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In the field.

PREFACE

This book is the culmination of more than ten years of life, work and research in Tanzania. I arrived in Tanzania in 2008 in my early twenties for a gap year, and ended up settling, living and working in the country, only leaving around fourteen years later. I did so with a Ph.D. in anthropology, having worked on several development projects, done ethnographic fieldwork in several regions, taught in university and travelled widely, marvelling at the cultural diversity between the coast and the countryside, urban and rural lifestyles and habits, the pastoralist way of life and the farming communities, to name but a few of the contrasts the country manifests. The years spent in Tanzania doing the research on which this book is based not only contributed to shaping my intellectual and academic mindset or research and professional approach, but also gave me a bank of sensory experience. I will always recollect fondly the images, scents, sounds (and silences) that I have experienced in the countryside – sitting on a rock at dusk in a Maasai village, writing fieldnotes while observing the return of the herds to the *boma* (the traditional pastoralist compound made of several huts and households) from grazing; or the silences immediately before the cows started mooing to call their calves; spotting the silhouettes of herds on the plains while walking from one *boma* to another to visit people's homes for interviews; appreciating the natural beauty of Lake Victoria's lush and green landscape animated by the hordes of kids that gather on the lake shore to dive and catch small fish with homemade fishing rods.

One memory, or collection of memories, I hold dear above all others is the long nights spent in people's homes in the countryside, being welcomed into people's families, sharing anecdotes and stories, answering questions about life in *Ulaya* (Europe) or comparing it with life in Africa, over one (or two) cups of strong tasting local banana-, maize- or wheat-based brews, depending on the region where I found myself doing fieldwork, sitting on and sharing a handmade cosy couch in somebody's living room, or on nothing but a little tuft of straw in somebody's barn, turned into a local tavern, by candlelight or the light of a kerosene lamp with its unique and strong odour – outside, a grandly starry sky and a delightful silence surrounding the views of the fields, plains or waters. All the years spent in rural Tanzania, welcomed into people's homes, fields, *boma*, feeling part of their families, even if just for a few days or weeks, were filled with endless moments of joy and laughter, even during the harshest times of scarcity because of drought or simply a bad year for the harvests.

Preface

The years and experiences that have shaped this book have been years of intellectual but also of personal growth. The academic ideas presented here cannot be separated from the very personal and intimate transformations that every individual goes through in life, especially during the apex years of intellectual flowering, when a young adult sees their core values and ideas, personal and academic, take shape and establish roots. During these years, not only have I learned about a different lifestyle, habits, ways of thinking, but, in learning about them, my own views about what development, self-improvement, even happiness, are or could be to me have matured. The sort of sensory and material experiences that I shared with people through the practices of walking the fields and clumsy attempts at grazing and milking cows, or fishing, are part and parcel of the person I have become, as well as the objects of my intellectual investigations.

In Tanzania, perhaps in the whole continent of Africa, more than other regions of the world, material experiences (and possessions) mediate social relations and mark the different paths that people undertake or attempt to undertake in their life courses to achieve life goals, including the conflicting views that exist around 'development'. A lot of the work that has made it into this book revolves around ideas and materiality (or materialities) of development in Tanzania. My first personal encounter with 'development' dates back to my very first job in Tanzania in 2008 when, for the first time, I experienced the life of the pastoralist Maasai in Northern Tanzania. I was working for an NGO based in the city of Arusha in Northern Tanzania on a project of economic development in a small Maasai community of not more than a few hundred people. The project in question focused on income generation, above all tourism, to bring about 'development' for pastoralists through a series of activities (e.g. guiding guests, serving in the camp) carried out by community members.

Working on a development project, I was professionally involved with colleagues, both Tanzanian and foreign, and also close contact with the beneficiaries of the project, namely, the villagers who were mostly of Maasai ethnicity. I experienced divergences on a daily basis when it came to the distribution and management of income, and the underlying short- and long-term ambitions and plans. This reflected the differing values and opinions people had as to the kind of development to be achieved through the project's activities. This divergence of opinions and management practices eventually prompted my desire and impulse to investigate the topics that inform this book, among pastoralists as rural communities at large.

Preface

On the part of my Tanzanian colleagues, most of them university graduates, I could often perceive a condescending attitude towards rural folks' views on development and practices (or what they *thought* these views and practices were) rooted in the history of the ideas, efforts and trajectories for development in the country. This history is represented by an uninterrupted succession of development interventions aimed at 'educating' and accompanying rural folks in the difficult move from traditional practices of livestock raising or 'subsistence' agriculture and an idea of wealth based on 'traditional' material possessions (livestock, land), to economic prosperity based on entrepreneurial mentality, commercial and business-oriented pursuits. One of my Tanzanian colleagues, a graduate from University of Dar es Salaam in environmental sciences, was often eager to associate the (supposed) underdevelopment of the Maasai with a (supposed) lack of business-like principles in the management of herds. Another colleague, an environmental sciences Ph.D. graduate from Italy, used to refer to her feelings of uneasiness in witnessing what she referred to as the 'disgrace' afflicting her Tanzanian brothers and sisters of living in poverty-stricken mud huts, but also being unable to lift themselves out of a situation of poverty despite owning many heads of cattle. According to these colleagues' judgment, pretty much in line with that of the foreign staff, the attitude of the project beneficiaries was not driven enough by the principles of entrepreneurship and *development*, but rather was focused and channelled towards conservatism when, for instance, they used the income gained from cattle, to purchase feed or water, rather than investing in 'modern' business ventures; to them this attitude fed on an underlying irrational affection for 'tradition' and distaste for 'progress'.

The more time I spent with the community development recipients, the more I dealt with an incessant search for individual betterment and *development* of the kind envisioned by the project staff, especially among Maasai youth who were constantly striving for pecuniary opportunities through wage labour and trade. The relationship they had with the project was based on an individual engagement in search of earnings, while they simultaneously continued with the practices of herd management founded on values that they recognised as traditional, such as collaboration and participation. With time, entrepreneurial skills and business ventures became visually discernible in the actual physical environment, which increasingly began to resemble that of a Tanzanian peri-urban settlement with cement buildings along a main road hosting retail shops, local bars and restaurants, against a landscape of rural rangeland and herds on the move. To my amazement, these small-scale business initiatives and entrepreneurial acts remained invisible to the eyes of my colleagues who dismissed

them simply as a way to acquire more cattle and not a change of mindset that embraced *true* development – the two realms that they recognised as 'progress' and 'tradition' remained to their eyes mutually exclusive, while, in fact they were proceeding hand-in-hand without apparent conflict for the villagers who diversified their wealth portfolio with investments in more traditional assets such as livestock and farms, but also in houses and 'people', for instance through marriage or education for the children.

I later was to find out that these complexities and (apparent?) contradictions in Tanzania are not unique to the Maasai group, although they may be more pronounced there, given the peculiar history of pastoralism and the approaches to 'development' taken by the state towards the 'modernisation' of the livestock sector. I also was to find out that conflicting views do not simply exist between so-called elites and rural folks; there are myriad micro-conflicts at different levels, starting at the level of the family and households, when it comes to development, practices, investments. Through my years of research and living in the country I progressively came to the realisation that 'development' in rural Tanzania (and rural Africa at large) is, more than in other (rural) regions of the world, inherently multifaceted, and determined by more than one register or set of values; and material experiences, practices and possessions embody these values in complex ways. This complexity makes the lens of 'development' appropriate to understand not only major economic and political transformations, or individual paths to success, but the underlying complex, sometimes ambivalent, social dimensions or spheres in which individuals in Africa exercise their right to self-determination and develop a sense of belonging as members of multiple communities.

This book reaffirms that development in Africa continues to be people-centred, with social relationships mediated by the materiality of practices, experiences and possessions. The concept of wealth-in-people, quite familiar to anthropologists and Africanists (but fallen into disuse), continues to hold true in Africa, even in the era of financialisation and technological development. Development, intended as the search for self-determination, in Africa still rests on ties, affiliations, membership and belonging (i.e. wealth-in-people), and the capacity to manoeuvre these (in a positive sense). The hustle and dynamism of social life that 'development' rests on in Tanzania can be baffling, at times unsettling, but also life-affirming – peeling off the different layers of people's energy and zeal for life through ethnographic enquiry also made my life and research in the country fulfilling (and fun); and I hope this book will offer its readers a glimpse into the fascinating social and material landscape of rural Tanzania.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the course of these years of research I have received support from many people and institutions. My greatest debt goes to the many rural folk who so selflessly agreed to share their views, ideas, values and feelings with me, and opened up their homes to me. This book would not have been possible without them. Special thanks go to all those who were essential to the success of the many stints of fieldwork as research gatekeepers – introducing me to the communities and interceding for me when I arrived to a new community with no prior links; some of these are representatives of local government, local leaders, community workers and rural folk themselves, with whom I sometimes developed a relationship of friendship. Among them I wish to thank particularly Kariengi Marite, Luka Marite, Ngayolo Marite, Simon Marite, Simon Liyasek, Germinus Paul Nyeho, Zacharia Mihambo Shija and Alexander Fortunatus.

Many professional relationships since the beginning of my Ph.D. research have also been important to different extents for me to develop the research agenda that has led over the years to this book. Among these, I wish to express thanks to Ced Hesse, Modesta Medard, George Mutalemwa, Sam Greene, Alais Morindat, Emmanuel Sitayo, Donald Kasongi, Daniel Brockington and Maia Green. I wish to extend my thanks to Hilmar Heister who copyedited several individual versions of the chapters and the final whole manuscript; and Sarah Johnson for the tireless commitment that has contributed to the final shape of the book.

Among the organisations and institutions that have played a role are the International Institute for Environment and Development for which I worked as research consultant on different participatory research projects; and the British Institute in Eastern Africa which offered financial support with two Thematic Research Grants. Lancaster University, where I currently work, and Christina Hicks, who has given me the opportunity to work on the 'FAIRFISH: Hidden Hunger, Forgotten Food' project as Senior Research Associate at Lancaster, have been important in the final stages by granting me the time necessary to complete the revisions to the manuscript. The FAIRFISH project (European Research Council - Starting Grant, 759457) is the source of funding for the colour images in the book.

Finally, I wish to thank all friends and family who have indirectly contributed to the book with their affection and love: good friends such as Jay Aggarwal, Lekishon Tutunyio and George Mutalemwa with whom I shared

countless stories and experiences; my dad Domenico and mum Maria, my brother Giovanni and cousin Nicola, my loving wife Anna. This book is dedicated to the person I love and care for the most in the world, my daughter Mariella.

INTRODUCTION

Who are the rural people of Tanzania? What does it mean to be part of a 'rural' community in contemporary Tanzania? And why is it important to debate questions of rurality in Tanzania beyond the mere GDP contribution of rural land-based production? These are some of the chief questions that this book seeks to address. Tanzania has experienced major economic change in the last decade, measured by an annual increase in GDP growth of seven per cent, mostly owing to the development of key sectors such as telecommunications, industry, finance, tourism and construction (WFP 2019). These have integrated the GDP contribution from the rural sector, especially agriculture, which remains the backbone of the national economy and accounts for around thirty per cent of GDP (URT 2017: 1). New waves of optimism have come with the country earning the World Bank status of (lower) middle-income country in 2020, a goal that was set to be achieved by 2025 (Green 2013, 2015a; Moyo et al. 2012; WFP 2017). To date, however, Tanzania remains a country mostly rural and agriculture-based, and efforts are underway to achieve stronger synergies between smallholder farmers and the private sector through integration of the former into global food and agricultural value chains (Green 2015b).

The question of the 'integration' of rural people in global markets and value chains has a long history in Africa and Tanzania, dating from attempts by European colonialism to boost production in the African colonies for export-oriented markets (Coulson 1982). Rural people in Africa have historically been conceived of in terms of how to efficiently *integrate* them into international markets. Rapid industrialisation, urbanisation and overall economic growth make the question of integration more relevant than ever. In Tanzania, through the development of technology and entrepreneurial skills, recent (as well as less recent) policies and national development strategies, such as *Kilimo Kwanza*, MKUKUTA I and II, and the second Five-Year National Development Plan (FYDP II), have all strived to align objectives in the rural sector (e.g. agriculture and livestock production) with the overall vision for national development for all, grounded in technological and industrial advancement.

Anthropological investigations of rural people have found little space in development models ever since the beginning of the neoliberal reforms and the vision of rural society as a collection of (atomised) 'smallholders' (Bryceson 2000a: 315). The present book addresses this gap and the key question of integration, departing from grazing, fishing and farming as the practices that underlie rural

land and place-based production. Through grazing, fishing and farming, millions of rural people in Tanzania, and in most of Africa, gain their livelihoods. But grazing, fishing and farming are also part of the more complex and larger systems of pastoralism, fisheries and (smallholding) agriculture – systems that merge practice with bundles of socio-cultural value(s), and carry much stronger importance in the life of rural people than their mere economic contribution to national GDP and development, i.e. the chief concern of policymakers for the integration of rural people.

Looking at the practices of grazing, fishing and farming versus the respective broader systems of pastoralism, fisheries and agriculture brings out the chasm that has often emerged in Tanzania, Africa and across the world between the people who practice and have practised grazing, fishing and farming, and governments, institutions and policies – a chasm that has emerged in history as discrepant visions and objectives in relation to production and the use of land or place-based resources. Such divergent visions, at least in the case of Tanzania, should not simply be thought of as conflicting objectives of subsistence and market-oriented production. Rather, as this book endeavours to show, people practising grazing, fishing and farming have historically engaged, and engage today, with the institutional vision(s) for pastoralism, fisheries and agriculture, at times embracing policy vision and objectives, and at times overtly rejecting them, always on their own terms.

To delve into how rural people engage with, rather than simply endure, global economic and development agendas, this book takes a step back to revisit architectures of knowledge on rural development behind portrayals of rural peoples and rurality itself in Tanzania, Africa and across the developing world. It thereby comes in at the critical historical conjuncture of new decolonisation debates and movements that have highlighted the subtle structures of power endured by peoples at the so-called peripheries. Originating in South Africa with the *Rhodes Must Fall* student-led protest in 2015 against structural inequalities built into the higher education system, the decolonisation movement has brought to the fore questions of voice, legitimacy and representation of people who in history have *endured* the claims of objectivity of (Western) universal knowledge imposed upon them (Boidin et al. 2012; Burman 2012; Kessy et al. 2020).

Against the long-held narrative in public domains and academic circles of culture and tradition of 'rural' or 'place-based' peoples fading in a context of increasing market liberalisation, this book eschews simple dichotomies and value judgements about tradition versus modernity, or subsistence versus a

fully commoditised economy that have historically determined academic and development debates. Instead, it departs from the premise that trade, marketisation and entrepreneurship have always been part and parcel of African social life (Bohannan 1959; Dalton 1965), and that these networks of social life are intimately connected to territoriality, place, land and water. To say that today these connections have disappeared (or are disappearing) can be regarded as a form of 'epistemological violence' (Chitonge 2018; Sungusia et al. 2020) necessitating a true 'epistemic decolonization' (Kessy et al. 2020). Embracing the decolonisation principle of 'pluriversal' knowledge as opposed to Euro- or Western-centric *universal* knowledge (Boidin et al. 2012) helps bolster rural peoples' struggles for sovereignty over their lands and waters with implications for their agencies in actively setting agendas for food, agriculture and other rural policies (Coté 2016; Figueroa-Helland 2018; Grey and Patel 2015).

The analysis in the book is deeply rooted in anthropological theory – it uses concepts that are foundational for anthropological enquiry, critique and methodology, particularly economic anthropology, but it also avails itself of analytical devices from affiliated disciplines, from social and cultural geography to sociology and development studies, and how these disciplines have tackled the questions of the intersection between the local and the global. It is a book intended for anthropologists as much as economists, policymakers and the whole host of professionals working in the development world who have engaged with the setting of priorities for the rural livelihood development agendas that have in the past emphasised local dynamics at the expense of how these diversely and meaningfully interact with fast changing global market and political state of affairs (Scoones 2009: 182).

The position of and ideas about rural people and rurality in Tanzania and the whole of the Sub-Saharan African continent cross-cut in one way or another a number of scholarly theoretical traditions. In this introduction, the beginning of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) is taken as an entry point into the long history of ideas on the close connection between land, land use patterns and land or place-based identity in Africa. SAPs constitute perhaps the last key moment on this historical timeline, and their legacy is studied and analysed to date. I will depart from debates on de-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation that have a much longer history prior to the SAPs but have become particularly prominent as a framework for the analysis of socio-economic change in Africa, particularly with the work of Deborah Bryceson in the 1990s and 2000s.

De-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation debates are the tipping-point of a general academic interest in the question of socio-economic change during the years of neoliberal transformations. These transformations were generally framed around a political economy approach that tended to look at how global changes caused worsening conditions and widening gaps between the richer and the poorer among rural people, whether farmers, pastoralists or fishermen. The analysis of debates on de-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation in neoliberal Africa will be followed by a review of the so-called 'livelihood perspective' or approach, which became prominent as an interdisciplinary concept on the eve of the twenty-first century in conjunction with international policy dynamics focused on poverty reduction to explore socio-economic directions of rural life in the developing world.

These two areas of debate and research have emerged from similar roots, within similar frameworks, and using similar terminologies (though hardly overlapping) to make sense of the massive economic changes brought about by market liberalisation policies, but they have taken very different stances and positionalities as to causal relationships between global changes, for instance, in international markets and local realities. While de-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation debates have highlighted negative consequences of processes of detachment of rural people from land-dependent economies, the livelihood perspective brought back into the picture local capabilities and capital available and mobilised at local level. However, it has been burdened by under-theorisation as to the role of global dynamics within local realities, also as a result of the poverty-reduction policy framework in which it emerged and became established. The objective of the next two sections is to analyse how architecture(s) of knowledge have given origins to these two different stances, before moving to how the latest de-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation debates have provided interesting opportunities for synthesis between the two, which is the departure point for this book.

De-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation: Introducing socio-economic change in rural Africa

The implementation of the SAPs in 1980s and 1990s across Sub-Saharan Africa and most of the developing world led to major changes in land use patterns with crucial consequences for the way people made a living through the use of natural resources in loco, such as land, water and livestock (Cheru 1992; Lawry 1994). The withdrawal of the state experienced practically by farmers through

the removal of subsidies and improved agricultural inputs such as seeds and fertiliser, without adequate replacement by a strong market-oriented private sector of suppliers, led to an overall shrinking and worsening of agricultural performance across many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, including Malawi, Ethiopia, Nigeria, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Tanzania (Bryceson 2000b, 20002a). This simultaneously undermined family and farm-based livelihoods and their potential for cash crop production for national and international markets. It is widely acknowledged that these changes have affected the social fabric and system of values of rural society based on the four pillars of farm, family, class and community (Bryceson 2000c). As patterns of land-use changed dramatically, so did the foundations underlying the sense of identity of rural people, the ways in which they conceive and imagine their position as collectivities versus as 'producers' or 'consumers' in the global world.

The dynamic intersection of all these processes are the definitions of 'de-agrarianisation' as the loosening of the close dependence on land-based production, and 'de-peasantisation' as the social and cultural processes and consequences, mostly negative, of a growing detachment of social and cultural life from its land- and place-based activities and practices (Bryceson 2002a). Processes of de-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation prompted on site economic diversification and 'multiplex livelihoods' (Bryceson 2002b), triggering the birth of an ever-expanding class of local small-scale entrepreneurs detached from land- or place-based activities as drivers of local identities. Increased mobility between rural and urban areas (Baker and Pedersen 1992; Baker and Wallevik 2003), women entering the labour force and men losing their breadwinning role within the family were all factors considered to have a strong impact on the integrity of rural social organisation (Bryceson 2005: 49; Francis 2002; O'Laughlin 1998).

Looked at from an orthodox agrarian political economy perspective, with land and labour relations at the foundation of peasant social organisation, what happened in the African continent as a result of the SAPs was a contemporary form of 'agrarian question' grounded on Marxist materialist political economy, creating novel forms of the 'classic' nineteenth century agrarian question of the European context (Akram-Lodhi and Kay 2010a: 185) that eventually led to the 'death of the peasantry' in the twentieth century, as proclaimed by Eric Hobsbawm in his *Age of Extremes* (1994). As it occurred across agrarian societies within and outside Africa, integration into global capital and economic markets altered land and labour relations leading to the transformation of 'peasants' into 'petty commodity producers' (Akram-Lodhi and Kay 2010a). These petty

producers, however, found themselves at the margin of the global capitalistic system and remained marginal to channels of capital accumulation, having to sell their labour (Bernstein 2004).

Evidently, the question of socio-economic change depicted in de-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation debates emerged as a complex bundle that linked economic aspects of changing land patterns to rural social structure. This involved a transformation of what Bryceson referred to as 'locational' and 'occupational' identity (Bryceson 2000b: 1), in this specific case, land-based identity as farmer. Bryceson (1999: 36) noted that as a consequence of de-agrarianisation processes in Africa 'there is often a lag between people's actions and their acknowledgment of the implications for their occupational status' and that 'many profess occupational or locational identities that are more pertinent to the past than the present' (Bryceson 2000b: 1). Occupational identity, in this case, identity as farmer, had been not adequately considered because more attention had been paid to other types of identities based on gender or ethnicity (Bryceson 2010). Nevertheless, the application of the neoliberal paradigm through its reforms in Sub-Saharan Africa is considered as the turning point that undid the practice-identity nexus (i.e. based on the practice of farming) underlying the social coherence of agrarian society to enter a situation that Bryceson (1999) refers to as'betwixt and between', i.e. a situation that presents its actors with a host of new challenges as a result of economic change, affecting profoundly the link between land-based practice and (occupational) identity.

While de-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation processes were devised as concepts to critically assess the position of mostly agricultural societies, comparable dynamics were documented among rural peoples and communities whose livelihoods depended on livestock (Fratkin 2001; Homewood 2008: 228–29; Smith 1999; Zaal 1999) and fishing (Geheb and Binns 1997), revealing equally close links between sweeping economic reforms of market liberalisation and social change. Transformations of fisheries across (then so-called) Third World countries were triggered through the last two decades of the twentieth century by flows of international aid that were integral to SAPs' implementation in Africa for development interventions, mostly in the field of technological development to favour 'production oriented strategies' (Bailey and Jentoft 1990) or 'capital intensive' fisheries (Bailey 1988). This occurred, it was argued, at the expense of social and ecological equilibrium maintained by traditional fishers and the traditional small-scale fishing economy (Bailey 1988; Bailey and Jentoft 1990). Few, though mostly isolated, ethnographic studies of fisheries in Africa have looked at these transformations that allowed

capitalistic relations of production, with motor-boat and gear owners becoming 'capitalists' (Ninsin 1991) and inflows of casual labourers from the inlands changing the customary relations of labour, hitherto embedded within small kin-based groups (Geheb and Binns 1997).

Comparably much longer and established, the scholarship on pastoralism produced energetic debates around the question of socio-economic change, particularly regarding East African pastoralism. A number of studies appeared from the 1980s–1990s and focused on the integration of the pastoral traditional economy with the so-called 'cash economy' at the rural-urban interface. A political-economic approach (Homewood 2008: 228–29) that positioned in causal relationship market liberalisation economic reforms and bundles of values grounded in land-based practice (i.e. the practice of grazing as the foundation of pastoralism) made its way into the East African pastoralism research agenda at around the same time as de-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation debates.

Comparable lines of thought with the 'agrarian question' made changing (grazing) land and livestock property rights, along with emerging processes of economic diversification, including capital accumulation, the premise(s) to the dissolutions of the relations mediated by land and cattle so well analysed by Marxist anthropologists of pastoralism (Rigby 1992; Schneider 1979). References to the 'traditional' institutions of elderhood, warriorhood and egalitarianism abound in studies of economic diversification that began in the 1980s and continued into the early 2000s. The so-called 'egalitarianism' as a supposedly inherent characteristic of East African pastoral societies was considered as undermined by processes of social stratification occurring as a result of appropriation of formerly shared resources (e.g. land) (Little 1985). Zaal (1999) referred to the weakened authority of elders that occurs in conjunction with privatisation of land on the basis of the erosion of elders' function of overseeing 'traditional' (i.e. communal) land arrangements. The institution of warriorhood was seen as equally threatened, according to Zaal (1999), echoed by Coast (2002), as a consequence of younger Maasai's involvement in urban-based income generating activities, leading to rural-urban migration.

The analysis of the relationship between evolving land-use patterns and the evolution of rural and locally-based expressions of identity, culture and tradition – i.e the loss of thereof – can be the result of the compelling necessity to analyse massive transformations that indeed occurred at the time in rural Africa as a result of the Structural Adjustment Programmes. However, the particularly marked *causal* relationship skewed towards the negative impacts of global economic change on local realities could as much be analysed as a

question of positionality with respect to the narrative of change informed by the political economy approach.

Looked at from the structure vs agency perspective that is longstanding in social theory (May 2011), de-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation debates seem to align with narratives and stances on social change that tend to see 'change' as a transformation from previously 'clearly identifiable social structures that strongly determined individual lives' to respective present-day societies disoriented by 'constant change that unsettles any such moorings, securities or certainties' (May 2011: 365). This is a particular positionality on social change as a one-way process that invests individuals by curbing their agencies on behalf of social structure – a positionality that could be seen as at odds with the steady reassessments and rearrangements of dynamics of resource management and mobilisation that have been considered peculiar to African economic history (Berry 1993; Guyer 1995), and certainly at odds with the focus on local capabilities underlined by livelihood approaches (Scoones 2009), dissected below.

Comparable approaches, ascribable to these early de-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation debates can be singled out today. The concept of 'de-pastoralisation' for instance (Caravani 2019) carries implications similar to the concept of de-agrarianisation, in this case with the depauperisation of the livestock-based economy; or to the latest efforts to apply political economy analyses and Marxist concepts to the 'capitalist crisis' of capture fisheries and 'the tendency of capital in fisheries to undermine its ecological base of production' (Campling et al. 2012: 182). For the most part, however, unilateral approaches to socio-economic change have by now been acknowledged as surpassed and unfit to describe socio-economic change in rural settings among rural people, whether dependent on grazing, fishing or farming, in the presence of a socio-cultural heterogeneity of rural economies and fragmented patterns of land (or water) use (Akram-Lodhi and Kay 2010b; Bene and Friend 2011; Galvin et al. 2005).

De-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation debates are today undergoing a theoretical revision which will be reviewed below. The next section will look at the livelihood approach, placed on the development thinking timeline right after de-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation debates at the turn of the millennium, though, in fact, with a quite generous overlapping phase, and surpassing the vision of socio-economic change (as loss) by returning to 'the small'.

Livelihood analysis: The return of the 'small'

With rural economic diversification spiralling further on the path to becoming 'the norm' (Barrett et al. 2001: 315) within Sub-Saharan African rural economies, and rural wage labour processes heading towards increasingly complex patterns of fragmentation (Oya 2010, 2013), the so-called 'livelihood approach' emerged around the same core objects of analysis as de-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation debates but developed fairly independently within the poverty-reduction policy framework that became mainstream in the international development arena (Ellis and Biggs 2001; Scoones 2009). The livelihood approach gained accolades for bringing in novel insights on people's agencies and capabilities that had hardly found room within de-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation debates.

Being a further escalation of bottom-up rural development approaches initiated with policies of participation in the 1990s (Ellis and Biggs 2001), the livelihood approach merged different angles of focus and analysis across disciplines, favouring interdisciplinary debate under a marked 'local perspective' (Scoones 2009). Rooted, conceptually, in Bebbington's remodelling of Sen's 'capitals and capabilities' approach (Bebbington 1999) and, historically, in the long genealogy of its 'sustainable' attribute (Chambers and Conway 1992; Scoones 2009: 175), the (sustainable) livelihood approach introduced a different line of thought compared to the political economy of de-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation debates. It spotlighted resources, capital and other conditions for sustainable livelihoods (potentially) available locally, including intangible capital of a social quality in addition to tangible capital originating in land-based production. As such, the livelihood perspective steered away from approaches taken by de-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation debates, geared towards unearthing the negative effects of global markets and economic change, reorienting the management of social and economic assets at local level around local conditions.

The livelihood approach added further complexities to the portrayal of rurality across land-based people(s). The focus on the 'local', that is the use and mobilisation of resources (social and material) available at local scale, is rooted in the history of rural development thinking, particularly in the 'first shift' in rural development (Ellis and Biggs 2001), and that could be referred to as the 'small farm' development thinking (Ellis and Biggs 2001: 440). In Ellis and Biggs' development thinking 'timeline' (Ellis and Biggs 2001: 440), the 'small farm first' approach emerged in the 1960s and consisted in a paradigm shift from 1950s theories of modernisation and the promises placed in the large scale

'modern' sector through the establishment of large estates, overshadowing the subsistence sector, considered economically insignificant.

With the leap from the 'large' to the 'small', the subsistence and 'traditional' agricultural sector gained traction to bring into the picture, for the first time, the smallholder as the main actor of the rural domain (Ellis and Biggs 2001: 440). The livelihood approach became the second milestone in the rural development thinking timelines, placed around the eve of the 2000s, and constituting the 'second shift' after a number of theoretical endeavours and undertakings into novel territories that include important landmarks such as the participatory 'empowerment' approach beginning in the 1990s, still lively in the development research agenda and a topic of this book.

The focus on 'local' as the main merit of the livelihood approach, however, is also where, according to some critics, it falls short, with specific reference to the limitations posed by the poverty reduction framework in which it emerged. Pointing to sweeping waves of neoliberalism leaving little space for theoretical frames for analysing rural life, Bryceson (2000a) found the livelihood approach with its focus on 'survival' or 'coping' (with poverty) mechanisms and 'reducing vulnerability', unfit to compensate this lack (Bryceson 2000a: 315). What we are left with as a result of the livelihood approach having in fact overshadowed other potential lenses of analysis, Bryceson argues (2000c: 55), is a 'blurring of social constructs surrounding peasant life', that is, a void that the livelihood approach has been unable to fill. The same undertheorisation is stressed by Scoones (2009: 181), who underlines the shortcomings of livelihood approaches in connecting local empirical investigations to the larger picture that cannot exempt international politics and markets or dismiss them, Scoones argues, as simply 'context'.

Furthermore, as the overall poverty-reduction policy framework of the time (Ellis and Freeman 2005; Ellis and Mdoe 2003; Gilling et al. 2001) kept academic debates and the dynamics of international aid allocation separated by a very fine line (Scoones 2009), rural people's local strategies, however sustainable, were seen, simply and ultimately, as forms of 'dealing with' or 'coping with' situations of poverty, marginality and vulnerability. Hence, not only, as Bryceson (2000a) argues, did 'local' strategies leave little space for theories of rurality and rural life, but people's agencies and capabilities too, which the livelihood approach had, with merit, reintroduced in the picture, were seen simply as a response to situations of constraints.

These considerations can be confirmed, for instance, when looking at the conceptual framework of most research on (East) African pastoralism at the

turn of the millennium. Measurements of wealth, cattle head counts, economic and quantitative assessments of cash obtained from remittances and petty trade as coping-with-poverty mechanisms visibly and increasingly became the overwhelming primary concern of case studies of East African pastoralism (Little et al. 2001; McCabe 2003; Osterle 2008; Radeny et al. 2007). Very similarly, poverty, to a great extent, determined the research agenda for fisheries in the developing world under the livelihood framework, now approached through the 'small-scale' lens (i.e. small-scale fisheries) (Allison and Ellis 2001). Such a research agenda highlighted the connection between (marginal) income and fishermen's condition of marginality and vulnerability (Bene 2003; Bene and Friend 2011) with fishing being, for instance in Lake Victoria, the (quintessential) activity 'of last resort' (Onyango 2011).

The reorientation of the livelihood perspective from negative effects of globalisation and international markets to the 'small', in itself one of its chief strengths, has not directly translated into coherent analytical lines to address the question of local-global interconnections and how these create forms, ideas and dynamics of a complex socio-economic and cultural character at local level among rural people. As Scoones (2009: 181–82) has argued, the livelihood approach has reached its standstill 'both intellectually and practically' (Scoones 2009: 177), relegating global market and political dynamics to 'just context' without fully exploring the key role these play in rural socio-cultural and economic dynamics.

Understanding contemporary rural development and change: De-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation revisited

De-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation concepts have undergone important scrutiny in recent times, with particular attention to the connection between changing land-based livelihoods and the effect that these have on rurality. Interesting syntheses have emerged between early de-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation debates, skewed towards the negative effects of global markets on rural society, and theoretical shortcomings of the livelihood approach, with its marked attention to the small.

Recent global perspectives on de-agrarianisation have called for a re-evaluation of the existing framework in which agrarian change is appraised, rethinking the question of 'change' not simply as a unidirectional transformation of rural livelihoods in the presence of a supposed demise of land-based (especially agriculture) production. Even in the presence of undeniably declining

performance and returns from land (i.e. agriculture and livestock) (Hebinck 2018), novel perspectives on de-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation rethink the prospects of a demise of agrarian society, undoing changing land-use livelihood patterns as vectors of detachment and disconnection between land, rural people, their identity and the socio-cultural background that binds them together. As Akram-Lodhi and Kay (2010b: 279) argue:

> The emergence of capitalist agriculture, de-peasantization, semi-proletarianisation, re-peasantization and petty commodity production cannot be seen as aspects of a linear process but rather dynamic and recurrent manifestations of multifaceted and contradictorily changing patterns of social and economic relations.

Transformative relationships between people, land and its uses have started to emerge, leading to or envisaging the forging of new and unpredictable pathways away from any single direction and from the gloomy futures predicted for peasantries across the global rural world.

Through 'assemblage' (Hebinck et al. 2018), novel processes of *re*-agrarianisation and *re*-peasantisation are accounted for. Transformative engagements with rural landscape reassemble rurality with new meanings for rural lives and novel interactions between the social and natural world – that is, between the locally embedded social and cultural domain in interaction with dynamic uses of land and natural resources (Hebinck et al. 2018). As Hebinck (2018: 2) powerfully puts it: 'Rural people continue to live and work in the rural domain, actively (re)assembling their lives and social and natural resources to maintain the vitality of their countryside and living in accordance with locally and culturally embedded strategies.' Against the linear developments of livelihood change, 'assemblage' in relation to landscape formation and reformation dynamics can much better suit the complex interlinkages between land-use changes, local-global (market) interconnections, and the cultural repertoires mobilised by people to tackle these major transformations (Hebinck et al. 2018).

Across the developing and developed world(s), from Sweden to Zimbabwe, Japan to Ecuador, to name a few, rethinking locality has led to important insights into how de-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation can undergo major revisions, actual and theoretical, in terms of 'reverse' trends of *re*-agrarianisation and *re*-peasantisation (Hisano et al. 2018; Oostindie 2018; Shackleton and Hebinck 2018). From the 'reassemblage' of swidden agriculture in the Philippines, refuting narratives of swidden agriculture decline (Dessler et al. 2018), to renegotiation of the wild blueberry trade in Latvia, with communities having regained and (re)negotiated control of a sector highly embedded into

global market relations (Grivins and Tisenkopfs 2018), current understandings of agrarian change delineate new frontiers for transformative and innovative strategies of rural people to retain or (re)create connections to land, 'territorial' identity and cultural collectivities.

Africa-based accounts of re-agrarianisation confirm these trends. The case of recent resettlement schemes in Zimbabwe through the Fast Track Land Reform Program is one such case, with discourses of justice rooted in the (international) history of colonialism having led to redistribution of land under foreign-owned large estates to smallholders (Chigumira 2018). Local processes of re-peasantisation have been triggered by these 'new' smallholders investing in farming production, and as a result creating novel forms of agrarian institutions and land-based relationships (Chigumira 2018). Similarly, Shackleton and Hebinck (2018) in the case of South Africa question the nature of de-agrarianisation processes as linear progression. Taking the case of the Wild Coast region in the country, the authors rather stress the complex pathways, or what they call 'styles', of diversification of agriculture unfolding in time but always in a state of evolution and potentially reversible. Along with these pathways, social orders and cultural categorisations (e.g. the 'keen farmer') are evolving (rather than disappearing) and contribute to creating a complex and dynamic agricultural landscape in which family and community retain a key cultural and economic role (e.g. as reservoir of labour) in a context of agricultural commoditisation.

The analysis of pastoralism has also seen some glimmers of novel approaches to change. While a particular pastoralist research agenda continues to set pastoralism and pastoral institutions in oppostion to 'external' factors of change, such as land-based interventions (Damonte et al. 2019) and policies at odds with pastoral institutions leading to poverty and marginalisation (Gonin and Gautier 2016), alternative approaches to the question of 'change' among pastoralists in West as much as in East Africa are emerging. For instance, technological change with the spread of mobile phones has been deeply affecting livestock-based livelihoods and has been taken as an entry point into changes not as ruptures but rather as overlapping meanings and negotiations between the customary and the modern (Djohy et al. 2017; Nilsson and Salazar 2017). Among the Maasai, traditional institutions such as *enkanyit* (i.e. respect for elders) have been considered important capital, usable for more participatory development (Goldman and Milliary 2014). On a deeper level, Leblon (2016), in the case of Fule pastoralism in Mali, argues that the cleavage between the customary and the modern can be rather scrutinised as narratives of 'ruptures

from an idealised past' that are part of the contemporary (re)definition of pastoral identity at the local-global intersection, with Fule transhumance festivals acquiring the status of UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2005.

The latest de-re-agrarianisation and de-re-peasantisation debates make important headway towards a synthesis between early debates and the livelihood approach by tapping into some of the key constituents of a possible 're-energised' livelihood perspective envisaged by Scoones (2009). This is done by integrating the commitment of the livelihood perspective to empirical enquiry into larger configurations of local-global dynamics. The question of *scale* is addressed in the first place, with the capacity to draw meaningful connections between the macro- and the micro-connections which, despite the claims, had remained more 'ambition than reality' of the livelihood approach (Scoones 2009: 187). Reintroducing the macro into the picture means a different engagement with *politics and power* that had often been dismissed by livelihood perspectives as simply 'context' (Scoones 2009: 187). The latest de-re-agrarianisation and de-re-peasantisation debates tackle the questions of power and politics originating in the global arena by focusing on the agencies of rural people in engaging with the global to their benefit, hence avoiding falling into the pitfalls of the causal relation between the global and the demise of rural society and its coherence.

Finally, scale and politics connect with the question of *knowledge* – that is, the normative frameworks that have funnelled knowledge-making under the disguise of an apparently neutral term (Scoones 2009: 183-184). Different dimensions of knowledge production have to do with a priori assumptions of the livelihood approach, that, among other things, tend to set normative judgements about 'ideal' choices rural people ought to take in line with ready-made ideas of progress (Scoones 2009: 184). Current de-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation debates offer fertile territory for a synthesis between early de-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation debates and the livelihood approach, both loaded with normative judgements, whether more explicitly as for the first or more subtly for the second. By eschewing normative judgements on the appropriateness of livelihood choices made by rural peoples, current de-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation debates open up unconventional paths through creative engagements with the global at local level. Questions of scale, power and knowledge, as reassessed by latest de-agrarianisation and de-peasantisation debates, are addressed in the main themes outlined below for rethinking rurality in Tanzania.

Rethinking rurality: Themes of the book

Engaging with the market, (re)creating community and mobilising knowledge

Engaging with the market on a local level and on their own terms is the main strategy of rural people to create meaningful lives across the geographical and moral scales, and overlapping value registers, which are an inherent characteristic of the contemporary global era and even more so across African economies (Guyer 2004). The (creative) engagement with the market is a core theme that recurs throughout the chapters of this book, deeply grounded in recent and less recent theory in anthropology on market exchange, investments, trade, commoditisation and overall evolving market processes, always 'embedded' into evolving forms of morality and sociality (Appadurai 1986; Bloch and Parry 1989; Caliskan and Callon 2009, 2010; Palomera and Vetta 2016). This creative engagement appears in local markets in Tanzania, such as Chaga fruit trader women (Pietila 2007), as much as in highly impersonal financial markets where the neoliberal ideals of the impersonal, atomised, rational *economic man* is thought to be determining economic action (Abolafia 1996; Palomera 2014).

This book will bring out rural peoples' strategies in navigating between different market spheres through creative engagement(s), (re)creating forms of social, economic and cultural life by turning moral scripts, registers, hence market terms of trade, to their own advantage. These scripts and registers and how they are played out and manipulated reflect how the global is experienced at local level – they are products of and acquire meanings within locally embedded processes and transformations at the intersection of the local and global, rather than being set by a priori normative frameworks. Rural people of Tanzania engage with the market at the intersection of different registers of value, at times in continuity with and at other times in open rupture from the register of 'tradition'. Pastoralists, fishermen and farmers push the boundaries of meaning and practice when it comes to their land- or place-based identity, and in a diversified economy across family enterprise and capitalist forces of commoditised production, hence, rurality itself is (re)defined.

Overlapping registers and spaces of reciprocity are thrust into existing comfort zones of community life; thus novel architectures and fabrics of and for community break boundaries of land or place-based communities and identities by recrafting in complex and unexpected ways customary meanings of attachment to land and place (Basso 1996; Bender 2002; Hirsch and O'Hanlon 1995; Law and Lawrence-Zuniga 2003). With 'community' having become central in the management of natural resources with the decentralisation-cum-

devolution neoliberal policy package across the developing world (Geschiere 2009), community in rural Tanzania today is a much more slippery concept than participatory development policies envision.

In light of the transformations discussed so far, the chapters of the book will engage with dynamics of community formation and (re)production, departing from the changing grounds on which people recognise or contest membership and belonging – that is, what Gudeman (2001) refers to as the *base*. At the local-global interface, this can no longer be simply (or in a simplistic way) determined by livelihood type based on the practices of grazing, fishing and farming. The mismatch between land, identity, culture and community that characterises the global age (Gupta and Ferguson 1992; Massey 2005) rather creates novel forms of practice-identity through which the practices (of grazing, fishing and farming) acquire new meanings that go hand in hand with processes of de-re-territorialisation (Hastrup and Olwig 1997), and open up new territories for relational (i.e. across space) rather than place-based community creation.

Underlying community formation and engagement with the market are novel dynamics of mobilising knowledge that emerge from the bottom. (Re)configuring knowledge (and knowledge mobilisation) within and around a context of (goal-oriented) practice and action (Gaudet 2013; Green 2009; Greenhalgh and Wieringa 2011), and knowledge as always 'endogenously determined' (Barth 2002) rather than existing a priori, mobilising 'proper' knowledge for rural people is a strategy to create a novel framework of knowledge-action within which to reassess their rural status quo, devise creative livelihood strategies or simply cope with existing (socio)economic constraints. Mobilising knowledge underlies market engagement as much as community formation and reproduction in contemporary global (rural) Africa, where the 'traditional' register exists alongside and intersects other value registers, and is itself subject to cultural transformations and evolution of meaning.

Being a pastoralist, fisherman or farmer becomes not exclusively a matter of having the necessary know-how for grazing, fishing and/or farming, but includes 'knowing how' to succeed in multiple socio-economic and market spheres, without relinquishing land-based identities, but rather by mobilising and capitalising networks, institutions and social capital(s). The creative use and mobilisation of traditional knowledge registers become simultaneously instrumental to success in multiple economic spheres and for reaffirming land-based rural identities.

Bringing out the knowledge-practice nexus: Policy and the ethnography for conceptualising the 'field'

The evolution of theory, models and approaches to rural development that has been dissected throughout this introduction prove that understanding rurality, and the individualities and collectivities that are connected to it, comes from the intersection of local-global flows of knowledge, and at the intersection of action, practice and discourse (Colebatch 2005; Hargreaves 1996). Policies are conceivable as points of convergence of these intersecting flows of knowledge, actions and discourses, and provide an important lens through which to study interactions between different actors, institutions and debates that determine social, cultural and political change (Shore and Wright 2011: 11).

Policies are a relatively new field for anthropologists. Political and ideological roots underlying policies have long been concealed under the cloak of neutrality that saw policies as desirable courses of action, materialised through written texts aimed at achieving desirable results through means-to-end rational instruments (Mosse 2004: 640; Shore and Wright 1997: 7). Anthropological critique of policy exposes the inherent power relations embedded into the processes of policy (in the) making and practice in setting principles, categorisations and classifications striking to the heart of the very subjectivities of people who are at the receiving end. As Shore and Wright (1997: 4) argue: 'From the cradle to the grave, people are classified shaped and ordered according to policies but they may have little consciousness of or control over the process at work'.

Embedding the themes of engaging the market, (re)crafting community and mobilising knowledge around a critical or 'interpretive' analysis (Shore and Wright 2011: 8) of rural policies in Tanzania opens a gateway for a re-evaluation of the key role and capacity of rural peoples employing these 'strategies'. This is done in a context in which rural peoples have, more often than not, been at the margins of discourses around the categorisations and categorising that had rural peoples themselves at their receiving end.

Rural people's strategies and agencies, however, need not necessarily be marshalled around narratives of marginalisation, oppression or submission. Whether silently or more overtly, rural peoples have always deployed strategies and agencies to their advantage, even when this has been a vehicle of resistance or opposition to unwanted projects (i.e. policies) of social engineering. Taking policy as entry point into these dynamics is meant to unravel the multifaceted 'contribution' of rural people, steering away from 'too Foucauldian' approaches (Shore and Wright 2011: 17) that limit the view on policies to mere instruments of oppression. I take policies here as a springboard to conceptualise the

object of study – that is, the different discourses, actions and practices with rural people as one (key) player at the intersection of the local and global, that, all together, through policies, have shaped rurality in its current state of affairs – to use Shore and Wright's words (2011: 12), policies as 'small sites that open windows onto larger processes of political transformations'.

By debunking policies' 'rationalizing discourse' (Mosse 2004: 641) this book intends to explore policies as analytical devices for understanding rurality. While the book recommends policy changes throughout the chapters, this is done as a result of (producing) empirical evidence that is contingent to my choices and experience as ethnographer of rural life in Tanzania, which has led to a progressive maturing of my stances on the appropriate courses of action (i.e. policies) to achieve rural development. Cognisant of Hastrup's lesson (2004: 455) that 'it is not possible to adhere to old notions of "evidence" as external to the context of the situation', and of the principle of 'contingency of all knowledge' (Herzfeld 2017: 1), I acknowledge the policy-related claims in this book as products of my own choices as ethnographer in shaping the path of knowledge production (Katz 2018), by 'being in touch' with reality rather than 'standing outside it' (Hastrup 2004: 469).

Methodologies, fieldwork and 'evidence'

This book incorporates material from different stints of ethnographic fieldwork I have conducted in Tanzania, starting with my Ph.D. research between 2011 and 2012 in and around the small town of Mto wa Mbu in Arusha region, a region that is mostly inhabited by pastoral communities. The focus was on the complex dynamics of identity formation among the Maasai of Tanzania as deeply intertwined with economic dynamics at the rural-urban interface. Post-Ph.D. stints of fieldwork on other livelihood types took me to analyse questions of identity and community formation around Lake Victoria on the island of Ukerewe and surroundings in 2016, and, in 2017, questions of knowledge and entrepreneurship among smallholder farmers in the two regions of Kagera, on the western side of Lake Victoria, and Iringa, in the southern highlands of the country (Figure 1). The locations in which fieldwork was conducted do not exhaustively represent the complex agroecological, socio-cultural and economic diversity of Tanzania, but were selected to give an account of the livelihood diversity with the practices of grazing, fishing and farming being historically, culturally, socially and economically significant, in the respective locations selected.

Figure 1. Map of Tanzania with research sites selected

Questions of methodology, research design and evidence require some remarks that are also connected to the very notion of 'location' as questioned and rethought through the tools of contemporary ethnography of the global world. The ethnographic approach and evidence cannot be separated from the architecture and discourses of knowledge and evidence production that underpin the understanding of rurality in globalised Africa. The current emphasis on materiality and performance as the foundations of ethnography that characterise methodological debates in contemporary social and cultural

geography, for instance, defines the methodological approach in chapter two. The analysis of the rural-urban interface departing from performance, materiality and discourse inspired by post-structuralist notions of place and space underlies the interrogation of Maasai identity and socio-cultural outlook in the evolving urbanising context of Tanzania, beyond simple overlaps between identity and (rural) space.

The question of community that informs the analysis of fishing in chapter four is equally rooted in the revision, both practical and intellectual, to which ethnography was subject on the eve of the twenty-first century (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Gupta and Ferguson 1997). Ethnography that moves away from 'single' to 'multi' site(s) (Marcus 1995) has emerged as the analytical device for analysis of the global community where circumscribed social relations give way to flows and networks, as for instance in the case of the 'fishing community' around Lake Victoria described in chapter four. Finally, *technography* (Jansen and Vellema 2011), a term that merges 'technology' with 'ethnography' provides useful concepts in chapter five for the analysis of farmers' 'performance' in their fields, merging divides between farmers' local knowledge and scientific knowledge that have been mainstream in agricultural research.

These quick remarks about the nexus between current ethnography and the evidence reported in the chapters will be expanded in the individual chapters as will other details of the specific locations where research was conducted, movements, selection of informants and other research methods used.

Overview of chapters

As the first theme of the book, the market is the main focus of the first three chapters on *grazing*. The market constitutes the chief arena of local-global interactions experienced by pastoralist Maasai despite enduring discourses on the 'resistance' of the Maasai (against the market). **Chapter one** reconstructs this history from precolonial time to market liberalisation, starting in the 1980s to highlight how the ethnic attribute of 'Maasai' as equal to the practice-based attribute of 'pastoralist' (and vice versa) is itself an historical product originating with colonialism in Tanganyika, and strengthened by models and policies that followed one another aiming to increase (livestock) production for international markets. Monetisation and commoditisation policies during the colonial and postcolonial socialist phases are the primary focus as meaningful arenas in which processes of Maasai identity production are embedded. With original archival data, this chapter shows the role of resistance in strengthening Maasai ethnic

identity, making 'the market' part and parcel of Maasai ethnicity production prior to market liberalisation. Building on the historical background, **chapter two** spotlights Maasai ethnic identity today in Tanzania as a site of social, cultural and political transformations, triggered by market liberalisation and urbanisation experienced through rural-urban interactions. Departing from critique of the scholarship on the 'cash economy' since the 1980s and its narrative of change as loss, this chapter recognises Maasai ethnic identity, culture and gender roles as a blend of old and new meanings continually reshuffled as the Maasai partake in different social spheres, in and out of the 'cash economy' at the rural-urban interface. Having established the importance of the market in the construction of Maasai identity, **chapter three** argues that being Maasai 'matters' to a great extent for market performance, and takes the livestock market, market networks and livestock trade as the relevant case. Practices, values and social relationships are part of the structural organisation of the livestock market in that they aid Maasai market actors in minimising risk and costs, maximising returns and dealing with the constraints of the market.

Moving on from grazing to *fishing*, **chapter four** delves further into the question of 'community', commonly acknowledged in Tanzania as the prototypical form of associational life in rural settings, looking at the case of fisheries in Lake Victoria. Departing from the notion of and assumptions about community in natural resource (co)management policies in Tanzania, this chapter moves beyond simplistic notions of community as determined by land or place-based identities and practices (in this case of fishing), and shows how community is determined by creative engagement with the market at the local-global interface. The chapter argues that the local-global market linkages have created new identities away from identity as 'fisherman', leading to new short-term communities that emerge across space around particular business-related agendas.

The next two chapters on *farming* attempt an analysis of the socio-cultural aspects around the three pillars of technology, scientific knowledge and entrepreneurship underlying contemporary agricultural policy and vision in Tanzania. **Chapter five** tackles the question of (agricultural) knowledge under the analytical framework of *technography*, used to assess hybrid forms of agricultural knowledge (and technology adoption). This chapter analyses how smallholder farmers in Kagera and Iringa, two of the regions with the highest agricultural production in the country, create their own understanding, visions and agendas for agricultural production, departing from the 'performance' of farming as a form of locally-embedded agricultural knowledge, as opposed

to a priori forms of scientific knowledge. Smallholders adopt selectively the elements of the scientific package of 'modern' agriculture, promoted by policies and experts in loco, to achieve their own objectives between subsistence agriculture as expression of farmer and family identity, and agriculture oriented towards expansion. In doing so, the smallholder engages with the policy objectives that originated in the global basket of ideas for agricultural development on her own terms, rather than abiding by the vision outright. The last pillar of the Tanzania agricultural vision, entrepreneurship, is the subject of **chapter six**. The concept discussed in the chapter, being the rationale underlying policies of entrepreneurship, is that the smallholder, by the way of entrepreneurial acts, lifts herself out of poverty and becomes embedded in global markets and value chains according to the growth-poverty nexus of latest agricultural vision. This chapter looks at entrepreneurship by comparing the case of tea growers in Kagera region involved in an outgrower scheme with the tea factory operating in the region with local forms of entrepreneurship in the local alcohol economy based on the transformation of the local product, banana. The chapter focuses on conditions that are fundamental for successful entrepreneurship according to social science and highlights that, unlike the subordinate role of tea growers, it is rather local entrepreneurs who are more likely to find the conditions for successful entrepreneurship by mobilising the necessary networks, capital and knowledge in loco.

As policy, i.e. specific sector policies and reforms in the livestock, fisheries and agriculture sectors, contributed to shape the object of analysis throughout the book, **chapter seven** takes a step back by asking (and attempting an answer) what (exactly) constitutes policy. Departing from the knowledge-practice nexus premise that has guided analysis throughout the ethnographic chapters, this last chapter calls for a stronger role for research and evidence, especially ethnographic, and for ethnographic 'practice' as a tool to be embedded into processes of planning in Tanzania, particularly at the local level, to produce ethnographic evidence and knowledge contingent to the context of production, hence useful (and usable) to devise good courses of action (i.e. policies). My experience conducting research on the planning process in Tanzania for a climate adaptation project by an international policy think-tank is called on as a case of how ethnographic research can lead to heightened participation, building stronger ownership of the planning process, and address misunderstandings between policy stakeholders, particularly between rural people and local government. The **conclusion**, once again, underlines the creativity of Tanzanian rural people in engaging with development models and policies on their own terms,

overcoming the constraints that these can present and indeed have presented to them in history, and at times turning the unintended consequences (of the application of the models) to their own advantage. Finally, there is a call to action for policymakers, researchers and other stakeholders to support rural people's resourcefulness by building platforms for dialogue and participation.

Grazing

PEOPLE, METHODS, FIELDWORK

The Maasai are a pastoral Nilotic group living on both sides of the Kenya–Tanzania border, occupying East African rangelands over an area of roughly 150,000 square kilometres (Homewood et al. 2009: 1; Figure 2). The ethnic attribute of 'Maasai' as equal to the practice-based attribute of 'pastoralist' (and vice versa) is a historical product starting with colonialism in Tanganyika, and strengthened by models and policies that followed one another, aimed at increasing livestock (as well as agricultural) production for international markets. This is a history of interventions that is not exclusive to the Maasai but extends, at least in the intention of the colonialists, to the whole of the Tanganyikan territory and even to the other British colonies in Africa. This relationship, however, has never been uncomplicated and, in history as much as today, Maasai ethnic identity in Tanzania has always been a site of social, cultural and political transformations triggered by different dynamics of economic change, resettlement, urbanisation and, more recently, market liberalisation.

As the first theme of the book, the market is the main focus of the first three chapters on *grazing*. The market constitutes the chief arena of local–global interactions experienced by pastoralist Maasai despite the enduring discourses (including in academia) on the 'resistance' of the Maasai (against the market). Market dynamics intersect processes of community formation, in this case grounded in ethnic identity, and create competing knowledge(s) in contemporary Maasai society between the 'traditional' and the 'modern' economic spheres and value registers. The role that policies, particularly market-related policies of monetisation and commoditisation, have had in history, the current rural-urban interactions and the contemporary livestock market dynamics in which ethnicity-based institutions play a key role are the questions touched in the following three chapters. The main methods used are archival research together with interviews with elders (chapter one), ethnographic fieldwork, particularly based on the ethnographic turn in social and cultural geography (chapter two), and semi-structured interviews (chapter three).

The setting is the interface between the Maasai village of Losirwa and the peri-urban site of Kigongoni which belongs administratively to the small town of Mto wa Mbu (Arusha region, Northern Tanzania), located only a

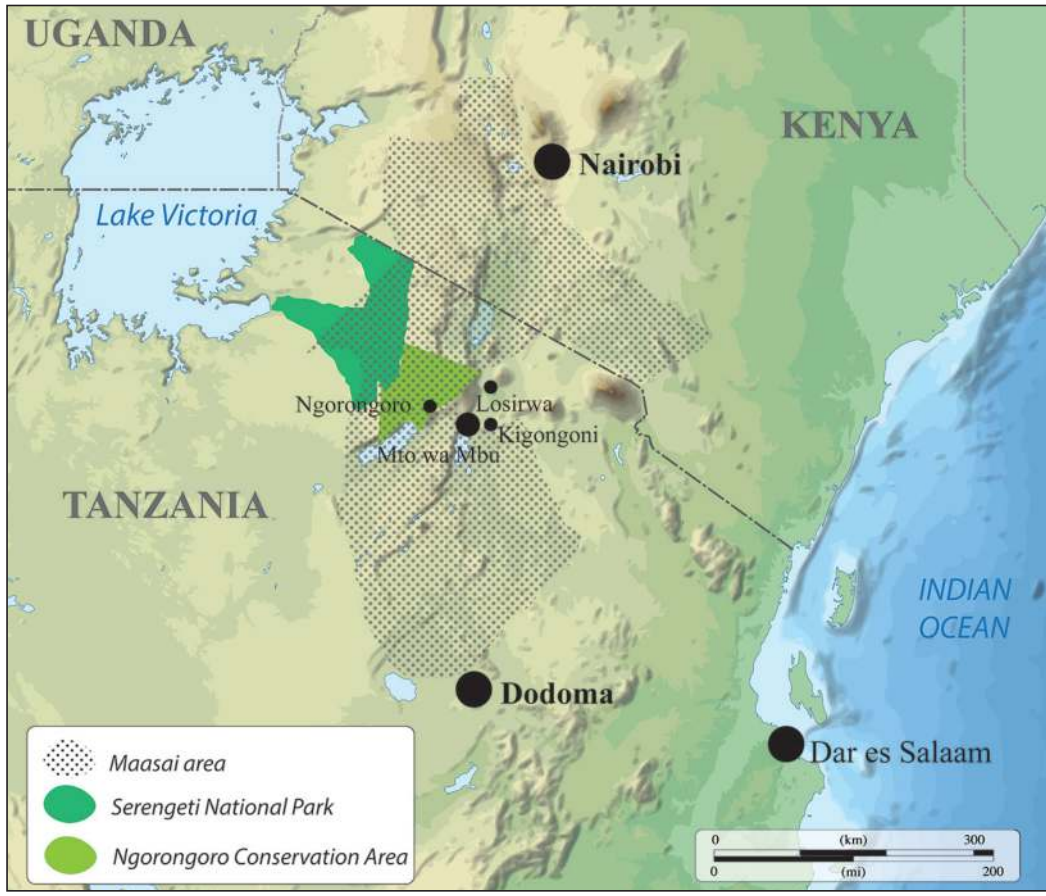

Figure 2. Kenya–Tanzania Maasailand

few kilometres away in the heart of Maasailand, not far from the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA). Losirwa and Kigongoni are spatially contiguous with Maasai rangelands and urban territory 'separated' by a buffer zone where pastures are interspersed with scattered private and fenced plots with cement or brick houses (Figures 3 and 4). The presence of motorbikes and *bajaji* (three-wheeled motorbikes made in India) shortens distances between the rural areas of Losirwa, peri-urban Kigongoni and Mto wa Mbu town with many people commuting daily between the different zones. For the whole time spent doing fieldwork in Losirwa, Kigongoni and Mto wa Mbu I was hosted by the Maasai family of the Tutunyo's and lived in their *boma*[1], commuting daily between the village and Kigongoni/Mto wa Mbu.

1. An enclosure made of several huts, one or more livestock kraals, and surrounded by a fence made of tree branches, i.e. the traditional Maasai homestead.

Figure 3. Peri-urban Kigongoni

Figure 4. Rangelands at the 'border' with peri-urban Kigongoni

The historical characteristics of Mto wa Mbu as a *Kijiji cha Ujamaa*[2] makes the area particularly apt for an analysis of spatial and ethnic nature. Mto wa Mbu developed as a multi-ethnic village with periodic influxes of people from other areas of the country (Arens 1979). The Maasai had inhabited the area prior to such influxes but remained alien to urban development (Arens 1979). As a consequence, the multi-cultural and multi-ethnic character of Mto wa Mbu (and Kigongoni) also developed as a collective self-ascription of the 'Swahili' peri-urban and urban dwellers in opposition to the Maasai living in the surrounding rangelands (Arens 1979). Today, the spatial and ethnic characteristics of the greater area remain fundamentally similar and daily commuting reproduces on a daily basis associations between the rural as 'Maasai' and the urban as 'non-Maasai', which makes ethnicity a very important component in determining the local economy.

2. Literally 'socialist village', created during the socialist period in Tanzania to address the problem of scattered settlements in relation to provision of services.

Chapter One

BECOMING MAASAI IN TANZANIA: THE RISE OF MAASAI ETHNIC IDENTITY AND THE MAASAI TRADER IN THE MARKET ECONOMY

Introduction

This first chapter reconstructs the history of the evolution of Maasai ethnicity in Tanganyika/Tanzania from precolonial time to market liberalisation. Monetisation and commoditisation policies during colonial and postcolonial socialist phases are the primary focus as meaningful arenas in the economic history of Tanzania (and Africa) in which processes of Maasai identity production are embedded. Market liberalisation is often deemed to be the historical reference of the 'encounter' of the Maasai with the market economy, assuming as a result the two realms, i.e. Maasai ethnicity and the market, to have been fundamentally disconnected prior to market liberalisation. With original archival data, this chapter shows the role of resistance in strengthening Maasai ethnic identity, making 'the market' part and parcel of Maasai ethnicity production prior to market liberalisation. This longer timeframe of the encounter with the market economy sketches a different history of Maasai ethnicity, hence supporting alternative analyses of the market economy today not as antithetical to Maasai ethnic identity, as in some contemporary narratives, but rather as a terrain where the Maasai can even cultivate values connected to their ethnic identity.

Using mostly original historical data[3] from the British colonial and post-independence socialist phases in the country as well as few personal recollections from Maasai elders,[4] this chapter shows the role of resistance (to these interventions) in strengthening Maasai ethnic identity. The first effective

3. The archival data reported in this article were collected over a period of three weeks in November 2011 of archival research in the Tanzania National Archive (TNA) in Dar es Salaam and one week in December 2011 in the Arusha Tanzania National Archive (ATNA) in Arusha.

4. These recollections were recorded in the village of Losirwa (Monduli district, Arusha region) and in the city of Arusha in the period November 2010 to December 2012.

policies of monetisation and commoditisation implemented by the British administration affected 'the Maasai' by triggering the very ideas of 'Maasainess' and 'Maasai tribe' which were fluid and blurred concepts prior to European rule. These processes, however, occurred not in the way envisioned by European administration – ethnic identity emerged as a result of resistance rather than adherence to the objectives set by administrators towards the projects of monetisation and commoditisation.

Post-independence socialist policies, implemented in continuity with colonial policies, on the one hand strengthened geographical and economic marginalisation of the Maasai (strengthening as a result the feelings of ethnic belonging) and, on the other, prompted the first Maasai individuals to search for cash profit by exploiting the commoditising potential of livestock. After decades of rejection of the values connected to the sphere of the market, the implementation of the new neoliberal agenda in Tanzania as in much of Sub-Saharan Africa in general changed Maasai people's attitudes towards the domain of money and trade.

The involvement of the Maasai in broader market networks has been considered before in existing rich historical accounts (Hodgson 2001; Hughes 2006), yet not as a key driver for the emergence and strengthening of the sense of (Maasai) ethnic identity. By retracing the history of the Maasai, this chapter also purports to offer a different analysis of contemporary dynamics of integration between the pastoral and the 'cash economy' which has become a primary preoccupation after the implementation of the market liberalisation package for researchers and development workers concerned with the wellbeing of the Maasai and other east African pastoral groups (Fratkin 2001; Little 1985; Smith 1999; Zaal 1999).

The involvement in the market or cash economy is often assumed to be a product of neoliberal policies of market liberalisation which in East Africa occurred in conjunction with an overall worsening of economic conditions for pastoralists (McPeak and Little 2006). Lack of accurate historical knowledge of the relationships between the history of Maasai ethnicity in its ideas and practices and market interventions prior to market liberalisation may have generated the perception that market involvement had a marginal role for the evolution of Maasai ethnic identity prior to market liberalisation. This conception may have been heightened by a particular approach, having become popular in the 1960s and 1970s as part of international conjunctions that made use of Marxists concepts for the analysis of East African pastoralist groups, and labelled them as 'pre-capitalists' (Rigby 1985, 1992; Schneider 1979).

As will emerge in this chapter and the next two, market participation and Maasai ethnic identity coexist and may even reinforce each other today in Tanzania. This goes against an overall narrative of 'change as loss' in the literature on the post-market liberalisation integration between livestock and cash economy, where 'change' refers to (supposedly growing) market participation, and 'loss' refers to a fading away of ideas, practices and institutions connected to Maasai ethnicity. This chapter provides a longer historical timeframe of the involvement of the Maasai in the market which accounts too for monetisation and commoditisation policies during the colonial and socialist phases in the country. Resistance by the Maasai to these interventions therefore is not to be conceived of as separation from the market but rather as part and parcel of the processes triggered by market liberalisation, starting in the 1980s.

After an initial review section that embeds the emergence of the category of Maasai ethnicity in the broader context of African economic and political history, I turn to original historical records from the colonial and postcolonial socialist phases to disentangle and scrutinise events that strengthened Maasai ethnic identity through resistance (to the sphere of marketisation) while concurrently preparing the terrain for the Maasai to become active market actors with the implementation of the neoliberal agenda.

The 'birth of the Maasai' in African economic and political history

Involvement in the market economy has been an objective of vital importance for pre- and post-independence administrations and governments throughout the Sub-Saharan African continent. In both British and French, West, East and Southern Africa, processes of economic change worked towards increasing exports of African produce for overseas markets, increasing extraction of taxes from locals (to be paid in money) and commoditisation of labour and land (Berry 1993: 22; Ellis and Biggs 2001). The changes African peasants underwent as a consequence of the imposed projects of monetisation and production for export need to be looked at not as a 'revolution' that transformed subsistence agriculture and pastoralism into commercially-oriented enterprises but rather as a series of micro-adjustments and adaptations to changing situations that Africans faced, in some cases prompted, throughout history (Guyer 1995). This set of transformations and adaptations triggered by monetisation and commoditisation resulted in a state of instability – also a consequence of convergences between the international and local dynamics and patterns of

trade – and consequently engendered struggles over the terms of exchange and social and collective identities (Berry 1995: 308).

One major transformation that occurred in the Tanganyikan territory during the European rule was the institution of 'tribes', based geographically in their respective 'homeland(s)', through which colonialists had envisaged controlling a vast territory with the so-called 'indirect rule' system (Chachage 1988; Coulson 1982; Hodgson 2001; Iliffe 1979). This was a project of social engineering based on a fictitious concept of tribe that did not exist in reality; instead, as Chachage (1988: 220) argues, what colonialists did was to 'pick' the social and cultural elements of different groups (now categorised as 'tribes') that were not subversive to the colonial project, and manipulate them for the sake of creating an apparatus of governance functional to the 'colonising mission'.

Unsurprisingly, the indirect rule system engendered 'unintended consequences' (Berry 1995: 307) (i.e. unintended to European administrators), in that it created or affected forms of human organisation that in some cases proved hostile to their objectives. In the case of the Maasai, indirect rule contributed to produce the very idea and concept of Maasai ethnic identity and Maasainess as clearly bounded, but failed to achieve the goals of monetisation and commoditisation that had been set as objectives of the indirect rule itself – in fact, it achieved the opposite result, i.e. opposition to the set objectives.

Prior to the institutionalisation of the 'Maasai tribe', the ideas of and boundaries between Maasai and non-Maasai had been much more blurred and unclear. In fact, because of the uncertainties of the environment, people 'moved' along a continuum between agriculture, hunting-gathering and pastoralism which also meant substantial interaction and mutual assistance between different groups living in different environmental niches. Blurred boundaries in terms of livelihood corresponded to blurred boundaries in terms of identity. Hence, for instance, pastoralist Maasai could 'become' hunter-gatherer Dorobo (or agriculturalist Arusha) and vice versa, depending on environmental circumstances (Bernsten 1980, 2006; Galaty 1982; Spear and Waller 1993; Waller 1976, 1985, 1988; Waller and Sobania 1994).

All these groups were not unfamiliar with trade, exchange and marketing. Maasai used to barter ivory, which they obtained from Dorobo, and livestock with coastal traders in order to obtain cloths, metal, beads and guns (Kerven 1992). Women too were in close trading relationships with the caravaneers with whom they bartered donkeys in exchange for cloths and beads (Gulliver 1965; Kerven 1992). Other exchange and trading networks existed between Maasai, Meru, Chagga and Arusha. Arusha people seemed to have inhabited

an 'agricultural island' completely surrounded by Maasailand (Gulliver 1965: 432) and an important market was established on the outskirt of present-day Arusha (at a location called Sanguwezi) where Maasai women offered livestock products (e.g. milk, goat skins) to obtain tobacco, cereals, honey and gourds (Gulliver 1965: 434).

With the institutionalisation of tribes, the 'Maasai tribe' became an administrative category and those who were labelled as Maasai were confined within geographical boundaries in the Maasai Reserve and targeted chiefly as pastoralists (Hodgson 2001). Boundaries so ill-conceived by the administrators had the result of creating the very idea of Maasainess itself, which did not exist before. It was now much easier to target 'the Maasai' with a set of interventions, namely, to use monetisation, taxation and the regulation of the market as instruments for boosting production, in this case of livestock, for the interest of the administrators (Hodgson 2001).

Partly devised as a strategy to cope with lack of financial means in administering a vast territory, the indirect rule came to be commonly used by the British administration in other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa too, and it impacted on existing struggles for resources such as land and labour among Africans (Berry 1993: 24). The clash between existing competition for resources and the new forms of organisation devised by the indirect rule generated readjustments and rearrangements that in some instances took the form of novel identities, social roles and 'invented tradition' (Iliffe 1979; Ranger 1983) that became instrumental to Africans themselves in accessing resources. As Berry (1993: 32) argues:

> [T]he effect of indirect rule was neither to freeze African societies into pre-colonial molds, nor to restructure them in accordance with British inventions of African tradition, but to generate unresolvable debates over the interpretation of tradition and its meaning for colonial governance and economic activity.

The 'Maasai' were 'born' as a project of governing within the broader design of the indirect rule – a project that succeeded in defining social and geographical boundaries between Maasai and non-Maasai hence strengthening ethnic differences, which began to be felt by the people themselves. The unexpected or 'unintended' (Berry 1995: 307) result of this strengthened ethnic Maasai identity, however, was that those who had 'become' Maasai, as will be seen in the next section, resisted and opposed the most important component of the British administration's plan, namely full integration into their model of monetary economy.

Monetisation and taxation: Resistance and identity in colonial Tanganyika

After a brief and uneven parenthesis of German rule in the territory, the beginning of British rule marked the beginning of a comprehensive project of governance of which taxation and marketing policies were a core component. Such a project was facilitated by the circumstances of the Tanganyikan territory at the time: it had just slowly, and with great difficulty, overcome the terrible consequences of the great famine in the 1890s, caused by the intersection of different natural calamities including the spreading of livestock diseases such as smallpox and rinderpest (Waller 1988). Fosbrooke (1948: 11) described this period, which coincided roughly with the German administration, as a time of 'great upheaval' for the Maasai of Tanganyika. He reported that, during this time (1890–1920), the political organisation of the Maasai made of alliances and affiliations between different clans and sections broke apart.

Taking advantage of this situation, the British administrators meant to forge the kind of governed subjects and categories that would be instrumental to their project of boosting production. That included the obligation placed on the population to contribute actively to the development of the nation by creating agricultural and livestock surpluses to put on the international market. The economic measures employed by British rule, such as taxation, market regulation and licensing, were in fact measures that had the goal of 'training' Africans to embrace commoditisation and 'protect' themselves from supposedly deleterious practices such as barter. Eventually, through taxation and marketing policies, the British administration envisioned the creation of a kind of 'economic citizenship' (Roitman 2007), to be achieved through the alignment of locals to the administration's objectives and policies.

Unsurprisingly, taxation and marketing policies encountered the opposition of many sections of the population right from the outset. Practices not aligned to the policies and instructions provided by the administration were labelled as unlawful behaviour to be suppressed. A first taxation reform was proposed in the 1922 in an explanatory memorandum (7 February, Dar es Salaam) by the British attorney general Sir L.H. Elphinstone, who argued for replacing the old and outdated German taxation system, established in 1907 and consisting of the 'industries tax', 'trade licenses' and 'opening fees', with a new set of ordinances, i.e. 'profit tax', 'trade licensing' and 'pedlars and livestock dealers ordinance'.[5] The proposal was inaugurated with much praise by local administrators, even though it soon became evident, as the Chamber

5. Explanatory memorandum. In Pedlars and livestock dealers ordinance 7091 Vol I and II, AB 1057, TNA.

of Commerce in Dar es Salaam argued, that 'there will always be a certain section whose aims and objects are to evade taxation in any form'.[6] Livestock keepers especially would

> plead fabulous and mythical losses by death from rinderpest or east coast fever; others, no doubt, knowing that their 'turn over' in animals would ultimately be checked by the numbers quoted in their stock movements permits, by assessors, would take infinite pains to avoid obtaining any permits and increase the existing menace of 'cattle-running'.[7]

Targeted as pastoralists, the Maasai had to become 'livestock producers' to contribute to the export economy. Overgrazing and overstocking leading to environmental degradation became the core discourse instrumental in the colonial efforts to establish an extensive system of taxation on livestock payable in cash, which was normally acquired by pastoralists through the sale of livestock. A first attempt to introduce a tax on stock had been made by the Germans in 1919. A letter dated 8 December 1919 from the administrator of German East Africa was sent to the government house in Nairobi to coordinate and advocate for a tax to be imposed on stock in Maasailand. Speaking on behalf of the officer in charge of the Maasai Reserve, the colonial administrator argued that a tax on Maasai stock in the German colony would not be easily imposed unless the British colonial administration took the same measure in Maasailand in its territory.[8] The same year the Stock Ordinance was gazetted and introduced the stock tax which was to be paid in coins or notes. The attempt and intention to encourage the use of money rather than livestock was clear: while payments in livestock were allowed in cases of necessity, the taxpayer choosing to pay in kind (i.e. livestock) rather than cash was to bear the cost of converting his livestock into money.[9]

Parallel to the project of monetisation were patronising discourses and attitudes of administrators who emphasised the attachment of the Maasai to livestock and the need for change through 'educating' the Maasai on the use of money. Henry Fosbrooke, who had served as assistant district officer in the Masai district, for instance mentioned an 'intense conservativism' and 'resentment of change' (Fosbrooke 1948: 11) on the side of the Maasai, caused by

6. Ordinance to provide for the licensing of pedlars and livestock dealers. In Pedlars and livestock dealers ordinances 7091 Vol I and II, AB 1057, TNA.

7. Acting chief veterinary officer, 18 June 1923. In Pedlars and livestock dealers ordinances 7091 Vol I and II, AB 1057, TNA.

8. 8 December 1919. In, 2534/192, AB 108, TNA.

9. The stock ordinance 1919. In, 2534/192, AB 108, TNA.

the severe losses they had suffered as a consequence of the outbreak of livestock diseases at the end of the nineteenth century and the consequent 'sentimental' attachment to the animals they had been able to regain after the outbreak. In 1933, Baxter, the Maasai district officer, opposed and rejected the proposal to collect a tax in the Maasai district in kind rather than money (due to a scarcity of the latter in the colony at the time), arguing that such a payment method would be a

> retrogressive step and would militate against the chances of success of my present policy of education in the uses of money. The Maasai must learn to use money and learn soon. His need of money to pay tax is a main incentive at the moment to induce him to bring his cattle in person to an auction where he sells for cash and is introduced to the mysteries of competition in prices (in Hodgson 2001: 68).

Taxes on stock payable in cash became a controversial issue from the start of the encounter of Tanganyikan territory with European rule, and historical records report some striking conflicting views among administrators (both German and British) themselves.[10] The feasibility of the collection of the tax was eventually put into serious doubt – the administrators had to deal with at times insurmountable obstacles, such as the difficulty of identifying the ownership of livestock, which was always shared among many different individuals.[11] Also, the constant breaking of the boundaries of the Maasai reserve during collection time made it impossible for administrators to track the movements of the livestock that Maasai moved to neighbouring districts as passive resistance to the taxation measures (Hodgson 2001: 55).

Unlike taxation policies, the efforts to control livestock marketing gained better results, since the control of sales did not involve keeping records of livestock in the homesteads and the difficulties related to this. Initially, the strategies employed were quota permits and a closer control over the movements of livestock, with the objective of regulating supply and demand in different areas. In the 1942, for instance, the director of veterinary services in Mpwapwa proposed the appointment of a Livestock Controller who would be in charge of overseeing livestock marketing and ensure that restrictive measures of sales

10. Historical records on the proposal to introduce a cattle tax span several decades, from the last period of German rule (2534/192, AB 108 TNA) to the British administration and almost to the end of the pre-independence period (1950s) (22183, TNA).

11. Cattle tax (1940), 22183, TNA.

outside markets were complied with.[12] During the First and Second World Wars, however, demand for meat rose dramatically and the Maasai, as well as other pastoralist groups in East Africa such as the Samburu in Kenya (Kerven 1992), were targeted as major suppliers by the administrators. Compulsion was needed to boost livestock production[13] and continued to be the main strategy of administrators, even after the end of the Second World War, this time justified by the rise in demand among the African population.[14]

Compulsion accompanied disincentives for the Maasai to partake in alternative circuits of exchange and trade, which were labelled as 'illegal' and 'illicit' (*magendo*) as opposed to 'official' market channels (*halali*). An 'ethic of illegality' (Roitman 2006) was established by administrators, who placed locals and their on-the-ground practices outside the domains of law and morality they (the administrators) had themselves set up. While on the Kenyan side of the border these networks of 'illicit' and 'illegal' trade were slowly taken over by Maasai traders who replaced Somalis (Kerven 1992: 34), in Tanganyika, the creation of the Maasai district had had the effect of spatially and politically isolating the Maasai (Hodgson 2001).

Such isolation led to a lack of opportunities for Maasai themselves to enter the livestock market as active (though 'illegal') agents, as had happened in Kenya, allowing instead others such as Chaga, Arusha and Somalis to exploit such opportunities. In 1950, for instance, the veterinary officer of the Northern Province (approximately today's Arusha region) complained that a large amount of the livestock trade in the Ngare Olmontonyi market was in fact Maasai livestock bought in south Maasailand by Chaga and Arusha traders who would resell it in the Arusha district markets and Weruweru market in Moshi. Chaga and Arusha traders along with Somalis apparently had control of the whole marketing network in the Northern Province and as far as Namanga at the border with Kenyan Maasailand (i.e. Kajado).[15] Chaga, Arusha and Somalis traders even tried to create their own associations and advocated on their own behalf. For instance, they asked for the cancellation of the five per cent tax on cattle purchased, measure which had been introduced extraordinarily during

12. Appointment of a livestock controller for Tanganyika territory. In, Establishment of operation of livestock control in Tanganyikan territory, 30666, Vol II, TNA.

13. See 5 Dec. 1945. In, Markets, Northern Province, 25014, TNA and 17 Sept. 1945. In, Markets, Northern Province, 25014, TNA.

14. Markets, Northern Province, 25014, TNA.

15. Cattle imports – Northern Province. In, Veterinary – livestock markets general, V 1/9 1955-65, TNA.

the war.[16] No records are to be found of attempts in the same direction among the Maasai pastoralists at the time in Tanganyika.

Instead, Maasailand continued to be the main area whence most livestock trade came. This fact had been already underlined by Fosbrooke who wondered, rhetorically, whether other tribes in Tanganyika had contributed more to the cattle export than the Maasai and whether the awareness of the 'economic value' of cattle had been growing deeper in other tribes than among the Maasai (Fosbrooke 1948: 49). Such a state of affairs was protracted up to the end of the British rule in the territory, a fact confirmed by the letters of complaint written repeatedly by district administrators and veterinary officers who called for timely interventions to stop the 'loss of revenues' from 'illegally' sold cattle in Maasailand.[17]

Postcolonial continuities and the first Maasai traders

The objective of the British rule to enmesh the Maasai into the monetary economy had isolated the Maasai spatially and politically, and Maasai were experiencing the monetary economy limited to their role as producers and sellers. On the other hand, the isolation did have the effect of fostering a highly ethnic-based identity that did not embrace values connected to money, trading and commoditisation.

During the post-independence period in the 1960s and before the neoliberal turn in the 1980s, livestock trading, for instance, was considered by Maasai a shameful business. Those few individuals, often the poorest in terms of stock, who engaged in livestock trading as a form of income generation were deprecated for trading cattle in exchange for money and for carrying pouches where they used to keep the cash obtained from sales.[18] Maasai traders (*iljirusi*, adaptation from the Swahili word *mchuuzi*, i.e. peddler) were particularly targeted by warriors as subjects of derision and parody, as they were considered cowards for obtaining cattle through money rather than by raiding, which was a prideful activity and a rite of passage for any young male to be considered a real warrior.[19] Traders had also to bear the humiliation of being denied food

16. 25 March 1961. In, Cattle imports – Northern province. In, Veterinary – livestock markets general, V 1/9 1955-65, TNA.

17. Illicit movement & marketing of cattle. In, Cattle imports – Northern province. In, Veterinary – livestock markets general V 1/9 1955-65, TNA.

18. Personal recollections of a Maasai elder, interview with the author, Arusha.

19. Ibid.

during their journeys to purchase cattle to resell it in markets.[20] Food sharing among Maasai being such an important part of ethnic reproduction and identity, it is easily understood how livestock trading was deemed a disgraceful and degrading business among Maasai people at the time.

With independence in 1961, the socialist model (*Ujamaa*) became the drive of the newly-formed independent Tanganyika (to become Tanzania after the annexation of Zanzibar in the 1964). Similarities and continuities between the colonial administration and the new socialist policies were striking, with increased productivity in agriculture and animal husbandry (the latter through mostly ranching associations) as the main objective of the newly formed independent Tanganyikan state (Hodgson 2001: 153). The relationships between the new independent state and pastoralists continued to be played out to a great extent within on the one hand the battle against 'illegal' trading and, on the other, taxation policies. The 'loss of revenues' that resulted from the spreading of sales outside the 'legal' circuits of state-controlled markets continued to be a primary concern of district councillors again (as in the pre-independence period) on the assumption that 'illicit' trade was detrimental to the provision of services for the development of the livestock sector.

On the eve of and during the first years after independence, selling cattle outside cattle markets in Maasailand was a very common 'offence'. In 1964, 6,871 sales were recorded in the Masai district by the district administration against roughly 33,000 sales of heads of cattle recorded in 1960. Such a drop was not due to an actual decrease of sales but to the increase in illegal trading outside markets. For the year 1965 the Masai district acting executive officer (and future prime minister) Sokoine estimated the number of heads of cattle sold outside markets as high as 50,000. That the situation was getting out of control was clear from the dramatic drop in revenues collected from markets which in only four years (from 1965 to 1968) went from Shs137,498 to Shs 96,023.[21]

Perhaps the most significant operation carried out by the socialist state that heightened the spatial marginalisation of the Maasai was the 'villagisation' programme through which it was intended to create villages called *vijiji vya ujamaa* (socialist villages, *kijiji cha ujama*, singular) to address the problem of scattered settlements, improve the provision of health, education and other services, and enact the visions of rural development. Just as in the rest of Tan-

20. Personal recollections of a Maasai elder and former *iljirusi*, interview with the author, Losirwa village.

21. *Kiasi cha ngombe wauzwao minadani*, 3 Oct. 1964. In, Livestock markets, MON / V. 1/9/ Vol. 1, ATNA.

zania, villagisation schemes also affected the former Masai District, which was split into smaller administrative districts (Hodgson 2001: 158). The splitting of the Masai District, however, did not lead to actual changes in administration and resources management, which in (today and then) predominantly Maasai Monduli District, for instance, continued to be performed under customary arrangements, regardless of administrative boundaries between villages (Hodgson 2001: 158).

The establishment and development of the small town of Mto wa Mbu in Monduli district is a particularly striking example of how *Ujamaa* policies occurred in continuity with colonial policies, and involuntarily (and in spite of the resettlement schemes) strengthened Maasai ethnic identity by spatially marginalising Maasai people from the rest of the population. The original community of Mto wa Mbu dates back to 1935[22] as an 'alien' settlement of approximately 300 non-Maasai individuals in the heart of Maasailand. Several waves of migration occurred into Mto wa Mbu between the 1930s and 1960s from different regions of Tanganyika (Arens 1979: 37).[23] By the 1960s, Mto wa Mbu was a bustling multi-ethnic centre with farmers coming from different regions as well as a community of individuals with a business mentality not very common in the country at that time.

By the time Arens conducted his research in 1968–69 (Arens 1979: xi) the *kijiji cha ujmaa* of Mto wa Mbu had been just established.[24] Only ten per cent of the official population was indigenous, with the remaining ninety per cent having migrated from other parts of the country (Arens 1979: 43). The multicultural environment therefore was a peculiar characteristic of Mto wa Mbu town with Africans of different ethnicities, Asian shopkeepers and a significant flow of passing foreign tourists stopping in Mto wa Mbu on the way to visiting the Ngorongoro and Manyara national parks, which prompted the

22. Ibid.

23. Arens recognises three different waves of migration into the Mto wa Mbu settlement. The first migrants arrived during the 1930s, mainly from the western Sukumaland as well as the coastal regions; they were therefore of Sukuma ethnicity and Zigua, Nguu, and Segeju from the coast. The second wave during the 1940s and early 1950s saw the arrival of Mbugwe, Rangi, Iramba and Gogo people from central and northern Tanzanian areas. Finally, the third wave took place in the 1960s with the inflow of Chagga and Pare from the Kilimanjaro region.

24. Vijiji vya Ujamaa – Mkoa wa Arusha, 23 Dec. 1969. In Vijiji vya Ujamaa, D. 3/6, ATNA.

proposal of collecting money from sales of agricultural produce to help fund the opening of handicraft shops for visitors.[25]

Despite officially belonging to Mto wa Mbu village, the Maasai population continued to be spatially separated and continued with livestock-keeping as their major activity. Arens argues that these socio-economic features of Mto wa Mbu village created a situation in which a multi-ethnic population, with the exception of Maasai, downplayed ethnic identity to avoid frictions and improve collaboration for the common wellbeing. As Arens (1979: 73) wrote:

> The demands of everyday living, which necessitate the creation of crucial social relationships across ethnic lines, militate against the development of important social groupings based on common origin. The composition of the village itself in the form of numerous ethnic affiliations works against this. In order for social interaction to take place on a community-wide level and with the degree of cooperation required by irrigation agriculture, ethnic consciousness must be submerged.

This process was further accelerated by the presence of the national Swahili culture, whose creation had been one of the political projects of the Tanzanian socialist government for social integration through, above all, the use of Swahili as common language. The category of the *Wa*Swahili (Swahili people), emptied of local ethnic connotation, underlined an identity based on national culture and language. In fact, the Maasai population remained detached from these dynamics. Maasai living in the hinterland and villagers of Mto wa Mbu interacted with each other as two distinct communities. Practically, Maasai saw Mto wa Mbu residents as aliens in Maasailand and identified them as simply non-Maasai or Swahili. In turn, Swahili identity developed also as a process of self-ascription on the side of urban residents who differentiated themselves from the Maasai (Arens 1979: 66).

Despite the spatial marginalisation, or perhaps because of its economic repercussions, an important break with the British period was the emergence of Maasai individuals conducting trade alongside traders of other ethnicities. For the first time, the historical sources report the existence of Maasai traders in the district of Babati in Manyara region (which borders Monduli District to the north), coming from many locations that used to be encompassed by the colonial Masai District. The Babati executive officer in 1964 received several letters from other district officers complaining that many Maasai males were travelling to the Babati district to trade in livestock even on days with no market activity scheduled. Such trade was causing thefts all around the districts as these

25. Taaraifa wa mzezi Aprili 1970. In Vijiji vya Ujamaa – Maasai, D. 3/6, ATNA.

individuals might apparently have knowingly or unknowingly been trading stolen animals.[26] In another letter dated 9 October 1965 the veterinary senior field officer (Arusha region) acknowledged the complications arising in the regional markets which were causing the districts to lose important revenues. He argued that that was due to the Maasai preferring to sell their animals either at home or across the border to Kenya in order to avoid the heavy taxation.[27] This transition, however, happened gradually, propelled by slowly but steadily worsening economic conditions for the Maasai, caused by the constant reallocation of economic resources from Maasailand to other areas and peoples which African elites considered more apt to embrace change (Hodgson 2001: 148–49).

At that time, Maasai traders began to collaborate among themselves as well as with traders of other ethnicities in order to circumvent the legal requirement for possession of a licence for trade. 'Illegal' traders (i.e. without a licence) would get the support of the few traders who had approved licences by, immediately outside the marketplace, handing over to them the animals and the task of selling them. After the sale, the licensed trader would return the money to the 'illegal' dealer and the two would occasionally walk part of the way to their respective homes together.[28]

In the end, the socialist period for the Maasai prompted an intensification of collective identification triggered mostly by spatial marginalisation as it happened in the area of Mto wa Mbu and overall in Maasailand as former Masai District (Hodgson 2001). At the same time, changes began to occur in the way Maasai related to the monetary economy. These two processes were to spiral even further during and after the shift to neoliberal policies, especially the integration of the Maasai into the cash economy due to the worsening conditions in Maasailand and in the whole of Tanzania.

Neoliberal transformations

In the 1970s and 1980s, an increasing economic crisis went hand-in-hand with the increasing pouring-in of external interventions by international donors and the surrender to IMF and World Bank pressure to embrace economic liberalisation. After decades of top-down policies and interventions, first by

26. *Kununua ng'ombe nje ya mnada*, 2 January 1964. In, Livestock markets, MON/V.1/9/Vol. 1, ATNA.

27. Report on Masailand cattle markets. In, Livestock markets, MON/V.1/9/Vol. 1, ATNA.

28. Personal recollections of a Maasai elder and former *iljirusi*, interview with the author, Losirwa village.

colonial administration and later by the independent state, many 'informal' opportunities began to arise, enabled by alternative social institutions replacing institutions run by the state (Tripp 1997). The economic conditions of pastoralists, as of most Tanzanians, declined dramatically, prompting economic diversification and commoditisation of livestock to obtain cash (McPeak and Little 2006). Increasing livelihood diversification, with the integration of trade and asset diversification, steadily became a reality across rural Sub-Saharan Africa (Bryceson 1999).

In the context of growing livelihood diversification, livestock trading among the Maasai ceased to be considered a shameful business, instead becoming an acceptable way of making a living and a major source of income, which led some individuals to enrich themselves in unexpected ways. Many individuals, who are today respected wealthy elders, gained their economic and social position in the 1980s and 1990s[29] thanks to their particularly successful livestock trading businesses. Such transformation did not occur in conjunction with a weakening sense of identity; efforts by Maasai against attempts to 'modernise' them through campaigns such as 'operation dress-up' in the late 1960s, which targeted the use of the Maasai *shuka*,[30] considered a sign of backwardness (Schneider 2006), prove the strong ethnicity-based feeling of belonging at the eve of market liberalisation.

Nowadays, not only is ethnic identity not mutually exclusive with the sphere of the market, but, as will be seen in chapter three, the former, in the guise of 'traditional' ethnicity-based institutions, is even instrumental to the latter by providing crucial social capital for livestock sales and livestock trade. Beyond local and national market networks, Maasai ethnicity has even become 'capital', instrumental in accessing financial aid in the international development arena through indigenous peoples' movements (Hodgson 2011; Igoe 2006). This historical account has scrutinised the events that led to the emergence of the dichotomy between ethnic identity and the sphere of the market, but also contributes to explain how the two realms can today co-exist side by side, and even reinforce each other.

The next chapter will delve into the intersection between economic and socio-cultural dynamics underlying the co-existence of different registers of value – 'modern' registers of positive values emerging within the sphere of commercialisation, and 'traditional' registers of value against, for instance, home-based consumption of livestock products. This intersection of value

29. Personal communication with a Maasai elder, interview with the author, Arusha.

30. Square pieces of cloth recognised to this day as 'traditional' Maasai clothes.

registers is both symbolic and geographic, being conceptualised by Maasai as a set of oppositions across the rural-urban interface. The next chapter, however, will show how these sets of opposition are not stable but subject to constant (re)negotiations.

Chapter 2

RESPATIALISING CULTURE, RECASTING GENDER: MAASAI ETHNICITY AND THE 'CASH ECONOMY' AT THE RURAL–URBAN INTERFACE[31]

Introduction

Building on the historical background fleshed out in the previous pages, this second chapter spotlights Maasai ethnic identity in Tanzania today as a site of social, cultural and political transformations triggered by urbanisation and market liberalisation. It calls into question the narrative highlighted in the introduction of change as loss, as deployed in research on pastoralism and integration in the cash economy since the 1980s in East Africa. In doing so, the analysis eschews value judgment about 'tradition' and 'modernity' in relation to 'being Maasai' by recognising Maasai ethnic identity, culture and gender roles as a blend of old and new meanings continually reshuffled as the Maasai partake in different social spheres, in and out of the 'cash economy', at the rural-urban interface.

This chapter avails itself of the analytical tools of geography (human and cultural) to rethink the question of ethnicity in Sub-Saharan Africa – in this particular instance, the case of the Maasai pastoral group of Northern Tanzania. Departing from geography's emphasis on the performative, everyday construction of identity (Benwell 2014; Lahiri 2003; Noble 2009; Sullivan 2012; Zhang 2014), this chapter argues that 'being Maasai' today in Tanzania materialises as a blend of old meanings connected to rurality and new meanings associated with the urban. New meanings may at times emerge in continuity with old ones but may at times create tensions as to ideas and experiences of 'being Maasai'. One instance in which tensions arise concerns gender roles: being Maasai *men* and Maasai *women* depends on the complex interplay between the rural and the urban with urban-based economic activities and commoditisation (e.g. of food) being at the core of gender-based opposing ideas as to what is deemed to belong to the 'traditional' domain (i.e. carrying 'Maasai' values).

31. This chapter is developed from an article originally published in the *Journal of Rural Studies* (Allegretti 2018)

The analysis of closer and shorter interplays between rural and urban areas has been a relatively recent and rediscovered preoccupation in rural geography – shortened distances, actual and theoretical, between the rural and the urban entail handling the two spatial domains as closely intertwined and interdependent (Cloke 2006a; Cloke and Little 1997; Jackson 2005). For instance, Cloke (2006a: 18) refers to the two parallel and co-existent processes of 'urbanization of the rural' and 'ruralization of the urban' as well as to 'urban villages' (Cloke 2006b: 381); Woods (2007) reframes the rural as an 'hybrid'; and McCarthy (2008) mentions the necessity of 'globalizing the countryside'. All these current theoretical cogitations call for the necessity to 'name neglected spatialities, and to invent new ones' (Cloke 2006a: 25).

Nowhere more than in Africa have these spatialities been neglected: while large African cities have received a great deal of attention (Abrahams 2016; Fabiyi 2008; Gough et al. 2003; Ibrahim and Omer 2014, Lindell 2010; Lindell and Utas 2012; Rogerson 2016), what have remained unexplored are new interstices where the rural meets the urban.

The history of the Maasai described in the previous chapter is a history of boundary-making in relation to ethnicity, with a series of interventions for the creation and dissolution of territorial boundaries (Hodgson 2001) giving Maasai ethnicity a marked spatial character. In this chapter, I will show that connections between the rural and the urban are both culturally enriching and unsettling for groups that used to be 'contained' within spatial boundaries. As with indigenous peoples throughout the world (Peters and Andersen 2013), identity of an ethnic (or racial) nature for the Maasai and other East African pastoralist groups with whom the Maasai share a history of boundary-making (and breaking) can no longer solely be determined by the type of natural resources and place-based 'rural' livelihood one depends on (e.g. herding, farming, fishing). Identity becomes multi-faceted, multi-layered, being determined by a multiplicity of value registers that develop in a situation of economic diversification across different social and physical spaces (Rodgers 2020; Semplici 2021).

The geographical frame opens up a number of innovative possibilities to overcome the limitations embedded in existing analysis of the integration between the pastoral and 'cash economy'. In the first place we have the idea of culture that has developed in cultural geography since the so-called 'post-cultural turn' and that emphasises culture's relational, political and performative character (Cosgrove 1983; Duncan 1980; Mitchell 1995; Valentine 2010). In this chapter, I show that Maasai cultural distinctiveness continues to be determined by long-dated rural-based practices of mobility and of food con-

sumption, but these practices assume new forms and relevance when they are placed in opposition with the 'non-Maasai' way connected to the urban. In addition, these dichotomies are not static and stable but subject to constant negotiations. As the subsistence and 'traditional' livestock-based economy encounters urban-based economic networks, the idea of what is 'Maasai' when referring to norms and practices can change, and new and co-existing forms of 'being Maasai' emerge, including gender-based differences between being Maasai *men* and being Maasai *women*.

Constructing the rural-urban interface through action and discourse

Not only the movements and mobility related to the pastoral activity, but also many other traits and features of social life of the Maasai people are dependent on 'spatial conditions' (Spencer, 2003: 43). For instance, Spencer (2003: 51) refers to the 'hazards of the bush', which men only are supposedly in a position to confront when they venture at night into 'dangerous spaces'. In the context of economic diversification, other spatial patterns encompass broader social settings at the rural-urban interface.

Moving between Kigongoni and Losirwa, i.e. the local shape of the rural-urban interface, I experienced young men's newly forged patterns of mobility at the rural-urban interface. It would not be an exaggeration to say that younger Maasai men residing in Losirwa are in a constant search for monetary gains in Kigongoni except when they are occupied with particularly delicate herding tasks. 'Walking the city' has itself become an occupation through which they try to seize business opportunities. The way Maasai men construct and perceive the physical environment, with the rural opposed to the urban, contributes to the types of 'trajectories' (DeCerteau 1984) they trace, hence to the very construction of the rural-urban interface. Such trajectories are traced through specific choices as to where (e.g. in the village or in town) and when to sleep, walk, work, spend one's leisure time and so on.

Lesikar, a young Maasai shopkeeper from Losirwa who sells traditional clothes in one of the many retail shops in the area described to me how he 'survives' in town by relying on a wide range of opportunities to generate income. He is a *korianga*[32] in his mid-twenties from a well-off family of Losirwa; owning a large herd (that he manages with his brothers) inherited from his father, he continues to reside in the village (i.e. returning to his *boma* every

32. The age set in the stage of warriorhood at the time of fieldwork. See Spencer (1993) for a description of the age-set system in East African pastoralist societies.

night to sleep) but spends a great deal of his time in Kigongoni in search of business opportunities. He listed all the activities tried since he had entered the life stage of warriorhood: money lending, selling clothes and traditional Maasai medicine, trading Tanzanite stones, livestock trade, providing services such as selling livestock on commission. He seemed particularly proud of the network he had been able to build in Kigongoni and beyond. When I asked him what kind of strategies he employs to seek income opportunities, he answered that he 'walk[s] and look[s] into the streets' hinting at his ability to lure people into entering business partnerships with him.

'Walking the city' presupposes the building of relationships that are instrumental and essential for the sake of making profit. Paulo, one of the older *korianga* of the Tutunyo family, at the time of my fieldwork started working in the transportation service sector (i.e. driving a motorbike for passengers) after years spent, like many other less prosperous Maasai of Losirwa, commuting on a daily basis between the village (Losirwa) and Kigongoni where worked as night watchman for many different employers. He explained to me the kind of mutual assistance between drivers of Kigongoni, such as handing clients (passengers) to one another, contributing to a common fund in case of accidents and helping each other in case of theft. He also made connections with another non-Maasai living in Kigongoni who would rent his motorbike for a daily fee. Before entrusting his motorbike he asked to be introduced to the prospective client's family and neighbours. Building business relationships in town involves building relationships of trust that are nevertheless far from powerful and binding. As Paulo told me, he would continue to work as a motorbike driver as long as there is 'market' (*soko*), then he will shift to another activity that, in the meantime, has become more profitable by building new relationships with other people in the new working environment.

The case of Eletioni, another Maasai *moran* (warrior) from Losirwa, demonstrates further not only that urban territory is widely associated with profit-making but that such association is strengthened by the opposition to the village and rural life. Known as one of the wealthiest individuals of Losirwa, Eletioni manages his economic activities in Kigongoni while retaining his connections with the village:

> I get up in the morning; I look after my goats and make sure they get breakfast. I drink tea at home with other *moran* then I take my motorbike and go to town. I must go to town everyday to look after my business; if I don't who is going to take care of my money?! (12 January 2011).

He continued:

> The town is full of *machokora* [tramps], I force myself to go back to sleep in the village, I don't want to get used to sleeping in town. I must go to town everyday to take care of my business but if I get used to sleeping in town I will forget the village and my home. (12 January 2011).

The three cases mentioned above demonstrate a general consonance as to the way urban territory is experienced and conceived in spite of the informants' different socio-economic statuses. The urban, as opposed to the rural, is not only lived but at a higher level 'produced' through the physical act of 'walking' as well as the symbolic meaning of this act, which for instance, in the last case, corresponds to the symbolic passage between two social and economic spaces. The combination of performance and symbolic meaning is a fundamental element of constructing space(s) (Duncan et al. 2004: 2; Dunn 2003), which in this specific case corresponds to the dichotomous space of the rural-urban interface. The symbolic significance of the rural-urban interface is further strengthened when one turns attention to the type of 'spatial stories' (deCerteau 1984) of the town and village. Such stories bestow a spatial nature on daily life and activities and bring out contested ideas about the rural-urban landscape. Such contested ideas occur at a generational level, with older individuals looking back on a gone past. One elder recounted to me the relationship that warriors had with the town:

> Young warriors used to spend their days drinking alcohol from honey in the bush and they never went to the city unless somebody fell very ill. People had no need to go to town to buy food, as everything they needed was available in the village. (23 December 2011).

Elders judge and weigh their experience of warriorhood against contemporary urban life. The negative overtones of the latter emerge from narratives of the expansion of the town as a corrupting place, for example by highlighting the immorality of consumption of packaged alcohol (e.g. bottled beer) rather than local brews. Other associations of the town bring out contested meanings linked to the activity of walking. An elder of the *makaa*[33] age set recounted how warriors used to walk long distances to visit friends (and girlfriends) and liked to walk to stay in shape. Back in those days, he argued, warriors who used to walk and hang around in town were looked at as *machokora* (tramps) for walking in town without a precise job to do; but nowadays, he concluded, most warriors dislike walking as an exercise and they would rather move by bicycle or motorbike.

33. The age set prior to *Landisi* and *Korianga*. See Spencer 1965.

Stories on the rise of the town that I heard from younger Maasai in Losirwa rather tended to highlight the town as the place of industriousness and development. The (spatial) story I heard from one *moran* began with a certain point 'in the past' when some individuals became familiar with the town and only a few cement houses existed. These 'pioneers' of the town, the story continued, opened up modest businesses and began making some profit. As more and more people followed their example, time spent in the village began to be seen as a waste.

Emphasising the positive sides of urban environment reflects the emergence of changing ideas of 'being Maasai' and Maasainess when looking at these from a generational perspective. Lekishon, a *korianga* from the Tutunyo family and one of my best friends in the field, during one of our many conversations described to me his idea of the 'modern Maasai' as opposed to the 'traditional Maasai', the second commonly referring to Maasai elders or to Maasai who 'live in the bush'. His explanation revealed the contradictions and adjustments Maasai people (i.e. younger Maasai men) deal with on a daily basis and the way in which they at times embrace and at times resist or reject the idea of Maasainess strictly linked to rural life and cattle:

> The modern Maasai knows how to drive the car; he dreams about money in the night but goes to graze cows in the morning. He wants to get money to build houses in town but does not forget about his *boma* in the village. (27 December 2010).

Maasai of Losirwa have embraced and appropriated the idea of the 'modern Maasai' and often draw distinctions between themselves and 'other Maasai' who 'live in the bush'. Lesikar, whom I mentioned above, for instance, explained to me that Maasai of Losirwa, having easier access to towns, have become *wajanja* (smart), and that has marked a difference between them and the 'Maasai of Engaruka',[34] who, in his words, embody the idea of the rural Maasai living in the bush away from modernity. Being a 'modern Maasai' is a condition that does not entail a severing from socio-cultural heritage. However, the connection is rather enacted as negotiation between an old-established idea (Hodgson 2001) of being Maasai connected to rural life and backwardness, and novel and shifting networks and practices within the urban environment.

The generational differences in the moral judgment of the spatial categories of the rural and the urban exposes a certain moral hybridity as a chief characteristic of the rural-urban interface that will emerge with more strength

34. A Maasai village at the outskirt of the famous archaeological site of Engaruka.

as discussion unfolds. The very idea of the 'modern Maasai' is one expression of this hybridity, being a blend of different social and economic spheres regardless of and beyond differences in socio-economic status. Other feelings connected to the urban exist; feelings of uneasiness, widespread among youths as well, for instance connected to commodification of food in town. The analysis of these feelings that accompany contested and negotiated meanings and practices connected to 'being Maasai' will bring out other expressions of the hybrid nature of the rural-urban interface, leading for instance to gender-based conflicts.

The materiality of (Maasai) ethnicity

A recent call for 'rematerialising' the geographical inquiry (Jackson 2000) has somehow bolstered social and cultural geography's emphasis on performativity. Cloke (2006b: 324) argues that the performative turn in geography has emerged as an answer to the spread of globalisation as a phenomenon leading to 'placelessness'. Departing from Jackson's proposal for 'rematerializing' geographical inquiry, I will now turn my attention to the way people materially manage things and perform tasks within the household as 'economic' activities. Activities of thrift and food management that I will report on ethnographically here are aspects of economy in its original meaning of management of things (as opposed to money) within the household.

The analysis of such practices will bring out the ideology underlying ideas of ethnic distinctions between Maasai and non-Maasai as related to respectively to the rural and the urban domain(s). As I already argued, however, these distinctions and separations, based on the spatial dichotomy of the rural-urban interface, are not devoid of contestations. Similarly to the negotiated idea and role of being Maasai *men*, I will conclude by underlining the negotiations involved in the idea and enactment of being Maasai *women* and how these negotiations are also produced through contested ideas and practices associated with the rural and the urban.

Thrift

The act of thrift or economising is not a value-free action, or set of actions (Douglas and Isherwood 1979). Among pastoralists, Homewood and Rodgers (1991: 38), for instance, swiftly commented on the attitude of giving precedence to calves' needs over people's short-term desire for milk with the opposite behaviour being be considered greedy and wasteful.

Interestingly, a condition of increasing poverty in pastoral communities has not led to an idiom of poverty. The widespread notion popular among pastoralists in Africa that 'the poor are not us' (Broch-Due and Anderson 1999) has resulted into an idiom of hardship that is carrier of powerful feelings of ethnic consciousness. In Losirwa, the rural space of the household constitutes the spatial context in which the idiom and ideology related to hardship are enacted. The generally Spartan look of most households is a material expression of such ideology. Thrifty activities in the household therefore become the material expression of a shared rural culture of equality that rejects wasteful behaviour and is grounded in an image of lifestyle imbued with ideas of austerity and rural life. This kind of self-image confers pride and, consequently, a particularly heightened ethnic collective self-awareness in opposition to the 'non-Maasai' outside.

Household resources and domestic husbandry are managed through a whole range of activities aimed at minimising expenditure. A protracted look at the *boma* reveals a wide range of materials that are used and re-used for the most diverse tasks. Timeworn buckets for fetching water can be tied to a rope and used for dragging mud away from the spots within the *boma* used as walkways by either people or livestock. The same timeworn buckets are cut into pieces and used as hard materials for handicrafts and body ornaments. Timeworn maize bags have similar recycling potential with the single fibres used as strings woven together to produce threads with beads. When worn out, the classic shoes made of reused tire rubber most Maasai wear are used to gather the mud from the livestock *boma*; a particular term, *allarao'*, is used when these worn-out shoes acquire such a function. Pieces of buckets and pieces of old rubber are used to produce devices that are applied to male goats at waist height to prevent mating during non-preferred periods of the year. Generally speaking, hardly anything is thrown away and all items, from water cisterns to benches, plastic bags, maize bags, worn-out dishes, pieces of cloth, radios, tools and utensils and so on, usually become part of the furnishing of the *boma*.

An important set of thrifty activities occurs in cooking, eating and drinking. Drinking tea is an important daily activity in the village; people drink tea in the morning and evening before food. Tea is considered and used as an appetiser before food. Tea leaves and sugar are the most widespread commodities used in households and the usual gift handed to women when visiting. In absence of tealeaves in the house, women can opt to burn some sugar in the pan, and then add milk and water that takes a brownish colour, similar to the colour of tealeaves. Also, in cooking, peanuts are sometimes used to complement the

diet with additional proteins and fats, when added to *ugali*[35] as a surrogate for cooking oil in days of money scarcity.

The symbolic significance that these activities take in foregrounding differences between the Maasai and the Swahili is epitomised in the reference that Maasai make to the 'hard life' (*maisha ya shida*) they conduct in the village. Some practical instances of 'hard life' were references and allusion to the discomfort of sleeping on a bed infested with bedbugs (*kunguni*), eating *ugali kavu* (plain *ugali*) or *ugali baridi* (cold *ugali*, i.e. from the night before) and walking in the village on foot rather than car or motorbike. The spatial dichotomy (rural vs. urban) based on symbolic and actual 'hard life' eventually becomes an ethnic dichotomy between the Maasai and the Swahili who are said to be unable to endure the same level of hardship.

Rural orders: Food and its consumption

The village is not only the place of the 'hard life' of 'less consumption' in opposition to the town, but also where consumption complies with a whole set of principles determined by the kind of social ordering in force within rural life. This social ordering works as a term of comparison with the urban culture. One *moran* from Losirwa expressed his view about the difference between the town and the village in one of the very first conversations I had in the field:

> I like the village because you don't have to have money to get food; one has all the food he wants: *ugali*, milk. But in town you need money for everything and one needs so much money to buy everything he needs. When you get money you spend it all for alcohol and nothing is left for food. The town is very noisy; but in the village you buy a crate of sodas or beer and everybody gets their own drink. (16 December 2010).

Statements of this kind were so common in the field that at some point I stopped recording them. They clearly convey a negative feeling towards commoditisation of food.

Food can be a metaphor of a cultural system (Levi-Strauss 1970). Spatialising a given cultural system reflects a trend in contemporary social sciences in connecting food, taste and social space (Gombay 2005; Wilk 1999). The cultural analysis of food and Maasai society has to some extent brought out the significance of some specific foods such as milk and meat (Spencer 1988; Talle 1990). The Maasai worldview or cultural system, however, extends beyond some culturally significant foods and more generally rules and practices

35. Stiff maize porridge.

of allotment contribute to create a worldview of hierarchy – creating barriers and taboos – and sharing. Such an interplay is based on age and gender but also extends to the non-human world.

At the bottom of the hierarchy are domestic animals such as dogs, chickens and cats. Chickens are allowed in the huts after people have finished their meals to eat crumbs and leftovers. Cats are mostly kept inside the huts and they too eat the crumbs of leftover food during and after meals. Dogs, on the contrary, are rarely allowed inside the huts and are rather fed with pieces of *ugali* that *moran* throw at them during meals. The food that dogs are fed is visibly insufficient to satiate them and they are left free to search and browse for any edible substance, including excrement.

The position of the dog is particularly curious and unearths some of the rankings linked to food consumption and the qualitative differentiation of food. In Maasai oral tradition domestic animals are often the characters of amusing stories and are portrayed as clumsy and awkward. The oral story of the dog goes as follows: in the past the dog used to eat good and nourishing food but his attitude was not appropriate for the privileges that he received. He was lazy and kept refusing to work until one day his masters, fed up, warned him that, should he continue with such attitude, one day, he would have only excrement left to eat. The dog ignored the warning, leading to the divine punishment of eating excrement for the rest of his existence. Now the dog 'can't die without eating shit', and 'there is no food left for him in the world besides shit'. Now, excrement is the food *for* him and the only food that is appropriate to his category.

Further up the hierarchy come children. After cooking *ugali*, rice or porridge women hand over cooking pans to children for them to scratch the bottom and obtain some edible leftovers (*engaoji*). *Engaoji* is commonly set aside for children even though it is subject to further categorisations according to the colour it acquires after cooking. Women, rather than children, may eat *engaoji* when in its finest condition whereas it is usually given to dogs when inedible for humans. Men never eat *engaoji*, regardless of age-set. As many told me in the *boma*, it is not *heshima* (respect) to feed men with *engaoji*.

Turning away for a moment from food itself and looking at consumption practices, porridge becomes relevant as a food that is subject to some rules gverning its consumption. Porridge is served, mostly by women, in cups of different sizes according to the one served. One woman in the *boma* listed to me the different cups and how she would pick the appropriate one according to whom she is serving: she picks the smallest cup (*engarria*) when she gives

porridge to her five-year-old last-born son Moitiko. The biggest cup (*olduberri*) is for warriors and elders because, she said, they need to drink big amounts of porridge. *Engobo*, the mid-sized cup, is mostly used for drinking tea and it is served to both women and men but not to children (who drink from *engarria*). Differences in the size of cup reflect the ideas that connect age and gender to the amount of food (or porridge/tea) one is supposed or expected to consume.

In the middle of the hierarchy are foods that are normally consumed on a daily basis, mostly *ugali* and rice. These foods do not have particular properties or connected taboos. Men, women and children alike eat these foods. However, the daily practices of consumption mark gender and generational roles, their evolution in time and their reproduction. In Maasai society, major turning points in both men's and women's life are marked by changes in the practice of the consumption of food. Gender relationships are heavily determined by the way these dishes are prepared and eaten. After the wedding ceremony, a woman is not allowed to prepare food for her husband until she 'pays' a cow to him through the shifting of property rights to an animal within the family. Once the 'payment' has occurred, the wife is allowed to prepare food for her husband and the other *moran* with whom he customarily shares food. Husband and wife, however, will not share food in the same hut or see each other eating until the rite of circumcision of the following group of young men entering the stage of warriorhood, which in turn, implies the former group abandoning that stage.

During fieldwork, circumcisions for a new age-set started. *Nyangulo* was the name chosen across Maasailand for the newly circumcised young men. Sharing meals in our *boma*, I observed the hierarchies through which sharing was arranged. Besides neat distinctions between different age sets, within the same set Maasai draw less neat distinctions dictated by less pronounced age differences. Relationships between men within one single age set but of different ages resemble the relationships of dominance between individuals belonging to different age sets but with less pronounced habits of derision and harassment. 'Real' sharing in fact occurs between individuals within sub age-sets.

After the circumcision of the *nyangulo*, food consumption in our *boma* followed this kind of hierarchical order. Evening meals were good occasions to observe the dynamics of food allocation and division that existed, despite the apparent impression of sharing. Each woman of the Tutunyo family would bring her own dish to the men's hut and hand it over to one of the *moran*. The older *moran* would sit on the benches and chairs in a circle, wash their hands and eat from the same plate while continuing to chat. As other dishes were served, groups of younger *moran* formed and the food was consumed in the

same guise. While one group was eating, those outside the circle continued their chatting and interactions, taking care to show little or no interest in the food being eaten by their older or younger comrades. Invitations are regular but always between individuals who belong to the same age category. *Moran* belonging to the same age category were very concerned that their comrades get their own share and would often put aside the plate waiting for him/them.

Returning to proper food characteristics, the foods at the top end of the hierarchy – i.e. meat and cows' fat – and their consumption in some cases exacerbate the arrangements just described. While men do eat with their wives after the payment of the cow, meat and food prepared with livestock fat handled by women are never shared, constituting in the last instance one of the strongest taboos in Maasai society. While keeping men and women and their roles and positions in the society separate, meat consumption symbolises the values of sharing and alliance within one single age set. Cows' fat has the same property as meat and is subject to similar strict rules of allotment based on taste between elders, juniors and women (Spencer 1988: 262). Not only do married *moran* not share with women food prepared with cows' fat, but they would never eat food cooked with cows' fat that has been handled, touched, or seen by women. Cows' fat embodies values of prosperity and abundance and is placed at the top of the food hierarchy along with meat itself.

Cows' fat is melted (strictly by men) in large pans and then poured in buckets where it is left to cool to eventually be used to enhance porridge or for the ordinary cooking of *mboga* (vegetable-based condiment). For weeks after the feast, the restriction placed on *moran* not to consume food with cows' fat that had been handled by women changed the practices of consuming food. Older and younger *moran* alike frequently argued that observing the food taboos involving cows' fat and meat is a matter of 'respect' (*enkanyit*) to their fathers and families. The power and strength of food taboos based on *enkanyit* eventually determine the hierarchical rural order based on age and gender.

Urban commodification and contested orders

Oppositions between the town and the village based on food are enacted through the categories of 'village food' (*chakula ya kijijini*) and 'town food' (*chakula ya mjini*). This categorisation corresponds with the other distinction of the former as *nzito* (heavy) and the latter as *nyepesi* (light). Rather than being a symbol of a new higher lifestyle or a sign of prestige for wealthy families as Talle has argued (1990: 91), for Maasai of Losirwa, the 'town food' is considered inferior food.

When turning the attention to consumption of food the distinctions and categorisations become less straightforward. In Kigongoni regulated practices and norms are not strictly observed. Maasai men may eat in groups in the many *hoteli* (local restaurants) in Kigongoni but the rule of *entoroji* (sharing) (Rigby 1985) becomes loose. Maasai men also ignore the gender-based restrictions in consuming food when they eat with Swahili women, arguing that the gender-based taboo does not count with non-Maasai women.

Maasai men in Kigongoni in the end partake in processes of commoditisation of food (mostly in their quality as consumers) that they themselves criticise as an antithesis to sharing. They do not hold back in their criticism towards Swahili people by associating them with the most extreme and negative forms of food commodification. They constantly refer to the *uchoyo* (selfishness) of Swahili people who are criticised for 'eating on their own' and *hoteli* (women) managers who, they argue, would let someone starve on the street instead of giving out food for free or on credit. I repeatedly heard Maasai men and women alike referring to Swahili people as people 'without respect'. Referring to the Swahili as people 'without respect' adds new dimensions to *enkanyit* whose importance breaks out of the boundaries of the social ordering at work within Maasai society and determines once again the ethnic boundaries between Maasai and non-Maasai at the rural-urban interface.

The traditional institution of *enkanyit* has a long history in Maasai society, yet its nature is dynamic and *enkanyit* is relevant in different spheres of social life, from conflict management (Holtzman 2001) to the functioning of the livestock market (as will be seen in the next chapter). The novel dimension of *enkanyit* as a landmark for the construction of ethnic separations brings out the dynamic character of Maasai culture, which can become a site for gender-based struggle and negotiations. Above, I have shown how conflicting ideas exist as to the meanings and character of 'being Maasai' in absence of a unitary and unilateral judgment over what is to be considered 'real Maasai'. As the 'modern Maasai' expresses these negotiations as respect towards younger Maasai men, commodification of food exposes some of the struggles women are going through that have impinged on their ability to perform the role of carers for children and managers of the domestic sphere.

Economic dependence on urban networks and markets has heavily influenced the diet of Maasai as well as most other pastoral groups in East Africa (Galvin et al. 1994). Commoditisation of the pastoral diet means a substantial dependence on grains and vegetables along with the use of pastoral products (e.g. milk) as commodities for sale. Commoditisation of food influences

gender-based dynamics and power relations. For instance, in writing about the pastoralist Samburu of Northern Kenya, Holtzman (2001) draws attention to beer brewing as an activity that generates a cash flow from men to women and, at the same time, a significant caloric intake for men. Commoditisation of this kind has triggered spaces for negotiation through which men and women find solutions to daily gender-based conflicts embedded in their respective established 'traditional' roles (Holtzman 2001).

I came across similar gender-based dynamics in Losirwa involving consumption and commoditisation of milk. Milk has come to embody a twofold role. On the one hand, it is an important food with a powerful cultural role in female identity construction; women retain rights of management on milk and, through these entitlements, they fulfil their role as household masters (Talle 1990: 82). On the other hand, the rights that women have over milk have given them the right of disposing of it as a commodity as a way of coping with poverty (Brockington 2001). This has created a readjustment of women's roles that is no longer limited to the task of feeding, but extends to the role of cash providers. Clark (1999) found similar changes among Asante women in Ghana who no longer meet their obligations and commitment towards their children only by performing domestic tasks, but also by providing cash for their children's needs.

The denomination of milk as a 'village food' is confirmed by the negative feelings of men, especially younger ones, towards selling milk. One *moran* once made me aware that 'milk is home food that should be kept home for people to drink or for guests. It's the same as buying *mboga* or soda; you keep them at home to eat and drink or for guests, you would not go to resell them' (19 March 2011). Many times, I heard concerns from *moran* of Tutunyo family with respect to shortages of milk in the *boma* caused by milk sales. They tended to blame a supposed women's 'desire for money' (*tamaa ya hela*) which, according to them, caused women to refuse men milk in order to sell it.

Maasai women commonly sell milk on a monthly basis on debit to non-Maasai women who manage food businesses in Kigongoni. Selling on a monthly basis rather than in retail allows Maasai women to have, at the end of the month, enough cash to manage bigger expenses (e.g. clothes). Maasai men are very sceptical about milk sold in town which, they say, is diluted with water, making it 'light' (*nyepesi*). The indignation that Maasai men show towards selling milk, therefore, goes hand-in-hand with the contempt shown towards the milk itself in its transformation from 'village food' to 'town food'.

Women on the contrary at times maximise the commoditising potential of milk with the use of the process of fermentation as a way of simultaneously increasing such a potential (fermented milk is sold at higher price than fresh milk) and keeping milk out of the sphere of men's demands (fermented milk is not considered a staple as fresh milk). Milk is fermented for three to four days and sold to local restaurants in town where it is sold on for 1000 TSH against a price of 500 TSH[36] for a cup of fresh milk. One of the wives of Tutunyo *boma* head, Mama Lazaro, depended heavily on sales of fermented milk while many *moran* in the *boma* would continue to turn to her with their requests (in most cases refused). On one occasion, she told me that she would make sure that men would get their share of milk but, in some cases, she would give precedence to sales: 'What am I going to do? Nobody buys clothes for me, or for my children. I have to buy *mboga* for my children, sugar, tea to feed my children' (20 January 2011). Many other women – in fact those who do not have a cash provider caring for their needs – referred to milk as the source of income that would allow them to meet their expenses and succeed in their plans (e.g. building a new hut, buying clothes etc...).

The shifts of milk between 'regimes of value' (Appadurai 1986) reveal how women's role as providers within the domestic realm has undertaken adaptations and transformations just as much as men's role has. Women harness the potential of commoditisation and the urban economy to their role within the domestic domain beyond caretaking (i.e. as cash providers). Once again, this brings to light the tensions that run through assumptions and ideas about what constitutes Maasai culture, tradition and as a result, Maasai ethnic identity itself.

Conclusion

This chapter has scrutinised Maasai ethnicity and 'Maasainess' as one form of rurality historically deeply interconnected with market dynamics and today taking shape at the rural-urban interface. The social and cultural geography framework has aided the analysis of these new forms of rurality in Tanzania, departing from an idea of space that has become peculiar to social and cultural geography and that puts dynamism and the potential for creativity and unpredictability at its core (Massey 2005). The chapter has shown that, besides and beyond the acknowledged classifications of Maasai culture and tradition devised by classical anthropological studies and influencing the approach taken by research on integration of pastoralists in the 'cash economy', one needs to

36. Between 60 and 30 cents (USD) according to USD-TZS rates at the time of fieldwork.

account for the potential for the individual to forge unconventional and at times contested paths within the bounds of the possibility.

Underneath an apparent correspondence between spatial and ethnic categories (the village as Maasai and the town as non-Maasai), the rural-urban interface provides the physical and symbolic frame of reference to unveil a series of tensions affecting women as much as men. While being a 'modern Maasai' enacts ideals of the changing men's role in Maasai society, women too recast the way they fulfil their role within the domestic realm. The spatial and moral hybridity of the rural-urban interface, therefore, is a mirror of the dynamism of gender roles and of Maasai ethnicity itself creating novel forms of (contested) identities through novel forms of rurality and evolving meanings attached to practice (not only grazing). The conditions in which the Maasai live in contemporary and neoliberal Tanzania account for the advantages (e.g. economic) of partaking in multiple social worlds but also make possible feelings of dispossession and disorientation in a world no longer dictated by a unitary frame of values. Partaking in multiple social and economic spheres for (economic) benefits is the focus of the next chapter, with a grassroots analysis of the livestock market of Northern Tanzania, and how ethnicity and ethnic identity today provide the capital for Maasai pastoralists, including small-scale traders, to turn the constraints of the market to their own advantage.

Chapter 3.

'BEING MAASAI' IN MARKETS AND TRADE: ETHNICITY-BASED INSTITUTIONS IN THE LIVESTOCK MARKET [37]

Introduction

This final chapter on *grazing* is an empirical account of modern-day local livestock trade in Maasailand – that is, the set of market practices, behaviour and networks of Maasai livestock 'producers' and local traders living in Losirwa. This chapter departs from the premises established in this book so far about the rise of the market economy in Maasailand as well as the contemporary dynamics of a multi-ethnic centre such as Mto wa Mbu and proposes a grassroots analysis of a contemporary livestock market in Tanzania that highlights the role of cultural and ethnic identity – in other words, whether and how being Maasai 'matters' in market exchanges.

The argument here is that practices, values and social relationships underlying Maasai ethnic identity are crucial when applied to the realm of the livestock market. They are part of the structural organisation of the livestock market in that they aid Maasai market actors in minimising risks and costs, maximising returns and dealing with the constraints of the market. This chapter focuses on a series of cultural institutions and social relationships characteristic of 'being Maasai', and how these aid Maasai producers, sellers, buyers and traders to minimise costs, maximise returns, minimise the risk of purchasing stolen animals and deal with the constraints of the market. Some of these practices and institutions are: decision-making processes in livestock sales, elders as custodians of livestock within the traditional family, customary law and ethnicity-based trust.

While the previous chapter offered a cultural analysis of the evolution of ideas and practice connected to Maasai ethnic identity, this chapter intends to highlight the instrumental role that these ideas and practices have in the livestock market. Contemporary forms of Maasai ethnic identity cannot eschew analysis of ethnic identity itself as capital to access resources at local but

37. This chapter is developed from an article originally published in *Nomadic Peoples* (Allegretti 2017).

also national and international level, for instance in the arena of international flows of aid (Hodgson 2011; Igoe 2006). Those discussed in this chapter are contemporary forms of dynamics and linkages between livelihood type (e.g. pastoralism, agriculture or hunting-gathering), identity and access to resources that occurred even prior to colonialism in the region (Galaty 1982; Spear and Waller 1993, Waller 1988). With involvement and integration in larger market networks, some of these traditional dynamics, values and institutions, for instance *enkanyit* (i.e. respect) which forms the foundation of customary law, have become key in other arenas outside customary circles and networks, for instance in participatory development (Goldman and Milliary 2014) or, as this chapter will flesh out, in livestock markets.

The 'market' is a slippery concept. Anthropologists have underlined the impossibility of separating the profit-making and self-interested motives of a market actor from the broader social context which can be the reproduction of 'community' (Gudeman 2001) or an alleged 'moral economy' (Scott 1976), the domestic realm (Godelier 1972; Meillassoux 1981), or peasant production within a capitalist system (Bernal 1994). Contemporary studies of livestock markets in East Africa have acknowledged that traditional practices of livestock raising, which exemplify collective and family values, exist side-by-side with highly individualistic and for-profit transactions (Eaton 2010; Fleisher 2000; Quarles van Ufford 1999; Quarles van Ufford and Zaal 2004).

After decades of top-down measures that worked in the opposite direction, that of rural people embracing market-related values, market liberalisation has unleashed the potential of 'informal' institutions and networks shaped from the bottom to become part and parcel of market organisation (Tripp 1997). In the case of the livestock markets of East Africa, these processes have been facilitated by the poverty-reduction function with which livestock markets have been invested in policy debates and interventions, on the assumption that better returns for pastoralists can act to mitigate related challenges (e.g. environment degradation, food insecurity) (McPeak and Little 2006). In a country such as Tanzania, where the greatest share of red meat sold and consumed comes directly from the traditional livestock-raising system (Letare et al. 2006), a better understanding of the local grassroots dynamics of market exchanges and networks may be a useful tool for devising policies that take into account market-related socio-cultural factors.

Information and data in this chapter were gathered through semi-structured interviews with livestock producers (Interviews 1–25) and five such interviews with Maasai livestock traders (*iljirusi*) (Interviews 26–30)

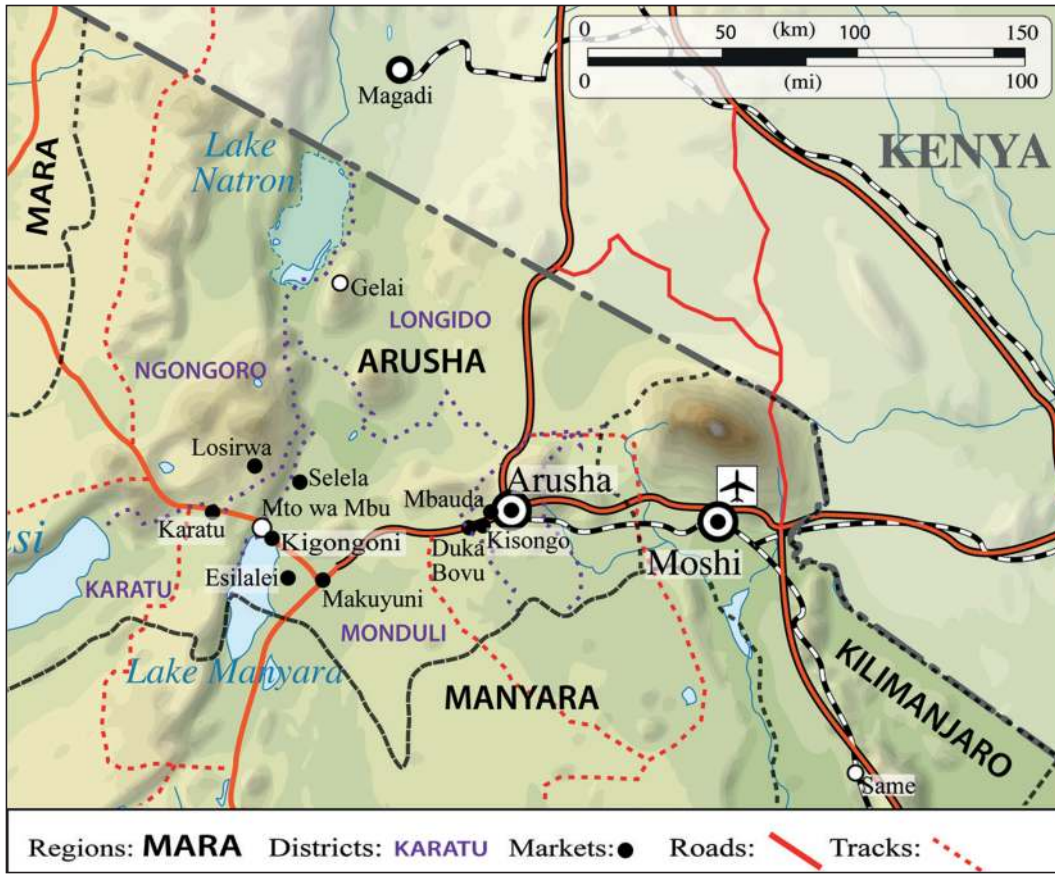

Figure 5. Northern livestock market networks

on geographical market networks and routes (Figure 5), inputs and outputs of the livestock trading business, and relationships between traders and sellers or producers.[38] Three additional interviews with non-Maasai traders (of Iraqw ethnicity)[39] (Interviews 31–33) were crucial for gaining a 'non-Maasai' perspective on the market, as were observations and informal conversations during market days.

38. I carried out these interviews as part of a broader project, to compare the pastoral value chain and ranching value chain for the production of red meat in Tanzania, carried out by the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), for which I worked as a research consultant. See Allegretti et al. 2016.

39. Iraqw people live mainly on the slopes of the mountainous side of the well-known East African Rift Valley.

Level one: Sales, reproductive herd potential and family decision-making

Despite several attempts by national governments to 'modernise' the livestock sector, mainly through ranching, to date in Tanzania (as in other countries in Africa) the greatest share of livestock raised and marketed comes from the mobile 'traditional' pastoral system, in which the Maasai are an important group (Williams et al. 2010: 4). For that reason, the importance of the traditional Maasai family as the first actor in the market is undisputable. The traditional extended Maasai family is the first arena in which livestock that enters the market is raised and selected for commercial use.

Within the traditional Maasai family, livestock sales, in terms of the animals selected for sale, depend on two major criteria: namely, the need to maximise cash return and the need to preserve the fertility potential of the family herd. Each sale of an animal is therefore conceived as a compromise between these two objectives. One informant in Losirwa summarised his initial strategy for assessing animals: when selecting an animal for sale, he asked himself, 'Which cow will enable me and my family to carry on for one or two months?' The need to preserve the reproductive potential or fertility of the herd, however, as he explained, comes to counter-balance this first objective. In practical terms, animals that could fetch a higher price may not be a primary target for sale, due to their strategic importance for herd reproduction. Summarising the viewpoint of most informants interviewed on selling strategies (Interviews 1–25), the reproductive power of the herd is usually retained by selecting males for sale in the first instance, especially those whose reproductive power is either reduced, such as old bulls, or at zero, such as infertile bulls.

A third criterion mentioned by informants intersects the first two, and has to do with the security of household livelihood through availability of milk. Fertile females with a great potential for future reproduction (mature females that have given birth no more than twice) have a very high market value; nevertheless, they are not a primary target for sale because of the family's need for milk. On the other hand, females that do not produce enough milk, sterile females and old females are more likely to be selected for sale along with bulls of the kind mentioned above.

The process of decision-making involved in the selection of an animal for sale is crucial in that it reveals the importance of the extended family for maximising returns from a sale. The process is particularly evident within larger *boma* with several household heads related to each other (for example, an elder with his adult married sons). An informant I questioned from a large

boma in Losirwa gave an account of the customary and conventional practices in negotiations within the family on the occasion of a sale: a family meeting is called within the *boma*, in the presence of the *boma* head, to assess the possible alternatives in selecting an animal to sell, not limited to the animals that belong to the prospective seller. If he cannot dispose of animals that are suitable for sale – i.e., animals with the characteristics outlined above – one of his brothers may offer a bull that would likely fetch a higher price, and, in exchange, be given a milking cow. In this way, the family management of a herd allows them to maintain the reproductive potential of the herd as well as to maximise returns in cash.

Elders within extended families retain an important role in matters of sales, demonstrating the importance of elderhood as an institution typical of Maasai society and relevant to the market. It is a moral imperative to seek advice from elders and have them present at meetings when imminent sales are discussed. The presence of elders at negotiations is essential, and one important prescription of the customary rules of *enkanyit*. Elders are in a position to approve sales by the juniors over whom they have influence, namely their sons and other juniors within the extended family. Their presence as custodians of livestock ensures that the two objectives that drive sales (maximising cash returns while preserving herd fertility) are achieved.

Also, and perhaps more importantly, their role and presence help to maintain the 'traditional' sphere of exchange within the family and community by setting restrictions and control over the commoditisation of animals. Animals given for celebrations are one category of livestock that is kept out of the sphere of commoditisation, in that they are the embodiment of the continuation of family lineage and family reproduction. I realised the importance of these gift-animals on one occasion during fieldwork, when Papaiai, a *korianga* from the Natii family, and related to the Tutunyo family, sold some livestock received as a gift by Lekishon, the eldest *korianga* of the Tutunyo *boma*. A family meeting was called by the Tutunyo father in which all family members expressed their consternation about the episode. The interpretation of the event by the Tutunyo *korianga* laid a shameful judgement on Papaiai for having disrespected the father. Lekishon said to me that Papaiai had let the 'craving for money' take over on that occasion, and that he would have to work hard to regain the trust of the father and the whole family.

One who repeatedly infringes the customary family rules embodied by gifted livestock will in time lose the privileges and rights enjoyed by virtue of his family affiliation. This may entail being banned outright from family circuits

of livestock exchange and support on occasions of family matters (marriages, separations, divorces) or legal cases of any sort. Being outcast in Maasai society as a result of one's inability to nurture good family and social relationships leads to a condition resembling that of *ngikebootok* and *ekebotonik* types in Turkana society (Broch-Due 1999: 51–57), who have, as a consequence of socially deviant behaviour, entered a situation of social exclusion and outright destitution.

Level two: Market and ethnicity

Customary law: Elderhood and livestock body marks

The role of elderhood and extended families as (market) institutions also stands out within the second level of the livestock market, which goes beyond the boundaries of the family domain and encompasses communities of individuals sharing Maasai ethnic identity. The presence of elders and the family as a decision-making body facilitates the reproduction of Maasai customary law, which minimises the risk of dealing in stolen animals. Customary law has historical roots among the Maasai (Hodgson 2001), as in other parts of Africa (Chanock 1989), continuing to work to this day in matters of theft and (by extension) in market exchanges.

Some cases of theft I recorded during fieldwork, of which I provide two brief examples here, show how the different actors involved in the cases reached a verdict through customary law rather than state law. I will report these cases based on the account of two key informants. In the first case, the key informant is Loshiro Tutunyo, who at the time of fieldwork was village chairman. In the second case, the key informant is one elder in Losirwa.

Case 1: in January 2012, a group of *nyangulo* steal three cattle from the village of Selela and resell two of them to a member of the Natii family in Losirwa, while the third cow is sold to a butcher in Kigongoni. In his capacity as Losirwa chairman, Loshiro is informed about the theft by the *boma* head who has suffered the loss of his animals. Once the details of the theft are ascertained and the culprits identified, their families are fined according to specific rules within the Maasai customary law: namely, one cow as compensation for each cow stolen but returned, and five cattle for the cow that had been sold in Kigongoni and not returned (having likely been slaughtered). The heavier fine for the cattle sold is justified by the fact that 'the owner will never see his cow again' (Loshiro's words). The penalties inflicted in this case, as in others, are agreed on by elders from the families both of the accused and of the injured party. This is done

in line with a single system of fines throughout Maasailand, which includes other kinds of offences that break customary-law arrangements: arrangements in grazing land management,[40] for instance, and also offences that endanger marriage, such as adultery.[41]

Case 2 highlights the importance of the cattle body-markings which indicate joint ownership of an animal, from the family head down to an uncircumcised boy through his mother.[42] As recognisable signs of clanship within and beyond a single community, the markings can be used to identify an animal that has been lost or stolen, either within the village or in a different community, and return it to its owner(s). In February 2012, one elder in Losirwa recalled to me one case of theft he personally suffered five years earlier. Two of his cows were stolen and found the following day in the village of Gelai, a few hundred kilometres from Losirwa. The animals were recognised by the body marks they shared with animals owned by other Gelai residents belonging to his same clan. He underlined to me the role that the body mark played in tracing his stolen animals, pointing out that the body mark carried by his animals was initiated by his own father and became known throughout Maasai villages as his father became prominent as *laigwanai* (i.e. the customary Maasai leader).

Younger males in the stage of warriorhood concurred that cases of theft and other disputes would not be easily settled without the presence of elders. One *moran* (warrior) argued: 'It is unlikely that young people meeting to discuss a case will find a feasible solution, they will likely end up arguing and fighting' (15 February 2011). In contrast, elders 'are quiet, speak slowly and never yell at each other like young people do. Even if you have one elder who is a *kichaa* [madman] you expect that there will be other elders who will chair the discussion and reach an agreement' (15 February 2011).

Today, customary law is a very efficient system made up of the elders' authority, the traditional Maasai family, livestock body marks, penalties and fines payable in livestock, all firmly grounded in shared Maasai ethnic identity and the practices associated with it.

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40. Breaking, for instance, the agreements on specific grazing areas such as *alalili* or *ronjo* (Msangi et al. 2014).

41. A man caught in a sexual relationship with a married woman is given a fine by the woman's husband. The fine can be a bull, as well as payments in drinks such as beers or sodas.

42. For a description of the body marks in detail, see Broch-Due (1990).

Customary law in the multi-ethnic market

The effects of customary law reach beyond informal sales and local cases of theft, and enter market dynamics via more formal channels. Customary law, as illustrated above, works mainly as a deterrent for sales of stolen animals, as it contributes to establishing relationships of trust between Maasai sellers and buyers even in an absence of kinship ties. Such a mechanism does not hold when transactions occur between Maasai and non-Maasai, potentially affecting, as will be illustrated, the way transactions in the market unfold.

Located at a walkable distance for Losirwa villagers, the Kigongoni market is classified as a primary market.[43] Being located in a strategic position on one of the country's major paved roads it attracts people of different ethnicities from outside Monduli District. Besides the Maasai, the other predominant group are the Iraqw people, Losirwa village being the last part of Maasailand on the west side before the Iraqw settlements in the Tanzanian Great Rift Valley.

Market transactions and negotiations between Maasai begin with the same rituals of greeting that are typical in Maasai society. Even in the market ring, a potential buyer will approach a seller standing by his animals, greet him and ask his place of origin, family and clan of affiliation by using the expression: *ole 'ngai?* (literally, 'of whom?'). It is common practice among the Maasai to identify the family or clan one belongs to, and thus potentially find a connection through common kinsmen, which can lead to further conversation. Greeting rituals are much quicker and more straightforward between Maasai and Iraqw or between Maasai and other non-Maasai. A Maasai market regular approaching a seller or trader of another ethnicity would ask him in Swahili the price of the animal(s) on sale – straightforwardly, almost aggressively – and continue the negotiation for a few seconds before, in most cases, walking away.

The spatial organisation of the marketplace indicates social differentiations based along ethnic lines. While the cattle ring is usually (and visibly) occupied to a great extent by Maasai sellers and buyers, the division of space according to ethnicity is quite evident within the area set for sales of goats and sheep. Both Maasai and Iraqw sellers and buyers attend the market in groups, made up mostly of family members, for instance brothers with their fathers. The two ethnic groups tend to spend most of their time within their own ethnically homogeneous area, chatting and exchanging offers, bids and counter-bids. Individuals and groups in search of animals to purchase assess the state of the animals on sale across the market, in both ethnic areas.

43. Primary markets are more numerous and smaller in size than secondary markets. Primary markets are usually located off the main road networks.

Level two: Market and ethnicity

In an ordinary negotiation between groups of different ethnicities, the buyers (a group of two or three individuals: for instance, brothers, or an elder with his sons) collaborate to persuade sellers to bring down the price of the animal(s), whereas sellers join forces to resist persuasion and obtain the highest possible selling price. Each group exchanges ideas in their respective ethnic language once a price offer has been made.

Trust based on ethnicity manifests itself at the moment an agreement has been reached, and the transaction has to be endorsed. Iraqw sellers or traders practise a system of issuing receipts to endorse sales of animals. Such a system is used in neighbouring Iraqw villages, and involves the issue of a strip of paper with the description of the animal (colour and size), the name of the seller and the village stamp. This system aims at minimising the risk of trading in stolen animals, from which the risk of raids stems. Maasai market users simply argue that Maasai trust each other and, in the event of the sale of a stolen animal, elders would open a case of theft to be solved through customary law. On the other hand, many Maasai informants stated that, when buying an animal from a non-Maasai, they would ask for the receipt. More than one Maasai informant asserted that he would not agree to conclude a transaction (in other words, buy an animal) from a non-Maasai without the handing-over of the receipt.

Distrust between Maasai and non-Maasai may constitute an obstacle to market exchanges. A livestock trader of Iraqw ethnicity whom I interviewed as a key informant argued that relationships of mistrust underlie most transactions he carries out with Maasai buyers or sellers.[44] A Maasai buyer would ask him several questions, particularly about his place of origin and the whereabouts of his trading activity. A Maasai buyer would also ask him to release the identification strip that shows the characteristics of the animal traded. His own viewpoint on how these differences based on ethnicity affect the broader market was negative, in that (as he asserted) the suspicion and attitude of Maasai buyers has caused his trading activity to shrink in the area of Mto wa Mbu where markets are mostly attended by Maasai. Instead, he has tried to invest in trading across longer marketing routes – namely Moshi – and bigger markets, or to rely on Iraqw sellers in the villages of Karatu District (Interview 31, 29 December 2013). Whether Iraqw ethnicity works as a market institution in the same way as Maasai ethnicity might be the subject of another study, as might be the consequences for the market of that 'distrust'.

44. This individual is a long-distance trader knowledgeable about the whole northern circuit of markets from Karatu to Moshi.

Level three: Livestock trading

Traders and livestock trading patterns

Livestock for-profit trading constitutes the final level of the market explored here. At the time of fieldwork, a few individuals from Losirwa village were involved in long-term trade; I was able to interview five of them (Interviews 26–30). They had begun their activity between 1995 and 2005. While still residing in Losirwa, livestock traders are very mobile within the regional market networks, which consist of two main routes. The first has Kigongoni at its centre and the nearby markets of Karatu, Esilalei, Selela and Makuyuni as satellites; the second route is used for trading larger numbers of animals and extends all the way to Arusha city, passing through Duka Bovu, Kisongo and Mbauda markets. Livestock trading and pastoral activity are not mutually exclusive; traders continue to pursue composite strategies of livestock rearing. In fact, all traders mentioned being a pastoralist as their first activity (and their identity). As will be described, being a pastoralist and part of a broader community is an essential prerequisite for trading in livestock.

Livestock trading is a profitable activity with low input costs and a good potential for profit. Traders may trade from four or five to ten or even fifteen animals per week during specific periods of the year, such as after harvests (when farm owners have cash to invest in livestock). The margin for profit that derives from the sale of an animal is estimated by traders to oscillate between 2,000 and 5,000 Tanzanian shillings (TSH) at the lowest end, up to 70,000 shillings at the highest (roughly, between one and forty US dollars overall).[45] It can, however, reach up to TSH 100,000 (sixty US dollars) in cases of particularly fortunate deals involving animals bought cheaply while in poor health and sold later on after treatment. Net profit depends on the money spent for transportation and market fees, though this rarely exceeds 5,000–6,000 shillings (three US dollars).

For the trading activity to be successful, a number of conditions must be met. The most important are the availability of hard cash, as high a number of suppliers as possible and – importantly – connections which are instrumental to these first two conditions. Traders in Losirwa seek these resources mostly within their ethnically homogeneous community of origin (i.e., Losirwa). Connections and support found within the family and the broader community are fundamental to entering, maintaining and expanding their business activities. Two of the traders interviewed found all the necessary resources to begin

45. All conversions in USD according to USD-TZS-USD rates at the time of collection of data.

the trading business within their families, exploiting their respective fathers' connections and wisdom, their fathers having been successful traders after the liberalisation turn in the 1980s. Their own fathers introduced them to the business with initial economic capital raised within the extended family. They entered the livestock trading business through what Quarles Van Ufford calls the 'kinship mode' (Quarles Van Ufford 1999: 178). The other three traders interviewed used a strategic mix of the 'apprenticeship mode' (Quarles Van Ufford 1999: 185) and the 'self-made trader' strategy (Quarles Van Ufford 1999: 188); that is, they acquired the necessary initial skills by walking to attend markets accompanied by other Maasai traders (the apprenticeship mode) but had to find economic capital for themselves within or beyond the family (the self-made trader strategy).

The case of two traders and brothers, Leboi and Kilamian, shows the composite strategy employed by traders who merge the three different 'entry modes' (Quarles Van Ufford 1999). In 1995, Leboi was introduced to the business by his own father, a wealthy Maasai elder and former trader, learning the basic skills and receiving his initial capital from the sale of part of the family herd. Later on, he acted as a business mentor for his own younger brother, Kilamian, with whom he worked in partnership for an initial period. Nowadays they conduct their activity independently, but continue to collaborate occasionally by borrowing from and lending capital to each other, or by entering into partnerships (Interviews 27–28).

There are three main kinds of partnerships between traders: (1) lending to and/or borrowing money from each other; (2) pooling economic capital (money) to purchase large numbers of animals; and (3) sharing market information. In the first kind of partnership, the conditions for returning loans vary, from the short term (two or three weeks), to loans for up to a year. Access to loans is a major requirement for success in the business. In the three years prior to my interviews, all five traders had borrowed a sum between TSH 500,000 and TSH 1,500,000 (300–900 US dollars), with the exception of one trader interviewed who had borrowed five million shillings (3,000 US dollars). Loans between traders are given on an informal basis without endorsement by the village council or police, as is the case with more formal loans.

The second kind of partnership occurs when a trader does not have sufficient capital to purchase enough animals with profit expectations. In this case, two traders may pool their capital by sharing expenses and profit. In the third kind of partnership, the 'market information' in question is information about an animal on sale in the community. A trader lacking capital for the

purchase may share the information with another fellow trader who may have the capital needed. Such information is highly valuable, and earns the trader who has shared the information half of the profit from the sale.

Trust is an important component of partnerships. The first kind of partnership clearly requires the highest degree of trust between the lender and the borrower, considering the informality of loans between traders. The second kind of partnership also requires a certain degree of trust, as animals may be entrusted to either of the traders within the marketplace or during the period of trekking. It also requires a shared understanding of the optimal strategy for the sale of the animals, for example knowing the markets chosen for purchase and sale. The third kind of partnership rather denotes the inclination of traders to support and help each other, since the favour is likely to be reciprocated. This kind of partnership therefore implies already-existing long-term relationships of trust and cooperation.

All five traders interviewed had, at some point, collaborated with one or more of the other four through one or more types of partnerships. One of them explained:

> We all have known each other for many years, ever since we were *olayoni*[46] and we used to graze herds together. It is easy to communicate and meet since we all live close to each other and we do business in Kigongoni market. (Interview 26, 4 May 2011)

Connections within the family and the community are vital for starting and maintaining a profitable trading business. By contrast, traders in Losirwa asserted that collaboration with other traders outside the community is limited to exchanging opinions on the condition of the beasts during market days, and communications on market conditions and prices. This latter kind of collaboration, however, has little weight in decision-making, since traders prefer to gain and update their knowledge of markets through repeated physical presence in the marketplaces.

Ethnicity was indirectly mentioned as a factor in business partnerships by both Maasai traders in Losirwa and non-Maasai (Iraqw) traders residing in nearby villages on the west side (Kilima Moja, Karatu). They referred to these physically distinct locations as a deterrent to expanding connections for closer collaboration. One Maasai trader in Losirwa, for instance, argued: 'We live here so we work with each other, we don't go looking for somebody else outside. You don't know what kind of people you are going to find outside your

46. *Olayoni*: 'child', here intended as plural.

community' (Interview 30, 15 March 2011). Another trader of Iraqw ethnicity residing in the area of Kilima Moja similarly argued: 'We live in our place and help each other, they live in their own. When we meet in the market, we do business there so that each one can go back to his place, that's all' (Interview 32, 15 December 2013). A lack of collaboration with other individuals outside the ethnically homogeneous community was therefore not identified as an obstacle, nor a missing opportunity for trade.

For traders from Losirwa, family connections and mutual support through partnerships are the main resource pool from which they draw the necessary capital. All traders were sceptical about the feasibility and practicability of establishing connections with other individuals for closer collaboration in trading, because of the nature of the trading business, which requires long-term relationships on which to build trust.

Traders and sellers: Clientelisation and transactions

Within the community of Losirwa, networks of 'clientelisation' (Geertz 1978) exist which benefit both traders and sellers. Networks have also thrived in Tanzania (Tripp 1997), as in many other parts of Africa (Fafchamps 2001; Meagher 2010: 20–21), as the consequence of neoliberal policies which, in the case of livestock markets, have exposed the nature of livestock as a non-standardised and hardly-comparable commodity. Today, livestock market dynamics in East Africa hinge on a number of factors that cannot always be fully grasped (Andargachew and Brokken 1993; Barret et al. 2003; Barret and Luseno 2004). Transaction costs and market information are two elements that facilitate networks based on trust within the ethnically homogeneous community of Losirwa.

As a general rule, transaction costs act as a deterrent from taking animals to distant markets, with the double risk of either ending up with a disappointing deal or, in the case of a failed sale, with a loss of the time and money invested in trekking. Instead, Losirwa producers rely on Kigongoni market facilities as their primary option because of the low transaction costs. Using Kigongoni market facilities and relying on traders within the community are the two most common options for Losirwa livestock producers.

The commonly-shared rationalisation among the livestock keepers in Losirwa that 'business is business' reveals a situation in which the maximisation of profit drives a seller's choice of trader, regardless of his identity (whether Maasai or non-Maasai). Sellers may search for a trader (they stated) either within or outside their own community, and in some cases 'try' more than one trader in order to fetch the best price. Other respondents (Interviews 2,

11 and 20) stated that they prefer not to sell at all to traders because traders do not offer acceptable prices. One interviewee argued that he does not sell to traders because a trader 'knows that you are selling your cow because you have a problem and want to sell as quickly as possible' (Interview 2, 21 February 2011). Instead, he would take his animal to the market, where power relations are more balanced and where he can maximise the cash return from the sale.

On the other hand, many informants in Kigongoni stated that they relied on long-term relationships with a trusted trader as a strategy for selling their animals. In most cases, the trusted trader belonged to the Losirwa traders' community. Relationships between traders and livestock keepers in Losirwa were often built over a period of several years, out of existing relationships based on neighbourhood or family. As one informant argued with regard to his trusted trader: 'I have gotten used to my own trader here in Losirwa. I have known him since we were young. So, I like to sell to him because I know he is going to give me a good price' (Interview 21, 1 April 2011).

Beyond the maximisation of profit, a reliance on a trusted trader has benefits to do with several other features and constraints of the livestock market, such as, but not limited to, transaction costs. The rationales most often mentioned by sellers for relying on a trusted trader are:

- A trusted trader can purchase an animal at short notice when one needs to sell livestock quickly.
- Sellers barter a price potentially higher than they might fetch in the market, and transfer the risk of failing to sell once in the market.
- Selling animals in the market is considered hard work.
- Prior business relationships that entail an exchange of favours may imply a moral obligation for a seller to sell his animal to his trustworthy trader to help him make a profit.
- Sellers may have access to part of the profit made by the trusted trader to whom the animal has been sold when a trader offers food and drinks in the marketplace.

The sellers' marketing behaviour is therefore determined by a number of practical circumstances, which at times may be constraints, and, in the long run, it creates the conditions in which long-term business relationships are established and reproduced.

The same may be said when it comes to the benefits embedded for traders in networks of clientelisation. Having a trusted network of suppliers is

an important condition for traders' success: purchasing animals directly from livestock keepers within the community has a greater potential for a higher return in cash once the animal is resold.

Understanding the importance and nature of 'market information' is crucial to understanding traders' rationale in building networks with long-term suppliers. In the case of non-standardised markets (such as the livestock market), 'knowing the prices one week is a very uncertain guide to the next' (Alexander and Alexander 1991: 504). The usefulness of 'market information' on price therefore does not hold in livestock markets, where price is rather a fluctuating tag assigned to an animal. As economic anthropologists note, price is to be considered a range rather than a brute fact (Alexander and Alexander 1991; Guyer 2009). These considerations serve as (partial) explanations for why 'eye judgement' (Quarles van Ufford 1999: 177), bargaining and networks of clientelisation are all employed by traders in Losirwa, and why these are in the end the major determinants of prices.

Transactions between livestock keepers and traders in Losirwa are imbued with the forms of conviviality and sociability that denote shared (ethnic) ideals. Having communicated by phone, the trader usually visits the seller's *boma* to 'eye-judge' the condition of the animal on sale. This may be done in the presence of the seller's father or brothers. The seller briefs the trader on the life history of the animal, such as the number of times the animal has given birth (for females), its age, any particular behavioural quality – for instance, whether the animal is nervous or even-tempered – and other relevant health conditions. As one trader said, this is mostly a one-way activity with the seller (and possibly his brothers or father) trying to highlight the valuable qualities of the animal; the discussion unfolds in an atmosphere of trust on the side of the trader, who takes the information as truthful while comparing it against his own (eye-) judgement. The same trader continued: 'I must believe what I am told, and of course I know myself the worth of the animal when I look at it'. He added that the presence of an elder is an additional guarantee that the information is truthful and that no other relevant information is being concealed from him (Interview 30, 20 April 2011).

Transactions of this kind, aimed at making profit, are veiled by a shared language through which the shared values of sustaining one's household and children are expressed. Sellers highlight the 'problem' that has triggered the decision to sell the animal. The 'problem' is in most cases the need to buy food for the family. Sellers may use some customary formulae which are familiar to the traders too, such as referring to their 'hungry children', shortages of pasture

that cause cows to lose weight, scarcity of milk inflating expenses for food, and so on. On their own side, traders make use of a language that simultaneously sympathises with the seller's 'problem' and uses the same formulae to veil the business principles of trade and profit-making. The trader highlights the uncertainty that trading entails, and argues that the profit will go (most likely) into purchases of maize for his 'hungry children'. Sellers refer to this strategy used by traders as 'coaxing' to lower the price of the animal.

The negotiation itself, limited to discussions on the price, is quite straightforward and takes only a few minutes. The bargaining usually begins with an offer by the seller, with two or three subsequent exchanges of offers and counter-bids by each party. The buyer eventually sets the final price, which the seller will accept or refuse. The negotiation is, however, preceded and followed by some convivial activities such as drinking tea or milk, or eating food together. The trader is likely to spend a few minutes with the *boma* head as a form of respect, and exchange greetings and information on each other's family members with him. In some cases, seller(s) and trader walk together to the market, where the seller makes his purchases with the money he has gained from the sale of his animal. The conventional forms of words and conviviality described here surrounding negotiations may be interpreted as a possible way in which traders, especially wealthier ones, can cope with the 'trader's dilemma' (Evers and Schrader 1994), of reconciling profit-making with the moral and social obligation for redistribution.

The observations mentioned above on price as a range have relevance here: in a situation in which both seller and buyer are knowledgeable about the potential of the animal on sale, in order to reach an agreement traders need to secure for sellers a return from the sale in line with the potential market price, while sellers need to take into account the trader's profit margin.

Conclusion

Market liberalisation has ended the era of monetisation and taxation policies imposed on the Maasai that were the subject of chapter one. The policies of market liberalisation have removed the barriers prohibiting the 'institutions' analysed here from entering the domain of the market – for example, by ending externally-imposed price-control measures – thus creating the conditions in which they (the institutions) can reduce risk and work towards the individual maximisation of profit. In the end, the informal character of networks and market behaviour described here is not simply the outcome of market liberalisation, but also of a longer history of top-down interventions that also contributed

to strengthening ethnic identity (Hodgson 2001). This chapter reverses the ideas of 'traditional' rurality in opposition to market integration that has been mainstream in pastoralists studies as much as in accounts of rurality in general in Sub-Saharan Africa. Rather, it is within or through market engagement that rural people(s), in this case the Maasai of Northern Tanzania, reframe their relationships with land-based livelihoods and rural resources, sometimes, as this chapter has shown, even to their own economic benefit.

The implications of the analysis in this chapter for policies emerge particularly from the recognition of the economic worth of pastoralism which often goes unnoticed (Hesse and MacGregor 2006). The 'traditional' subsistence pastoral system, including the marketing apparatus described here, is at the foundation of a sizeable marketing structure which reaches and supplies urban markets in Northern Tanzania (such as Arusha and Moshi). Informal livestock trading provides opportunities for traders, pastoralists and other agents all the way up the value chain (butchers, meat shops, hotels). While the improved marketing of livestock has indeed become a major policy objective in the eastern African region (McPeak and Little 2006), this is often surrounded by assumptions that the marketing of animals ought to be conceived of as a form of destocking – hence, an effort towards more permanent settlements and parcelling of privately-owned land which are contrary to the ideal type of land-based livelihoods of pastoralists in East Africa.

This chapter proves that market engagement and traditional ethnicity-based institutions originated in the (communal) management of resources, above all land, feed each other, and the loss of the second can entail the loss of the capital that Maasai communities mobilise for market performance. Community and the capital embedded in customary community life and lifestyle, including the presence of ethnicity-based institutions, are the premise for Maasai effectively engaging with the market. The next chapter further explores the multifaceted aspects of community as a typical expression of the formation and reproduction of rurality in the market with an analysis, in the context of decentralisation and devolution policies, of 'fishing communities' in and around Lake Victoria in North-eastern Tanzania.

Fishing

PEOPLE, METHODS, FIELDWORK

Lake Victoria is the largest lake in Africa with a surface area of 68,800 sq. km (URT 2015a: 1) and its shores shared by Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. To date, the three most widespread fish species in the lake are the Nile Perch (*Lates niloticus*), Tilapia (*Oreochromis niloticus*) and Silver Cyprinid (*Rastrineobola argentea)*, commonly known in Tanzania as *dagaa*. The lake constitutes a very important and highly productive fishing zone with a total catch of 834,217 tons in 2014 (URT 2015a) of which 58 per cent can be attributed to Tanzania alone, and with an overall contribution to the national economy (Tanzania) estimated at 360,720,681 USD in 2014 (URT 2015a).

The recent history of Lake Victoria has hardly any equal as regards the dramatic changes triggered by human action. Towards the end of the 1950s, the Nile Perch, endemic in other African lakes, was introduced in the lake to boost fish production for a growing population (Acere 1988: 3). The combination of the introduction of nets with smaller mesh from 127 mm in the 1930s to 76 mm in the 1980s, which caused the drastic reduction of smaller fish species, and the proliferation of the larger Nile Perch, led to a 'boom' of the Perch industry with exponential growth in the number of boats from around 12,000 in the early 1980s to more than 40,000 in the 2000s (Acere 1988). These conditions have led to increasing exploitation of resources, causing uncontrolled illegal fishing practices such as beach seines (Figure 6) (URT 2015a).

Moving on from *grazing*, the next chapter on *fishing* as the second type of land (i.e. place)-based livelihood in Tanzania deals with fisheries in Lake Victoria as a case study to delve further into the question of community – commonly acknowledged in Tanzania as the prototypical form of associational life in rural settings – and how community formation and reproduction are inseparable from market processes and dynamics (the main theme of the previous chapters on grazing). Because of the aforementioned dramatic changes in and around the Lake Victoria region, a deeper understanding of community formation and reproduction is crucial, particularly in light of the policy framework predicated on the involvement of 'fishing communities' for co-management of freshwater lake resources, which is part of a broader policy agenda on decentralisation and devolution initiated in the late 1980s and early 1990s across the developing world.

Figure 6. Fishermen using beach seines in Ukerewe

With the disentanglement of 'community' from place, locality and place-based livelihoods – that is, the activity of fishing itself, which is the premise of the analysis – rethinking the methodological approach for the analysis of community is crucial. The next chapter is an 'ethnography of community' grounded in the contemporary global debates about community begun with the questioning of community boundaries in favour of thinking in terms of networks and flows, rather than in loco social relationships.

The setting is Ukerewe island, the largest island in Lake Victoria, which is particularly apt for a mobile approach to the study of community that focuses on flows and networks rather than place-based social relationships. Ukerewe is located at the intersection of international flows of fish trading that extend to countries all over the world. Also, Ukerewe provides an ideal setting to study the changes that the practice of fishing has undergone, being one of the oldest communities in the region, with marked ethnic identity but a history of integration (Jentoft et al. 2010: 353).

Figure 7. Fishing boats at landing site in Namasabo

Ukerewe, as much as most of the lake shores across the three countries that share them, has been touched by important institutional changes since the beginning of the decentralisation and devolution agenda. Because of the transnational characteristic of Lake Victoria fisheries, the supra-national Lake Victoria Fisheries Organization (LVFO) was created in 1994. The latest efforts made by LVFO in partnership with national governments have been aimed towards the achievement of the two main objectives of promoting a 'competitive and efficient' fishery sector for poverty reduction and overall national development 'while conserving the environment' (URT 2015b: 11) with the cooperation of 'fishing communities'. Beach Management Units (BMUs) have been created as the core structures at which co-management is operationalised (Nunan et al. 2015: 207) and may encompass several landing sites where all the relevant stakeholders and social actors, from fishermen to BMU managers, interact, making those sites neural centres of bigger networks of people and trade.

Figure 8. Fishing boat at landing site in Namasabo

Because of the strategic position of landing sites within BMUs, I selected a landing site in the village of Namasabo in Ukerewe island and its immediate surroundings as primary fieldwork location (Figures 7 and 8). I selected Namasabo because of its proximity to Nansio, the most developed town in Ukerewe island, with heavy flows and networks of people and goods. Because of these complex linkages, labour arrangements in Namasabo are very diverse. At one extreme are individuals born in the area being hired by boat and gear owners. At the other are outsiders who have invested in the fishing industry and enlarged their fleets to more than ten (motorised) boats, parked at the landing site in Namasabo. In between are a wide range of self-made men who have been able to become petty entrepreneurs by investing in boats and gear.

The social diversity of Namasabo, with individuals from different areas, led me to establish connections with people across space, resulting in short visits to Mulezi village (bordering Namasabo) and Nyakatunguru village in the interior, and two smaller islands of Nyamguma and Ihala. The mobile approach that led me to visit different locations led to a 'multi-sited' ethnography (Mar-

cus 1995) that, though much smaller in scale as compared with transnational ethnographies, aligned the ethnographic analysis to the concept and practice of 'following' or 'creating' networks (Gille and Riain 2002; Marcus 1995) as the conceptual basis of ethnography.

Overall, I spent a period of three months (July–September 2016) talking to a wide range of people engaged in different occupations, including fisherfolks and their families, BMU workers and executives, and shop managers. The movements between different locations depended on the connections established during fieldwork, primarily at the landing site in Namasabo. I visited around fifteen people's homes through some of the 'fisherfolks' I had met at the landing site, and asked questions mostly focused on daily lives in the fishing sector, changing consumption patterns and food habits, and individual and family economic strategies for diversification. These conversations allowed me to gain in-depth understanding of people's longer-term plans and aspirations.

At the landing site and immediate surroundings, I relied on informal discussions to delve into labour arrangements and observations of the practice of fishing which were substantiated with data on daily lives of fishermen obtained through formal interviews. The hectic nature of the location with a number of passersby did not allow the same level of depth of discussion as in the interviews conducted at people's homes. However, it enabled me to interact with groups of people rather than single individuals and engage in interesting group dynamics – these are considered to be informal focus group discussions in the context of this research. As the chapter will reveal, the 'community' that emerged from my movements in the field and the networks that progressively took shape break not only place-based geographical boundaries but also the *cultural* boundaries that are grounded in fishing as a *traditional* form of practice.

Chapter 4.

'WE ARE HERE TO MAKE MONEY': NEW TERRAINS OF IDENTITY AND COMMUNITY IN SMALL-SCALE FISHERIES IN LAKE VICTORIA[47]

Introduction

Along with policies of market liberalisation, crucial for the evolution of market dynamics tackled in the previous chapters, with the coming of the neoliberal agenda in Africa in the 1980s, the two processes of decentralisation and democratisation instrumental to its implementation began to spread across the continent (Geschiere 2009: 17). Devolution of power from state to civil society actors resulted in local communities playing a preeminent role in natural resources management (Agrawal and Gibson 1999). The 'rediscovery' of local communities, local identities and 'locality' in the global world, however, has reshuffled the cards and created fuzzy local identities and communities where the 'local' cannot be disentangled from the 'global' (Geschiere 2009). Not only do homogenising global forces go hand in hand with local processes of cultural differentiation, but the two actually feed each other (Geschiere and Meyer 1998).

Community is central in natural resource management policies in different sectors, from forestry to wildlife. In the case of fisheries, the assumption is that, fish and the activity of fishing being carriers of locally shared values and identity underlying 'fishing communities', devolution of power (to the communities) will initiate a virtuous circle that can favour sustainable resource management. It emerges from this chapter that fish continues to be central in determining identity and community but in novel ways – as a commodity to be exploited for economic success rather than as carrier of local identities.

The local-global market linkages that have triggered this transformation have thus created new identities away from identity as 'fisherman' and grounded in individual rather than collective experience, but nevertheless leading to new

47. This chapter is developed from an article originally published in the *Journal of Rural Studies* (Allegretti 2019).

short-term communities that emerge across space around particular business-related agendas. Search for economic gain as an expression of individual (as opposed to collective) agencies, however, has not led to a dissolution of 'community' but has rather reshuffled the *base* (Gudeman 2001) driving community formation and reproduction and creating new terrains on which people establish social relations and identify the source of their identities. This chapter therefore shows new outlooks on community in rural Tanzania, generated at the local-global interface through a redefinition of relations between people and 'place', or what anthropologists have referred to as 'deterritorialization' and 'reterritorialization' processes (Hastrup and Olwig 1996).

The specific policy framework within the decentralisation and devolution (neoliberal) agenda is that of Lake Victoria co-management policies and measures, enacted with the active participation of 'fishing communities' on the shores of the lake, having gained momentum as the means to improve resource management and react to the science-based approach to the challenges of resource depletion (Jentoft 2000). Co-management entails the involvement of local stakeholders (i.e. 'fishing communities') with the assumption of clearly recognisable 'local' identity and culture closely connected to the practice of fishing (Barratt and Allison 2014). Because of an inadequate understanding of how local-global linkages determine community formation and reproduction, co-management policies and implementation measures in Lake Victoria have proven ill-suited to accommodate evolving conditions (Barratt et al. 2014; Etiegni et al. 2017; Medard et al. 2016).

Recrafting identity and community away from 'local' fish-based contexts brings to light novel insights into questions of occupation (as 'fisherman') (Onyango 2011), and individual versus collective objectives, hence, as will be seen later, the effects on compliance with (or resistance to) policy objectives of conservation. Local context remains the point of reference, not as an unproblematic expression of longstanding local identity, but rather as a bundle of experiences of the 'imagined' global and modernity lived at local level (Appadurai 1996).

Rethinking (fishing) community through ethnography

With co-management policies continuing to inspire natural resource management on the assumption of a 'homogeneous' community, the recognition that 'community' should be approached from different angles has gained traction (Allison and Ellis 2001; Nunan 2006). Agrawal and Gibson's undertaking (1999)

in rethinking community in community-based natural resource management marked a turning point in such direction.

Rethinking assumptions of spatial and cultural unity at one level enables us to move away from the concept of the 'mythic community' where 'harmony reigns' while being surrounded by chaos (Agrawal and Gibson 1999: 634), and enables analyses that focus on other expressions of community dynamics such as differences, micro-politics and conflict (Brosius et al. 1998; Murray Li 2002).

In the case of fisheries management, the use of community as structure enabling devolution of power has suffered from different shortcomings. Case studies of co-management in Lake Victoria tell us that structures created ad hoc (i.e. communities) have proven to be too rigid and to lead to exclusion rather than inclusion (Nunan et al. 2012). On a second level, rigidity of co-management structures has led to the emergence of 'countertendencies' in the form of new institutions originating at local level and driven by the objectives of individual gain (Medard et al. 2016). Communities as structures created for co-management either poorly integrate or conflict with personal ties based on friendship, family, kinship between BMUs members and executives (Barratt et al. 2015; Etiegni et al. 2017; Nunan et al. 2015), as much as with other local institutions such as, for instance, the *gabunga* in Uganda (Barratt et al. 2015). Because of these complexities, non-compliant behaviours, including illegal fisheries (Barratt et al. 2015), have spread – based on new 'moralities' antagonistic to government regulations and the objectives of co-management policies (Cepic and Nunan 2017). On a third level, mobility of fisherfolk presents challenges to co-management, which requires stable and 'place-based' communities for effective participation (Nunan et al. 2012).

Evidently, problems and malfunctioning of co-management lie not simply in the malfunctioning of BMUs as bounded structures and co-management implementers, but rather in the insufficient consideration paid to the broader social structures of which BMUs are only one piece. Institutional reconfiguration of co-management that focuses on process, fluidity and recognition of an interplay of different levels as processes of 'delocalisation' of community has been called for (Ojha et al. 2016). Concepts devised to enable devolution of power still hold importance, provided that micro-dynamics of group formation rather than top-down categories are accounted for. Despite the evolving situation that characterises the Lake Victoria ecosystem, it is nevertheless possible to talk about 'community cohesion' when coming from locally informed research (Nunan et al. 2018), or cultural values grounded in 'actual social practices' (Beuving 2015).

Rethinking (fishing) community through ethnography

The primary focus of the analysis in this chapter is the connection between the practice of fishing and identity in (fishing) community formation. Much has changed since Acheson's seminal anthropological review (Acheson 1981) which highlighted the indissoluble link between identity and the activity of fishing. Processes of rural economic diversification common throughout Sub-Saharan Africa have meant a disconnect between people's identities and the activity they are involved in (Bryceson 1999); yet, in the case of fisheries, either industrialised (Duggan et al. 2014; van Ginkel 2014) or artisanal (Onyango 2011), the activity of fishing being at the foundation of identity as 'fisherman' remains the general understanding. This chapter departs from the premise that weakened 'fisherman' identity does not rule out the presence of community. Rather, it triggers new forms of community disentangled from geographically bounded 'places', and at the intersection of local and global phenomena. Key questions that emerge from these considerations are: what happens when we disconnect community from 'fisherman' identity – that is, when those who fish do not identify themselves as fishermen? Can we have a 'fishing community' without an actual 'fisherman' identity? What kind of community emerges from the disconnection between identity, community and locality?

A rethinking of methodological tools too is timely for grasping the evolving nature of community and identity in the global world. Recent research from the Asia-Pacific region shows the advantages of an ethnographic approach that departs from actual social relationships and individual agencies (Fabinyi 2013) to debunk the 'spatial fixation' (Pauwelussen 2015) in fisheries conservation that has burdened the understanding of fishing community. Mostly unutilised in the case of Lake Victoria, ethnography can unearth principles and values underlying action in assessing 'competing moralities' (Cepic and Nunan 2017) and determining fisherfolks' non-compliance. Initially deemed unfit to produce representations of a world where identity and community no longer tally with locational and spatial boundaries (Gupta and Ferguson 1992), ethnography of the global community has undergone critical revision, departing from the questioning of these boundaries (Marcus 1995; Massey 2005). Flows and networks, rather than bounded social relations, are at the focal point of ethnography so conceived (Appadurai 1996; Clifford 1997).

This chapter, therefore, is envisioned as an ethnography of community in contemporary neoliberal Tanzania and globalised (rural) Africa, rethinking the connection between people and 'place', where place, in this specific case, is deemed to be inextricably connected to the land (i.e. place)-based practice (of fishing) and identity (as 'fisherman'). Policies and applications of co-management

too are potential beneficiaries of a context-based ethnography of community recast in these new terms.

Entrepreneurship and the market: Paving the way for a new community around Lake Victoria

At a very early age, coastal villagers become accustomed to exploiting the benefits of living close to the lake. In Namasabo I observed very young children, especially males, becoming involved in simple fishing tasks that do not require going into the water, such as fishing with rods. Children are also a vital source of labour when it comes to the use of beach seines: a few minutes of pulling the rope gets them an income of around 2,000 Tanzanian shillings (around one US dollar) on top of a scoop of small fishes. According to fishermen, for those who were born and raised on the lake shores, this type of arrangement has been going on for quite a long time.

A middle-aged fisherman born and raised in Ukerewe, with whom I established a closer relationship in Namasabo, on one occasion recalled his primary school years: 'At school, you would not concentrate and would not listen to the teacher. All you would think about is getting out as soon as possible to run to the lake and pull the *kokoro* and get your own money!' (4 September 2016). Similarly, another informant, Thomas, born and raised in Ukerewe, argued:

> Since we are kids we do that kind of job; you see, you pull the rope and help them to catch the fish; they go and sell the fish for up to five or six thousand shillings and then give you nothing in return?! I'd rather lose the rope and let the fish spread out back in the water if I don't get anything for myself. (9 September 2016).

These accounts reveal one of the main features of labour arrangements which people become familiar with early in their lives – that is, cash-based arrangements based on the breaking down of the fishing activity into small tasks, each with quantifiable monetary rewards according to the time spent and the quantity of the catch.

The short-term and cash-based arrangements are in place for those who go into the waters too and the monetary return they gain is all based on the daily catch measured in kilograms. Rather than price, which is fixed and set per kilogram of fish caught, fishermen maximise returns by negotiating on weight at the expense of their respective *wasimamizi*. The *wasimamizi* (supervisors, sing. *msimamizi*), hired personally by boat owners, are in charge of tasks from the security of boats and gear to managing the fishermen hired on short-term

Figure 9. Weighing fish at the landing site in Namasabo Beach Management Unit

basis. Supervisors receive their own share from the fish sales depending on the agreement with their respective employers, often a fixed percentage per kilogram of fish caught and sold to fish processing plants.

Throughout the day at the BMU, boats dock with the daily catch and fish is weighed (Figure 9). Weighing is a frenzied time during which *wasimamizi* use extreme care when recording the kilograms in their small notebooks while bargaining with fishermen over the actual weight of the catch, often on the scale of half kilos. Hard bargaining and negotiations on the actual weight of the catch is essential for boat owners, *wasimamizi* and fishermen. A half kilo increment (or decrease) recorded at each single catch weighing can make a sizable difference to total monetary gain at the end of the month or contract.

The opportunity for small gains that exists across markets of different fish comes with the highly volatile nature of such opportunities. The whole local fish-based economy is 'situated in socially and environmentally fragile

environments' (Medard et al. 2014: 179) because of the limited power these small-scale markets enjoy as compared to international markets on whose margins they exist. A common feature of informal African economies (Guyer 2004), the exploitation of marginal gains for people living at the periphery of mainstream networks, is not limited to the fishing economy but extends to nearly the whole spectrum of income-generating activities linked to the fish value chain. At the landing site in Namasabo I came across an economy that was based as much on fish as on many other side economic activities closely connected to the presence of fish. Such activities ranged from offering transport services, to local restaurants and eateries, to raising small stock. The fishing economy and the whole host of petty alternative activities feed each other, creating a lively local economy that would not exist without fish and fishermen.

While representing an obstacle to co-management (Nunan 2006; Nunan et al. 2012), mobility of fisherfolk has fuelled a local economy based on short-term economic activities and exchange that are tailored to the movements and necessities of fishermen. The same fisherfolk I met at the landing site in Namasabo were pursuing diversified economic portfolios across places. One fisherman working daily at the site invited me for the first time to Ihala, a tiny island half an hour's boat trip from Namasabo landing site, to visit the place while he checked on his small chicken stock. While on the island he pointed:

> We can't stay at the landing site in Namasabo all the time. It is a waste of time; there are so many small islands around here to make money; fishermen need food and other things in these small islands, it's not like in Ukerewe ... and we have boats to use at the landing site. (19 August 2016).

The idea of the network of smaller islands as an economic 'colony' for (marginal) monetary gains is widespread. In Nansio I talked to a woman I met through other fisherfolk in Namasabo and asked about her fruit trading between the town and the tiny island of Nyamguma, which I would visit afterwards, accompanied by the same fisherfolk. She commented on her attitude towards her search for income: 'You must use your brain to come up with business opportunities; the opportunities in the lake are there, but you have to squeeze your brain in order to make them' (9 September 2016).

References to movements within the island networks are repeatedly made in connection with the sphere of money, business and entrepreneurship. On my visit to tiny, rocky Nyamguma, asking what life is like in such a remote place, the answer I got would be of the kind: 'I am here just for money'. Another of my acquaintances referred to the movements between islands in terms of 'following the harvest time', intended as the maximisation (i.e. harvesting) of

profit before moving to a new venture. The general understanding I found was that 'you go where you find money'. This situation explains why islands that have so little to offer in terms of services or natural resources, like the two I visited, have in fact become a repository of economic activities that can become quite profitable in the short run during the temporary presence of fisherfolks.

As more people around the lake engage with the fishing industry on a short-term basis for the sake of raising (marginal) economic gains, marginality and vulnerability, normally analysed within the context of availability and sustainability of fishing resources, need to be embedded into wider socio-economic frameworks (Barratt and Allison 2014). Throughout my fieldwork, I found new meanings attached to marginality, away from connections to fish and fishing, and with strong references to knowledge (and lack thereof) and (in)ability to properly manage cash and 'make budget' as expressions of sharpened entrepreneurial skills, greatly appreciated in Sub-Saharan Africa today. A *msimamizi* working at the Namasabo BMU at the time of fieldwork emphasised the necessity to become (and his success in having achieved done so) a *mbunifu*,[48] referring to his ability to integrate the income from the fish trade with many other season-based agricultural crops.

As the expansion of the fish economy that has its roots at the interface of local, national and international transformations fuels a diversified regional economy, the market plays the keystone part and constitutes the 'driving force' of the entire socio-economic, political and ecological system of Lake Victoria (Medard et al. 2014: 185). The next two sections look at the multifaceted effects of this major turn by exploring different but parallel trajectories of 'cultural repertoires' (Medard 2015: 49), propelled by commoditisation of fish, along which people not only establish social relationships but also identify the source of community belonging or cohesion, and the source of their own identities.

Commoditisation and community loss

As described above, commoditisation of fish has boosted a lively economy and opened up opportunities for income. The same commoditisation processes, however, have weakened people's sense of identity rooted in symbolic meanings and practices of fish consumption within the domestic realm. During several visits in people's houses in Namasabo I realised the importance of fish as the foundation or *base* (Gudeman 2001) underlying sense of identity and community. The association between fish and the domestic realm came up as

48. From the Kiswahili verb *Ku-buni* – to devise, construct, invent.

a very strong connection, and the widespread consensus was that 'fish must be on the table'. During a meal I shared at the house of the chairman of one of Namasabo sub-villages, the household head argued: 'You must have fish on your table; children and the whole family have gotten used to it. Whatever other food is on the table, you have to accompany it with fish, regardless which kind of fish it is' (6 September 2016). Fish consumption for many ethnic groups historically bound to the lake through fishing for their livelihoods was part and parcel of a much bigger 'traditional' toolkit or set of skills that spanned from the ability to swim, to knowledge of gear, all the way to a thorough knowledge of the lake ecology determining catch seasonality (Medard 2015).

This 'traditional' repertoire (Medard 2015) of practices, knowledge and ideas at the foundation of community symbolised by the presence of fish on people's tables is, however, jeopardised by a number of ecological but also market-related factors that have pushed local people to the margins (Medard et al. 2014) as higher quality fish is destined for international markets, as a result changing people's patterns of consumption. The whole chain system is perceived (and rightly so) to be at the service of external stakeholders, i.e. large-scale traders and processing plants that sell fish, especially the Nile Perch, at the expense of local families. A middle-aged schoolteacher and resident in the village of Nyakatunguru whom I met through one of the fisherfolk at the landing site (his father) recalled his own experience of the loss felt especially by residents in the interior of Ukerewe island where the village is located:

> In the past, we used to travel to the many anchorages where fishermen used to dock their boats and they [the fishermen] would just tell you to scoop out some fish, so that everybody would get fish at their homes and you would not even give them money. Now you have these huge *sangara* [Nile Perch]; you buy one for five thousand shillings and it's not even enough for one meal for the whole family. The price of fish is just not affordable for us local people anymore, and for people living in the interiors the situation is even worse. (22 August 2016).

The transformation of the fish industry goes beyond the effects on price. As the same person argued, social relations and social life also suffer from commoditisation of fish: 'Before people were inviting each other in their homes and fish was always there, but now it's just business, you buy your fish if you have money and eat it at home' (22 August 2016). The fact that these changes are not really 'in the past' but a consequence of recent commoditising processes is proven by the childhood memories of 'abundance' that even young individuals in their twenties have. A young Namasabo resident, for instance, recalled: 'When my father used to bring big *sangara* home, he would tell us to eat until

we get full and we would eat until we can't eat anymore, and fish would still be left over on the table for the day after' (3 September 2016). Again, these recent changes affect social life for local residents: 'When he was given some big fish by his friends, my father would call the neighbours 'cos he knew that we could never finish all the fish, so we would eat all together with the neighbours' (3 September 2016).

Fishermen themselves face the dilemma of choosing between short-term maximisation of the commoditising potential of fish, needed in a situation of fluctuating availability of fish, and complying with the culturally sanctioned necessity to have 'fish on the table'. The first option seems to be the most common among fisherfolk, ass proven by the associations they draw between fish and its commoditising potential. It is a widespread habit among fishermen to refer to fish simply as 'money' and use expressions such as 'let's go get money' when going into the waters for fishing. This transformation has created the conditions for the birth of new 'communities' as will be seen in the next section, but, on the other hand, important disconnections have emerged – for instance on a generational level between younger fishermen exploiting the market value of fish and elders who remember the times of abundance. The disconnection came up during a group discussion in Namasabo. One elder in the group began recounting his memories:

> In our times, fishing was tough, we did not have these modern engines etc ... But the fish we caught was so much! And we were able to make people happy. Then we would go back home and our wives and children would not suffer cos fish was always there (10 September 2016).

Then, talking about the current situation:

> But that is our young men's fault who go on the lake for fishing! Isn't it true that you young boys go sell all the fish you get when you go fishing?! You don't take any back home for your women and children and they end up eating *furu* and *dagaa*! (10 September 2016)

Two young fishermen present nodded with a facial expression that betrayed a feeling of guilt. Then the elder continued:

> Don't they [other fishermen] tell you: 'Don't take fish home! Are you mad? You play with money?!' (10 September 2016)

The unavoidable replacement of bigger fish with smaller types and lower quality fish such as *furu* and *dagaa*, caught with beach seines and with little economic value outside local markets is felt as a loss that manifests itself through different tastes and senses (Sutton 2010) when eating the two different types of fish. To

the experience of eating meaty and tasty *sangara* is opposed the experience of eating smaller fish, full of spikes, which vitiates the experience of enjoying the 'real' taste of fish: 'You have to swallow the whole thing; you can't really taste it', argued another elder in Namasabo. Then, he continued: 'It is just spikes; you eat it [the smaller fish] because you have to; there is no other fish to eat; the spikes go down your stomach and burn it' (6 September 2016).

Similarly, another experience recalled by another Namasabo villager: 'Big fish is nice and meaty; you can really chew it and feel the taste of it, but with small fish you just concentrate on spitting the spikes or they'll annoy your stomach later' (15 August 2016). Then, he concluded by highlighting how social life too has suffered as a result of this shift: 'With these small fish, are you really going to invite other people at your house? What are you going to give them? You eat it on your own fast and carry on with your work' (15 August 2016).

As commoditisation reduces local people's access to fish of larger size, the presage of a gloomy 'fishless' future has spread among local people, threatening the survival of Ukerewe inhabitants as 'people of fish'. The parallel economy of smaller fish traded and consumed at local level has, to some extent, allowed local people to continue with a diet based on (smaller) fish. This has also been enabled by 'institutional ambiguities' (Medard et al. 2016) in implementing the ban on beach seines, officially illegal in Tanzania since 1994, but still in use throughout the Lake region.

As anti-beach seine measures escalated during my fieldwork in Namasabo, beach seines were burned and people fined and beaten. Fears of and anxieties about a total collapse of fish-based livelihoods intensified. Many I talked to around the landing site concurred that, as a result of preventing the use of beach seines, 'people will become thieves'. Thomas spoke of the availability of enough food for his family: 'If they prohibit the use of *kokoro* [beach seines] my mother will have nothing to cook for my younger brothers and we will have to eat only sweet potatoes without *mboga*'[49] (3 September 2016).

Ukerewe inhabitants today feel overwhelmed by dark prospects of an utter dissolution of community and identity based on fish. As Thomas pointed out:

> If they prevent us from using the *kokoro* there will be no fish on the table anymore ... we will forget about fish, what will be the difference between us and the people in the cities? We will live on the lake shore but we will be like the people in Dar es Salaam who eat *ugali* and meat. (3 September 2016)

49. Any condiment meat- or vegetable-based used as side dish to accompany the main dish (e.g. rice, potatoes etc.).

As will be seen in the next section, however, sense and experiences of loss are not the only consequence of commoditisation.

'We are here to make money': Hybrid identities and/as new terrains of community

Commoditisation of fish has caused disconnections between fish, identity and 'place', having heightened the problem of fish scarcity for home consumption. Around Lake Victoria, fishing today has acquired other 'functions' (Smith et al. 2005) besides being a carrier of local identity. At times considered an activity of last resort for the poor (Bene 2003), fishing can also become part of accumulation strategies depending on people's access to capital and individual diversification strategies. These dynamics also reshuffle the cards in terms of the foundation of social and economic relations in the region, hence, the very foundation of 'community' that is at issue here.

At the bottom is fishing as a necessity in absence of alternatives. Going on the water is an activity that many would shy away from if they had the necessary capital to become boat and gear owners, which would enable them to hire others: 'Being hired is very bad; others tell you what to do; every day you are forced to go into the waters, with hot sun, or rain, you have to go', argued one fisherman in Namasabo. Then, answering my (naive) question about the 'bosses' not going on the water: 'The bosses don't go into the waters; they are bosses(!). Why should the bosses go into the waters?! They can pay others to do the tough job'. Then, concluding: 'I don't want to be hired, I want to hire! So that I will be a boss too!' (20 August 2016)

Fishing as activity of last resort, however, can be the first step towards more profitable fish-related businesses. Endeavours to attain economic success by climbing the ladder within the fishing economy shape daily lives of coastal people. Becoming a boat owner is a widespread goal which different individuals strive to achieve through different strategies. These strategies are complex and planned within larger diversification patterns intersecting the activity of fishing with other economic activities within or outside the fishing industry. A fisherman originally from Bukoba whom I talked with at the BMU in Namasabo explained to me his own strategy to become an owner:

> I will work as a fisherman until June; I will continue to save up the money I am making by going into the waters until I am able to save a sum of at least 1,800,000 TSH which I will use to start the *dagaa* trade. You know you can

> make good money with *dagaa*! I want to buy up to thirty *gunia*[50] of *dagaa* here in the islands and go resell them in the Serengeti region; there is no fish there, people will buy *dagaa* cos it's cheap. With the money I get from trading I will start constructing my own boat, so that I will finally become a 'boss'! (20 September 2016)

Others decide to rely on and nurture closer social relationships, sometimes within the extended family on a local level; for instance, Luka, a Namasabo resident, started working as small-scale trader under the wing of his uncle on Nyamguma island. Having built strong business relations on the island, he decided to work as *msimamizi* for another trader who offered him better working conditions. Being physically present on the island and dealing on a daily basis with the suppliers (i.e. the fishermen), he was able to establish a fairly sizeable clientele from whom to buy fish. At the landing site where I met him he took the opportunity to establish connections with the BMU managers to expand his trading activity – that is, to sell the fish he was buying in Nyamguma to the traders coming from Mwanza.

Long distance travel and establishing connections across places are instrumental, as in the two cases above, in exploiting market opportunities, bringing out local-global market linkages as the engine for the establishment of labour and market relations (Medard 2015). These relations translate into complex social networks that break the boundaries of local or place-based identities and communities. The trajectories of individuals go from simpler ones, for instance merely commuting between Namasabo and Nansio to sell a few fish, to encompass places as far away as other regions in Tanzania. Starting at the lowest level of the hired fishermen all the way up to large-scale fish traders and processing plants, passing through a series of intermediate levels of smaller or larger middlemen, these individuals strive to exploit all 'fillable' niches in the chain. With the mushrooming of opportunities that market liberalisation and commoditisation of fish has brought, their agencies are expressed through networks that are mostly limited to local and regional networks but that are nevertheless created by the intersection of local, regional and international markets linkages.

These processes and patterns have crucial implications for the definition, foundation and ultimately the production of identities and communities that become heterogeneous in terms of occupation, and, as will be seen below, ethnicity. None of the 'fishermen' I questioned on their identity (as fishermen)

50. A type of bag used mostly for carrying maize (+/- 120 kg) but also all other types of crops and produce.

actually self-defined as a fisherman; this is not surprising in light of the extremely diverse economic histories of these individuals. Throughout fieldwork, I met former farmers, cattle keepers, taxi drivers, shop-keepers, *hoteli* workers, as well as a diverse host of traders. On one occasion only, one of these 'fishermen' underlined his 'short-term' identity (as a fisherman): 'I am a fisherman *now* [my emphasis] because fishing is what I am doing *now* [my emphasis]; then I will rest for a month or two and will start fishing again so I will be a fisherman again' (3 August 2016).

Meanings and values driving people's activities are connected to fishing to the extent to which fish enables them to sustain their own livelihoods, as in the case of Peter: having started as a fisherman going on the water, he works now as *msimamizi* and conducts trading on his own. Asked about his 'identity', he argued:

> I call myself a fisherman just to avoid the government breathing down my neck, 'cos if I called myself a trader they would come and ask for licenses etc. But still, I am a fisherman because fish is what allows me to get the money for my livelihood (3 August 2016).

The diverse ethnic background of people interacting, of necessity, with each other within the fishing industry contributes to add further nuances and layers to people's aforementioned diverse occupational identity. The history of the different influxes of people in Ukerewe, as some elders narrated to me, is in fact a history of mild-to-harsh ethnic contest and rivalry. One woman born and raised in Ukerewe recounted her childhood memories of *Wasukuma* and *Wajita*[51] arriving in Ukerewe for fishing and other petty business, being 'ghettoised' and marginalised, being considered 'inferior' by the native *Wakerewe*; a feeling that, she recounted, eventually faded as the influxes became heavier. Such sentiments and perceptions continue to this day. I heard comments and mutual 'accusations' between the groups present locally of which I report a short sample below:

> They [the Wasukuma] like to mind their own business. They do not like to mix up with others. They are not like us the *Wakerewe*; we *Wakerewe* like to welcome other people in our families and live as one whole family together [Quote from a native *Mkerewe*]

> The *Wasukuma* do not like to mix up with *Wakerewe* and *Wajita*; they look at themselves as superior. On the contrary, we the *Wakerewe* like the company of other tribes [Quote from a native *Mkerewe*]

51. Ethnic groups living on the shores of Lake Victoria.

> Only we the *Wasukuma* know generosity and hospitality; all the other tribes, the *Wakerewe, Wajita, Wahaya,* live by the values of individualism and are selfish [Quote from a *Msukuma*]
>
> The *Wasukuma* like to help each other only among themselves; but we *Wahaya* would help anybody regardless of their ethnicity [Quote from a *Mhaya*]

Ethnic differences leading at times to ethnic-based antipathies, have, however, become a resource for personal enrichment and social capital that enable a culture of entrepreneurship. The subvillage chairman, for instance, highlighted the benefits of living surrounded by people of different backgrounds:

> Living with people from different areas broadens your horizons and enriches your experience as a human being. You can establish connections of *undugu* [kinship]with others who do not belong to your ethnic group so your family will be bigger, and when you have a bigger family you are more secure when you get a problem ... and all this occurs because of *utafutaji ya hela* [the search for profit]! (24 September 2016)

Leaving no room for interpretation, the words of a fisherman epitomise the relations in place in Ukerewe: 'We are from different tribes but we all come here with the same objective: to make money!' (22 August 2016)

A wider frame of national identity, beyond 'local' or 'territorial' (i.e. ethnic) identities, today serves better the economic interests and entrepreneurial objectives underlying social life around the Lake. Drawing from the national identity 'basket', the elements borrowed as terms of reference are language (Swahili), national law and identity as 'peasant'. Becoming accepted in an alien environment, one fisherman argued, is a matter of embracing this cultural package; referring to state law, he argued: 'Anybody can come here to Namasabo and live here, fish here, as long as they accept abiding by the law' (22 August 2016). Then, turning to language, another Namasabo villager (and fisherman): 'We speak our respective languages when we are among ourselves, but when other people of other groups are around we switch to Swahili so that they understand what we are saying and do not feel isolated' (22 August 2016).

Identity as 'farmer' or 'peasant', too, is deeply rooted in the history of Tanzania, having strong connections to development, nationalism and the *Ujamaa* post-independence political project which made agriculture the backbone of the national economy (Coulson 1982). The subvillage chairman was again the most eloquent in his explanation; to my question: 'Do you see yourself as a fisherman?' he replied: 'No, I am a farmer [peasant] 'cos being

a Tanzanian you refer to yourself as a farmer: Tanzanians *are* [my emphasis] farmers regardless of what you do' (27 July 2016).

The rise of a 'fishing community' itself, as an elder recounted in Namasabo, started with the exploitation of fish resources as a collective project of economic development for and by the people themselves beyond ethnic identity:

> In the past, people, including young men, here in Ukerewe used to hang around here without doing any fishing. They would just be idle all the time cos they did not see how fish could help them with their lives. This was until a few boats arrived around here from the Mara region and started to fish in our waters and got big catches and sold them in markets around Mwanza. That is when young men realised the potential of fishing here. Initially they did not like having outsiders and wanted to chase them away but then they started working together and realised they could better their lives together (27 July 2016).

In the end, it is the principles and values related to making a living and profit maximisation, enabled by shared national identity, that are mobilised for collective enterprises. These dynamics lead to 'communities' that come into being with particular agendas pertaining to the realm of business and profit making, not necessarily longstanding or dependent on place-based and long-term social ties. I observed these processes in Namasabo, for instance, on the arrival of a new group of fishermen at the landing site to use the BMU infrastructures. Having seen little mixing with the group I had established closer relations with, I enquired of Tom about the relationships between the two groups: 'They have their own camp, we don't need to mix. However', he continued, 'if we have to collaborate for the business somebody will try to establish connections to work together'. Then he concluded: 'I personally when going to a new place take some time before I find somebody to spend time with; I am very careful about making friends because around here there are many thieves, but if there is business to do I make my own friends and connections' (27 September 2016).

Even the danger of going on the water, an inherent trait typical of the activity of fishing that Acheson identified as carrier of pride and identity (i.e. as fisherman), was once associated with the realm of business and profit making. As a fisherman at the landing site argued: 'When you are in the waters, there are two options, to come back or not to come back. Going on the water is too dangerous to care about ethnicity and other silly things; you just depend on each other. You go there to make money, nothing else is important'.

Evidently, it is the pervasive presence of an 'imagined' community (Anderson 1983; Hage 2005) across the Lake Victoria island network, grounded into business-related values and ideals (rather than 'local' identity), that enables

actual short-term business-related 'communities' of like-minded people willing to exploit market opportunities. This 'imagined' community originates in 'space' and 'place' that are fundamentally relational and constantly in construction (Massey 2005) rather than physical and geographical.

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated, through an ethnography of community, the pervasiveness of commoditising processes at all levels of the fish-based economy, from local labour relationships and exchange to regional networks of fish-based trade. It is these commoditisation and market-based dynamics, at the local-global interface, that to a large extent today mediate social relationships around the lake, and not locally-based cultural and traditional values as tend to be conveyed by conventional wisdom in community-based approaches to natural resource management. Community today around Lake Victoria is not a collective expression of a shared past in the present, but rather is made of overlapping and transient partnerships of forward-looking individuals projecting to achieve their goals and embrace their vision of modernity. These communities continue to be, in practice, collective forms of associational life, but are, in essence, instrumental to the achievement of individual goals and expressions of individual agencies.

Local-global market connections have crucial repercussions for local economies and identities. These become increasingly disconnected from territorial roots, dismantled and restored again in changing circumstances to adapt to a world of complex interconnections. That of fisheries and 'fishing communities' around Lake Victoria, as with those of Maasai pastoralist (communities) explored in the first three chapters of this book – conventionally deemed peripheral, traditional, or even 'untouched' – are cases that contribute to delineate identity today, particularly forms of identity that are peculiar to rural life and rurality, as the product of overlapping meanings and values deriving from the clash between different spheres and cultural packages.

The implications of these considerations are crucial and far-reaching for the health and sustainable development of the whole Lake Victoria ecosystem. From a policy-related perspective, the analysis in this chapter calls for a step back to (re)define what community is so as to generate more effective policies of inclusion. The critique proposed here of the transformations and politics of identity around Lake Victoria can be a starting or entry point for a better understanding of different aspects of community-based management, above

all the questions of representation and responsibility that are key to effective participation and planning through devolution and decentralisation of power. These questions will be further addressed in the last chapter of the book.

The ethnographic method has proven particularly helpful in unearthing the complexities of community dynamics, both for the sake of enhanced understanding of community dynamics and so policymakers can envision alternative forms of participation. Ethnographic descriptions are equally key to the next chapter's exploration of rural-based identities (i.e. as farmers) and the interplay of community with market engagement as regards agriculture technology adoption and (scientific) knowledge.

Farming

PEOPLE, METHODS, FIELDWORK

The social, cultural, political and economic development of Tanzania cannot be analysed in isolation from the development of agriculture in the country. Agriculture has historically been the lynchpin of national development and identity, and continues to be the core of the country economy with its contribution to the GDP of 29.1 per cent and a total of 17,120,571 ha of land farmed for crop production (URT 2017). The agricultural sector is estimated to accommodate around 75 per cent of the overall labour force of the country with an annual average growth rate of over four per cent (URT 2013: 2).

Technological development, scientific knowledge and entrepreneurship are the three pillars of the agricultural vision in Tanzania (Green 2015b). The next two chapters on *farming* take this vision as an entry point into the smallholder's socio-cultural world by investigating the three pillars within a social science framework. A recent resurgence of interest in reassessing science-based approaches in agriculture has resulted in the rediscovery of the notion of farming as 'performance' (Crane et al. 2011), and has prompted efforts to devise new interdisciplinary methodological tools such as that of 'technography' (i.e. ethnography of technology) to evaluate questions of technological development, skills and knowledge from a socio-cultural perspective (Jansen and Vellema 2011).

By using the methodological tools of technography, chapter five brings to the fore the theme of knowledge as a prism through which to analyse rurality, in this case, the agricultural smallholder in Tanzania. The chapter considers hybrid forms of knowledge as one of the peculiar elements that shape smallholder agriculture and places the smallholder at the intersection of local performance and global ideas grounded in science-based vision for agricultural development. Equally important, technology in its material expression and social dimension provides a window into the smallholders' worldview which in turn determines their livelihoods and engagement with the market. The last pillar of the Tanzania agricultural vision, i.e. entrepreneurship, is the subject of chapter six. The poverty-growth nexus that is crucial in the policy vision for agriculture (Green 2015b) is approached by looking at the presence (or not) of the conditions for successful entrepreneurship (for poverty reduction) with

a comparison between the tea outgrower scheme operating in loco, a scheme that follows the global development model of 'integration' of the smallholder for agribusiness development, and the local alcohol economy based on the processing of local crops (bananas) as a case of successful entrepreneurship.

The bulk of the research was conducted in the Kagera region in Northwest Tanzania, bordering with Lake Victoria in the east, Uganda to the north and Burundi in the West. A shorter stint of fieldwork was conducted in Iringa region on the southern highlands. The 2007–08 National Census of Agriculture placed Kagera region in the top three regions with the highest concentration of agricultural smallholder households – that is, between 4/500,000 (URT 2012: x) – and the top region in terms of actual planted area (URT 2012: 52), mostly under smallholding permanent crops (URT 2012: 84). Iringa belonged to the second range in terms of agricultural smallholder household (i.e. 3/400,000) (URT 2012: 17).

The massive economic contribution of agriculture to the economy of Kagera region is proven by its having some of the highest figures when it comes to production of cash crops. For instance, the latest government agriculture sample survey (URT 2017) reports Kagera region to have the second largest harvested area for beans (58,068 tonnes) (URT 2017: 17), the largest planted (53,504 ha; 38.9 per cent) and harvested (34,261 ha; 32.9 per cent) area(s) for banana with the highest production in the country (196,511 tonnes; 43 per cent) (URT 2017: 64), and the largest planted area for coffee (31,384 ha; 51.9 per cent) with 28,170 tonnes produced, amounting to 65.5 per cent of the total country coffee production (URT 2017; 69). These figures make Kagera particularly apt for an exploration of smallholding agriculture and agricultural market dynamics, and confirm the trend recorded in the 2007–08 census which found Kagera the region with the highest percentage of households selling crops overall, including cash crops such as coffee. Kagera is arguably (one of) the region(s) that responds closely to the ideal, 'institutional' profile of the agricultural sector in terms of marketing and trade (URT 2012: xiii).

Agricultural production, including crops for trade and export, is equally crucial to the economy of Iringa region, in the Southern highlands, with the region listing in the top eight regions for wheat production (URT 2017: 25), in the top three regions in terms of highest average yields of Irish potatoes (8.3 tonnes/ha) (URT 2017: 34) , and in top three regions in terms of area planted with tomatoes (3,890 ha; 7.7 per cent) (URT 2017: 48).

Overall, I spent a period of three months (July–September 2017) conducting ethnographic fieldwork, talking informally to a number of local farmers,

businessmen and businesswomen, market traders and alcohol sellers in Maruku Ward,[52] comprising the four villages of Butairuka, Kyansozi, Bwizanduru and Maruku village in Bukoba Rural district (one of the six districts of Kagera region). The core activity of fieldwork consisted of visits to farmers' homes to walk the fields with them. After establishing connections with local farmers, I was inspired by the methodological approach of technography, grounded in the idea of agriculture as performance, when I accompanied the farmers in their fields and observed the tools used, the crops grown, the management of time, the dynamics and division of work and tasks, the composition and source of labour used in the fields. Approaching these walks as 'performances', I evaluated my observations by asking farmers to explain the rationale behind their decisions, as well as the process of decision-making, and used note-taking as my recording technique. Some of the farmers that took part in this activity were also tea growers participating in the outgrower scheme with the local tea factory, the Kagera Tea Factory.

The 'data' collected during the sessions, for a total of ten sessions (i–x), and the subsequent analysis, enabled me develop my own understanding of the knowledge(s) that farmers utilise for their agricultural livelihoods. This includes the technological means of production, but also the whole set of networks, values, skills, capital(s) that farmers mobilise, and how these knowledges respond to farmers' own and/or envisioned position in the global agri-food value chain as a projection of their own worldview. The location I chose for fieldwork, Maruku village (one of the villages of Maruku ward), had the additional advantage of being the host village of the Maruku Training Institute, a government technical and vocational training centre training agricultural extension officers, which gave me the opportunity to establish connections with 'experts' (the trainers) in loco and understand their views on 'scientific' agricultural knowledge versus 'traditional' farmers' knowledge.

The shorter stint of fieldwork (the last two weeks of September 2017) in Iringa region provided additional insights into the question of technology and (scientific) knowledge. Accompanied by two 'experts' in loco, i.e. two agricultural extension officers working for an important American foundation active in the area, I visited several demonstration plots in different villages of two of the regional districts (Kilolo and Iringa Rural Districts). The plots were owned by local farmers and were initiated by the foundation as part of its efforts to boost agricultural production through improved (maize) seeds,

52. A ward is an administrative category made up of limited number of villages, normally four to six.

planned agricultural cycle and technical expertise. The demonstration plots had the objective of showing other local farmers the benefits (mostly in terms of production) of utilising the 'scientific' package rather than local practices. I also conducted two short day visits to the village of Ilingilanyi on the outskirt of Iringa town where I visited an irrigated government farming project, as mentioned in chapter five.

Chapter 5.

DRAWING FROM THE SCIENCE 'BASKET': FARMERS' EMBEDDED KNOWLEDGE AND TECHNOLOGY BETWEEN PERFORMANCE, IDENTITY AND THE AGRICULTURAL EXPERT

Introduction

As the core of Tanzania's agri-food system, agriculture in the country is envisioned in programmes and policies as a highly 'modern' sector with the smallholder increasingly absorbed into vertical supply chains wherein private large-scale investors and stakeholders will lead the way towards indefinite growth and full integration into global commodity chains (Green 2015b). Such a vision is certainly in line with international processes and dynamics in agricultural development determining North-South international relationships, with the latter catching up through global value chain and market integration and technological development (Vellema 2008: 2). The vision also seems to accommodate international procurement and supply chain developments that have witnessed dramatic rises in food processing and trade (Reardon et al. 2009).

Agricultural programmes in Tanzania, from *Kilimo Kwanza* to the latest National Agriculture Policy 2013, advance the idea of smallholder farmers as 'economic agents who simply "choose" to change their practice in order to become more productive' and the agricultural practice itself as 'an enterprise oriented towards expansion' (Green 2013: 3). Such assumptions are considered to become reality if an enabling environment of (private) technological inputs and investments is provided as the primary form of knowledge and expertise. As the National Agriculture Policy 2013 states, the envisioned objective is an agricultural 'Green Revolution' that 'entails transformation of agriculture from subsistence farming towards commercialization and modernization through crop intensification, diversification, technological advancement and infrastructural development' (URT 2013: v).

This chapter delves into questions surrounding the application of the agricultural vision to smallholding agriculture, departing from some of its

foundational pillars – namely, technology adoption and innovation, and scientific knowledge. Together with entrepreneurship, which will be the focus of the next chapter, scientific knowledge and technological development are considered the engine of the agricultural sector not only for large-scale agricultural enterprises and agribusiness, but also for the smallholder whose farming enterprise is envisioned as a smaller scale science and technology-based version of large-scale estates. By taking technology and knowledge as envisioned actors of development, each on its own and in their mutual interconnections, I intend to unearth the smallholder's worldview and identity within global ideas of agricultural development.

While it is undeniable that Tanzania throughout the 1990s underwent processes of 'commercialization of rural life' with a growing significance of 'fast crops' for 'fast cash' (Ponte 1998), a number of considerations warrant a closer scrutiny of the overall package for (smallholding) agricultural development grounded in science-based knowledge, technology adoption and entrepreneurship. In the first place, we see the disengagement of policymakers and the policymaking process from the local dynamics in which smallholders are enmeshed (Green 2015b). Secondly, there is an overall and growing disconnect of anthropologists and other social scientists in the twenty-first century from smallholding agriculture in Africa in terms of the socio-cultural local issues connected to agricultural production, marketing and technological innovation (Fairhead and Leach 2005). Finally, we have a resurgence of interest in reassessing science-based approaches in agriculture, which has resulted in the rediscovery of the notion of farming as 'performance' (Crane et al. 2011; Richards 1989).

This chapter delves into questions that surround the application of science-based knowledge and technology adoption and innovation, while entrepreneurship will be the focus of next chapter. The chapter delineates local farmers' engagements with the global basket of ideas for agricultural development and takes these as (small) acts that (de)mystify science-based dominant knowledge and discourses built in the 'detachment of the known from the knower and the act of knowing' (Burman 2012: 105).

The separation between the knower and the known (and the act of knowing) is the premise of (Western) universal, objective, science-based knowledge. Burman identifies this separation as the 'epistemic dimension' of the hegemonic structures endured by people at the periphery and rooted in colonial unequal relations (Burman 2012: 105). The presumption of objectivity of (Western) science-based knowledge has relegated local farmers' knowledge to second-class status. Forms of knowledge embodied by historically marginalised peoples at

the periphery, be they local farmers in Africa or indigenous communities across the globe (Sium and Ritskes 2013) are expressions of knowledge-in-practice 'grounded in rootedness and relationality' (Sium and Ritskes 2013: 8) – as such, they do not conform to the aforementioned separation of the knower from the known and, as such, they have been historically marginalised and considered inferior.

This chapter considers the case of local farmers' agricultural knowledge and its *decolonizing* potential (Burman 2012; Sium and Ritskes 2013) to discard the hierarchical order that places (Western) science-based knowledge on top. It shows how local farmers select the elements of the science-based 'package' presented to them, embedding these elements into their own regimes of value and knowledge-in-practice to pursue their own agenda for development and growth. In so doing, local farmers rebut, through their farming practices, the principles of objectivity and separation of the knower from the known underpinning science-based knowledge, rather confirming that science-based knowledge, like all other forms of knowledge, is knowledge-in-practice that becomes 'useful' in the context in which it is embedded.

Ways of knowing

Body strength, taste and passion in the field

As the myth of the 'irrational farmer' slowly lost traction after the Second World War to allow more space for farmers' knowledge (Agrawal 1995; Cleveland and Soleri 2006; Rhoades and Booth 1982), agricultural research has revisited the importance of local context. With the move to technography, agricultural knowledge becomes a mix of 'performance' to be analysed in its 'situated action', leading to a processual type rather than (scientific) pre-existing 'cognition' (Jansen and Vellema 2011). Following these principles for studying farmers' knowledge, I walked the fields in Maruku side by side with the field owners, trying to elicit their feelings, memories, senses and how these are connected to their fields. I soon realised the intimate attachment that they had with their own farms and how this is connected to farming as a meaningful practice in their lives. These feelings were verbally expressed through elicited images and metaphors connected to body strength, passion, taste and the daily cycle of farming.

Knowledge of the fields derives from the close relation and attachment that come from working 'every day of God' (Session iii) in the field except when it rains: 'We farm every single day and stop farming only when it rains;

rain is our holiday' (Session iv). In a close-by field, Baba Thomas (Session i) walked me into his field proudly showing me the fruits of the trees and plants by touching and picking them:

> You see this? And this? [touching and picking fruits from trees on the farm] It is my own passion and body strength that enable me to grow all these things. I do my farming with my own body and mind, to see how things grow and develop. If I wasn't working every day in my farm, I would not know how to grow all these fruits and crops (8 August 2017).

Lived experiences and reminiscence of the flowering and maturation of specific trees and plants strengthen farmers' attachment to their fields over time. Abraham (Session vii) showed me a tree which was '32 years old' and 'planted by my father when I was eight'; or another tree 'I planted right after my second child was born' – 'I remember all trees in my farm, being on my farm is like being at home' (23 August 2017).

Experience and knowledge of farms come also from the sense of taste. Farm and food carry a strong significance for farmers in Maruku. Farming, food and taste are bundles that cannot be disentangled for local farmers, and emerge through management of different varieties of banana, the staple in the whole Kagera region. Baba Thomas' farm composition in terms of the different varieties of banana planted (Session i) reflect this connection. FHIA, the latest implemented banana variety in the region (Annor et al. 2016)[53] does not have the same taste as the traditional *matoke* and 'children even cry when they see me cutting a bunch of FHIA for cooking 'cos they like to eat *matoke*'. Another type of banana, Yangambi Km5, a dessert banana originally from the Democratic Republic of Congo with a slight acid flavour and used in Kagera region mostly for brewing (Vargas and Sandoval 2005: 6), can also be prepared for food but 'it takes very sharp cooking skills to cook it; if you don't soft it up it's not good to eat', said Mama Felista (Session ix) in her field showing me her Km5 banana trees.

Changes in consumption and taste in Kagera region are closely connected to the shock experienced by the Kagera farmers who have suffered massive losses of the traditional banana caused by the *Xanthomonas campestris* pv. *musacearum* (Xcm) bacteria, which led to the spread of the deadly banana wilt

53. FHIA, the acronym of Fundación Hundureña de Investigación Agricola, the foundation in Honduras that in collaboration with the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA) developed a number of FHIA banana varieties (e.g FHIA 01, FHIA 03, FHIA 19, FHIA 20) that are high-yielding as well as disease and pest resistant (Annor et al. 2016: 2).

disease, also known as Panama disease, first reported in Tanzania and Kagera region in 2006 (Shimwela et al. 2016). This has created a reshuffling of the senses, especially the sense of taste, which according to more aged people has marked generational divides. Abraham (Session vii) told me:

> As kids we used to eat *matoke* and would get full; it did not have sugar, but now we eat FHIA and we don't get full; it has a lot of sugar and we don't enjoy the taste of it. It's got a lot of water, so you eat it and you feel you are full, but then you go sleep and you get up on an empty stomach as if you had nothing to eat the night before. Then working in your farm is hard 'cos you feel hungry from early morning (23 August 2017).

However, now FHIA has become the new 'traditional' food for younger generations, and fields are 'filled with the FHIA 'cos FHIA now fills our stomachs, so we have to respect it and give it space in our farms for helping us and not letting us starve' (Session x, 26 August 2017).

Knowledge, practice, skills

A fine line separates knowledge and practice for local farmers in Maruku. Daily practices of walking, struggling, feeling and tasting as field-based circumscribed and situated activities give local farmers the necessary knowledge to bear the fruits for their livelihoods, knowledge that is deeply connected to the space of the household, their individual and family histories. Knowledge, including agricultural knowledge, does not precede practice but is rather part and parcel of the context (of the practice) in which it is generated (Green 2009; Hastrup 2004; Ingold 2000).

The shift from 'knowing that' to 'knowing how' (Jansen and Vellema 2011: 171) marks the difference between explicit science-based knowledge and 'tacit' knowledge grounded in practice (Crane et al. 2011: 180). Knowing 'how' to farm comes embedded into practice from which farming skills emerge. Skill is not something that can be 'taken down from the shelf' but is rather 'constantly renewed through practical action' (Toleubayev et al. 2010: 355). Ingold (2000: 352) talks about the process of 'enskillment' through '[restoring] the human organism to the original context of its active engagement with the constituents of its surrounding'. Skills are the convergence point of the divide between nature and culture – that is, between bounded categorisations of the human as physical or 'biological' organism and a culture-driven individual in her surrounding (Ingold 2000: 292).

Bean-planting in Maruku provides an example of how the two converge. At Baba Thomas' (Session i), a woman was planting bean seeds in the field, at

Figure 10. Bean field in Maruku

a glance (to my inexperienced eyes) randomly. She (skilfully) thrust a hand-held short spade into the soil with the right hand dropping one or two seeds, held in her left fist, into the dug holes at a rhythmic pace, without an apparent order or direction, but uniformly covering the whole field and eye-judging the distance between seeds in all directions. Like the basket maker's performance of weaving fibres together to build up the basket surface, described by Ingold (2000: 341), the woman planting beans *performed* her planting task through repeated action embedded into previously embodied skills. Asked about how she would measure space between holes without a measuring tool, she merely referred to her *mazoea* (experience) or 'it's just how we are used to'. On my second visit to Baba Thomas around two weeks later I saw the fruits of this planting work (Figure 10). Bean plants had grown up regularly spaced across the field and Baba Thomas proudly uttered: 'What do you think of this? Does it look good? You see there is no waste of space … This is through experience! This is our culture!' (22 August 2017).

A certain amount of pre-existing knowledge is required, as Baba Thomas explained to me while I followed the rhythmic performance of the woman. Depending on the quality and type of the soil one must leave enough space between seeds for the plant to achieve its full expected growth potential. Similarly, basket making requires previous knowledge of the materials, fibres and coiling

technique. Neither the basket maker nor the planting woman, however, departed from a pre-existing idea or abstract knowledge of an ideal basket or planted field based on structures of thought and knowledge but rather through the 'active and sensuous engagement of practitioner and material' (Ingold 2000: 342).

Practice, technology and science: Scientific knowledge revisited

Approaching the study of agricultural knowledge as akin to locally-embedded practice sits on a longer history of debate on the nature of knowledge that, on the one hand, has placed under scrutiny paradigms surrounding the legitimacy and universality of the scientific method (Latour 1993), and on the other, has blurred neat separations between scientific knowledge and 'other knowledges' such as indigenous knowledge. As Agrawal pointed out (1995: 433), regardless of or beyond categorisations, 'knowledge can only be useful' to a group of people in a particular time-and-space situation. This is a consideration scientific knowledge does not fall outwith, for localised development can only result from incorporation and cross-fertilisation of different lines of inquiry and knowledge(s), of which the scientific constitutes but one (Sillitoe 2000; Sillitoe et al. 2004).

The realisation of the impossibility of drawing separations between knowledges is rooted in a painful (to local farmers) history of accusation of 'irrationality' targeting local farmers in the Third World that dominated the thinking among development actors until the Second World War (Cleveland and Soleri 2006: 214). The paradigm of a linear progression from 'simple' to science-based 'developed' technologies has a longstanding history in the debate on post-WWI development of non-Western countries from Africa to Asia and Latin America (Hobart 1993: 1).

Current understanding in anthropology of knowledge is that knowledge acquires meaning when considered contingent to the context in which it is conceived of, transmitted and enacted (Green 2009; Hastrup 2004; Herzfeld 2017). Being embedded in social, cultural and political local contexts that embed local experts and local farmers in a single socio-cultural setting, scientific knowledge also works in practice (Hobart 1993) and, in doing so, it determines the relationships between local experts and local farmers. These relationships are often hierarchical but potentially subject to negotiations and transformations. The section below dissects these hierarchical, yet flexible, relationships between local experts and local farmers, making scientific and local knowledge a single bundle that 'works in practice' in its context.

Making scientific (universal) knowledge 'local': Local experts and local farmers in Maruku

In Maruku I observed a teaching session on one of the demonstration plots performed by the local agricultural officer of Maruku ward. The demonstration (Figure 11) unfolded in a context in which the 'expert' takes the position of the repository of knowledge towards local farmers who are considered the beneficiaries of the transfer of technical notions on appropriate farming techniques:

> **Agricultural officer**: 'Before we start, tell me the difference between this soil [pointing at one portion of the plot)] and that soil over there'

To prove that (their) 'knowledge works' is a primary objective for the experts throughout the demo plot demonstration, and this is done by proving that successful results are achieved with the use of their knowledge:

> **Agricultural officer**: 'See? If you do like I am telling you to do [while digging and inserting a small banana plant in the soil], you will eat all the banana that you can! Can you see the mistake he is making? [after having asked one local farmer to repeat the actions she just performed]. If you do like he is doing you will not get any banana to eat.'

Then she held two different small banana plants in her two hands to show the difference:

> See? This plant you get if you do it the way he did it [showing the banana plant in her left hand], but if you do like I tell you to do, you will get this [showing the better-looking and healthier plant in her right hand]. See? Can you see the loss you get by doing like he did?

The use of tools as signifiers of a technological superiority underlying the legitimacy of the scientific knowledge is part and parcel of the demonstration:

> **One farmer** [asking the agricultural officer]: 'How deep have the roots to be inserted into the ground?'

The agricultural officer took out of her purse a meter and measured three inches on a stick of wood then inserted it into the ground:

> **Agricultural officer**: 'See? Three inches into the ground, no less, no more'.

Scientific knowledge is part of the repertoire of knowledge on which local farmers draw for their farming practices. A hierarchical order with scientific knowledge owned by 'experts' on top is acknowledged by both experts and local farmers. Scientific knowledge is passed on through top-down channels from 'experts' to local farmers as in the demonstration plot. Other examples

Figure 11. Demonstration plot in Maruku

of these channels, used for instance by the Maruku Training Centre and its experts, are farmers' radio to announce the cycle calendar for ploughing and seeding the fields, mass media days and experts' visits to demonstration plots like the one described above.

However, scientific knowledge at local level has contradictory attributes – it is highly regarded and wished for, while at the same time felt to be unreachable, abstract and detached from the local needs and context. Experts are the embodiment of these contradictory qualities – they are considered repositories of scientific knowledge, but can be associated with inexperience and ignorance when it comes to knowledge that counts for the wellbeing of local farmers. The (scientific) knowledge that they embody only becomes 'useful' when it is absorbed into the local agricultural practices described above, bridging the gap itself between (scientific) knowledge and practice. The importance of the situational context in which (scientific) knowledge matters is recognised by 'experts' and local farmers alike. One local farmer (Session ii) for instance commented on the knowledge and skills that students acquire through formal training at the Maruku Institute:

> They can teach me a lot about medicines because they know the theory behind how the medicine work. They know how to recognise the diseases 'cos they recognise the signs when plants change colour for instance, because they see

> the pictures in books. In many cases I think that the change of colour is normal (9 August 2017).

On the other hand, theory and scientific knowledge have their own drawbacks: 'They know the theory but they don't farm, they farm through books, but sometimes those books are old and outdated, and they don't know how to solve the problems in the farms when something unexpected comes up. I use my *experience* but I don't have *expertise* [my emphasis]'. Then he continued: 'These experts live in the cities, but are there farms in the cities?! How can one teach how to farm if they don't have farms and don't farm themselves!?' (9 August 2017).

The same reasoning is shared by experts themselves. When I interviewed students at the Maruku Institute, a similar perception emerged as to the situational context of knowledge; the students underlined farmers' inability to 'plan' while recognising their practical skills that come from experience:

> People [farmers] don't know the management cycle from beginning to end like we study in books, so we can teach people a lot about how to plan. On the other hand, we ourselves can always learn from farmers something new because they have experience. They know how to farm, but they don't know *management* [my emphasis] (21 August 2017).

Practice and management as two related domains of, respectively and according to orthodox views, local farmers and experts are two sides of the same coin. 'Farmers need time', I heard repeatedly from local experts in Maruku, a consideration that is at the foundation of the kind of practice-based, top-down channels used for knowledge transmission such as demonstration plots. Farming at local level is rather made of heterogeneous practices of 'creative improvisation' that merge practice and management into 'real-time management' (Crane et al. 2011: 180). Bringing back scientific knowledge into the knowledge-as-practice paradigm circumvents the 'ubiquitous networks of classification and standards' (Bowker and Leigh Star 1999: 49) that create bounded categories of knowledge, driven by the natural human drive to 'sort things out' (Bowker and Leigh Star 1999).

The scrutiny under which the universality and legitimacy of scientific knowledge (and scientific inquiry) was put (Latour 1993) brings back the contextuality of knowledge (Agrawal 1995: 425) and opens to 'multiple domains and types of knowledge' (Agrawal 1995: 433). Local farmers' agencies are rooted in the possibility to draw on and mobilise multiple domains of knowledge as deemed necessary by them in a situation of variability (Crane et al. 2011: 180).

Science and technology: Between practice and science

Technology, its use(s), and socio-cultural context are one important arena in which hybridity of knowledge emerges. Endorsed by the legitimacy of scientific knowledge, the technological package that by definition triggers growth, referred to as the 'conventional wisdom' (Feder et al. 1985: 255), is a formula that has been deconstructed by many social scientists as well as development and behavioural economists (Conley and Udry 2001; Munshi 2004; Suri 2011). The direct, almost axiomatic, link between technology adoption and growth, is at the foundation of longstanding debates on profitability and productivity of African agriculture, commonly acknowledged to have been low throughout the continent in recent history (Udry 2010).

Discourses endure of local farmers' irrationality when it comes to (the level of) adoption of technologies that are supposed to yield results and growth, despite recognition by development and behavioural economists that local farmers are the best judges of the pros and cons of the adoption of a certain technology. Pros and cons of technology hinge on the specific surrounding conditions not limited to the potential for intensification of production that can come from technology adoption, but more broadly encompassing other elements such as available infrastructure and market conditions that can maximise (or not) the returns from intensified production (Udry 2010: 289). As Feder (1985: 255) argued: 'As past experience shows, immediate and uniform adoption of innovations in agriculture is quite rare'. In other, more eloquent, words, Udry (2015: 493) has more recently argued that 'if you give everybody the same start pack it is not surprising wonderful things don't happen'.

Heterogeneity of technology adoption by local farmers can be explained through the analytical keys of Science and Technology Studies as entry points into local contextual dynamics (Crane 2014). Looking at technology with such an approach enables a cultural contextualisation of the so-called 'standard view' of technology (Pfaffenberger 1992) – that is, the mainstream idea of technology that meets universal human needs originating in material conditions; in other words, technology (development) responding to nature rather than culture to create 'ideal' artefacts that respond to universal necessity (Pfaffenberger 1992: 496).

Agricultural experts, the embodiment of the type of (universal) scientific knowledge, are the carriers of this set of principles around technology adoption and scaling up. These principles are at the foundation of the agricultural 'modern' vision that does not set limits to growth, but rather defines normative judgments as to what farmers' aspirations should be – namely to grow their

'enterprises' indefinitely. To the experts, technology and its adoption come as a non-negotiable package. Culture, with the negotiations, compromises and context-specific meanings it carries, creates locally-shaped forms of technology in terms of how it is viewed and of its adoption (Pfaffenberg 1992); culture hence contributes to create forms and expressions of rurality for local farmers. Below are some instances of these local forms of technology management and adoption determined by local context and culture.

The irrigation scheme in Ilingilanyi, or technology as 'nodes'

Whether 'nodes' in a network (Feenberg 1999: 114) or socio-technical, 'total' systems (Pfaffenberger 1992: 493), expressions coined by anthropologists to refer to technology prove the impossibility of detaching the material and worldly expression of technology from the socio-cultural world in which it is embedded. Visits to the irrigation scheme in Ilingilanyi village (Figure 12) on the outskirts of Iringa town brought to light technology as a bundle of these different aspects, which all together provide the conditions (or not) for technology efficiency and maintenance, and for possibly scaling up (or down) technology adoption.

Built a few years ago with foreign aid, the irrigation scheme has as its main component a state-of-the-art solar pump, and has become a collective enterprise with a number of participants renting small plots from half to one acre for one season availing themselves of the water resources until the harvesting time. The participants contribute with a fee to pay the wages of one person to work as a general manager, fulfilling security and maintenance tasks. At the time of my visits in September 2017, the pump, along with the whole irrigation system, worked with no particular complication. In addition to the technical aspect of its functioning, the pump also 'worked' in terms of the collective management that enabled the technical aspect of its operation. The common fund maintained by the plot tenants contributed not only to paying the pump manager's wages but also to fixing small technical problems as well as covering any other unexpected expense: 'No one is or will be alone 'cos we are all together in this' argued the manager (14 September 2017). Asked about the challenges encountered in managing the system, he referred to minor 'technical' issues such as mechanical problems occasionally impeding the normal water flow through the pipe to the plots. As a 'node' of a network (Feenberg 1999), the pump currently 'works' because of the well-functioning concerted management system that merges the technical or material with the social, creating an operative 'socio-technical system' (Pfaffenberger 1992).

Figure 12: Irrigation scheme in Ilingilanyi

Working properly and efficiently, the pump in Ilingilanyi has brought many advantages to the plot tenants. Many are now able to grow cash crops and earn enough to meet important expenses, from children's school fees to hospital bills. It could be said that the pump does not only and simply pump water but has become an important actor within the community of members, i.e. the plot tenants. As one of them said: 'I grow my beans because the pump

is here, without the pump I would have never been able to send my son to kindergarten. We love the pump because it allows us to send our children to school and buy food and clothes for them' (14 September 2017).

What does it mean that the pump 'works' then? What does the pump 'do'? ask de Laet and Mol (2000: 225) in their account of the Bush Pump type 'B' in Zimbabwe, a particular old and popular type of pumping device in Zimbabwe, originally designed in the 1930s but over time upgraded reapeatedly, leading to a number of models (de Laet and Mol 2000: 228). The Bush Pump in Zimbabwe, like the irrigation system in Ilingilanyi, does a specific job (pumping water), but in doing so both creates and sustains a group of people bound together as a community in supporting the pump maintenance and repairing – a 'community' that would not be there without the pumping device(s).

The question of what technology actually 'does' beyond its technical functioning is therefore closely connected with the 'boundaries' of technology itself embodied by a specific piece of technology, in this case the Ilingilanyi pump. 'Working' in strict technical terms acquires new meaning the moment the pump does jobs that are socially, culturally and economically meaningful for the people who surround it; in this sense, the boundaries of the pump extend beyond the material expression of the pump itself – that is, to the whole community surrounding it, which in turn recognises the pump as one key actor.

The functioning of technology in relation to its boundaries that encompass the social world implies that for such a 'socio-technical system' to work not only technical conditions need to be met. This leads us to consider the 'working' of a piece of technology as a fluid process made of 'many shades and grades' (de Laet and Mol 2000: 225). The history of the Ilingilanyi pump, as it was retold to me by one local expert, an agricultural extension officer in the Iringa Rural District (one of the five districts of Iringa Region) to which Ilingilanyi village belongs, shows that the working of the pump in itself has gone through fluid transitions of disrepair and restoration.

The Ilingilanyi pump has not always 'worked' as it does today and, like the Zimbabwean Bush Pump, it is always in danger of falling into disrepair again (de Laet and Mol 2000: 246) without the necessary conditions that enable its maintenance. Today the pump in Ilingilanyi, it could be said, does not 'work' properly in a purely technical sense – that is, it does not have enough strength to pump enough water to reach all the plots simultaneously. On the day of one of my visits two plot tenants had a quarrel about whose turn it was to get their plot watered. Quickly resolved that day, such quarrels had not always been handled well, as at the time the district expert came into office:

> Three years ago when I took office here in Iringa, plots were left in abandonment and the whole area was uncultivated. People did not have any sense of ownership of the project, and the district had to persuade them with all the means at their disposal, including threats of jail, to convince them to start working together (16 September 2017).

The decision to split channels to water different plots in shifts was arrived at through trial-and-error practices and today it could be said that the pump 'works' because the conditions that have enabled the community of plot tenants to collaborate and act collectively compensate for the partial technical failures of the pump.

Technology adoption underpinned by the technical functioning of technology is an achievement that requires labour and trial-and-error practices by different actors. The irrigation scheme in Ilingilanyi today has led to tangible results because of a combination of a District campaign to reinvigorate the project and the introduction of improved seeds that yielded some initial good harvests for the very first local farmers who were willing to rent the plots for the first time: 'People saw the fruits with their own eyes and decided to start themselves, asking for the same seeds that the other farmers before them had used', and this has led the pump today to 'work' as a socio-technical system.

Fluctuating between states of good management, disrepair and restoration is an inherent condition of technology as a, to borrow Mauss' concept, *total social phenomenon* (Pfaffenberger 1988). The pump in Ilingilanyi is a case against the 'Modernist view' (Pfaffenberger 1992: 496) based on the universality of needs leading to technological invention and innovation. Being restored after having fallen in disrepair was not the result of a natural or universal human need – i.e. to farm cash crop for agricultural intensification – but rather local farmers in Ilingilanyi, through their ability to create a supportive community (i.e. through locally-embedded culture), have created the surrounding conditions for the pump to function beyond the strict technical sense.

Technology and farmers' motivations. 'Farming for money'; 'farming for food' 1: Fertiliser in Maruku

Soil, its fertility and management and the question of fertiliser have been at the centre of important debates and actions historically in Africa. Tackled as perhaps the key question related to (under)development of African agriculture, problems related to soil fertility and soil erosion in Africa have been addressed through the lens of technical or 'scientific' management (Reij et al. 1996). The

extent to which the actual magnitude of the problem of soil erosion and soil fertility in Africa equals claims made by international agencies and scientists has been debated. Soil fertility and erosion have been at the core of 'crisis narratives' that have formed the battlefield of international politics and relations (Reij et al. 1996: 3).

At local level too, discourses and narratives around soil and its fertility become meaningful within the particular historical, social and cultural background. In Kagera region, the dramatic transformations of the local agricultural economy caused by the Panama disease that has almost entirely wiped out the traditional *matoke* banana variety have triggered discourses and changing agricultural practices around soil fertility and *mbolea* (fertiliser). These narratives and practices pertain to complex social, cultural and economic transformations connected to the crops farmed, soil and the potential to restore its fertility.

Blessed with a wet climate owing to the hilly landscape, Kagera is among the regions with the widest variety of crops, and Kagera farmers have developed particularly deep knowledge of soil and its management. Practices and knowledge of mulching are widespread among Kagera farmers, being crucial to prevent the washing down of nutrients from the soil especially during particularly wet times. Local farmers I interviewed in Maruku reported changing climatic conditions that have affected the normal cycle of wet-dry seasons and heightened the problem of soil erosion with rains throughout the year. Also, as a result of these changes, it is overwhelmingly acknowledged by local farmers that the use of industrial fertiliser has significantly grown and now 'nothing grows without *mbolea*' and 'everything is *mbolea*, and *mbolea* is everything'.

Factors of scientific nature such as the patterns of erosion and decline in soil fertility intersect with socio-cultural elements in the dynamics of soil management among Kagera farmers today, particularly as regards the choices that farmers make in terms of fertilisers they use, i.e. industrial or natural fertiliser. In other words, the decline of soil fertility coupled with the problem of soil erosion is not simply a problem that requires or can be explained through the lens of technical solutions, in the form of more (industrial) fertiliser for increased production and for maintaining production rates in the context of declining soil fertility.

The terrain in which these science-based and socio-cultural factors determine strategies of soil management is that of the local agriculture-based economy at the intersection of family farming and business-oriented farming. The obstacle to increasing the use of industrial fertiliser is, to many farmers, cost, which poses limitations to farmers agricultural production and demands

that they devise strategies of investment and (soil) management. These strategies hinge on the local cultural distinction between 'farming for food' and 'farming for business'. Business agriculture envisioned by agricultural policies becomes part and parcel of more complex strategies along a continuum between 'farming for food' and 'farming for business' but also a continuum between 'being a farmer' and 'being an entrepreneur', which pertains to the way farmers envision and conceive of their own identity, role and position within and beyond the local agriculture-based economy.

At one extreme, 'farming for food' is the type of farming that carries the values and identity markers that were described in the first part of this chapter. Organic waste such as banana skins, manure and grasses are utilised as organic fertiliser (*mbolea ya samadi*) to increase soil fertility. 'Farming for food' in Maruku is the local expression and form of small-scale farming that is not oriented towards expansion and involves the family as the reservoir of labour and a low level of trading of the crops produced within the family farm. As Mama Aisha (Session iii) put it when we walked into her field: 'This is my food, my farm is my food'. Petty trade in agricultural products integrates local farmers' earnings in terms of crops for household consumption, but does not turn 'farming for food' into 'farming for money':

> If I get a bunch of bananas that I don't need to eat right away I go and sell it so I get money to buy soap, salt, fish, or if I see somebody walking with something good I buy it. I try to do some business but it's just for food and clothes for my children. You could say it's business but it's not, if you don't have money to buy cooking oil you just sell a bunch of banana and that's it (10 August 2017).

It is the move to the use of industrial fertiliser – i.e. *mbolea ya kisasa* (modern fertiliser) – that marks for farmers the crossing of the boundary from 'farming for food' to 'farming for money' or business. This is a transition that does not occur as a neat break between the two farming types, but rather as a trial-and-error practice along the continuum. The main condition to be met is the secure food availability for household needs that would allow investment of resources (financial and land-based) without jeopardising the family's wellbeing. Luka (Session viii), a local farmer in Maruku, whose activity of 'farming for money' was particularly successful in the village, recounted to me his experience of these trial-and-error practices leading to successful strategies across the continuum. Five years earlier, he allocated a portion of his field, around a quarter of his three-acre family farm, to farm with the aid of industrial fertiliser the Yangambi Km5 banana for sales and trade. The choice to use industrial fertiliser was not

only made possible by financial conditions but was also a result of years of receiving visits from local experts in his capacity as local sub-village chairperson:

> Because I was the *mwenyekiti* [chairperson] of this area, all these local experts liked to visit me and give me advice. Especially two of them advised me to set a portion of my plot for the new type of banana rather than mixing the two varieties randomly in the farm. They said such a measure would increase the productivity of both banana varieties (10 August 2017).

Now his farm is 'half for food' and 'half for money', which places him at the intersection of ideas and categories that in global science-based discourse are considered mutually exclusive and clearly marked by wholesale adoption of technology, that is, the 'traditional' farmer versus (agricultural) 'entrepreneur':

> I farm both for food and money. I set some of the money I get from sales of alcohol [made from the farming of Yangambi Km5 banana variety] for household needs and some for expanding my business; you can say I am a business man because my business is going well but I am also still a farmer (10 August 2017).

Another case of hybridity of agricultural practice marked by complex strategies of soil management (i.e. use of industrial fertiliser) across 'farming for food' and 'farming for money' is that of William (Session ii). When I walked his field, I enjoyed looking at the wide variety of crops that he mixed in his plot both for household consumption, mainly sweet potatoes, and for business such as chillis and tomatoes. William too learned how to maximise the productive capacity of his farm through years of attending workshops and sessions on 'modern' farming organised by non-governmental organisations in Tanzania and Kenya, which he could access through his mother, a former district agricultural officer. The knowledge gained resulted in his ability today, sharpened through trial-and-error practices, to manage 'farming for food' but 'with a business mentality'. Rather than pursuing the two farming styles by dividing up the plot as in the previous case, William mixes crops (for food and for business) in his two-acre plot but alternates one harvest from farming with industrial fertiliser with one harvest from natural fertiliser for the soil 'to regain its natural strength with fertiliser that grows in the farm itself and does not come from the shop'.

'Farming for food' and 'farming for money', as both practices and bundles of ideas and values, are divided by blurred boundaries for William in Maruku. He argued for the use of industrial fertiliser so that 'I and my family don't go hungry' while referring to his family and farm as his 'office' – that is, as a business-oriented enterprise geared towards expansion. In doing so, he drew interesting connections and bridges across the two farming extremes,

which has implications for the way he manages the variety of crops grown in the farm. On the one hand, he uses a wide variety of crops as a strategy for expanding his sales:

> I grow many different things 'cos when a customer comes he wants to see different things for a wider choice. He doesn't want to go somewhere else looking for things but prefers to buy everything in one place. I like clients to come here and leave all their money here, but if you don't farm many crops, they will take their money elsewhere (9 August 2017).

On the other hand, business-oriented farming is a fluid practice that accounts for the needs of the family and household. Picking a sweet potato while we were talking, and showing it to me he said:

> You see this potato? This and all these other potatoes are for business. If somebody comes to buy other things and sees the potatoes and decides to buy them I will sell all of them, but I can just pick this and another two or three anytime I want when they are not yet ripe and take them home if someone is hungry (9 August 2017).

Technology and farmers' motivations. 'Farming for money'; 'farming for food' 2: Demonstration plots in Iringa

Accompanied by two experts in loco working for a well-known foreign foundation, I visited demonstration plots in rural Iringa, observing the wealth of inputs, technologies and interaction and transmission of knowledge between experts and local farmers. The foundation was active in the area, providing improved seeds, industrial fertiliser and scientific knowledge and expertise – that is, the full technological package of a 'modern' science-based vision of agricultural development to apply to selected demonstration plots. Groups of local farmers were assigned to each demonstration plot based on the location of their settlements. Demo plot owners were volunteers who had offered part of their fields to implement the technological package for the rest of the group to observe closely the developments and results achieved. The objective of the donors was to have other farmers in the group replicate the steps used in the demo plot to achieve comparable results.

Operations of this sort had been going on in the area, one of the experts told me, for a few years already, with ups and downs, but now, he noted: 'People knock on our office's doors offering themselves to volunteer their plots', and plans for expansion are underway to take the 'full package' to adjacent rural villages and districts. The prospect of big harvests forecast by the foundation

staff in their 'recruitment' operation (of local farmers to volunteer for demo plots) started as an offer made to local farmers which was hard to refuse. One local farmer described to me how he came in contact with the agency and became a group leader, having volunteered as demo plot owner and manager:

> They come and ask you: 'How many *gunia* do you get per harvest per acre?' And you say, say, ten *gunia* only, because I don't have money to buy fertiliser. Then they tell you: 'I will bring you seeds and fertiliser and we will tell you exactly what to do step by step … You will get double that!' How can you say no to that?! (21 September 2017)

Visiting the plots one by one, I observed the experts assessing progress and the growing sizes of harvests, and receiving the gratitude of local farmers who had been chosen as demo plot owners. Farmers trust experts when they are actively engaged in the development of their fields in loco. They value education and are happy to take upon themselves the task of disseminating to other farmers the knowledge they receive from the experts, while experts' efforts are aimed at realising the implementation of the full 'scientific' package in the farmers' plots: 'Modern farming is a whole, if you miss one step it's over', said one of the two experts I spent time with in Iringa visiting the demo plots.

As knowledge is passed on from experts to group leaders, all the way down to local farmers, however, the technological package becomes malleable, negotiable, flexible and adaptable to each farmer's ambitions and objectives. Exploring novel strategies and directions in mixing different varieties of maize with different qualities, weighing pros and cons, and carefully diversifying the investment of resources and technologies such as fertiliser, and land itself, become trial-and-error practices that determine local forms of technology adoption that depart from the experts' (universal) ideal of a technology- and science-based full package for 'modern' agriculture.

One of the major staples in Tanzania, maize, is considered the traditional food in Iringa even more than in other regions where other crops compete with maize as the major staple (e.g. banana in Kagera region). At the farm of one of the group leaders and demo plot managers in Kilolo District, George showed me the three main varieties of maize that are popular in the area, PAN 691, H614 and the traditional variety simply referred to in the area as maize *ya kienyeji* (i.e. local) (Figure 13). Farmers such as George weigh the pros and cons of each variety when deciding how to allocate their, often limited, land and financial resources. Pros and cons have to do not simply with productivity and market potential, the criteria followed by experts. A broader set of criteria

Figure 13. Maize varieties in Iringa

is followed by local farmers, rooted in the local social and cultural sphere, and have to do with taste, community-based values of sharing and collective life.

PAN691, a hybrid cultivar used and promoted by experts, yields the highest harvests in relation to fertiliser needs, and its flour is more resistant to bugs and pests when stored. On the other hand, PAN691 'is not sweet like our own traditional maize' (18 September 2017). H614 is another variety

quite popular in the area; it is not ground but rather roasted and consumed as leisure food within families and with friends: 'We must have some H614 in the house. We roast maize whenever we can, when friends come to visit, and when children come back home from school' (18 September 2017).

Local farmers continuing to produce traditional maize, and to a lesser extent H614, at the expense of PAN691 despite its many great qualities perplexes local experts. Ignorance and unwillingness to embrace change, unsurprisingly, are mentioned as the causes of the full transition to PAN691 lagging behind. Yet, local farmers' manipulation of the scientific package of modern agriculture brings out farmers' attempts to merge objectives of intensified production with objectives of other kinds. Another farmer and demo plot owner I interviewed explained to me how he would adapt the protocol he receives from the donors: 'I follow exactly the steps and use the equipment they tell us to use except the PAN691 seeds. Instead, I use my own seeds for traditional maize instead'. Then he explained the motivation behind this choice:

> You get a lot of flour from 691 but the *ugali* you eat just finishes in the stomach and does not stay long so you get hungry again after two hours. But flour from our traditional maize is heavy and you get full for the whole day. If we plant traditional maize using the protocol we are given by the experts the flour and *ugali* will be even heavier so you just need a little flour to get full! (20 September 2017).

Similarly, touching on his strategy combining 'farming for food' and 'farming for money', another farmer said about PAN691:

> When you remove the husk from the grains you get a lot of chaff and all the nutrients get lost; I don't want to eat that *ugali* in my house, I will not be strong enough to go to my farms, but I still use 691 for business. Just in times of hunger I can use the 691 in my house when I run out of my own traditional maize (21 September 2017).

The unilateral transition from traditional to improved seed varieties envisioned by experts does not account for the many factors that contribute to determining farmers' choices about seed varieties. Cultural factors along with agroecological conditions contribute to the selection of varieties among local farmers across smallholding farm-based communities in the developing world (Rana et al. 2007: 462). As the case of Iringa farmers shows, local farmers devote their efforts to continuing with production of local varieties that are considered 'traditional' but accompanied by investments in technology. This occurs at odds with science-based agricultural development thinking which tends to consider 'traditional' varieties (i.e. breeds that result from locally-based breeding processes)

and technological advancement as two separate spheres (Teeken et al. 2012: 880). Maintaining a wider spectrum of varieties for local farmers is a process that entails different and complex pathways that are always in a dynamic state (Teeken et al. 2012). Technology is a vehicle for farmers to enhance their efforts in the direction of differentiation to accommodate different socio-cultural and ecological factors, rather than simply the means to increased production.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the first two pillars of the Tanzania agricultural vision – (scientific) knowledge and technology adoption – to assess hybrid forms of agricultural knowledge as part of smallholders' vision for agricultural development as well as their own worldview and identity within global ideas of agricultural development. The analytical framework of technography helps delving into dynamics and processes of knowledge creation and management, as well as understanding and management of technology, and how these are contingent to the relevant context of networks, ideas, values which make up the socio-cultural world of the smallholder in Tanzania.

The interactions of different actors, processes, contexts and networks converge into forms of agricultural knowledge and technology adoption, at times through a shared understanding and at other times conflicting views (Dea and Scoones 2003). This chapter has defined the smallholders as the repositories of their own, often 'tacit' (Crane et al. 2011) knowledge, which is enacted through performance. This tacit knowledge-as-performance as locally acted and enacted is to be analysed as a bundle of 'useful' knowledge in its close interaction with scientific knowledge. In doing so, scientific knowledge, expertise and technology become enmeshed in a context in which they are usefully and selectively utilised by local farmers through hybrid strategies. Hence, the attribution of universality (of scientific knowledge) loses traction.

Clear-cut or hierarchical relationships between the two forms of knowledge become relevant only within the local context in which ideas, assumptions and experience connected to farming emerge as relevant to the objectives and goals of local farmers. Drawing from the 'science basket' for local farmers entails the recognition of the importance and value of scientific knowledge and technology, but at the same time becomes useful to local farmers only in the context in which it can aid them achieve their goals. The goals and aspirations of local farmers result from local-global dynamics in which local farmers are fully enmeshed and which create aspirations along different channels of family

and community reproduction as well as economic success in the sphere of the market economy. The next chapter further delves into the complex interplay between these two spheres by looking at entrepreneurship, the third pillar of the country's agricultural vision.

Chapter 6.

CLIMBING THE VERTICAL CHAIN: WHICH 'INTEGRATION' FOR THE RURAL ENTREPRENEUR?

Introduction

Having explored the role of scientific knowledge and technology among smallholder farmers, this chapter tackles in more depth the question of entrepreneurship which is considered, in the Tanzanian vision for agriculture, the catalyst that should lead to the achievement of growth of the agricultural sector through 'technoenterprises' (Green 2015b).

The question of entrepreneurship, the way in which it leads (or should lead) to growth, has to do with the fundamental question of the role and the very identity of the 'smallholder' farmer within global value chains and global markets (Oya 2007). Interestingly, in a (academic) context in which African agriculture (and the African 'smallholder') has, to say the least, been seen as at the margins of the capitalist world, many of the components that make up entrepreneurship (intensification, profit maximisation, technological innovation) have often been attributed to African agriculture (Oya 2007: 454). The denomination of 'smallholder' therefore carries this dual, apparently contradictory, connotation of the African smallholder as an 'entrepreneur' inasmuch as expansion and maximisation drive her decisions in the management of her (small) farm, yet in a condition of marginality from the capitalist commoditised agricultural system (Oya 2007).

In the Tanzanian agricultural vision, the contradiction highlighted by Oya is synthetised by a vision of (agri)business (hence entrepreneurship) as 'inherently developmental' – that is, the fundamental view of the smallholder who, astray from social, cultural or political context, strives to lift up his situation of poverty by means of entrepreneurial acts to achieve growth (Green 2015b: 633). This vision is the outcome of changes in the global policy arena that have seen the replacement of the focus on poverty reduction that drove the Millennium Development Goals agenda, with the focus on growth that underlies the new Sustainable Development Goals agenda (Green 2015b: 633).

Entrepreneurship emerges in context, teaches Schumpeter (Swedberg 2000: 18). Hence, it is external conditions, as much as the entrepreneur's initiative, that determine the entrepreneurial outcome as well as the conditions for growth through innovation (Swedberg 2000: 13). Departing from this consideration, this chapter focuses on the conditions necessary for successful entrepreneurship but overlooked in the Tanzanian vision for agriculture. The attention will be on social relationships and community ties, including the capacity or knowledge to create or mobilise such networks of relationships as the fundamental complement to capital and technical skills, which are normally considered the sole factors that lead to successful entrepreneurship.

The chapter will compare two different types of entrepreneurship in Maruku: the supplier-large farm 'coalition' between tea growers and the Maruku Tea plant, one of the major tea plants in Tanzania; and the much smaller-scale alcohol economy based on the processing, trading and serving of locally grown banana crops. The first type of entrepreneurship is a case of smallholder-cum-entrepreneur (supposedly) enjoying the 'spillover' effects of large-scale agribusiness investment and development (Reardon et al. 2009) – i.e. a model for agricultural and agribusiness development that has gained traction in the developing world and that envisages the smallholder as a cog in the 'global value chain'. According to such a model, entrepreneurship comes as a tool enabling especially 'vulnerable groups' (Djurfeldt et al. 2019) to tap into large-scale agribusiness projects through a number of types of coalitions (de Janvry and Sadoulet 2010) at the intersection of growth and poverty reduction (Green 2015b; Wuyts and Kilama 2016: 318).

Assessing the two different contexts of entrepreneurship in Maruku comparatively brings out the different constraints and opportunities for local people's entrepreneurial acts potentially geared towards innovation and expansion. The chapter argues that entrepreneurship does not ultimately emerge within spaces identified and set by policy objectives – that is, the inclusion of smallholders into global value chains through integration into schemes (in this specific case, the tea outgrower scheme in Maruku). Instead, rural people find spaces for entrepreneurship at smaller scales, such as the case at issue here, the local alcohol economy, where enabling conditions are generated and mobilised for successful entrepreneurship. These alternative spaces of entrepreneurship often remain invisible to large-scale projects and policy objectives for entrepreneurship but, if given the deserved attention, can be important capital to achieve the vision of 'business as development' (Green 2015b) for poverty reduction through entrepreneurship for growth.

Value chains, entrepreneurship and the smallholder

The analysis of the relationship between the private agribusiness sector and the smallholder dates back several decades. In the 1980s, liberalisation of the agricultural sector (as much as all other sectors of the economy) in developing countries led to a major shift from state-controlled estates to the chains of food production largely being managed by private firms (Reardon et al. 2009). Debates on the profitability of partnerships with the private sector for smallholders, the so-called 'core-satellite model' (Goldsmith 1985), began with two opposite stances. The first looked at agriculture as an inherently 'global' sector that cannot but bring benefits to the local farmer who becomes involved in global markets, while the second highlighted the inequalities inherent in these partnerships (Goldsmith 1985: 1125).

More recently, global dramatic changes in the agribusiness industry, such as the rise of regulations and standards (Busch and Bain 2004), changing diets (Tschirley et al. 2015) and the growth of supermarkets (Reardon et al. 2003; Weatherspoon and Reardon 2003), have had massive effects on the smallholding agricultural sector. Land reforms in the developing world, including Africa, have apportioned larger and larger land estates to externally funded projects (Vermeulen and Cotula 2010; White and Dasgupta 2010).

It has been argued that projects driven by the 'green economy approach' closely associated with modernisation narratives, of which an industrially-driven agribusiness sector is part, hide in reality forms of 'green grabbing' (Corson and MacDonald 2012; Fairhead et al. 2012) which materialises as dispossession of agricultural land by means of the pretence of 'moving' land from 'underperforming' smallholders to more 'productive' large-scale private estates (Bergius et al. 2018: 828). In Tanzania, this has led to an increasing number of large-scale agricultural developments that have taken 'integration' of smallholders as the catalyst for growth, such as the AGRA (Koopman 2012; Thompson 2012) and the SAGCOT, funded by Scandinavian investors (Bergius et al. 2018).

While some tangible positive effects have been recorded of including smallholders within large-scale farming projects through outgrower schemes and supermarket developments (Hermann 2017; Minten et al. 2009), the prospect of a smallholding sector fully 'integrated' into global value chains needs to be addressed with caution (Hermann 2017; Snyder et al. 2019). Contract farming – the most popular and supposedly effective type of arrangements through which big land projects engage with the smallholder – does not automatically lead to the envisioned win-win situation of agrarian development proposed by

international agencies such as the World Bank through 'bring[ing] agriculture to the market' models (Oya 2012: 1).

Governments' involvement in this scenario with a revival of farmer associations and cooperatives (made extinct by the beginning of the application of the neoliberal policy agenda) does not seem to have had a significant impact in terms of buffering gaps. Devised in 'apolitical terms' by large investors and state elites rather than by farmers themselves, farmer associations in Uganda, for instance, have been rendered toothless in the face of this concentration of political and economic power (Wedig and Wiegratz 2017). The farmer associations created and remaining active in the sugar cane outgrower scheme in Kilombero, Tanzania, have resulted in a small number of business knowledge gatekeepers (the associations' leaders) translating into personal accumulation (Isager et al. 2018).

Unequal relationships extend beyond the boundaries of single countries, projects and schemes. Analysis of global value chains as analytical devices to delve into local-global dynamics has confirmed and unveiled the power imbalances between blocks of, often richer, buyer-countries and, often poorer, producer-countries (Ponte 2002; Ponte and Gibbon 2005) – with the latter being made the supporting block to fulfil the needs of the former. The spread of private product standards and qualifications made to safeguard product quality for the benefit of consumers has left small-scale producers in producer-countries (i.e. local farmers) in a vulnerable situation, at the margins of, if not excluded outright from, value chain development investments (Giovannucci and Ponte 2005).

The mainstream idea in policy circles that, once technical constraints are eliminated, the smallholder is 'automatically' integrated into value chains becomes increasingly less realistic. As Gibbon and Ponte (2008: 366) argue: 'Assumptions that the constraints shaping governance forms are entirely structural or technical are difficult to defend'. The 'inclusion' debate cannot fully bring out the state-of-affairs of smallholders' integration into global value chains unless one looks at the other side of the coin – that is, *exclusion* of the smallholder *from* global value chain development (Reardon et al. 2009).

In the light of these latest analyses, successful entrepreneurship in African agriculture becomes an elitist ambition achievable only by a small coterie of emerging rural entrepreneurs who are in a position to access the channels for private accumulation (Hermann 2017; Isager et al. 2018). These small rural elites are the only group whose agricultural enterprises align with the idea of entrepreneurship in its 'strong sense'– that is, entrepreneurship grounded in the capacity to 'reinvest, innovate [and] compete' (Oya 2007: 460). For the

average smallholders, who are the intended targets of the policy growth-poverty nexus, agricultural intensification or agribusiness are impractical; they can only devise strategies to cope with poverty through off-farm economic diversification (Wuyts and Kilama 2016: 322).

Global models, local realities: The tea sector in Kagera

The case of smallholder tea growers in Maruku contracted by the Maruku Tea Plant exemplifies some of the key questions of integration into a global value chain. Agricultural policy tends to highlight and (supposedly) facilitate the creation of economic benefits of integration through entrepreneurship and often overlooks networks, arenas and contexts that are constituents of successful rural entrepreneurship as 'social' enterprises (Anderson and Lent 2019; Kelly et al. 2019; Lang and Fink 2019; Richter 2019; Steiner and Teasdale 2019; Steiner et al. 2019).

In Maruku, apart from the discontent that came from economic profit considered marginal by local tea growers engaged in contract farming, unhappiness with the scheme was rooted in a fundamental lack of all the conditions necessary for successful entrepreneurship, above all, the possibility to express and exercise agencies inherent to the possibility of innovating and expanding through investments, reallocation and mobilisation of resources. These conditions, as will be seen in the case of the local alcohol economy in Maruku, are social as much as economic.

Baffes' analysis of the tea sector in Tanzania up to the early 2000s evaluates sector reforms as 'by and large successful' (Baffes 2005: 589), particularly the efforts in revitalising the blending and packing industry. Following the dismantling of the state-owned Tea Authority, privatisation of formerly national industries and estates in the early 2000s, argues Baffes (2005), has worked as traction for the whole tea industry to boost growth after increasing stagnation and deteriorating performance in the 1990s. Results have been achieved in the 2000s in terms of tea quality and research facilities that have actively contributed to the development of the whole sector (Baffes 2005).

Against an apparently win-win situation for private stakeholders and smallholders, the conditions in which the second are 'integrated' into the value chain has different facets. Loconto (2015: 66) maintains that there is a 'move towards greater cooperation by investors with smallholder farmers', and the substantial number of 32,000 'smallholders' being 'integrated' into the tea value chain is highlighted as a success for the sector with a benefit for the

'rural economy' of fifteen million dollars (Loconto 2015: 67). Yet, it is also highlighted that the outgrower sector includes medium-size farmers with an average of sixteen hectares and that most 'smallholders' employ labour outside the family (Loconto 2015: 66). The profile of the 'smallholder' outlined seems to fit more with the characteristic of the 'rural entrepreneur' or 'rural capitalist' able to cross the threshold of poverty to accumulate enough wealth for reinvestment (Oya 2007), rather than average smallholders who in most cases depend on labour available in the family, and own – as in the overwhelming majority of the Sub-Saharan African countries – small farms of between one and two hectares (Gollin 2014: 5; Lowder et al. 2016: 18), with farm size having progressively declined from the 1960s to the 2000s (Lowder et al. 2016: 17).

Smallholders' contribution to tea production has often lagged behind, compared with the performance of large estates. Smallholder production reached its peak during the 1980s, supported by the state-owned Tanzania Tea Authority and its apparatus of industries to which local farmers were selling their produce, followed, however, by a dramatic drop to a mere five per cent of total production in the late 1990s with the remaining output being produced by large national estates (Baffes 2005: 590). These were able to consolidate their position during the 1990s, representing almost the entirety of the sector at national level, with state-of-the-art infrastructures, processing facilities and of course large portions of land on which to grow the raw leaves (Baffes 2005: 591). Some of the causes of the decline in smallholders' share of production were low prices and late payments, coupled with an overall lack of infrastructure, in particular roads connecting small tea farms to the estates, as well as low-yielding varieties of tea used (Baffes 2005: 590-91). Privatisation contributed to freeze this state of affairs and, until the early 2010s, the average production capacity of smallholders was around only half the amount per hectare of that of large (now private) estates (Loconto and Simbua 2012: 451).

There is a widespread feeling and perception among tea growers in Maruku that the local tea plant would rather do without their contribution, and that the conditions for their 'integration' into the tea value chain are set entirely by the estate's decision-makers. The feeling of disempowerment is felt through their experienced lack of bargaining power to set the price of the tea leaves sold to the plant. The situation of power imbalance is heightened by the fact that the perishability of the product impedes growers from turning to competitors in the industry, tying them to the processing plant in loco, which in effect holds the monopoly on leaves produced in the area, a situation that

is common to most tea growers engaged in outgrower schemes in the country (Loconto and Simbua 2012: 455).

The efforts and sacrifices Maruku smallholders made to continue with tea production are not repaid in terms of support in the form of transport and agricultural inputs. Lack of support coupled with late payments make the overall situation of tea growers in Maruku resemble the conditions that led to the collapse of the smallholder tea sector in the late 1990s (Baffes 2005), when payments came late from the state-led Tea Authority.

One long-term tea producer in Maruku underlined his feelings of powerlessness in collaborating on an unequal footing with the plant managers:

> We have grown tea for generations and this farm was inherited by me from my grandfather through my father. We put our efforts, investments and heart in our tea farms, and then when selling to the plant you cannot even explain them how much you have put into the production of the leaves. You just go there, you hand over the produce and you are given the same price all year round without room for negotiation. You can't even go to another buyer because tea leaves perish quickly so you can't go all the way to Tanga[54] to sell the leaves (16 August 2017).

The same grower compared the situation with sales of bananas, whose price is not set externally but depends on negotiations: 'For banana it is different _ the buyer can negotiate a little but you have the power to set the initial price according to your judgement of the value of the product'.

The specific structural arrangements of outgrower schemes, including the tea outgrower scheme in Maruku, do not account for the possibility of farmers to devising their own marketing strategies as happens across many markets in Africa, and as has, for instance, been described in chapter three with the case of the pastoralist Maasai in the Northern Tanzania livestock market. Having the choice to sell to local traders or travel to even very distant markets, weighing different factors against each other, such as market information, transaction cost and access to transportation, enables rural dwellers to exercise some agency even in situations of marginality (Fafchamps and Vargas Hill 2005, 2008). The choice among some Maruku tea growers to reduce tea production and dedicate stronger efforts to the production and marketing of other crops such as bananas and potatoes, to sell in face-to-face markets where they can exercise stronger bargaining power, should be viewed in this light. A second informant who is also a tea grower in Maruku reported:

54. Where another tea plant operates.

> Some people have never even seen the factory owners; we only feel that they are here to make profit and all they care is their profit. They don't have any care about our profit and we even have to take the leaves to the plant. Why don't they come to collect it from our farms?! Many people around here have pruned the tea plants to grow something different that can help with their livelihood but the plant managers don't even know about that because they have their own estates and will not run out of leaves. Some people prefer to go to the local market to sell potatoes or sell a bunch of bananas in the local market or in their houses to some bystander rather than selling something without even knowing who they are selling to (17 August 2017).

Overall, the opinion of most tea growers I enquired of was that the local tea sector had been subject to a progressive deterioration since the privatisation of the tea plant in Maruku. A third informant, and the longest-term tea grower in Maruku, recalled his experience of the changes: 'When this was a government farm, things used to be much better. Payments were still late but not like these days. In the 1990s or so we would get inputs like seeds and fertiliser to start, and transport was also provided once produce was ready to be taken to the plant' (20 August 2017). In Maruku I heard rumours among tea growers about the welfare of the tea factory itself, quite apart from the smallholders' contribution in terms of raw leaves. One interviewee recalled hearing that production had fallen dramatically from around 60,000 kilograms to as little as 10,000 processed per day, and rumours were spreading about late salaries for the employees in addition to late payments to tea growers.

With all due caution about generalising a specific case to the national level and beyond, the outgrower scheme in Maruku can be taken as an illustration of the conditions and pitfalls to consider in the processes and dynamics of smallholders' 'integration' into agricultural value chains, in addition to the bare economic factors. Exclusion, rather than inclusion (Reardon et al. 2009), seems to determine the relationships between smallholder tea growers and the tea plant owners in Maruku with the first perceiving the presence of the second mostly through the managers' absence and their unwillingness to plan and work in partnership.

The tea sector in Maruku seems to reproduce the general trend analysed above – that is, economic and power dynamics skewed dramatically towards favouring the private sector with large-scale businesses in a position to set their own economic agenda. Growing marginalisation for the Maruku tea growers and smallholders materialises as a package of economic benefits lagging behind in a context of overall health of the sector, and an almost total absence of room for them to exercise agency, for instance through price negotiations, let

alone to set their own economic agendas for the management of their production. The case of the tea sector in Maruku, and in general at national level in Tanzania, justifies the doubts highlighted by some (Snyder et al. 2019) about vesting large-scale projects with the role of sole engine of a whole sector, that of agribusiness, on the premise of automatic spillover effects for smallholders once they are 'integrated'.

Mobilising social capital, enhancing social skills: The alcohol economy in Maruku

Ideas and debates around social entrepreneurship reflect broader debates on the evolving nature of entrepreneurship itself, beyond traditional approaches within business studies (Austin et al. 2006; Chell 2007; Dacin et al. 2010; Dacin et al. 2011; Mair and Marti 2006; Steyaert and Katz 2004; Swedberg 2000). Entrepreneurship can be seen as a 'societal rather than an economic phenomenon', argue Steyaert and Katz (2004: 179), pointing at the blurring of boundaries in entrepreneurship studies between managerial aspects and socio-cultural surrounding (Cornelius et al. 2006).

The latest attention to rural entrepreneurship as a particular form of (social) entrepreneurship highlights the social value rural entrepreneurship creates (Anderson and Lent 2017), for instance by providing solutions to context-specific social problems (Kelly et al. 2019) that are peculiar to rural society. In doing so, rural entrepreneurship situates itself as a form of entrepreneurship closely linked to 'place' (Lang and Fink 2019) – that is, the social, cultural and institutional environment in which it emerges and in which it is embedded (Richter 2019).

Insights from current understanding on rural entrepreneurship can aid the critique of the agricultural policy vision in Tanzania of successful entrepreneurship by adding value to agricultural products. Financial capital in the form of financial services and technical entrepreneurial skills are often highlighted in the Agriculture National Policy 2013 as factors that can enable stronger involvement by youths in the agricultural sector, minimising rural-urban migration (URT 2013: 24). Understanding how these factors for successful entrepreneurship – that is, their availability and mobilisation – are dependent on the particular local conditions in which existing and potential entrepreneurs act is important in understanding the potential for enhancing entrepreneurial opportunities, scaling up and innovation.

The presence of the Maruku Training Centre in Maruku ward made the area particularly apt for an exploration of local rural entrepreneurship. It is one of the major centres for Technical and Vocation Education and Training (TVET) in the region, providing not only technical training in farming techniques but also entrepreneurial skills for processing agricultural products as well as enterprise management. The mission of the centre is to 'offer quality technical training … in line with transformation of farming from subsistence to commercialized modern farming and agribusiness'. The centre envisages itself as a producer of 'competent agricultural technicians' who can at the same time be 'competent farmers' and 'self-employed entrepreneurs'.[55] Interviewing the centre's instructors provided a window on the challenges and opportunities for entrepreneurship that are specific to the local context in which the centre operates.

The centre's trainers identified financial capital (access to) as one of the major challenges encountered at local level to enhancing local entrepreneurship. Many mentioned the reluctance of the formal banking sector to lend money to rural would-be entrepreneurs for small-scale entrepreneurial ventures. The coordinator of studies at the Maruku Centre illustrated the problem in the following terms:

> We do have the necessary tools for teaching the technical aspects of processing crops to add value for potential entrepreneurial ventures. However, when it comes to apply these techniques to actual enterprises our youths are unable to find the necessary money to do so. The main problem is trust: even when well taught, our youths are not loaned the money not only by banks but also by their own fathers. Imagine a father can have fifty million in the bank but he would not loan the money to his own son … If a father does not trust his own son, how can a bank trust a person?! In the end, youths are blamed and that discourages them (21 August 2017).

It follows from the informant's words that the question of capital does not lie in the lack of in loco availability of capital itself, but rather in the lack of conditions – e.g. trust – that would unlock capital and enable the 'transfer' from those who hold it in formal and informal channels (banks and rural capitalists) to those who need it. Mobilisation of capital for entrepreneurship in its connection to skills has more to do with the social than with the 'technical' aspect of skills themselves. Social skills or social competence embedded into place (Baron and Markman 2003) are crucial in accessing social capital (Baron and

55. Quoted from the Maruku Training Institute's Vision and Mission document (not available online).

Markman 2000), which in Sub-Saharan Africa is closely interwoven with the accessibility of financial capital (van Rijn et al. 2012: 113).

The alcohol economy in Maruku is a vivid example of how entrepreneurship as an economic as much as a social phenomenon is moulded to the 'geographies' and 'everydayness' in which it is embedded (Steyaert and Katz 2004); and how social capital, skills, and competence are contingent on the socio-cultural context in which they emerge and are nurtured. Looking at the alcohol economy and the entrepreneurial foundations that enable it to thrive shows, say Steyaert and Katz (2004: 193–94), that entrepreneurship is 'as much about regions and countries as about neighbourhoods and families' and 'as much about elitist groups of entrepreneurs as about everyday encounters'. While debated with different opinions as to the real returns for rural entrepreneurs (Mutisya and Willis 2009: 56), alcohol economies based on the production and sale of local brews are a flourishing sector throughout Africa which, though not formally recognised, carries important social and cultural values (Bryceson 2002c) and these economies have historically been a mirror of larger processes of social and political change (Willis 2005).

In Maruku, local brews are mostly based on the fermentation of the local product, banana, for the production of different types and varieties of brews depending on the length and process of fermentation as well as the type of banana used. At one end is the most distilled *konyagi*[56] – in between are the so-called 'supa' (i.e. super) and 'regular' – names that indicate the alcoholic level of the brew, and are recognised by different varieties of colour and overall consistency. The different characteristics of the different brews have created a system of local indicators for taste according to which the different brews are judged. Everybody in Maruku is eager to express and underline their preferences such as: 'I like it strong and clear, otherwise I don't feel I am drinking alcohol'; or, 'I like it when it's still at the earliest stage 'cos it's still a bit sweet like juice'; or again, 'I like it when it's just about to turn into *konyagi* 'cos I like it sweet but I need to feel it in my head'.

Taste is one of the most important criteria taken into consideration by retailers to adapt and tailor their business to the clientele and their preferences. Retailers are mostly saleswomen who are petty entrepreneurs selling the brews in spartan shelters spread all over the Maruku area, often in their own houses, or as part of a cluster of economic activities such as shops and local restaurants. Agnes, one local alcohol retailer managing her own hut, keeps several bottles of banana wine at different stages of the fermentation process to meet all tastes

56. Named after one of the most popular brands of spirit in Tanzania.

of her regular as well as potential customers. In order to have different varieties of banana brew across the spectrum of the fermentation process, she calculates the number of days of fermentation process after the wine is bottled and kept in her hut:

> You plan your purchases according to the customers that you know are coming to your business, calculating the days and hours of transformation of the wine so that you can keep all varieties that you need in those specific days. Some clients need their own variety and if they don't find it they will be disappointed and will go somewhere else (6 August 2017).

Taste is connected to a whole other range of local indicators that have to do with the social and cultural context of consumption, and that are taken into account by local customers when opting for one of the many retailers. Drinking different types of local brews, the most distilled *konyagi* or the lighter 'regular' is connected with conviviality, sociability and entertainment that surround the consumption of the brew. One local customer at Agnes' place told me:

> I like it when the colour is like this [showing me the brownish liquid in his glass] because you can taste better the banana, and you don't get drunk too easily so you can keep chatting with people until late night (6 August 2017).

Mama Salma, another brew seller in Maruku once argued: 'I try to keep my place a respectable place where people can come and drink peacefully without too many eyes looking at them' (20 August 2017). To make her customers feel at ease, she has prepared an additional guest room similar to a barn adjacent to her dining room with straw arranged on the floors for guests to rest comfortably on the ground, as well as a set of reasonably comfortable couches. To keep hers a 'respectable' place, she avoids sales of *konyagi* as much as possible during the morning and afternoon hours and to occasional customers, *konyagi* having a negative reputation for making people drunk:

> I sell *konyagi* only to my closest and most trusted customers. They are not normal customers, I consider them almost part of the family, so when I can I also give them food for free and host them in my own kitchen till late night when everybody else has left. Sometimes they even sleep in my kitchen till morning when they go to their fields (25 August 2017).

The question of profit, however, is not unimportant:

> Yes, they are my customers but I also need to make money, that's why I opened this business. When I sell *konyagi* to my closest customers I make good money because they can drink all night long till morning! (25 August 2017).

The question of respectability of a drinking place came up often during my time in Maruku and it became clear that the respectability of a place is important when it comes to customers' choices. Local alcohol retailers in private houses have an advantage in this sense as compared to more formal local bars and pubs in the small business centre in Maruku called Makonge where, as one Maruku residents said, 'you are exposed to too many eyes'. As an occasional drinking mate once said at Mama Salma's:

> There at Makonge there are too many eyes. Sometimes you can get drunk in the night and the morning after everybody knows that you were drunk the night before. Those waitresses entice you with a lot of nice drinks and choices, and then they go broadcasting around what you did, who you were with and everybody knows your business (22 August 2017).

On the other hand, Mama Salma's is a 'respectable place' or a 'place for retired elders'– that is, a place where respectable, quiet and wise people go and drink.

Social relations, ties of trust and the context of consumption so far mentioned not only constitute (some of) the conditions that facilitate small-scale enterprises but also provide the conditions for the scaling up and growth of these enterprises. Anna, a third woman whose home alcohol-selling business was popular in Maruku, had started with a very small hut: 'I had straw only. Not a single couch!' In time, the income she made from her business enabled her to build a cement room with a solar system to power lights and a radio. Her place is now nicknamed 'Muhimbili' after the most famous and biggest hospital in the whole of Tanzania, in Dar es Salaam. The nickname originates in the 'social function' that her drinking place has come to fulfil in the area, with many customers, tired after a whole day in their fields, or guests coming from other villages or regions resting after drinking until the next morning.

These particular conditions have led Anna to envisage expanding her business with a small guest house of three rooms where customers would sleep more comfortably for a reasonable fee. Starting as an outsider from the quite distant region of Iringa, Anna struggled in the beginning when she had no friends or acquaintances in the area. In time, she has been able to slowly build a network of trust with a relatively small number of trusted customers leading to a larger clientele through word of mouth. Her business has enabled her to raise herself out of poverty but also to accumulate enough to become an entrepreneur with room for manoeuvring in terms of choices of investment and innovation:

> When I arrived here, I had to sleep at people's houses and do the housework for them to repay rent that I was not able to pay in cash. It was tough. But now I have my business – it is a small business but I have been able to send my kids

> to school. I am not from here but people have come to like me around here until I was able to open my business; now I want to open my own guest house and people will pay because they like me. I am proud of what I have achieved (7 August 2017).

Scaling up her business is also Mama Salma's wish and plan. Her plan is to accompany the sales of alcohol with selling homemade soup, which is a common combination appreciated by local customers, especially in rural agricultural areas where the farming day ends with an evening drinking session, often having skipped lunch:

> When they come here the guys are hungry because sometimes they don't even go back to their houses after working in their farms or to break for lunch. Then they drink and get even hungrier. I want to help my customers to get some relief with some hot nice soup – some of them are also my friends so I will be helping them; and that will be good for me because I will get extra money to invest in my alcohol business (22 August 2017).

To scale up her business, her plan is to build on prior relations, experience and skills, in her case, cooking skills. For years, as she told me, even prior to opening up her alcohol business, people and friends would bring her vegetables and other foodstuffs and she would prepare food for them out of passion for cooking and desire to help: 'I like cooking very much, so many times people bring their flour, vegetables and other *mboga* and ask me to cook, so that we eat all together with other guests if I happen to have some' (23 August 2017).

Local alcohol saleswomen in Maruku and the (type of) enterprises they manage do not have overtly 'social concerns for the purpose of change' (Sullivan Mort et al. 2003: 79); nor do they 'leverage resources that address social problems' (Dacin et al. 2010: 38) as peculiar aspects of social entrepreneurship. Their business outlook and 'function' however, are not solely rooted in the entrepreneurs' drive towards raising monetary income. While raising economic value, local alcohol saleswomen also raise *social* value (Chell 2007) by leveraging their own locally embedded skills and networks, as much as their roles and functions within the networks in which they are involved. The outlook of their enterprises emerges as closer to the agricultural policy growth-poverty model or nexus than to the outgrower schemes described at the beginning of the chapter.

Conclusion

Entrepreneurial skills are at the foundation of the growth-poverty nexus addressed by agricultural policies – the idea being that the smallholder, by the way

of entrepreneurial acts, lifts herself out of poverty and becomes embedded in global markets and value chains (Green 2015b). This chapter has dissected the growth-poverty nexus that is fundamental to the Tanzanian agricultural vision by looking at the importance and context of entrepreneurial skills. Enduring agricultural intensification policies in Africa that started in the twentieth century have identified agriculture as the arena in which entrepreneurial skills should be developed by smallholders, supported by technical expertise, for the sake of beneficial integration of smallholders into global value chains. This chapter has not questioned the importance of entrepreneurship for pro-poor growth but has rather shifted the attention to alternative arenas, in this case the alcohol economy, connected to agricultural production, highlighting the social over the technical character of skills that count and can lead to economic benefits for rural people.

By looking at the conditions fundamental to successful entrepreneurship with a comparative analysis of outgrower schemes and local economic dynamics – i.e. those of the alcohol economy – the chapter has rather stressed how local context, and not integration into impersonal national and global value chains, can function as a reservoirs of capital for smallholders to build successful economic strategies. While the tea growers in Maruku play a subordinate role in respect to the tea factory, the local entrepreneurs in the alcohol economy are embedded in a (local) context that provides the socio-economic conditions for potentially successful entrepreneurship. These are the ability to exercise agency, and the potential to gain and (re)invest capital locally raised through social relations and skills.

Once again, this chapter has shown the creative engagement of rural people with policy objectives by realigning them to local priorities, conditions and socio-cultural dynamics. It has shown that gaps between policy goals and rural people's priorities are less about the particular objectives to be achieved and more about the appropriate path that ought to lead to success. The chasm often identified by rural policies between local ways of managing resources and supposedly desirable practices oriented towards technology- or market-based solutions emerges once again as fictitious, and the rural world of smallholders, as much as that of pastoralists and fishermen, is made of hybrid forms in terms of attitudes, mindset and behaviour at the local-global interface. The recognition of blurred boundaries emerging between value systems can possibly bridge gaps between different actors holding different interests and views. Finding alternative and creative solutions is possible by capitalising on the creative engagement of rural people with policy priorities, in this case, a creative engagement with

entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial mentality and skills as pro-poor strategies to achieve shared objectives. The next and final chapter is about realigning priorities and merging gaps, using research and evidence as powerful tools for devising more inclusive policies.

Chapter 7.

MAKING POLICY: RECRAFTING ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH FOR PARTICIPATION

Introduction

What constitutes a policy then? The ethnographic chapters so far have referred to a number of concepts, ideas and objectives that can all be apprehended within the terrain of policy, yet the key question of what constitutes a policy and its implications (Shore and Wright 1997: 4) remains partially unanswered. Throughout the ethnographic chapters I have been referring to visions and objectives validated through the formal channels and spaces of the acknowledged policy agents, such as national governments. Breaking the boundaries of these spaces I have analysed a vast array of manifestations, processes, discourses and representations that are not fully captured in or legitimated by the written documents as the tangible form of policy. These processes, manifestation, discourses are ultimately inseparable from validated spaces and (co)create subjectivities, individualities and collectivities closely entwined with ideas of the 'rural' and rurality that the chapters have fleshed out.

To go back to Shore and Wright's remark (2011: 17) noted in the introduction, aiming to eschew 'too Foucauldian' approaches that take policies as instrument of power over 'docile bodies', the chapters in this book have shown that agencies, individualities and collectivities are rather the product of interplays, negotiations and syntheses. Contestations over concepts, narratives and objectives (Shore and Wright 2011: 14) may rather be taken as part of processes and practices of 'assemblage' (Murray Li 2007a) to respond to the necessity or 'will' to govern or 'improve' (Murray Li 2007b) a certain chunk of governable reality – that is, a reality 'created' to be 'governed'.

Within practices of assemblage, binary oppositions between the governing and the governed, the local and the global, subsistence and commercial, traditional and scientific that have been elaborated in the ethnographic chapters emerge as false divisions and unhelpful frameworks of analysis for policy processes (Wedel et al. 2005: 30). The relational nature of policy processes emerges 'to cohere heterogeneous elements' (Baker and McGuirk 2017: 13) though never

totally, since uncertainty and unpredictability underlie the assemblage of labour and thinking (Baker and McGuirk 2016).

This chapter departs from the movement that considers ethnography a suitable tool for the study of policy. The latest connections drawn between policy and the ethnographic method and approach have spurred novel theoretical lines for the study and understanding of policy when seen, like ethnography itself (Hastrup 2004), as inseparable from the practical (and relational) context of action in which it emerges. Considerations of the processes (and politics) of knowledge production grounded into the knowledge-practice nexus that have shaped the particular methodological choices of this book can be extended to incorporate policy into the design and investigation of the object of analysis, which is contemporary forms of rural life and worldviews in Tanzania. The knowledge-practice nexus that is foundational to ethnography (Green 2009) can lay the groundwork for ethnographic research to delve into policymaking processes and produce policy-relevant knowledge if embedded into a broader project of *decolonisation* (of knowledge) – that is, the ownership of the research process by the policy actors themselves.

The gains from incorporating ethnography into the policymaking process, from devising ideas to assessing their soundness, extend beyond the technical appropriateness of the method. Even tools developed to extend participation in research, such as, for instance, Participatory Action-Research, developed as part of a decolonisation of research (Zavala 2013: 57), cannot suffice, however sophisticated and technically sound, unless they are part of broader spaces that make ownership of the research process possible (Zavala 2013: 66). This chapter particularly focuses on the planning processes which in Tanzania occur across different levels of government, at least in principle, with the active participation of communities (i.e. rural people); it argues that ethnography has the power and potential to establish positive practices to strengthen the ownership of policy-relevant data and results, and the whole research process itself among policy stakeholders. This could be regarded as (or become) a specific form of 'decolonised' knowledge where the subjects involved create and sustain the spaces that enable them to (co)produce (policy-relevant) research for their own welfare.

After a first section that reviews the current uses of ethnography for the analysis of policy processes, I will move to outline the policy environment of Tanzania drawing from first-hand interviews with key individuals who have for years been involved in processes of policymaking. Finally, I will report from my fieldwork experience (and follow-up interviews) in Longido, Monduli and

Ngorongoro districts in Northern Tanzania, working for the Climate Devolved Finance programme during its preparatory phase in 2011, carried out by the International Institute for Environment and Development in collaboration with Local Government Authorities (i.e. Districts). I contributed as research leader of participatory and ethnographic research that looked at the planning process in Tanzania for the utilisation of natural resources, particularly in a pastoralist context. The aim for drawing on such personal experience is to extend the knowledge-practice nexus to a novel knowledge-practice-*policy* nexus, calling for ethnography as a powerful tool that can build dialogue between different stakeholders and favour processes of decentralisation and devolution of power within the planning process.

Bringing out the policy-practice nexus

How we (can) study policy is a question that subjects to scrutiny the epistemological foundations of policy and the knowledge that it produces or derives from. The so called 'critical' approach has been one step in such a direction, in that it brings out the hidden (political) dynamics behind policy as a rational tool for governance (Dubois 2009; Mosse 2004: 641; Peck and Theodore 2010). With the shift of focus from policy as a rational abstraction to how policy works 'in practice', new opportunities are opened up to consider the methodological aspect of studying policy in relation to the epistemological foundations of policy-related knowledge.

Anthropologists of development pioneered the study of the inner workings of policies in relation to the implementation of large-scale development projects driven by international policies of development 'applied' to the recipient developing countries. Anthropologists such as Tanya Murray Li (2007b), James Ferguson (1994) and Timothy Mitchell (2002), to name a few, explored large-scale development projects and produced a critique that could well be considered the precursor of much of current literature on policies in anthropology. In *Anti-Politics Machine* Ferguson provided a sobering ethnography of a World Bank large-scale project implemented in Lesotho and set a landmark for this approach to development, exposing the hidden politics behind the rational application of project activities. Driven by rational ideas on how policies ought to lead to action, Ferguson revealed the fundamental political processes behind development practice and interventions – processes that were, on the one hand, regularly dismissed as 'unintended consequences' and, on the other, placed, addressed and acted upon within the technical realm of bureaucracy.

Within the same framework of anthropological inquiry into the world of development practice and interventions, others (Green 2009; Mosse 2004) pushed the boundaries further and rather argued for a radical reorientation of the causal association between policy and practice. According to Mosse (2004), for instance, it is practice that produces policies – that is to say, development actors strive to interpret processes, events and actions under a coherent framework of analysis which is, ultimately, the model or policy that is deemed to be the catalyst that sets off processes and action. In the end, as Mosse (2004: 663–64) argues, 'projects are successful because they sustain policy models offering a significant interpretation of events, not because they turn policy into reality'. Not only is the causal association between policy and practice turned upside down, but policy, according to Mosse's analysis (2004: 664), becomes in fact 'part of the context of action'.

To look at policy as more akin to action or practice opens up novel methodological possibilities and terrains through which policies can be studied, particularly via ethnographic approaches. It is not surprising that blurred boundaries between policy and practice have created the conditions for ethnography to become a powerful tool for the study of policy (Dubois 2009; Duke 2002; Staek 1997).

Today, policy is studied through ethnography as a performative act (Graizbord et al. 2017; Kuus 2013, 2018), reorienting the focus on the realm of the 'everyday' social and political relationships (Kuus 2018), hence transcending the chicken-and-egg dilemma of what comes first, policy or practice. Ethnography has come to pervade the different layers of policy, opening windows into spaces and arenas that were for too long unassailable. Borrowing from de Certeau's post-structuralist design of space as in endless everyday construction, Kuus (2018), for instance, breaches a world as far afield as European diplomacy and diplomats tracing 'trajectories' in the diplomacy capital of Europe, Brussels. Performance to Kuus needs to regain the centre stage, and, in the case of European diplomacy, he treats Brussels as the 'theatre' where diplomacy is performed on an open stage. Nader's call to 'study up' (1972) to the concentration of power and elites as well as Wright and Reinhold's call (2011) to 'study through' and follow the processes through which power concentrations are created, seem to have finally achieved their targets.

Policy studies have gained further ground and broken spatial boundaries with policy 'mobility', transnational policy networks and policy transfers that include transfer of models and expertise in tune with twenty-first century global ethnography connecting research sites into webs of relations (Peck and Theodore

2010, 2012; Stubbs 2002). With the global movements of ideas and expertise that come with flows of capital (Graizbord et al. 2017), orthodox approaches to policy transfer models reproduce at a greater and multi-level scale the rational postulates of policy as rational result- and evidence-based technologies of governance that, when successful in a certain context, can and should trigger the same results when 'transferred' across space (Peck and Theodore 2012). Informed by Actor Network Theory and the 'multi-sitedness' of global ethnography, critical policy ethnography of policy transfers uses policy as nodes of events, scales, registers and knowledges across space(s) and socio-cultural worlds that converge in one single 'site' that is a policy (Peck and Theodore 2010).

Policymaking in Tanzania: Bringing back the ethnographic gaze

How policies are devised in Tanzania is a case of 'assemblage' across multi-spatial networks, scales and registers that in this book have been referred to with the analytical device of local-global interconnections. Tanzania, its history and, of course, its policies are deeply intertwined with broader political dynamics that, at times, especially since the neoliberal turn, have heavily determined courses of action, interventions and development models at national level. Beyond drawing the path of growth intended as national GDP, Green (2014: 1) underlines how 'development' in Tanzania is and has been more than purely management and allocation of resources for growth, in collaboration between state actors and donors, but is, rather, a 'category of organization' that 'conveys understandings of modernization, personal achievement, desired lifestyles and state power'. Taken in this guise, policies and development models in Tanzania have not simply and rationally been projected towards the achievement of goals, but have contributed to define aspirations and worldviews, including those that characterise the contemporary forms of rurality that have been the subject of the ethnographic chapters in this book.

Historical continuity can be identified as to the particular processes of 'assemblage' through which policy has emerged in Tanzania. That of policy in Tanzania before and after independence is a history of development models constructed through top-down channels, with 'experts' being the sole owners of the policymaking process. Experts have in history been endowed with the role of setting agendas of national aspirations, collective and cooperative development.[57] Up to the 1990s, such a state of affairs was in part heightened by lack of

57. Donald Kasongi, Secretary General at Nile Basin Discourse, a network of Civil Society organisations established in 2003 with the support of the World Bank and

communication means and resources, which posed practical constraints, even in government offices, to the possibility of getting hold of the actual written policy documents or other relevant literature such as comparative policy analysis.[58]

This in the end contributed to a small elitist group of policymakers retaining the ownership of the policymaking process.[59] To the majority of insiders, such as researchers in public research centres, let alone the general population, up until the eve of the 1990s, 'policy itself was a vague concept. Laws and regulations carried the function of defining courses of action before being replaced by the new concept of policy that came later on'.[60]

Dramatic changes occurred from the 1990s with the beginning of the decentralisation policy agenda initiated by international agencies in conjunction with the neoliberal economic reform package. Particularly in Tanzania, this constituted a marked turning point and break with the past, as international agencies such as World Bank gained ground as important policymaking stakeholders alongside state institutions (Tripp 1997). The process of 'importing' not only single policies and models but the very concept of policy itself was, however, paved with a number of difficulties that, in the end, despite the entry of the new policymaking international stakeholders, reproduced in continuity with the past the same hierarchical associations that had characterised the policy arena up to that point.

One of my interviewees[61] recalled to me her own experience as staff of the public Tanzania Fisheries Research Institute (TAFIRI) when she acted as part of a committee for a participatory forestry project brought to Tanzania by the World Bank, one of the very first projects, she argued, to use a participatory framework that required the 'participation' of communities and local peoples: 'For the first time we heard talk about "stakeholders" and "stakeholders consultation". We did not know what a "stakeholder" was and what he or she is supposed to do'.

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other development partners to strengthen civil society participation in Nile Basin development processes, projects, programmes and policies. Interview with the author, Mwanza, April 2019.

58. Modesta Medard, Marine Programme Coordinator at WWF Tanzania and former researcher at Tanzania Fisheries Research Institute (TAFIRI). Interview with the author, Mwanza, April 2019.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

On the occasion of another participatory project, also brought by the World Bank, this time on fisheries, she recalled the kind of relationships that took shape between donors and TAFIRI staff as recipient and implementing agency:

> We felt that there was a wind of change in the air because of this new participatory framework, but there was no trust from the donors [World Bank]. It was total confusion. World Bank told us that we needed to involve the communities, but because the relationships were not clear there was not good communication. They just told us 'Tanzania needs this policy', but we were not told how to act. So, I went back to books to read and learn from case studies from other African countries like Zambia, and we eventually came up with the concept of Beach Management Units that are present around Lake Victoria to this day.[62]

It is commonly acknowledged that the decentralisation and devolution policy agenda across the developing world that became recipient of the neoliberal policy package and international aid has failed to achieve its goals, as has also been seen in chapter four of this book. Ascribing this failure to technical inefficiency of the decentralisation policies would simply reproduce a short-sighted vision of policies as rational tools detached from the context in which they are devised and implemented. The causes of these developments could rather be placed within the realm of politics as expression of power relations along the lines of Ferguson's *Anti-Politics Machine* – the decentralisation agenda was envisioned as a turning point from top-down approaches that had placed the policymaking process in the hands of 'experts', but in fact led simply to the replacement of national experts with experts from international agencies and donors. The relations of power between experts (whether national or international) and the communities that were supposed to become active stakeholders in the policy process were not addressed.

Today, as for a long time, the debate in policy circles is not much about 'how to decentralise' but rather 'how *much* to decentralise'[63] – a fine yet critical difference which clearly brings out the resistance behind major policy actors losing terrain in the policymaking arena to minor players, in most cases rural communities. Framed around the action of 'consulting' different policy stakeholders so as to devise best courses for action, the activity of 'stakeholder consultation' has become institutionalised and the cornerstone of the participation and decentralisation agenda in Tanzania, through specific tools such O&OD (Opportunities & Obstacles to Development) and DbyD (Decentralization

62. Ibid.

63. Donald Kasongi Interview with the author, Mwanza, April 2019.

by Devolution). In actuality, stakeholder consultations are burdened with a number of challenges that will be mentioned below, which result in 'cosmetic consultation'[64] or even more superficially 'rubber stamping'.[65] In the rest of this chapter I will draw on my own experience to dissect in more detail the challenges and dynamics of policymaking so far described.

Bringing back the ethnographic gaze into planning: The decentralised climate finance programme

The decentralisation agenda that affected most Sub-Saharan African countries from the 1990s in Tanzania took the form of the so-called Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP) whose major pillars were first defined in the 1998 Policy Paper on Local Government Reform (URT 1998), with the two-pronged objective of improving local governance while (or through) improving service delivery (Tidemand and Msami 2010). Overall, the programme intended to raise governance and administration standards, until then highly centralised, by devolving power to the newly formed Local Government Authorities (LGA) through transfer of resources from central to local government. While, as repeatedly argued, the roots of this shift are known, researchers have carried out assessments of and furthered debated about how the programme has performed (Chaligha 2008, 2014; Kessy and Mushi 2018; Mmari and Katera 2018). Cooksey and Kikula (2005) have underlined very limited citizen engagement, lacking autonomy on the side of LGA, due to the central government retaining in fact the string of the financial flows and, overall, a general disconnect between the different layers of the state administrative apparatus, from the centre all the way down to local communities.

In 2012 I worked as a consultant for the International Institute for Environment and Development conducting a pilot research project as a research leader on the planning system in the three predominantly pastoral districts of Longido, Monduli and Ngorongoro in the Arusha region in Northern Tanzania. The research intended to analyse separately the two planning systems of the government and (pastoral) communities. As far as the government planning system was concerned, the focus was on allocation of funds through the national-local budget flow, its regulations and restrictions, and how these impacted on the Local Government Authorities' (or Districts') ability to provide the necessary services and support local adaptive capacity in changing climatic conditions.

64. Ibid.

65. Modesta Medard, interview with the author, Mwanza, April 2019.

The second focus was on communities' resource management system at family, intra- and inter-community level, which, particularly in pastoral Maasai communities of the sort inhabiting the three Districts where research was conducted, is to a significant extent shaped by the Maasai pastoral 'customary' land tenure system. The research looked at the system of access and distribution of rights over certain areas of grazing land, through the seasonal planning calendar, and the impact of climate change on communities' capacity to retain the highly adaptive features of this mechanism. Importantly, as an action-research project, a third objective of the research was to assess the potential for a more integrated approach between the two 'systems' of planning for enhanced climate resilience in light of the existing wide gap, and in the context of growing climate instability affecting poorer pastoral areas that are highly vulnerable to climate variability.

The research was intended as the first preparatory and exploratory phase of the longer action-research project Decentralised Climate Finance Programme (DCFP), funded by the DFID, implemented in different phases since 2011, and to date still ongoing with plans for expansion to more regions and districts in Tanzania. The project has brought together a number of local partners, including the Government of Tanzania at different levels that included the Ministry of Finance, with the chief aim of strengthening the capacity of Local Government Authorities in managing their own funds to deal with climate-related contingencies.

The pilot research project had an innovative character both in its methodology and objective, in that it was not conceived simply as a piece of evaluative research endeavouring to assess specific phenomena, but was rather geared toward building a dialogue platform to pave the way for subsequent activities and with a marked participatory approach. For three weeks I travelled throughout Maasailand to several locations in the three districts of Monduli, Ngorongoro and Longido as research leader of a team made of three district representatives (one from each district) and one facilitator, with the scope not only to find out the customary arrangements at community level, but also to build a learning platform (between communities and local government) that would be used and nurtured throughout the project design and implementation.

Because of its particular outlook, the research provided an unprecedented window into the building of dialogue that, by admission of both district people and communities, had rarely, if ever, occurred with honesty. In fact, several times throughout the research I was part of unique moments of openness between the two, including when particularly controversial issues were discussed

such as, for instance, the question of (grazing) land. Throughout the research I played an active role, guiding and selecting the topics of discussion; to some extent I became part of the 'assemblage' that would lead to the adjustments and changes of the institutional framework in the subsequent phases of the project, with enhanced planning through the institution of Division Planning Committees – these committees were subsequently created to manage aid funds held by districts and invested into local public goods to support communities' climate resilience capacity (Greene 2015a; Greene 2015b).

The chief methods used throughout the research were workshops with community members (twenty to thirty villagers per workshop), during which different activities were scheduled and carried out, beginning with a participatory research exercise to arrive at a seasonal 'customary' calendar through agreement of all members of the workshop. Following the drawing of the seasonal calendar, a Q&A session gave the opportunity to both the research team and the workshop participants to ask specific questions about the challenges and opportunities for improved community planning. Finally, and importantly, a final session with unstructured discussion was carried out, during which community members and government representatives that were part of the research team would openly discuss the problems and obstacles that had impinged on and continue to impinge on the effective integrated planning and participation envisioned by existing participatory tools and policies.

Having agreed on workshops as chief research method, as a research leader I approached the research with ethnographic sensibility and a gaze that led me to have a number of informal discussions with different small groups of community members prior to and following the more formal sessions. I also participated in informal discussions throughout the three weeks of research with the three district representatives whenever I had the opportunity, and outside the formal space of research, at intermissions between the different workshop sessions, during introduction visits in the three districts, during travel and during the evening recreational activities that followed the workshops. These informal interviews and discussion were a great opportunity to corroborate the insights collected during the formal research sessions. Below, I will briefly recap the main findings from the research but also elaborate with more considerations on the significance of such findings in light of the objective of this chapter, which is to discuss the role that research can potentially have in building stronger dialogue platforms for policymaking.

Budget Rigidity. The question of budget mechanisms came up during the research as perhaps the chief question around which all other challenges of planning

revolved, and ultimately became the main target intervention of the Devolved Climate Finance mechanism. District budgets in Tanzania are designed through a top-down centralised funding mechanism, with the central government allocating directly funds into different baskets managed at district level. This creates a rigidity of money flow that does not account for reallocation from one basket to another in case of emergency, for instance climate-related emergency. Rigidity of the budget is considered a pillar for good management; the guidelines for the preparation of the budget and plan stress as the main objectives: 'To ensure that budget is executed as planned, avoid budget deviation resulting from reallocating funds to non-contingent activities and also avoid applying for funds outside the approved budget by parliament' (Msangi et al. 2014: 15).

The rigidity of the budget system goes hand in hand with a planning system that has clearly defined steps, deadlines and procedures, ending with the discussion and approval of the consolidated national budget in the Tanzanian parliament each June. This planning system takes little, if any, consideration of the seasonal calendar of most rural communities, pastoral or farming, dependent on the dry-wet seasonal cycle that determines land-based activities such as movements of pastoralists in search of pastures and the rain-fed farming.

The rigidity of the budget together with a planning system not in tune with the seasonal calendar seriously impinges on the ability of districts to tackle the challenge of timely action on climate-related stress. The watchword in the case of the budget administration is rigour, e.g. of the procedures through which funds are managed and disbursed. Several Block Grants, each with its management guidelines, procedures and restrictions, are at the disposal of districts: the Education Block Grant, Agriculture and Livestock Block Grant, Road Block Grant, Health Block Grant, to name a few (Msangi et al. 2014: 16). The rationale behind restrictions over the reallocation of funds is the necessity of forestalling individual appropriation, corruption and overall poor and inefficient financial management. The sectoral approach that inevitably follows budget allocation based on the Block Grant system poses important challenges to districts pursuing more integrated approaches to development, while the restrictions on the allocation of funds seriously cripple their ability to support timely local adaptive capacity in the context of climate instability.

Contingency funds were mentioned as a potential measure to overcome the budget restrictions leading to districts' limited adaptive capacity. Yet, mainstreaming a system of contingency funds into the main budget system was acknowledged as complicated and potentially causing the kind of poor management that a rigid budget intends to address and tackle as its chief ob-

jective. One department chief executive in the district of Longido expressed this dilemma of mediating between flexibility and accountability: 'I do like the idea of lobbying and advocating so that national and local governments can include emergencies and contingencies in the budget, but the treasury would never allow it because money will go into people's pockets. I think this is the best system' (Msangi et al. 2014: 15). Then he continued: 'With a more flexible budget, money allocated to development activities would be easily reallocated to activities such as meetings in the council and that would be deleterious for the work done at the local level' (Msangi et al. 2014: 15).

Other limitations that pose obstacles to districts' sound financial capacity to provide services are delays in fund disbursement from the treasury, which delay districts' schedules, and insufficient contributions from communities to meet the requiremens for communities to contribute twenty per cent in the form of cash, labour or supply of material, for 'productive projects' – that is, those projects that are specifically designed to enhance people's livelihoods (Msangi et al. 2014: 13–17). Overall, however, the budget rigidity appertains to political dynamics that are peculiar to Tanzania, and that in history have been characterised by resistance to processes of devolution and decentralisation. Unsurprisingly, as will be seen below, districts' limited authority over the funds has repercussions as regards the possibility of establishing dialogue and nurturing effective collaboration between government authorities.

Communication, Participation and Representation. Specific tools have been devised in Tanzania to enable the devolution and decentralisation agenda with the objective of incorporating community priorities into government planning. Driven by the so-called Decentralization by Devolution (DbyD) vision which marked the beginning of the decentralisation agenda in Tanzania in 1998, practically speaking devolution through decentralisation is enacted mainly by the Obstacles and Opportunities for Development (O&OD) tool which is officially incorporated into government planning and takes place in the months of July–August, effectively setting off the Tanzanian budget cycle (ending in June with the parliamentary budget approval). O&OD has a participatory and bottom-up outlook, taking place at village and ward level, and it endeavours, in theory, to set community priorities for the forthcoming budget year prior to the Ministry of Finance and Planning Commission preparing the budget guidelines (the second phase of the budget cycle) between August and October, supposed to reflect the priorities set with the O&OD.

The shortcomings identified during the research were many, starting with the fact that, once priorities are set through the O&OD, the budget cycle does

not include steps for communities to receive feedback on how their priorities have (or have not) been included in the budget draft and guidelines after the O&OD exercise has been carried out. Lack of financial resources to practically conduct a sufficient number of meetings countrywide is a major cause of a fundamental lack of awareness and understanding at village level of the O&OD outlook, importance and objectives. When successfully carried out, O&OD is not flexible enough to accommodate changing local livelihoods and people's needs and priorities, which cannot be incorporated in the government planning year once set at the beginning of the budget cycle in July. Priorities set through formal O&OD are more akin to recommendations that are not binding for districts and the Ministry of Finance, being subject to major revision prior to the Ministry drafting the budget guidelines. Ultimately, the rigidity of the planning cycle, reflected in the rigidity of the budget described above, contributes to restricting the spaces of collaboration between government and community actors in planning.

The lack of spaces of collaboration cannot and should not simply be looked at as a 'technical' constraint. Technologies of governance such as O&OD as a platform of dialogue veil a backdrop of fragile relationships, within communities – between traditional leaders and the rest of the community members – and between communities and local government, which are caused by and result in misunderstandings, lack of communication and distrust. These fragile relationships that emerged during the research did not come as a surprise, given the kind of communities studied, i.e. pastoral communities. In the presence of government representatives, community people appeared to be very defensive when sensitive questions that had to do with the management of natural resources, above all grazing land, were discussed.

Suggestions by the research team for a deeper involvement of districts in community planning – hence management of resources – generated scepticism on the part of workshop participants. At the workshop in the village of Sinya in Longido district, one community member expressed distrust about government's involvement in the management of community affairs:

> We want them to know about our traditional planning system. We want to preserve our environment, trees, grass, water, wildlife, but the government just sends people to kill animals. They even destroy the environment when they come to our village with their cars. They don't want to learn from us. What if they took our land?! (Msangi et al. 2014: 25).

The district people on the other hand, often stressed communities' 'distorted' vision of the role and capacity of government in community affairs arguing that

communities 'ask for government help once when they get in trouble' (Msangi et al. 2014: 26). As the Ngorongoro DALDO[66] told me: 'People consider the role of government is to rescue them from troubles, rather than collaborate and work with and for them' (Msangi et al. 2014: 26). The result of this mutual distrust is in the long term a vicious cycle of negative categorisations and feelings that leads to a breakdown of communication and lack of collaboration.

This backdrop of mutual distrust and lack of communication unveils the political dynamics behind the technical challenges in the implementation of the O&OD tool. Unfolding within the technical arena of scientific knowledge and understanding, e.g. of infrastructure needs and management, the work of prioritising done at community level through the O&OD is dismissed outright as unsound and technically not practicable by district experts. Priorities as to the need for and management of water infrastructures set by communities were, for instance, referred to by a district engineer as 'shopping lists' not based on a technical understanding of technology, which demonstrates the fundamental mistrust on the part of 'experts' of communities' ability to articulate their own needs.

Much more overt political dynamics concerned with local politics mentioned during the research also enter the process of prioritising in the O&OD exercise. The questions of representation and participation that are foundational for O&OD at village and ward level come up against reality of village leaders being exclusively invested with the power to set priorities, on the premise that they represent and safeguard the interests of entire villages. This leaves an ample margin for local leaders' discretion in absence of other local institutions legitimised at district level (Msangi et al. 2014: 28). At ward level, these dynamics result into priorities being set with little transparency, often supporting Ward Executive Officers' efforts to seek re-election through allocation of funds to the villages and communities where their major electoral constituents reside (Msangi et al. 2014: 17).

Building ownership of the planning process through research

The results of the research brought out problems and dynamics previously explored by other researchers. One of the best-known think-tanks in Tanzania, Research on Poverty Alleviation (REPOA), had already unveiled similar dynamics of decentralisation and citizen participation. Interestingly, the link between Local Government Authorities' limited financial independence and citizen participation in planning had already been highlighted by REPOA research at

66. District Agriculture and Livestock Development Officer

the beginning of the 2000s, just a few years after the beginning of the decentralisation agenda and across councils throughout Tanzania (Chaligha 2008; Chaligha et al. 2007). This proves even more strongly the need to tackle the question of financial accountability as a springboard to improved participation.

The devising of the Devolved Climate Finance (DCF) mechanism through Climate Adaptation Funds (CAF), operational as of 2017, emerged precisely from the realisation that devolution and participation are closely interconnected, and are enabled by envisaged institutional strengthening through the establishing of platforms for improved dialogue across all levels of the planning (Greene 2019). By the time it was decided to conduct research on planning in Tanzania, this realisation had cropped up already in Kenya with similar work on climate-related finance prior to the beginning of activities in Tanzania.[67] Work done in Kenya on improving climate finance, which worked as a model for the activities in Tanzania, had the chief objective of spotlighting the importance of the 'principle of subsidiarity', according to which communities and local government authorities are invested with more decision-making power towards improved decentralisation.[68]

While not innovative in themselves, the results of the research obtained through a participatory research process and co-authorship of the report (Msangi et al. 2014) had the merit of bringing out the complexities behind financial flows and the devolution and decentralisation agenda in Tanzania, establishing the foundations for improved ownership of the planning process through institutional strengthening. The research constituted the tipping point in getting the districts on board – they became the actors of the process rather than simply the objects of the research, leading to great openness in the research process.[69] Referring to the co-authorship of the report, IIED's current DCF Programme Manager recognised how the research laid solid foundations for a rethinking of the top-down approaches to planning:

> Co-owned evidence is important. In my own review, it emerged that the fact that the paper on community and government planning regimes, which criti-

67. Ced Hesse, former Devolved Climate Finance programme manager at the International Institute for Environment and Development. (Skype) Interview with the author, June 2019.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

> cized those regimes, was written and researched by local government went a long way to enabling recognition of change.[70]

In the aftermath of IIED's publication of the report, the district representatives who had been part of the research team, and co-authors of the report, gained recognition and legitimacy in government and research circles (Greene 2015b: 37), making their voices more authoritative and making them ultimately an active catalyst of potential change in the planning process. In an informal discussion I had on the subject for the preparation of this book, one of them underlined to me the learning experience he had during the research, particularly with respect to the community customary planning process based on seasonal herd movements in relation to distribution of rights over grazing land. He also stressed that such learning experience made him an important resource person among his colleagues in the district and beyond in the larger research community:

> Many people in the government sit in their offices and do their work thinking that they know what they are doing, but after the writing and publishing of the report so many came to me congratulating and told me that they had learned so much about community planning. Many researchers, even from abroad, contacted me asking questions and I was always happy to share what I had learned about community planning.[71]

Overall, the utilisation of the research tool along with co-ownership of the research results were part of a broader strategy with the objective of achieving a 'more effective and sensitive delivery of services' (Greene 2015b: 27). The establishment of District Learning and Consultative Groups prior to the research on planning in 2011 was conceivably the first step in that direction, with members from each stakeholder category included in the groups, from local leaders to government agricultural 'experts' as well as councillors, legal officers, members of NGOs and civil society organisations, giving a total of twenty people in each group (Greene 2015b: 20). The key role of learning groups was not simply to respond to researchers' questions or endorse project people's decisions, but rather to process results through discussions, participatory learning to validate results and plan the way forward.

Similarly to the establishment of learning groups, but this time with a much more operational function, Divisional Adaptation Planning Commit-

70. Sam Greene, current Devolved Climate Finance programme manager at the International Institute for Environment and Development. Interview (questionnaire returned by email) with the author, February 2019.

71. Informal conversation with the author, Arusha, May 2019.

tees (DvAPCs) were established in July 2016 (Greene 2019: 16) following the preparatory phase of which the research on planning was an integral part. DvAPCs were vested with the responsibility to manage climate funds following the disbursement of money from donors; to further enhance their recognition and legitimacy, DvAPCs were registered as legal entities as Community Based Organizations. The creation of these committees stemmed from the realisation of the need to create new institutions that could merge and bridge the gap between formal and customary planning, overcoming the scepticism and misunderstanding that emerged during the research on planning, particularly the shortcomings of the O&OD process.[72] The most important task assigned to DvAPCs was to set priorities for interventions with direct access to CAF (Climate Adaptation Funds) held by districts.

The process through which DvAPCs' members were elected marked a democratic and inclusive approach to setting priorities. Literacy level was not taken as a requirement or condition for DvAPC membership to avoid discriminating against local customary leaders and other community members who often have low education levels but are elected democratically within and by the communities. This averted exclusion of these members and the process of prioritisation being owned exclusively by district officers and local politicians (Greene 2015b: 28) who, however, were assigned the key role of facilitating dialogue across the different layers of planning (Greene 2019: 19). DvAPCs launched their activity by consulting communities throughout the districts involved (up to 10,000 people) (Greene 2019: 1) catalysing collaboration and ownership of the planning process, which in turn gained them further authority and legitimacy among communities after legal registration.

Legitimisation of DVAPCs could not have happened without an important work of legitimisation and recognition of local knowledge, catalysed by the work of District Adaptation Planning Committees (DAPCs) which were created alongside DvAPCs and included senior district technical staff (e.g. engineers) and the chairs and secretaries of DvAPCs. Creating DAPCs was an important step towards recognising that local knowledge of planning is crucial; the mission of DAPCs was to overcome hierarchical categorisations between 'scientific' and 'indigenous' knowledge by incorporating the two into holistic knowledge management systems. The fruitful collaboration and level of communication reached by DvAPC, DAPCs and district engineers, for instance, was considered the most vivid positive example of the progress made towards

72. Sam Greene, interview (questionnaire returned by email) with the author, February 2019.

positive alliances based on integrated and inclusive knowledge, and emerged as among some of the most successful partnerships established through the project (Greene 2019: 37).

What can research do in the future?

What has been emphasised so far with respect to planning in Tanzania is a case of 'assemblage' of individuals, groups, knowledge(s), discourse(s) and existing political dynamics that, through complex interplays, result in particular outcomes, rarely in line with the written policy objectives. The case of planning is therefore an example of the processes and stakes behind the cloak of policy as a rational tool to achieve efficiency. Policy emerges rather as an assemblage where 'contingency' and 'fracture' are at work (Murray Li 2007a).

What emerges from the reports and other literature published by the IIED on the DCF programme, as well as from discussions I had subsequently with programme people at IIED and in the districts involved, is that the areas where positive results were achieved are also those where, unsurprisingly, more needs to be done. Despite the positive results in the devolution of financial decision making, the district representatives I interviewed reported enduring gaps between the climate-related challenges affecting rural people's livelihoods and their own capacity to adjust their activities to these fast-evolving conditions. Referring to policy as assemblage helps shift the analysis of policy from the soundness of the technical tools, in this case planning tools such as O&OD, to the conditions in which the tools are enacted. These conditions evolve with the delicate dynamics of political interest and power allocation at the centre of the enterprise of governing. The IIED current Programme Manager[73] stressed, for instance, the availability of people with the capacity to mediate as a crucial condition for a DCF-mechanism-enabling environment.

Realigning the focus from technologies of governance to the actors and dynamics of governance itself is a fundamental premise of delving into policy processes. The necessity for such a realignment was confirmed, for instance, by one of the district representatives[74] in a follow-up interview, who argued that planning in Tanzania 'depends on leadership as much as policies', and that national policies, which are in principle the landmarks for the official line for

73. Sam Greene, interview (questionnaire returned by email) with the author, February 2019.

74. Victor Kaiza, Ngorongoro District Agriculture and Livestock Development Officer (DALDO), phone interview with the author, May 2019.

action, are in fact overridden at local level (i.e. at district level) by directives contingent to political dynamics that are not always made explicit. The tendency observed at national level in Tanzania towards 'recentralization' of power (Kessy and Mushi 2018) or the evolving dynamics of international aid regulations and fund disbursement that affected the implementation of the DCF mechanism[75] are two examples of how policy dynamics and processes unfold in the political arena of architectures of power at different scales and levels, rather than in the technical arena of technologies of governance.

On the one hand, deciding how the role and potential of research fit into this puzzle requires taking into account the overall technical research capacity in the country, for instance the ability to understand complexities behind social processes including policy processes, or the 'technical' mastering of research tools and methodologies. Tanzania has made some progress in this direction with significant results achieved, for example, with the birth and growth of think tanks like REPOA, with different funded (by foreign donors) programmes that enable partnerships between foreign universities and national universities, NGOs and other stakeholder organisations, also aimed at building the capacity of young researchers (Tidemand and Msami 2010). The research community in the country, for instance in public research centres, however, struggles to keep pace with the fast-evolving world of policy and, at times, gaps exist even when it comes to basic understanding of the technical processes behind policymaking and their implications.[76] Universities in Tanzania, both public and private, have not gained recognition as major actors in the public arena and they invest most of their (scarce) resources in teaching.

On the other hand, the value and role of the preparatory research for the DCF mechanism described above demonstrate the value of research beyond its scientific and technical aspects. Research on policy processes has greater value when it is embedded *into* policy processes – that is, into the labour (or practice) of 'assembling' policies, hence a tool that is fully owned by the policy actors. It is in this guise that one of the district representatives[77] put forward the idea of mainstreaming research activity into the consultation that occurs between different layers of government from the local to the national, following the model of the DCF pilot. Research could facilitate the establishment of channels through which feedback from research can efficiently and effectively move up the

75. Sam Greene, interview (questionnaire returned by email) with the author, February 2019.

76. Modesta Medard, interview with the author, Mwanza, April 2019.

77. Victor Kaiza, Ngorongoro DALDO, phone interview with the author, May 2019.

government hierarchy, becoming institutionalised and legitimised, facilitating dialogue across government levels, from districts upwards, hence overcoming the communication breakdown that has burdened tools such as the O&OD.[78]

To confirm the view of research as a valuable and potential vehicle for enhanced communication and collaboration, the former DCF Programme Manager at IIED argued that 'research can't be too sophisticated nor expensive, but it rather needs to have a pragmatic outcome',[79] which he identified for instance in research potentially embedded in monitoring and evaluation systems to help identify local indicators to assess all the aspects relevant to the achievement of community resilience.[80]

To achieve results in this direction, research outcomes need to be produced through concerted efforts by the very people who are the actors of policy processes. Who the research actors represent and in whose interest are factors that play an important role in how research and research results are assessed, hence their legitimacy, usefulness or practical usability for policymaking. In Tanzania, the government values research 'quite selectively',[81] meaning that policy-relevant research results produced by public institutions are deemed more 'authentic' compared to research conducted by foreign institutions and researchers. This is one more condition that would enhance the value of policy-relevant research when embedded into mechanisms of cooperation among policymaking stakeholders.

Conclusion

This last chapter has considered the question of policy that has entered the analysis to different extents in the ethnographic chapters. Having policy – i.e. specific sector policies and reforms in the livestock, fisheries and agriculture sectors – contributed to shaping the objects of analysis throughout the chapters. This chapter has taken a step back and asked what constitutes policy. The knowledge-practice-policy nexus refers to the relevance of knowledge within the practical context in which it is produced, in this case, the context in which policies, as assemblages, are devised and built through interaction of different actors and networks. Here, the knowledge-practice-policy nexus has guided the specific case of the Devolved Climate Finance project and how research of

78. Ibid.

79. Ced Hesse, Skype interview with the author, June 2019.

80. Ibid.

81. Donald Kasongi, Interview with the author, Mwanza, April 2019.

an ethnographic nature catalysed the labour involved in the evolution of the assemblage.

The research I conducted during the preparatory phase on community and government planning system(s), together with subsequent activities sparked by the research results and report, have been taken in this chapter as a success case showing how ethnographic research can lead to heightened participation, building stronger ownership of the planning process, and hence can be used as a powerful tool to devise concerted strategies for a course of action – in other words, better policies.

The convergence of knowledge, practice and policy in the nexus taken in this last chapter as the premise to dissect policy processes condenses the key pillars of the methodological approach for producing specific knowledge on rurality, in the form of ethnographic evidence. This chapter has made the (bold) proposition that the knowledge-practice-policy analytical device can not only serve the analysis of how rural people engage, creatively and on their own terms, with existing global policy visions and objectives, but can even lay the groundwork for policy processes in-the-making.

CONCLUSION

This book started with some key questions on the state of affairs of rural people, rural identities and rurality as a whole in Tanzania and, by extension, in the Sub-Saharan African context. Guiding questions were: who are the rural people of Tanzania; what does it mean to be a rural person or part of a rural community in contemporary Tanzania; and why is it important to debate questions of rurality in Tanzania beyond mere GDP contribution of rural, land-based production. The chief aim has been to analyse the question of economic, social and cultural *integration* of rural people in global value chains, markets and scientific paradigms of natural resources management, the question of 'integration' being one of the most discussed topics and objectives of contemporary economic policies involving rural people across Sub-Saharan Africa and the developing world.

Grazing, fishing and farming are the practices that designate more than any other sector or practice the economy, livelihoods and identity of rural people. Yet, as the practices underlying the broader respective socio-cultural-economic systems of pastoralism, fisheries and agriculture, they define the identity of rural people and their place in the global world in ways that are by no means direct and straightforward, not simply being markers of land-based 'local' identities. On the contrary, grazing, fishing and farming as opposed to pastoralism, fisheries and agriculture are closely interwoven with the particular history of Tanganyika/Tanzania, enmeshed into global political dynamics – that is, a history of development models, policies, narratives and discourses that have shaped economic dynamics, social and cultural processes at the local-global interface.

Departing from these narratives, models and discourses, this book has attempted to show that the local-global interface is not simply constructed through a one-way channel, with the 'local' being determined and shaped, at times swept away, by the 'global'. On the contrary, rural people, despite constraints that are real and well-known, draw from the global basket of ideas and concepts, of which they are often the target or 'beneficiaries', creatively and on their own terms to overcome the constraints faced in achieving their own objectives. Thus, to answer the first two questions above (who are the rural people of Tanzania? what does it mean to be a 'rural' person?), this book has shown that rurality and rural identities, despite mainstream discourses, are not driven by static 'traditions' mostly grounded in people's attachment to land

but, rather, are shaped by constant negotiations, interactions and overlapping of meanings and value registers, between the local and the global.

Market, community and knowledge as the three main themes recurring throughout the chapters have guided the analysis in the book to provide an entry key into multi-faceted and subtle processes of 'integration' of rural people. The first three chapters on grazing took the case of the pastoralist Maasai of Northern Tanzania to analyse dynamics of market integration as one of the chief arenas in which rural peoples experience the global, while readjusting and capitalising on their own traditional identity. Starting in chapter one with the history of commoditisation and marketisation since colonialism, which created complex dynamics of identity formation, the analysis moved on in chapter two to contemporary overlapping value registers at the rural-urban interface, and at the interface of 'tradition' and 'modernity', through which Maasai strive to partake in different economic and social spheres for economic success. Finally, chapter three focused specifically on how the manipulation of these value registers, particularly that of tradition, is not static nor alien to the contemporary 'modern' market but can be capitalised on for the Maasai to overcome constraints of the livestock market and for successful trading.

The theme of the market intersects with that of community from the very first chapter. The questions discussed around tradition and ethnic identity in the case of the Maasai are clearly associated with processes of community formation and reproduction. It is in chapter four, however, that community emerges as the tipping point of local-global entanglements beyond simplistic assumptions of identity being determined by land-based practice, in this case, the practice of fishing. The market in chapter four retains its crucial importance as the stage on which 'community', in this case fishing community, acquires novel values and meanings, connected to profit-making, instrumental to economic success in the highly commoditised fishing economy of Lake Victoria.

The question of knowledge as the third main theme of the book is one crucial factor in the construction of rurality and rural identity. Knowledge is addressed in the different chapters in its different facets, starting with its connection with market and community – for instance, the mobilisation of knowledge by the Maasai for the creation of symbolic capital departing from networks and traditional registers (i.e. community). Or at the opposite end, the mobilisation of the registers of national identity around Lake Victoria, to create a common terrain in a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural environment for the emergence of short-term communities that can more easily than single individuals manoeuvre within the market sphere.

Conclusion

The nature of knowledge forming a nexus with practice is the stance that has driven analysis in the book. Mobilising knowledge to acquire registers that enable successful navigation of the market is an expression of knowledge as a repertoire usable in the practical context of market practices. Knowledge as inseparable from practice (i.e. the knowledge-practice nexus) emerges in all its relevance to rurality in the first chapter on farming (five), which argues that universal scientific knowledge, the pillar of global vision for agricultural development, becomes relevant to the smallholder – her livelihood, identity and worldview – only when embedded into local systems of traditional knowledge-practice. Technological advancement through technology adoption is possible and beneficial, the chapter has shown, only when incorporated into these heterogeneous patterns of knowledge mobilisation.

The last ethnographic chapter (six) explicitly rekindled the question of 'integration' into global discourses by referring to overt efforts towards vertical integration of smallholders into global value chains through agribusiness, contract farming and entrepreneurship. An entrepreneurial mentality is indeed a particularly marked characteristic of rurality in Tanzania and rural Sub-Saharan Africa, as many of the chapters have shown, although the conditions for such a mentality to turn into tangible success are provided by locally based social networks rather than policy-driven efforts through contract farming, making entrepreneurship ultimately a social as much as an economic phenomenon.

Through analysis informed by the three themes of market, community and knowledge I have attempted to portray a specific type of social change that is not linear. Rurality in Tanzania emerges not simply as an ongoing process of negotiation between the 'traditional' rural economic domain and sets of economic values set by global policy and development models. Rather, the two domains cannot be separated when looking at the daily lives of rural people, nor can they be considered as bounded spheres when subject to academic analysis. Numerous examples in the book, from Maasai engagement in livestock markets where 'tradition' forms an integral part of market-based practices, to agricultural scientific knowledge absorbed and embedded into local farming practices, prove that there exists a continuum of value registers and practice – a continuum that acquires value the moment it matters and is moulded to the lives and objectives of rural people.

This particular stance on the dynamics of change and the analytical tools through which we can make sense of the transformations underway in rural Tanzania leads to the third question asked in the introduction: why is it important to debate questions of rurality in Tanzania beyond mere GDP

contribution of rural, land-based production? As long as Tanzania continues to be a predominantly rural country whose greatest share of GDP constitutes land- and natural resource-based production such as livestock raising, fisheries and agriculture, and even with increasing pressure over common resources, it is reasonable to predict that rural lifestyle, social organisation and culture will undertake some steady readjustments of the kind illustrated through the chapters to adapt to changing conditions, rather than major transformations in the form of the long-forecast 'demise' of rural society. Culturally, the link that Tanzanians, even those with a marked urban background, have with their roots in the rural areas, such as connections with their rural kin and extended families, is not expected to be severed any time soon. 'Going home' – that is, to rural places of origin – for vacations and celebrations is strongly engrained in Tanzanian culture for its important identity and cultural meanings, and 'home' is deeply rooted in practices of grazing, fishing and farming.

To acknowledge rural economies as subject to steady readjustments in adapting to changing socio-economic circumstances reaffirms the importance of rural people's resourcefulness at the expense of rather simplistic discourses, projects and ambitions – mainstream in rural policies – of radical transformation or 'modernisation' of rural economies. This consideration is relevant to the policymaker and other actors involved in efforts towards the economic and social development of rural people and economies, including rural people themselves. Chapter seven has pointed to the necessity of concerted efforts towards policies that are in tune with and supportive of local adaptive capacity.

Knowledge here again emerges as key, not only as an entry point into rural people's worldview; rather, departing from the knowledge-practice nexus and the method of enquiry grounded in ethnographic research, chapter seven calls for a heightened attention to how ethnography as the *practice* of knowledge production can be used to devise courses of action (i.e. policies). This entails producing policy-oriented evidence that results from concerted efforts within inclusive and sanctioned spaces, making the evidence produced usable for policymaking. In order for (ethnographic) research to become an effective tool, the focus should be on what ethnography *does* rather than what it *is*, the second being the preoccupation of those interested in retaining ethnography as the 'badge of honour' that marks anthropology's disciplinary boundaries and identity (Ingold 2014: 384). What ethnography *does* (or can do) is to facilitate the collective process of learning that entails transformations of individual and group status(es) essential for 'assembling' inclusive policies.

Conclusion

Inasmuch as this book has tried to give an account of complex and changing forms of rurality in its social, cultural and economic aspects, the questions of rurality, rural identity and economy do not end here. Constraints and structural problems are indeed there and pose obstacles to sustainable rural livelihoods; in this book, I have certainly been more inclined to bring out rural people's resourcefulness in overcoming or coping with these constraints. Yet, the boundaries between resourcefulness and insecurity or vulnerability remain fuzzy and uncertain, and ultimately a matter of positionality as much as of tangible circumstances.

We find ourselves at a time in history at which the pressure exerted by the international agri-business industry and global forces of commercialisation and financialisation over small-scale land-based systems of production is at its highest. The land-centric colonising project of the twentieth century dramatically changed socio-ecological systems at local scale, grounded in traditional family, kinship, and community, with the imposition of concepts that were alien to the peoples at the receiving end – above all, the concept of land as private property (Chitonge 2018). Today, land-based peoples at the peripheries are having to deal with, if possible, subtler and even more insidious threats than the physical presence of colonisers – threats that relate to the subtle dispossession of rights over the use of their own land and resources (for instance over technologies and seeds), often concealed in the terms set by the agri-business industry. This has inevitable repercussions for land-based peoples' right to define their own food and agricultural policies (Coté 2016; Grey and Patel 2015).

Sovereignty movements among rural and indigenous communities, as regards land, agriculture, food systems and policies, have arisen from these novel structures of inequality and exploitation (Akram-Lodhi 2015). African decolonisation scholars consider these new struggles as the continuation of colonial oppression endured by people in the twentieth century (Chitonge 2018). What makes these contemporary movements and debates different is that they respond to the necessity of acting simultaneously in actual land-based battles on the one hand, and conflicts over the ideas, epistemologies and knowledge(s) that sustain them, on the other (Sium et al. 2012: II) – in other words, the 'epistemic (de)colonization' that was referred to in the introduction (Kessy et al. 2020).

Unable to act upon the first, this book has attempted to act on the second. It has done so by foregrounding a narrative of rural peoples' agencies and ingenuity when engaging with global economic and political setups that more often than not clash with their priorities and ambitions.

By raising the complex relationships between rurality and development, this book has raised larger issues about development in its models and practice as a particular political agenda shaped by actors, cultures and histories, despite the rationalising discourse that places development in an ahistorical technical arena. Highlighting local realities and development trajectories has emphasised the many success stories in the lives of rural people in Tanzania, despite portrayals of rural people lagging behind in global development models. This book offers inspiration to many academics, policymakers and other policy stakeholders working with and for rural people to rethink matters of development, poverty, and vulnerability from different positionalities, letting understanding of rural development emerge from dialogue, and relying less on normative judgements of what is good, bad or desirable for rural people.

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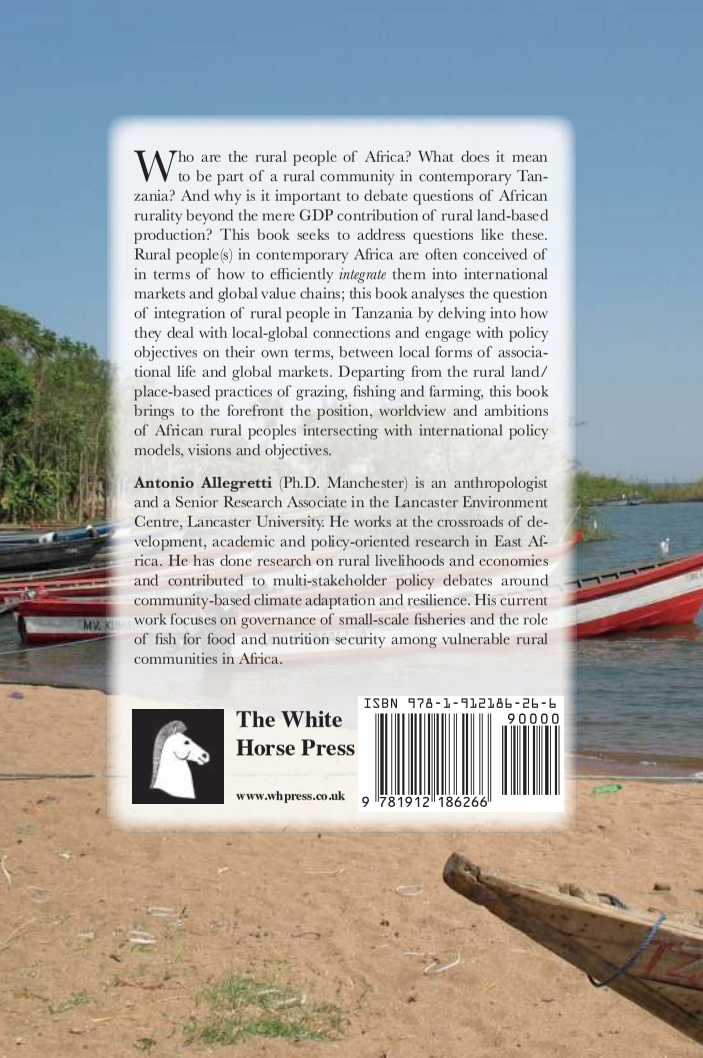

Who are the rural people of Africa? What does it mean to be part of a rural community in contemporary Tanzania? And why is it important to debate questions of African rurality beyond the mere GDP contribution of rural land-based production? This book seeks to address questions like these. Rural people(s) in contemporary Africa are often conceived of in terms of how to efficiently *integrate* them into international markets and global value chains; this book analyses the question of integration of rural people in Tanzania by delving into how they deal with local-global connections and engage with policy objectives on their own terms, between local forms of associational life and global markets. Departing from the rural land/place-based practices of grazing, fishing and farming, this book brings to the forefront the position, worldview and ambitions of African rural peoples intersecting with international policy models, visions and objectives.

Antonio Allegretti (Ph.D. Manchester) is an anthropologist and a Senior Research Associate in the Lancaster Environment Centre, Lancaster University. He works at the crossroads of development, academic and policy-oriented research in East Africa. He has done research on rural livelihoods and economies and contributed to multi-stakeholder policy debates around community-based climate adaptation and resilience. His current work focuses on governance of small-scale fisheries and the role of fish for food and nutrition security among vulnerable rural communities in Africa.

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