
- III. Same relationship as I above.
- IV. The Plot is in the name of his brother, but A.Tele represents him in scheme and Kokwet affairs.

* Only men have Age-Sets

--- Shared same circumcision hut

Note: Siblings that do not live on the scheme, and children that are not yet initiated are not indicated.

Not related by Kin or Age-Set

A Cheptwony.

A Korir.

Obot Chelangal.

These have not been described because it was not possible for the author to investigate minor disharmonies which

This kokwet is not intended to be an example of a "typical" Kipsigis kokwet. The actions of the two people who brought the condemnation of the kokwet on themselves were far from "typical Kipsigis behaviour." A detailed description of this kokwet is presented for two reasons. The first is that the author was one of the bii ab kokwet of this community. The second is that the social structure of this small group, and its response to deviant behaviour provide an excellent reflection of the behaviour of the plot-holders in general. This kokwet is representative of the other kokwets on the Scheme in terms of the number of people who are members, the type of interaction that takes place, and the reactions that the members of the community had to deviant behaviour. This kokwet is somewhat typical in that many of the members knew each other before they came on the Scheme. To the knowledge of the author no major breaches or violations of normative behaviour other than those described took place during the period of research. As in any social group minor disharmonies do arise within the community. These have not been described because it was not possible for the author to investigate minor disharmonies which

arose between individuals but were not of interest to the kokwet as a whole.

When terms that imply an opinion or value judgement are used, they reflect the view and judgement of the kokwet itself. Having had close personal contact with these people for over a year there is the danger that the author's judgements will be included in the description of the individuals in the kokwet. As far as is possible this has been avoided. None of the names used are the actual names of the people of the community, but they are common Kipsigis names.

Arap Mosonik's popularity and position of leadership stem from several factors. Of primary importance is the fact that this man is very hospitable. Although hospitability is common behaviour among the Kipsigis, Mosonik has guests to his home even more frequently than is usual among the Kipsigis. He is most particular about the quality of the food that his wives serve to guests. He serves meat in his home more frequently than do the other plot-holders. Beer, which is the traditional medium of hospitality, is frequently served in his home. Once every two months he has his wives prepare beer for the members of the kokwet.

Although Mosonik, like other men of his age, tends to become belligerent when he drinks, he does not become belligerent if he is entertaining in his own home. Ordinarily Mosonik seldom raises his voice or speaks in anger. Another factor which leads to his position in the kokwet is the fact that he seldom leaves the Scheme. When he does leave it is only for a day or two to visit relatives in his natal Reserve or to buy supplies in Kapkoech. He is thus almost always available to give advice and guidance. Even when agricultural activities are making heavy demands on his time, he is available for consultations. Despite the fact that he has worked in Nairobi for a number of years, has six years of education, and speaks English, he makes no attempt to place himself in a position of leadership, or to make himself a "big man." He seldom speaks in public, and when he does he displays no charisma. He is well known in the neighbouring Reserves, and is a frequent guest in homes in the Reserves on ceremonial and social occasions. None of Mosonik's eight children are yet of school age. He does not sell his milk to the Society for the reasons discussed above. He thus has no active interest in the Society or the Scheme as a

whole. He does, however, consider the Scheme to be his home. He is one of a large number of brothers and did not inherit any land in the Reserves. Although he is most dissatisfied with the way the Society operates, when it was suggested to him that he seek an office in the Society, he declined on the grounds that his English was not sufficient to permit him to be an officer. His commitment to modernization is more evident in his home than on his farm. His home, although of mud and wattle construction with a thatch roof, is decorated with pictures and designs painted on the outside, and with paintings and photographs on the inside. His kitchen is located in a house separate from the living quarters. His house is furnished with a Western style bed, cupboard, and table and Western style chairs. Mosonik is one of the few men who allows verbal familiarity to exist between his wives and male visitors. He is, however, not one of the more "progressive" farmers on the Scheme. His yield per acre of maize is slightly less than average for "A" plot-holders, and his loan repayments are also slightly less than average. He is one of those who has had recourse to a non-grade bull to ensure that his grade cows would conceive and produce milk. At the

time the Scheme was organized he was appointed village leader by the sub-chief.

Of the plot-holders interviewed he was one of a tiny minority which stated that they would consider aid to relatives a more important obligation than either paying Settlement loans, or school fees. He was also one of a minority of plot-holders who said they would loan one of their grade cows to another plot-holder who had lost all of the cows given to him by the Settlement Authorities. Both Mosonik and his wives are careful to keep appointments, and to fulfil responsibilities which they have assumed. He treats his two Kipsigis employees with respect, but he does not ordinarily dine with them. He does not permit either his own employees or the employees of other members of the kekwet to drink beer in his home when he invites the community for a social evening. Although he does not spend a great deal of money for clothes both he and his wives are considerably better dressed than the other plot-holders who do not have outside employment. Thus Mosonik maintains a position of respect and leadership not by seeking to influence the behaviour of others around him, or by

being an innovator, but rather by practising the traditional virtues of hospitality and generosity.

Both of the men living closest to Mosonik, Koech and Bii come from the same Reserve as does Mosonik. In 1964 when Koech's mother was allocated a plot, she gave it to Koech's elder brother to manage. It was ^{that} decided at that time/Koech would live on, and inherit, his mother's land in the Reserves, and that his elder brother would get the Scheme plot. Because of gross mismanagement of the plot by Koech's brother, the arrangement was reversed. Despite an age gap of almost fourteen years Mosonik and Koech are close friends. The difference in their ages is somewhat modified by the fact that they are both of Sawe age-set. Koech eats dinner at Mosonik's house several times a week, and maintains a familiar relation with his wives. It is not uncommon for Koech's wife to prepare food for her husband and then carry it to Mosonik's house for him. If beer is being served in the home of either of the men, the other is always present and his wife (or wives) will be present to help in the preparation and serving of the beer. Besides being members of the same kipagenge, they often help each other when the kipagenge is not meeting.

At weekends frequently they travel to the Reserves together to visit houses where beer is sold. During the time that Koech has been on the Scheme he and Mosonik have never had a dispute.

The other man whose plot borders Mosonik's is Laboso. These two men were circumcized at the same time which makes them especially close age-mates. There is a cultural expectation that they will remain good friends throughout life. Laboso considers Mosonik to be his closest friend, and like several other people on the Scheme, mentions him as the first to whom he would go to for assistance and advice in a wide variety of matters. For five years before coming on the Scheme, Laboso was a tea plucker in the Kericho area. He comes from a prosperous family; his father has two wives, a large farm and a dry goods shop. Laboso himself has a large plot in the Reserves. Early in the period of field work Laboso stated, apparently sincerely, that he did not intend to take a second wife. However, for several months thereafter Mosonik chided him in a half serious manner that no man who did not have two wives was really a full man.

This, combined with the fact that Laboso's first wife is not well and the fact that he had sufficient bridewealth available to take a second wife, influenced Laboso to marry a second time. After his wedding to a woman from the Reserves neighbouring the Scheme, Laboso announced that he was equal to Mosonik. Mosonik took a ceremonial role in the traditional wedding ceremony of his friend.

Despite Laboso's desire to emulate his friend by taking a second wife, he does not emulate him in other respects. Laboso is frequently involved in disputes, some of which have led to violence. Because of his short temper he is not a man who is well respected by the other members of the kokwet. Although the fact that he is excessively aggressive prevents him from holding a position of leadership he is accepted as a full member of the kokwet. He is a member of the kipagenge and brews beer regularly.

Of the houses on the Scheme that have been built by the plot-holders themselves (as opposed to those which were built by the European settlers), Laboso's is the largest. It consists of three large

rooms of mud and wattle construction and a roof made of iron sheet. The house was built by Laboso with the help of paid labourers. When he was asked why he did not ask the biik ab kokwet to assist him in the construction of his new home, he replied that he had not asked them for assistance because he would not be able to supervise them as closely as he could paid employees. Except for work which is done by the kipagenge, all of the work on Laboso's farm is done either by himself, his wives or his workmen. His yield per acre of maize is slightly above average.

Although he does not participate in kokwet affairs as fully as does Mosonik, and he owns land in the Reserves which he visits frequently, he considers the Scheme to be his home. Prior to his second marriage he considered the possibility of sending his first wife to live on his property in the Reserves, however, he finally decided against this and now both of his wives live on the Scheme. When one of his cows died giving birth, he divided the animal up and gave the meat to the members of the kokwet.

Living next to Laboso is Korir. He came from the same kokwet as the other men discussed above. Although, at forty-five he is the oldest member of the kokwet, he has only one wife and his children are not yet of school age. In his dress and mannerisms he has already assumed the characteristics of an old man, a status which he enjoys. He does not take an active interest in the activities of the kokwet, and frequently sends a labourer to represent him in the kipagenge. Despite the fact that he himself does not serve beer very frequently, he is always invited to drink if another member of the kokwet is serving beer. For a member of the kokwet to have beer in his home and not to invite Korir would be to create bad feelings between himself and Korir. The quality of Korir's agriculture varies radically from year to year. For the 1965-66 season he harvested over one hundred bags of maize, making his one of the largest harvests for an "A" plot that year. He lost interest in agriculture the following year, planted late, and harvested maize only slightly above his subsistence needs.

Arap Bii is another man who does not participate actively in kokwet affairs. There are two factors which account for this. Despite his youth, he is in chronically poor health, and, by the standards of the kokwet members themselves, he drinks an excessive amount of Nubian Gin. He is the only member with a full primary education, and speaks fluent English. Due to his poor health he too has begun to assume the air of an elder. His agricultural production is above average for an "A" plot.

At the beginning of the period of field work Bii was considered to be a full and active member of the kokwet. He would often visit with Mosonik and Koech's brother, and was always invited when a member of the kokwet prepared beer. He was elected Secretary of the nursery School Committee at the time the nursery was organized because of his relatively high degree of literacy. However, in the past year, Bii has gradually withdrawn from the social activities of the kokwet. He never reciprocates invitations for beer, and as a result he is no longer

invited for beer himself. Although he still works in the kipagenge and is considered a member of the kokwet, he no longer visits or is visited by the other members of the kokwet. No formal action has ever been taken against him and he remains on good terms with his neighbours. He remains Secretary of the Nursery because the office has no responsibilities and it would be most insulting to remove him from office. A.Koech and A.Bii were circumcized together.

A. Koros is a man, who, although he has not withdrawn from the kokwet, and is well respected by his neighbours prefers to permit his married son who lives on his plot to represent him in community activities. He was a squatter on a European farm and he did not come from the same kokwet as Mosonik and the others. He appears content to allow his son, who will eventually inherit his plot, to participate in the social activities of the Scheme, while he concerns himself with the agricultural activities. Koros' maize and dairy production is considerably above average, and he has made almost all the loan repayments that have been

called for to date.

The fact that Mosonik and Siele have married sisters is not very important in Kipsigis culture but it does draw the two men closer together, and is another factor which contributes to Mosonik's position at the centre of the kokwet. Siele's employment as a primary school teacher at a near-by Scheme prevents him from taking a very active part in the social life of the kokwet. Although he comes home every evening he cannot personally participate in the kipagenge. His wife and younger brother represent him in the social activities of the kokwet. Siele does not drink beer, and his younger brother represents him at beer drinks. Even though his younger brother is not yet twenty, and is still a primary school boy, at a beer party he is accorded respect as a full member of the kokwet because he is representing his brother. Because he does not drink beer, Siele removes himself from an important part of the social activities of the kokwet. However, there is an understanding on the part of the other members of the kokwet that a teacher is likely to have

a different life style from the other members of the kokwet.

The two remaining members of the kokwet, Obot Chelang'at, and Chepkwony were school mates in primary school. Chepkwony is a Grade III mason who has seven years experience as a mason for the tea companies in the Kericho area. He bought his plot from the man to whom it had been originally allocated by the Settlement Authorities. His unmarried brother lives on the Scheme with him. Chepkwony is an active member of the kipagenge, and sends two of his children to the nursery school of which he is an officer. Although he is soft spoken, and widely respected, he has had severe disputes with members of the kokwet. One dispute involved a fight with Laboso in which part of Chepkwony's ear was bitten off. There have also been a series of disputes with Chelang'at.

The final member of the kokwet, Chelang'at, has worked for a cash income longer than any other member of the kokwet. She has a total of six years of education including Homecraft training in Kericho.

She has taught nursery school and homecraft classes, and has worked as a bar maid. She now earns a substantial cash income from her work as a tailor in one of the Scheme shops. She is the least well liked member of the kokwet, and during the period of research, the attitude of the members of the kokwet towards her changed from one of amusement and tolerance to one of antipathy. When the plot-holders first came on the Scheme she was considered a member of the kokwet in her own right because she held a plot in her own name, and did not have any adult sons to represent her. Initially Chelang'at was invited to beer drinks, and was allowed to sit with the biik ab kokwet, and drink beer through tubes, in the male fashion. She is now entirely excluded from beer drinks.

At the root of Chelang'at exclusion was her failure to conform to the approved Kipsigis standards of feminine behaviour. Traditionally among the Kipsigis a woman remained a social minor until old age. A woman was expected to be quiet and respectful in the presence of men. Chelang'at, however, is more aggressive than the other members of the kokwet. Her

aggressiveness extends to the use of abusive language and being drunk and noisy at beer drinks. On a number of occasions she has seriously violated the norms of the community. One of the violations which involved Chepkwony was serious enough for the kokwet to call the sub-chief to preside over a discussion of the offence.

Deviant Behaviour Within the Kokwet

It will be seen from the cases presented below that the people living on the Scheme are not primarily concerned with punishing deviant behaviour, but rather with maintaining pleasant social relations on the Scheme, and preventing a recurrence of deviant behaviour. It will be seen that no "verdict" is "imposed" by a judge but rather that the community reaches agreement on the action, if any, that should be taken against a wrong-doer. It is noteworthy that both the "victim" and the wrong-doer are asked to concur with the decision of the community. It is very difficult to assess the degree to which the behaviour of the plot-holders towards deviant behaviour has been influenced

by the unique situation of life on the Scheme because the limitations of facilities and time prevented the author from recording any cases which took place in the Reserves.

An Attack with Arrows

A very quiet man who seldom attends meetings of the Society, and rarely even leaves his plot was told to attend a kokwet hearing which resulted from an attack which he made against Mosonik. This man, who is about thirty five years old, will be called Koske. The incident began when Koske attacked Mosonik because the kipagenge levied^a/fine of two shillings against him (Koske) for failure to participate in a meeting of the kipagenge. It was Mosonik who informed Koske of the fine at the next meeting of the kipagenge at which Koske was present. When Koske was informed of the fine he became enraged, and that afternoon, after the kipagenge had completed its work, he went to Mosonik's house and shot three arrows with the apparent intention of killing Mosonik. All three arrows fell considerably wide of their mark. Mosonik seized a large bush knife and chased Koske,

but was physically restrained by the members of the kokwet. The next day the kokwet was called together at the request of Mosonik. When the kokwet is officially called together to hear a case, it is the usual procedure for those not actually living in the kokwet to attend the hearing. These people may come as character witnesses or to offer advice, or they may simply wish to view the proceedings. The case was heard in a dairy which is now used as the nursery school building. When the kokwet is called together, one member of the community is chosen to preside. His role is that of a chairman who insures that the discussion takes place in an orderly manner, rather than that of a judge who issues a verdict. In this case the M.P. who lives close to where this incident took place was chosen to be the Chairman of the hearing. He does not usually participate in kokwet affairs both because he is resident on the Scheme only at the weekends, and when Parliament is in recess, and because he has a different life style from the other plot-holders. However, the proximity of his home to the incident, and the fact that the hearing was on a Saturday,

permitted the M.P. to chair the case.

The hearing began with the Chairman explaining why the kokwet had been called together. Mosonik was then called upon to present his complaint against Koske. In his statement, Mosonik did not simply explain the nature of the incident, and the events which led up to it, but he gave the entire history of the relationship between himself and Koske from the day they first met on the Scheme to the present time. After Mosonik had finished speaking, Koske was asked to speak. As was expected of him, Koske was contrite and apologetic. He explained that he had lost control of himself on the previous day, and he would not try to harm Mosonik again. Mosonik was asked if he accepted the apology, and he indicated that he did. At this point Koske and Mosonik were both asked to withdraw from the hearing so that the community could discuss what action they would take. The Chairman asked witnesses to the case to report what they had seen or heard. After the witnesses had spoken, anyone else who wished to speak was allowed to do so. The hearing was not unlike that at a meeting of the Society.

The discussion was not a debate between the partisans of the two disputants, because all those present were in essential agreement that Koske was entirely in the wrong. The discussion was rather a series of frequently repeated statements about the nature of the case. This may be viewed as ritual restatements of the norm of the community. There were two aspects of the case which emerged as being of primary importance. The first was the attack which was entirely unprovoked and unjustified. There was no previous history of bad relations between the two men, and Koske, was known to be unfriendly, and was generally not highly thought of. The second aspect was that there was no damage done either to property or to individuals. Although according to Western conceptions of jurisprudence the attack would probably have been considered "attempted murder" and would be likely to be punished by a substantial prison term, to the plot-holders the fact that no damage was done was an important consideration. In view of the fact that the offence was not one against nature (as incest would be) and no losses were

incurred, and Mosonik did not make any demands for compensation or punishment, it was decided that no direct action would be taken against Koske. Mosonik and Koske were asked to return to the hearing and were asked to formally confirm that they both accepted the authority and jurisdiction of the kokwet in the matter under discussion. They both stated that they did.

Koske was told by the Chairman that it had been decided that no fine would be levied, but that if in the future he committed another act of violence, the police would be summoned to arrest him and they would be informed of his previous offence. The Chairman then directed the two principals to shake hands, which they did.

Since the hearing the two principals have not spoken to each other. Koske now works in a different kipagenge, and has become, by his own choice, socially isolated from those about him. When the writer asked Mosonik why Koske had acted in the manner in which he did, Mosonik replied, "Some

people have hearts which are not good."

The Prodigal Son

A breach of normative behaviour which aroused the feeling of the blik ab kokwet even more than the above case was one that involved Koech's older brother, Chumo. Chumo, as the eldest son in the family, was allowed to live on the plot assigned to his widowed mother. A man of twenty-one, he married shortly after he came on the Scheme. When he first came on the Scheme he was well liked, and a popular member of the kokwet. Within a period of six months he dissipated the good will that was felt towards him to the point that he became entirely excluded from kokwet activities and no member of the kokwet would even speak to him. His behaviour, in the judgement of his social peers, was such that he should not be permitted to manage a Land Settlement plot.

Despite the fact that there was no reason for him to do so, Chumo frequently went to Kericho. As indicated above, plot-holders who do not have outside employment, confine their travel to going

to the Reserves to visit relatives or to Kapkoech to buy supplies. When Chumo began to go to Kericho frequently to visit nightclubs, the members of the kokwet ignored this deviant behaviour on the grounds that it was simply youthful wandering which would stop in a short while. However, rather than discontinuing his expensive visits to Kericho, he increased their number, and began to stay in Kericho for several days at a time, to the neglect of his wife and farm. At this time several members of the kokwet, both individually and together, went to Chumo's home to warn him against wasting his money, and allowing his farm to deteriorate. He listened politely, but ignored their advice. He sold all the maize which he had in his store to pay for his travels. He then began to sell the cows which were on his plot, which was strictly against Settlement regulations, and was viewed as very wrong in the eyes of the kokwet. The selling of the cows brought a sharp reaction from the members of the kokwet for three reasons. First, the action was strictly against Settlement regulations. The members of the kokwet were aware that since the Settlement Authorities are legally the owners of

the cows until the Development Loan is paid and that such a sale could lead Chumo into legal difficulties. This, however, was probably the least important factor which led to Chumo's condemnation. Secondly, a Kipsigis does not usually sell a cow unless he has a particular reason for doing so. Although in recent times it has become common for a Kipsigis to sell an animal to meet school or medical expenses, or to be able to obtain the cash needed for bridewealth, it is considered proper only to sell a cow for a particular need. For most Kipsigis, livestock and land are the only capital which they have. To sell a cow without a justifiable reason is viewed as profligate behaviour. Thirdly, the plot which Chumo lived on was registered in his mother's name. Although she had given him exclusive use of the land, she had done so with the understanding that he would use it to support a family and raise sons who would be a credit to his deceased father. The fact that he used the profits of the land to enable him to go to nightclubs, ignoring his family, was a betrayal of trust which was strongly condemned.

After Chumo ignored the counselling and warnings that were given to him the people of the community became openly hostile to him, and began to treat him as a stranger and an outcast. An indication of this attitude is reflected in Laboso's threat to report Chumo to the Settlement Officer for failing to take his cows to the dip. Although Laboso never carried out his threat, his readiness to report Chumo to the Settlement Officer demonstrated that he did not consider Chumo to be a member of the kokwet.

In the week prior to Chumo's eviction from the Scheme, he became openly offensive and hostile to his neighbours. During that week Chumo was involved in two incidents which ran so counter to Kipsigis standards of good behaviour that he was forced to leave the Scheme. The first incident took place at a beer party organized by Laboso in his home during a period when Chumo was not on the Scheme. As is the custom among the Kipsigis, Laboso borrowed chairs and dishes from his neighbours. When Chumo returned home the same evening of the beer party he was told by his wife that two chairs had been borrowed for a beer party at Laboso's home.

Chumo immediately went to the beer party, seated himself and began to drink from one of the pipes. Had relations between Chumo and the rest of the kokwet been normal, this would have been acceptable behaviour, but in view of the fact that Chumo had made himself an outsider this was very improper behaviour. Had Chumo squatted at the door and waited to be invited, this would have been an indication that he was ready to make his peace with the kokwet. He would certainly have been invited in after a few minutes. Had Chumo seated himself, but not begun to drink he would have eventually been welcomed.* However, in this case his behaviour was considered to be extremely bad and he was asked to leave. Asking a near neighbour to withdraw from a beer party in one's home is a very serious action, and is taken only after considerable provocation. Even at this point the breach between Chumo and the kokwet was not irrevocable. Had Chumo quietly withdrawn and

* The statements regarding the probable behaviour of the members of the kokwet if Chumo had acted differently are based on observations made at several other beer parties and on the discussion which followed Chumo's dismissal from the room.

appeared at the door an hour later, and requested permission to enter, he would have been welcomed to the party. Instead of following a course which would have made him more acceptable to the members of the community, he withdrew noisily, and then created a final breach by ordering his employee to collect his chairs from the beer party. The biik ab kokwet considered this to be much more serious than a childish or petulant act. It was an act of meanness or selfishness (ng'oknotet) towards the member of the kokwet. While the plot-holders have a clear idea of "mine and thine", borrowing and lending are an important part of social relations between them, especially between members of the same kokwet. To behave as Chumo did is to renounce the social relationship which existed between himself and his neighbours. The withdrawal of the chairs was seen to be an act which indicated that Chumo no longer desired to have social intercourse of any sort with the members of the kokwet. It was considered to be an act of great hostility.

Shortly after this incident took place, one of the members of the community informed Chumo's

mother of what had transpired since her son came on the Scheme. She decided to move onto the Scheme to see the situation herself. Although her primary purpose in coming on the Scheme was to prevent her son from selling the Settlement cows, her presence on the plot was itself a disciplinary action, because it caused a great deal of inconvenience to Chumo. Kipsigis culture forbids a grown son from sleeping in the same house as his mother. Since Chumo was monogamous, and therefore had built only one house, he could not sleep at home. Chumo's reaction was to absent himself from the Scheme even more than he had previously. The action which finally led his mother, with the full support of the kokwet, to evict him from the Scheme, was his attempt, while intoxicated, to burn his house down while his mother was inside. Chumo was sent to manage his mother's plot in the Reserves, and his younger brother, Koech was brought to live on the Scheme. Their mother remained on the Scheme until Koech married, and then returned to the Reserves herself.

It is instructive to quote at length Mosonik's view of the action of Koske and Chumo. "Some people came [to the Scheme] with bad feelings. They do not like to borrow from one another, and there can be trouble from this. Some are envious of other people's property, and therefore want to fight. Such people want to be left alone, and if they are visited, then there is trouble. If a man is unfriendly and he goes to a ceremony, people will mock him and there will be trouble. Such a person does not want to give food. Such people don't like their wives to talk to anybody else. In kipagenge work they do not join in. We Kipsigis do not like such people. If such people are in difficulties we do not help them. If such a man has daughters no one will marry them....such people do not have friends on the Scheme.

"Koske does not have a good heart. He is selfish. He does not give food from his house. He is selfish, and there can be no progress if there is selfishness.

"Chumo refuses to loan things, but he likes to borrow other people's things. Such people, if you loan them things, they are not appreciative. People originally thought that Chumo's problem was one of youth, but then we [biik ab kokwet] decided it was not. Then we refused to loan him things. He came and took things by force. We did not like that, but we let him take things because we all came from the same kokwet at home, and we did not want people to think we were bad kokwet members here.

"When Chumo has money he becomes extremely proud. He makes himself a big man. He had grade cows which belonged to the Government, but he sold them. After he sold a cow he just consumed the money. He said he would use the money to pay the loans, but he really used it to drink in Kericho. He was good before he came on the Scheme. In the Reserves he didn't have enough money to go to town to drink."

Since he has left the Scheme there has been no further discussion of Chumo with the exception

that Mosonik commented, after having met him in the Reserves, that he seemed to have completely recovered his senses. Despite the fact that he now lives only an hour's bus ride away from the Scheme he never comes to visit. Koech never mentions his older brother, and is working hard to make up for the losses incurred by him.

This case was unusual because it involved an attack by a man upon his mother, but it did contain elements which are similar to the cases involving Koske, and a case involving Chelang'at which will be discussed below. The kokwet took no action against Chumo until the situation became quite serious. Only after Chumo began to sell the Settlement cows did the community begin to give him warnings about his behaviour. When it became clear that Chumo had no intention of heeding the warning he had received, the people of the kokwet did not make any appeal to higher authorities, but simply began to exclude him from the social activities of the kokwet. Even after Chumo attempted to do serious injury to his mother no one in the community wanted to involve the sub-chief or the police in

the case. When asked what would happen if Chumo had committed matricide, one of the members of the kokwet replied, "His brothers would decide if they would kill him or not. If not, he could remain a big man." The sanction which was ultimately brought against him was to remove him from the community. Although his mother was exercising her formal legal rights when she evicted Chumo from the plot, it was the expressed support which the kokwet gave to his mother which forced him to leave. All of the events took place without the knowledge or interference of anyone outside of the kokwet. Mosonik's statement that Chumo had completely recovered his senses indicated that unless the latter re-opens the issue, there will be no overt hostility between him and the members of the kokwet.

The desire to keep bad relations from becoming public knowledge is illustrated in the relationship between Laboso and Chepkwony. About a year after coming on the Scheme Laboso and Chepkwony had a fight, which because it left a permanent mark on Chepkwony, has left a bad feeling between the two men. The rules of good behaviour between kokwet mates

have so far prevented this feeling from resulting in another dispute. Although neither invites the other to his home for beer, they frequently attend the same beer party. On these occasions they remain cordial to each other out of respect to their host. The assault by Laboso on Chepkwony is never mentioned if both men are present.

While the relations between Chelang'at and all the other members of the kokwet are not good, they are particularly bad between Chepkwony and Chelang'at. The bad feelings between them existed before they came on the Scheme, but it has not been possible to discover all the factors which originally led to the strained relations between these two people. Chepkwony and Chelang'at were not known by any other of the kokwet members before they came on the Scheme. The relationship between the two is such that neither is willing to discuss the situation or indicate the original source of the bad feelings. It is, however, possible to describe an event which took place during the period of research.

A Case of Assault

Chelang'at broke the arm of one of Chepkwony's young sons, who will be called Kiprono. It is a common practice for Kipsigis children to sleep in their friend's homes. Since the disputants live close to one another, their children commonly sleep in one another's homes. One evening, while Kiprono was sleeping in Chelang'at's home, Chelang'at, in an intoxicated state, began to beat all of her children. She states that without realizing it she beat Kiprono, and accidentally broke his arm. The injury was not discovered until the next day when Chepkwony noticed that his son had a very painful shoulder, and was vomiting blood. He immediately took his son to the hospital where he remained for three days for treatment and observation. After returning from the hospital, Chepkwony went to the members of the kokwet to confirm his son's story that he was beaten by Chelang'at. From Korir he learned that his son's accusation was truthful. Chepkwony then went to Chelang'at's house and threatened her with a panga (Sw. bush knife). After that incident Chelang'at claims that she did not sleep in her home for two

nights for fear of being murdered. On the third day after the incident Chelang'at went to Chepkwony to apologize. After the apology was made the kokwet was called together, and the sub-chief was asked to attend the meeting. The fact that the sub-chief was asked to be Chairman of the meeting indicated the seriousness with which the offence was regarded. Although it was Chepkwony who went personally to ask the sub-chief to chair the meeting, he had visited all of the biik ab kokwet before going to see the sub-chief, and would not have gone to see him without the consent of the kokwet. By inviting the sub-chief to the proceedings, the hearing became substantially different from a hearing in which outside authority is not called in. The hearing was no longer one in which a kokwet was settling an internal matter, but one in which a representative of the central government was hearing a serious breach of law. The sub-chief was called to chair the case both because a criminal offence had been committed, and bodily harm had been done and because Chelang'at's previous behaviour had made her unpopular among the members of the kokwet.

The case was not heard at the nursery school, which is physically within the boundaries of the kokwet, but rather at the Scheme primary school. Holding the hearing at the primary school made it convenient for plot-holders not in the kokwet to attend, and underlined the fact it was a hearing of a more serious nature than a kokwet meeting.

Chelang'at was told when and where the meeting was to be held, but no physical coercion was used to enforce her attendance. She could have refused to attend, but this would have resulted in her becoming an outcast. At the hearing, the sub-chief and the Chairman of the Society sat in chairs under a tree on the school compound, and the other people in attendance sat in a semi-circle around them. The general procedure for this hearing was similar to the one in which Mosonik and Koske were involved. In this hearing there were over eighty people in attendance.

The sub-chief opened the hearing by announcing the reason that the people of the Scheme had been called together, and the basic nature of the dispute.

Chepkwony then explained the events surrounding the injury to his son. He also gave a short summary of his previous relations with Chelang'at. Chelang'at was then called upon to present her views on the case. She explained that she had no intention of beating Kiprono, that she thought she was beating her own son, and that she was sincerely sorry about what she had done. While she was making her statement, she kept her eyes averted from the people, and cast them towards the ground, an indication that she was humble and contrite.

After Chelang'at had made her statement, both she and Chepkwony were asked to withdraw. There then followed a lengthy, often repetitive, discussion of Chelang'at's behaviour since she came on the Scheme. The sub-chief, who had known her before she came on the Scheme, took an active part in the discussion. Chelang'at had no defenders, and the discussion was concerned with what action, if any, should be taken against Chelang'at. The sub-chief, reflecting an acquaintance with Western legal concepts, recommended that Chelang'at be fined treble the hospital expenses. The hospital bill was slightly less than Shs. 69/-.

The sub-chief made it clear that he thought Chelang'at should pay Chepkwony Shs. 210/-. Despite the fact that there had been bad feeling between the two for sometime, Chepkwony did not request that she be punished, and asked only that she pay for the hospital expenses. It was agreed that Chelang'at should be reprimanded and pay the cost of the hospital treatment. After the decision was reached, the principals were asked to return and to formally affirm that they accepted and recognized the authority and power of the kokwet in the matter under discussion. They both affirmed that they did. The judgement was announced and Chepkwony was asked if he accepted the decision. He indicated that he did. Chelang'at stated that she would pay Kiprono's hospital expenses. This hearing may be viewed as a ritual in which the norms of the Society are repeated and made clear to all, and in which guilt is formally established. Chelang'at was seen formally to accept the authority of the community. This increased the feeling of social cohesion within the community. People who had been strangers to each other before they came on the Scheme jointly participated

in the ritual activity of declaring the guilt of one of the people living on the Scheme.

The sub-chief appointed Korir and Mosonik to receive the money on Chepkwony's behalf. They were charged with the responsibility of reporting to the sub-chief if Chelang'at failed to pay the money. If she refused to pay, the sub-chief stated that she would be taken to Magistrate's Court in Kapkoech. The sub-chief explained later that he regretted that treble damages had not been assessed, but that he could not overrule the judgement of the people at the meeting. Despite the fact that Chelang'at earns a substantial income from her work as a tailor, in the six months since this case has taken place, she has not paid Chepkwony any of the money which she owes him. Within the first month after the judgement Mosonik repeatedly asked her to make at least a partial payment. She never openly refused to pay the money, and stated that she would pay when cash became available. A direct refusal to pay would have left Mosonik little choice but to report her

to the sub-chief. Her promise to pay sometime in the future relieved Mosonik of the unpleasant task of having to report a fellow member of the kokwet to a higher authority. After a short time Chelang'at was not asked to pay the money again. When the sub-chief was asked some months after the judgement if Chelang'at had paid, he stated that she had not, which he considered to be a very bad thing. He also indicated, however, unless one of the disputants or one of the members of the kokwet re-opened the case, he would not bring the case forward to Magistrate's Court. When Chepkwony asked if he had received his money he stated that he had not, and was most annoyed, about the situation. However, he too indicated that he was not interested in pressing the case. Since neither the injured party nor the sub-chief were insistent on the money being paid, the two kokwet members who were charged with the responsibility of ensuring that the money was paid have not raised the issue for some time.

Had Chepkwony insisted on payment, and threatened to take the case to Magistrate's Court, then the sub-chief would have made greater efforts to

enforce the decision of the hearing. As long as Chepkwony did not demand payment there was no desire on the part of the others involved in the case to increase tensions by demanding payment.

It is possible to surmise that there were four factors which militated against Chepkwony pressing for the money which was owed him. First, by not pressing the case he was able to avoid, at least temporarily, any more unpleasant incidents with Chelang'at. Chelang'at is his nearest neighbour and he did not want to aggravate the bad relations that he had with her. Secondly, to press the issue would have involved a great deal of inconvenience. He would have had to have walked several miles to the sub-chief's house, and then would have probably had to have gone to court in Kapkoech. Thirdly, Chepkwony gained prestige by showing himself to be a man who is willing to forgive a wrong done against him. Fourthly, Chepkwony has not renounced his claim to the money, and can bring up the matter again if Chelang'at ever commits an offence against him or his family again.

A Case Involving the Police

The only case in which the police were called and a man was taken to goal was one which involved the former Chairman of the Co-operative Society, who will be called Tonui and his nearest neighbour, who will be called Kilel. The dispute centred around a small, two acre parcel of land which lies between Tonui's "Z" plot and Kilel's "A" plot. The land was originally not assigned to either of the plots, and was retained by the Settlement Fund Trustees at the time the plots were demarcated. The land is particularly valuable because there are a large number of hard wood trees growing on it. These trees can be converted into high grade lumber. When it became clear that both men were interested in the land Tonui told his neighbour that he would use his influence to make it possible for them to buy the land together. Accepting Tonui's word on the matter Kilel cut the bark off from around the base of all of the trees. This was done to kill the trees, which would ensure that they would be dry before they were cut down. This action would traditionally have given Kilel a stronger right over the land

than Tomui.

While Kilel was preparing the trees Tomui went to Nairobi and arranged for the purchase of the land for himself. When Kilel heard that his neighbours was the sole owner of the land, and that he had no rights in the land, he swore that he would stop Tomui from making use of the land. Tomui interpreted this as a threat of violence and had Kilel arrested for stealing property from his land, and for threatening bodily harm. Kilel was taken before ^{the} Magistrate's Court and fined. After Kilel was fined Tomui indicated that he intended to take his neighbour to court again and charge him with destroying his trees.

Up to this point, neither the members of the kokwet nor the sub-chief interfered in the case. However, when the sub-chief was informed that Tomui intended to go to Court again, he went with several members of the kokwet to try to persuade him from further legal action. The sub-chief and members of the kokwet advised Tomui that since the land was not his he should forget other minor issues for the sake of maintaining peace between himself and his neighbour.

The kokwet advised Kilel to accept a situation about which neither he nor the kokwet could do anything further.

Kilel has stated that he may sell his plot because it is highly undesirable to have an enemy as your neighbour. He has also stated that he is afraid that if he continues to live next to Tonui he may become intoxicated some day and kill him. In the eight months that have passed since these events took place, however, there have been no further incidents between these two individuals.

Boundary Disputes

In cases in which boundaries are in dispute it is usually felt necessary to involve outside authorities. There have been ten land disputes on the Scheme, but they usually involve a very small piece of land. The procedure which is followed in a case in which there is disagreement about the plot boundaries is for one or both of the disputants to contact the sub-chief. The sub-chief will then contact the Settlement Officer who will make arrangements for the Settlement surveyors to

come to the Scheme. The hokwet is not called in to mediate land disputes. The sub-chief explained that, "It is difficult for the community to settle it [the dispute] because it is on the map." The fact that the plots were demarcated on a map, and not carefully demarcated on the ground is the cause of a number of land disputes. It was the opinion of the sub-chief that the boundary disputes would continue and perhaps increase in number because many of the plot-holders had not yet come to live on the Scheme, and only their wives and/or workmen were living on their plots. When these plot-holders come to live on the Scheme they are likely to take an interest in any boundaries that have not been clearly demarcated.

The only case which has so far been insoluble is one in which one of the disputants refuses to recognize the decision of the surveyors. In this case the two disputants have each put up fences along the line which he believes to be correct boundary. The land in dispute is a long, thin strip of land which is about one-half acre in area. Despite the fact the surveyors, accompanied by the S.O., have on two occasions decided that one fence was along the correct line of demarcation and that the other should be removed, the

man against whom the decision/^{was}made refuses to remove his fence. When the person who won the case was asked why he did not appeal to the members of the kokwet to ratify the decision of the surveyors and thus force the removal of the other fence, he replied that while it was true that the kokwet was the authority to adjudicate boundary disputes in the Reserves, on the Scheme it was a problem for the Government to deal with. The people of the kokwet could do very little about it. He stated that he would like to use the land which was under dispute, but he would not do so until the other party to the dispute voluntarily removed his fence. The failure of the losing party to abide by the decision of the surveyors stems in part from the fact that he works and lives in Kericho, and is represented on the Scheme by his wife. Since the man who lost the case refuses to remove his fence, it is impossible for his wife, who manages the plot for him, to make any concessions. If the wife were to agree to remove her husband's fence, she would be very likely to receive a severe beating when her husband returned from Kericho. The wife of the plot-holder stated that she believed that the surveyors were either mistaken or dishonest. When she was asked why she did not make an appeal to the biik ab kokwet if she sincerely believed

that the land under dispute was really her husband's, she replied in much the same way as her neighbour. She also felt that a boundary dispute on the Scheme was not an issue with which the kokwet could concern itself. At the present time there remains a "no man's land" between the two plots. This dispute has existed since the Scheme began.

A Case of Malicious Gossip

A final case involved the author, who lived in Mosonik's kokwet, and a secondary school teacher who, though he lived near the kokwet, was not a member of it. At one point the teacher took a strong dislike to the author and began spreading harmful gossip about him, which if it had been believed, would have seriously impaired the author's ability to do research. The author went to Mosonik's home and requested him to call the kokwet together in order to have a hearing on the matter. Mosonik replied that calling the kokwet together was a serious matter, and that the M.P. who lives near the kokwet should be called upon to mediate the case himself, in order to avoid the necessity of calling the kokwet together. The M.P. told the teacher that if his offensive behaviour did not stop

it would lead to the calling of the kokwet together; he was warned that this would place him in an unpleasant, defensive position. This warning was sufficient to cause the teacher to discontinue his verbal attacks.

The procedures followed in the cases which were cited above, are in many ways similar to those which were used traditionally. The Chairman of the hearings which took place on the Scheme filled the traditional position of boyot ap kokwet, or kokwet elder. Traditionally the boyot ap kokwet was elected by the community.¹ On the Scheme the position of Chairman was filled either by the sub-chief who had previously been elected by the plot-holders, or by the M.P., who was also an elected official. The reluctance of the sub-chief to press for more severe sanctions against Chelang'at after the kokwet had decided that the fine against her would not be punitive is in keeping with traditional values. Orchardson, speaking of the traditional

1. Pilgrim, John The Social and Economic Consequences of Land Enclosure in the Kipsigis Reserves. THE MAKERERE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH, September, 1961, p.9.

leaders states that "they made no categorical pronouncements or dictatorial demands.....[and they] would be guided by popular opinion as well as their own predilictions, popular opinion is a very important factor among the Kipsigis and any kiptayat [leader] who was not popular would soon lose his position."¹ While it is not possible for the plot-holders to force either the sub-chief or the M.P. out of office on their own initiative, it is possible for the plot-holders to ignore these two people when they are choosing a person to chair a meeting.

In the six cases listed above, the kokwet was called together in only two instances. This does not in any way lessen the authority of the kokwet when a violation of normative behaviour takes place, or when a dispute must be settled. There are two reason why in a majority of cases the kokwet was not formally called together. First, it is possible for the community to make its judgement

1. Orchardson Ibid., p.17.

known without calling the offender before a formal meeting. In the case involving Chumo the kokwet was not called together, but individually every member of the kokwet went to Chumo and tried to influence his behaviour. Further, it was the support which the kokwet gave to Chumo's mother which finally forced him to leave the Scheme. Because Chumo refused to recognize the authority of the kokwet, the only sanction that could be brought against him was to isolate him from the community. He was first socially excluded from the kokwet, and later he was physically excluded. The fact that Chumo never comes on the Scheme to visit demonstrates the fact that he understands that he has simply not moved away from the Scheme, but that he was expelled from it.

In the case involving the teacher the kokwet took no direct action, but the opinion of the biik ab kokwet deterred the teacher from continuing his objectionable behaviour.

In the incident involving Tonui and Kilel the kokwet was not involved until after the basic

issue of the ownership of the land was settled. The kokwet was not called in at an earlier stage because the ownership of the parcel of land in question was felt to be a decision for the Settlement Authorities to make. The people living on the Scheme are well aware that in disputes in which the Government has an interest, the opinion of the kokwet holds little weight. Tonui was not hesitant about involving outside authorities in order to achieve his goals. After receiving title to the land, he saw no need to ask the kokwet to ratify his claim to the land. Kilel did not appeal to biik ab kokwet both because he was aware that they were powerless to reverse a decision made in Nairobi, and because he knew that the kokwet would not support him if he suggested that violence be used against Tonui. The members did not go to the two principals in an attempt to mediate the dispute, but rather to try to establish a peaceful, if not friendly, relationship between the two men. The fact that Kilel has neither resorted to violent action, nor has he sold his plot indicates that the people of the community have been at least partially successful.

The two cases involving land illustrate one of the basic tenets of law among the people living on the Scheme. Snell writes that, "Torts and 'criminal' offences were in general regarded as disturbances of the social equilibrium and treatment was therefore concerned fundamentally with restoring the status quo ante."¹ Although this statement refers in particular to the culturally related Nandi people, it is true for the Kipsigis as well. The cases cited above illustrate the fact that when a violation of social norms takes place the objectives of the community are twofold: - to prevent the violation from growing in scope or intensity, and to maintain harmonious relations in the neighbourhood. If the relations cannot be returned to the "status quo ante" an effort is made to make the participants accept a new equilibrium. Orchardson states that among the Kipsigis punishments were very few, and "The reason why the rule of law was maintained.....was that to the Kipsigis the laws were unbreachable,.....[and] curses, some brought automatically...others spoken

1. Snell, G.S. Nandi Customary Law, MacMillan and Co., London, 1954, p.84

ensured obedience."¹ Although the case of Koske and the teacher illustrates that the judgement of the community is a strong force in influencing behaviour, the case of Chelang'at illustrates the fact that the fear of "automatic" supernatural sanctions is no longer strong enough to cause all members of the community to conform to the judgement of the biik ab kokwet. In none of the cases was the possibility of a curse mentioned. On the Scheme a person who does not conform to the judgement of the community is threatened not by supernatural sanctions, but by legal action in the Magistrate's Court.

It is possible when a person commits an offence against his neighbour for the case to go directly to the Magistrate's Court without first having a hearing before the kokwet. This, however, is rarely done because of the expense involved, and because to do so would be a substantial insult to the members of the kokwet. In purely civil cases which do not involve large sums of money or

considerable amounts of property, it is the practise of the Magistrate's Court to refuse to hear a case which has not first had a hearing before the kokwet.

It is, however, neither the threat of supernatural sanctions, nor the possibility of being brought before the Magistrate's Court which maintains the "rule of law" on the Scheme. It is the fact that the plot-holders are aware that they will probably live out their lives on the Scheme, and that some of their children will also grow old on the Scheme. If there were constant disputes, disagreements, and hearings it would make life most unpleasant. A man does not demand a compensation for wrongs and does not insist on all his rights because to do so would increase tensions with the person with whom he had a dispute. The Kipsigis have a very low incidence of witchcraft and sorcery,* and good relations with one's neighbours are considered to be of primary importance. The plot-holders live on small plots, and homes are often within a few yards of their neighbours. A plot-holder must rely on his neighbour for help

* This observation is based on statements made by the plot-holders themselves.

both in agricultural and ceremonial activities. If re relations become very bad it is possible to sell one's plot and move elsewhere. This, however, would be a most unsatisfactory solution because the cost of well drained, fertile land in the Reserves is approximately Shs. 1,000/- per acre. It is therefore impossible for an "A" plot-holder without an outside income to sell his plot and then buy a comparable plot in the Reserves. A man with an "A" plot who has been able to make his loan repayments would suffer a considerable loss if he sold his plot for Shs. 10,000/-. For these reasons there is a greater stress on bringing a dispute to an end through compromise, than through punishment and compensation.

The concept that for every wrong there should be the possibility of compensation is not part of jurisprudence among the people who live on the Scheme. The idea that the injured should be compensated and that the wrong doer should be punished does not hold an important place in the Kipsigis jural ideas. It often happens on the Scheme that through negligence, a man will allow his cows to graze on another

man's maize. If this happens while the maize is still quite young, it can result in a considerable financial loss. When the plot-holders were asked, "What would you do if you discovered that someone else's cow had grazed on your maize," they indicated that the only action that they would take would be to warn the individual whose cows had grazed on his maize. If the offence were repeated the kokwet would be called to inspect the damage, and the offender would be given an official warning by the kokwet. If, after the offender had been warned, his cows again grazed on another man's maize, then the kokwet would consider imposing a fine upon the offender. A fine would only be imposed after the offence had been repeated several times and the offender had been warned at least twice: once by the victim and once by the kokwet. During the period of research no plot-holder was fined for allowing his cows to graze on another man's maize. In one instance a man was called before the kokwet to answer charges of negligence only after he had been warned by his neighbour eleven times. A man is most reluctant to take any legal action against his

neighbours, because to do so he must make himself the adversary of a man whom he will see every day of his life. Legal action against a neighbour increases tension and animosity between a man and his neighbour. This is considered to be highly undesirable.

Almost all offences against person and property which take place on the Scheme are between persons who live in the same kokwet, or in neighbouring kokwets. This is because almost all types of primary social interaction can take place between members of the same kokwet or neighbouring kokwets. Theft, however, is rare between people of the same kokwet, both because it would be very difficult for the thief to enjoy the fruits of his crime, and because a theft within the kokwet would cause an irreparable social break between the thief and the members of the kokwet. For this reason, in answer to the question, "What would you do if you found out that someone had stolen property from your house?" all those interviewed stated that they would contact the police either immediately, or after notifying the members of the kokwet. Unlike other offences, in a case of theft, outside authority, in

the form of police would be called in immediately. Any member of the kokwet who did steal could not expect to be considered a member any longer and would be dealt with immediately by the police. One of the several reasons why there was a good deal of strong feeling against Chumo was that by selling the cows on his mother's plot he was effectively stealing from his mother.

CHAPTER V

ROLES OTHER THAN THAT OF PLOT-HOLDER

Social Relations Among Children on the Scheme

The discussion of social relations on the Scheme has so far been confined to those among the male plot-holders. These people are the most important because they are primarily responsible for the management of the plots, for loan repayments, and for the material well being of the women, children and labourers living on the Scheme. During the time available for research it was not possible to examine social relations between children in detail. It is, however, possible to make some general statements about friendship networks among the children living on the Scheme. As would be expected, age and proximity are the dominant factors in friendship relationships. Whether or not a child attends school does not appear to have a strong influence on who he chooses for friends. This is the result of the fact that most children do not begin to attend school until they are eight years old, or older. Thus a child is not usually sent to school until he has reached the age at which he has

already formed durable friendships. The fact that many children may attend school one year, then drop out of school because of lack of fees, and then return to school two years later tends to blur the distinction between those who do and those who do not attend school. Further, the age range in a single standard may be as great as ten years. This reduces a child's ability and desire to make friends only with those with whom he goes to school. There is, however, a considerable social distinction between children attending secondary school, and those who are not. Those children that do attend secondary spend most of their time at school, returning to the Scheme for only part of the holidays. They do a small amount of agricultural labour on their parent's plots, but most of them prefer to spend at least part of their holidays visiting friends or relatives. The secondary school children consider themselves to be an educational elite, and are very much aware that their life style is already much different from those that have remained behind to work on the land. The majority prefer to confine their network of acquaintances on the Scheme to their relatives and

other secondary school children. It is not uncommon to see secondary school boys wearing their school insignia while they are walking about the Scheme. It has become a custom among the Kipsigis that if a man has several sons, it is the educated ones who will be the least likely to inherit land. Although the school children work on the land if they are told to, they have little expectation of inheriting the plot because the Kipsigis believe that if a man has sent a son to secondary school he has given him the means of obtaining land on his own.

Social Relations Among Women

It is possible to make only a few brief remarks about social relations among women on the Scheme. There is a rather strict segregation of the sexes among the Kipsigis. It would be very difficult for a male research student to make a study of social relations among the women on the Scheme without offending a large percentage of the male plot-holders. Men and women do not eat together and a "good woman" is expected to be shy in front of men. She is also expected to remain in the background at all times. Women are considered to be the

subordinates of their husbands. They travel very little, and then do so only with the permission of their husbands. After a woman has adult children and has reached old age her authority in the community becomes greater.

On the Scheme a woman works in the same kipagenge as her husband, and may represent him if he does not attend. When a man is invited to a beer party it is expected that his wife will accompany him in order to assist the wife of his host.

When the male plot-holders were asked, "What did your wife think about the idea of coming on the Scheme?", every man stated that his wife was in favour of coming because it would mean that there would be sufficient land on which to raise a family. There is clearly a greater abundance of milk, maize, and fire wood on the Scheme than there is in the Reserves. It is therefore not surprising that the wives of the plot-holders were in favour of moving on the Scheme. It was reported that Laboso's first wife was not pleased when Laboso was considering the possibility

of moving her to the Reserves after he took his second wife.

The Social Position of Labourers

Every "A", "B" and "Z" plots has at least one labourer. Approximately eighty per cent of the workmen are Kipsigis, and the remainder are mostly Luos, with a few Kisii and Kikuyus also working on the Schemes. The majority of the Kipsigis labourers are men in their late teens and early twenties who have little or no education. They are members of the new "landless class" among the Kipsigis. They plan to work for a few years in order to accumulate enough cash to get married. For many of the Kipsigis labourers, work on the Scheme is the first wage labour which they have engaged in. A few of the older Kipsigis and several of the Luos were squatters on the land when it was owned by European settlers. One Kipsigis tractor driver has been employed by all three owners of the land on which he works. He was first employed as a tractor driver for the European settler, then by the Settlement Authorities to help demarcate the land, and now

by a "Z" plot-holder. The employees working on the Scheme are not "squatters" because they are not given land to cultivate, they work for wages and a subsistence allowance of maize. The work force on the Scheme is very transient because the wages are low and the employees are not interested in long term employment, and because the plot-holders often hire a man only for a few months, during the planting and/or harvest season. The employees are given accommodation in their own houses close to the home of the plot-holders. The labourers, in particular the Luos, are considered to be social minors and are not considered to be members of the kokwet in which they live. In a small number of cases a plot-holder has to employ a near relative as a workman. In these cases the "employee-relative" is accepted as a member of the kokwet. One plot-holder has two full-time employees, one of whom is his full brother. During a beer party the brother sits behind the plot-holder in the position of "owner of the beer", while the other workman assists the women. Although the life-styles of the plot-holders and the labourers are very similar, there is a clear social distinction

between the plot-holders and the labourers. In several cases a woman is the manager of a plot which is owned by her husband who is engaged in earning a cash income elsewhere. This places a woman in the position of directing the activities of one or two grown men. This practice runs counter to the Kipsigis' value that a murenik (circumcized man) cannot be told what to do by any woman but his mother.

The Luos are complete outsiders to the social system of the Scheme. The Kipsigis and Luos are traditional enemies, and because the Luos do not circumcize they are considered to be a tribe of children. The Luos working on the Scheme, are considered to be the social inferior of the Kipsigis labourers. There are only two Kikuyus employed on the Scheme, and they are both managers of "Z" plots which are owned by men who have outside employment, and therefore cannot be resident on the Scheme at all times.

The Progressive Farmer

There is one farmer on the Scheme whose methods of farming and attitudes towards agriculture are radically different from the other farmers on the Scheme. He is a "Z" plot-holder of forty-five years of age with two years of formal education. Despite his limited education he is literate in both Kipsigis and Swahili. Although he is a nominal member of the World Gospel Mission, a Protestant group, he does not attend church and is a polygamist. He will be called Sang. Sang is fortunate in that his 100 acre plot in the Scheme is adjacent to a fifty acre holding which he has in the Reserves. He manages both plots as a single farm.

He is the most mechanized farmer on the Scheme. He owns both a Land Rover which is unlicensed, and is therefore used exclusively on the Scheme, and a two ton lorry used for transporting his produce to town. He also owns planters, cultivators,^a maize husking machine, a flour mill and three tractors.

He is one of the few farmers who makes an effort to improve the standard of his pastures. All of his pastures are paddocked. His maize production of twenty-five to thirty bags an acre is near the maximum theoretically obtainable in Kenya. His milk production of one and a half to two gallons per cow is also considered to be the maximum obtainable in the conditions that prevail in Kenya. Aside from producing milk and maize, Sang grows passion fruit, potatoes, beans, peas and onions. He also has a half an acre of sunflower which he grows as a fodder crop. In one corner of his farm he maintains a small experimental garden on which he tests various strains ^{of} hybrid maize seed. Sang practises crop rotation and allows part of his land to lay fallow each year. On his plot in the Reserves he has a small tea plantation. Because his milk production is reliable he has bought a separate quota from the K.C.C. However, he continues to pay the Society a commission on the milk which he sells. Although he keeps some indigenous cattle on his plot in the Reserves, he is not reluctant to sell his steers as soon as they become large enough to bring

a good price. He employs fifteen labourers, about half Luo and half Kipsigis at from Shs. 40/- to Shs. 60/- per month, plus maize for subsistence.

Because his farm is generally recognized by the veterinary and agricultural officers as being the best African owned farm in the District, he is frequently visited by these officers. During the period of research the only plot the author saw either an Agricultural or Settlement Officer visit was that of Sang. To a limited degree this is an example of a "self-fulfilling prophecy." Because Sang is more willing to accept innovations, the extension officers expect Sang to be a better farmer than his neighbours and they therefore spend more time teaching him to be a better farmer than they spend on his neighbours.

Sang is the only one of the "Z" plot-holders who does not have an outside source of income, and who considers farming to be his full-time occupation. His income of Shs. 50,000/- is equal to that of the senior officer employed in business or government. He is the only "Z" plot-holder who does not have a full primary education and who actively engages in

physical labour on his farm. Sang has already bought a "C" plot from a man who wished to leave the Scheme. He has stated that he would be interested in buying more plots on the Scheme if they become available. The only aspect of his agriculture which does not conform to the model of the "progressive farmer" is the fact that he does not use A.I. He states that he has tried using it and has found that it is a waste of money because the cow does not conceive every time it is served by A.I. He keeps a large, healthy bull on his plot in the Reserves and takes his cows from the Scheme to be served by his own bull. Sang is a member of the Executive Committee, and is regular in his attendance at meetings, but he does not often volunteer to represent the Scheme in outside affairs. Seven of his fifteen children attend school. Those who do not are either married or too young.

Despite the fact that Sang's maize yield is two to three times greater than that of his neighbours, and the fact that he earns a thousand shillings an acre from his passion fruit, neither his neighbours on the Scheme, nor those in the

Reserves have made a substantial effort to emulate his agricultural techniques. The contrast between Sang's plot and those of his neighbours' in the Reserves is most striking. Next to the ten to twelve feet tall, deep green maize growing on Sang's plot is the thin yellowish five to seven feet tall maize growing in his neighbours' plots. The contrast which exists on the Scheme is not as great as that which exists in the Reserves, but it is significant.

One would expect that Sang's presence would, through the operation of the "demonstration effect," lead his neighbours to attempt to use the same agricultural techniques as he used. He is a Kipsigis with very little education. The social distance between Sang and his neighbours is not nearly as great as that which existed between the European settlers and their African neighbours. The fact that Sang's techniques have not been copied cannot be attributed to a personal dislike which the plot-holders feel against him. Although he is not usually mentioned as being one of the "big men" on the Scheme, he is well liked and respected.

The reason for the fact that the "demonstration effect" has not been notably effective in this case stems from the fact that the ordinary plot-holders do not have a sense of identification with the "Z" plot-holders. The ordinary plot-holders perceive the "Z" plot-holders as being in a class apart from themselves. Part of the reason for the lack of identification stems from the fact that all of the "Z" plot-holders, with the exception of Sang, are educated and have large outside incomes. The plot-holders do not identify with Sang because he is considered to be a "rich man", with a good deal of capital equipment which ensures that he will get a high yield from his land. Despite the fact that Sang's land is not any better than that of the other "A" plots, the other plot-holders do not consider it reasonable to expect the same yield per acre as Sang. The plot-holders believe that Sang gets a high yield because he is rich, not that he is rich because he gets a high yield.

Sang, who has a strong image of himself as an innovator, is of the opinion that in a few years his neighbours on the Scheme will begin to emulate

his farming techniques. However, he feels it will be some years before those in the Reserves begin to practise high grade modern agriculture. Sang's faith in the demonstration effect stems from the fact that throughout his life he has adopted agricultural techniques which were at first considered to be radical departures from tradition, and then a few years later became accepted as standard agricultural practice. These techniques included his adoption of the plough in 1935, his use of hybrid seed ten years later, and his purchase of grade cows in 1959, a year before it was legally permissible for Africans to do so.

Plot-holders' Conceptions of the Type of Farming which was practised by the European Settlers

As indicated in the discussion of the "progressive farmer," the great majority of the plot-holders have not attempted to bring their production per acre up to the standards which are achieved by the best farmer on the Scheme. To an even greater degree the plot-holders do not identify with, or attempt to emulate, the farming techniques

practised by the European farmers who occupied the land before Land Settlement. This is partially explained by the fact that some of the plot-holders had no first hand contact with European farming operations. However, a large number of the plot-holders have worked as cooks, herdsmen, labourers and tractor drivers on large European farms. Some of the plot-holders have worked as employees on the land which they now occupy. A few plot-holders had been overseers, which gave them a good deal of responsibility and substantial income. One plot-holder, who was the senior African employee on a large mixed farm earned a salary of Shs. 250/- per month.

Although hybrid seed and fertilizers are now an integral part of agriculture on the Scheme, the plot-holders do not consider it possible that they will be able to attain the same standards of agriculture or wealth that the European settlers attained. Part of this lack of identification stems from the objective fact that the White settlers had vast farms, and it is not possible to practise the same type of agriculture on thirty acres of land

^{it} as/is possible to practise on three thousand acres. The difference in the size of their farms and those of the Europeans, and the large amount of credit which the plot-holders believed was available to the White settlers were the first factors which were mentioned when plot-holders were asked, "Do you think the Europeans on this land were able to get a high yield from this land?", "Do you think you will be able to get the same yield per acre as did the former settlers?". Twenty per cent of respondents stated that they had no way of knowing if the European settlers enjoyed high yields or not, and the remainder stated that they thought that the Europeans had obtained a high yield. About one quarter of the plot-holders thought they could do as well as the Europeans. A thirty-three year old "C" plot-holder who is one of the few men on the Scheme who has not worked for cash income explained that the Europeans obtained a high yield because. "They were rich, and they could be loaned any amount they asked for from the Government. They used their money to buy grade cows and tractors; for making paddocks and for hiring labourers to weed their maize. They employed many labourers." In answer

to the question as to whether or not the plot-holders would do as well, he replied, "The reason we are not able to do as well is because we have small loans. If God helps me to get a lot of money, I will do as wellAll the "Z" plot-holders will do as well."

An "A" plot-holder of forty-two who had worked as a milker on a European farm for seventeen years stated that, "I try to do as well, but I am a poor man. Sometimes the wind comes and ruins my maize. When I brought the grade cows to my plot, one of them died immediately. All of these things slow me down." One "A" plot-holder who had been born on a European farm and had worked on it until he came to take up a plot on the Scheme gets a high yield from his land. He stated, "I expect to do as well, but the trouble is that my plot is so small. If I try to keep many cattle, they will quickly run short of grass. The area for cultivation is very small....I do not have enough capital either." An articulate "A" plot-holder who has never worked on a European farm, but who has a considerable amount of experience in the cash economy, explained,

"Yes, a European farmer could produce a good deal. Whenever he went to the K.F.A. he had enough money to buy equipment and food. He was able to build watering holes because he had a lot of money. It was easy for him to borrow money from the bank, he was always trusted.....If I had enough money I could do as well as the Europeans, but I do not have enough money. If the plot-holders had enough capital they would have been able to do as well, but they were not given enough capital."

When specifically asked, those respondents who had been employed on European farms stated that they believed that they would be able to produce more than their neighbours who have come to the Scheme directly from the Reserves, or who had been employed in non-agricultural activities. The plot-holders who have been able to get the highest yield per acre have been those who have been employed on European farms, but there does not appear to be a direct correlation between the yield per acre a man is able to get from his plot, and the length of time he has worked on a European farm.

None of the respondents mentioned "hard work" or "good management" as factors which lead to the high yield which the White settlers attained. If, however, a plot-holder was specifically asked if these were important factors, he would state that they were. A plot-holder who had held a responsible position on a European farm stated that his per acre production of maize was lower than that of his former employer because he could not afford to hire workmen to weed his maize. He is one of the older plot-holders on the Scheme and considers himself retired, and therefore does not do agricultural labour himself. Although the lack of capital was viewed as one of the primary factors inhibiting agricultural production, in response to the question, "If someone were to give (or loan) you Shs. 500/--, what would you do with the money?", the purchase of capital equipment was not mentioned as a way of spending the money. Sixty per cent of the plot-holders stated that they would use the money to buy maize or potato seed. Of the remainder, the majority would use the money to make loan repayments, and a small number would use it to rent a tractor.

As a result of large mixed farms having been divided into small plots a good deal of capital equipment which was left by the European settlers, and which is now owned by the Settlement Authorities, is being used neither by the plot-holders nor the Society. On two of the "Z" plots there are complete facilities for raising pigs, but these have been completely abandoned and are no longer used for any purpose. One "Z" plot had five acres of established passion fruit, but this was ploughed under in favour of maize. The value of equipment on the Scheme which is at present not being put to use is officially estimated at Shs. 38,244/85¹ (See Appendix No. Four). The original cost of capital equipment was several times its officially estimated value. The equipment and buildings on the Scheme are rapidly deteriorating. It recently became necessary for the Settlement office to move to a new location because the building in which it was housed had decayed to the point that it no longer was safe. According to the official inventory,

1. Bandek Settlement Office Records.

there are six dips on the Scheme,¹ but only two are actually functioning.

The Role of the Sub-Chief

The role of the Chairman of the Society has been discussed in some detail as has that of the Co-operative Assistant and the subordinate staff. To understand the functioning of the Scheme it is necessary as well as to discuss the role of the Settlement Officer (S.O.) and the Sub-Chief. The sub-chief will be called Bett. Both the S.O. and the sub-chief are employees of the Central Government, and have general responsibility for the Scheme as a whole. The sub-chief is responsible to the Chief, and to the District Officer (D.O.) The sub-chief attends a meeting with the D.O. and the other sub-chiefs once a month. He also files a monthly report. The sub-chief is a man with a full primary education, and several years experience as a tax clerk with the County Council. He is a man of thirty-five and speaks fluent English. His home is of mud and wattle construction but it has a metal roof

1. Bandek Settlement Office Records.

and a separate kitchen. He does not drink, and is a practising member of the African Inland Church.

Although he has planted peas as a cash crop, he is ~~not~~ one of the more progressive farmers on the Scheme. His employment as sub-chief gives him a substantial source of outside income and keeps him away from his plot several days of the month.

The sub-chief was elected by the plot-holders from three candidates who had been previously selected by the District Commissioner from a group of nine men and one woman who had indicated a desire to be sub-chief.¹ One of the three men who ran against the sub-chief was later elected Chairman of the Co-operative Society.

The plot-holders stated that Bett was elected sub-chief because he knows how to speak well in public, and because he offers advice in a kind and gentle manner. The fact that he had been a tax clerk, and therefore had experience in

1. Ibid.

handling money was also considered to be a factor strongly in his favour. One of the major responsibilities of the sub-chief is the collection of personal tax, which until early 1968 was fixed at a minimum of Shs. 48/-, but which has now been reduced to a minimum of Shs. 24/-.

The people living on the Scheme view this tax as unfair and unjustified. Unless a plot-holder has outside employment, or has reason to visit Kapkoech frequently, he will not voluntarily pay his tax. Towards the end of each year an effort is made by the County Council of Kipsigis to collect the Graduated Personal Tax and the Area Tax.

Each year a Land Rover with a tax clerk, a driver, four policemen and the sub-chief goes around the Scheme in an attempt to collect back taxes. The vehicle which is used for tax collection purposes belongs to the County Council of Kipsigis. No attempt is made to collect tax money for the current year, but rather for the preceding year. Thus in November, 1967 an attempt was made to collect

taxes for 1966. The presence of the bright yellow County Council vehicle caused a mild panic among the plot-holders. They ran from their homes and hid either in the tall grass or in the homes of friends living in the Reserves. Plot-holders could be seen running down the paths with policemen in close pursuit. If a man failed to escape he had either to pay Shs. 96/- in taxes and penalties or be taken to gaol in hand-cuffs. It is not common for a plot-holder to be taken to gaol for failure to pay his tax because if a plot-holder does not have cash immediately available he can almost always borrow money from a member of the kokwet.

The sub-chief does not participate in the actual arrest of the plot-holders, but it is his responsibility to direct the police to those people who have not paid their tax. Except when he is participating in a "tax raid" the sub-chief does not attempt to extract tax from the plot-holders. Although tax collection is bitterly resented by the plot-holders, and every effort is made to avoid payment of tax, there is very little resentment felt against the sub-chief.

Another of the specific duties of the sub-chief is to prevent illicit brewing of intoxicants on the Scheme. By law, beer can be brewed only under a licence from the sub-chief and must not be consumed at a gathering of more than six people. The requirement that all beer brewing be licensed is a rule which is entirely ignored by both the plot-holders and the sub-chief. If the sub-chief were to attempt to limit the number of people drinking beer at a ceremonial occasion, he would become a highly despised member of the community. It is one of the most important aspects of Kipsigis culture that a man have a large gathering of people to his home when one of his sons or daughters is being circumcized. Bett is aware that any effort on his part to be adamant either about tax collection or beer brewing would result in his life on the Scheme becoming most unpleasant. Since the restrictions on brewing, and the collection of taxes are not viewed as legitimate activities of Government, the sub-chief is given no voluntary assistance in fulfilling his duties in these two fields. The sub-chief is assigned two Administration

Policemen to help him with his work.

Bett is an "A" plot-holder, and expects to live his life out of the Scheme. Since he is only thirty-five there is the possibility that he will be promoted to a higher office. If, however, he should create bad feeling between himself and the other people living on the Scheme, his life would become difficult, and his chances of attaining a higher office would be reduced.

Aside from the collection of overdue taxes, the most visible activity of the sub-chief is the calling of a public meeting to convey information to the plot-holders. Since it is not possible to buy newspapers on the Scheme, and the majority of the plot-holders do not own radios, the sub-chief's role as conveyor of information is an important one. The sub-chief is the final link between the Central Government and the rural peasantry. Policy set in Nairobi is eventually conveyed to the people through the meetings held by the sub-chief. The sub-chief holds a meeting in one part of the Scheme at least once a month, sometimes more frequently. He is

always present at meetings called by the Society. When on official duties, he dresses in a starched khaki uniform which clearly distinguishes him from the other plot-holders. When an official visitor comes to the Scheme it is the duty of the sub-chief, assisted by the Chairman of the Society, to see that a good number of people come to welcome the guest, and to escort the visitor around the Scheme.

Although at the meeting which the sub-chief holds he encourages the plot-holders to obey the Settlement regulations and to support the Society, he is not an assistant Settlement Officer. Bett is often aware of violations of Settlement regulations, and will freely discuss them. He makes no effort to stop them because he knows that his attempts would be futile, and they would make him an outcast from his own kokwet. The S.O. is a government servant who is employed on contract terms and who may be transferred on short notice. A Settlement Officer seldom stays on a Scheme for more than a year. The sub-chief is permanently resident on the Scheme, and is subject to the same pressures that an ordinary plot-holder is.

The Role of the Settlement Officer

During the period of research there have been three S.O.'s on the Scheme. The S.O. is the senior government officer living on the Scheme. He is housed in a very large residence that was formerly the property of a European farmer. The S.O. is responsible for all agricultural, veterinary and administrative aspects of the Scheme. It is he who makes recommendation for the eviction of a plot-holder. The S.O. receives monthly reports from the V/S's on the number of artificial inseminations which have taken place on the Scheme, the number of calves born, and the number of cows which have died, and the cause of death. It is the responsibility of the S.O. to file monthly reports on the activities of the Scheme, and supply the Government with any additional information it may require. There is a small Land Rover assigned to the Scheme which the S.O. may use at his discretion for official purposes. The S.O. is not only responsible for Bandek Scheme, but also for another adjacent Kipsigis Scheme.

Of the three officers who have served on the Scheme during the year of research one was discharged from office due to suspicion of having misappropriated Shs. 3,500/- from money which the plot-holders had given him as mortgage payments. This man was arrested on the same day he was discharged and was eventually convicted of "theft by a Government servant." He is now in prison in Kericho. The second was suspended after over Shs. 6,500/- was stolen from the Settlement Office. This man was not brought to court, but remained suspended until the expiration of his contract, which was not renewed. The third S.O. is now in his post.

The first S.O. was a member of a tribe with whom the Kipsigis have been traditional enemies, and against whom there are still occasional cattle raids. To the knowledge of the author the first S.O. did not call any meetings himself, nor did he attend any of the meetings organized by the Society or the sub-chief. It was the practice of the first S.O., accompanied by the clerk and the Co-operative Assistant to take the vehicle

assigned to the Settlement Office to Kapkoech every Tuesday to conduct their own private business.

The second S.O. was a Kipsigis man of about twenty-eight years of age, who was formerly a Settlement clerk. The plot-holders were pleased to have a Kipsigis appointed as S.O. The second S.O. continued the practice of his predecessor of devoting Tuesday to the conduct of private affairs in Kapkoech. This man was also an ordinary plot-holder on an adjacent scheme which was under his jurisdiction.

A Hearing Involving the Settlement Officer

The incidents surrounding the theft of money which took place during the administration of the second S.O. are important because they were a subject of considerable interest to the plot-holders, and had an influence on their perception of Land Settlement. Approximately six months after the second S.O. came into office a hole was cut in the glass of one of the windows of the Settlement Office and over Shs. 6,500/- was stolen from a wooden cupboard in which the mortgage payments were kept.

The police interviewed all those who worked in the office. The police carefully questioned the S.O. and the clerk who were theoretically the only people who knew where the money was kept at night. The police were unable to determine if any of the suspects were guilty. The S.O. indicated that he thought that his clerk was responsible for the theft. The concensus of opinion among the plot-holders was that the clerk was guilty, both because he was a member of a tribe which is considered by the Kipsigis to be notorious for its skill at sorcery and magic, and because of the S.O.'s accusation. On the day following the theft the Chief of the Location came to the Scheme to chair a hearing at which all those working in the Settlement Office were questioned. The S.O. was one or two age sets junior to those who were conducting the hearing, and he made it clear that he considered himself subordinate to the plot-holders who were older than he. The S.O. presented his case as a young man seeking to defend himself in front of his elders. At no time did he refuse to answer any of the questions put to him on the grounds that he was an officer of the Kenya Government and a civil servant, and that the plot-

holders had no right to put questions to him at a public hearing. The hearing came to the conclusion that the clerk was the guilty party, but since the hearing had no legal status no action was taken at that time. After the hearing one of the elders suggested that the question of guilt be settled by inviting a particular old man to the Scheme who was known to have the power to identify a thief out of a group of innocent men. The S.O. immediately agreed to the proposition. He took the Government vehicle, filled with plot-holders, to the Reserves to search for the old man who could recognize a thief on sight. The clerk was asked to join the search for the orgoyot (diviner), but refused to go. He explained that if the police arrested him he would be obliged to join the S.O. and the plot-holders in their quest, but that the plot-holders had no authority to order him to go. He further went on to say that by using the vehicle assigned to the Settlement Office to search for an orgoyot the S.O. was acting in violation of Government regulations concerning the use of official vehicles.

The orgoyot was eventually located but refused to go to the Scheme to confirm the guilt of the clerk.

Two days after the theft occurred the Settlement Authorities suspended both the S.O. and the clerk, pending further investigation. Both men continued to live in the housing provided for them by the Settlement Authorities. A Peace Corps Volunteer (PCV) was appointed as acting S.O. That afternoon a number of plot-holders came to the clerk's room, which is adjacent to the Settlement Office, and told him that they were going to punish him for his theft. The crowd was armed with clubs and bush knives. The PCV, who is an American of about twenty-three years of age, told the assembled group that they should disperse and that the theft was a matter for the police. The crowd told the PCV that he was just a young man who did not understand Kipsigis customary law. He was told not to interfere with the activities of his elders. The PCV then went to the home of the M.P. to telephone the police. The telephone in the Settlement Office was not working. The police explained

that they could not come because their vehicle was under repair. The PCV then asked the M.P. to come to the Settlement Office to help disperse the crowd. The M.P. agreed to do this and was successful in preventing any violence from taking place. The clerk was immediately transferred to a Scheme some distance away.

Neither of the two thefts resulted in any loss to the plot-holders because in neither case were any records stolen. The thefts have, however, caused an increase in the cynicism with which the plot-holders view Land Settlement.

In the above discussion the value judgements either stated or implied are those which the plot-holders and/or the Ministry of Lands and Settlement have made or implied.

The third S.O., who belongs to a tribe closely related to the Kipsigis, came onto the Scheme shortly before field work was completed and it is not possible to comment on the way he functions in his position.

From time to time when the S.O. is on leave, or when an S.O. has been transferred and another is not immediately available to replace him, it is necessary to make a PCV act in his stead. During the time that he is acting S.O. the PCV is under specific instructions not to take any mortgage payments, not to answer any letters, and not to initiate any telephone calls. He is told to act only in the event of an emergency arising.

The Relationship Between the Scheme and the Neighbouring Reserves

As indicated previously, the relationship between the plot-holders and those living in the neighbouring Reserves is a good one. A substantial amount of trade takes place between the two areas. However, the M.P. who lives on the Scheme, and represents one of the near-by Reserves has stated that some of his constituents feel an animosity towards the people living on the Scheme. This animosity stems from two factors. First a number of the people living in the Reserves were squatters in what is now the Scheme. These people were given priority in the allocation of Land Settlement plots, but if they were

unable to make the downpayment they were forced to leave the land. Many of the people who came to live on the Scheme were born in areas of Kipsigis country far distant from the Scheme. Some people in the Reserves felt that these people were taking land which would have been theirs had the Europeans not settled on the land, and which should rightfully be theirs now that the Europeans had left. The second factor leading to resentment against the plot-holders is the practice of maintaining the "colonial" restrictions against the movement of indigenous breeds of cattle onto or through the Scheme. These rules have the rational purpose of preventing the spread of disease from the indigenous cattle of the Reserves to the grade stock on the Scheme. However, to some of the people in the Reserves it is seen as a continuation of a perverse colonial policy. The M.P. cited an incident in which one of his constituents had all of his cows confiscated as a punishment for allowing them to graze on the Scheme. This has led some of the people in the near-by areas to refer to the plot-holders as the "new Europeans." There is, however, no widespread hostility or bitterness felt by the people in the Reserves towards those living on the Scheme.

CHAPTER VI

LOANS AND LOAN REPAYMENT

Kipsigis Conception of indebtedness:

The factor which most clearly distinguishes the Scheme from the Reserves, and from other experiments in Land Settlement in Kenya is the existence of mortgage payments. It is this factor which forces the plot-holders to participate in the cash economy. All of the plot-holders are aware that if they produce only enough to meet subsistence needs they will be evicted from their plots. Loan repayments are a strong factor in influencing plot-holders to invest in hybrid seed and fertilizers. The aspect of Land Settlement which is most often mentioned at meetings of the Society is loans.

The plot-holders refer to mortgage payments neither by the Kipsigis word besendo nor the Swahili word, mkopo. The word that is in universal use is a "pseudo-Swahilized" English word, lonsi. While it is not possible to state exactly how this word developed, it is probable that it was created to describe an institution which was completely new to the plot-holders, and which neither the Kipsigis nor the Swahili word adequately describes. Literally

translated the Kipsigis word besendo has a very similar meaning to the English word 'loan', but the connotations and implications of the two words are very different. To the Kipsigis to give a person besendo is to "help" him materially without the expectation that the help will be paid back measure for measure after a fixed period of time. The essential difference between the Kipsigis conception of indebtedness and that which is held by the Settlement Authorities is that the Kipsigis conceive of a loan as being the natural product of a friendship or kin relationship, while the Settlement Authorities entertain a more strictly commercial conception.

In many cases a Kipsigis will not ask for repayment of a loan until he has a specific need for the money or property which he has loaned. When a Kipsigis man asks his friend to pay back some money which is owed to him he does not directly ask for the sum of money which he has loaned, he explains to the debtor his special need for cash and that he would be most appreciative if repayment would be made. A man will usually not say, "Konon ropisiechu ki oyochin"— "Give me the money which you owe me," but rather, "Itinye ropisiechu ki ke pesononi?", --"Do you have

the money which you borrowed from me?" If the debtor answers that he does not have the money available, the creditor usually will not ask for the money again for some time. If a man has loaned his friend some cash or property, he may never directly ask for it to be returned. Instead he may ask the debtor to make him (the creditor) a loan. The second loan may not be the same size as the original loan. This reciprocal borrowing and lending blurs the distinction between debtor and creditor. If two men are good friends they will be continuously borrowing from each other without any expectation that every loan made will be paid back. The distinction between giving a "loan" and offering "help" or "assistance" is often blurred by the fact that if a man asks his son-in-law for a loan, neither he nor the son-in-law expects the loan will ever be paid back. In the same way that a Kipsigis does not expect to be paid back for the money which he spends educating his sons, he may not expect to be paid back money which he has loaned. He does expect to be able to ask for, and to be given, material assistance from his sons and the people to whom he has made loans.

The essentially social nature of borrowing and lending may be illustrated by referring to Mosonik's

kokwet which has been discussed above. Since they came on the Scheme Mosonik and Laboso have borrowed money from each other. However, the day after Laboso became drunk and rowdy at a beer party in Mosonik's house, Mosonik went to borrow from a member of the kokwet from whom he had not previously borrowed money. He explained to that person that Laboso had shown himself to be lacking in good manners.

Traditionally in Kipsigis society if a man were to lose all his cattle due to disease or drought or a raid by another tribe, he could expect that his neighbours would give him sufficient cows to meet his subsistence needs and to permit him to establish a new herd. He would eventually be expected to return the cattle which he borrowed. Whether or not the man's creditors would demand the return of the calves that had been produced during the period of the loan would be determined by the needs of the borrower and the creditor. Since the Kipsigis do not like to keep all their cows in one place the distinction between a cow that is loaned and one that has been given for safe keeping is not always clear.

When a man gives bridewealth to his father-in-law he does not ordinarily give the entire amount before the marriage even if he is economically able to do so. It is not uncommon for a man to have one or two adult children before he has completed giving the bridewealth. The fact that a man remained indebted to his father-in-law for a number of years constituted part of the social relations between the man and his father-in-law. To give all of the bridewealth at a single time would not be considered desirable. The Kipsigis do not respect a man who is continually borrowing from his neighbours, and is always in debt, but neither do they respect a man who is unwilling to give assistance to his neighbour, or having given assistance, demands prompt repayment.

Reciprocity plays an important role in the organization of a ceremony. A man might bring a considerable amount of maize to a ceremony sponsored by a friend or relative, not with the expectation that he will be "repaid" at a specific time, but rather that when he himself is having a ceremony, other people will bring milk and maize to his home. In recent times the custom of bringing food to a ceremony has to a certain extent been transmuted to the giving of cash.

Nevertheless, the principle of "non-commercial" reciprocity still exists very much today.

In modern times there has arisen a good deal of difference in wealth between individual Kipsigis, and the principles of borrowing and lending have been altered, but they have not been radically transformed. If, in an extended family there is one relatively wealthy individual, that person would be expected to give material aid to those of his family who are less well off economically than he is. It is expected that the first son to be educated will help to educate his siblings, and will give considerable economic support to his parents. It is not uncommon for a man who is employed as a civil servant to be called upon to pay the school fees for the sons of his brothers. If a man does consent to this, he does not expect to be paid back by his brother or his nephews. The paying of school fees is not a loan which must be paid back, it is an assistance that should be reciprocated. If a man pays the medical expenses of a relative or if he pays the transportation costs of a person who has an urgent need to travel, he likewise does not expect to be paid back. As parents do not expect to be reimbursed for the money which they spend rearing their

children. A man does not expect to be paid back directly for money which he may give to help a friend or relative. As parents expect to be able to rely on their children for their subsistence needs in the future, in a similar manner a creditor will expect to be able to make material demands upon a debtor. Loans are often paid back, but often not in exact amounts, and frequently only after a long period of time. The people living on the Schemes state that if a man did not pay back a loan which he owed them they would take him to court. This, however, has never been done despite the fact that many of the plot-holders have stated that in the course of their life they have "loaned" over Shs.1,000/- which has never been repayed.

The Mortgage and Mortgage Payments:

The total amount of money loaned by Government to each plot-holder was Shs.6,500/-. This represents two separate loans. The first was for the land, and the second was a "development loan". The greatest part of the development loan was used to pay for the grade cows. The rest was used to pay for miscellaneous expenses such as fencing material; cultivation expenses, including tractor rental; hybrid seed and fertilizers; the cost of constructing a home and a maize store,

and the preparation of half an acre of land for passion fruit. An additional charge was made against those who found maize growing on their plots. The plot-holders were not given cash, but cash vouchers which could be exchanged for materials at the K.F.A. shop in Kapoach. In no case did a plot-holder state that he thought it was wrong to be given credit at the K.F.A., rather than cash. One of the effects of issuing the new plot-holders with non-transferable chits to pay for the cost of cultivation expenses was to give them the option of either using the credits to buy hybrid seed fertilizers or of losing the credit altogether. The chits could only be used to pay for agricultural supplies. This was an important factor in promoting the widespread acceptance of improved agricultural techniques. None of the plot-holders objected to being issued with vouchers instead of cash.

Many of the plot-holders felt that a sufficient amount of money was not being allocated for fencing, house construction, and cows. The amount allocated for house construction was Sh. 200/-. This was a disappointment to the plot-holders because it was not sufficient to permit them to build metal roofed houses. Metal roofed houses are considered highly desirable

both because they are "status symbols", and because clean drinking water can be conveniently collected from the water which runs off the roof when it rains. The money allocated for house construction was used primarily to buy nails, window fittings and shutters, and doors. With the exception of the homes that were built by former European settlers, and which are now occupied by "Z" plot-holders, all the houses on the Scheme are of mud and wattle construction. Although the plot-holders would have preferred a larger development loan in all categories, they were most aggrieved by the fact that the loan for cattle was calculated to allow Shs. 500/- for each cow, while the actual price of a grade cow in Kenya at the time the plot-holders came on the Scheme was between Shs. 550/- and Shs. 750/- . In several cases this resulted in the plot-holders receiving one or two fewer cows than had originally been anticipated by the Settlement Authorities. The "C" plot-holders saw their potential incomes reduced by 20% if they received four, instead of five cows.

The total mortgage on all 'A', 'B', and 'C' plots is Shs. 6,500/- at 6.5% interest per annum. The mortgage is to be paid in sixty bi-annual instalments.

The first twenty instalments are of Shs. 420/-, and the next forty are of Shs. 210/-. The amount which a plot-holder has to pay over a thirty year period is calculated in the following manner. From the price which the Settlement Authorities paid for the land a 33.3% deduction is made as a subsidy to the plot-holders. This amount is then increased by 10% to allow for bad debts. The sum is then divided by the number of plots on the scheme. This gives the cost of each plot. To this amount is added the value of the development loan and of the interest charges.¹

The interest charges are very large. Because the interest accumulates over a thirty year period, the interest charges are considerably greater than the principal. Although the principal is only Shs. 6,500/-, the plot-holders must pay Shs. 16,000/- over a thirty year period. The majority of the plot-holders are not aware that they are paying more for the interest of their loans than for the principal. The plot-holders are concerned only with the total amount of money that they must pay every six months. Added to the charges listed above is a penalty of 6.5% per annum on all

1. Ibid., Nottidge and Goldsach page 18,
The Million Acre Settlement Scheme.

overdue payments. Thus if a man is supposed to pay Shs. 420/- and he pays Shs. 320/-, his next invoice will be for Shs. 520/- plus interest on the overdue amount. If a plot-holder chooses to make his mortgage payments once, instead of twice a year, he must pay a penalty for not making his payments every six months. The great majority of the plot-holders are not aware of the penalty charges which are incurred for late payment. Many of them are genuinely shocked when they receive the invoice showing how much money they are expected to pay the Settlement Authorities.

Plot-holders' experience with modern credit arrangements is very limited. Not a single one had ever negotiated a bank loan before he came on the Scheme. Less than five per cent of the plot-holders had ever bought any article on hire purchase terms. Since very few of the plot-holders have more than four years of education they do not know how interest is calculated. When the plot-holders were asked if they thought the mortgage payments would ever be reduced from Shs. 840/- per year only about one quarter were aware that after ten years the payments would be reduced by half. The majority indicated that they hoped that someday the loans would be reduced, but were not aware

that a reduction had actually been scheduled.

According to the chairman of the Society,¹ who himself makes his mortgage payments regularly, the plot-holders "were not fully informed of the size of the mortgage payments. They did not realize that they would have to pay Shs. 840/- yearly!" He went on to say that the M.P. who lives on the Scheme had been asked to speak in Parliament about the size of the mortgage payments. Approximately sixty-five per cent of the plot-holders learned of the terms of the mortgage at the time they came to take up their plots.

Typical of the answer many of the plot-holders gave to the question, "When did you first learn that you would have to pay for your plot for many years?" was the reply made by a sixty year old former squatter: "I learned when I was making the downpayment; I did not like it, but I had nowhere else to go." Although the documents sent with the Letter of Allocation explained the terms of the loan, the majority of the plot-holders had presumed that the downpayment about which they had been asked in the initial interview would constitute

1. Personal Interview Chairman of the Co-Operative Society. November, 1966.

the full purchase price of the plot.

Mortgage payments are viewed as the heaviest burden which the plot-holders must bear. All of those who were asked if they thought that the payments were excessive or not stated they thought them excessive. There is a universal feeling among the plot-holders that the mortgage payments are excessive and that they prevent them from attaining the standards of material wealth that could be achieved if they were not burdened with "lonsi". During the course of research the subject which most interested the plot-holders, and the subject about which they had the strongest views was that of "lonsi". The feeling that the size of the mortgage was unfair was particularly strong among the 'C' plot-holders. Although they were not asked how the authorities determined the size of the payments some of the plot-holders volunteered the statement that the Settlement Authorities set the size of the mortgage payments without any consideration of the productive capacity of land. This view was expressed by all of the 'C' plot-holders, and approximately fifty per cent of the other plot-holders. One 'C' plot holder, after having explained that it was impossible to make his payments from the income derived from the land, was asked why the Settlement Authorities

had established such a high amount for mortgage payments. He explained, " The Government does not understand the difficulties [one encounters on the scheme] ... they even want money for the dead cows. It was a mistake to make all the "lonsi" the same size. The people on the 'C' plots can only get money from milk." Several people living on 'C' plots felt that they would have no difficulty paying their "lonsi" if they had land which would support maize production.

To have to make mortgage payments is not viewed as a wrong in itself. The plot-holders do not object to the idea of having to pay for their plots but to the amount which must be paid every six months. To the plot-holders, and to the people living in the neighbouring Reserves alike, "lonsi" and "Scheme" have become synonymous.

Unlike the other aspects of Land Settlement which the plot-holders may object to, "lonsi" does not have as its object the improvement of agricultural techniques or the betterment of the marketing position of the Scheme. Further, "lonsi" cannot be avoided as can the other Settlement regulations. The records of mortgage payments are kept carefully by the Settlement Authorities, and invoices are sent out regularly every

six months. The invoice sent to the plot-holders is written in English and shows the amount owed at the last billing, the amount of the new instalment and the total sum which is due. Most of the plot-holders are unable to understand the explanations and symbols on the invoice, and consider them to be another part of Land Settlement which is beyond their understanding. In reply to the question, "How much do you have to pay in "lonsi" each six months?" one man explained that, "It varies from Shs. 420/- to Shs. 580/-, but I do not know why it varies." In answer to the same question another plot-holder replied that he received an invoice for at least Shs, 1,000/- every six months, and he presumed that this was the amount he was expected to pay bi-annually. Many of the plot-holders fell into default with the first mortgage payment, and since then have never received an invoice less than Shs. 1,000/-

The length of time which the plot-holders must pay for their mortgage is another source of discontent. Twenty to thirty percent of the men who took up their plots in 1964 may be expected to die before they have finished paying their mortgage. Those of the original plot-holders who are still alive will be in middle or

or old age. The plot-holders are unaware of these facts, and maintain the hope that the Settlement Authorities will either sharply reduce the amount of money which they must pay each year, or eliminate mortgage payments entirely. There is a popular song in Kipsigis which summarizes the feelings of the plot-holders:

(See Table Three).

In August, 1967 the hope that the "lonisi" would be cancelled manifested itself in a widely believed rumour that there would be a two year moratorium on mortgage payments. This rumour had as its source the institution of a policy that there would be no loan repayments for two years on all newly created Schemes. The policy did not apply to any Schemes on which the plot-holders had already begun making payments. Because the rumour carried information which was long hoped for, almost everyone on the Scheme believed it and it became necessary for the S.O. to call a general meeting of the plot-holders to inform them that the new policy applied only to new Schemes. As soon as they heard the S.O. was to call a meeting the plot-holders presumed that the rumour was true, and the S.O. had called the meeting to officially announce the moratorium. There was a good deal of disappointment

TABLE THREE: A Popular Song in Kipsigis Concerned
with Loan Repayment.

BANE ROGORONI¹

FOR WHAT THIS PIPE?

Tyledap Sikim
Song of Scheme

Kirire ak keunye
We are crying and hiding
Kirire ak keunye
We are crying and hiding

Echek bik ap Sikim
We people of Scheme
Echek bik ap Sikim
We people of Scheme
Agobo lonsi
Because of loans

Kirire ak keunye
We are crying and hiding
Kirire ak keunye
We are crying and hiding
Kimi taapu
We ate distress

Ki kirat Kenyatta kenyiskey tisap
Imprisoned Kenyatta years seven
Keratech bik ap Sikim kensyek sosom
Imprisoned we people of Scheme years thirty
Bane rogoroni londo bitonin
For what this pipe cross to abroad
Ichute tuguk koland bitonin
Pull things to cross abroad
Nge key chego, kebut bandek,
kebal biasinik kobunji rogoroni
londo bitonin agobo lonsi
When we milk milk, harvest maize,
dig potatoes, belong to this crossing
to abroad because of loans

TABLE THREE contd....

Kirire ak keunye
We are crying and hiding
Kirire ak keunye
We are crying and hiding
Echek bik ap Sikim
We people of Scheme
Agobo lonsi
Because of loans

Bane rogoroni ichute tuguk kolanda bitonin
For what this pipe pull things to cross abroad
Nge kebal biasian, kebut bandek, kegey chego,
kobunji rogoronieb lonsi
When dig potatoes, harvest maize, milk milk,
belong to this pipe of loans

Kandoik tugul, kirire ak keunye agobo lonsi
Leaders all, we are crying and hiding because of loans
Ki kirat Kenyatta kenyisyek tisap
Imprisoned Kenyatta years seven
Keratech bik ap Sikim kenyisyek sosom
Imprisoned we people of Scheme years thirty

Agobo lonsi
Because of loans
Kirire ak keunye
We are crying and hiding
Kirire ak keunye
We are crying and hiding
Ki mi taapu
We are in distress

TABLE THREE contd.....

WHAT IS THIS PIPE FOR?

We are crying and hiding (2)

We people of the Scheme (2)

Because of loans

We are crying and hiding

We are crying and hiding, we are in distress

Kenyatta was imprisoned for seven years

We people of the Scheme are imprisoned
for thirty years

What is the purpose of this pipe going
to overseas?

When we get milk, harvest maize, uproot the
potatoes all go through this pipe going
overseas, because of loans

We are crying and hiding (2)

We people of the Scheme

Because of loans

What is the purpose of this pipe taking
things overseas

When we uproot the potatoes, harvest maize,
get milk, all go into this pipe of loans

All leaders, we are crying and hiding, because of loans

Kenyatta was imprisoned for seven years

We people of the Scheme are imprisoned for
thirty years because of loans

We are crying and hiding

We are crying and hiding, we are in distress.

among the plot-holders when it was learned that they would have to continue to make mortgage payments, but no strong protest was made. The plot-holders did not think that it was unfair to grant a moratorium to the new Schemes and not to the older ones.

On Bandek Scheme the plot-holders had been sent invoices requiring them to begin mortgage payments within six months of the time they arrived on the Scheme. This was considered to be very unfair. With the exception of those who found maize growing on their land, the plot-holders had no way of obtaining a yield from their land before it became necessary for them to begin payments. Many of the plot-holders had used their savings to make the downpayment and to clear the land, and had no money with which to make mortgage payments. As a result a large number of people became loan defaulters as soon as it became necessary for them to begin payments. Many of the plot-holders learned the amount that they would have to pay each six months only after they had received their first invoice. One man who has an average loan repayment record explained that he had originally expected to have to pay only Shs. 220/- each six months, but that he would have been able to pay Shs. 420/- twice a year if only

he had been given sufficient time to establish his plot before being asked to begin making loan repayments. He stated that, "All the people on the Scheme are not equal, but most would have been able (to make their mortgage payments) ... but they were asked to pay immediately after they came on the scheme... I did not have any extra money to make the first payment."

A thirty-four year old plot-holder shared the feelings of many of the plot-holders that while the size of the payments was too large, the amount of the original loan was too small. He believed that if the people who came on the Scheme had been given larger loans to start with, they would have had sufficient capital to start farming in such a way as to make it possible for them to make substantial payments. "We were given very little capital (ropisiek che kinonen boisyet -- money to start with), just enough for ploughing, not even enough for harrowing. If the Government had given us enough money, we would be able to pay the "lonsi".

The fact that "lonsi" are considered a legitimate part of Land Settlement is not necessarily demonstrated by the fact that all of the plot-holders

have made at least token payments. This could simply reflect that the plot-holders believe that continued and severe loan defaulting could lead to eventual eviction. The legitimacy of "lonsi" is demonstrated by the fact that after a plot-holder stated that he considered the payment of Shs.840/- to be excessive, he would willingly state a sum which he considered to be a 'fair' amount. The amount which the plot-holder considered to be 'fair' varied from Shs. 100/- to Shs. 600/- per year. Although thirty per cent of the plot-holders stated they "did not know" what a fair amount would be, none of them suggested merely a nominal sum, and none of them indicated they they considered "lonsi" to be entirely unjustified.

A second consideration, which reflects the legitimacy of "lonsi", is the fact that when the plot-holders were asked, "What would you do if you were the S.O. or the D.O., and one of the plot-holders did not make his mortgage payments?", slightly less than three-quarters replied that as a last resort they would be forced to evict the defaulter. Only about ten per cent stated that they would refuse to evict a plot-holder under any conditions. Those that answered the question stated that it was the first

duty of the S.O. to encourage people to pay their "lonsi". One 'C' plot-holder who had stated that he considered Shs. 200/- per year to be a fair amount for "lonsi" went on to say, "If I were S.O. I would encourage people to work hard and earn extra money... I would send away the lazy people, but not the people who were really working". An almost identical statement was made by an 'A' plot-holder who is one of the largest loan defaulters on the Scheme, who stated, "If I were the Government I would send the lazy people away, but I would give the hard working people more time ...If I were S.O. I would encourage and warn people." Another 'C' plot-holder made it clear that he considered eviction justified only in extreme cases. He explained, "If I were S.O. I would go to the plot of the defaulter and see what he gets from the land -- perhaps he is having difficulties. Some people came to the Scheme without any capital. I would consider if the land was fertile or not. If the defaulter had no oxen I would loan him two... Some plot-holders are widows and they cannot be evicted. I would reduce the "lonsi" of the poor and the widows because they have nowhere else to go if they are sent away. I would reduce the "lonsi" on the 'C' plots!"

To the plot-holders the primary factor in determining whether a man should be evicted or not was not how much of his mortgage he had paid, but whether or not he worked hard. One man who is married and has one small child said that Shs. 300/- a year for "lonsi" would be a fair amount for him to pay each year, but that a man with several wives and numerous children should pay one-third that amount.

It is almost universally believed by the plot-holders that the mortgage payments are so high that it is quite impossible to make payments from the income that can be derived from the agricultural produce of a plot.

One man with a plot of only twenty-four acres, but who is able to make all his mortgage payments, explained that the reason he was able to do so was that he had saved money from his previous employment as a lorry driver. However, this man also obtains the highest per acre yield of maize of any of the plot-holders, with the exception of the "progressive farmer" discussed above. This man stated that he would consider 600/- per year a fair amount for "lonsi". This is a sum considerably in excess of that which the other plot-holders considered to be a fair amount. This man

gets a high income from his land without the use of a tractor and without any sons old enough to help him with his agricultural activities.

A man who is a former squatter, answered the question, "Why are some people able to be paid up?", in these terms, "Very few people are paid up. Sanich is paid-up because he is a teacher and doesn't have to wait for the harvest. He pays "lonsi" from his wages. Some people are rich, that is why they can pay. Some men became rich by selling their land in the Reserves. Very many people are working for the Government, they are teachers and clerks... Some have cows in the Reserves and sell them in order to pay "lonsi." This statement reflects the view of ninety per cent of the plot-holders.

Only about one-fifth of the plot-holders are aware of a specific budget which the Settlement Authorities had planned. The Scheme budget provides for a net income of Shs. 1,400 a year plus subsistence and mortgage payments. Although a small number of plot-holders know about the Scheme budget, most of the plot-holders feel that "the government is expecting us to earn a lot of money. They don't know about deductions from our dairy incomes. They think we are cultivating

large areas. The Government doesn't think about school fees and taxes. It knows that we get money, but it doesn't know to what purpose we put it." One man explained, "The Government didn't know our problems when they made the budget up. They just budgeted for everything to go well." One of the women plot-holders was convinced that the Government could not possibly know how much she could earn from her plot. She felt that if the Settlement Authorities knew the productive capacity of her plot they would reduce her mortgage payments.

With the exception of the 'C' plot-holders the contention of the people living on the Scheme that mortgage payments are excessive, and that it is extremely difficult to meet them out of the income which can be derived from the land, is not supported by an objective consideration of the productive capacity of the land. The net income which the Settlement Authorities have planned for is readily attainable on 'A' and 'B' land. By the third year on the Scheme a man can reasonably be expected to have cleared and cultivated eight acres of land. If he plants that land with maize and harvests fifteen bags an acre (which is only half the maximum yield attainable) he will have one hundred and twenty

bags of maize. If he sells his maize at the low price of Shs. 20/- per bag he will have a gross income of Shs. 2,400. If from that amount Shs. 300/- is subtracted for subsistence, and Shs. 45/- per acre is subtracted for overhead costs, the nett income from maize will be Shs. 1,760/-. If a man has only four grade cows, and he is unfortunate enough to be able to sell an average of a gallon and a half of milk a day, at the very low price of a shilling a gallon, he will have a dairy income of Shs. 547/50 per year and a total income of Shs. 2307/50. If a man spends a shilling a week to dip his four cows then his income will be almost exactly that which was planned (shs. 2255/-). This budget does not allow for income which can be derived from minor crops, or from the sale of steers. If from a gross income of Shs. 2,250/-, eight hundred and forty shillings is deducted for mortgage payments, the nett income of the plot-holder is slightly over Shs 117/- per month . A nett income of Shs. 117/- per month plus subsistence is considerably above that earned by unskilled labourers, and approaches that of a junior government employee.

Part of the inability of the plot-holders to make their mortgage payments stems from the fact that

some of them were already in debt at the time they came on the scheme. Some of the plot-holders had borrowed money to make their downpayment thinking that they would be able to pay the money back immediately; not having realized that they would be committed to making mortgage payments for thirty years. Some of the younger plot-holders had not yet completed their bridewealth payments at the time that they came onto the Scheme. A few of the youngest men married immediately before they came on to the Scheme.

There is a feeling among the plot-holders that, "moet korok si korup lonsi" (literally -- stomach followed by loans). It is the feeling that consumption, and the enjoyment of the "good life", are more important than making mortgage payments. The man who made the above statement took a second wife within two years of coming on the Scheme. He also spent a substantial amount of money to construct a three roomed house with an iron roof. It is his view that one should pay enough "lonsi" to avoid being sent a notice warning of eviction, but not the full amount that appears on the invoice. Although this man obtains a large income from his well managed 'A' plot, he chooses to remain somewhat in default for three reasons (1) If he were to pay the

full amount of every invoice he would not have sufficient cash to finish furnishing his new house. (2) If the Settlement Authorities decide to do away with the need to make mortgage payments, he does not want to look foolish by having paid more than anyone else. (3) If he had a perfect record of mortgage payments he might attract the attention of the Settlement Authorities, which is something he does not want. This man does not want the Settlement Authorities to "interfere" with his farming any more than they already do. He is satisfied with his agricultural production and does not want agricultural instructors coming on his plot and telling him that he should change his methods of farming.

Several plot-holders who consider it impossible to make all of their mortgage payments have built metal roofed houses and have married a second wife. To take a wife a man must give between 500/- and 600/- to the father of his bride. This is equal to more than half the mortgage payments for a year. After the initial payment he must give considerably more money over a period of years. A marriage between two people living on the Scheme has not yet taken place, but it is likely that, as the average age of the children growing up on the Scheme increases, there will be a large number

of intra-Scheme marriages. The plot-holders have come from all over Kipsigis country and therefore the great majority have no kinship links with each other which would prohibit marriage. The marriages within the Scheme will have the effect of stopping some of the flow of cash out of the Scheme which is now involved in bridewealth payments.

The regular and continual demand by the Settlement Authorities for money is not considered to be the behaviour of a "reasonable person". That the Authorities demand money from all, regardless of the vicissitudes that they may have experienced in the preceding six months, is considered to be arbitrary behaviour, and runs counter to the Kipsigis conception of the relationship between a debtor and a creditor.

Before recommending the eviction of a plot-holder, the S.O. is authorized to consult with the Executive Committee of the Society, and to take into consideration any mitigating factors. There is also provision to suspend mortgage payments in case of drought or other disasters. The Society has requested a suspension of mortgage payments but the good rainfall that has prevailed over Kericho District since the Scheme began has led the Settlement Authorities to

refuse a suspension of mortgage payments.

Payments are made either through authorized deductions made from the plot-holders' dairy income, or in cash to the S.O. The plot-holders have been told that they can pay any amount they wish, at any time. The S.O. is authorized to accept money and to issue receipts. The difficulty associated with this arrangement is that the S.O. is frequently not in his office, and when he is on leave it is not possible for the plot-holders to make mortgage payments in cash. If a man has cash with which he wishes to make a payment he must spend between fifteen minutes and two hours walking to the Settlement Office, and then he may have to wait for the S.O. to return, if indeed he has not left for the day. The inapplicability of the Kipsigis' conception of borrowing and lending to mortgage payments is one of the reasons the plot-holders find mortgage payments an unfair burden. The plot-holders find it difficult to understand why the "wealthy" Settlement Authorities make continual demands for money. For the statement of mortgage payments of all plot-holders as of October, 1967 see Appendix No.5.

The timing of the first invoice may have influenced the plot-holders attitudes towards mortgage

payments. The majority of plot-holders fell into default as soon as the first invoice was sent because they had no way of making the payment. This confirmed their view that it was not possible to make mortgage payments from the agricultural produce of the land.

Approximately twenty per cent of the plot-holders stated that they would prefer to make mortgage payments once, instead of twice a year. They stated that since they harvest maize once a year, it would be preferable if the loans came due once a year, at the end of the year. The invoices may come at a time when a man's cows are not giving any milk. To pay loans at a time when one's cows are dry is viewed as a very difficult thing to do.

EPILOGUE.

An attempt has been made to describe some of the basic elements which influence the functioning of the Scheme. It has been shown that the plot-holders are readily willing to experiment with an innovation if they believe that it will yield rewards, but will quickly abandon it if it becomes apparent that it does not yield the rewards that had been expected, or that it requires a large investment in time and/or money. The lack of support for artificial insemination and the Society has been shown to be based primarily on the utilitarian grounds that they do not effectively accomplish what they are supposed to do.

In the discussion concerned with breaches of normative behaviour it was shown that the most important consideration in the jurisprudence of those living on the Scheme is the desire to maintain peaceful relations within the community, and thus avoid the unpleasantness associated with living in close proximity with a person with whom one is on bad terms.

Land Settlement must be viewed as a series of innovations which are presented to the plot-holders as part of a whole. While it is a sociological axiom that in a situation of culture change people will pick and choose those items they wish to abandon, modify or accept, Land Settlement demands the simultaneous acceptance of several interlocking innovations. Mortgages, Settlement Officers, artificial insemination, hybrid seed, grade stock, the Co-operative Society and high production demands, are a series of interlocking innovations. If one of them fails to function properly, or is not accepted by the plot-holders, there is a reduction of the effectiveness of the other innovations. The interlocking nature of the innovations may be shown by taking artificial insemination as a starting point. The lack of complete acceptance of this innovation leads to a reduction in its effectiveness, which reduces milk production and loan repayment. The acceptance of grade cows leads to positive results in the same areas. Only in the area of dispute settlements have the plot-holders not been deliberately introduced to innovations by the Settlement Authorities.

The difficulties associated with Land Settlement are not those associated with a shift from a bare subsistence economy to a cash economy. Pilgrim¹ has shown that by 1960 many of the Kipsigis were already involved with the cash economy. The difficulty associated with Land Settlement among the Kipsigis is the need to shift from the concept that the cash economy represents an accessory, or subordinate sphere of activity, to one in which the cash economy becomes the sphere of greatest importance. The plot-holders are, to a great extent, involved in the cash economy. Five shops are located on the Scheme, and each has its own tailor. There are several market centres which are within walking distance of the Scheme. Many of the plot-holders send their children to school. (See Appendix Two). Every family spends money on sugar and tea, and many purchase meat. This behavior is a break from the traditional subsistence economy, and represents an appreciation that cash can buy consumer goods which make life more enjoyable, and education

1. Pilgrim, John. The Social And Economic Consequences of Land Enclosure in the Kipsigis Reserve.

which increases security. A minimum expenditure of Shs. 10/- per month is spent on food, with Shs. 20/- to Shs. 30/- being the average monthly expenditure. Despite the fact that the plot-holders are willingly involved, to a high degree, in the cash economy, this paper has shown that the maximization of cash incomes does not play a dominant role in their attitudes towards agricultural production.

Mortgage payments are viewed as a factor which interferes with the plot-holders' ability to enjoy the material benefits which can be derived from participation in the cash economy. Almost all the plot-holders consider the payments to be excessive. These payments appear excessive to the plot-holders because of their failure to make the necessary adjustments in order to obtain the maximum yield from the land.

No attempt has been made to evaluate Bandek Land Settlement in terms of whether it has been a success or failure. Success or failure may be judged in terms of whether its production goals have been met, whether or not political pressures have been eliminated, whether or not the Co-operative Society is functioning smoothly and whether or not the

cheme has helped to raise the level of agriculture in the surrounding areas. The ability of the plot-holders to settle disputes successfully and to create cohesive new communities may be viewed as another criterion. This paper does not speak of 'success' or 'failure' because to do so would involve a subjective judgement. However, a Land Settlement Scheme is basically a group of farms, and one would therefore be tempted to use production figures as an indicator of the success or failure of the Scheme. The volume of production should reflect the degree to which agricultural innovations have been accepted and to what degree the plot-holders have committed themselves to the cash economy. It would also be an indicator of their ability to make mortgage payments. It is however, an imperfect indicator because it is impossible to collect statistics on all crops produced on the Scheme. The volume of production does not indicate the various factors that have influenced the yield a man gets from his land, nor the degree to which the Scheme has become a stable social community able to solve disputes without social disruption. It is nevertheless necessary briefly to consider the volume of produce

as an indicator of the overall functioning of the Scheme.

Production on the Scheme is remarkably higher than in the neighbouring Reserves. The plot-holders are considered by their neighbours to be rich and fortunate because of the abundance of milk and maize they produce. However, contrasted with the potential productivity of the land, the yield is quite low. Since the Scheme has begun a good deal of land which was not cultivated by the Europeans has been planted with maize.

Since this thesis had dealt with the main problems and difficulties associated with the Scheme, it is necessary to say that most of the people on the Scheme are pleased to be living where they are. Although the plot-holders do feel plagued by a mass of regulations and troubled by mortgages, gloom and disillusionment are certainly not characteristic of the people living on the Scheme.

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From: Senior Settlement Officer/Kericho
Re: Evictions.

13th March, 1964

To: Senior Settlement Officer/Kericho
From: Veterinary Officer/Kericho
Re: Veterinary Staff.

14th July, 1965

To: Settlement Officer/Bandek
From: Investigations Officer/Nakuru
Re: Absentee Landlords.

15th August, 1965

To: Settlement Officer/Bandek
From: Investigations Officer/Nakuru
Re: Evictions

3rd January, 1966

To: Settlement Officer/Bandek
From: Livestock Officer/Kapkoeh
Re: Poor Animal Husbandry.

15th March, 1966

To: All Veterinary Assistants
From: Livestock Officer/Kapkoech
Re: Foot and Mouth Disease.

15th April, 1966

To: Inspector-in-Charge/Kapkoech Police
From: Veterinary Officer/Kericho
Re: Threat of Violence

29th June, 1966

To: Settlement Officer/Bandek
From: Director of Settlement
Re: Warning Notices

22nd July 1966

To: Settlement Officer/Bandek
From: Senior Settlement Officer/Kapkoech
Re: Veterinary Staff.

9th August 1966

To: Chairman Bandek Co-operative Society Ltd.
From: Area Settlement Controller/Nakuru
Re: Artificial Insemination

2nd September 1966

To: Co-operative Officer/Nakuru
From: Livestock Officer/Kapkoech
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To: Area Controller/Nakuru
From: Chairman, Bandek Co-operative Society Ltd.
Re: Difficulties Associated with Life on the Scheme.

20th May, 1967

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From: Settlement Officer/Bandek Complex
Re: Statistics on Cattle Dipping.

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17th July, 1967

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From: Area Settlement Controller/Nakuru
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FILES OF THE BANDEK SETTLEMENT OFFICE:

- File No. 1. Monthly Returns
" 2. Agriculture
" 3. Budgets
" 4. Circulars
" 5. Staff Meetings Minutes
" 6. Permanent Improvements
" 7. Veterinary
" 8. Co-operatives
" 9. Loan Repayments
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" 11. Evictions
" 12. Annual Report

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APPENDIX NUMBER ONE
DAIRY INCOME AND LOAN REPAYMENT DEDUCTIONS FOR
MARCH, 1967.*

SOURCE: BANDEX CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY RECORDS
(All amounts in shillings)

Plot No.	Total Income From Milk and Butter Fat	Loan Repayment Deduction	Balance
5.	47/65	20/-	27/65
8.	19/90	10/-	9/90
12.	-	-	3/45
13.	11/20	10/-	1/20
19.	21/10	10/-	11/10
20.	30/30	20/-	10/30
21.	49/65	30/-	19/65
22.	61/-	40/-	21/-
23.	49/05	-	49/05
24.	54/-	40/-	14/-
29.	27/80	10/-	17/80
30.	55/45	40/-	15/45
31.	114/65	100/-	14/65
35.	97/50	90/-	7/50
39.	18/30	10/-	8/30
40.	15/20	10/-	5/20
41.	18/30	10/-	8/30
49.	9/15	-	9/15
50.	12/05	10/-	2/05
51.	12/-	10/-	2/-
52.	61/75	40/-	21/75
54.	-	-	-
56.	65/30	40/-	25/30
57.	92/65	80/-	12/65
60.	49/-	-	49/-
62.	8/30	-	8/30
63.	-	-	-
64.	38/05	20/-	18/05
66.	22/40	10/-	12/40
67.	60/90	30/-	30/90

* March, 1967 was selected as "typical" month because March marks the beginning of the heavy rains during which milk production increases. Production figures for March, 1967, were the latest figures available at the time this thesis was written.

68.	34/90	30/-	4/90
70.	25/50	10/-	15/50
240.	3/05	-	3/05
3.	40/25	20/-	20/25
4.	3/30	-	3/30
110.	36/90	20/-	16/90
112.	22/40	10/-	12/40
113.	46/90	30/-	16/90
115.	35/80	20/-	15/80
124.	-	-	-
218.	21/55	10/-	11/55
225.	23/30	10/-	13/30
226.	9/95	-	9/95
227.	48/15	30/-	18/15
228.	36/35	20/-	16/35
236.	9/95	-	9/95
238.	16/60	10/-	6/60
241.	72/-	50/-	22/-
103.	1/65	-	1/65
105.	38/60	30/-	8/60
151.	30/25	20/-	10/25
152.	60/25	40/-	20/25
153.	17/65	10/-	7/65
154.	39/55	20/-	19/55
155.	57/15	40/-	17/15
156.	25/05	10/-	15/05
158.	14/75	10/-	4/75
159.	43/20	40/-	3/-
161.	49/80	30/-	19/80
167.	60/-	40/-	20/-
163.	35/50	10/-	25/50
166.	75/60	50/-	25/60
169.	36/-	20/-	16/-
268.	75/80	40/-	35/80
269.	28/20	-	28/20
270.	57/85	40/-	17/85
271.	44/80	20/-	24/80
272.	39/30	10/-	19/80
273.	31/-	10/-	21/-
274.	24/-	10/-	14/-
277.	24/05	10/-	14/05
279.	25/25	10/-	15/25
281.	9/95	-	9/95
283.	13/90	10/-	3/90
287.	40/65	20/-	20/65
299.	23/25	10/-	13/25
301.	18/60	10/-	8/60
343.	75/50	-	75/50
344.	8/85	-	8/85

395.	23/-	10/-	13/-
347.	22/75	-	22/75
348.	22/25	-	22/25
349.	-/80	-	-/80
350.	22/40	10/-	12/40
351.	20/55	10/-	10/55
352.	19/10	10/-	9/10
353.	19/10	10/-	9/10
356.	5/25	-	5/25
358.	11/90	10/-	1/90
363.	165/10	50/-	115/10
364.	36/50	-	36/50
368.	3.30	-	3/30
193.	9/15	-	9/15
197.	2.50	-	2.50
254.	22.25	10/-	15/25
258.	22.40	10/-	12/40
259.	42/60	20/-	22/60
260.	48/10	30/-	18/80
262.	22/55	10/-	12/55
263.	48/40	20/-	28/40
265.	24/40	10/-	14/40
266.	36/30	10/-	26/30
73.	3/30	-	3/30
88.	5/05	-	5/05
91.	7/10	-	7/10
93.	13/10	-	13/-
172.	7/90	-	7/90
173.	8/55	-	8/55
174.	15/75	10/-	5/75
177.	25/-	10/-	15/-
187.	3/30	-	3/30
188.	-	-	-
189.	16/40	10/-	6/40
190.	9/10	-	9/10
191.	11/60	10/-	1/60
192.	7/45	-	7/45
197.	2/50	-	2/50
199.	17/00	10/-	7/-
202.	25/15	10/-	15/15
203.	7/65	-	7/65
206.	20/50	10/-	10/50
208.	15/45	-	-
209.	1/65	-	1/65
171.	-	-	6/65

APPENDIX NUMBER TWO

PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT BY PLOT NUMBER, SCHOOL,
AND STANDARD FOR THE SCHOOL YEAR JANUARY TO DECEMBER
1967

Plot No.	School	Standard	No. of Children
1	-	-	-
2	Bandek	I	1
3	"	III	1
4	"	III, I	2, 1
5	-	-	-
6	-	-	-
7	-	-	-
8	Bandek	V	1
9	-	-	-
10	-	-	-
11	Bandek	I, III	2, 1
12	"	III, IV	2, 1
13	"	I	1
14	"	II, III	1, 1
15	-	-	-
16	-	-	-
17	Bandek	IV, V	1, 1
18	"	I, II	1, 1
19	"	IV	2
20	-	-	-
21	Bandek	III, IV, V	2, 1, 1
22	-	-	-
23	-	-	-
24	-	-	-
25	-	-	-
26	-	-	-
27	-	-	-
28	-	-	-
29	Bandek	IV	1
30	"	IV, VI	1, 1
31	"	V	1
32	-	-	-
33	Sigilai	I, VII	3, 1
34	Bandek	II	1
35	"	I	1
36	-	-	-

Plot No.	School	Standard	No. of Children
37	-	-	-
38	-	-	-
39	Bandek	II	1
40	"	IV	1
41	-	-	-
42	Sigilai	VI	1
43	Bandek	II,VI	2,2
44	-	-	-
45	-	-	-
46	Bandek	I,II	2,1
47	"	I,IV	1,1
48	"	II,IV	1,1
49	Sigilai	VI	1
	Bandek	II,V	1,1
50	"	III	1
51	Sigilai	VI	1
	Bandek	I,IV,V	1,1,1
52	"	I'	1
53	-	-	-
54	Kimutai	VII	1
55	Bandek	I,III,V	1,1,1
56	"	I	1
57	"	I'	1
58	-	-	-
59	-	-	-
60	Bandek	I'	1
61	-	-	-
62	Bandek	I,II,V,VI	2,2,1,1
	Kimutai	VII	1
63	Bandek	V	1
64	"	II	1
65	"	I	1
66	"	III	1
67	"	I'	1
68	-	-	-
69	Bandek	III,II	1,1
70	-	-	-
71	-	-	-
72	-	-	-
73	-	-	-
74	-	-	-
75	-	-	-
76	-	-	-
77	Bandek	I,V	1,1

Plot No.	School	Standard	No. of Children
78	-	-	-
79	Chemolel	II	1
80	"	II	1
81	"	"	"
82	"	"	"
83	"	"	"
84	"	"	"
85	"	"	"
86	"	"	"
87	"	"	"
88	"	"	"
89	"	"	"
90	"	"	"
91	"	"	"
92	-	-	-
93	Bandek	I,VI	1,1
94	"	III	1
95	"	"	"
96	"	"	"
97	-	-	-
98	Cheres	VI,VII	1,1
99	Bandek	III,IV	1,1
100	Sigilai	VI,VII	1,1
101	-	-	-
102	Bandek	VI	1
103	"	I	1
104	"	"	"
105	-	-	-
106	Bandek	III	1
107	"	"	"
108	-	-	-
109	Bandek	II	1
110	"	II	1
111	"	"	"
112	-	-	-
113	Bandek	II,III,IV	1,1,1
114	"	"	"
115	-	-	-
116	Cheres	I	1
117	-	-	-
118	Bandek	I	1
	Cheres	II,IV,VI,III	1,1,1,1
119	-	-	-
120,114	Chemolel	II	1

Plot No.	School	Standard	No. of Children
121	-	-	-
122	Bāndek	III, IV	1, 1
123	┆	┆	┆
124	-	-	-
125	Cheres	II	1
126	"	II	1
127	-	-	-
128	Cheres	II, IV	1, 1
129	"	II, VI, VII	1, 1, 1
130	┆	┆	┆
131	┆	┆	┆
132	-	-	-
133	Cheres	I, II	1, 1
134	┆	┆	┆
135	-	-	-
136	Cheres	I, II	1, 1
137	"	I, IV	1, 1
138	┆	┆	┆
139	┆	┆	┆
140	┆	┆	┆
141	┆	┆	┆
142	┆	┆	┆
143	-	-	-
144	Cheres	I, II, III	1, 1, 1
145	┆	┆	┆
146	-	-	-
147	Cheres	II	2
148	"	II, V	1, 1
149	"	II	2
150	-	-	-
151	Bāndek	III, IV	1, 1
152	-	-	-
153	Bāndek	III	1
154	"	III	1
155	"	I, II, IV	1, 2, 1
156	-	-	-
157	Bāndek	I	1
158	"	I	1
159	"	I, IV, V, VI	1, 1, 1, 1
160	-	-	-
161	Bāndek	I, IV	1, 1
162	┆	┆	┆
163	-	-	-

Plot No.	School	Standard	No. of Children
164	Bandek	II, III	1, 1
165	"	III	1
166	-	-	-
167	Bandek	V	1
168	-	-	-
169	Bandek	III	1
170	-	-	-
171	Bandek	II	1
172	△	△	△
173	△	△	△
174	-	-	-
175	Bandek	II	1
176	△	△	△
177	△	△	△
178	△	△	△
179	△	△	△
180	△	△	△
181	△	△	△
182	△	△	△
183	-	-	-
184	Bandek	II, IV, V	1, 1, 1
185	"	V	1
186	-	-	-
187	Bandek	III, VI	1, 1
188	△	△	△
189	△	△	△
190	△	△	△
191	△	△	△
192	-	-	-
193	Bandek	IV, V, VI	1, 1, 1
194	"	II	1
195	"	I	3
196	△	△	△
197	△	△	△
198	△	△	△
199	-	-	-
200	Sigilai	VI	1
	Chemolel	II	1
201	Bandek	I, IV	1, 1
202	-	-	-
203	Chemolel	II	2
204	△	△	△
205	△	△	△
206	△	△	△
207	-	-	-

Plot No.	School	Standard	No. of Children
208	Chemolelel	II	1
209	△	△	-
210	△	△	-
211	△	△	-
212	△	△	-
213	△	△	-
214	△	△	-
215	-	-	-
216	Chemolelel	III	1
217	-	-	-
218	Bandék	I,VI	1,1
219	△	△	-
220	-	-	-
221	Bandek	I	2
222	"	I,II	1,1
223	"	III	1
224	"	I,V	1
225	"	I	2
226	"	I,II	1,1
227	Bandek	II	1
	Tuita	III,IV,V	1,1,1
228	Bandék	VI	1
229	-	-	-
230	Bandék	VI	1
231	△	△	-
232	-	-	-
233	Bandék	I	1
234	-	-	-
235	"	V	1
236	"	I,III,V	1,1,1
237	△	△	-
238	-	-	-
239	Bandek	II,IV	2,1
240	"	II	1
241	"	I,II	1,1
242	△	△	-
243	△	△	-
244	-	-	-
245	Sakawaita	I,IV,VI	1,1,1
246-249	-	-	-
250	Bandék	I,II	1,1
251	△	△	-
252	-	-	-

Plot No.	School	Standard	No. of Children
253	Sakawaita	I	1
254	"	"	"
255	"	"	"
256	-	-	-
257	Sigilai	VI	1
258	"	"	"
259	"	"	"
260	"	"	"
261	"	"	"
262	"	"	"
263	"	"	"
264	"	"	"
265	"	"	"
266	"	"	"
267	"	"	"
268	"	"	"
269	-	-	-
270	Chemólel	III	1
271	"	"	"
272	"	"	"
273	"	"	"
274	"	"	"
275	"	"	"
276	"	"	"
277	"	"	"
278	"	"	"
279	-	-	-
280	Lelgina	I	1
281	"	"	"
282	"	"	"
283	"	"	"
284	"	"	"
285	"	"	"
286	"	"	"
287	-	-	-
288	Lelgina	II,I	1,1
289	"	I,II	1,1
290	"	II	1
291	"	"	"
292	-	-	-
293	Lelgina	I	1
294	Kapkoech	I,III,VI	1,2,1
295	Lelgina	I,II	1,1
296	-	-	-

Plot No.	School	Standard	No. of Children
297	-	-	-
298	-	-	-
299	-	-	-
300	Lelgina	III	1
301	-	-	-
302	-	-	-
303	-	-	-
304	-	-	-
305	Chemolel	II	1
306	Kapkoech	II, VII	2, 2
307	-	-	-
308	Kapkoech	I, II, II	1, 1, 1
309	"	I, II, III, IV	1, 1, 1, 1
310	-	-	-
311	-	-	-
312	-	-	-
313	Kapkoech	III, IV	1, 1
314	Lelgina	I	1
315	-	-	-
316	-	-	-
317	Lelgina	I	1
318	"	II	1
319	"	II	1
320	-	-	-
321	-	-	-
322	Lelgina	I	2
323	Kapkoech	III	2
324	"	V	1
325-357	-	-	-
358	Sigilai	I	1
360-368	-	-	-

Bandek	total	150
Sigilai	"	12
Kimutai	"	3
Cheres	"	29
Chemolel	"	8
Tuita	"	3
Sakawaita	"	4
Lelgina	"	18
Kapkoech	"	18

TOTAL 245

School Fees for all Schools

- Standard I and IShs. 62/-
- Standard II to IVShs. 77/-
- Standard V to VIIShs. 87/-

No.	Type	Fee	Date	Description
1	1	12.00	Friday 21/7	For one session in morning
2	2	1.00	Friday 21/7	For one session in evening
3	3	2.00	Friday 21/7	For one session in afternoon
4	4	2.00	Friday 21/7	For one session in evening
5	5	10.00	Monday 24/7	For one session in morning
6	6	12.00	Monday 24/7	For one session in afternoon
7	7	12.00	Monday 24/7	For one session in evening
8	8	1.00	Monday 24/7	For one session in morning

APPENDIX NUMBER THREE

PLOT-HOLDER CENSUS OF FIFTY ONE PLOTS

NOTE: This census is based on a random sample of 'A', 'B' and 'C' plots. The sample includes approximately sixteen per cent of the total number of 'A', 'B' and 'C' plot on the Scheme. With one exception, 'Z' plot-holders are not resident on the Scheme from Monday to Friday

Plot No.	Type	Time	Day Date	Comment
2	A	12.50	Friday 21/7	Not home working in Kericho
1	C	1.00	Friday 21/7	Not home went to market, will return in 2 hours
5	A	2.45	Friday 21/7	Not home, children don't know where he went
6	B	2.50	Friday 21/7	Not home children don't know where he went ; wife went for water
10	A	12.00	Monday 24/7	Husband away repairing dip wife present
218	A	12.10	Monday 24/7	Gone to Siwot for working; wife present
217	A	12.30	Monday 24/7	Went to Cheres for tractor
14	A	1.00	Monday 24/7	Went to build an A.I. crush; wife present will be back today.

Plot No.	Type	Time	Day Date	Comment
7	B	2.55	Monday 24/7	PRESENT
8	A	3.00	Monday 24/7	Door locked no one at home
13	A	11.00	Thurs. 13/7	Not home wife does not know where he went or when he will be back
12	A	11.10	Thurs. 13/7	No one at home
11	A	11.20	Thurs. 13/7	Went to Settlement Office to pay loan
186	O	12.45	Monday 12/7	PRESENT
187	O	1.30	Monday 12/7	Owner is a policeman: away all of the time
267	O	11.30	Wed. 26/7	Went for building material for his store
345	O	11.40	Wed. 26/7	This plot is not occupied by the legal plot-holder but by the son who was present
92	O	12.45	Wed. 12/7	Absent for the day
184	O	12.20	Wed. 12/7	Wife in hospital with all children husband in Cheres herdsmen only present
200	O	12.27	Wed. 12/7	No one at home

Plot No.	Type	Time	Day Date	Comment
235	A	11.50	Thurs.13/7	Husband at Tegeta comes home on weekends
237	A	12.00	Thurs.13/7	Went today, wife does not know where he went
239	A	2.30	Thurs.13/7	Away at the dip two workmen present and wife
259	A	2.45	Thurs.13/7	Escorting visitor will return today
261	O	3.00	Thurs. 13/7	PRESENT
233	A	2.30	Monday 24/7	Present for this week works for Kenya Tea Kericho
22	A	3.10	Monday 24/7	PRESENT
87	C	12.35	Friday 14/7	Husband for some hours looking for Livestock Officer
240	B	12.45	Friday 14/7	House locked no one around
260	A	12.55	Friday 14/7	Nobody, house locked
263	O	1.20	Friday 14/7	PRESENT
262	O	1.50	Friday 14/7	Just left for the day

Plot No.	Type	Time	Day Date	Comment
159	B	2.20	Friday 14/7	Plot has been sold to a "Z" plot-holder only workman present
353	A	1.00	Wed. 26/7	PRESENT
255	A	2.20	Wed. 26/7	Went visiting a friend in Kericho not expected back today
257	A	3.30	Wed. 26/7	Wife would not say where he went; wife present
133	A	2.40	Monday 17/7	Went to visit sub-chief, expected back; wife present
135	A	3.00	Monday 17/7	Teacher in Cheres comes home every night; wife present
136	A	3.30	Monday 17/7	Not at home
110	A	1.45	Monday 17/7	Went to Cheres to buy meat, will be back today
113	B	1.50	Monday 17/7	Driver for Co-operative lorry; will be back today; wife present
115	A	1.55	Monday 17/7	No one present
122	A	2.05	Monday 17/7	PRESENT

Plot No.	Type	Time	Day Date	Comment
130	A	3.05	Monday 17/7	PRESENT
231	B	11.20	Monday 17/7	PRESENT
224	A	11.45	Monday 17/7	Works for M.O.W. was a driver in Londiani does not come home on the weekend, just workmen present
232	A	12.08	Monday 17/7	No one at home
9	A	11.35	Monday 17/7	PRESENT
204	O	11.20	Wed. 12/7	Absent, works in Kericho
205	O	11.45	Wed. 12/7	Not home

Description	Shs.
(Store Co-operative supplies, etc.)	420/00
Engine and pump house	150/00
Piping and Storage	780/00
Spray race (spare in case of dip being in disrepair)	1,000/00
Dairy	1,000/00
Pump and Engine	160/00
Dip (a group of farmers requested it be opened soon)	700/00
Piping	800/00
Pump and Engine	140/00
Storage	240/00
Troughs	160/00
Water Development	1,010/00
Store (maize and Co-operative supplies)	940/00
Engine and pump	800/00
TOTAL	<hr/> 38,244/75 <hr/>

APPENDIX NO. FOUR

VALUE OF PERMANENT IMPROVEMENTS WHICH ARE
BEING UTILIZED

Description	Shs.
Dairy	1,220/00
Dip	700/00
Trough and Tanks	1,340/00
Store (Maize, etc.)	1,000/00
Water Development (pipes)	720/00
Dip	540/00
Turbin mill (pump, etc.)	6,000/00
Water Development	1,836/00
Store	800/00
Dairy	800/00
Dip	1,060/00
Dairy (old store)	240/00
Water Tanks	760/00
Dip, Crush, and Tank	700/00
Dairy (new)	480/00
Dip (new)	9,148/75
House to be used for Co-operative office in the near future	2,600/00

.....contd/

APPENDIX NUMBER FIVE

STATEMENT OF LOAN REPAYMENTS BY PLOT
AS OF 4th OCTOBER, 1967

Source: **Bandek** Settlement Office Record

Plot No.	Payment August	Balance (in Shs.)
1	Shs.200/-	Shs.1209/-
2	-	Shs.1764/-
3	-	Shs. 244/-
4	-	Shs. 789/-
5	-	Shs.1978/-
6	-	Shs.1735/-
7	-	Shs.1824/-
8	-	Shs.1678/-
9	-	Shs. 692/-
10	-	Shs.2610/-
11	-	Shs.1640/-
12	Shs.200/-	Shs.1492/-
13	Shs.260/-	Shs. 924/-
14-17	-	Shs.8355/-
18	-	Shs. 786/-
19	-	Shs. 885/-
20	-	Sbs.920/-
21	-	Shs.1580/-
22	-	Shs.1785/-
23	-	Shs. 416/-
24	-	Shs.1715/-
25-27	-	-
28	-	Shs. 901/-
29	-	Shs.1866/-
30	-	Shs. 196/-
31	-	Shs.1030/-
32	-	Shs.1556/-
33	-	Shs.2284/-
34	-	Shs. 678/-
35	-	Shs. 563/-
36-38	-	Shs.7708/-
39	-	Shs.1325/-
40	-	Shs.1702/-
41	-	Shs.1042/-
42	-	Shs.1303/-

Plot No.	Payment August	Balance (in Shs.)
43	-	1,794/-
44	-	661/-
45	-	1,189/-
46	-	865/-
47	-	803/-
48	-	1,402/-
49	406/-	10/-
50	-	1,415/-
51	-	967/-
52	-	821/-
53	-	563/-
54	-	416/-
55	-	-
56	-	346/-
57-59	-	376/-
60	-	-
61-62	-	-
63	-	1,703/-
64	-	902/-
65	-	1,118/-
66	-	902/-
67	-	570/-
68	-	1,737/-
69	83/-	1,000/-
70	-	1,069/-
71	-	1,115/-
72	-	1,601/-
73	-	1,733/-
74	-	1,159/-
75-78	-	-
79	270/-	264/-
80	-	444/-
81	-	778/-
82	-	1,866/-
83	-	1,576/-
84	-	1,542/-
85	45/-	1,701/-
86	-	-
87	400/-	739/-
88	-	970/-
89	-	1,310/-
90	-	1,928/-

Plot No.	Payment August	Balance (in Shs.)
91	₹	1,833/-
92	-	144/-
93-94	1,291/-	-
95	₹	545/-
96	₹	1,461/-
97	₹	1,272/-
98	₹	1,514/-
99	₹50/-	617/-
100	₹	1,894/-
101	-	449/-
102	₹50/-	1,621/-
103	₹	828/-
104	₹	2,083/-
105	₹	1,433/-
106	₹	458/-
107	₹	826/-
108	₹	1,268/-
109	-	1,186/-
110	110/-	816/-
111	-	1,360/-
112	50/-	1,153/-
113	-	724/-
114	200/-	1,074/-
115	₹	774/-
116	₹	1,428/-
117	₹	968/-
118	₹	1,005/-
119	-	1,410/-
120	30/-	764/-
121	200/-	1,920/-
122	₹	1,349/-
123	₹	2,172/-
124	₹	399/-
125	-	875/-
126	100/-	1,616/-
127	₹	2,297/-
128	₹	656/-
129	₹	2,241/-
130	₹	964/-
131	₹	2,177/-
132	₹	2,275/-
133	₹	1,029/-
134	-	841/-

Plot No.	Payment August	Balance (in Shs.)
135	₹	701/₹
136	₹	393/₹
137	₹	2,069/₹
138	₹	707/₹
139	₹	727/₹
140	₹	1,129/₹
141	₹	2,342/₹
142	₹	2,027/₹
143	200/-	648/₹
144	₹	1,103/₹
145	₹	2,073/₹
146	₹	2,333/₹
147	₹	960/₹
148	₹	1,169/₹
149	111/₹	1,865/₹
150	100/-	2,095/₹
151	₹	1,093/₹
152	320/-	62/₹
153	₹	1,450/₹
154	₹	1,684/₹
155	₹	1,047/₹
156	₹	1,266/₹
157	₹	1,281/₹
158	100/-	1,761/₹
159	₹	376/₹
160	₹	1,708/₹
161	₹	946/₹
162	220/-	383/₹
163	₹	1,116/₹
164	250/₹	1,500/₹
165	335/-	1,400/₹
166	₹	596/₹
167	₹	1,281/₹
168	₹	2,262/₹
169	500/₹	773/₹
170	300/-	276/₹
171	₹	1,497/₹
172	₹	1,592/₹
173	₹	1,321/₹
174	₹	1,348/₹
175	₹	1,699/-

Plot No.	Payment August	Balance (in Shs.)
176	105/-	660/-
177	386/-	48/-
178	—	1,566/-
179	—	1,581/-
180	—	510/-
181	—	1,117/-
182	—	2,098/-
183	—	1,673/-
184	—	1,618/-
185	—	1,493/-
186	—	—
187	—	1,551/-
188	435/-	1,246/-
189	—	804/-
190	—	1,746/-
191	—	2,123/-
192	—	431/-
193	40/-	1,587/-
194	415/-	—
195	10/-	1,886/-
196	200/-	237/-
197	—	1,956/-
198	—	1,256/-
199	—	528/-
200	—	987/-
201	—	1,196/-
202	70/-	1,102/-
203	—	1,825/-
204	100/-	492/-
205	—	1,466/-
206	—	528/-
207	—	1,697/-
208	—	416/-
209	—	1,208/-
210	—	2,236/-
211	800/-	326/-
212	800/-	495/-
213	—	1,470/-
214	500/-	427/-
215	—	437/-
216	—	1,266/-
217	—	1,445/-
218	400/-	305/-

Plot No.	Payment August	Balance (in Shs.)
219	-	1,367/-
220	-	635/-
221	300/-	507/-
222	20/-	2,028/-
223	200/-	1,546/-
224	-	789/-
225	-	1,523/-
226	-	1,160/-
227	-	5,720/-
228	-	1,604/-
229	-	1,137/-
230	-	1,257/-
231	-	1,724/-
232	-	999/-
233	-	1,187/-
234	-	956/-
235	-	932/-
236	-	553/-
237	-	1,620/-
238	-	569/-
239	-	1,646/-
240	120/-	1,413/-
241	7	2,521/7
242)	-	5,720/-
243) = 227	-	416/-
244)	-	437
246	-	-
247-248	-	-
249	-	743/50
250	680/-	718/50
251	-	-
252	-	-
253	-	-
254	-	979/-
255	-	298/-
256	-	1,810/-
257	200/-	742/-
258	500/-	1,075/-
259	-	1,641/-
260	-	785/-
261	-	-
262	262/-	1,152/-
263	-	1,130/-

Plot No.	Payment August	Balance (in Shs.)
264	₹	1,077/-
265	₹	1,590/-
266	₹	826/-
267	₹	1,805/-
268	₹	1,059/-
269	₹	1,121/-
270	₹	-
271	₹	1,206/-
272	₹	1,043/-
273	₹	-
274	₹	1,062/-
275	₹	1,086/-
276	₹	1,709/-
277	₹	1,315/-
278	₹	937/-
279	₹	1,064/-
280	₹	1,308/-
281	₹	1,447/-
282	₹	1,745/-
283	₹	1,100/-
284	₹	1,673/-
285	₹	1,600/-
286	₹	1,597/-
287	₹	1,241/-
288	₹	1,911/-
289	₹	1,455/-
290	₹	1,620/-
291	₹	1,713/-
292	₹	783/-
293	₹	1,346/-
294	₹	376/-
295	₹	1,751/-
296	₹	942/-
297	₹	1,259/-
298	₹	988/-
299	₹	1,492/-
300	₹	923/-
301	₹	1,483/-
302-304	₹	2,410/-
303	₹	1,552/-
306	₹	1,912/-
307	₹	615/-

Plot No.	Payment August	Balance (in Shs.)
308	210/-	1,194/-
309	-	1,117/-
310	-	1,094/-
311	-	1,852/-
312	-	1,268/-
313	-	-
314	-	1,534/-
315	-	1,652/-
316	-	940/-
317	200/-	1,509/-
318	-	1,737/-
319	400/-	700/-
320	-	454/-
321	-	462/-
322	-	-
323	80/-	548/-
324	340/-	267/-
325	-	1,096/-
326	-	1,307/-
327	-	557/-
328	1000/-	972/-
329-330	-	-
331	300/-	27/-
332	-	1,084/-
333	-	416/-
334	-	-
335	-	322/-
336	-	407/-
337	450/-	1,318/-
338	400/-	390/-
339	400/-	32/-
340	300/-	329/-
341	50/-	443/-
342	-	1,298/-
343	-	610/-
344	-	1,273/-
345	-	1,871/-
346	-	626/-
347	285/-	964/-
348	25/-	1,379/-
349	100/-	745/-
350	-	396/-

Plot No.	Payment August	Balance (in Shs.)
351	-	943/-
352	250/-	114/-
353	-	1,781/-
354	-	1,167/-
355	-	842/-
356	65/-	1,058/-
357	-	1,630/-
358	315/-	310/-
359	-	1,782/-
360	-	1,232/-
361-363	-	6,796/-
364-366	1000/-	993/-
367	-	1,080/-
368	-	1,119/-

APPENDIX NUMBER SIX

QUESTIONNAIRE/SCHEDULE

NOTE:

Not all questions were asked of all respondents. Those questions marked with an asterisk are those which formed the basic part of the questionnaire.

INITIAL SOURCES OF INFORMATION CONCERNING LAND SETTLEMENT

- *1. When did you first hear about Land Settlement?
- *2. Who told you about it?
3. If gossip, from what people and where?
- *4. If from politicians or the chief what did they say?
 - (a) Under what circumstances did they speak?
 - (b) Did the chief say the land was good?
 - (c) Did he say where it would be?
 - (d) Did he say to whom the land would be given, i.e. the landless?
 - (e) If for the landless why; are there landed people on the Scheme?
 - (f) Did he say how much the land would cost?
 - (g) Did he mention anything about loans?
 - (h) Did he mention anything about no native stock?
 - (i) Did he encourage people to try to get a plot?
 - (j) Did he make baraza about Land Settlement? If he did who else was at the baraza?
 - (k) What else did the chief say?
 - (l) Did he tell you you would have to work hard?
5. If from the sub-chief, what did he say?
6. Did the people expect to get the land for free? If so why?
7. Did you discuss the idea of moving on the Scheme with your
 - (a) Father?
 - (b) Mother?
 - (c) Brothers?
 - (d) Sisters?
 - (e) Wives?

- (f) What did they say?
- (g) Why did they feel this way?

- *8. Did you take any of them to see the land before you made the downpayment?
- 9. Did any of your brothers get land in the Settlement?
- 10. Is this land in your mother's name, if so is she or you are in charge of the plot.

INITIAL PROCEDURES INVOLVED IN OBTAINING A PLOT

- *1. How did you go about getting yourself listed as one of those to be interviewed for a plot?
- 2. Do you remember who was on the Committee that interviewed you?
- 3. Are any of those people on the Scheme now?
- *4. What questions were you asked?
- 5. How much were you told the downpayment was?
- 6. Were you told about loans or any of the rules of the Scheme?

CONCEPTION OF THE PURPOSES OF LAND SETTLEMENT

- *1. Why did the Government set up Bandek Scheme?
- 2. Why did they divide it into small plots?
- 3. Why did the Europeans move off of the land?
- 4. Why doesn't the Government give the land for free?
- 5. Why was the Government concerned to give land to the landless people?
- 6. Was it a good idea for the Government to set up Land Settlement?
- *7. Was the Government fair in the way it set up the Scheme?

AGRICULTURAL WORK HISTORY

- *1. Did you ever work on a European farm?
- 2. Did you ever do agricultural work on a European farm? What sort of work?
- 3. Did the farmer ever teach you anything, or did you learn anything from him?
- 4. Was he a good man or not? Was he a good farmer?
- 5. Did he help you to get this plot?

THE FIRST DAY ON THE SCHEME

- *1. On the day you came to register, was there a baraza to explain the documents you had to sign?
2. If there was who gave it and what did he say?
3. Did you know everything that was said at the baraza or did you learn some things?
4. Was there someone to explain each document to you before you signed each one?
5. Did you (or anybody) sign the documents without knowing what they said? If yes, why did you do this?

EARLY SCHEME HISTORY

1. Did you have trouble finding your plot, on the day you signed up?
2. Did anyone direct you to the plot on the day of Registration?
3. Had you gone to see the plot before you registered?
4. What was the first thing that you saw when you saw the plot?
5. What was the first thing you did, when you got on your plot and how long did it take?
6. Where did you sleep before you built your house?
7. Were you happy during this time?
8. When did you move your family onto the Scheme?
9. Did you find maize growing on your plot?
10. Was your plot mostly bush?
11. After you did the first thing, what other things did you do, and how long did they take?
12. When did you get your cows (how soon after you moved on the Scheme)?
13. When did you get your first income from maize?
14. (a) When did the first call for loan repayment come?
(b) Were you surprised to get it at that time?
(c) Did you have enough to pay it?
15. (a) Would it have been better to wait a longer time before asking you to pay it?
(b) How long should they have waited?

CONCEPTIONS OF EUROPEAN FARMING

- *1. Do you think the Europeans were able to produce a lot of crops on this land? If yes, why? If because they had loans how did the loans help them?

- *2. Did they have more capital? How did this help them?
3. Did the Government give them more assistance?
4. From where did they get the money for their equipment?
5. Did they work hard?
6. Do you think you will be able to do as well as the Europeans who were here before?
7. If not, what things will hold you back?
8. If you had more money would you be able to do as well?
9. If you had more land would you be able to do as well?
10. Do you think the Government should give you more loans, if they did what would you use them for?
11. Should the Government have made the plots larger?
12. Are there any people going to do as well as the Europeans who were here before, who are they?

GRADE COWS AND VETERINARY SERVICES

- *1. Before you came on the Scheme did you know that there would be no Kipsigis cattle?
- *2. When did you learn it?
- *3. Did you know that there would be no sheep or goats?
- *4. When did you learn that?
- *5. Would you like to keep some local stock on the Scheme: Why?
- *6. Do you think it is a good idea to prohibit the bringing on of local stock?
7. Some people bring on local stock even though it is against the rules, why do you think they do this?
- *8. If you had the chance would you like to bring some grade sheep onto the Scheme?
- *9. Why do you think the Government only allows you to keep grade cows on the Scheme?
- *10. How much milk do you get from each of your cows?
11. Have you ever had one of your grade cows die? What did it die of?
12. Do you think the V/Ss are doing enough to keep the cows on the Scheme healthy?
13. What improvements would you like to see made in Veterinary care?
14. Is it good for the V/Ss to come and castrate young bulls?
15. Are the V/Ss good men: do they sometimes cause trouble?

THE PROBLEM OF ARTIFICIAL INSEMINATION

- *1. When did you first hear about Artificial Insemination (A.I.)?
 - *2. From whom did you hear about it, and what did he say?
 3. When you first heard about A.I. did you think it was a good idea?
 - *3. When did you learn that there would be no bulls allowed on the Scheme?
 5. What did you think when you heard that?
 - *6. Would you like to have your own bull, or would you like the Co-operative to keep a prize bull on the Scheme for everyone to use?
 - *7. Have you ever used A.I.?
 - (a) Do you still use it?
 - *8. How many times have you used it, and how many times has it been successful?
 - *9. Do you think it has been successful often enough?
 - *10. Some people say that they do not use A.I. because:
 - (a) It is too expensive
 - (b) That it does not work
 - (c) That it is immoral to use A.I.
 - (d) That it can make the cow sick
 - (e) That the inseminator is not to be trusted
 - (f) That the sperms are dead when they get to the cow
- Do you agree with them?
- *11. Has anyone on the Scheme ever had a baraza (meeting) about A.I. What was said at the baraza. What did you think when you heard this?
 - *12. Has the V/S ever come to talk to you personally about A.I.?
 - *13. Why does the Government want you to use A.I.?
 - *14. (a) Did the Europeans on this land use A.I.?
 - (b) Why do you think this?
 - *15. (a) How much does a single A.I. service cost?
 - (b) Is this a fair price?
 - *16. Which people benefit the most from A.I.?

ATTITUDE TOWARD OTHER INNOVATIONS

- *1. When you first moved on the Scheme did you find Passion Fruit on your plot?
- *2. Did anyone ever come to give you advice on how to grow it?

3. When it started to die, did you go to the A/I (Agricultural Instructor) for advice on what to do?
4. If someone were to help you with it, would you like to try it again?
5. Do you think you could make much money from growing Passion Fruit?
6. Would you like to try to grow tea on your plot?
- *7. Do you use fertilizers? Do you use hybrid seed? Why?
8. When you are sick do you go to the clinic, or do you go for help to an old man or woman who knows medicine?
9. Was your last baby born in the hospital or at home?
10. Do you own a radio or a photograph?
11. Have you divided your plot into paddocks, for what reason?
- *12. Do you like to try to attend the short courses at Kabianga, and to go to barazas?

LOANS AND LOAN REPAYMENT

- *1. Before you came on the Scheme did you ever buy anything on hire purchase?
2. If yes, what was it? Were you able to pay without trouble?
3. Why did you buy it on hire purchase instead of paying cash for it?
4. Do you know how much extra you paid for the item by buying it on hire purchase instead of paying cash?
- *5. Have you ever borrowed money from a bank?
6. (a) If yes, what for what purpose?
(b) How much money?
7. What did you have to do to get the money?
8. Were you able to pay the money without too much trouble?
9. Do you remember what the interest rate was?
- *10. Do people ever come to borrow money from you?
- *11. If yes, which people, how much do they borrow?
- *12. (a) If a man failed to pay back his loan, what would you do?
(b) Would you remain friendly to him?
- *13. (a) Do you ever borrow money from people on the Scheme?
(b) Which people, and how much?

35. If he was lazy and a drunkard?
- *36. (a) Do you know the names of any of the people who are completely paid up?
(b) Why do you think they were able to pay their loans?
(c) Do you know any people who are making much money from their plots?
(d) Why are they able to make a lot of money?
37. From where did you get the money to make the payment on the plot?
- *38. If someone were to give you:
(a) A loan
(b) A gift of Shs. 500/- what would you do with the money?
- *39. Which is the most important way to spend your money?
(a) To pay school fees
(b) To help your kin or
(c) To pay your loan?
(d) Why?

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND DISPUTE SETTLEMENT

- * 1. (a) Did you know anybody living on the Scheme before you yourself moved on?
(b) If yes, how did you know that person?
(c) Is he related to you?
- * 2. Did you move onto the Scheme with any of your friends or kin? Who are they?
- * 3. Are there any people from your:
(a) Former kokwet on the Scheme
(b) Who were circumcized the same year you were
(c) With whom you shared the circumcision hut
(d) With whom you went to school
(e) With whom you worked
(f) To whom you are related by marriage?
How often do you see these people? Once a day, once a week, once a month, or less often than that?
- * 4. Which people do you see everyday?
- * 5. Are there any people on the Scheme with whom you have had a dispute?
- * 6. What was the nature of dispute?
- * 7. Did it involve any other people, if yes, who were they?
- * 8. Did the dispute reach the point that the villagers had to be called to discuss the case?

- *14. For how long does a person keep the money when he borrows from you; for how long do you keep money when you borrow?
15. For what purpose do you make loans?
- *16. If you were still on the Reserves, and a man who had lost all his cows came to you and asked you to give him one of yours, would you give him one?
17. If you did give him one would you expect him to pay money for it?
- *18. Would you expect the cow or the calves back?
- *19. If a man lost all his cows on the Scheme, would you give him one of your cows or calves?
- *20. (a) When did you first learn that you would have to pay for the plot for many years?
(b) Were you surprised to learn this?
- *21. What did you think when you learned this?
- *22. (a) For how many years will you have to pay for the plot?
(b) Do you think this is a reasonable length of time to pay?
(c) Should you be given more time?
- *23. How much money do you have to pay each year; is this a reasonable amount of money?
- *24. If not how much would be reasonable?
- *25. Will the amount that you have to pay ever be less than what you are paying now?
26. Why is the bill sometimes different from time to time?
27. Do you know the total size of the loan that was made to you; do you know how much money you will have to pay back?
- *28. How much does the Government expect you to earn each year?
- *29. As you may know very few plot-holders are fully paid up. Why do you think that is so?
- *30. What do you think the Government will do about those who have not paid their loans?
31. (a) Have you heard of anyone being taken to court?
(b) If yes, what were they told?
- *32. (a) What would you do if you were the Settlement Officer?
(b) If you were the District Officer?
33. What would you say if a man did not pay because he had six children in school?
34. If he had big medical expenses?

- *9. If yes, who was the chairman of the meeting, and why was he chosen as the chairman?
- *10. What was the procedure followed at the hearing and what was the decision?
- *11. Why was the case taken first to the villagers instead of being brought immediately to the Kapkoesch Police, or to African Court?
- *12. If a similar dispute with the same man arises again, what do you think will happen?
13. Do you know the name of the oldest man in the Scheme?
14. Have there been any marriages on the Scheme?
15. What ceremonies have been held on the Scheme?
16. Will you have your son or daughter circumcized on the Scheme, or will you send him or her back to the Reserves?
- *17. (a) If you needed some extra milk, to whom would you go?
(b) Why would you go to him, would you expect to have to pay for the milk?
- *18. If you needed some extra oxen for ploughing to whom would you go to? Why?
19. If you needed some extra money, to whom would you go?
20. If you were having problems getting along with your wife, to whom would you go to for advice?
21. If you need some advice on how to organize a ceremony, to whom would you go to for advice?
- *22. Who are the important people on the Scheme?
23. Who are the best farmers on the Scheme? How did they become the best farmers?
24. Do you know the name of the men whose plots are next to you?
25. Did you know which people would be your neighbours before you came on the Scheme?
26. Did it worry you that you might be among all strangers when you came on the Scheme?
- *27. When you go to a beer party with whom do you usually go?
- *28. If someone were stealing things from your home, what would you do about it?
29. (a) What help would you expect your villagers to give you?
(b) What help would you expect from the sub-chief?
- *30. If someone's cows were grazing on your maize, what would you do about it?

- *31. If you went to the villagers what would they do?
32. If they warned the offender, and his cow continued to graze on your maize what action would be taken?
33. Is it more important to have peace on the Scheme or to protect your rights?
- *34. Are you a member of a Kipagenge (communal work group)?
- *35. What does it do, and how often does it meet?
36. How does one become a member of the Kipagenge?
37. What does it do with the money that it gets? Does it ever make loans?
38. If it makes loans does it make them only to members, or may others also borrow money?
39. What would happen if a person did not pay back the money which he borrowed?
40. Does the Kipagenge have officers? Who are they?
41. Does the Kipagenge ever fine anyone, or has it ever told someone to leave the group?
- *42. Why did people elect Arap Bett the sub-chief?
- *43. Why did people elect Arap Kimeto the Chairman of the Co-operative?
44. Why did people get rid of Arap Kilel as Chairman of the Co-operative?
45. Did you support Arap Bett and Arap Kimeto for their respective offices? Why?

THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY

- *1. How much commission does the Co-operative Society charge on milk?
- *2. (a) Do you think this is a fair amount to charge?
(b) What do they do with the money they earn?
- *3. Why do so many people sell their milk off the Scheme?
- *4. (a) Do you think that the Society is doing a good job?
(b) What improvement would you like to see made?
- *5. When did you first hear there would be a Co-operative Society?

SCHEME VERSUS RESERVE AND ATTITUDE TO THE FUTURE

- *1. Did you have land on the Reserve before you came onto the Scheme? If yes, do you still have it?

- *2. Does your father have land? If yes, do you expect to inherit it?
3. Do you now have land in the Reserves? If yes, how did you get it?
4. Do you ever hope to have land in the Reserves, if so for what purpose?
5. Do you ever plan to sell and buy land in the Reserves?
- *6. If you could have some good land in the Reserves, would you rather have that or would you prefer to stay on the Scheme?
- *7. If you would rather be here, what are the advantages? What besides loans would make you want to go to the Reserves?
- *8. Do you live in the Reserves or in the Scheme or elsewhere?
- *9. Do you live part of the time somewhere else in order to work?
10. If you work somewhere else, do you come home on the weekends or not?
11. Where do your wives live?
- *12. Have you been married since you moved on the Scheme?
- *13. Do you hope to marry again in the future?
14. If you do not live on the Scheme now, do you ever plan to move on?
- *15. If the loans become too great for you do you ever plan to sell the plot and buy some in the Reserves?
16. If not, why not?
17. Do you think that some day the Government will force you to leave the land?
18. If they do what will you do?
19. Are you glad you have land on the Scheme instead of the Reserves?

*BUDGET

*Income:

1. Maize-acres planted-bags sold
2. Dairy income for month
3. Income from potatoes
4. Income from greens
5. Salary from outside
6. Waragi and pombe
7. Shops
8. Help from kin

Expenses:

1. Maize seed
2. Fertilizers
3. Potato seed
4. Greens seed
5. Labourers
6. Entertainment (drink)
7. Transportation
8. Food for cows

*Income

9. Outstanding debt
10. Reserve property
11. Ritual practitioner
12. Sale of craft items
13. Income from Land Societies
14. Other Land Settlements plots
15. Other

*Expenses:

9. Veterinary (including A.I.)
10. Equipment purchase and maintenance
11. Food for the family
12. Medicine for the family
13. Money for kin
14. Payment if remaining bridewealth
15. Clothing
16. Tax
17. Household equipment
18. School fees
19. Bad debt
20. Savings
21. Loan Repayment
22. Insurance
23. Ceremonies
24. Other Land Settlement plots
25. Other

*RESPONDANTS BACKGROUND

1. Age and year of circumcision
2. Place of birth Location No.
3. Residence immediately before moving on the Scheme
4. Education
5. Previous employment skills obtained, salary when terminated. Where working
6. Present employment and salary
7. Number of wives and number of children age of children
8. Children in school
9. Offices held in Scheme
10. People living on the plot

HOUSE TYPE

House Type

1. Metal versus thatch roof
2. Cement versus mud floor
3. Square versus round shape

4. Multi-roomed versus Single roomed
5. Flower garden
6. Wall decorations
7. Separate kitchen

". . . . He gave it for his opinion, that whoever could make two ears of corn or two blades of grass grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, would deserve better of mankind, and do more essential service to his country than the whole race of politicians put together."

Jonathan Swift 1667-1745
Gulliver's Travels, 'Voyage
to Brobdingnag' 6