

# Commission on Nomadic Peoples

“Local Participation in Guiding Extension Programs: A Practical Proposal”

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## LOCAL PARTICIPATION IN GUIDING EXTENSION PROGRAMS:

### A PRACTICAL PROPOSAL<sup>1</sup>

by Gufu Oba

Two approaches can be adopted to solve the problem of desertification in northern Kenya: an immediate and a long-term approach. The immediate approach to reverse the processes of desertification cannot wait for the coming generations; it is the responsibility of the present adult population. Long-term solutions will, however, be the responsibility of the younger generation. Unless younger people are prepared for this role, the problems of land degradation will remain far from a solution and the future of pastoralism will be in jeopardy.

The school curriculum followed in northern Kenya is the common curriculum for all primary and secondary schools in Kenya, a curriculum developed at the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE). This curriculum, though including studies of the environment (within the science and geography sections) treats these topics in a rather general way, specifically making little mention of arid environments. Students from arid areas of the country, therefore, often remain ignorant of the problems of their local environments while becoming familiar with examples from the humid areas, which are covered in greater detail. This anomaly is partly attributable to a lack of relevant textbooks on arid areas.

The nomadic pastoral population also has had limited contact with either formal or non-formal education and has little use for written educational materials. Education and training programmes for this group should, therefore, be organized through intensive, mobile extension services.

In this paper, extension is defined as the means by which the local people are involved in a long-term educational process through a series of planned activities that prioritize their needs and help to improve their levels of living and environment, especially emphasizing: veterinary medicine, human health, nutrition, range-use and planning, livestock marketing, environmental conservation, and rehabilitation. Extension, therefore, provides the vital link between research, planning, and administration, and those who live and work directly on the land (Strange, 1980).

The importance of extension work is often recognized (both by government and development agencies), but regrettably it has only been given lip-service or put down as ending notes in development project documents, often lacking emphasis commensurate with its importance. For example, many development projects bring in some elements of extension only during the implementation phase, when project personnel or leaders "feel that they have enough information to tell the local people", while a few others begin their research programmes without planning to have any extension programme. However, when they "bog down" in their research, they then "try" extension to improve the situation.

Numerous such examples are found in the literature but a few will illustrate the point. Schwartz (1980) reporting on the progress of the TLMP<sup>2</sup>, pointed out that extension work with the local herd owners was not envisaged in the project concept, but as he puts it: ". . . has developed rapidly into a fruitful but time consuming

occupation".

A similar observation was made by Belger and Kiprono (1977) in their report on a Wildlife Management Project in Kajiado District. They pointed out that, though the project document recognized the need for an extension component, there was a lack of a unified programme to devise an appropriate series of extension activities. Consequently, no effective communication links were established between the project staff and the Masaai landowners, contributing to problems encountered by the project in its relation with the people.

Paul Robinson (1980: 12), reporting on the Huri Hills Project, was also concerned with the lack of a public relations programme in the project. Emphasizing this point he adds:

In my discussions with Gabra elders throughout Gabra areas, I was struck by the astonishingly little comprehension of the project by traditional leadership.

The local people, who are the target of development programmes ought to be the central pillar of extension programmes. In order to engage the local population in a long-term extension programme, it will be necessary to go beyond methods involving one-way communication. There must be an exchange of ideas through an active dialogue. This assumes the people have something valuable to say to the project or government departments, and vice versa (Belger, 1982).

#### Past Extension Programmes: Conflict with the Pastoral Way of Life, Knowledge, and Expectations

Traditionally, the pastoral nomads of northern Kenya made their own decisions on the use of resources such as water and pasture. With the coming of the colonial administration, they lost much of their independence in decision-making. Their movement from one grazing zone to another was restricted and offenders were punished. Their knowledge of the range, gathered over many generations, was considered inferior to the new scientific approach of controlled grazing. This policy of coercion was summed up by Limpscomb (1955), who claimed that the problem of livestock in the country was summarized in one word "overstocking". According to him, the solution to the problem of grazing control depended on the availability of sufficient European livestock officers to enforce the system.

This contention still exists, even after independence, among administrators and extension officers. Officers for the most part come from agricultural communities but see the problems of pastoral peoples and range-use with the same bias as the former colonial officers. Listeners of the media (national) and readers of the daily papers are well aware of "advice" often given to the pastoralists on these issues by politicians and administrators. All in all, the pastoralists have been blamed for keeping large numbers of "poor quality" animals for prestige, losing sight of the fact that this affects the marketability of their animals (The Standard, 21 Jan. 1984). In opposition to these interventions, the pastoralists have vehemently resisted changes, as shown by the failure of numerous development projects, grazing schemes, and destocking programmes (Myrick, 1975; Spencer, 1973; Sobania, 1980).

The way nomads refer to these programmes often reflects their attitude to development programmes in general. It is not uncommon to hear them say "that project of the Catholic Mission", "that well of the government", or "that school of NCCCK" (National Christian Council of Kenya), or "this hospital of this or that organization". They do not consider these projects as their own, or that they should be responsible for their proper care and utilization. They use them as long as they are operative but never lift a finger if they see them being misused or breaking down, because they do not belong to them. Some of them will take the opportunity of illegally helping themselves to some of the facilities, as exemplified by the Rendille Moran, who often unscrew nuts from water tanks for their club heads, or others who fill open shafts of boreholes with stones.

All this happens because these projects are, for the most part, developed in isolation from the people's socio-economic lifestyles. The people's role in the projects is poorly defined and the projects are seen merely as a free resource which can be used as long as it works. Such negative responses to governmental and other developmental projects have earned pastoralists the blame for project failure. Their failure to respond positively to projects is attributable to the nature and scope of the extension programmes rather than to the rigidity of the pastoralists, as it is often claimed. There are few extension workers among the pastoral communities in the country. Those who are posted to remote areas often remain in isolation from the people they were meant to serve, as they are confined to their stations, so that contact with the people is limited to orders given through chiefs and subchiefs at public barazas (official meetings called and addressed by Government Officers). Such weak communication links between extension agents and the people have caused a lack of trust and mutual understanding between them. The pastoralists know their way of life and trust it; then comes an outsider who does not understand this way of life and starts advocating change. There is bound to be a period of learning for both parties before they can start to build mutual confidence and understanding (Kenya Government, 1979).

As will be illustrated later, extension programmes among the pastoral communities of the country have two major constraints. First, poor communication channels exist between extension agents and the pastoralists, and secondly, lack of a clear definition of the people's roles in these programmes.

The reflection of the latter problem is best illustrated by a Borana saying which states, "the livestock of our village or Manyatta is all ours, but it is the family herd that really belongs to us". As the saying implies, people tend to be responsible for what they feel belongs to them, where they directly participate in decision-making on how to use and when to use the resource in question. Therefore, project work should not be a 100% gift; the local people should fully participate and make a contribution. Experience elsewhere (UNESCO, 1980) has shown that increasing involvement of the local population in rural development increases the success of these programmes.

#### Why Local Participation?

In Kenya, the need to involve local people in development, planning, and implementation has long been recognized. For instance, in its policy statement for the Development Plan 1970-1974, the Government pointed out that the country's strategy for development was simple and straight forward. It was to involve the people of the nation at every step and to an increasing extent in the economic development of the nation. This was clearly defined in a decentralized development

policy and, unlike the previous centralized policy, clearly listed and defined development programs appropriate for each locality. This policy is popularly referred to as a district focus policy, under which districts become the operations centers for all planning and implementation of rural development programs (Foud, 1980; The Weekly Review, 16 December, 1983).

The district focus policy calls for increasing local participation in development through the District Development Committee (DDC). In the district focus policy, the importance of local participation has been envisaged to ensure that the people understand and take an active part in the implementation program, and also to provide channels through which people's own ideas, needs, and priorities can reach decision-makers and planners. This, however, has not been effectively translated in the pastoral districts of the country.

The district administration consists of the District Commissioner (DC) who is responsible for the overall administration of the district; the district is divided into Divisions which are administered by District Officers (DOs). The divisions are also divided into locations and sub-locations which are administered by government appointed chiefs and sub-chiefs, respectively. At the district level, there are technical officers of a variety of ministries involved in such activities as veterinary, medicine, education, range management, water, forestry, natural resources, social services, cooperatives, and health. Most of these ministries have technical extension assistants at divisional and sometimes at locational and sub-locational levels. The DC is the chairman of the DDC. Also on the committee are representatives of private organizations and development projects, missionaries, parliamentarians, representatives of the County Council and traders.

Despite the optimism of the effectiveness of the DDC in the country, recent findings (Heyer, Ileri, and Moris, 1971; O'Leary, 1982) have illustrated some weaknesses in the implementation of this policy. For example, in Marsabit District the majority of the government heads of departments or even those working at lower levels come from outside the district. To many of them, transfers to such remote areas of the country serve as a punishment; hence, lack of seriousness in their work results. This has delayed implementation and follow-up of development proposals made at the DDC.

In his analysis of the district administration and its relationship with the local people, O'Leary (1982) observed one major weakness of the DDC was "total exclusion of leaders of nomadic communities from government development structures". According to O'Leary the indigenous leaders who have power in their communities have not been given opportunities to play a part in identifying, formulating, or even implementing development projects. He further contends that such exclusion of the local leaders has demoralized the people and made the elders impotent in the face of changing political and economic scenes in their environment.

#### Extension Begins With the Needs of the People

It is interesting to note that nearly all development projects designed for the pastoral areas are imported. Such projects are often not within people's priorities, but are those supported and financed by government or other development organizations. The understanding local people have of such projects is expressed in their whispered questions, such as: "What are these people doing around here?" If this is the situation, it is unrealistic to expect the pastoralists to embrace changes recommended by these projects.

The local people, having had long experience with such programmes, know the best way to deal with them. "Their principle is not to argue but to acquiesce then do nothing" (Griffith, undated).

The key to solving the extension problems of the pastoral communities is, therefore, to identify the needs of the people.

People often have very clear ideas about what they need, and need only to be asked. These needs and priorities may in some instances coincide closely with the views of development plans and other cases may be quite different from the list which the planner would devise for them. Work should begin from the local peoples' own list of priorities, identifying what is feasible, what can be achieved (Hopcraft, et al., 1977, p. 14).

This approach can be implemented by means of surveys that attempt to identify and prioritize people's needs in every location and manyatta. Some needs of the community are not necessarily related to the objectives of the extension agent and could become a communication barrier. For example, in September 1981, while carrying out a Literacy Survey among the Gabra pastoralists, I came across an elder who refused to respond to our questions and encouraged others to do the same. He wanted to know why the government was interested in knowing whether people had learned how to read and write but had not supplied them with famine relief that they had requested.

Giving false expectations to the pastoralists hurts extension work. This is well illustrated in the views expressed by a local Rendille leader at a discussion meeting with IPAL (Integrated Project in Arid Lands) scientists concerning the proposed Management Plan for their area.

I would like to thank IPAL for making such proposals. In your recommendations you have mentioned all our needs. But experience has taught us not to take such promises with haste, until we see the outcome. Under this same acacia tree, numerous promises have been made by government officers, politicians, Missions, and you, now. Many of our elders who were living when these promises were made are now dead and still nothing has been forthcoming. It is because of such experience that we remain skeptical about these recommendations you have come up with (IPAL, 1982).

Problems in extension services and development among the pastoral communities of northern Kenya are, therefore, complex. Failures and successes cannot be attributed to only a few factors, but at the top of the list of problems is a lack of effective communication between extension agents and the pastoralists. Traditional communication channels have often been ignored by extension agents, who instead have relied wholly on the official form of communication, the baraza. The secret to effective extension efforts among the nomads, like other traditional societies, is to realize the importance of the traditional communication channels. Besides increasing the effectiveness of dialogue, the use of the traditional communication channels will help build people's confidence in extension agents and enhance project successes. This can only be realized through an understanding of the potential values of traditional forms of communication.

### Channels of Communication Among Pastoralists and Points to be Considered for Extension Programmes

In northern Kenya, the Rendille, Gabra, Borana, and Samburu ethnic groups use similar communication channels. This pattern is an important factor and should be taken into account in any extension programme.

#### The Baraza

The official channel of communication with the people in the district is the baraza. Barazas are often attended by elders representing each manyatta or settlement camp. They convey the information gathered to the people of their own manyatta (Allen, 1981; Ibrahim, 1981).

As a communication channel the baraza has however, three main disadvantages. First, barazas are often used for administrative or disciplinary purposes rather than for the communication of information. Secondly, administrative barazas are often conducted in Kiswahili, which though a national language, is not understood by the majority of the local people. Therefore, large numbers of individuals who attend these barazas end up understanding nothing but gathering a few crumbs of information from others who have some slight knowledge of the language. These people will not be able to convey effectively information to the people of their manyatta. Thirdly, communication in barazas is usually one way, from the administrators to the people, and the opportunity for feedback or dialogue is limited. Therefore, the administrative baraza needs to be modified for the purposes of the extension agent. It should be as close as possible to a normal gathering of the local people and should be used as a means of disseminating information over a wider area before direct contact with the people is made.

#### Person-to-Person Communication

In northern Kenya, person-to-person communication is the most common mode. This channel has great effectiveness because it allows an exchange of ideas between the speaker and the audience, thus greatly facilitating an understanding (Decker, 1974). When, for example, two people meet after exchanging greetings, they ask each other's news--"news from the right and the left" as the Borana say. This will include details about the water and pasture situation, its distribution, the condition of livestock, whether they have an adequate milk supply, whether their cows or camels are in calf, then news of the neighbouring grazing areas and whether each one has plans to move to another grazing zone, and so on. Such detailed questions help in quick dissemination of vital information to all the members of the community.

#### Group Communication Channels

Another very important channel of communication is that which involves all groups in the society. It is characterized by gatherings of the local people, still conducted on the same lines as those of their forefathers.

In the pastoral areas, manyattas or settlement camps are important functional units where decisions on the communal use of pasture and water are made. In these manyattas, individual decisions made do not go beyond one's household and herd. While the herdowner can graze his livestock in any part of the range he wishes, he is not free to use water or other communal resources arbitrarily. Therefore, if an



extension agent is interested in knowing peoples' attitudes towards new approaches to range use, it is of no use depending on the views expressed by an individual. While it is true that an individual may have personal needs which should be looked into, this can only be done in the light of the needs of the community. Therefore, an individual needs the whole community to make such decisions. Even when decisions are made, not all the members of the community may agree, but majority decisions are always respected.<sup>6</sup> Two such traditional gatherings where problems are solved and decisions made are the Borana and Gabra koora (meeting) and the Rendille naabo.

#### The Naabo Assembly as a Target Group

Among the Rendille, settlements are based on kinship. Thus, the Rengumo clan, the Saale clan, the Galdeilan clan, the Rehawen clan, etc., inhabit different manyatta (Spencer, 1973). Each Rendille manyatta or settlement has a central enclosure which the Rendille call naabo. It is in this enclosure that the elders meet. Each manyatta has an elder leader whom the Rendille call Eti-gobi-iwen. Gob is a manyatta in the Rendille dialect and the manyattas themselves are often called after elder-leaders or Eti-gobi-iwen. For example, Gob-ogum is a manyatta of Urawen (Rahawen) clan in Kargi and Ogum is the Eti-gobi-iwen. Therefore, Gob-ogum means the manyatta of Ogum.

Each Eti-gobi-iwen is the person in charge at the naabo of his settlement. After the completion of smallstock and camel milking, the Ololo (the caller) calls the elders of the settlement to the naabo. When they arrive there are prayers, asking Wakha (God) to bless the pasture, water, livestock, children, women, and country and to keep away all their human enemies. The elders then settle down to discuss all the problems experienced by the manyatta--water supply, pasture conditions, when and where to move the manyatta, perhaps a message from the administration that the people should contribute to a certain fund, or a conflict between members of the manyatta, and so on. The naabo is such an important centre in the life of the Rendille that it should be considered as a target group for extension work. However, the extension agent should be aware that the naabo assembly is not accessible to all members of the manyatta. Those not included are children and women; moran may be allowed to participate in the naabo during ceremonies or when they are required by the elders, for counseling and deciding where camel fora should move to. But all married men are allowed to participate in the naabo. The extension agent, if he is not married, will himself, be excluded from the naabo assembly. He should, therefore, use the Eti-gobi-iwen in raising his points in the naabo and arranging for his presence there for further discussion with other elders.

The issues raised in the naabo assembly will find their way to all members<sup>7</sup> of the manyatta through those in attendance. Certain decisions to be made may require the involvement of members of neighbouring manyatta, as in the case of harambee funds to be raised, a labour force to be provided for an harambee project, a veterinary campaign to be conducted in the area, security arrangements after an attack by livestock rustlers, or meetings with IPAL scientists to discuss management guidelines. Such meetings are attended by all representative Eti-gobi-iwen and all other elders who are also on the chief's committee. Decisions made and issues raised at these meetings are carried home to the naabo assembly by each elder.

When a meeting is called by the chief or sub-chief that requires the involvement of people not present, the chief or sub-chief, after explaining the purpose of the meeting, will request the elders present to discuss it further with the members of their manyatta and bring back a response on a fixed date.



These approaches may be summarized in the following communication models indicating points of entry by extension agents.

Model 1. Channels of communication from the naabo assembly to each household in the manyatta.

EXTERNAL FACTORS

e.g., water shortage,  
pasture, security, etc.



NAABO ASSEMBLY

Attended by all  
household heads.

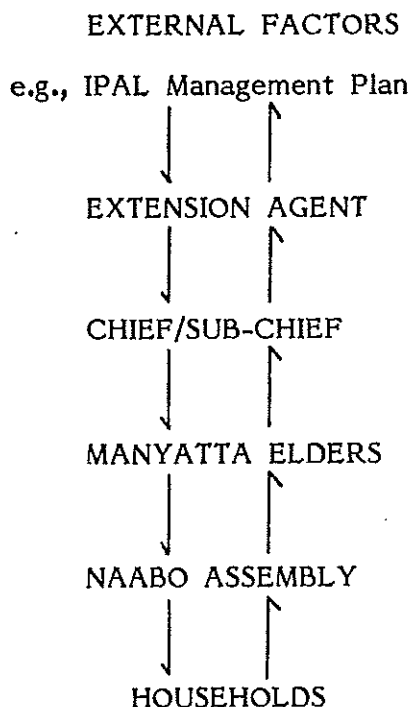



HOUSEHOLDS

Channels of communication showing  
positive feedback.



Model 2. Channels of communication from extension agent through the chief's baraza to the manyattas.

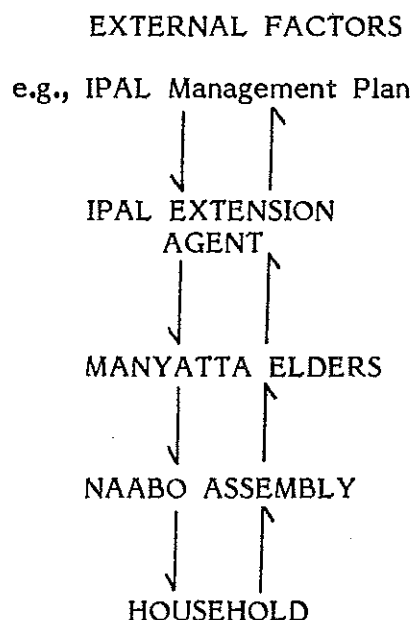


Channels of communications showing  positive feedback.

For information to reach a target group such as a household, it has to pass many barriers, as shown in Model 2. Its effectiveness is reduced because of the distance between the extension agent and his target group. This could, however, be overcome if the chief or sub-chief were used only to officiate over the meeting held in his location, and the extension agent communicated directly with the elder representatives as shown in Model 3.

In Model 3, the extension agent has two opportunities of coming in contact with elders. First, he can communicate directly with the elders at the chief's baraza. Secondly, he may meet the same elders again at the manyatta level or at a naabo assembly.

Model 3. Channels of communication from the IPAL extension agent to elders through the naabo assembly.



This communication channel is comparable to those of Models 4, 5, and 6 representing other ethnic groups.

The Koora Dedha of the Gabra and Borana: A Point for Consideration in an Extension Programme

Like the Rendille, both the Gabra and Borana settle in manyattas. But unlike the Rendille, Gabra and Borana manyattas are not composed of members of the same kinship. Gabra manyattas are normally smaller than those of the Borana, except the Gabra yaa, which may have as many as 30-60 households. However, as with the Rendille, Borana, and Gabra, manyattas are important centres where decisions on the use of pasture and water resources are made. Manyattas are called Olla in Borana. Each Olla has an elder leader whom the Borana call abba olla (father of the village). Each manyatta is named after its leader; thus one of the manyattas in Kalacha is called Olla Racha, which means the manyatta of Racha.

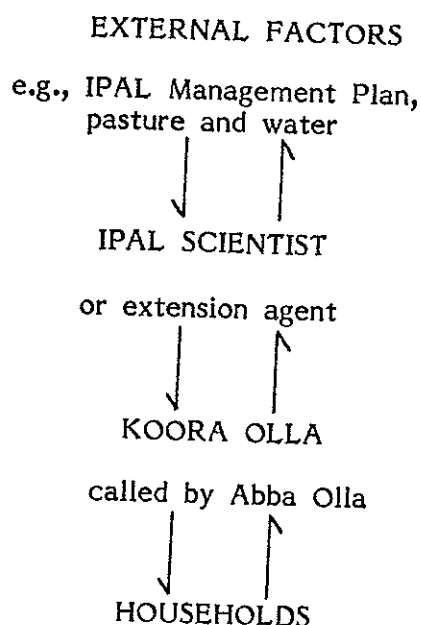
Abba olla are central figures, often very influential personalities around whom the manyatta life revolves. Gabra and Borana often meet at the manyatta level to discuss conflicts between manyatta members and to make decisions on pasture and water use. Such meetings are called koora. Because decisions are made on problems that affect the members of the manyatta, the meeting is called koora olla.

There is no special place where the koora olla takes place. During the day it

may be held under one of the shade trees close to the manyatta or at a water point, if the koora is to discuss water problems. If it is called at night it will be held in front of abba olla's household. Koora olla has no restrictions on participation by any member of the manyatta. The decisions made at such gatherings are carried back to each household by those who have attended.

When discussions and decisions made concern the moving of the fora herds, overgrazing, or scouting to investigate the rain situation in some other part of the range, they call it maala maari (suggestions and decisions); hence the common call, "maala maari bisaaniti koota" (come all, for suggestions and decisions on water.). The koora olla approach can thus be summarized in a simplified model of communication channels as in Model 4, with the point of entry by IPAL or other extension agents.

Model 4. Communication channels from IPAL or extension agent to Koora olla through to households.



For the purpose of the extension programme, an IPAL scientist or extension agent may approach the abba olla to brief him about his programme and request him to call the koora olla to meet him. In order to have minimum interference from the chores of milking and evening meals, such meetings may be organized during the day, say under one of the trees where the koora olla is often held. If the extension agent requires the involvement of nearby manyattas (reera) at the meeting, he could contact

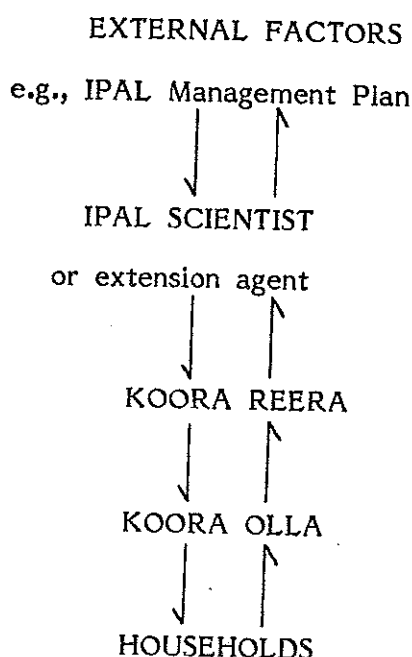
the elders of each manyatta and request them to arrange to meet him. The representatives would then call koora reera, where they would discuss the issues which are raised by the extension agent.

Koora reera is often called to discuss such things as the movement of fora herds from main camps when water supplies for milk herds run low, the use of water sources near the manyatta, or contribution to harambee funds. The decisions made at these meetings are carried to each manyatta by its representatives. The representatives will then report to the abba olla what the koora reera has discussed and what decisions were made.

If the abba olla himself has attended the meeting, he will give details to his manyatta elders. This is often done as follows. A manyatta member who was not present at koora comes to the abba olla's household and after exchanging greetings asks, Koori reera maniti bufate?--"What has the meeting of the reera manyattas decided?" After this, he will be given details of the meeting.

With the input of the extension agent, the channels of communication may be summarized as follows:

Model 5. Channels of communication from IPAL or extension agent to the Koora reera and finally to manyattas through the Abba olla.



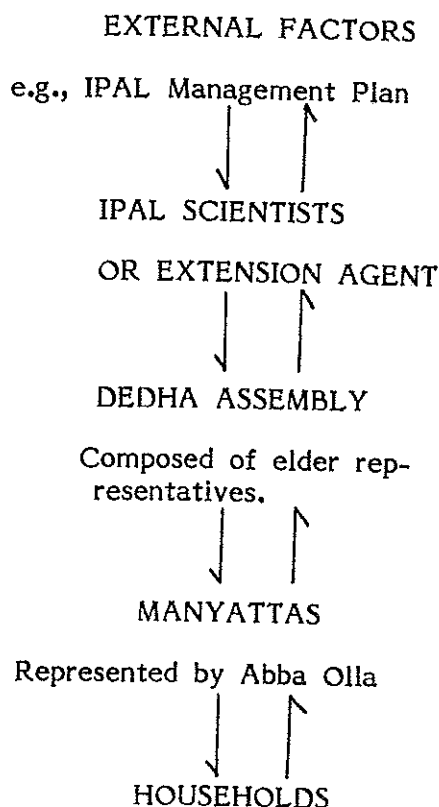
If a decision requires the involvement of all the manyattas in the grazing zone using a common water source, such as a well, the koora dedha is called to meet. Dedha is a Borana word which means grazing zone. All the abba olla from the manyattas in the dedha or their representatives will meet to discuss common problems. At such meetings each participant is given an opportunity to express his ideas on the issues raised. The suggestions made by various participants are then deliberated and final decisions made or conflicts resolved. A decision made by the dedha assembly carries a great deal of weight and must be respected by all the people in the zone. Decisions made at dedha assemblies are carried back to each manyatta by its representatives or abba olla.

Dedha assemblies, however, are only called to make important decisions vital to the survival of the society, such as water and pasture use, provision of the labor force for the upkeep of wells (Helland, 1977), food supplies for these projects, conflicts over the use of water, provision of a labor force for harambee projects, contributions to harambee funds, etc. A minimum period of one week is required to call the dedha assembly. This period is needed to decide where the meeting is to be held, to arrange for food for the participants and to allow adequate travel time for participants who come from far away.

The dedha assembly is a very important target group which should be utilized by the extension agent. It is the gathering of all those people involved in decision making for their communities. Its decisions are often unanimously adhered to by all the people. It is a very effective means of reaching every member of the community and involving them in activities that will improve the lives of all. Among the Boran and Gabra pastoralists, extension agents should aim to use the dedha assembly before the launching of a major extension programme. This will help to prepare the population for the coming programs.

The main objective of the dedha assembly is actually to try and solve the problems which affect people not only at a community level but even at the household level. For example, at the community level the assembly may be involved in solving water problems by excavating a well which has long fallen into disuse. The household level may be involved in the collective action by contributing food, labor, or both to the project and finally benefitting from it. But the actual decision is made at dedha assembly and carried to the manyatta and finally to each household.

Model 6. Channels of communication from IPAL or extension agent to the dedha assembly through manyatta elders--representatives to manyattas and finally to households.

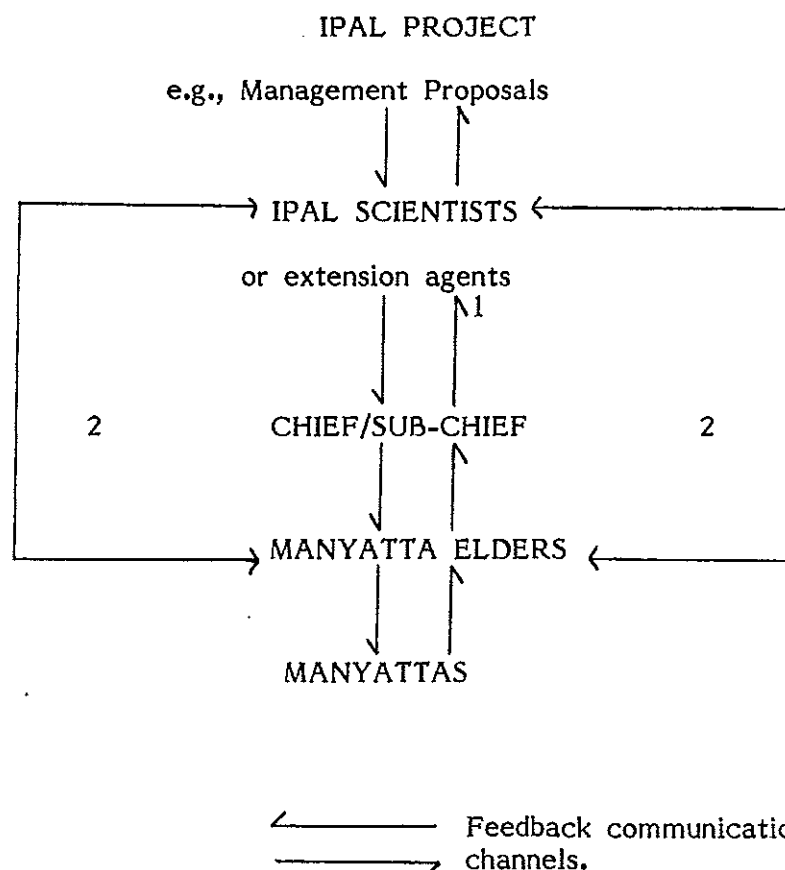


As seen above, the general format of the established communication channels for Rendille, Gabra or Borana is similar. But each group has an important target group unique to itself. For the Rendille, the most important target group is the naabo, while for the Gabra and Borana it is the koora olla and koora dedha. Therefore, extension agents working among the Borana and Gabra should address themselves to the koora olla or koora dedha.

Under the present administrative regulations, the meeting with the dedha assembly may be arranged through the chief or sub-chief of the location. These interactions may be summarized by Model 7.



Model 7. A general model of communication channels to be used by extension agents in reaching the local people in the IPAL study area.



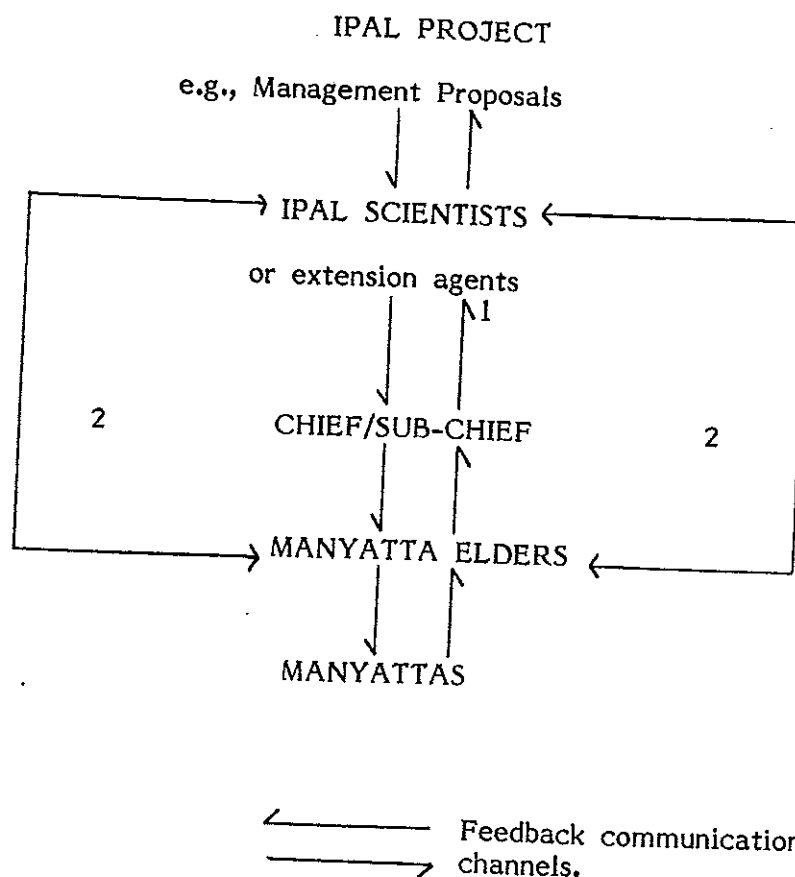
1,2. A generalized order of communication channels with the target groups.

Other methods of communication that have been used among the pastoral nomads of northern Kenya are not the subject of this paper. These have been treated in greater detail elsewhere (Allen, 1981), but suffice it to say that the new methods of communication, e.g., radio, video-film, audio-visual, and posters will for a long time remain subsidiary to the traditional forms of communication illustrated in this paper.

### Conclusion

There is no doubt in the minds of administrators and development planners that extension holds the key to the success of development programmes and acceptance of new innovations in the pastoral areas of the country. To this effect, various approaches have been attempted to solve extension problems. Among these are included what I may call the "missionary" approach and even threats. None of these have worked, however, because the pastoral people's potential role as a source of development has not been recognized.

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There is no doubt in the minds of administrators and development planners that extension holds the key to the success of development programmes and acceptance of new innovations in the pastoral areas of the country. To this effect, various approaches have been attempted to solve extension problems. Among these are included what I may call the "missionary" approach and even threats. None of these have worked, however, because the pastoral people's potential role as a source of development has not been recognized.

The "missionary" approach presupposes that people have no means or know-how with which to solve their problems but rather remain as "receivers" of development. This approach has "spoiled" the pastoralists and may account for their prevailing attitude that solutions to their current problems, however trivial, can be found only by the government.

The time has come, therefore, for administrators and policy-makers to re-examine their approaches to extension in the light of previous disappointing results and to use the people as a source of development. As illustrated in this paper, the pastoral nomads of northern Kenya have effective methods of communication that have been proven over time to be efficient within the constraints of the pastoral environment. In the absence of all modern forms of communication, the Rendille naabo, Borana, and Gabra koora olla and koora dedha have no substitute among these pastoral groups. These traditional forms of gathering have been used by each respective group to make decisions on issues facing their communities.

The official form of communication, the baraza, though commonly used by extension agents, has failed to be effective as a means of communication when used on its own because of the nature of its function. Therefore, the administrative baraza needs to be modified for the purposes of the extension agent. It should be as close as possible to a normal gathering of the local people and should be used as a means of disseminating information over a wide area before actual individual or group contacts with the people are made.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The data on which this paper was based was collected between 1981-1983, while the author was working with the IPAL Project, in Marsabit District, northern Kenya. An earlier version of this paper has been published in the IPAL Management Plan Document for the Rendille area and was also presented at the IPAL extension seminar held in June 1983.
2. TLMP--Traditional Livestock Management Project. A Funds in Trust Project of FRG which was affiliated to UNEP-MAB Integrated Project on Arid Lands (IPAL).
3. In Kenya, the use of harambee (a Kiswahili) word which means "pulling together" has become a national slogan for development of the rural areas.
4. Details of IPAL Management Plan proposals for the Rendille country are available in Vol. II of the Management Plan document of the Project.
5. Minutes of meetings held with Rendille elders on IPAL Management Plan Proposals for their country.
6. Recent socio-economic changes among the pastoral population have created what Michael O'Leary calls an "outward oriented class". These include; pastoralists turning traders, government civil servants, teachers, etc. These groups of people are becoming more individualistic. Such individuals no longer wait for the clans to make decisions on their behalf. Individual interests displayed by them are largely responsible for the weakening of traditional authority. Elders, who in the past have made decisions on behalf of their communities, are also losing such

powers to chiefs, sub-chiefs and other political leaders.

7. The traditional livestock management strategy of the Rendille nomads is to keep all the three stocks--camels, cattle, and small stock. These livestock are then further split into fora herds and milk herds. The fora herds are mobile and are away from the main camps for most of the year except during sorio (Spencer, 1973; O'Leary, 1982). The different type of livestock owned requires division of labor among the members of the family. Moran are responsible for herding fora camels, while girls, boys, and married men are responsible for herding the fora herds of the small stock. Family members are, therefore, away from the main camps for most of the year. Extension agents wishing to meet each group should be prepared to meet them individually wherever they are.
8. Model 3: This approach has been used by IPAL during its public hearing of the management proposals made for the Rendille country. A month before meeting the elders; chiefs and sub-chiefs in the Rendille country were given details of the management proposals and dates for meeting elders were fixed. Meanwhile the chiefs and sub-chiefs were requested to brief the elders on the forthcoming meeting. During the meeting, IPAL scientists and extension agents briefed the elders on the proposed Management Plan and requested them to give feedback on each item. The elders and other leaders spoke their mind on the management proposals and gave suggestions to improve it.

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