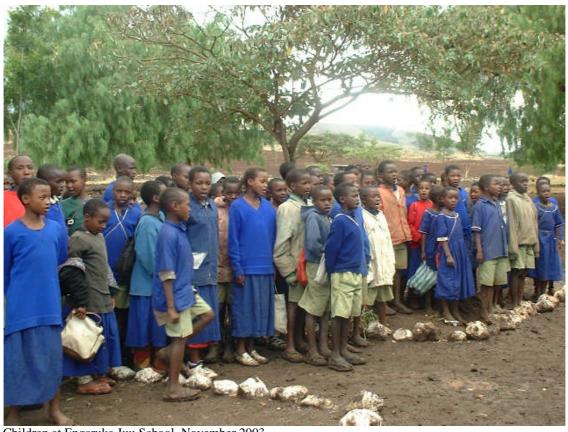# Institutional Change; Does it help alleviate Poverty?
A study of the effects of institutional reforms on the Maasai in Tanzania

Children at Engaruka Juu School, November 2003

EKH 480 Thesis
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Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CCM	Cha Cha Mapinduzi (Party of the Revolution)
EdSDP	Education Sector Development Programme
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
LGRP	Local Government Reform Programme
PEDP	Primary Education Programme
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNWFP	United Nations World Food Programme

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1.0 Introduction

The problem of poverty is present all over the world. Poverty consists of many different factors and appears in different dimensions in all environments. Institutions are the rules and games of a society and are important to people experiencing poverty as they provide safety nets such as social security or strong social relations in the form of kinship ties. I will describe the role of institutions in indigenous societies experiencing poverty and discuss the affects of institutional change. As an example of my argument I will illustrate what effects formal institutional change such as applied government policies have had on the Maasai, an indigenous pastoral group living in northern Tanzania.

1.1 Objectives and Hypothesis

The objective of this thesis is to analyze poverty in indigenous societies from an institutional perspective. Institutions are present in every society. Indigenous societies that have their own institutional structures follow their own traditional patterns and way of life. They do not take active part in government activities and their society does not always assimilate with the official institutional structure. When traditional indigenous societies change their informal institutional structures due to governmental policies or other external factors, they are forced to alter their entire culture. This is because of the new structures that hinder them from depending on their culture for subsistence. In order to adjust to the new institutional structure they are forced to change informal and social institutions. As they have no prior experience with the new values or social patterns, it can take a long time for them to adapt to the new structure. The Maasai, an indigenous group in East Africa, are a typical example of how governmental reforms have altered the traditional indigenous institutional structure. Their cultural heritage that has existed for centuries has guided them and helped them survive a nomadic lifestyle on the East African steppe in search for grazing land for their cattle. They have lived independently in their environment and have had no need for interaction with the Tanzanian government. However government restraints on their land as well as climatic changes leading to drought has caused a decline in their cattle production, which has resulted in poverty. The government of Tanzania set up reforms that were projected onto Maasai communities in order to reduce the poverty level among them. These reforms have had marginal results since the Maasai have had a difficult time adapting to the new changes in their environment due to these reforms.

It is important to recognise the time gap, which is created between the formal and informal institutional structure during change. Governmental reforms cannot change the structures of traditional societies overnight. This change develops over time. My aim is to illustrate the consequences of Tanzanian governmental reforms applied onto Maasai

societies, and show how they clash with the already existing institutions. The time it takes for the implemented government policy to be successful depends on how strong the traditional culture is and how easily it can be changed. The change thus creates a gap in between formal and informal institutions. The gap created between formal governmental institutional structure and traditional indigenous informal structure can, in my opinion, sustain poverty and it is with this conclusion I will analyze the effects of informal institutional change.

1.2 Methodology

This is an analytical study of the effects of institutions in societies where the poverty level is high. I have chosen to study formal and informal institutions and their role in society. I will analyse how institutional change affects development in third world countries where indigenous societies exist and use the Maasai in Tanzania as my example. Traditional indigenous societies still prevail in several countries in Africa. I have studied the Tanzanian Maasai to find out how they have adapted to government policies and changed their way of life to adjust to the dynamic changes that are surrounding them. I will use first-hand experience of the Tanzanian Maasai collected during my internship at the United Nations World Food Programme during the autumn of 2003 as well as second hand information from other papers and books related to this subject. The regions used for my study consist of the Maasai villages and populated areas in the Ngorongoro region of Tanzania. The time frame for my analyses ranges from the mid 1970's to December of 2003 since I have used both older and more recent government strategies that have been applied onto Maasai societies.

The information described above is used together with theoretical information concerning institutions and institutional change. I have combined first hand experience and other qualitative information with a description of institutions. I have particularly brought light to the effects of institutional structures in societies where the larger part of the population is experiencing poverty in order to emphasize my argument about the clash between formal and informal institutions.

There has been a lot of research and writing regarding institutional economics and development. I have chosen to use several publications by Douglass North as well as publications by Jens Beckert and David Dequech for information on economical institutional theory. For an anthropological aspect of poverty and institutions, I have used publications by Deepa Narayan, Ruth Lister and Amartya Sen. The criticisms that I found regarding this subject include those of Daniel Ankarloo PHD. in Economic History, Jonathan Conly of USAID and Susanne D. Mueller of the United Nations Dept of Economic and Social Affairs.

I have used information from the Swedish Department of International Affairs as well as the CIA Fact Book for current information on Tanzania as well official papers from the Tanzanian Authorities. I have also used publications from Kaj Århem and Kjell Havnevik for facts on the Maasai and traditional societies suffering from rural poverty in Africa. Other sources include information from United Nations World Food Programme archive and first-hand experience from a field trip in the Arusha region in North Eastern Tanzania in November 2003. The interviews used as information were collected on paper and the person interviewed did most often not know English. Mr. Appolinary Kundi, a UNWFP Programme Officer assisted in translating my questions and answers when needed.

1.3 Limitations

The limitations of time range and place to my study have to due with several reasons. Firstly, I had the opportunity of collecting first-hand information on Maasai schools and meeting with Maasai teachers, parents and children on a Monitoring and Evaluation Field Trip while doing an internship for the United Nations World Food Programme in Tanzania during the autumn of 2003. We travelled to several schools attended by Maasai children in the Ngorongoro area of North Eastern Tanzania. This area is the most heavily Maasai populated area of Tanzania and gave me the geographical range of this study.

The time frame dates from independence to 2003. The first president of Tanzania after independence used socialist policies and reforms in order to increase development in the country. As we will see later on, the country's economy did not benefit from this policy, however the reforms changed the country's formal institutional structures. The Maasai in Tanzania were deeply affected by these changes since they had to alter their entire culture in order to adapt to these changes. While visiting the Maasai communities in 2003, it was interesting to see how important their culture still was to them and how they still were trying to assimilate to changes that had occurred over twenty years earlier.

1.4 Data and Outline

The information used from my field trip with the UNWFP (United Nations World Food Programme) includes interviews with teachers at the schools and staff at the UNWFP, photographs and personal observations. Interviews with schoolteachers were in Swahili and have been translated into English and the interviews with UNWFP staff were held in English.

This thesis is divided into several chapters. After the introductory chapter, I begin with a description of poverty. I continue to discuss institutions and their importance to poverty. Following this is an introduction to Tanzania and Tanzanian government reforms and

then a description of the Tanzanian Maasai, which will be used as an empirical example of my arguments, included in the conclusion.

Chapter two and three include theoretical information and chapters four and five include empirical information as well as first hand personal experience. The last part of chapter five consists of the results of my study. Chapter six and seven consists of my conclusion and bibliography. The map and photographs at the end includes photographs of my experience from Tanzania as well as a map of Tanzania.

1.5 Acknowledgements

2.0 Theory

There are two theoretical approaches used in this study. Firstly, when discussing the concept of poverty, the deprivation approach as outlined by Amartya Sen is used. He describes this as being deprived of the basic capabilities needed to live an ordinary life (Sen 1982:15). Poverty according to this approach is about being deprived of the basic factors needed to live an ordinary life accustomed to the environment in which one lives. These factors include food, public health, dignity and social security (Drèze & Sen 1980:18).

The second theoretical approach used in this study is the theory of economic change as described by Douglass North. Below is a quotation defining Douglass North's theory of economic change (North 2005:1):

> "Economic change is a result of changes in the quantity and quality of human beings; in the stock of human knowledge particularly as applied to the human command over nature; and in the institutional framework that defines the deliberate incentive structure of a complete society."

The key to improving economic performance according to North is the deliberate effort of human beings to control their environment. Institutional change is therefore crucial for understanding this process (North 2005:1). North discusses the importance of understanding economic change through institutional change. Institutions whether formal or informal have a structure that helps people experiencing poverty from deprivation of basic factors needed to survive. Official laws and rules of the government create formal institutional structures and informal institutional structures have been formed through either kinship ties or other strong social relations as a safety net and security for the lives of the poor.

2.1 Poverty

There are several aspects of poverty such as lack of income and education, unemployment and famine. Other characteristics include psychological as well as physical factors. Poverty never results from lack of one thing only, but from lack of many factors joined together that cluster in poor people's experiences and definitions of poverty (Narayan 2000:4).

Poverty appears in different forms and varies by social group, season, location and country. Poverty is multidimensional and can be seen as a concept concerned with the conditions of the poor, which provides a framework within which definitions and measurements of poverty are developed (Lister 2004:3).

There are different approaches to the concept of poverty. Amartya Sen (Sen 1982:9) gives an outline of the following three; firstly, the biological approach, which uses biological considerations related to requirements for survival. This approach defines a family to be poor if their total earnings are insufficient in obtaining the minimum necessities for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency. The second is the inequality approach. This compares poverty to inequality and makes comparisons between the rich and the poor casting the issues of poverty in terms of stratification. This approach looks at the nature of size and its differences between the bottom ten or twenty per cent of a population and the rest of society. The final approach to the concept of poverty is that of relative deprivation. The concept of deprivation has no standard definition and is therefore relative to the environment in which it exists (Sen 1982:15). Each of these approaches cannot define the concept of poverty on its own. In order to do so, one must understand the many dimensions of the situation and then define them (Sen 1982:17). The concept or framework of poverty thus provides a definition for each particular situation.

Poverty has to do with being deprived of the factors needed to live an ordinary life accustomed to one's environment. Deprivation is seen in terms of the failure of certain human capabilities that are important to a person's well being. It relates poverty to the failure of the ability to achieve those things that are ultimately important for a healthy life. Poverty includes lack of economic means to escape the deprivation of obtaining basic capabilities such as food, public health, dignity and social security (Drèze & Sen 1980:18). Today's economy of private ownership allows people to be deprived of the basic factors needed to live an ordinary life. People experiencing poverty usually do not have the ability in obtaining private ownership such as a house or other means to a secure domestic environment. The laws of the environment do not provide social security arrangements that result in subsistence security. Labour, which is a person's substantial asset, is his or her means to acquire needs for subsistence. If a person is unable to work they have no security for food supply. Failure in subsistence thus results in deprivation (Drèze & Sen 1980:21).

2.2 Institutions

Institutions include all forms of constraints that human beings devise to shape their interaction in a society. Institutions structure incentives in human exchange whether political, social or economic. Institutions include both what individuals are prohibited from doing and in some cases certain activities that some individuals are permitted to undertake. Institutions are therefore the framework within which human interaction takes place (North 1990:4). The reason for the existence of institutions is to reduce uncertainty

by providing a structure to daily life (North 1990:5). Institutions are the rules of the game.

Institutions consist of formal and informal constraints. Formal institutions include political and judicial rules, economic rules and contracts. The hierarchy of such rules, from constitutions to statute, common laws and individual contracts defines constraints, from general rules to particular specifications. Rules of formal institutions are devised in the interest of private
well-being rather than social well-being. Property rights, for example, are a consequence of formal institutions within an institution (North 1990:47). These rules create a formal institutional structure that can be seen as scaffolding for a society. This structure reduces uncertainties where official economic or social interaction takes place.

Informal institutions also known as culture include norms of behaviour, conventions and self-imposed codes of conduct[1]. They play an important role in the make-up of the choice set both in the short-run and in the long-run evolution of societies. The information processed by the mind is the key to understanding this process (North 1990:42). In the short-run, culture defines the way individuals process and utilize information and hence may affect the way informal institutions get specified. The long-run implication of processing cultural information that underlies informal institutions plays an important role in the way that institutions develop. This creates a source of path dependence (Ibid.). Path dependence is what connects the past to the future. It is a set of structures on the choice set in the present derived from historical experience. Path dependence is an important factor in the process of informal institutional change. Understanding this process involves direct confrontation to determine the nature of the limits of change that path dependence imposes in various settings (North 2005:52).

Formal institutions can be changed immediately through the application of new policies such as laws or reforms. Informal institutions are culturally derived and will not change immediately in reaction to changes within formal rules. As a result the tension between altered formal rules and the persisting informal institutions produces outcomes that have important implications for the way economies change (North 1990:45). The tension present as a result of institutional change in Third World countries creates a gap between formal and informal institutions. This sustains poverty and hinders development from making progress.

The institutional economic model has negative as well as positive aspects. Douglass North has been criticized for using static neoclassical economic models which do not relate to any realistic situations when explaining economic change (Ankarloo 1999:152). However, there are not many economic models that provide space for the situation of

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[1] The Ronald Coase Institute 2005, Institutions, www.coase.org

poverty. Institutional economics as a development model goes beyond neo-classical economic assumptions and tackles poverty as a normative issue. Institutional economics has the advantage of taking independent, non-market related variables into account when dealing with the problem of poverty (Daniels, Peter L. 2005:241). It takes social as well as economic aspects into account. A full range of variables such as societal influences, productivity, output and inequality can thus be incorporated into the analysis giving a more accurate view of the actual situation (Ibid.). As mentioned earlier, poverty has to do with several factors and an institutional perspective can provide a wider range of variables allowing these factors to be taken into account.

From a developmental aspect, institutional theory for economic growth has been approved of by several. Jonathan Conly of USAID describes how USAID as a developmental agency often assumes that change based on the experience of USAID will result in a similar outcome in a developing country. He states that the results often are disappointing and uses examples of pastoral people in Kenya who are suffering from poverty. The Kenyan Maasai are included in this example (Conly 2003:3). Like the Tanzanian Maasai, they have

> "…developed a set of traditional institutions that have allowed them to survive for centuries, managing risk in a rough balance with their precarious environment, raising cattle and goats on communal grazing land."

When the most basic notions of development are introduced, the tribes suffer from an imbalance by becoming overpopulated through an increase in herd size, which results in an overgrazing in an already restricted grazing area (Ibid.). At the same time, sedentary populations expand their farms onto marginal lands, competing for the traditional pastoral people's grazing land. The Maasai want to raise their cattle in the same traditional way as always however, their institutions hinder them from developing fast enough. This leaves them more vulnerable than before (Ibid.). Conly's main argument is that an understanding of the institutional structure of different societies is needed in order to be able to help them.

Susanne D. Mueller of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs also explains that the Northian approach of understanding formal and informal institutional structures would help to ground the idea of institution and capacity building in some reality (Mueller 2006:11). By this understanding, the real problem behind badly functioning institutions can be recognised while tying ideas about how to strengthen them to specific problems (Ibid.). Institutions within a society can be identified and hopefully a strong base can be built upon them giving the society the opportunity to develop.

2.3 Belief Systems

The institutional information processed in the mind is the belief system. Belief systems are an internal representation of the human landscape and are what connect reality to the surrounding environment according to the institutional theory (North 2001). Frederick von Hayek began to relate the environment in which human beings live to the constructions of the mind in a cognitive sense. The mind's created belief is a subjective perception of the surrounding environment constructed in the human mind according to Hayek (Ibid.). This is a point emphasised by Douglass North in an address to a law school conference at Washington University in 2001. Reality is not reproduced. However instead, we construct systems of classifications to interpret the external environment. An environment perceived in the mind is a non-realistic and subjective environment created in order to interpret the complex relationships between the different parameters existing in the environment (North 2005:34). The outcome of this interpretation becomes a theory. Hence theories are human explanations of our perceptions of the surrounding environment (North 2001). Belief systems are the internal embodiment of the human landscape and institutions are the structure that humans impose on that landscape to produce the desired outcome. The structure of an economic market thus reflects the beliefs of those in position to make the rules of the game (North 2005:49).

The close relationship between belief systems and institutions is evident in both formal and informal institutions although it is more evident in informal institutions since culture is built upon beliefs (North 2005:34). North explains that the connection between belief systems and informal institutions are made evident through norms, conventions and internal codes of conduct. Along with representing moral codes of belief, informal institutions embody norms particular to individual societies. For example, in third world countries in Africa, where several traditional indigenous societies exist, each indigenous society has a different belief system than that of the country in which they live. Moral codes can generally share common characteristics across cultures although the diversity between different cultures can be very large which hinders the cultures themselves to share common characteristics (North 2005:50).

Culture consists of an intergenerational transfer of norms, values, and ideas and has a role as a process that permits information from past generations to have more direct effect on the learning of following generations. Information from past generations in this sense can only be obtained from a whole population over many generations. This type of knowledge is called artifactual structure and cannot be discovered by any individual during one lifetime. It is the learning of past generations transmitted as culture into the belief structure of present generations (North 2005:50).

The artifactual structure can also give hints to how successful societies have been through time. In other words, the stronger the artifactual structure, the stronger the culture is hence the greater the reduction of uncertainty in making choices at a moment of time. A secure institutional structure is built up by a strong culture. The informal institutional constraint is the shape or structure of rites and conduct of that culture. The range of

routine decisions that can be made becomes wider as the artifactual structure becomes stronger and richer (North 2005:63). The more stable the culture, however, the more difficult it will be to adapt to formal institutional change.

When formal institutional change such as a change in government policies occurs, the formal institutional structure is altered as an immediate process. This process tends to clash with the informal institution in that society. Official norms of society change and social informal patterns must adjust to this change. The time it takes for the informal structure to change to the new formal structure creates a gap between formal and informal institutions causing a conflict between the formal and informal institutional structures.

2.4 Poverty and Institutions

Institutions play an important role in the lives of those who experience poverty. The framework of the institution should provide the security of a safety net whether formal or informal. However, the formal institutional structure does not always reach down to the poor. This can be due to deprivation of factors needed to be able to part take in institutional activity. For example, an institution such as the educational system is not always accessed by those experiencing poverty since their children must stay home for economic reasons such as work instead of going to school.

Health care is another institution that is not always accessible by those experiencing poverty. For example, rural populations do not always have access to health centres if they live in remote areas. Ignorance and cultural norms are also factors that can hinder institutions to reach the population.

Governmental corruption has also lead to social exclusion of people experiencing poverty. Political leaders in many third world countries where the larger part of the population is stricken with poverty often have a greater interest in formal institutional structure for their own benefit instead of those institutions that benefit the poor. For this reason, government institutions are of little use to the greater part of the population who suffer from poverty (Narayan 2000:83). As a result of this exclusion, people experiencing poverty are forced to build up informal institutions of their own to form safety nets, informal networks, and other social capital that enable people to coordinate collective action (Narayan 2000:129).

The relations that are built within informal institutions created as a consequence of social exclusion have psychological as well as social and economic reasons. As explained earlier, the institutional structure is evident in every human society. If certain people are

excluded from the formal institutional structure of a society, they will create their own institutional structure in order to facilitate their social and economic interaction by a structure which provides rules and codes of conduct. Thus if people experiencing poverty develop their own institutions, it is to relieve them of their immediate uncertainties involving their daily social and economic interaction. Social and economic security is built through the strong kinship ties and social relations created in the informal institution.

The informal institutions take over the role that formal institutions should have in these societies. They are especially interesting to study since they provide clues to what poor people seek in formal institutions (Narayan 2000:131). There is a need for formal institutions which faithfully reflect and represent the views and interests of their constituencies while they develop a consistent notion of the public good (Havnevik 1999). This informal structure is accessed by everyone who needs it thus providing security and a safety net for that society.

Poverty in these societies is sustained by institutional exclusion or political corruption or by the difficulties in assimilating to the new informal structure brought on by formal institutional change. As mentioned earlier, informal institutions cannot change immediately as formal institutions do. This is due to the artifactual structure included in the informal structure. They therefore alter gradually over time attempting to assimilate to the new structure of the formal institution in order to reduce the uncertainties that have arisen with the new situation.

As an individual is confronted by a new situation as a result of institutional change, he has no knowledge of what choice to make. In third world countries where deprivation of security is present as a result of institutional change, the gap between formal and informal institutions sustain poverty hence hindering development from making progress.
By using the deprivation approach towards poverty as described by Sen and the process of economic change through institutions and belief systems as described by North, I will describe the effects of formal institutions such as governmental reforms applied onto the traditional indigenous society of the Tanzanian Maasai.

3.0 Tanzania

To illustrate the impact and importance of institutions in a third world country struggling with the problems of poverty, I have chosen Tanzania as my example since I have first hand experience of this country. I shall attempt to describe the formal institutions of Tanzania and the clash between formal government institutions and indigenous informal institutions. I have chosen to use first-hand experience of several Maasai villages and schools in the Ngorongoro region of Tanzania as my example.

Tanzania is the largest country in East Africa with a total area of approximately 940 000 square kilometres including the Zanzibar archipelago. It borders Kenya on its north, the Indian ocean on its east side, Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia in the south and finally Congo, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda in the west (Landguiden 2004:Tanzania). Tanzania lies right below the equator and has a climate that varies widely per region. The coastal and archipelago regions consist of tropical monsoon climate and the main land is arid and dry[2]. See map.

There are two capital cities in Tanzania; Dodoma which is the political capital and Dar es Salaam which is the commercial capital. The government is located in Dar es Salaam, which also is the country's largest city[3].

The mainland population consists of about 120 tribal groups, most of which are very small and none exceeding more than 10% of the total population. Almost 100 of the tribes together account for a mere third of the entire Tanzanian population. The five largest tribes are the Sukuma, Nyamwezi, Makonde, Haya and Chagga. There are also indigenous people such as the Maasai and Kushitic people as well as Arabic, Asian and European minorities. No tribe has succeeded in denominating politically or culturally due to the large number of ethnic groups (Landguiden 2004: Tanzania).

Roughly 45% of the Tanzanian population is Christian and one third of the population is Moslem. The remaining religious groups consist of Hindus, Buddhists and other traditional African religions (Landguiden 2004: Tanzania).

3.1 Political History

The United Republic of Tanzania was formed in 1964 after the country became independent from British administration. Tanzania adopted a socialist regime which relied on different government reforms as a strategy to increase development and also to

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[2] Tanzanian National Website, 2005, Climate, www.tanzania.go.tz/
[3] Tanzanian National Website, 2005 Country Profile, www.tanzania.go.tz/

unify the diverse country. Julius Nyerere, the Tanzanian president, presented a declaration in 1967 known as the Arusha Declaration which had a policy of socialism and self-reliance. Aspects of the Arusha Declaration included nationalisation of the economy and tax increases aimed at redistributing individual wealth. The cornerstone of this policy was the establishment of the family-hood village known as the *Ujamaa*. This was an agricultural collective run along traditional African lines, with an emphasis on self-reliance (Landguiden 2004: Tanzania).

Initially in the *Ujamaa* system, progressive farmers were encouraged to expand in the hope that others would follow their example. The *Ujamaa* benefited those who were the recipients of state funds however improvement in rural poverty was minimal. This led to the abandonment of *Ujamaa* in favour of direct state control (Landguiden 2004: Tanzania).

Tanzania suffered an economic crisis during the mid 1980's which was characterized by an inflation of 30%, unsustainable fiscal and external deficits, shortages of basic consumer goods, the collapse of agricultural exports and shrinking GDP. In reaction to this, economic reforms were introduced in order to allow market forces to play a greater role in the economy (World Bank 2000: xiv).

The current leading party with a voting majority is the socialist party, Cha Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). The CCM won the latest government elections in December of 2005 putting Jakaya Kikwete as the current president of Tanzania[4].

3.2 Poverty in Tanzania

Classified as a least developed and low-income, food deficit country, Tanzania was ranked 156th out of 174 of the world's poorest countries by the 2004 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report. Over 40% of the population live in chronic food deficit regions where irregular rainfall patterns are the cause of repeated food shortages (UNWFP 2003).

Poverty is mostly a rural phenomenon in Tanzania. Incomes in this sector are lower and poverty is more widespread and deeper than in urban areas. The poor are mainly concentrated on subsistence agriculture (PRSP 2000). An informal institutional structure is evident in rural societies suffering from poverty. The rural population experiencing poverty depends on their cultural values, kinship relations and codes of conduct as security for survival. Formal institutions such as government implemented policies are often not present in these societies, as will be described later.

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[4] CIA World Factbook, 2006, Tanzania, http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook

Youths, old and large households are more likely to be poor. Women are generally perceived to be poorer than men although female-headed households are not necessarily poorer than male-headed households (PRSP 2000).

The table below shows the percentage below the national food poverty line and basic needs poverty line during the year 1991/1992 and 2000/2001. The gini-coefficient shows us that the income inequality has actually increased.

Table 1. Percentage of population below National Food and Basic Needs Poverty Line

Year:	2000/2001	1991/1992
Below National Food Poverty Line:	18.7%	21.6%
Below Basic Needs Poverty Line:	35.7%	38.6%
Gini Coefficient:	0.35	0.34

Source: NSGRP 2005

The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) has divided poverty into two categories: income poverty, which is dependant on salaries and wages, and non-income poverty which includes lack of government services like healthcare and education which results in high mortality rates and illiteracy.

Income Poverty:
Income poverty is closely related to growth in the productive and service sectors. Sector based constraints precipitate income poverty to the extent that they limit growth in sectors and also effect the provision of services that reduce non-income poverty.

Income poverty is also related to agricultural constraints within development, which include low productivity of land, labour and production inputs, under-developed irrigation, limited capital, poor rural infrastructure and environmental degradation such as erosion and drought. Other constraints include gender relations, weak producer's organization, poor coordination, and limited technical capacity. Levels and quality of transport, communications and energy services are poor which also limit growth (PRSP 2000).

Non-income Poverty:
Education and illiteracy
In 1997, the Tanzanian literacy rate was estimated at 84% of the whole population. The rate for women was somewhat lower than that of men. In 1991, illiteracy among the rural population was estimated at 54.3%. The table below shows enrolment rates since the implementation of the Primary Education Programme (PEDP).

Table 2. Gross and Net Enrolment Rates in Tanzania between 1990-2004

Year:	1990	Targets for 2003	2003	2004

Gross Enrolment Rate: 106.3%	77.6%	85%	105.3%	
Net Enrolment Rate:	58.8%	70%	88.5%	90.5%

Source: NSGRP 2005

The targets for primary school enrolment have been surpassed, however, the pace of transition to secondary school is low and gender inequalities are larger in enrolment at secondary and tertiary levels (NSGRP 2005).

Water and Environmental Health:
The goal for the PRSP 2000 for access to clean water was to reach 55% of the rural population. Following are the results:

Table 3. Percentage of Rural Population with Access to Clean Water

Year:	2000	2002	2003
Rural Access to Clean Water	49%	50%	53%

Source: NSGRP 2005

The constraints with access to clean water are most often long distances to the sources of drinking water. There is a close link between water supply and water-borne diseases such as cholera, bilharzias, malaria, scabies and trachoma in areas with poor sanitation facilities.

3.3 Government Strategies

Tanzania has had a long history of participatory planning and implementation of public programmes. A socialist regime took form in the late 1960's, which was based on socialism and self-reliance with a strong central government. This also implied a change in the formal institutional structure which created agricultural collectives, nationalised the economy and increased taxes as a means to redistribute individual wealth. Even though this temporarily led to a significant improvement in per capita income and access to education, health and other social services, the gains could not be sustained due to economic constraints as described earlier (PRSP 2000).

A decentralization reform was passed in 1982, which reintroduced a system of local governments in Tanzania. This system has since played an important role in the delivery of key government services (Boex 2003).

The Tanzanian local government allocation is split up into six different programmes contained in the central government budget, five of these to national policy priority areas such as health, education and also including agriculture. The sixth allocation is for the

local administration (Boex 2003). Local administrations are an evidence of formal institutional structure in rural areas. However, due to the solid informal structure of the rural population, the implemented policies at the district level hardly benefit the rural population experiencing poverty. The implemented policies and rural way of life differ to the extent that policies such as education result in low attendance rates by both girls and boys given that they are an economic asset to the family and must stay at home to work instead of going to school.

Jameson Boex aggregated the local government budget for each sector during the fiscal year 2002-2003 in a study for Georgia State University (Boex 2003). The results show that education is the biggest expenditure with nearly 70% of local government finances. The second largest is health care with a budget of almost 18%. The smallest percentage, roughly 6%, is allocated to administration at district level (Ibid.).

In the year of 2000, the Government of Tanzania launched the Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP) as a policy to further decentralize government power and give more responsibility to the local government in each district. The following policies have been implemented (NSGRP 2005):

- National Strategy for Primary School (Primary Education Programme -PEDP)
    - The Government support of basic costs in primary education, especially teacher's salaries (as of 1999).
    - Abolishment of school fees in primary schools

- Health Reforms
    - Immunization of children under 2 years of age against measles and DPT
    - Supplies of drugs and medical care are made available since the year 2000 due to funds being established at most hospitals in the country
    - Raise awareness of HIV/AIDS

The above examples of government policies to alleviate poverty have had marginal positive results. The policies have implicated a change in the formal institutional structure of the country causing the informal institutional structure to change in order to adapt to the government policies. I will discuss the elimination of school fees and the result of this government policy as well as past government policies such as resettlement programmes in Maasai populated areas of the Ngorongoro region of Tanzania. This will be discussed in greater depth as an example of how formal institutional change affects indigenous institutional structures.

4.0 Tanzanian Maasai

The Maasai are an indigenous group who live in the pastoral region of East Africa. They live in Kenya and Tanzania and can be classified as pastoralists since they are a nomadic group constantly seeking pastures for their cattle. They are the largest pastoral group in Tanzania with an estimated population of roughly 350 000. There are a total of roughly 900 000 pastoral Maasai living in the Rift Valley region of Kenya and Tanzania[5]. Their cattle graze in the national wildlife parks of Tanzania and they ignore international boundaries with Kenya as they move their great cattle herds across the open savannah with the changing of the seasons[6].

4.1 Institutional Structure and Belief Systems

All throughout history, the Maasai have lived a nomadic lifestyle in areas of marginal lands and water resources sharing the environment with the wildlife. Their nomadic lifestyle makes them dependant on large areas of land for grazing their cattle. The pastoralist lifestyle provided food, drink, clothing, housing, bedding and ornaments and meant a more secure existence than agriculture. It was also a means of storing wealth. In the past 20 years, however, they have been restrained from their land due to the immigration of non-pastoralists on their land. This has resulted in a growth of population and thus competition for land and resources. The Maasai are no longer able to meet their subsistence needs based on pastoral production so traditional land and resource use practices have had to be modified. Modifications like these are presently forcing the Maasai to alter their livelihood from pastoral production to agricultural production[7]. Through the Senian perspective of poverty, which implies that poverty has to do with being deprived of the basic capabilities needed to live an ordinary life, the Maasai have been suffering from poverty by being deprived of their subsistence nature. The governmental pressure of altering pastoral production to agricultural production entails a deprivation of the former Maasai lifestyle. They have been restricted from their grazing lands and must find new means for survival.

The Governmental institutional structure in Tanzania is influenced by industries such as tourism. The creation of national wildlife parks has also driven the Tanzanian Maasai away from their land since tourists and park keepers have had no interest in letting them stay there. Sharing land with non-pastoralists and the need for resettlement due to tourism has had a serious impact on the Maasai. Their subsistence-oriented way of life has

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[5] African Wildlife Foundation 2003, Maasai Steppe,
http://www.awf.org/heartlands/maasaisteppe/index.php
[6] Art & Life in Africa 1998, Maasai Information, http://www.uiowa.edu/~africart/toc/people/Maasai.html
[7] African Wildlife Foundation 2003, Maasai Steppe,
http://www.awf.org/heartlands/maasaisteppe/index.php

forcibly been altered by government restrictions on their land to be replaced by other resources in order for their survival. These changes have altered the institutional structure and initial lifestyle of the Maasai.

The institutional structure of the Maasai is based upon their culture and belief systems. The Tanzanian Maasai have resisted the urging of the government to integrate with the country's formal institutional activity. Instead, they rely on their informal institutional structure and belief systems as a means for daily subsistence. They have a strong indigenous cultural heritage that has lasted for centuries differing extensively from the rest of the Tanzanian culture.

The Maasai culture is built up of a rich artifactual structure that has existed for many generations. Their culture and belief systems play an important role in their daily life since that structure is what generates the social and economic interaction between them. Dynamic changes in their surrounding environment have lead to restrictions in their way of life as pastoralists. From once living a nomadic life in the pastoral environment with their cattle, they have been forced to change their traditional way of life to individual farming, which has implied limited land and livestock.

Their social and economic life is centred on livestock and their subsistence is based on the form of cattle, sheep and goats. Young men have always been responsible for tending to the herds and have often lived in small camps, moving frequently in a constant search for water and good grazing lands[8]. The search for grass and rich grazing lands was important to the Maasai since grass symbolized a significant source of life (Hauk, Edens, KasiKasi 2005). The grass feeds their cattle keeping them healthy and able to reproduce generating more cattle and thus income for the Maasai.

Cattle are central to Maasai economy. They are accumulated as a sign of wealth and status and are traded or sold to settle debts and are rarely killed[9]. The live produce and the different parts of the carcass are used as food, medicine, utensils, clothing and adornment. They also serve as an exchange medium, legitimise marriage and are a symbol of social relationships. Cattle are objects of affection and are of supreme religious significance. They are ultimately the definition of Maasai identity. They give meaning to Maasai life and meaning to life itself. The Maasai often travel into towns and cities to purchase goods and supplies, and to sell their cattle at regional markets. Maasai also sell their beadwork to the tourists in national wildlife parks with whom they share their grazing land[10]. Tourism is also another source of income for the Maasai, which ties them to the larger economy.

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[8] Art & Life in Africa 1998, Maasai Information, http://www.uiowa.edu/~africart/toc/people/Maasai.html
[9] Art & Life in Africa 1998, Maasai Information, http://www.uiowa.edu/~africart/toc/people/Maasai.html
[10] Art & Life in Africa 1998, Maasai Information, http://www.uiowa.edu/~africart/toc/people/Maasai.html

4.2 Government Reforms in Maasai populated areas

The colonial land policy continued after the independence in 1964 and it has since largely characterised livestock development in Tanzania. This policy implied that inhabitants of the colonies took over the pastoral lands to put them into more extensive use such as farming lands while the pastoralists were compensated with extension services. These services were improved range water supplies and veterinary services (Århem 1986:242).

During 1974-75, a nation wide villagisation programme called Operation Imparnati[11] was launched in Maasai populated areas of Tanzania. The purpose of this operation was to settle the pastoral Maasai in livestock development villages as an act to promote sustainability, development and nationalism. The main economic activity in these villages was livestock production giving the Maasai an opportunity to raise cattle as to maintain the Maasai standards of wealth which was measured in cattle. However, livestock production went from being a collective process to an individual process hence reducing the amount of cattle per person. By 1975 it was reported that over 2000 Maasai had moved into the development villages (Ibid.)

The Maasai were physically resettled into a circular cluster of homes called *bomas* instead of living a nomadic life in search for cattle pastures. The *bomas* were initially kin settlements but had later evolved into "neighbourly groupings of individual families" (Hauk, Edens, KasiKasi 2005). The formerly strong kinship based structure of the Maasai culture had been forced to change from a collective into an individual way of thinking. In 1976, the government officially resettled the Maasai in the Monduli district near Mount Kilimanjaro in North Eastern Tanzania and gave them each a maximum of three acres of land to farm. Whereas the Maasai previously thought of grazing fields as a community resource, each family now owned its own plot of land (Ibid.).

In the shift to adapt to the governmental formal institutional structure, the Maasai in Monduli Juu became "agro-pastoralists" since they cultivated both maize and beans and kept extensive herds of livestock. In this sense, they became more closely related to outsiders also known as *Ilmeek* in Maasai language. The agro-pastoralists of Monduli Juu thus were seen as non-Maasai. They were also unable to maintain the same value to grass as the traditional Maasai culture. The change in their system of life resulted in a change in their surrounding environment. Cultivated farms had destroyed the once communal upkeep of grazing lands and the reduction of livestock per person meant a more individual economy that could not depend on the community for security. The poverty level had also increased as an effect of this change according to Hauk, Edens and KasiKasi (Hauk, Edens and KasiKasi 2005). As wealth is measured in cattle or livestock, a man with no or little livestock faced the consequence of being unable to obtain

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[11] Imparnati means permanent habitations in Maasai language

sufficient food or sustain a subsistence economy let alone a wife (Ibid.). It is evident that these changes urged the Maasai to alter their belief systems in order to assimilate with the new laws and restrictions imposed on their way of life.

The villagisation programme that took place represented a step towards the imposition of a settlement and land-use pattern, which was difficult to reconcile with the old pastoral values. A new authority structure was also imposed onto the traditional Maasai community with a hierarchy of political offices with a chairman, secretary and manager. This weakened the traditional Maasai leadership by placing the centre of authority outside the local community (Århem 1986:243).

Charles Lane carried out a field study on the Barabaig, a similar nomadic pastoral group in northern Tanzania who settled into villages in order to reduce the poverty level among them. Like the Maasai, they were also forced to alter their belief systems and daily lifestyle in order to survive and settle into resettlement villages. They had no choice but to limit their migration to the distance their herds could travel to and from the homestead in one day. The concentration of animals in villages had a negative ecological impact and led to a further decline in levels of production (Lane 1998: 11). The grazing lands had become restricted and a larger amount of cattle were now grazing in the same areas. The grass deteriorated resulting in a decline in cattle due to starvation.

Many changes had been made in the traditional Maasai community as a result of the villagisation programme. Their daily life and belief systems altered drastically. The economy of the pastoralists has also changed radically over the last half of the 20th century forcing them to change their situation. It has changed from being cattle-based to being dependant on small stock, such as goats, and also from a self-sufficient subsistent economy to an exchange economy, tied to an external market (Århem 1986:248). The increase in size of the small stock herd reflects an attempt by the Ngorongoro Maasai to make up for cattle decline and that falling ratio of cattle per capita. Small stock herds are more and more taking the place of cattle although small stock herds give less milk and have a lower market value than cattle. Cattle herds are a means of wealth to the Maasai and small stock is considered the poor man's substitute, according to Århem (Århem 1986:248). The economic consequences of decline in cattle or change to small-stock production has involved less goods to trade with at the market or when settling debts among the Maasai. The production of cattle has been their primary source of income through either trade or using their cattle for other economic interaction such as settling debts. The compositional change of the pastoral herds in the Ngorongoro area between the mid sixties to the eighties indicates therefore a process of impoverishment. From a self-sufficient subsistent way of life to dependence on the market economy with a major change in diet and deterioration in health because of deficit of food, the Maasai have been facing major life threatening changes. Conservation policies were carried out which restricted the Maasai from grazing their cattle in the pastures where national wildlife

parks were situated (Århem 1986:249). This has also brought falling living standards and increasing poverty to the Maasai.

This together with the move towards a more nucleated and sedentary settlement pattern was seen as a threat to the transhumant way of life and the resource-base on which the Maasai society rests. Similarly, restrictions on the herd and settlement size required by the villagisation programme touched the very core of Maasai culture: livestock as a multiple resource and societal value. The Maasai saw restrictions on individual livestock holdings as a violation of their freedom and reduction of their capacity to subsist (Ibid.).

4.3 School Feeding

During an internship at the UNWFP in the autumn of 2003, I attended a monitoring and evaluation field trip for school feeding in both drought-prone and pastoralist regions of Tanzania. I shall use this experience as an example of my arguments later on in the conclusion. The following information is a description of the project with results along with empirical findings from personal experience.

The Education Sector Development Programme (EdSDP) in Tanzania gives high priority to the goal of universal primary education and the equitable provision of educational opportunities to children from all regions and population groups. This activity has a special emphasis on the education of girls. The government together with the United Nations World Food Programme (UNWFP) assist primary education through school feeding. This implies the support to primary education in food-insecure areas (Tanzania Operations 2003:1).

There are both long- and short-term objectives to this project. The long term objectives are to contribute to the implementation of government policies and priorities in the education sector, particularly regarding the goal of universal primary education and provision of equitable educational opportunities to children from all regions and population groups. The short-term objectives are to contribute to an increasing enrolment, improvement of attendance and prevention of drop-out students at assisted primary day schools, particularly for girls; the improvement of concentration span and learning capacity of students at assisted primary day-schools by alleviating their short-term hunger is also a short-term objective; as is allowing primary boarding schools to function at full capacity throughout the school year, increasing the enrolment of girls and improving the teachers' and pupils' information regarding HIV/AIDS. Finally, there is an objective to build up local capacity for the operation of a school feeding programme (UNWFP Conclusions and Recommendations 2003:15).

Numerous factors have been considered for geographical targeting of the school feeding project. To begin with, various regions have been selected on the basis of high, chronic

food insecurity and proneness to drought. Since this project is unable to cover all primary schools in a chosen district, further selection has been carried out to identify divisions within districts with highest food insecurity and educational need. The inclusion of the Arusha region in the project is motivated less by drought proneness, food insecurity and poverty even though the region is also needy in these respects. It is more motivated by problems faced by pastoralists concerning education since their nomadic lifestyle doesn't allow their children to go to school. Within this region, the project will thus mostly target boarding schools and some day schools in those districts with the highest percentage of nomadic population. These are Monduli, Simanjaro, Kiteto and Ngorongoro. Within the selected districts of the Arusha region, all primary boarding schools are included with the exception of two schools in Monduli district which were found to have other sufficient sources of income (UNWFP Conclusions and Recommendations 2003:17). The limited number of day schools in the Arusha region is concentrated in the Monduli district. These were selected on the basis of accessibility and relatively high food insecurity and educational need (UNWFP Conclusions and Recommendations 2003:18).

4.4 Maasai Schools

I collected information about four different Maasai schools that receive assistance from UNWFP during a Monitoring and Evaluation field trip for the school-feeding programme. I met with teachers, parents and pupils at these schools and I collected information through my own observations as well as interviews with the teachers. One of the four schools was a boarding school and the rest were day schools situated near towns or villages inhabited by the Maasai. The attendance rate has increased in all schools since UNWFP support. The attendance rates have increased so much that some of the schools do not enough classrooms due to increasing class sizes. The pupils at one of the schools can only attend school for half of the day since increasing class sizes and lack of classrooms has forced the school to divide the grades into morning and afternoon classes. The increase in class sizes has also lead to a lack of teachers per class. Classes must in some cases be held together mixing different grades due to lack of teachers.

The increase in class size has also lead to other logistical problems such as lack of water and firewood for cooking meals. Children must bring firewood and tanks filled with water to school every day.

4.5 Results of Government Policies in Maasai Populated Areas

The purpose of this study has been to analyse the social and economic consequences of formal institutional change in Maasai societies in Tanzania. By using a deprivation approach to poverty as described by Amartya Sen and an institutional approach towards

societies experiencing poverty as described by Douglass North I have illustrated the informal structure and indigenous culture of the Maasai to discusses the consequences of formal institutional change such as government policies.

The traditional institutional structure of the Maasai has been forced to change due to the application of government policies. The traditional institutional structure of the Maasai is built of belief systems and a strong culture providing the indigenous group with information on how to subsist in their environment. The applied government policies have altered the traditional Maasai structure in such a way as to force them to change their culture in order to adapt to and learn how to subsist as per the new formal structure.

The resettlement plan had several negative results. Firstly, the Maasai underwent major cultural changes as they were forced to reside in planned villages instead of living a nomadic lifestyle, travelling with their herd in search for rich grazing lands. Secondly, their economy became worse off as a result of declining herd sizes which was a result of limited grazing lands. Thirdly, the Maasai who lived in villages became small-stock dependant instead of being cattle-based. This led to changes in both their economy and culture. As mentioned before, small-stock is considered to be a poor man's substitute according to traditional Maasai culture. Finally, traditional Maasai grazing lands for cattle have been largely reduced due government policies.

These changes have implied serious structural changes in Maasai belief systems and culture. Instead of living of a subsistence cattle-based economy, travelling across the steppe in search for rich grazing pastures, the Maasai are tied to the external market economy through the production of small stock. The villagisation programme in the 1970's was an attempt to alleviate the problems of poverty among the Maasai as well as tie their economic production to the rest of the country. Instead, it resulted in increasing poverty levels as well as forcing the Maasai to change their lifestyle. The traditional culture and artifactual structure upon which they once had depended for centuries gave little guidance as to how they should live their new lives. They were now obligated to learn ways of subsistence within a new institutional framework.

The recent Tanzanian government policy to abolish school fees enabled all children to attend primary school. Education in the form of schools is still a rather new concept for traditional societies in rural Tanzania so a clash in cultures will inevitably occur when standard universal policies are applied to these traditional societies. The application of the education policy changes the domestic Maasai structure both culturally and economically. Traditional Maasai education has always taken place in the home learning the traditional indigenous way of life. This type of education has been passed on from generation to generation. Education is now moved to the school which also creates both a physical and s psychological distance between parent and child. The child learns new skills at school that their parents do not know. There are also economic consequences of school feeding. Maasai children who are used to helping out at home, herding cattle or

preparing for marriage through traditional rituals must now learn how to read and write giving them larger opportunities later on in life. This is an investment which parents don't necessarily see as an asset since they are not immediately benefited. Instead the economic consequence of school feeding causes the family a loss of household income.

There is an evident gap between formal and informal institutions in this situation. The formal institution of education is not effective due to the cultural difference between the traditional Maasai values and the education policy of encouraging all children to attend primary school by abolishing fees. Informal institutional change that occurs as a result of formal change takes a longer time and can cause a gap between the two institutions. This is due to the inevitable change in culture which must be done in order to adapt with the new formal structure from governmental changes. The above example of primary schooling for all children in Tanzania creates changes in formal and informal structures.

All primary schools are co-educational in Tanzania giving girls the same access to education as boys. However, the attendance of girls in primary schools for Maasai children is much lower than that of boys. This is due to traditional Maasai values such as early marriages and female circumcision which make them unable to attend school. At some boarding schools Maasai girls can stay up to several years without going home in fear of marriage or circumcision. Girls are seen as valuable assets within the Maasai cultural system and are important for their traditional economic system.

One girl in Engaruka Juu School had not been home for three years for this reason (Interview with Teacher at Engaruka Juu School November 2003). While travelling to visit the Maasai schools in the Arusha region, I heard of a case where a grown Maasai man had asked a pregnant mother for her baby in marriage if it was a girl.

Even though the attendance rate of boys in primary school is higher than that of girls, they have a high drop-out rate. They are needed at home by their families for hunting or cattle herding. While driving through the Ngorongoro crater to visit schools under UNWFP support I saw young Maasai boys, between ages 6 or 7 years up to their teens tending large herds of cattle. This shows how the Maasai make use of their male family members as labour from an early age.

Low attendance rates in Maasai schools are also due the traditional nomadic lifestyle of the Maasai. They must move with their cattle in search for pastures. The only way for Maasai children to be able to attend primary schools regularly is if they can board at school or stay behind in the area with their mothers instead of moving with the rest of the family in search for cow pastures. This means a break-up of the traditional family and results in future changes in the informal institutional structure.

The reason for the UNWFP school feeding project in Tanzania is to help the government raise children's incentive to go to school by offering healthy school lunches. Although

Maasai schools do not have full attendance rates, this project has had positive results. The attendance has increased at both day and boarding schools that receive assistance from UNWFP. Other positive effects of the UNWFP School Feeding Programme are health aspects. Children that attend school learn important information about HIV/AIDS which also exists among the Tanzanian Maasai. Maasai children are given nutritional meals in schools which give them the energy to learn and help them to grow up into strong and healthy adults.

5.0 Conclusion

Poverty is multidimensional and appears in different forms around the world. The concept of poverty provides a framework in which the different dimensions can be included. All cases of poverty have to do with being deprived of the factors needed to live an ordinary life according to the standards of one's own environment. Deprivation of basic capabilities such as food, public health and social security are what define poverty.

Institutions are structures that humans impose in order to eliminate uncertainty in their surrounding environment. These structures facilitate social and economic interaction between humans. Institutions consist of formal and informal constraints. Formal constraints are official rules, laws and constitutions. Informal constraints consist of norms of behaviour, conventions and self-imposed codes of conduct. Formal and informal institutions are important to those who experience poverty since they provide safety nets such as strong kinship ties and other social relations that benefit their subsistence. Belief systems are the institutional information that is processed in the human mind. They are the mind's created belief of the surrounding environment. The relationship between belief systems and institutions is particularly evident in informal institutional constraints since culture is built upon beliefs. These beliefs cannot change overnight and instead evolve over time.

Tanzania remains to be one of the world's poorest countries. Ranked 156 out of 174 of the world's poorest countries by the UNDP, nearly half of the population suffers from chronic food scarcity. Poverty exists mostly in the rural areas of Tanzania. The Maasai, a pastoralist indigenous group who live in northern Tanzania have been experiencing poverty due to climatic changes and government reforms restricting them from their traditional indigenous environment. Instead of living a nomadic lifestyle in search for rich pastures for their cattle, the Maasai have been resettled into villages which have resulted in restricted grazing lands and a decline in cattle. Cattle are important to the Maasai as they are a symbol of wealth. Thus a decline in the amount of cattle means a decline in wealth.

Other government reforms such as abolishment of primary school fees have given Maasai children opportunity for education. The UNWFP have been donating school lunches as a school feeding programme in order to give children an incentive to attend primary school. The effects of this programme have been positive since attendance rates have increased although drop out rates are still high.

The results of political reforms such as resettlement programmes and education reforms in Tanzania are examples of clashing cultures in which a gap is created between formal and informal institutional structures. Education is a long term investment where Maasai

children are concerned. This is due to several reasons. Firstly, the artifactual structure of the Maasai traditional culture is different to that of universal educational standards and it will take a long time for children to adjust to these standards and be able to attend all seven years of primary school. Parents need their children at home to work or prepare for marriage. Secondly, in this case children go to school because they are served school lunches. Due to climatic changes and government restrictions to where the Maasai may herd their cattle, they have been living in areas where food supply varies with season. Children attend schools when there is no food at home. However, when food supply is larger, they stay at home instead of going to school. They have no real incentive to go to school other than to receive free food.

Finally, educating Maasai children will change their views of their traditional indigenous culture. They will grow up with a new set of values which do not correspond to those of their parents. Parent's attitudes to educating their children can be negative because they fear that their cultural heritage is disappearing. This can result in a conflict between generations. Education will be a benefit to the Maasai in the long run since they are suffering from poverty and education gives them new sustaining ways of survival. Their world is changing and they will have to learn new ways to cope. However, it might take a very long time for them to adjust to this new structure. Short run consequences of this reform will result in high drop out rates and a very small percentage of children will complete their primary school education.

The gap between the formal governmental institution and the traditional Maasai informal institution will be reduced in time. However, as long as it exists, poverty will sustain. The longer it takes for Maasai to adjust to formal institutional structures, the longer the existence of poverty will be present in their society. Other effects of inevitable cultural change hinder the next generation from learning the indigenous cultural values. As the educated Maasai children grow up and raise families of their own, they risk not being able to pass on their cultural heritage to future generations. In a world of dynamic change, the Maasai culture is slowly diminishing as their traditional values and way of life are no longer applicable in a traditional pastoral environment that is slowly disappearing.

We have now seen the difficulties of adapting to formal institutional change in societies where indigenous populations are experiencing poverty. The gap between formal and informal institutions that evolves during institutional change sustains poverty which leads to a hinder in development and growth. This is due to the rise in insecurity depriving people of their belief systems that tell them how to develop and thus maintain subsistence. The lack of safety nets within the formal and informal institutional structure leaves the individual with the uncertainty of sustainable development and survival. Poverty will continue to exist in indigenous societies as long as there is an evident gap between formal and informal institutional structures.

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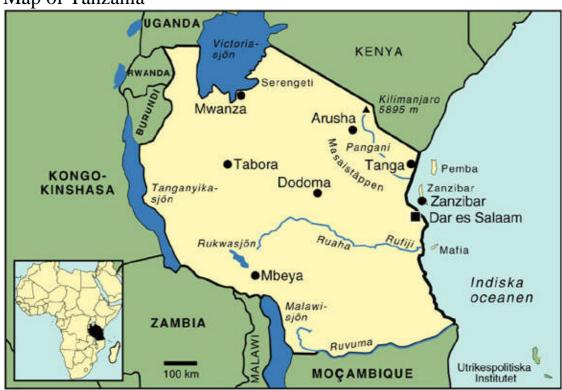   2001. *Agenda 5*. Rome, Italy.
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7.0 Map and Photographs

Map of Tanzania

Source: Landguiden 2004

7.1 Photographs

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