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CHAPTER 19

Maasai Rejection of the Western Paradigm of Development: A Foucaultian Analysis

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In an insightful study of Maasai employment at the Magadi Soda Company, a soda extraction factory established in 1911 near Lake Magadi in a Maasai area, T.A. Musungu notes that even up to 1962, only one per cent of the employees were Maasai. Other ethnic groups were imported from Western Kenya to fill the labor needs of the factory. For decades the Maasai preferred to continue their herding lifestyle, in which they considered themselves to be rich, rather than to engage in factory labor.[1]

A more recent example comes from Killian Holland, who published his detailed study of the education and employment trends of two Maasai groups, Purko and Loita, in 1996. He noted that since the Kenyan government took much of the Maasai grazing lands for the creation of National Parks such as Maasai Mara, there is a popular misconception that the Maasai are greatly employed in the tourist industry. He argues that statistics show that is not the case. Of all the employees of

the fifteen lodges in Maasai Mara, "official" statistics provided by the Lodges say only 35 per cent are Maasai. But he considers these statistics to be greatly inflated, since many listed as Maasai have surnames from other ethnic groups in Kenya, and it is also popularly known among the employees that many pass as Maasai to take advantage of affirmative action quotas meant to benefit the Maasai. The work in the lodges is local and available to Maasai, and yet those who work there are few. Holland notes, "The fact that only 11 Loita had chosen to become Rangers is something of a surprise when one realizes that the Narok County Council actually sends a recruitment vehicle and officers into the very heart of Mojiro Loita to encourage young men to become Game Rangers."[2]

Compared to other ethnic groups in Kenya, the Maasai resisted working wage labor jobs, preferring to continue pastoral practices, even though "development" experts and Kenyans from other ethnic groups derided them as being "backward" and holding back the progress of the country. Telipit Saitoti, in his autobiography, describes how his own Maasai community looked down on any attempts to secure a job and leave pastoralism: "the Maasai would say he went looking for servitude."[3]

The phenomenon of Maasai reluctance to adapt to wage labor has been called a "conservative" trend by some, and a radical resistance by others. The British during colonialism seemed irritated and impatient with Maasai for their refusal to work as day-laborers. Rigby agrees that Maasai resisted wage labor, even when it was disguised as the Christian doctrine of the "dignity of labor," but he declares that the British were wrong to describe the resistance as "stubbornness." Refusing capitalist relations, going to school, converting to Christianity, or working for whites, Rigby insists, should not have been interpreted as resistance to change *per se*. The Maasai have always been a changing culture with fluid boundaries; they adapt to drought and other hardships. It was only this particular kind of change that was resisted, and for good reason.[4]

That some individuals or groups would prefer not to work in factories is understandable. Henry Ford knew that to get workers to accept unappealing factory

jobs with work that has little challenge or interest, one must compensate workers by enabling them to afford a lifestyle of consumption and pleasure. Bob Goldman analyzes how auto manufacturers like Ford changed the rhetoric of leisure time from laziness (emphasized by his capitalist predecessors of twenty years earlier)to pleasure (thus necessitating buying a car).[5] However, the Maasai and other related pastoralist groups, such as the Maa-speaking Ariaal and Rendille, seemed to have little interest in the consumer products that money could buy, and therefore little incentive to give up their pastoral lifestyle. For example, when UNESCO-IPAL offered wage employment in Marsabit, hoping to stimulate a greater appetite for Western goods, they found to their dismay that Ariaal and Rendille employees used most of their wages to purchase auctioned livestock.[6] When pastoralists trade or sell animals, it is most often for agricultural food products of their near neighbors.[7] In Stichter's study *Migrant Laborers*, she sees the Maasai as exceptions to the rule when it comes to migrant labor in Kenya. According to her, this is because Maasai had alternative forms of investment (in that they could invest in their herds) while at the same time having little desire to acquire new commodities offered by Western capitalism.[8] By resisting participation in the capitalist-led global economy, they deny themselves the fruits of that participation, but they also protect themselves from a certain kind of capitalist exploitation (although signs that it will be increasingly difficult to do so have already arisen).

This paper explores, and attempts to evaluate the Maasai resistance to Western, colonial cultural influences. It will argue that the Maasai avoided many problems that come with forced change or assimilation. Olesegun Oladipo recently charted a key direction in which he hoped African philosophical research would proceed. He described the popular and polarized stances of the traditionalists, on the one hand, who jealously guarded and defended pre-colonial practices against an onslaught of external forces; and the modernists who saw tradition as archaic, and hoped for a "fresh start" in Africa (often this meant copying Western culture and values as well as science). Oladipo thinks the goal is in "the middle," extracting

from both African tradition and Western modernization the best from both worlds, forming a "cultural syncretism" that would be most conducive to human flourishing. He asked that philosophers be involved in the evaluation of these various values and practices, in contrast to the past experience of identity formed by influences "beyond our control."[9] The Maasai community, while having suffered from massive land loss as the result of British confiscation of their property, has still protected itself by its tenacity, against much of the loss of their culture and way of life. However, some changes may still be needed, both because of external influences and circumstances changing, as well as need for internal scrutiny and reform of destructive or outdated practices.

As economist Hassan Zaoual notes, each community has important "symbolic reference points which are useful for the cohesion of African socio-economic organizations."[10] That culture is important for the success of development has been asserted by many authors over recent years, and in 1994 the World Bank published proceedings of a development conference in which the role of culture was highlighted.[11] Yet, further studies are needed. Foucault's description of the disciplinary society, and its organization of work, will be drawn upon to make the argument that some of the new economic opportunities open to the Maasai were greatly unattractive. Maasai work lifestyle gives room for freedom of movement and individual volition to an extent no longer possible in many jobs in the West. Maasai found their own labor setup to be more satisfactory, because it is more in tune with their own concept of personhood.

FOUCAULT ON THE "DISCIPLINARIAN SOCIETY"

Reasons for employment at the Magadi soda factory being seen as distasteful or unnecessary can be understood by looking at Foucault's account of the rise of the factory and the beginnings of the "disciplinary society" in Western cultures. We will then see that "the West" is not necessarily the "bastion of liberty" which it claims to be. In his work *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault argued that discipline had its phases,

and as he explains, the shift made from the 17th to the 18th century was from one of exceptional discipline (for criminals, the ill or insane) to generalized surveillance of the entire population, which he calls a "society of surveillance." "Discipline" played a key role in multiple institutions – the army, hospital, school, and workplace. Discipline has as its project the docility of bodies which become subjected, used, transformed, and improved. Discipline exercises subtle, uninterrupted coercion upon the movements of the body, and supervises the processes rather than the end result.[12]

Foucault describes the idea behind the enclosure of the factory in the early 18th century. Factories were an attempt to control work concentration. The doors open to let workers in, and then close again, keeping workers from distraction until the doors reopen at the end of the work day. Within the factory, each person has an assigned place, so that individuals can be located, and individually assessed and judged. Time-tables establish rhythms, impose particular occupations, and regulate cycles of repetition.[13]

As Foucault explained, the core of any disciplinary system is attention paid to minutiae of movements, and a series of micro-penalties for non-observance of rules or norms. The "norm" wields power, and individuals are compared to each other, and must achieve conformity.[14] Certainly, pressures toward conformity are rampant in any society, and some level of social cohesion can be good. Maasai society, with its emphasis on early marriage and childbearing for women, bravery in men, and initiation rites including circumcision for both sexes, is a society that would be experienced as greatly conformist by many Westerners. Foucault, however, points out that a typical workplace in Europe or America not only stresses conformity, but has methods to do so constantly and at a micro-level.

I would like to pause briefly in order to contrast this factory set-up with the daily work routine of the Maasai community. While the work day is cyclical, beginning at dawn with milking of cows, then grazing of animals, with bringing them home and milking again at dusk, this large cycle of work has room for autonomy, for example, in choosing which way to lead animals to graze. Boys are entrusted with

large herds, but they are not directly overseen during most of the day. In contrast to the factory, the work area is largely expansive, and there is plenty of time to let one's mind wander, perhaps in composing songs about one's favorite cow. While pastoralism can be grueling in its own way—herds travel briskly over large territories, one must travel on foot for long distances, and a work day is typically twelve hours long with no breaks for meals, nevertheless the contrast with factory work and most other supervised paid labor is striking.

Holland notes that of those Maasai who are not practicing pastoralism, the most popular form of employment is cattle trekking and trading. Here, young men who would be in the *murran* age set (in their late teens and twenties, prior to becoming an elder and entitled to marry) work with and for junior elders. Cattle are bought for cheap prices in the interior areas of Maasailand, and then trekked great distances to more lucrative markets in Nairobi. Evangelou, in his 1984 study, interviewed many traders and found that: "...the attraction of trading is more than economic, as most traders view it as also simply a way of making life more enjoyable..."[15] Camaraderie within the group of traders is evident, and the group faces some of the same dangers that used to be present when *murran* would raid cattle from neighboring tribes (a practice now stopped by stiff penalties). In his study, Holland interviewed traders who noted the following parallels between traditional moranism and trading/ trekking:

> ...getting animals through hardship; spending most of the time away from home; involvement of the younger men who are in competition with each other in trading; the presence of a profit element in both trading and traditional raiding... "footing it" over long distances in what are sometimes strange and foreign places; both jobs are done for prestige and esteem and both are exposed to many dangers; both jobs involve risks and quick riches for those who are successful; and, both tasks are done for personal profit and for their families.[16]

While trading and trekking involves high risks compared to most wage labor jobs, young Maasai men are motivated to choose this kind of work over safer, lower paying, and often grueling jobs. Their choice is greatly reinforced by their own

traditions of moranhood which encourage them to seek recognition and fulfillment in these ways rather than others. This cultural context helps to define what counts as happiness on the job.

Foucault explains how one could be psychologically motivated to want to fit the prevailing standard of success in one's society. In his penetrating works he explains how one's subjectivity is shaped by external agents. Using a "panopticon" as his model, he illustrates how knowing one is being watched causes humans to become their own controllers, molding their actions in such a way as to gain approval from the watcher and evaluator. Foucault describes this inspecting, evaluating gaze as "a gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorizing to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising the surveillance over, and against, himself."[17] One may even, over time, lose the sense of an independent evaluation of one's self, and wholly experience self-understanding according to the categories imposed by others. As Foucault explains, "He who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power... he simultaneously plays both roles, he becomes the principle of his own subjection." By use of the panopticon, the State exercises power not *over* people but subtly *within* them. Yet the power of the inspecting gaze is not necessarily hierarchical. It can be reinforced mutually, by peers as well as local subordinates and superiors.[18]

These ideas and methods of discipline had been in practice in Europe well ahead of the imperial invasion of the African continent. While some historians have expressed puzzlement over European "democracies" exporting domination and control abroad, such a transfer of techniques becomes more understandable once one realizes, with Foucault, that Europe had developed a subtle and all-encompassing technique of surveillance and control, which it used widely on its own populaces. While imperialism may have begun with military subjection, it continued its reign with a host of techniques such as indirect rule, and the colonial bureaucracies had their informants who kept an eye on the populace as a whole. It is then of no surprise

that colonialists, and later capitalist entrepreneurs, wanted to set up workplaces along disciplinarian guidelines. That some were successfully forced into such alienated labor, while others grew to desire it (due to increase of appetite for commodities), gives testimony to the internalization process that Foucault outlines. Many Africans hold contradictory views about the West and Westernization, as Emmanuel Eze describes: "the West is against us, yet the West is our savior."[19] They know that Western powers are the cause of so much erosion of their own survival systems and cultural values; but they nevertheless desire to succeed along the lines of the new framework. The Maasai, by rejecting the consumerist horn of the dilemma, are able more than other groups to preserve their pre-colonial culture from assimilationist tendencies.

However, it is clear that the Maasai have their own version of the "panopticon" in the socially reinforcing gaze of the peers from their own society. For example, young boys are circumcised around the ages of 14-18, in public without medical anesthetic. Their faces are scrutinized for the slightest signs of wincing and pain, and those who are shown to be sensitive to the pain are derided and castigated. This ritual of circumcision is necessary before boys can become *murran*, the fierce warriors who practice courage as a virtue. It is no wonder, then, that as Mohammed ole Sekenkei explains, "...logic will certainly dictate that to be a moran is at least more honorable than to be a houseboy, a watchman or a vagabond in Nairobi."[20] While the Maasai have intact their own system of gaining respect from the peers that count within their own Maasai community, they will not be motivated to meet the expectations of the "gazers" from the outside. Outsiders' opinion does not have to be respected or taken seriously, since they are in no relationship of discipline, and Maasai are willing to forego the meager rewards offered for successful conformity.

Galaty and Bonte insist that today's pastoralists in Africa are clinging tenaciously to the values of pastoral culture, while at the same time trying to survive and thrive in the contemporary political and economic climate. To do so is not easy.[21] The Maasai have a challenge in front of them—to sort out the positive

influences of the West from the negative, and to do the same regarding their own traditional values and practices.

MAASAI CONCEPTS OF IDENTITY

How does one in Maasai society gain intersubjective recognition to the extent that one does not search for alternative sources of recognition? I suggest that the Maasai (and some other African groups') concepts of "personhood" are not to be understood primarily as metaphysical concepts, but rather as descriptions of intragroup recognition. Naomi Kipury explains that the Maasai have a story which describes their beginnings as a people. According to accounts, God gave cattle to Maasinta, the first ancestor of the Maasai. The story explains specifically that cattle were not given to the Dorobo, the Maasai's hunter-gatherer neighbors.[22] In this way the Maasai define themselves both by what they are (pastoralists) and what they are not (hunter-gatherers). Connected to this self-definition of the community is the definition of a "person," a title that is obviously normative in its use. P.M. Dikirr in his M.A. thesis analyzing the Maasai concept of person, notes that sages he interviewed, such as Kinyikita Enole Salaon, Reteti Ole Pareiyio, and Parkaasia Ole Lekirie, insisted that one was considered a "person" after having reached certain public benchmarks such as having many cattle, other small stock, wives and children. It is also important to be generous with one's material successes.[23] In other words, those with large herds would become famous, and even immortal (insofar as they would be remembered after death) if they had been generous with their large herds. Those who are successful in raising cattle but not generous would be forgotten upon their deaths.[24]

Holland asks Maasai interviewees under which circumstances would a Maasai no longer be a Maasai? The majority of respondents agreed that one who left the area would still be a Maasai, but when the question was further stipulated regarding, what if a person left permanently and had no cattle, then respondents were more likely to agree that such a person is "no longer a Maasai" or still a Maasai but a "dead one."[25] These responses point to the fact that, while pastoralism is no longer

exclusively the means of livelihood for Maasai, nevertheless to leave it altogether puts one's social recognition as Maasai into question. This is not only due to the daily work practice of pastoralism which is missing, but also due to one's leaving the geographic area and severing one's ties, through reciprocity and generosity, to others.

I suggest that, because of the Maasai conception of personhood, wage labor jobs offered to the Maasai did not look attractive, because such work could not fit into the overall, unfolding project of becoming a full person. This is true in two senses. The first sense, correlating to Maasai conception of a "person," has to do with the fact that the search for wage labor jobs, especially those that entail relocation, asks the Maasai to give up pastoralism. Insofar as their concept of becoming a "person" hinges on the signs of successful pastoralism, other signs of success, such as money, have little or no appeal. Or, if money does now have an appeal, it is a sign of the erosion of something valuable in the society. Further, relocation severs ties with those on whom one depends for status and recognition.

In addition to losing one's identity in the first sense of conforming to certain goals of success, the factory work and other wage labor gives little room for distinguishing oneself in one's particularity before one's peers. There is a world of difference, is there not, between cattle rustling and punching the clock at the factory? I want to suggest that such needs of distinguishing oneself and thereby gaining recognition have been denied, not only to the Maasai in wrong-headed development projects based on providing wage labor, but also to many European and American workers who face alienation on the job on a daily basis. It is this structure of labor that has been exported to Africa's former colonies and continues today.

One could object that even if Maasai identity is intertwined with the idea of pastoralism, it could be that a group's identity must change for practical reasons. I think that is true, and I earlier cited Rigby who notes that the Maasai are flexible regarding many changes. There are two directions from which the challenge for change comes. The first would be internal, and the second external. Good candidates for internal change would involve Maasai self-scrutiny regarding gerontocracy and patriarchy (rule by elder males). As for external challenges, certainly there have been big changes over the years regarding the continued viability of pastoralism.

INTERNAL CHANGE: CHALLENGES

Intersubjective recognition is important, and yet it can be noted that within their own society, the Maasai withhold certain key forms of recognition from youths and women. Maasai society has been called a "gerontocracy" by some, in that the labor of minors and women is appropriated by elder males. Elders are enriched by the unpaid labor of the young. However, Rigby argues that elders do not take on the role of an exploiting class, and so the term "gerontocracy" is not apt.[26] Rigby is certainly a reputable scholar in this field, and yet I beg to differ with him on this point. While it's true that the elders do not "live apart" as a separate class, but rather live together with the young, they can be called a gerontocracy in the same way that male-dominated society can be called patriarchy, even though men live with women. The only way in which elder males can be seen as other than exploitative is to give an overgenerous interpretation of their role as preserving the "common good." There are, of course, many precedents for this interpretation of behavior. The Queen of England, while living lavishly off taxpayer's money, can argue that she accepts the job due to the popular acclaim of those who gladly pay taxes for her, and she can claim to have given up her private concerns in devotion to her State. Likewise children and women can and do praise their fathers and husbands for their expert guidance and devotion to their family's safety and well-being. Still, the fact remains that children and women do all the labor, while they are bereft of all important decision-making capacities, and therefore I think it is arguable that elder males constitute a gerontocracy. Gerontocracy means, among other things, that children are not allowed to go to school, since their labor is needed. The Maasai therefore have a need to coordinate their schooling needs with their labor needs, whether this means changing the schooling system, changing their labor practices, or both.

However, patriarchy is also a big problem. Holland, in his interviews of Maasai women, found that while some women voiced their wish, in contrast to their husbands, that their children should be sent to school, they nevertheless felt powerless to speak out, because they considered themselves under their husbands' authority. In addition, Maasai tradition gives paternity rights to the husband over all children born to his wives. As one explained, "It is the husband who is the sole owner of his children and thus has all authority to choose and decide whether children should be educated or not." Others echoed this 45 year old woman's remarks, saying, "after all, the children are not mine!" When asked if this situation should change, a two-thirds majority said that it should not, despite the fact that in this case the husbands were obviously making decisions to which the wives did not agree.[27]

Wives are not immune from beatings, and domestic violence is an increasing problem. As Ngaimarish ole Mulo explains in an interview with the author,

> A woman is warned about a mistake she is making three times before she is beaten. And he must remind her it is the third time before beating her. For example, a man may beat his wife if as he is going on safari, she is in charge of looking after the cows but neglects to count them, and loses some.[28]

These punishments, if done correctly as above, aren't understood as a violation of women's rights, but rather as reminder or reinforcement of her role. As Foucault states, relations of service entail (on the part of the wife toward her husband) the constant, total, massive, non-analytical and unlimited relation of domination.[29] However helpful this correction of mistakes may be, the ability to correct is one-sided. The asymmetry of the situation can be illustrated by this excerpt from an interview with Naloakiti, second wife of Rumpe:

> Q: Is there a change between the relationship of a man and woman?
>
> A: In the old days the wife respected the husband very well. But today a wife can tell her husband anything. The wife no longer respects the husband like in the old days... There is nothing that I question my husband about. This is because we are both aged. The thing we do is that we sit and discuss the best ways to have our family settled. Disrespect is for this young generation.

> Q: Do you think that questioning the husband is disrespecting?
>
> A: That is total disrespect. The wife is supposed to totally respect the husband.
>
> Q: Is all questioning to a husband bad, or are there some accepted questions?
>
> A: A wife is responsible to her husband. There's no questions that a wife can ask the husband. The husband often asks questions such as "did you spray the calves?" And you as a wife, you are just supposed to answer yes or no. But if she answers "no, I didn't," arrogantly, then that is a big mistake...It's not easy for a husband to mistreat or beat his wife for no reason. Somehow there must be a reason, either big or small. You can only protest as a wife if you believe that you were in the right...
>
> Q: If a man makes a mistake, can the woman beat him and if not, why?
>
> A: They are afraid of men. They can't beat them. Men also make mistakes. But a woman can't beat the husband.
>
> Q: Why do you think it's ok for men to confront their wives when they make mistakes, and it's not ok for women to do so?
>
> A: Right from the beginning, this has been happening. It was started by the creator of the universe. We therefore follow the same trend.
>
> Q: Why are the younger wives of the young generation questioning their husbands?
>
> A: This is due to disrespect. These people do not fear anything... The modern people dislike the old traditions. They want to start a new way of life... The younger generations feel enlightened. But we believe that our old ways of life are the best.[30]

The above interview, while testifying to the changing times and attitudes in Maasailand regarding marriage relations, also illustrate the limited role of women in the traditional set up. Naloakiti is not able to understand the new changes except in a negative fashion as examples of disrespect. She presumes that men know when to beat, and that they do so rationally and constructively. She also could not imagine a wife beating her husband, even if it were to teach him that he had made a mistake.

An alternative view of the practice of wife-beating was given by Naloakiti's co-wife, Ntetia Namalae. Namalae argued that the situation of wife-beating in the Maasai community has radically changed from the past, calling for new measures. In tradition it was acceptable, or even expected, for elder men to get drunk on ceremonial honey beer at special occasions such as circumcision rituals. However, with the arising of towns, and the ever-presence of hotels and bars selling beer, some men find themselves drunk on a regular basis. Beating of wives is occurring more and more in the context of drunkenness, and this is a pattern that Namalae feels strongly that women should guard against. Although the presence of bars is a new, external factor, she feels that these changes are being instigated by the Maasai women themselves, and not by outsiders.[31]

EXTERNAL FACTORS IMPINGING UPON PASTORAL PRACTICE

While many development experts in the past have been wrong-headed about their proposed projects, they are nevertheless correct in stating that changes in environment (such as drought) as well as encroaching capitalist practices (land privatization and the commodification of cattle) make it increasingly difficult for Maasai to maintain their lifestyle.

The latest approach of development workers is not to have Maasai give up pastoralism, but rather to change pastoral practice to make it become more marketable in a capitalist sense. They are encouraging Maasai to see their own cattle as commodities to be sold for store-bought goods, an idea Rigby states is foreign to Maasai tradition but now widespread. Examples such as cattle trading and trekking fit into this category of livelihoods that are not pastoralist in themselves but are related to pastoralism; according to Holland, such occupations will probably be the most successful culturally among the Maasai. He ends his study with a recommendation to government developers, such as the World Bank and the Livestock Marketing Board, to protect such livelihoods by ensuring that traders from

other ethnic groups, with motor vehicles, are not allowed to usurp this market from the Maasai themselves.[32]

However, such occupations as cattle trading and trekking are not entirely without harm to traditional livelihood and community coherence. New practices such as these make it harder to uphold traditions of cattle-giving (on occasions like marriages, as signs of affection, or as bonds between families), since each family sees the gift cow as a loss of revenue. The Maasai tradition was expressed in this Maasai saying: Etejo enkiteng: "mikinitaaya, nchooyioki!" (The cow said, "Do not lend me out, give me away.")[33] The cow's own wishes are invoked to give the idea authority, but certainly the benefits of the practice were for the Maasai community as a whole. Since such traditions were a way of sharing the wealth, Maasai society has now become more economically stratified, and arguably less fulfilling, than before so-called development and capitalist penetration.[34]

Parkaasia Ole Lekirie, interviewed by Dikirr, upon assessing the contemporary Maasai society in which he lived, stated that desire for money had overshadowed the Maasai's attachment to cattle, women and children. He noted that "money is changing our people's aspirations, goals, and desires." However he pointed to such a development as the cause of community disintegration. The more selfish individuals become due to pursuit of money, the less they are held in high esteem, thus making them lesser persons.[35]

The emphasis on sharing and generosity found in Maasai community relations is not unique to the Maasai, but is a feature to be found across Africa, according to economist Hassan Zaoual. As he explains,

> Contrary to the spirit of accumulation of the culture of development, the theoreticians of capitalistic management note that 'the regulatory element of the African system is expenditure,' the latter being a consumption and an investment in relationships. In fact, the essential motivations of the economy of African sites are consumption and the affection of the group.[36]

Musungu found that nowadays there is a pool of unemployed labor waiting to take the jobs as they open at the Magadi Soda Company. The results of his study

attributed the change in attitude to the effects of drought on the cattle herds. In 1960-61 alone, Maasai in Kajiado lost 300,000 livestock due to drought, which amounted to sixty-five percent of their herds. A secondary factor was the lax enforcement of the Maasai age-set tradition, which required young men to serve as morans for at least seven years. Most employed and wage-seekers explained that, although they had been initiated into moranhood, they had not completed the seven years and were not asked to pay the traditional penalty for failing in their obligation. However John Galaty attempts to trace these changes to their ideological source: he insists that the years of drought, famine, agricultural encroachment and government intervention dealt a mortal blow of "self-doubt" to the once proud pastoralists.[37]

That Maasai may be driven by desperation, and the destruction of their own environmental basis for pastoralism, into factory and other wage labor work, does not in itself make these options the best choice. There is a need for the Maasai community to come together and find realistic assessments of the extent to which pastoralism can still be practiced, and in what ways; and what kind of livelihoods can be encouraged when pastoralism is no longer possible. The community also needs to discern how it will help alleviate aggravated class differences in such a way as to help the poorest, and prevent the development of a disadvantaged section of the Maasai community. In this way, the negative side-effects of commoditizing cattle can be recognized and pre-empted.

CONCLUSION

At the end of his large study of education and employment patterns among the Maasai, Holland concluded that while development "experts" may be disappointed at Maasai reluctance to send their children to school, take jobs, and buy Western commodities, nevertheless they should be given credit for carefully evaluating their options, and making choices that are meaningful to themselves. As he explains,

> The Maasai make decisions on what is presented to them. These decisions are based upon their interpretation of events, situations, and advantages... Maasai parents, in their own way, see and appreciate what is being offered them, for example, Western education and employment possibilities, but they may not wish to integrate those offerings, in the ways in which they are presented, into their own cultural fabric, the warp and woof of which does not allow such a culturally insensitive and unintegrated patching.[38]

Holland concludes that such positions should be respected by outsiders; and if one wants to introduce education and development to a community, one must be careful to do so in a way that will make sense to that community. We can note that Holland would be in agreement with Zaoual, who observes that measurements of what should count as development are not culturally neutral perspectives. Zaoual says: "The Utilitarian and productivist paradigm is like a telescope through which the West sees only itself, when it thinks it sees the Third World." It is much better for communities to set their own realistic goals of development, ones that make sense to themselves.[39]

Oladipo gave the field of African philosophy a challenge—to help chart a course between tradition and modernity that would lead to human flourishing. To a certain extent, the community itself must do this. But, I hope to have helped this project along by suggesting ways in which the community should change, such as rethinking their gerontocratic and patriarchal attitudes and practices. Simultaneously, I want to champion their determination to resist unthinking or forced assimilation, as it is important to resist the psychological damage that comes with internalizing foreign paradigms which denigrate one's own way of life. For example, unthinking embracing of factory work and other forms of wage labor will not be a productive solution to the Maasai's development dilemma. Rather, a new form of work which allows for development of full personhood is needed.

In addition, Maasai rejection of contemporary wage labor and commodification practices is a clue by which the rest of the global economy can be challenged to scrutinize itself. With millions fawning over consumer products, and willing to brave the factory and other wage labor experiences in order to purchase such products, capitalism can take a self-congratulatory role. Rejection in this context, as Rigby asserts, is a rebellion against the capitalist globalization process.

Our global society would do well, not only to look for alternative, more freeing work practices for the Maasai, and for Kenyans in general, but also around the world. The practices of work discipline and alienated labor must be checked, so that intersubjective recognition, and particularity, can once again flourish.[40]

ENDNOTES

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13. Ibid., 149.

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16. Holland, *The Maasai*, 177.

17. Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*. Edited by Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 155.

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28. Ngaimarish ole Mulo, Ingarroj, Olepolos, Kajiado District. Interview with the author, 13 December 1998, translation by Daniel Sasine.

29. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 137.

30. Naloakiti, interview by the author, April 25, Olepolos, Kenya. Translation by Daniel Sasine.

31. Ntetia Nalamae, interview by the author, April 25, Olepolos, Kenya. Translation by Daniel Sa

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37. Musungu, *Maasai Response to Wage Employment in the Magadi Soda Company*, ch. 7.

38. Holland, *The Maasai*, 276-77.

39. Zaoual, "The Economy and Symbolic Sites of Africa," 8.

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