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# Labor Migration and Social Networking: Maasai Labor Migrants in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

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Labor Migration and Social Networking:  
Maasai Labor Migrants in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement  
for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Africana Studies from  
The College of William and Mary

by

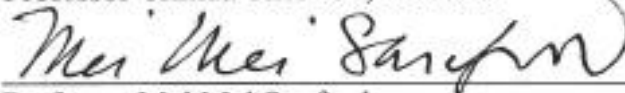
Elise Rakoff

Accepted for Honors

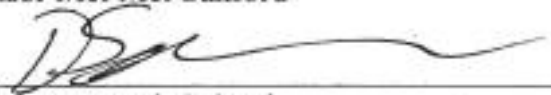
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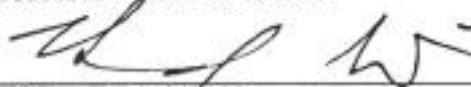
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Williamsburg, Virginia  
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## TERMINOLOGY

*A note on the terminology used in this paper: The majority of this document is transcribed in English. However, all ethnographic research and interviews were conducted in a combination of Kiswahili, English, and Kimaa. Some terms and phrases will remain written in the language spoken rather than being translated. In a practical sense, some of the terms used herein do not have sufficient English translations. Additionally, the use of Kiswahili and Kimaa terms is a methodological choice to elevate and value the spoken language of informants of this research, under the premise that language remains a valuable tool in the distinction of cultures and peoples.*

**Boma (Kiswahili):** A residential compound in Maasailand, occupied by one or multiple families. A *kraal* (Dutch) often refers to a grouping of *boma*. The Kimaa term *enkang* is interchangeable.

**Daladala (Kiswahili):** A mini-bus or taxi used by lower and working socioeconomic classes for transportation. Referred to as *matatus* or *combis* elsewhere on the continent.

**Dawa (Kiswahili):** Literally translates to “medicine,” but refers to an herbal beverage made and sold by Maasai people.

**Eng'udi (Kimaa):** Sticks or spears carried by Maasai men for protection or as markers of identity.

**Mlinzi (Kiswahili):** *Mlinzi* (plural *walinzi*) are guards employed to provide security for residencies or businesses. This is the most frequent form of employment for Wamaasai in Dar es Salaam. The term implies very informal work, with low wages and few benefits. More formal guards who obtain training and work for a company are referred to as *askari/maaskari*, although the term is sometimes applied to Maasai *walinzi* as well.

**M-pesa (Kiswahili):** *M-pesa* refers to mobile money, which facilitates the savings and remittances that comprise the informal economic sector. *M-pesa* is exchanged via SMS on cellular devices.

**Mji (Kiswahili):** An *mji* (plural *miji*) is a city or large urban center, while a *kijiji* (plural *vijiji*) describes a village. I have chosen to keep these terms in their spoken Kiswahili form as to emphasize the importance of conceptualizing the locations described in terms of their own context within Tanzania.

**Mzungu (Kiswahili):** *Mzungu* (plural *wazungu*) refers to an individual of Western nationality residing in East Africa. Colloquially, the term may also be applied to Tanzanian nationals who take on the cultural or economic practices of white expatriates.

**Shúkà (Kiswahili):** *Shúkà* is/are the cloths Maasai individuals wear as wraps and garments. *Shúkà* (this term has been used interchangeably as singular and plural by respondents) are typically brightly colored and made of wool material.

**Wamaasai (Kiswahili):** The plural of Maasai; referring to a group of individuals identifying as Maasai. ‘Maasai’ is the singular used to describe one individual of Maasai ethnolinguistic identity; Maasai literally refers to ‘Maa-speakers.’

## SECTION I: INTRODUCTION

Tanzania's Maasai communities have historically occupied the northern and northeastern regions of the country, employing semi-nomadic and pastoralist practices. However, since the late 1990s, influxes of young, male Wamaasai have migrated to urban centers seeking economic and social opportunity, to diversify income when environmental changes limit the efficacy of pastoralism, and for other various reasons to be discussed herein. This research investigates the rural to urban migration of Maasai labor migrants from the northern regions to the coastal economic center of Dar es Salaam, utilizing ethnographic research and structured conversations.

Further, this research explores the processes through which urban Wamaasai reconcile aspects of their identity perceived to be 'traditional' with their post-migration urban lifestyles, the challenges urban migration presents, and the resulting community networking techniques employed to mitigate the risks associated with migration within Dar es Salaam. Special attention is paid to the social incorporation of Maasai migrants in terms of the acquisition of social capital, access to government and non-profit resources, and ethnolinguistic group dynamics in the migration destination. This work uncovers the nuanced and innovative ways in which Wamaasai translate group membership into tactics for survival and success after urban migration.

### *Pre-Migration Conditions and Motivations for Migration*

In Maasailand, semi-nomadic lifestyles rely on pastoralism and seasonal, cyclical migration for cattle grazing.<sup>1</sup> Northern Maasailand culture is described, in short, as comprised of rich oral traditions including vocal and musical tradition accompanied by dance, strong sense of community belonging, and human connection to land and animals.<sup>2</sup> Wamaasai are commonly associated (by Tanzanian citizens, as well as by the national government) with land conservation, and are seen as large contributors to the protections of animals and life in the Ngorongoro region.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> McCabe, J., et al. "Can Conservation and Development Be Coupled among Pastoral People? An Examination of the Maasai of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Tanzania." *Human Organization*, vol. 51, no. 4, 1992, pp. 353–366.

<sup>2</sup> May, Ann, and Francis Ndiripapa Ole Ikayo. "Wearing Illkarash: Narratives of Image, Identity and Change among Maasai Labour Migrants in Tanzania." *Development and Change* 38, no. 2 (2007): 275-98.

<sup>3</sup> McCabe, J., et al. "Can Conservation and Development Be Coupled among Pastoral People? An Examination of the Maasai of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Tanzania." *Human Organization*, vol. 51, no. 4, 1992, pp. 353–366.

An extensive body of literature focuses on the social configuration and economic conditions of Maasailand; this work redirects scholarship towards post-migration conditions and mechanisms.

Large-scale Maasai migration away from northern Maasailand to Dar es Salaam has become commonplace for young Maasai men. The first wave of migration from the Ngorongoro Maasailand region began in 1996, following environmental changes (to be discussed in Section II.) One objective of this study is to understand and describe common motivations behind the initiation of migration. The need to diversify economic activities and opportunities for wage labor are two of the most commonly cited motivations for rural-urban migration in globalized, capitalist societies, and the results of this research support that assertion.

My research informants represented nearly every major region of Maasailand, indicating that the urban migration to Dar es Salaam has become a widespread practice. Figure one represents areas of Dar es Salaam, useful in conceptualizing the configuration of the *mji* (city).<sup>4</sup> Figure two illustrates the regions of mainland Tanzania to provide geographical context for the locations mentioned throughout this work.<sup>5</sup>

Figure One: Areas of Dar es Salaam

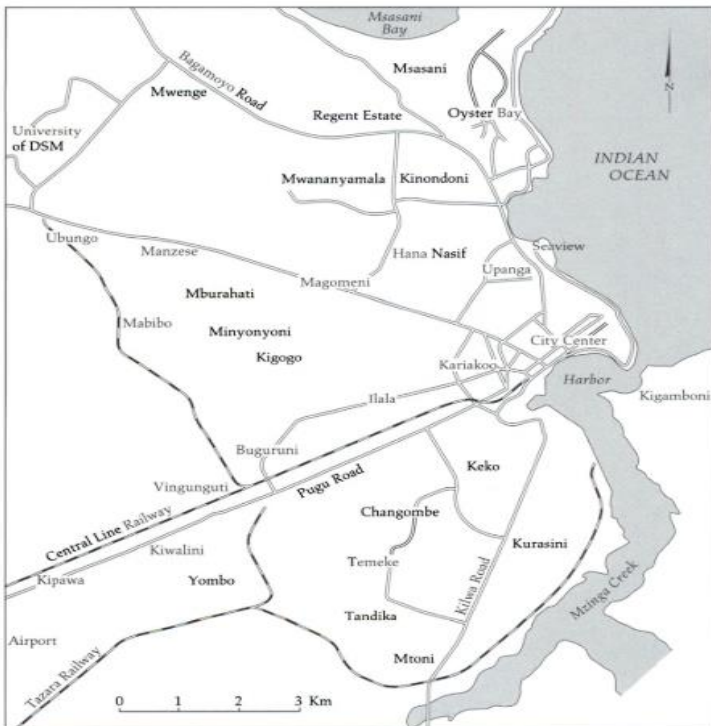


Figure Two: Regions of Tanzania



<sup>4</sup> Tripp, Aili Mari. *Changing The Rules: The Politics Of Liberalization And The Urban Informal Economy In Tanzania*. Univ of California Press, 1997. xviii.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, xvii.

I spoke with migrants who originated from eight of these twenty regions: the Mara, Arusha, Kilimanjaro, Tanga, Mwanza, Shinyanga, Dodoma, and Kigoma regions. While Maasailand has typically been thought to have been concentrated in the Mara, Arusha, Singida and Kilimanjaro regions along the Great Rift Valley, the widespread origins of Wamaasai in this study demonstrate the diaspora of the population in recent years, reaffirming how mobile and displaced Wamaasai have become.<sup>6</sup>

### *Known Challenges of Urban Integration*

Rural to urban migrations across Sub-Saharan Africa entail certain challenges, as common barriers to metropolitan integration exist for all rural-urban migrants.<sup>7,8</sup> These challenges are augmented by early life upbringing that includes 1) semi-nomadic and pastoralist practices, and 2) few of the common institutions of a metropolitan area. Young, male Wamaasai occupy the primary roles of cattle grazers in northern Maasailand, and are responsible for the care of the cattle from as early as ages 5 or 6.<sup>9</sup> The completion of primary education, if available, is rare, which limits options for employment in urban settings.<sup>10</sup> A vast majority of rural-urban Maasai migrants find work as guards, or *walinzi*, in Dar es Salaam due to their being widely perceived as fearless, honest warriors; however *walinzi* are among some of the lowest paid informal laborers in the city and are rarely afforded employment benefits or security.<sup>11</sup>

Although the urban migration of Maasai men is internal to the nation of Tanzania,<sup>12</sup> it entails exposure to new languages, religions, technologies, political views, educational systems, social service institutions, and prejudices. Maasailand-dwelling Wamaasai should not be considered as an exceptionally isolated group in any capacity; while Maasailand tends to be more homogenous in religious and economic practices than urban settings, the population is undoubtedly

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<sup>6</sup> It is important to note that the Tanzanian government does not conduct its census based on ethnolinguistic identifications, and therefore does not possess data on the exact numbers of Wamaasai residing in Tanzania or in specific regions.

<sup>7</sup> Rakodi, Carole. "The Urban Challenge In Africa." In *Managing Urban Futures*, pp. 63-86. Routledge, 2016.

<sup>8</sup> Kessides, Christine. "The Urban Transition In Sub-saharan Africa: Challenges And Opportunities." *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* 25, no. 4 (2007): 466-485.

<sup>9</sup> Spear, Thomas, and Richard Waller. *Being Maasai: Ethnicity and Identity in East Africa*. London: Currey, 1993.

<sup>10</sup> Coast, Ernestina. "Maasai Socioeconomic Conditions: A Cross-Border Comparison." *Human Ecology* 31, no. 1 (March 2002): 79-105. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1014567029853>.

<sup>11</sup> Kaunga, J. Ole. "The Living and Working Conditions of Urban-Based Indigenous Peoples: The Case of the Maasai of Tanzania." *Indigenous Affairs* 3, no. 4 (Fall 2003): 8-15.

<sup>12</sup> External migration from northern Tanzania to neighboring countries, particularly Kenya, does occur; however, the scope of this study is limited to internal migration.



interconnected to other cultural groups of Tanzania and beyond. These connections exist in the forms of economic trade networks as Wamaasai participate in not only the cattle trade but also in the trade of the indigenous gemstone Tanzanite,<sup>13</sup> and in some sedentary agricultural production with yields sold to neighboring groups and urban centers. Technological advances, such as mobile phone technology and the rise of *M-pesa* mobile money have facilitated these connections in Maasailand just as they have in urbanized areas. To imagine Wamaasai in isolation as a pastoralist group would undermine global interconnectedness and fail to consider the complex interethnic interactions between Maasai and individuals of other ethnic/ethnolinguistic identities including Sukuma, Chagga, Hadza, and Nyamwezi in the surrounding north.<sup>14</sup>

Even accounting for relatively frequent interactions between Wamaasai and individuals of other identities in and around Maasailand, urban integration can be obstructed by exposure to the aforementioned factors to the extent that Maasai interact with them. Migrants might tend to either adapt to the urban ideals of Dar es Salaam or, on the contrary, reassert cultural norms of Maasailand in their new environment. It is critical that more research be conducted in this space to ascertain how and in which contexts Maasai redefine or reassert their identities in the process of urban migration. It is these topics which are engaged throughout my research.

### *The Necessity of this Research*

What happens when pastoralist groups leave their homelands and pursue employment opportunities in urban centers? How does their ethnolinguistic group membership interact with their integration into the unfamiliar, urbanized setting? With the rapid economic and infrastructural development of Tanzania, rural-urban migrants are becoming more and more visible facets of metropolitan centers such as Dar es Salaam. Whether Maasai migrants reassert their cultural heritage or redevelop their identities to incorporate urban practices, they are both impacted and have an impact on the urban community they join. It is imperative that this research pay special attention to distinctions between Maasai conceptions of identity and any romanticized, ‘traditional,’ or otherwise oversimplified characteristics that may be imposed on them by non-Maasai individuals in this evaluation. By centering the views, perspectives, oral histories and

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<sup>13</sup> Smith, Nicole M. "No Cow Makes This Sort of Profit: Capital, Success, and Maasai Gemstone Traders in Tanzania." *The Extractive Industries and Society* 3, no. 2 (2016): 442-449.

<sup>14</sup> Jenkins, Richard. "Social Anthropological Models Of Inter-ethnic Relations." *Theories Of Race And Ethnic Relations* (1986): 170-186.

verbatim language of Wamaasai, the research seeks to make distinct the reality of urban Maasai life from the perspectives of Wamaasai themselves as much as possible.

In addition to the identity-based aspects of Maasai life in Dar es Salaam, this research develops an understanding of the unique needs of rural-urban Maasai migrants, which in turn will inform future policy making and programming that allow Wamaasai to access social resources. With recent estimations of the Maasai population in Dar es Salaam nearing 5,000 to 7,000 and growing,<sup>15</sup> this can be seen as an established migratory pattern that deserves further research.

### **Section Outline**

To begin, the motivations for research are explained in full. Background information on cultural practices of Tanzanian Wamaasai, motivations for urban migration, and known challenges to migrant integration are provided. This explanation also includes justifications for the methodologies and sampling techniques employed, with explicit reference to the researcher's position relative to the work.

In Section I, the objectives and methodologies are followed by a review of the relevant existing literature and a justification for this contribution. Scholarship pertaining to Maasai culture, economic conditions in Maasailand, common motivations for rural-urban migrations of indigenous populations, and historical political climates across Tanzania are explored. Special attention is paid to the lack of scholarship addressing Wamaasai in urban centers, particularly Dar es Salaam. This literature review identifies gaps in the existing scholarship that this work will then bridge with ethnographic evidence.

Section II delves into pre-migration conditions in Maasailand and subsequent causes for urban migration, and presents insights gained from structured conversations and ethnography. Conditions that were most frequently cited, such as lack of educational opportunities, land repossession, diversifying familial investments beyond livestock, and the necessity of participating in an ever-growing cash economy, will be explored in depth.

After establishing causes for migration, common barriers to integration in Dar es Salaam will be evaluated in Section III. Attention is paid to the repetition of experiences and how ubiquitous the challenges faced by Maasai migrants appear to be (as supported by the ethnographic

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<sup>15</sup> May, Ann, and Francis Ndipapa Ole Ikayo. "Wearing Illkarash: Narratives of Image, Identity and Change among Maasai Labour Migrants in Tanzania." *Development and Change* 38, no. 2 (2007): 275-98.

data collected.) Difficulties such as lack of educational opportunities, inability to obtain stable employment, economic risk, unfamiliarity of language and culture, and physical separation from home community are explained, largely through the lived experiences of respondents. A subsection discusses the lack of resources and institutions available to migrants.

Ultimately, this research addresses how Maasai labor migrants in Dar es Salaam have utilized community networking, co-ethnic social insurance, and group living to alleviate the burdens of this economic migration. These topics comprise Section IV. All information presented in this section is the result of the ethnography and interviews conducted, and is reflective of the experiences of the study respondents. The ways in which Wamaasai self-organize and network in terms of living, seeking employment, and socializing are explored. Systems of self-governance, group accountability and ‘justice,’ and systems of financial support and savings are communicated here.

To conclude, Section V of this work provides recommendations for future policies that could be implemented to improve the integration of, and mitigate the risks undertaken by, Maasai labor migrants in Dar es Salaam and other economic centers across Tanzania.

## **Methodology**

### **Research Philosophy**

An important theoretical tenet of this research is that it has been conducted in accordance with methodologies and ways of knowing employed by Wamaasai. While written records and some quantitative data have been considered, the oral histories, visual and linguistic traditions, and non-academic knowledge of Wamaasai have been valued as true, valid, and indispensable sources of indigenous knowledge. The following methodology was designed with the intent of using this research as a platform through which Wamaasai residing in Dar es Salaam could vocalize and record their histories, migratory patterns, and positions. As the primary researcher, my objective has been to interact with Dar’s Maasai labor migrant population and use my position in academia to communicate and elevate their experiences and challenges, with the underlying belief that more resources must be offered in both rural Maasailand and urban centers such as Dar es Salaam.

## Research Strategy

The primary methods of this research are ethnographic research and structured interviews with Wamaasai residing in Dar es Salaam. I will refer to these interactions as ‘structured *conversations*’ based on their intention of being collaborative and equal. Structured conversations have allowed for the collection of oral histories and narratives, with the paramount objective of allowing urban Wamaasai to present their lives on their own terms and in their own words.

These structured conversations included open-ended questions regarding the individual’s early life as well as placing a directed focus on their transition from Ngorongoro and other northern areas to Dar es Salaam. Topics of interest explored through these conversations also include barriers and challenges to acquiring social networks and capital in urban settings, and how identities are formed and presented in different contexts and company, and (most dominantly) how group living and community networking are used to mitigate the risks and challenges of urban migration.

Prior to conducting this research, in December of 2017 I traveled to Tanzania and participated in an intensive six-week study of Kiswahili, and continued upon returning to the US. My language proficiency allowed me to conduct much of the structured conversations in Kiswahili; however, a translator was present and assisted in translation from Kimaa and Kiswahili to English. This methodological choice was both instrumental and intentional: in addition to ensuring the accurate translation of nuanced topics, it allowed respondents to provide answers in whichever of the three languages they were most comfortable in or felt most appropriate using.

Over the course of a three-month data collection period, roughly 20 hours of structured conversations in formal locations were audio-recorded. Informal conversations were held on *daladalas*, in peoples’ homes, over games of *bao*, walking through the city, over cups of *chai* and *mandazi* breakfasts, in markets, and in social settings. These conversations were not recorded, but detailed field notes were kept. Herein, the products of informal conversations are paraphrased and noted with single quotation marks.

Due to the focus of the research being group living and working conditions in the city, conversations were group-oriented and usually included anywhere from two to five Wamaasai at a time. Throughout the course of the research, I spoke to over 30 individuals in group settings; some of whom for a matter of minutes, and others for many hours. The core group of participants in the formal conversations were roughly eight men living in the Mabibo neighborhood of Dar es

Salaam, whom I visited two to three times per week and had the most in-depth conversations with. I am deeply grateful to them for sharing their experiences and perspectives with me. This work is largely reflective of those experiences.

### Sampling Techniques

The population sample has been limited to those outwardly/visually identifying as Maasai, choosing to wear Maasai *shúkà*, carrying *eng'udi*, and presenting with body modifications such as ritual scarring and pierced ear lobes.<sup>16</sup> This sampling method has been deemed as acceptable by the community of scholars who have begun investigating urban Maasai in Tanzania.<sup>17</sup> The sample is also limited to Maasai *men* in Dar es Salaam, a methodological choice for which there are several justifications. The chief factor behind limiting the investigation to Maasai men is that young men tend to be the most likely to participate in this rural to urban migration based on economic motivations and labor demands.<sup>18</sup> Additionally, with patriarchal familial structures being predominant in Maasai cultural organization, gaining access to Maasai women would require more established social connections and a longer course of study.<sup>19</sup>

The results yielded by this research are only generalized as such, and do not project onto the lives of ethnically Maasai individuals who outwardly identify as having fully integrated (assimilated) into urban culture based on their dress, employment, and social network incorporation. However, the presentation of Maasai identity in terms of wearing *shúkà* will be discussed herein; the contexts in which Maasai labor migrants choose to wear Maasai cloth versus 'Swahili' clothing are indicative of construction of identity, and were discussed frequently in conversations. Nor does the research theorize on the motivations, personal identifications, or social processes of women who engage in rural-urban migration. Although not studied here, female perspectives of Maasai urban migrants deserve further, focused scholarship. Within my research, the presence of female Wamaasai in Dar es Salaam is explored only to the extent that Maasai men discuss their experiences with gender relationships in our conversations.

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<sup>16</sup> May, Ann, and Francis Ndipapa Ole Ikayo. "Wearing Illkarash: Narratives of Image, Identity and Change among Maasai Labour Migrants in Tanzania." *Development and Change* 38, no. 2 (2007): 275-98.

<sup>17</sup> Coast, Ernestina. "Maasai Socioeconomic Conditions: A Cross-Border Comparison." *Human Ecology* 31, no. 1 (March 2002): 79-105.

<sup>18</sup> Chaudhuri, Sarbajit. "Rural-Urban Migration, the Informal Sector, Urban Unemployment, and Development Policies: A Theoretical Analysis." *Review of Development Economics* 4, no. 3 (2000): 353-64.

<sup>19</sup> Hodgson, Dorothy L. "Pastoralism, Patriarchy And History: Changing Gender Relations Among Maasai in Tanganyika, 1890–1940." *The Journal of African History* 40, no. 1 (1999): 41-65.

The non-random sampling technique of chain-referral, or ‘snowball’ sampling, has been employed in order to gain access to the population and to investigate not only individuals’ conceptions of self, but also to gain insight on community and interpersonal relations. Initially, I had the intention of meeting with organizations that provide resources to Maasai in Dar es Salaam. However, no such organizations existed or were known by participants in the research. Instead, this *lack* of resources is discussed in the research as a factor limiting the success of labor migrants.

### Limitations

The limited time frame of this project presented constraints to the scope of the work. Limited to three months of full-time research, I did not have the opportunity to collect longitudinal data on respondents, although such data would be of use in the future. Measures were taken to maximize the length of research, such as spending a six-week period acquiring language skills and piloting the research in the field before returning for the three-month research span, but expanding the project over an extended time period would be the most effective solution.

My positionality as a white, American, female, undergraduate student is of note. My exposure to culture within Tanzania and across East Africa over the last five years prepared me to conduct this research. However, without being a member of the population of interest, it is possible and important to consider two possibilities: the first being that my comprehension of nuanced aspects of Maasai tradition or practices would be limited, and the second being that respondents may reserve some knowledge for members *of* the ethnolinguistic group exclusively and not grant access to non-co-ethnics such as myself. While measures have been taken to counteract these potential biases, such as collaboration with a Kiswahili and Kimaa speaking translator and the guidance of several Wamaasai, these facets of my positionality are worth disclosing.

### **Review of Relevant Literature**

In the following review of existing scholarship on Tanzania’s Maa-speaking population, I provide a succinct overview of literature on the pre-migration lives of Wamaasai in the northern region of Tanzania, which will allow for informed comparisons to be made between pre- and post-rural to urban migration practices. Subsequently, I examine works of scholarship that investigate and provide theoretical frameworks behind other rural-urban migrations across Sub-Saharan Africa, with the intent of situating the Maasai urban migration in conversation with and relation to

similar patterns of movement across the region. Finally, I review the limited existing scholarship on metropolitan Maasai life in Dar es Salaam, indicating unfilled gaps which this ethnographic research begins to eradicate.

### Pre-Migration Conditions of Maasailand

While there is an absence of literature addressing the post-migration conditions of Maasai rural-urban migration, extensive analysis has been conducted on the lives of Northern Wamaasai in Tanzania. Critical scholarship that explores the pre-migration subsistence lifestyles of Wamaasai inform this research, allowing for appropriate contexts to be developed and for comparisons to be drawn between northern regions and urban settings in which Wamaasai reside.

McCabe and Schofield (1992) develop a paradigm for considering pastoral, indigenous populations in relation to the conservation of natural resources and subsequent human development.<sup>20</sup> They explore the “dual mandate” of environmental conservation and pastoral development as it exists in the environmentally protected region of Ngorongoro, and purport that the situation in Ngorongoro is transferable to other conservation lands in which pastoralists practice subsistence economies.<sup>21</sup> Ultimately, they uncover conditions that prove relevant to the urban migration, such as malnutrition and an inability to sustain nutrients; these conditions contribute to the need to migrate.

Providing important historical context and an ecological perspective, Homewood and Rodgers (1991) outline the history of Maasai involvement with the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA), including a detailed survey of the emergence of conservation in Ngorongoro and Serengeti in the early 20th century.<sup>22</sup> Known Maasai presence is documented in the area as early as 1500-1850 AD, and the authors provide “archaeological and linguistic” evidence from this period as well as details of the modern ecology (modern circa late 1980s-1991). The NCA and Maasai presence are situated within the context of the national history of Tanganyika/Tanzania and conceptualized on an international scale, too.

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<sup>20</sup> McCabe, J., et al. “Can Conservation and Development Be Coupled among Pastoral People? An Examination of the Maasai of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Tanzania.” *Human Organization*, vol. 51, no. 4, 1992, pp. 353–366.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 360.

<sup>22</sup> Homewood, Katherine, and W. A. Rodgers. *Maasailand Ecology: Pastoralist Development and Wildlife Conservation in Ngorongoro, Tanzania*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Ernestia Coast (2002) offers a transnational approach, exploring the differences between Wamaasai in Tanzania and Kenya at both the household (*olmarei*) and multihousehold (*enkan*) levels.<sup>23</sup> Her findings are valuable as they incorporate quantitative data from a standardized questionnaire, and use several different markers for socioeconomic status including education, crop production for economic gain rather than subsistence, and other means of employment.

### Motivations of Sub-Saharan African Rural-Urban Migrations

Several scholars across the disciplines of Africana studies and development studies document the challenges of rural-urban migrations in the context of the rapid technological, economic, and transnational development of Sub-Saharan Africa. Harris and Todaro (1970) present an economic model of rural-urban migration based on two interacting sectors: the permanently urban and the migrating rural.<sup>24</sup> This model acknowledges preserved ties of rural-urban migrants to their rural ‘homeland’ settings. One critical assumption the model makes, which is supported by empirical evidence, is that rural-urban migration of any particular rural population will continue so long as the expected urban income exceeds real agricultural product, implying that urban migrants are maximizers of expected utility.<sup>11</sup> The model is highly applicable to the urban migration of Wamaasai, and one facet of my research is using ethnographic data collection to expand this understanding of rural motivations to migrate.

### Limited Scholarship on Dar’s Urban Maasai

One in-depth research study that has been conducted on Dar’s urban Maasai population is the doctoral thesis work of Emmanuel J. Munishi, business lecturer at the University of Dar es Salaam, finalized in 2013.<sup>25</sup> Munishi’s analysis centers the concept of resilience. Munishi draws on Matsen’s concept of ‘positive adaptation,’ defined as an outcome in which the result is “characterised by good outcomes in spite of serious threats to adaptation or development,”<sup>26</sup> to

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<sup>23</sup> Coast, Ernestina. "Maasai Socioeconomic Conditions: A Cross-Border Comparison." *Human Ecology* 31, no. 1 (March 2002): 79-105.

<sup>24</sup> Harris, John R., and Michael P. Todaro. "Migration, Unemployment and Development: A Two-Sector Analysis." *The American Economic Review* 60, no. 1 (1970): 126-42.

<sup>25</sup> Munishi, Emmanuel J. *Rural-urban Migration of the Maasai Nomadic Pastoralist Youth and Resilience in Tanzania: Case Studies in Ngorongoro District, Arusha Region and Dar Es Salaam City*. Freiburg: Schriftenreihe Der Geographischen Institut, 2013.

<sup>26</sup> Munishi, Emmanuel J. *Rural-urban Migration of the Maasai Nomadic Pastoralist Youth and Resilience in Tanzania: Case Studies in Ngorongoro District, Arusha Region and Dar Es Salaam City*. Freiburg: Schriftenreihe Der Geographischen Institut, 2013. 15.



measure the relative resilience of Wamaasai despite the threats faced. Munishi's foci are the economic challenges Wamaasai in Dar face, as well as the economic and social ties they maintain with the northern region, with an emphasis on the latter. These ties are defined through economic remittances to northern family, repetitive visits to northern Maasailand, and economic diversification of resources between Dar es Salaam and Ngorongoro. The topic of financial remittances and monetary motivations for cyclical migration were heavily repeated by participants throughout the data collection for this work.

While Munishi focuses on the economics of the rural-urban Maasai migration, his work does *not* center group based identity or community networking aspects of the transitions. The work briefly discusses the role of social networks but analyzes the instrumental role of these networks in supporting resilience and coping with inadequate resources rather than from an interpersonal, identity-based stance or mitigating security and economic risks of migration. Thus, my research contributes an analysis of the roles of social networks in group identity and the reconciliation of Maasai identity with urban belonging, and personal security.

The aforementioned literature must be built upon to reflect the impacts of new political administrations, technological changes, and progressing economic conditions within the city. At the present, this paper will be one of the first to investigate not only economic strategies but also social organization tactics used to mitigate risks associated with migration. While some works (pioneered by Munishi and May et. al) have begun to employ an ethnographic approach, it is imperative that ethnography be utilized more frequently to create a narrative of urban Maasai life based not only on theoretical tenets, but on the *lived experiences* and actual encounters of Wamaasai in Dar es Salaam. The following research has been designed around this approach, and draws heavily on ethnography to bridge gaps in the existing literature.

## SECTION II: CAUSES OF MIGRATION

*“Livestock is no longer worth it like it was in the past. We can remain with just little cattle, but do other things. The mode of life now is money. The mode of exchange now is money. In the past money was not an issue. You had enough meat, you and enough milk, it was okay. But now things have changed, everything is money. You can’t keep on selling goats. You sell one, others are dying, others are dying of disease. Now it’s time to do other things.”*

The institutionalized practice of rural-urban migration in Tanzania dates back to the colonial era, as early as the 1800s. Throughout the 1940s, Wamaasai experienced systemic displacement within northern Tanzania as the government designated conservation areas (the Ngorongoro Conservation Area or NCA, Lake Manyara, Tarangire, and Serengeti National Park.)<sup>27</sup> Under the colonial *kipande* tax system, Tanzanians were forced to migrate and obtain wage-labor positions to pay colonial taxes.<sup>28</sup> Then, following the colonial era and independence, Tanzania experienced a period of socialist transformation during which Nyerere enforced his *ujamaa* nation building policies.<sup>29</sup> Under *ujamaa*, which entailed forced villagization in order to increase the share of goods publicly provided and to municipalize agricultural ventures, Wamaasai were forced to relocate. These processes of sedentarization of nomadic peoples<sup>30</sup> foreground the involuntary displacement seen today amongst Wamaasai in Tanzania; my research investigates the mechanisms through which forced or economically coerced migration persist today.

### The Cyclical Patterns of Migration

At the present, estimates of Wamaasai residing in Dar es Salaam range from 5,000-7,000<sup>31</sup> although the cyclical, transient pattern of the migration makes it difficult to quantify. From my own ethnographic observation, the duration of time spent by labor migrants in Dar es Salaam was

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<sup>27</sup> Adams, Jonathan S., and Thomas O. McShane. *The Myth of Wild Africa: Conservation Without Illusion*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997. (44)

<sup>28</sup> Lugalla, Joe. "Crisis, Urbanization, and Urban Poverty in Tanzania: A Study Of Urban Poverty And Survival Politics." (1995).

<sup>29</sup> Miguel, Edward. "Tribe or Nation? Nation Building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania." *World Politics* 56, no. 3 (2004): 327-362.

<sup>30</sup> Ndagala, D.K. "Operation Imparnati' : The Sedentarization of the Pastoral Maasai in Tanzania." *Nomadic Peoples*, no. 10 (1982): 28-39.

<sup>31</sup> Munishi, Emmanuel J. *Rural-urban Migration of the Maasai Nomadic Pastoralist Youth and Resilience in Tanzania: Case Studies in Ngorongoro District, Arusha Region and Dar Es Salaam City*. Freiburg: Schriftenreihe Der Geographischen Institut, 2013.

largely driven by the value of wages earned; each one of the Maasai men I spoke with noted that they would return to their place of origin within Maasailand once they had earned ‘enough’ money.

Estimates of how long migrants would remain in Dar ranged from three weeks to two years. One man, whom I met in the Mikocheni neighborhood, had arrived in Dar es Salaam just days before our encounter. He was in his late 40s, working as an *mlinzi* (private security guard or gateman) for a British private-sector development firm, and supported his four children and elderly parents in the Manyara region. When I asked how long he wished to stay in Dar, he noted:

“I will return [to] Manyara when I have something. When I have sent the school fees and *M-pesa* for my father and mother and their *ekang*, then I make some more. Us Wamaasai, we don’t come here for staying, we come to make something, to make enough, then we depart.”

With this explanation, he succinctly captured the cyclical and instrumental facets of this economic migration: the ultimate motivation for Wamaasai I spoke to in Dar es Salaam was not to establish a permanent residence or lasting social network in the city, but to take the steps necessary to secure an income and provide for their families/dependents.

It is important to note that many Wamaasai I spoke to explicitly expressed that they did not *enjoy* living in Dar es Salaam; rather, it was seen as an intermediate tool to achieving long-term economic stability. While urban migration is sometimes conceptualized, particularly in high income economies in the global north, as exciting, providing a sense of freedom, or otherwise appealing to young individuals entering the workforce, this was not the reality I observed amongst Wamaasai. The following quotations explain the tensions felt by migrants who must participate in wage-seeking migration:

“People don’t wish to come to Dar but are forced. Not forced by people -- well, maybe forced by their father if he wishes -- but forced by things and by money. Sometimes by the cattle.”

“I was directed by my brother. He came to this place and was able to find some little money, and he said me I must also come to the *mji*. Of course I could not come to the *mji* until that brother returned, because someone had to remain at the home of our family to watch over the cattle and the things. But he told me, ‘[name] you must go now’ and so I went but I wished so much to stay there. At least there I am with my family, here I am just looking looking for work.”

However, despite not being the most appealing option, those who had migrated spoke about their decision in a manner that suggested that the benefits outweigh the potential consequences. One man put it simply as he stated, “by the time I arrived here, the challenges I met were not scary enough to leave. I had to be patient and plan what to do.” This sentiment was common among informants.

In an informal conversation, another man told me the emotional story of his departure from Monduli. He had witnessed an older cousin<sup>32</sup> migrate to Dar es Salaam years before. The cousin experienced economic success in acquiring capital, but suffered psychological consequences being separated from his family and homeland, and presumably succumbed to a drug or alcohol addiction (the respondent stated that his cousin was ‘involved in some problems, some problems with drunkenness’ but chose to change the topic when I gently sought clarification.) This particular migrant’s parents, after observing the cousin’s negative experience, forbid the man from traveling to the city for work. Regardless, this 22-year old male had ended up in Dar and explained that he was forced to leave on a bus at night without his parents’ blessing. He explained the process through which his parents reconciled his decision, stating that they understood he had done ‘the one thing [he] could do to provide some money’ and were thankful for his decision when he began returning remittances via *M-pesa*.

Previous scholars have enumerated theoretical causes for labor migration in general, and research has begun to speculate on motivations for Wamaasai specifically. The accounts provided above are evidence that causes of migration are deeply personal and nuanced. Herein, I will substantiate and expand on those abstract theories with the firsthand experiences and perspectives of the Wamaasai with which I interacted throughout this research. As with many large-scale migrations, the motivations behind movement of Wamaasai within Tanzania can be understood in two broad categories: *push factors* encouraging Wamaasai to move away from Maasailand, and *pull factors* attracting them to the coastal region.

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<sup>32</sup> The terms ‘brother’ and ‘cousin,’ when employed by respondents, may or may not always indicate a biological relationship. In accordance with Maasai values and broad conceptualizations of the family unit, most close male social relations will be referred to as brother or cousin regardless of blood relation.

## Push Factors for Migration

As the term suggests, *push factors* are circumstances that incentivize people to migrate from their homeland when doing so is not their first choice. The following are explanations of the answers Wamaasai most frequently mentioned when asked what motivated them to migrate, temporarily or permanently, away from Maasailand. While each labor migrant experienced his own trajectory and made microeconomic decisions based on their own situation and constraints (or, in accordance with recent literatures, a family unit made rational decisions based on *its* constraints<sup>33</sup>) I was struck by how ubiquitous the motivations for migrations were. In this section, three frequent push factors are explored: the health of cattle and other livestock, the complicated relationship between Maasai and governmental conservation efforts, and instances of government land reclamation.

### *Livestock Health and Cattle*

A prominent factor cited by many study participants was the declining health and sustainability of cattle. McCabe et al. (1992) substantiate this observation by exploring the livestock-to-human ratio of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA) from which many Wamaasai migrate. They note that from the 1960s to 1990s, the ratio declined by over 40 percent.<sup>34</sup> This quantitative analysis is useful in understanding the scale of cattle reduction in the later half of the 20th century, and in understanding the timing of the first large-scale Wamaasai migration in the mid-1990s.

Therefore, I assert that the decline in suitability of the environment for supporting cattle in the early to mid 1990s was one of the leading factors in making the rural-urban migration to Dar es Salaam a large-scale phenomenon. While other factors, to be discussed, influenced migrants in their decision to temporarily relocate, the timing can largely be attributed to the inability to provide sustenance from cattle exclusively.

Inherently linked to the decline in sustainability of keeping livestock is the climate change experienced across Maasailand. In structured conversations, respondents spoke indirectly about climate change, most frequently citing extreme droughts and a lack of lush land for cattle grazing.

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<sup>33</sup> Stark, O. "The Migration of Labor." (1991).

<sup>34</sup> McCabe, J., et al. "Can Conservation and Development Be Coupled among Pastoral People? An Examination of the Maasai of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Tanzania." *Human Organization*, vol. 51, no. 4, 1992, pp. 357.

I spoke to two cousins (males aged 23 and 25) who had migrated from the Simanjiro district of the Manyara region. The first informed me of the effects of climate on their cattle stock:

“The thing is the drought. The drought is as it has never been before, and the cattle they are very challenged by diseases. They have some diseases and they can’t have any healthy grazing.”

His cousin responded,

“And for me too, that is the thing. I did not go to school, my work was the cattle. When the cattle were dying, my income was dying. Then is when I came to Dar es Salaam for some different kind of money, not from cattle.”

The exact diseases plaguing the northern cattle from the 1990s to today were unknown to respondents, but similar outbreaks have been well documented in the past; in 1887, an epizootic outbreak of the virus rinderpest occurred.<sup>35</sup> Normile (2008) estimates that this viral outbreak caused the starvation and death of nearly two-thirds of the Maasai cattle grazing population in Tanzania.<sup>36</sup> Coupled with this historical record, my findings support the conclusion that the decline in cattle health and subsequent decrease in efficacy of pastoralism are powerful contributors to urban migration.

#### *Land: Conservation and Private Ownership*

Recent media has brought attention on how Wamaasai have been forcefully displaced from their pastoralist homelands. Tanzanian newspapers, online media sources, and peoples’ personal anecdotes suggest that violence is a tool used to force Wamaasai away from their lands. On one of the first flights I took from Dar es Salaam to Maasailand, I recall reading an in-flight magazine article noting that the Maasai were integral to the wellbeing and conservation of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA). However, this struck me as it didn’t align with what respondents were telling me about being forced away from NCA and surrounding areas. Two of the causes for this displacement, which were both expressed to me in conversation and are backed by the literature, are 1) conservation efforts, and 2) the government reclaiming land to repurpose for the extraction of natural resources or for promoting tourism.

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<sup>35</sup> Sunseri, Thaddeus. 2018. “The African Rinderpest Panzootic, 1888–1897.” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*.

<sup>36</sup> Normile, D. "Rinderpest: Driven to Extinction." *Science* 319, no. 5870 (2008): 1606-609.

In 2017, the BBC covered the issue of the government reclaiming lands to promote conservation and tourism, noting that “the Tanzanian government had plans to establish a 1,500sq km (579sq mile) wildlife corridor around the national park for a Dubai-based company which offers hunting packages for wealthy tourists from the UAE.”<sup>37</sup> Sources suggest that the government might proclaim that the land is being used for ‘conservation’ when it is really intended to generate revenue (for example, providing land to the Dubai-based company noted above.) The article goes on to uncover that “more than 100 Maasai huts in Tanzania have been allegedly burned down by game reserve authorities near the Serengeti National Park,” suggesting that the game reserve authorities tasked with ensuring conservation are the perpetrators of violence and property damage against Wamaasai.<sup>38</sup>

Unfortunately, in practice, conservation efforts which were originally designed to rely on Wamaasai as partners in protecting wildlife ultimately reduce their available grazing land and cause displacement. Nelson and Ole Makko (2005) conducted a study of a Loliondo Division (Ngorongoro District) village to investigate the intersection between ecotourism, conservation, and land dispute, and found that increasing both conservation and community-based ecotourism had severely increased conflicts between Maasai people and the government over “the use, control, and management of lands and resources.”<sup>39</sup> Herein I have offered a succinct treatment of how the government’s repurposing land for revenue generation or conservation negatively impacts the efficacy of pastoralism for Maasai people; while these topics arose only briefly in my ethnography, they are of importance and ought to be further developed in future works.

### Pull Factors for Migration

In addition to factors making Maasailand a less inhabitable or appealing environment, I investigate characteristics that make Dar es Salaam an ideal destination for urban migration. The first question that arises here is, *why* Dar es Salaam? Geographically, Dar is not the urban center located nearest to most of Maasailand. The journey from Manyara or Kilimanjaro could take

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<sup>37</sup> "Maasai Displaced after Huts Burned in Tanzania." BBC News. August 16, 2017. Accessed April 07, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-40950383>.

<sup>38</sup> "Maasai Displaced after Huts Burned in Tanzania." BBC News. August 16, 2017. Accessed April 07, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-40950383>.

<sup>39</sup> Nelson, Fred, and S. Ole Makko. "Communities, Conservation and Conflicts in the Tanzanian Serengeti." *Natural Resources as Community Assets: Lessons from Two Continents* (2005): 123.

multiple days, while Arusha, inhabited by 420,000 individuals, could be reached in less than a day's travel. Throughout my structured conversations, a common question emerged: Why did migrants elect to move to Dar es Salaam rather than closer economic centers such as Arusha, Moshi, or even Dodoma?

A common response to this question was that the urban centers closer to Maasailand were more saturated with Wamaasai, suggesting that the job market within which Wamaasai seek employment would also be oversaturated. Individuals in Maasailand would have access to this information based on communications between the two areas, facilitated by mobile phones and consistent cyclical migration. To be sure, urban centers more centrally located to Maasailand are smaller than Dar es Salaam and thus provide less labor opportunities; Dar es Salaam covers over 600 square miles and encompasses a population of roughly 4.5 million, compared to Arusha's 420,000.<sup>40</sup> However, the nuanced thought processes of Wamaasai answering my questions about their migration destination of choice revealed more subjective conditions beyond the sheer quantity of available employment opportunities. The most prominent of which is the romanticization of identity.

### *The Romanticization of Maasai Identity*

Discussions around the populations of Wamaasai in these large cities were more complex than the quantity of employment available; they also drew on identity. The men I spoke to discussed their presence in Dar es Salaam as more “unique,” “unusual,” and “not commonplace.”<sup>41</sup> We discussed their visual identifications, such as body modifications or wearing *shúkà*, and how these physical markers distinguished them as a people. Several Wamaasai spoke about how their *shúkà* was recognizable and marked them as Maasai. They were not surprised to learn that imagery of Wamaasai and *shúkà* were often used in promotional materials attracting tourists to Tanzania, Zanzibar, and Kenya.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Population of Cities in Tanzania (2019). Accessed March 16, 2019.

<http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/tanzania-population/cities/>.

<sup>41</sup> These terms are drawn from various transcribed interviews and field notes.

<sup>42</sup> This imagery is readily available in Tanzania. Tour busses advertising for Northern safari tourism might have large photographs of Wamaasai plastered on them; pamphlets advertising for luxury hotels and beaches in Zanzibar tout images of Wamaasai selling crafts on pristine beaches; online bloggers and advertisers use images of Wamaasai in *shúkà* to represent ‘authentic’ or ‘cultural’ experiences.



Essentially, Wamaasai I interacted with spoke of how their identity is *romanticized* in the coastal region and how they can leverage this identifiable group membership to gain employment, security, and other benefits (to be discussed later as I analyze the group-living techniques of Wamaasai in Section IV.) Respondents told me how, in Dar es Salaam, it was advantageous to present oneself as the stereotypical courageous, strong, warrior persona attached to the Maasai identity.

The romanticization or tribalization of ethnolinguistic groups on the African continent, and in Tanzania specifically, is not especially new or novel. The practice of isolating and ascribing an essentialist identity to constructed ‘tribes’ was employed to establish indirect rule when colonists settled in Tanganyika and is reproduced in neocolonial forms today.<sup>43,44</sup>

I also had the opportunity to observe how the romanticization of Wamaasai interacted with the foreign or expatriate population in Dar es Salaam, or *wazungu*. Comprised primarily of British, American, and other white European descendants, the expatriate community in Dar is largely confined to a geographical area termed the Msasani Peninsula, an extremely wealthy neighborhood within the Kinondoni District of the Dar es Salaam Region. The small peninsula sits on the Indian Ocean and houses several international schools, the Dar es Salaam Yacht Club, and other luxury amenities. It is also an area in which Wamaasai are extremely visible and prevalent due to the benefits they can obtain from leveraging the romanticization of their ethnolinguistic identity amongst *wazungu*. I myself chose to live away from this enclave (across the highway in a small Islamic neighborhood known as Morocco or Block 41 na Biafra.) However, due to my positionality as a young American researcher and through the contacts I made at a language school on the peninsula, I became acquainted with many Wamaasai working in the expatriate-heavy area and was able to interact with them frequently.

The man mentioned before, in his mid-40s and from the Manyara district working as an *mlinzi* for a British development firm, was one of these individuals. We spoke at length about both Tanzanian and *wazungu* perceptions of Wamaasai, and how these perceptions both acted as pull factors of migration and simultaneously provided obstacles to incorporation (to be discussed in Section III.) I asked him about his positionality in Dar es Salaam, and he questioned mine (at one point, he told me that in some ways we were both *wageni* - strangers or guests - to this *mji*.) He

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<sup>43</sup> Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press, 2012.

<sup>44</sup> Thiong'o, Ngũgĩ wa. "The Myth of Tribe in African Politics." *Transition: An International Review* (2009): 16-23.

was employed by *wazungu* and lived on the property which he provided security for. He had previously attempted to find work in Arusha, less than a day's *daladala* ride from his home in Manyara, but described to me the advantages of pursuing migration to Dar:

“Here the *wazungu* they think we are somehow [unique, different] and they can like the look of us. In Arusha or Moshi or Tanga [Tanga *mji*, within the greater region] we are not so [different]. There are so many, so many Wamaasai in those other *miji* but here in Dar es Salaam we are sought after. Some can think, ‘*eee* those Wamaasai they are warriors, dangerous, bush people’ but they want that protection.”

This inherent understanding of the romanticization or tribalization of the Maasai not only illustrates a pull factor of migration, but also serves as a reinforcement of the knowledge possessed by Wamaasai, and the importance of treating non-academic or non-written knowledge as valuable and equally important in its own right. Without being exposed to the academic terminology around romanticization or the historic patterns of colonists ‘tribalizing’ ethnolinguistic groups across the African continent, Wamaasai residing in Dar es Salaam are undoubtedly cognizant of and privy to these phenomena. Further, in a very real sense, these testimonies provide proof that these mechanisms have impacted the rational decision making processes of Maasai labor migrants within Tanzania.

### *Economic Gain*

Throughout my interviews, the concept of migrating to Dar for employment and monetary gain was expressed with overwhelming frequency. Throughout our conversations, informants continually stressed the importance of diversifying their economic gains to include wealth-producing activities other than cattle grazing. Stark (1991) offers an important theoretical framework for understanding labor migrants as rational economic actors.<sup>45</sup> Stark notes that the rationality of their behavior is not only to benefit the individual, but centers group and family dynamics as the unit of analysis for economic success, writing:

First, although the entities that engage in migration are often individual agents, there is more to labor migration than individualistic behavior. Migration by one person can be undertaken in pursuit of rational optimizing behavior by a group of persons such as the family. Second, there is more to labor migration than a response to wage differentials. Third, a great many

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<sup>45</sup> Stark, O. "The Migration of Labor." (1991).

migratory phenomena would not have occurred if the set of markets and financial institutions were perfect and complete.<sup>46</sup>

The literature determining the household as a whole to be responsible for decision making, resource allocation, and economic diversification is plentiful.<sup>47</sup> It also introduces a new nuance to analyzing the economic decisions of Wamaasai, who act not only to gain income for themselves but for their dependents.

Conventional thinking, especially early anthropological theories that emerged during and soon after the colonial era, have suggested that Wamaasai seek out wage labor in order to acquire more cattle, with money being only an intermediary tool to increasing one's hold of livestock. My findings suggest that this conventional model has become outdated, and serves to imagine northern Maasailand economic ecosystems in isolation from other monetized economies.<sup>48</sup> Further, in accordance with Stark, these outdated paradigms of understanding cattle as the *only* means of economic gain fail to understand the rational diversification of economic profits employed.<sup>49</sup>

In contrast, my findings demonstrate how Wamaasai have diversified their sources of wealth and are deeply integrated in other economic systems. This finding is consistent with the works of scholars such as McCabe and Munishi.<sup>50,51</sup> While the acquisition of cattle is still widely important for economic security and social status, cash is also viewed as a valuable form of currency and not *just* a means to acquiring more livestock. Respondents cited a lack of cash currency and the inability to purchase finished goods as a motivation.

Products sought after for domestic consumption included food stuffs not available through livestock (millet, beans, cornmeal for *ugali*, *ndazi*/plantains) and household items (*shúkà* and other cloth materials, cooking utensils, charcoal.) It remains true that cattle serve as a form of assets and

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<sup>46</sup> Stark, O. *Abstract*. "The Migration of Labor." (1991).

<sup>47</sup> Ortiz, Sutti. "Decisions And Choices: The Rationality Of Economic Actors." *A Handbook Of Economic Anthropology* (2005): 58.

<sup>48</sup> The idea of Wamaasai as isolated and only being motivated by the acquisition of cattle is a sentiment that was routinely expressed by non-Maasai individuals throughout informal fieldwork conversations. This false understanding is likely reproduced from external sources, such as early anthropological accounts; specifically, those which were used to support the British colonial technique of divide-and-conquer, which sought to isolate ethnic groups in pre-colonial Tanganyika to prevent groups from taking collective action against the colonizer. See Iliffe, John. *A Modern History of Tanganyika*. Cambridge University Press, (1979): 323.

<sup>49</sup> McCabe, J. Terrence. "Sustainability and Livelihood Diversification among Maasai of Northern Tanzania." *Human Organization* (2003): 100-111.

<sup>50</sup> McCabe, J. Terrence. "Sustainability and Livelihood Diversification among Maasai of Northern Tanzania." *Human Organization* 62, no. 2 (2003): 100-11.

<sup>51</sup> Munishi, Emmanuel J. *Rural-urban Migration of the Maasai Nomadic Pastoralist Youth and Resilience in Tanzania: Case Studies in Ngorongoro District, Arusha Region and Dar Es Salaam City*. Freiburg: Schriftenreihe Der Geographischen Institut, 2013.

are sold or bartered for material goods, but this is no longer the only form of transaction in Maasailand.

A young man in his mid-thirties had migrated from Longido (an area of the Arusha region, quite close to the Kenyan border) and was selling *dawa* in the Mabibo neighborhood of Dar es Salaam. Over several cups of *dawa*, he described his pursuit of economic diversification, as he was the sole provider for his elderly parents. He also hoped to marry and have children, when time and finances allowed. Based on the age-set system of Maasailand, and particularly of the semi-nomadic Maasai clans surrounding Longido, he would have otherwise served as a *moran* warrior protecting the clan and herd. However, he described his family's strategy on diversifying their income by sending him to the city:

“Livestock is no longer worth it like it was in the past. We can remain with just little cattle, but do other things. The mode of life now is money. The mode of exchange now is money. In the past money was not an issue. You had enough meat, you and enough milk, it was okay. But now things have changed, everything is money. You can't keep on selling goats. You sell one, others are dying, others are dying of disease. Now it's time to do other things.”

Another widely cited expense was supplies for the cattle, including medications and veterinary services. These necessities were mentioned in conjunction with the declining health of cattle and negative impacts of climate change.

### *Education*

The intersection between financial solvency and education was also apparent, as many men discussed children's' school fees as a significant household expenditure. One man, who had only studied through the Primary Four elementary education level, put it plainly when he said, “Life has changed. No school, no good life.” Rather than migrating to Dar es Salaam to further their own educations, Maasai men discussed migration as a means to educate their children.

The importance of education as both a push factor for migration and as an intervening factor on the successes of Wamaasai migrations after arriving in Dar es Salaam cannot be understated; the mechanisms through which education influences the integration of Wamaasai will be explored in the following section.

### SECTION III: CHALLENGES TO INTEGRATION

*“It should be known that Maasai in Dar es Salaam, they are there and they are faced with different challenges. One is that they are organized in the informal sector only and are paid little wages. Second is that there are few Maasai employed in the private sector and government. They don’t enjoy this [informal] work and with their kind of employment they aren’t allowed benefits like insurance.”*

*A note on the terminology used throughout this section:* the terminology used herein refers to how Wamaasai ‘integrate’ to lifestyle in Dar es Salaam. This term intentionally replaces the idea of ‘assimilation’ used in other literature. The concept of assimilation has the requisite that migrants abandon former practices in favor of the culture of their migration destination, while the concept of integration is intended to allow for the preservation of cultural, linguistic, and social structures as migrants adapt to and are accepted into new environments.

The content of this section was the result of conversations around the challenges of migrating to Dar es Salaam. While many of the named challenges are instrumental or physical, such as a lack of secure housing or unpredictable wages, many were more internal or pertain to Maasai identity. To be discussed herein are issues such as the inability to access formal education, inability to access governmental resources, perceptions placed upon Wamaasai by non-co-ethnics, and unfavorable or unstable employment.

#### *Lack of Access to Formal Education*

As explained in the rationale for methods, the informants to this study were limited to those outwardly or visually identifying as belonging to the Maasai ethnolinguistic group (see Introduction/Methods.) However, the trajectories and situations of Wamaasai migrating to Dar es Salaam are deeply stratified. My ethnographic research demonstrates that the level of education Wamaasai receive before participating in urban migration is the primary factor by which their economic successes and overall integration are stratified.

As such, there is a subset of Wamaasai who have fully *assimilated* rather than integrating (choosing to take on the cultural values and lifestyle of Waswahili rather than retaining Maasai cultural aspects) to metropolitan life in Dar es Salaam and may not experience the same challenges as the respondents to this research. One respondent described the disconnect between Wamaasai

who were formally employed, stating that some Wamaasai who migrated from the north or who were born in Dar es Salaam wished not to be identified as Maasai:

“Those ones they are educated. In Simanjiro they remained at school for longer than us ones who are here selling or living as *walinzi*. They don’t want to be bothered by the lower class ones if they’re living Swahili life now.”

This idea of not wanting to “be bothered” is indicative of educated Wamaasai following different trajectories of integration and even distancing themselves from lower-class Wamaasai. In Mabibo, the primary neighborhood where I conducted my interviews and the neighborhood in which the University of Dar es Salaam is located, respondents also readily spoke about their interactions with college educated co-ethnics. They noted that university students were far less likely to be recent migrants, and instead were born in the city. This observation demonstrates, whether perceived or actual, lack of social mobility for migrants and an inability to secure education.

Although not the primary objective of this particular study, it is important for scholars and policymakers to continue evaluating the factors that encourage or deter Maasai from enrolling in education prior to migrating. In turn, a deeper understanding of the stratification experienced after migration may be achieved. Gimbo et. al (2015) conducted a compelling study in the Monduli district of Northern Tanzania and uncovered that common motivations for Maasai families to enroll their school-aged children in primary school included future economic returns for the family and government policies mandating education.<sup>52</sup> The authors note that “the most emphasized motivator for sending children to school was the observation of material benefits to the families who had done so. Conversely, a key deterrent was the observation of families who had in fact sent their children to school, but had failed to realize a return on investment in cases where educated offspring migrated yet remained unemployed.<sup>53</sup> Fascinatingly, the same explanation was often provided when I asked respondents how they and their families chose to diversify economically by engaging in migration to Dar es Salaam. This parallel between education and migration further emphasizes that both primary education and labor migration are economic risks taken by families with the hopes of achieving return.

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<sup>52</sup> Gimbo, Robinah, Nadine Mujawamariya, and Sara Saunders. "Why Maasai Parents Enroll Their Children In Primary School: The Case Of Makuyuni In Northern Tanzania." *Interdisciplinary Journal of Best Practices in Global Development* 1, no. 1 (2015).

<sup>53</sup> Gimbo, Robinah, Nadine Mujawamariya, and Sara Saunders. "Why Maasai Parents Enroll Their Children In Primary School: The Case Of Makuyuni In Northern Tanzania." *Interdisciplinary Journal of Best Practices in Global Development* 1, no. 1 (2015). 12.

### *Lack of Institutions or Organizations to Aid Migration*

When I began this research, I intended to ask participants what resources, governmental or private sector, were available when they reached Dar es Salaam. Two of Tanzania's largest and most well-known social insurance/protection programs are its Productive Social Safety Net (PSSN) program, and theoretically affordable housing provided by the National Housing Corporation (NHC).

One of Tanzania's largest social protection initiatives is the Productive Social Safety Net (PSSN) program. Following a scale-up in March of 2013, Tanzania's PSSN program reached an astounding 1,113,137 households in 2015.<sup>54</sup> This scale-up made Tanzania's program the second largest conditional cash transfer (CCT) program in Africa, following Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Programme.<sup>55</sup> In its recent report on the PSSN program in Tanzania, the World Bank summarized the goal of the program as follows:

“The objective of the PSSN, which is implemented by the Tanzania Social Action Fund (TASAF), is to increase income and consumption and improve the ability to cope with shocks among vulnerable populations, while enhancing and protecting the human capital of their children.”<sup>56</sup>

Being such a widespread initiative, I sought to understand whether Maasai labor migrants had awareness of and access to the PSSN program. As a population who is extremely vulnerable to external shocks that could negatively impact income and consumption, they might greatly benefit from the program. Additionally, I understood a lack of housing opportunities as one of the most prominent concerns of transient migrants in Dar, and presumed that migrants may have been able to take advantage of housing benefits.

With overwhelming ubiquity, respondents indicated that they did not have knowledge of the PSSN program, and could not access the NHC affordable housing although it was very visible and well known. These programs seemed inaccessible for different reasons; for PSSN and other

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<sup>54</sup> “Evaluating Tanzania's Productive Social Safety Net: Targeting Performance, Beneficiary Profile, and Other Baseline Findings.” 2017. Rep. *Evaluating Tanzania's Productive Social Safety Net: Targeting Performance, Beneficiary Profile, and Other Baseline Findings*. The World Bank. 7.

<sup>55</sup> “Evaluating Tanzania's Productive Social Safety Net: Targeting Performance, Beneficiary Profile, and Other Baseline Findings .” 2017. Rep. *Evaluating Tanzania's Productive Social Safety Net: Targeting Performance, Beneficiary Profile, and Other Baseline Findings*. The World Bank. 11.

<sup>56</sup> “Evaluating Tanzania's Productive Social Safety Net: Targeting Performance, Beneficiary Profile, and Other Baseline Findings .” 2017. Rep. *Evaluating Tanzania's Productive Social Safety Net: Targeting Performance, Beneficiary Profile, and Other Baseline Findings*. The World Bank. 7.

government-provided social programs, most respondents had no knowledge of the existence of these initiatives.

For the National Housing Corporation, the narrative was different. Migrants knew it existed and that some ‘affordable’ housing was available, but expressed to me that their incomes were far too low to participate. One man simply stated,

“They [Wamaasai] don’t use because they can’t afford. We are just paid little wages, and that national housing is so expensive.”

Respondents also vocalized the frustrations of information asymmetry around publicly provided programs. One individual had a limited knowledge of the health system, and at one point believed he may have been entitled to disability benefits based on a physical disability. He spoke about the inability of Maasai to access programs not as discriminatory or pointed exclusion, but as a lack of purposeful inclusion:

“We [Wamaasai] face the same treatment. The difficulty is knowing where to start to get some [government resources]. Difficult for everyone, but more difficult for us who don’t know where to start. I can’t know where to go, what office to go to, who to ask. When I arrive to that place I will need to write the forms for help in Kiswahili. Me, I quit school early, I do not write Kiswahili.”

The indication of language as a structural barrier to integration and acquisition of resources is significant; although this migration of Wamaasai is internal to the nation of Tanzania, it still entails many of the same challenges that an international movement would entail.

### *Perceptions of Wamaasai in Dar*

In understanding the constraints under which Wamaasai operate in Dar es Salaam, it is imperative to understand their relations with non-Maasai individuals, referred to colloquially as ‘Swahili people’ or simply ‘Swahili’ in conversation. Although they did not differentiate between other ethnolinguistic groups, research respondents discussed individuals within Dar es Salaam as a dichotomy between Maasai and non-Maasai, thus using the term ‘Swahili’ to describe all Tanzanian individuals who do not belong to the Maasai ethnolinguistic group. That same denotation will be used herein.

One of the most common statements made regarding the relationship between the Maasai and Swahili was that the latter viewed the former as brave, courageous, and warrior-like. This



perception contributed to the likelihood that a Swahili person would seek out a Maasai individual to employ as an *mlinzi* or for other security positions. Presenting as a Maasai warrior was also described as beneficial to the personal security of Wamaasai:

“Wearing *shúkà* you are less likely to get disturbed [robbed]. You could be carrying millions [of shillings] but if you are in *shúkà* people will think you are poor and won’t disturb you. They will think you have a spear even if you don’t. They even think you can run faster [followed by laughter]”

This quote demonstrates some of the *positive* benefits Wamaasai reap from their presentation as the Maasai warrior stereotype, the most notable of which being personal security. I also questioned whether the presentation of *shúkà* may have had an identity-formation component to it, or act as a means of reasserting group membership. I was answered with a comparison to *kitenge*, the brightly colored fabric used to make clothing in Tanzania. One respondent told me that sometimes it ‘meant nothing’ if you chose to wear Swahili clothing or *shúkà*, but sometimes a group might choose to all wear *shúkà* to show their group relation, just as with *kitenge*. It was also described as highly fluid, as Wamaasai might wear Swahili clothing one day and *shúkà* the next. The discourse around *shúkà* indicates how situational it is; at times the choice of clothing might simply be pragmatic, to provide comfort or security, and at other times may be more of an internal consideration to indicate group membership or belonging.

Conversely, perceptions of Wamaasai could inhibit their securing employment based on the perception that Maasai were uneducated, unfamiliar with modern technology, or unable to familiarize themselves with what was described to me as “*vitu vya mji*” or “things of the city.” These things of the city included navigating public transportation, traffic lights, buying produce or other foodstuffs from vendors, and using mobile phones or *M-pesa*. One employed individual noted:

“I went for a job [interview] very far, very far from the place where I am staying. The employer, he asked me, ‘how will you arrive to this place to do my work every day? You will be walking here from that side?’ He was thinking I could not even find some *daladala* or know how many *shillingis* it would be to arrive that side. I am Maasai but I am not always walking, walking. *Tsk.*”

This respondent’s summation of the situation displays the employer’s ignorance of, or the respondent’s perception of the employer as ignorant of, the capabilities of Maasai living in Dar es Salaam. The migrant expresses that the employer was ‘thinking’ he was incompetent of navigating

city transportation and arriving at work in a reliable manner; whether the employer actually thinks this or whether it is just interpreted in that way, it has the same, tangible consequences on how migrant internalize their integration into the city.

In fact, many of these ‘things of the city’ are present in Maasailand, such as negotiating food prices or participating in monetary exchanges.<sup>57</sup> Further, it demonstrates a lack of understanding of the very social networks and means of support which this research addresses. While labor migrants may not have an inherent grasp of public transport or navigating living, working, and moving around the city upon arrival, the social organization of Wamaasai within Dar es Salaam ensures that newcomers to the city will be informed and assisted by existing migrants who have familiarized themselves with these urban features.

#### *Unpredictable and Low Income Employment*

As labor migrants, Wamaasai cited several challenges related to the precariousness and instability of informal sector employment in Dar es Salaam. A recurring grievance was that without formal contracts employers could terminate work at any point, providing a constant fear amongst workers:

“The boss tells you to just go, and then on that very day you are without work and without a salary.... They don’t need a reason because that is not how it works. Their reason can be ‘okay, I don’t want your work anymore’ and then you go.”

Even when employment was stable, the conditions were often unjust. Respondents described situations in which wages were withheld, hours were extended without notice, and requests for time off were either rejected or led to full termination. Not a single respondent I spoke with indicated that they felt they were compensated fair wages for the work they performed.

One individual, in an informal conversation, explained to me how Wamaasai could become “trapped” in unfair labor situations. Specifically, he discussed the need to preserve group-level wellbeing rather than just that of the individual. He explained that his boss employed multiple Wamaasai from his social network and that if one complained about the conditions, the entire group was at jeopardy of facing consequences. These consequences could include anything from

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<sup>57</sup>McCabe, J. Terrence. "Sustainability and Livelihood Diversification among Maasai of Northern Tanzania." *Human Organization* (2003): 100-111.

being reprimanded to having wages cut or being let go entirely. He noted that if he asked his boss for higher wages or to work the day shift (his primary grievance, at the time, was that he was always assigned to night time hours) the boss could decide to hire worker who would work “without challenging the boss.” The precariousness of wage labor for migrants creates situations in which workers rights may be violated, and thus creates psychological stress for migrants to remain employed.

### Consequences of Integration Challenges

The psychological stress placed on migrants is paramount in understanding the identities of respondents. The cyclical labor migration of young Wamaasai entails instability and uncertainty of employment, housing, physical security, and health. Although groups in Maasailand have access to many of the same technologies and network with non-co-ethnic peers, the environments of rural Maasailand and heavily urbanized Dar es Salaam are inherently dissimilar, and the unfamiliarity of environment can have very real, internalized effects on newcomers.

In addition to psychological stressors, physical consequences of migration have been documented: one study comparing anthropomorphic, psychological, and biochemical measures between rural and urban Wamaasai found significant differences in health markers such as cholesterol, with urban Maasai having higher levels.<sup>58</sup> Attributing these differences to unfamiliarity of post-migration lifestyle and diet, as well as psychosocial stressors such as poverty or social rejection/marginalization, Day and Malcolm provide concrete evidence for the very real *impacts* of migration. Thus, the following section of this work investigates the ways in which group living and community networking are utilized amongst Wamaasai labor migrants to mitigate these inherent risks of migration.

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<sup>58</sup> Day, José, Malcolm Carruthers, Alan Bailey, and David Robinson. "Anthropometric, Physiological And Biochemical Differences Between Urban And Rural Maasai." *Atherosclerosis*. 23, no. 2 (1976): 357-361.

## SECTION IV: COMMUNITY NETWORKING AS A MEANS OF RISK MITIGATION

*“The definition of our community is that because we are away from our other [Maasailand] communities, then here we act like brothers. Together we are working hard, raising some money when a brother needs money for an expense, and helping each other with any problems that might come to us.”*

With an understanding of the causes for migration and the challenges associated with it, I sought to observe how respondents cope with or overcome the financial, emotional, and security risks that result from labor migration. This section investigates the tactics Wamaasai described themselves using to provide physical, monetary, and emotional protection during cyclical urban migration.

### Group Membership as Social Insurance

Collier’s work on ethnolinguistic groups as mechanisms of social insurance is especially relevant, as the same process is seen amongst Maasai labor migrants.<sup>59</sup> Collier asserts that when there is an absence of states, or, in the case of Tanzania’s Wamaasai, weak states that fail to publicly provide all necessary goods, ethnolinguistic groups compensate and take collective action to create a means of social insurance.<sup>60</sup> The literature on why co-ethnics are likely to reciprocate trust towards each other is extensive, providing explanations for the origins of co-ethnic trust between individual people of the same ethnolinguistic identity.<sup>61</sup>

While ethnolinguistic divides are not particularly salient in Tanzania due to its history of nation building policies<sup>62</sup> (refer to Section II) my ethnography demonstrates that the ethnolinguistic Maasai identity is bolstered upon migration, allowing for the provision of social insurance within groups. From my observation, the reassertion of Maasai identity as a means of social organization and provision does not serve as derogatory towards or separatist from any other ethnic group; rather, it appears that migrants conceptualize their ethnolinguistic identity as a group membership that is different from but not in direct competition with other ethnolinguistic groups. Statements that lead me to make this assertion include:

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<sup>59</sup> Collier, Paul. "Ethnic Politics." Wars, Guns and Votes: Democracy in Dangerous Places. Random House. 2011.

<sup>60</sup> Collier, Paul. "Ethnic Politics." Wars, Guns and Votes: Democracy in Dangerous Places. Random House. 2011: 52.

<sup>61</sup> Habyarimana et. al. "Why Are Co-Ethnics Believed to be More Trustworthy?" 2007; Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation." *American Political Science Review* 90, no. 4 (1996): 715-735.

<sup>62</sup> Miguel, Edward. "Tribe Or Nation? Nation Building And Public Goods In Kenya Versus Tanzania." *World Politics* 56, no. 3 (2004): 327-362.

“We can provide some security for ourselves and they [other ethnic groups] too can do that, and we will all as Tanzanians be secure.”

“There are other people I know in Dar es Salaam, some are Chaga maybe. But I don’t spend as much time with them as with my fellow Maasai brothers because they can’t give me the same fellowship, so I have to see them just sometimes after us Maasai have already supported each other. I like to watch football matches at the shop near my house and when I am there, I don’t care who else is.”

‘I don’t want any other person to fail, but I want my Maasai brothers to succeed.’<sup>63</sup>

Thus, as migrants arrive to the economic center and find that the state is unable to provide or migrants are unable to access necessary resources (such as employment, public housing, or other social protection programs) their strength of association with their ethnolinguistic group is augmented and the group becomes one’s primary means of security.

Social insurance can manifest in various forms and practices. In Maasailand, these social insurances are heavily institutionalized; scholars such as Grandin (1987) have used collective action and insurance to explain the precautions taken by pastoralist populations and to discount the false assertion that pastoralists are economically irrational actors.<sup>64</sup> The most common organization of living, in which multiple smaller familial units occupy the same homestead, and naturally allows for familial groups to share resources and support each other financially, as well as providing a community for emotional support and wellness.<sup>65</sup>

The same applies to Wamaasai in urban settings: as rational economic agents, ensuring that economic insurance is available is of paramount importance. As migrants have arrived in Dar es Salaam, they have reproduced variations of social insurance mechanisms. Some of these are similar to those seen in Maasailand (such as communal living), while others must be adapted to accommodate the context of Dar es Salaam (shared wage labor ventures.)

Discussing the ways in which they used community networking to alleviate the pressures and stresses of migrating to Dar es Salaam, respondents outlined various measures which can be categorized into four techniques:

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<sup>63</sup> Quotation pulled from field notes rather than directly transcribed interview.

<sup>64</sup> Grandin, Barbara E. "Pastoral Culture And Range Management: Recent Lessons From Maasailand." *ILCA Bulletin* 28 (1987): 8.

<sup>65</sup> Coast, Ernestina. "Maasai Socioeconomic Conditions: A Cross-Border Comparison." *Human Ecology* 31, no. 1 (March 2002): 79-105.

1. Co-Ethnic Cohabitation
2. Financial Catastrophe Insurance
3. Shared Economic Risk and Employment
4. Collective Discipline and Accountability

This portion of information is largely derived from a group of six key informants in the Mabibo neighborhood, all of whom described themselves as belonging to the same larger social group near Mabibo. A common characteristic over which these six informants formed relationships with one another was their place of origin, Simanjiro District -- the larger group to which they informally belonged also consisted primarily of migrants who were born in Simanjiro.

While they didn't know, or seem to find importance in, the exact number of individuals associating with their social network (attributable to the transient and cyclical patterns of the migration, how migrants are extremely mobile within the city as they shift to find housing and employment, and an open minded approach to welcoming newcomers into the group dynamic) estimates given were between 60 and 100, and it was noted that if a large group meeting was organized it would usually have around 50 participants (all estimates are drawn from the accounts of respondents.) When I asked how often group meetings were held, one of my key informants laughed at me and responded that they gathered 'when a gathering is needed, *of course.*' I interpreted this as the group having a sense of flexibility and gathering as often as was necessary, but not so frequently as to place unnecessary burdens on individuals.

Informants also noted that these groups had 'leaders,' who were appointed or chosen rather informally and on a volunteer-basis. When asked what the job of the group leader entailed, respondents mentioned keeping track of who active members of the group were, noting who consistently contributed to the group, leading communications to make people aware of when meetings would occur, and interacting with Wamaasai in other areas of Dar es Salaam. While informants didn't use the same term, the group gatherings they describe resemble what May and Ole Iyako refer to as *iloipi*, or "gathering places with over 100 members in each."<sup>66</sup>

The accounts informants gave of their social structures in Dar es Salaam were consistent with and supported by the structured conversations with migrants living in other areas and associating with other groups. However, it must be acknowledged that these accounts are all

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<sup>66</sup> May, Ann, and Francis Ndipapa Ole Ikayo. "Wearing Illkarash: Narratives of Image, Identity and Change among Maasai Labour Migrants in Tanzania." *Development and Change* 38, no. 2 (2007): 278.

describing the same group of individuals residing in Mabibo. Thus, it is possible (and probable) that slight variations of these group techniques are seen across different populations of Wamaasai within Dar es Salaam. The ways in which they vary deserves further research: it would be significant to investigate at more depth 1) how groups of Maasai labor migrants form informal and formal group relationships within the city, and 2) how the functions of these groups differ based on characteristics of the group.

### *Co-Ethnic Cohabitation*

Logistically and financially, migrants expressed that living amongst Wamaasai was the most realistic option. One man laughed when I asked why he chose to live with fellow Maasai individuals and asked me, “What other option do I have here?” His response indicates that sharing low cost housing might sometimes be a choice, but oftentimes is the only way for low-income labor migrants to secure safe, reliable housing. This sentiment was common amongst respondents.

Two respondents I spoke with on the Msasani Peninsula worked as *walinzi*, providing security on a private residential property. I visited them at this property, where they also shared a small housing structure referred to as a *nyumba ya walinzi* or “house of guards” The guard’s structure consisted of little more than two cots, a small stove, and two chairs. As far as I could discern, it was fitted with neither electricity nor running water. When I asked if they lived there on the property, one of the men humbly stated:

“It is not much. This place is for sleeping only. But here we are very safe and we can be together as two brothers. We do not make enough wages to find a landlord with a real house, but here we never worry about arriving late to our employment because here we wake up and already we are where we need to be. Some others if they stay very, very far from a place, especially this side [Msasani Peninsula] they could be fired if they can’t arrive on time.”

His optimistic statement speaks to the lack of housing *options* available, but is also reminiscent of the stresses migrants feel to meet the expectations of their employers, especially with the transportation and housing constraints they face.<sup>67</sup>

I was also presented with statements that led me to believe there is an emotional or internal security achieved by group living. In an informal conversation walking through a market, I asked one older man if he enjoyed living with his co-ethnics. He smiled as he told me that he knew he

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<sup>67</sup> Reference the discussion of employment challenges in Section II.

would always have ‘brothers’ to make sure he was ‘never alone’ at the end of a long day of work. He used the term ‘comfortable’ to describe his interactions with his cohabitants, and proceeded to tell me a story about his biological brothers in Maasailand. I find great significance in this association; many respondents used the terms ‘brothers’ or ‘family’ to discuss their social connections in Dar, and his intertwining a conversation about group living in the city with his biological family in the homeland is representative of how familial these social ties are.

It is also significant to note how fluid and uncertain housing accommodations seemed to be for migrants. Very few respondents stated that they rented official property from a landlord, and many expressed that they were unsure of where they would sleep that very night or in the near future. When they did have official housing, they described overcrowded situations and a lack of amenities. I often met with the Mabibo group in a semi-permanent structure constructed of wood, tarps, and sisal mats where the men slept at night or during the day (depending on their hours of employment). *Walinzi* seemed to have some of the most favorable situations, with very basic but consistent shelter in the *nyumba ya mlinzi*. This context is important in understanding how precarious housing, and more generally financial stability, is for migrants.

### *Financial Catastrophe Insurance*

While insecure housing presented consistent financial pressures for migrants, less predictable financial challenges also arise. With limited wages, most of which must be remitted to Maasailand to cover household consumption and other costs,<sup>68</sup> group membership provided a valuable social insurance tool to provide migrants with emergency funds when necessary.

Some of the most commonly cited expenses faced by migrants were family-related, such as the birth of a child (birthing costs and supplies), burial costs for a family or community member, or needing to travel to Maasailand to care for sickly relatives. Unpredictable financial burdens were also directly related to agriculture and livestock; for pastoralists, the disease or death of cattle or other livestock would require veterinary costs. For Wamaasai engaging in agricultural ventures, the unexpected loss of crops would require additional costs for crop replacement and purchasing more foodstuffs produced elsewhere.

Costs could also arise for migrants *within* Dar es Salaam rather than in the homeland, such as being a victim of theft and needing to replace belongings, illness and resulting medical costs,

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<sup>68</sup> Reference “Economic Gain” in Section II.



or other unpredictable accidents. While most respondents noted that they didn't have many material items, the costs of cell phone repairs were commonly cited in conversations that suggested that keeping a mobile phone in operating condition was imperative for maintaining social and familial relationships/contact, but most importantly for *M-pesa* remittances. Since other financial institutions were not accessible for migrants, mobile device transactions were the only option and would be impeded if one couldn't cover the costs of mobile device repair.

The actual process whereby migrants raised these funds seemed, from their descriptions, fairly straightforward. The group leader would announce that a meeting was to be held, using informal communication networks to disseminate that information; oftentimes, people noted that they were made aware of a meeting by SMS messaging or in face-to-face conversations (aided by frequently interaction and coethnic cohabitation.)

At the meeting, people would provide general reports, and either the person in need or one of their close relations would announce their situation and make an appeal for people to contribute funds. One task of the leader, which several respondents emphasized as important, was recording who contributed in a paper notebook. When I asked why this was the procedural norm, one man explained:

“When one person has a problem at home everyone can contribute a certain amount. Whatever money they have, they can share. Then when they are the one asking for help, the others will know that this one is one who contributes to the group and deserves our support.”

This statement explains an accountability measure that is necessary to support a social insurance scheme; those who “pay into” the insurance scheme must be confident that they will receive benefits when need arises. The physical act of recording the names of those contributing to a group members' need formalizes this accountability.

While I did not attend a large full-group meeting, I was present for multiple smaller meetings with sub-groups. For example, I arrived to Mabibo one morning to conduct structured conversations with some of the core respondents. They made me aware that instead, they would be holding a meeting to discuss raising funds for one of the men whose wife had given birth to a child the previous day. The meeting of about twelve men was organized so that the others could congratulate the new father, see photos of his daughter (received from Maasailand and shown on his mobile phone), and make contributions so that he could afford to travel home to Simanjiro and

meet the child. I noticed that while respondents described the recording of contributors' names at larger meetings, this was not the case at this smaller gathering; in fact, I didn't observe money changing hands, which might have indicated that physical cash would be provided at a later time or that the transactions would occur via *M-pesa* exclusively. While some meetings may have been more somber, such as a meeting to raise funds for a burial or illness, this one was filled with tangible joy and excitement. The child had not yet been named, and he would report back with his daughters' name after traveling to Simanjiro.

Informants also explained that sometimes financial coverage was important not only in the case of a catastrophic event, but also for day to day purchases when the wages were 'just not enough.' One individual described a situation where his employer was, for unknown reasons, withholding his wages for several weeks. He noted that without his group membership, he wouldn't have had money to buy food or airtime (cellular minutes and data for a mobile phone.) These costs, in total, may have amounted to a few dollars a week. As such, this anecdote points to the inability of low-wage migrants to accumulate financial savings or access financial institutions, augmenting the importance of the availability of group funds and insurance measures.

The financial contribution scheme I observed amongst urban Wamaasai shared some similarity with rotating savings and credit associations (ROSCAs) which have been heavily investigated in literature on African informal economies and financial practices, but depart in several ways.<sup>69</sup> While ROSCAs, in which peer-to-peer lending is achieved by participants contributing periodically to a fund and 'rotating' which participant receives the funds after a given cycle, do compensate for failures of the regulated financial sector to provide for the needs of marginalized populations, their 'randomness' makes it such that the time when a participant *needs* funds and when it is their turn to receive them might not align.<sup>70</sup> While this may suffice for groups where the ROSCA allowance is used as supplemental income or invested, it does not align with the unpredictable and intermittent needs of Wamaasai. Thus, Wamaasai have developed their own innovative, adaptive, group-membership based contribution scheme to provide financial support and catastrophe insurance.

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<sup>69</sup> In Tanzania, ROSCAs are more commonly referred to as *upata* (see Van den Brink et. al footnotes.)

<sup>70</sup> Kimuyu, Peter Kiko. "Rotating Saving And Credit Associations In Rural East Africa." *World Development* 27, no. 7 (1999): 1299-1308; Van den Brink, Rogier, and Jean-Paul Chavas. "The Microeconomics Of An Indigenous African Institution: The Rotating Savings And Credit Association." *Economic Development And Cultural Change* 45, no. 4 (1997): 745.

### *Shared Economic Risk and Employment*

My core respondents, residents of Mabibo, were engaged in informal business ventures selling an herbal *dawa* drink and braiding hair extensions. They were able to support this small business, which required fronting capital to purchase the *dawa* ingredients and hair supplies, due to the availability of group funds; while one individual might not have the resources to buy all of the production inputs, this economic risk could be shared across members of the group. Individual members of the group noted that they wouldn't have been able to engage in such a form of income generation without sharing the start-up costs with their associates. This exemplifies one model of income generation Wamaasai labor migrants commonly discussed in our conversations.

Another way in which group membership eases the burdens of urban life is by helping Wamaasai find jobs when they arrive to Dar es Salaam. When I asked how people found wage-labor employment (most commonly jobs as *walinzi* for private compounds or businesses, hair braiding, or selling in markets) they almost unanimously noted that fellow Wamaasai in the city notified them of employment opportunities with their own employers. With the cyclical patterns of migration, respondents also indicated that if they were going to return to Maasailand for an extended period they would present their boss with another Maasai who could replace them.

One man I met in Mikocheni, a neighborhood adjacent to my own, was a 'newcomer' (a term respondents commonly used to describe recent migrants) to Dar es Salaam and had arrived just days before I met him. He explained that when he arrived by bus from Longido (Arusha region), he walked until he found a group of Wamaasai 'organizing themselves.' He told them that he was a newcomer seeking employment, and they immediately mobilized to find an income-generating position for the newcomer. He began working at the grocery store at which the others were employed, keeping watch of the store and directing traffic in the parking lot. He also became a member of the group, participating in social insurance and cohabitating with the group. When asked if he enjoyed the work, he stated that he was happy to be working 'alongside brothers' even though the work entailed 10-hour days and little wages.

I also had the opportunity to interview a Maasai man who owned a small company providing security services and employed all Maasai *walinzi*. He proudly told me the story of how he migrated to Dar es Salaam as a teenager and began working as an *mlinzi* on a British family's compound, where he learned English. Although he had never attended school, he translated this English proficiency into wealth as he negotiated higher wages and eventually started his own

company (he also alluded to his family holding prestigious positions in Maasailand and being able to sell cattle to provide the capital for this business, but was notably *proud* of his agency in creating the opportunity for himself.)

As an English speaking, Swahili-clothes-wearing, permanent resident of Dar es Salaam, this individual's trajectory differed from the majority of Wamaasai I interacted with. However, he provided insight on the ways in which Wamaasai use their social networks to gain employment from the employer's perspective. His conscious decision to employ all coethnics also speaks to the collective identity shared by Wamaasai labor migrants. In fact, one of our first conversations concluded with a discussion of *why* I was conducting this research on Maasai rather than any other identity, and what characteristics are and are not unique to Wamaasai:

“Wamaasai aren't different because they migrate, many people migrate. We are different because of how we interact in Dar es Salaam. I employ my Maasai brothers because we are still one, even living here. Anything I can do to help those guys, I am doing it. Some other groups, they come to this place and they live only as individual people, not as their brotherhood as we do.”

This statement reemphasizes the 'brotherhood' of Wamaasai in Dar es Salaam, and points to an important facet of this research: Wamaasai have been the group studied herein not because their urban migration is unique, or because they are visually recognizable and romanticized as a group in the city, but because they employ group-based tactics to cope with the demands of rural to urban migration.

Later, in an informal setting, the same man told me that he tries to support as many newcomers as possible with employment. He noted that there was too much demand, as many of his existing employees would bring their friends, cousins, or even people they had just met, to ask him for employment. With only so many contracts (he provided security to mostly private compounds and office buildings) he could not hire every individual, but knew that as long as he operated the business people would continue to help their peers find work.

One respondent eloquently summarized how this institution of using social networks to seek employment interacted with the lack of resources available to migrants:

“[It is] not as easy to find groups of friends in Arusha to support you like in Dar es Salaam. In Dar es Salaam you come meet with your friends and do what they are doing but in Arusha there are more permanent offices and such, you can't just show up.”

Returning to Collier's conceptualization of ethnic-based group membership as a means of social insurance when a weak state cannot or will not provide public goods,<sup>71</sup> the above statement captures how Maasai networks act as social security nets to provide insurance. It also captures how these group-provided networks might be perceived by Wamaasai as *more* efficient than governmental resources. In Arusha, where "permanent offices" are available, it's evident that one "can't just show up," indicating that migration opportunities are restricted to more formal avenues. This statement is powerful because it directly supports the assertion that group networking is an essential tool used by Maasai labor migrants.

### *Collective Discipline and Accountability*

A common saying was that migrants must "remind each other" of "the problems at home." To accomplish this, formal and informal accountability and discipline measures are present amongst groups of Wamaasai in Dar. In the Mabibo group, an informant noted the following of group accountability:

"For a person who is drinking too much, who is not working, if they keep such bad behavior, we will call for a group meeting and discuss about what kind of punishment they will get. The last solution will be to send you back home. Also once you get back home, they will call the head of the clan and there will be punishment there too."

This same individual recounted the most recent member of the group who was sent home, for specific "problems" the respondent chose not to disclose. He noted that the individual, upon returning, was also punished with 70 lashes. Several other 'solutions' less severe than being returned to Maasailand were also enumerated. For example, if someone was caught committing a petty crime such as theft, they might be required to contribute additional, retributive funds to the group. If they engaged in "vices," described as alcohol, drugs, or "promiscuous acts," they would be required to work more and under supervision to prevent them from having free time. If the group deemed that someone was engaging in these behaviors because they had disposable income available, they might be asked to either contribute more to the group or to send more remittances to their family.

This continuity between punishment in the urban center *and* in Maasailand makes a notable statement about who urban Wamaasai are held accountable to. Firstly, they are accountable to their

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<sup>71</sup> Collier, Paul. "Ethnic Politics." *Wars, Guns and Votes: Democracy in Dangerous Places*. Random House. 2011.

co-ethnics in Dar es Salaam, on whom they are interdependent for employment, security, and funds. Additionally, this parallel in punishment between the city and the homeland suggests that their urban co-ethnics are also holding them accountable on behalf of their families in the homeland. If a group member engages in harmful behavior, the group may feel responsible to that member's family to keep them grounded and provide consequences.

These measures of group accountability were described to me as being carried out for the good of the individual, but also for the wellbeing of the group as a whole:

“The thing that is bad is associated with the other behavior. For example, if you are drinking too much it means you are not taking care of your business. So if you don't appear to join them in their plaiting [braiding hair] and they are taking care of you, you are eating what, so they don't cope with you.”

‘If someone thinks they can come to Dar es Salaam and do whatever they please, they must know that there are consequences. We have to teach each other the rules.’

This logic is highly rational when considering Maasai group membership as a social insurance scheme, as previously outlined.<sup>72</sup> If a member is drawing benefits from the group (such as eating their food) without contributing to the funds (braiding hair for income) due to behavior deemed inappropriate, the group must reprimand that behavior to maintain a functioning group safety net.

A subject which requires further investigation is exactly *how* groups coordinate justice for wrongdoings. While my structured conversations and observations unveiled many of the theoretical tenets of group accountability, such as why it is necessary to maintain order and what sorts of behaviors are deemed as punishable, I did not observe a meeting during which punishments were determined. I gathered that this sort of conversation would be highly intimate and it was not appropriate, as a non-coethnic, to request access to this internal mechanism of the group.

### Additional Dynamics of Social Networking

Given that these social networks exist and serve very concrete functions for migrants in Dar es Salaam, I was intrigued by whether those relationships persisted when migrants departed from Dar es Salaam and returned to Maasailand. My interviews established that contact from the city to the homeland was convenient and relatively available; most respondents expressed that they used *M-pesa* to send remittances, and used cell phones to talk to family members as often as two

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<sup>72</sup> Collier, Paul. "Ethnic Politics." Wars, Guns and Votes: Democracy in Dangerous Places. Random House. 2011.

or three times in a day. However, respondents also expressed that they were not likely to remain in contact with their social connections formed in Dar es Salaam once they returned to Maasailand:

“When you’re back home, no more problems. If there are some problems, you can deal with your problems with your family. When you leave, continuing to talk to Maasai in Dar is an option but once you’re at home you can’t be helped by the community in Dar, so maybe you don’t speak with those ones [Wamaasai in Dar es Salaam] as much.”

I also asked whether there were ever migrants who arrived from Simanjiro or any other ethnic homeland and did not wish to engage with the social networks of Wamaasai that existed. Respondents answered affirmatively, but provided a clear warning that it was “risky” not to align oneself with a group, as aligning with a group was the only way to achieve the social insurance and protections outlined above. They described circumstances under which Wamaasai chose *not* to participate in a group dynamic, noting severe consequences:

“For others they are facing the problem that they have no friends to pick them or receive them [when they arrive by bus to Dar es Salaam] so they have no permanent place to live at first so they starve. But for me it was okay because I found this group of my brothers.”

The evidence provided herein explains the tactics Wamaasai employ to mitigate the economic, social, and physical risks of urban migration. Group membership allows for coethnic cohabitation, financial catastrophe insurance, sharing economic risk of business ventures and employment, and collective systems of discipline and accountability. These systems, which provide support networks for migrants living away from their homelands in unfamiliar situations, are essential to migrants’ success in Dar es Salaam. Thus, with the significance of these informal yet effective networks in mind, the following section provides suggestions of reforms that could be implemented to ease the transition for Maasai migrants without preventing these organic practices to continue.

## SECTION V: CONCLUDING POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of this study can be used to inform future policymaking. The lived experiences and anecdotal evidence from Maasai labor migrants presented throughout this work have demonstrated that the cyclical migration from Maasailand to Dar es Salaam is a common economic strategy and should be expected to continue, and even increase, in the coming years. The intensifying of global warming is constantly decreasing the efficacy of pastoralism as the health of land and livestock decline, augmenting the transition to urban migration.<sup>73</sup> This assertion is supported by respondents expressing that they understand the migration pattern as consistently growing; given that *potential* labor migrants can make rational decisions about whether to diversify their own economic gain strategy by incorporating migration, the migration constitutes a self-perpetuating cycle. Hein de Haas' claim that "the migration literature has identified various feedback mechanisms which explain why, once started, migration processes tend to become partly self-perpetuating, leading to the formation of migrant networks and migration systems"<sup>74</sup> documents the same finding. Given that this migration has already been informally established, it would be beneficial to all parties to create supporting institutions.

However, there have been few efforts to provide resources to internal migrants. Due to the characteristics of internal migration, Maasai labor migrants are not considered refugees nor awarded the rights the United Nations (UN) or other international governing bodies provide to populations crossing international borders to flee violence or government persecution.<sup>75</sup> Additionally, largely due to narratives constructing labor migration as 'voluntary,' they are not categorized as internally displaced peoples (IDPs) either.<sup>76,77</sup> The extent to which the migration

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<sup>73</sup> Kirkbride, Mary. *Survival of the Fittest: Pastoralism and Climate Change in East Africa*. Vol. 116. Oxfam, 2008.; Omambia, Cevan Shemsanga, and Yansheng Gu. "The Cost of Climate Change in Tanzania: Impacts and Adaptations." *Journal of American Science* 6, no. 3 (2010). 183.

<sup>74</sup> De Haas, Hein. "The Internal Dynamics Of Migration Processes: A Theoretical Inquiry." *Journal Of Ethnic And Migration Studies* 36, no. 10 (2010): 1587-1617.

<sup>75</sup> *Text of the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. Resolution 2198 (XXI) Adopted by the United Nations General Assembly*. Proceedings of Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. Geneva: UNHCR, 2007.

<sup>76</sup> United Nations. "Internally Displaced People." UNHCR. Accessed March 18, 2019. <https://www.unhcr.org/internally-displaced-people.html>.

<sup>77</sup> The United Nations defines IDPs as "persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border." The declaration of a group as an IDP group is highly political as it entails international bodies recognizing the incompetence of a government to accommodate citizens, and thus Wamaasai are not categorized as such as of yet.



of Wamaasai, and other groups motivated to migrate based on economic need, is ‘voluntary’ ought to be interrogated. While the UN and other bodies categorize this migration as willful, overarching systems that place constraints on migrants and reduce their ability to sustain themselves without engaging in migration must be considered. Section II of this work, which outlined push factors of migration, serves as evidence of constraints placed on migrant populations.

In light of the extreme globalization and interconnectedness of economies today, including macroeconomic structures that encourage labor migration, recent migration literature tends to support the necessity of intervening institutions to protect the right of labor migrants and maximize the economic efficacy of labor migration. However, the same literature acknowledges the challenges faced by lawmakers in discerning solutions. Deshingkar and Grimm (2004) offer a succinct summation of the position of internal migration in relation to policy:

“Evidence suggests that internal migration can play an important role in poverty reduction and economic development; internal migration should therefore not be controlled or actively discouraged. Policy should instead concern itself with ways of maximising the potential benefits of migration to the individual concerned and society at large ..... By not acknowledging the vast role played by migrant labour in driving agricultural and industrial growth, governments escape the responsibility of providing basic services to millions of poor people who are currently bearing the costs of moving labour to locations where it is needed most.”<sup>78</sup>

How, then, can policy makers develop strategies to support migrants without controlling or discouraging movement? Much of this policy must entail efforts to improve the socioeconomic conditions in Maasailand such that labor migration becomes *truly* voluntary. In other words, a functional economy ought to offer enough employment and wage-labor opportunities such that urban-directed movement is optional but not necessary. To complement this, the government must improve its ability to publicly provide goods to rural areas including those of Maasailand. As was previously asserted, the findings of this research deem education to be the most significant factor upon which trajectories for Maasai migrants entering the city are stratified. Thus, improving access to education pre-migration is of the utmost importance, and would allow migrants to seek more high skill and high wage labor in Dar es Salaam.

Given that my research has investigated *post*-migration conditions, I will focus specifically on solutions that can be implemented in the context of Dar es Salaam once migration

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<sup>78</sup> Deshingkar, Priya, and Sven Grimm. "Voluntary Internal Migration: An Update." *London: Overseas Development Institute* 44 (2004). 4.

has already occurred. Given these scholarly works and the findings of my research, I assert that the following general policies ought to be considered for implementation:

1. Develop accommodations that facilitate Wamaasai being eligible and applying for governmental support programs, such as supplying translators for those who are unable to complete forms in Kiswahili.<sup>79</sup> A best-case scenario to work towards would be having individuals fluent in both Kiswahili and Kimaa present at the offices and spaces in which Wamaasai must seek resource; a budget-constrained solution would be to at least provide copies of forms written in both Kiswahili and Kimaa.<sup>80</sup>
2. Improve the outreach operations of institutions, including government initiative agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) which provide services to Wamaasai. At the present, respondents communicated that they were largely unaware of resources for which they could apply (including, but not limited to, Social Security Net and National Housing Programs discussed.) This initiative could be greatly enhanced by *employing individuals of Maasai identity* to carry out outreach operations, as they would be able to leverage the social networking ties and communities they belong to as outlined in this work.
3. Create laws and policies that protect the rights of workers in the informal economic sector, as well as in the formal sector due to the potential positive spillover effects that employment could have *into* the informal. These reforms need not be modeled after Western examples, as the continent is already experiencing labor reforms.
4. Fund and actively encourage further research to continue expanding our knowledge of the *lived experiences* of Wamaasai at the present, continuing to identify future potential interventions.

Importantly, any solutions that may be implemented must strike a balance between innovative interventions to improve quality of life for Maasai labor migrants, and protecting indigenous systems of coping already in place. These coping mechanisms include those laid out in the previous section: co-ethnic cohabitation, financial catastrophe insurance, shared economic risk and employment opportunities, and collective discipline and accountability. For example, while efforts to improve equal housing opportunities and access to National Housing Corporation property would be beneficial, they ought to be carried out in such a way that co-ethnic

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<sup>79</sup> Refer to “*Challenges of Integration*” for accounts of difficulty with language and acquiring resources.

<sup>80</sup> Present theory might suggest that lasting impacts of Nyerere’s post-independence Tanzanian nation building policies, which aimed to impose “Swahilization” on the country, would prevent such a bilingual approach; however, this approach does not aim to undermine the presence of Kiswahili, but rather provide realistic ways of accommodating dual-language individuals.

cohabitation practices<sup>81</sup> can persist. If financial institutions such as rotating credit and savings associations (ROCAS)<sup>82</sup> are formalized by NGOs or individual proprietors, they should avoid detracting from the still necessary catastrophe insurance offered by semi-formal group ties between labor migrants.

The aforementioned recommendations for considerate and effective policy have been brief, but serve as a call for future scholarship to continue interrogating the present lack of governmental, non-governmental, or private sector policy to increase quality of life for those individuals, particularly those of Maasai identity, who pursue employment opportunities in Dar es Salaam. These recommendations are grounded in the data collected throughout the course of my study, and address the concerns and stresses explicitly noted by the target population. Moving forward, so long as the voices of this population are centrally located in the debate around policy and risk mitigation, successful policy can and must be developed to afford rural-urban Maasai labor migrants more equitable opportunities and resources.

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<sup>81</sup> Outlined in depth in “Community Networking as a Means of Risk Mitigation” section.

<sup>82</sup> Van den Brink, Rogier, and Jean-Paul Chavas. "The Microeconomics Of An Indigenous African Institution: The Rotating Savings And Credit Association." *Economic Development And Cultural Change* 45, no. 4 (1997): 745.

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## Appendix A: Informed Consent Form (English)

*In accordance with IRB procedures, the following form was presented to study respondents before interviews occurred. A physical form was given to the participant in their language of choice (English or Kiswahili) and it was verbally explained in the language of choice (English, Kiswahili, or Kimaa.)*

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### Informed Consent Form

*This document provides you with information about the research project you are invited to participate in. The research is being conducted by undergraduate student Ellie Rakoff, affiliated with the College of William & Mary in the United States. If you have any questions as this document is being explained, please ask and the researcher will answer any questions you may have. If you don't feel comfortable with participating, know that you are free to end the conversation with the researcher at any time and are not obligated to sign this document.*

This research is being conducted to understand the lives of Maasai people who have migrated from Maasailand to Dar es Salaam. This study will investigate motivations for migration as well as Maasai lifestyle in Dar es Salaam, peoples' connections to the northern region, and how urban Maasai in Dar es Salaam view themselves.

There are no anticipated risks connected to your involvement in this research. All names and identities will be kept anonymous in accordance with IRB standards. The personal information you share during conversations with me, the researcher, will not be disclosed to other participants or researchers except under anonymity (false names).

The results of this study will be presented to organizations and NGOs providing social resources to indigenous populations in Tanzania, with the expected benefit of increasing organizations' abilities to serve Maasai in Dar es Salaam. The information presented will represent trends and general information collected from the research, not specific to individual research participants.

This research is funded by the Charles Center at the College of William and Mary (Virginia, USA). The primary researcher, Ellie Rakoff, is advised by faculty member Chinua Thelwell. You may contact any of the above parties regarding your rights in the study or to ask any questions you might have about the study.

This research protocol was reviewed by the College of William and Mary Student IRB, effective 10 May 2018, is determined to be "Exempt," and will expire on 10 May 2018.

If you wish to participate in this research, you will be interviewed over the span of 12 weeks, participating in voluntary interviews and conversations with the researcher. You may choose to terminate your participation in the study at any time. The interviews will be held at a location that is convenient for you, and will last as long as you are comfortable with. The average interview will be about one hour, but can be shorter or longer if you wish.



If you would like to receive results of the research, you have a right to receive those results and I will provide them to you. If you wish to have your photograph taken for the research, a digital copy will be provided to you.

*Please sign and initial the following to express your consent to participate:*

I, \_\_\_\_\_, consent to being interviewed for the purposes of this research. I consent to the following aspects of the research:

\_\_\_\_\_ I have read, or had read to me, the contents of this document and understand them entirely. I have asked the researcher any questions I had prior to being asked to sign the consent form.

\_\_\_\_\_ I wish to participate in this study by being interviewed.

\_\_\_\_\_ I understand that the interview I will be participating is entirely voluntary, and that I may terminate the interview at any point without penalty.

\_\_\_\_\_ I acknowledge that this interview will be entirely confidential, and that my name will be changed to protect my identity in the case of the publication of this research.

\_\_\_\_\_ I understand that a translator will be present at the time of my interview, and that this translator will maintain the same confidentiality agreement as the primary researcher.

\_\_\_\_\_ I consent to having the contents of this interview audio recorded for later translation purposes.

\_\_\_\_\_ Optional: I consent to having my photograph taken by the researcher following my interview.

\_\_\_\_\_ Optional: I consent to having my photograph published along with the outcomes of this research.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix B: Informed Consent Form (Kiswahili)

Fomu ya maelezo kwa mtoa taarifa.

*Hati hii inatoa taarifa za utafiti huu ambao unaombwa kushiriki. Utafiti huu unafanywa na Ellie Rakoff ambaye ni mwanafunzi wa shahada ya kwanza katika Chuo kikuu cha William & Mary cha nchini Marekani. Kama utakuwa na swali lolote kuhusiana na maelezo katika hati hii, tafadhali muulize mtafiti na utajibiwa. Kama hujisikii kuendelea kushiriki, unaruhusiwa kuacha mahojiano na hutolazimishwa kusaini hati hii.*

Utafiti huu unafanyika ili kupata uelewa wa maisha halisi ya Wamasai ambao wamehamia Dar es Salaam. Utafiti huu unalenga kujua msukumo unaowafanya wamasai kuhama pamoja na mitindo yao ya maisha ndani ya Dar es Salaam, mawasiliano yao na watu wa nyumbani (umasaini) na jinsi gani wamasai waishio jijini na Dar wanavyojitizama.

Hakuna kiashiria chochote kibaya kilichobainishwa kutokana na ushiriki wako katika tafiti hii. Majina yote na alama zote za utambuzi zitatumizwa kwa usiri kwa kufuata taratibu za IRB. Taarifa zote unazotoa katika utafiti huu hazitotolewa kwa washiriki wengine au kwa watafiti labda kwa njia ya usiri ambayo mtoa taarifa hawezi tambulika.

Matokeo ya utafiti huu yatawasilishwa kwa asasi mbalimbali zinazotoa huduma za kijamii kwa watanzania, kuzisaidia kuongeza uwezo katika hutoaji wa huduma kwa wamasai waishio Dar es Salaam. Taarifa zitawasilishwa kwa njia ya kuonesha mlolongo wa jumla ya taarifa alizokusanya mtafiti na sio mahususi kwa mshiriki mmoja mmoja aliyeshiriki katika utafiti huu.

Utafiti huu unafadhiliwa na Charles Center katika Chuo kikuu cha William and Mary kilichopo (Virginia, Marekani). Mtafiti mkuu, Ellie Rakoff, anashauriwa na Chinua Thelwell ambaye ni mjumbe wa kitivo katika chuo hicho. Unaweza kuwasiliana naye kama haki ya ushiriki wako katika utafiti huu na kumuuliza swali lolote kuhusiana na utafiti huu.

Itifaki ya utafiti huu imefanyiwa mapitio na idara ya tafiti za wanafunzi (IRB) ya chuo kikuu cha William and Mary, mnamo tare 10/05/2018 na itafikia mwisho wa utumizi tarehe 10/05/2019.

Ikiwa unapenda kushiriki katika utafiti huu, unarusiwa kushiriki usahili wa hiari pamoja na mazungumzo yatakayoongozwa na mtafiti, utafanyiwa usahili ndani ya wiki 12 kuanzia tarehe 10/05/2018. Vilevile unaruhusiwa kukatiza ushiriki wako katika utafiti huu muda wowote. Usahili utafanyika sehemu yeyote unayoona inafaa na utamalizika muda wowote utakaona unafaa. Wastani wa muda katika usahili ni saa 1, ila muda unaweza kuwa chini ya hapo au zaidi ya hapo kadri utakavyojisikia.

Kama utapenda kupata majibu ya utafiti huu, basi nitakupatia kwani ni haki yako kupata majibu ya utafiti ulioshiriki. Kama utapenda kupata picha uliyopigwa katika utafiti huu, basi mtafiti atakupatia nakala moja ya picha hiyo.

*Tafadhali tia saini na jaza nafasi wazi katika fomu hii kuthibitisha ushiriki wako*

Mimi,....., nakubali kufanyiwa usahili kwa madhumuni ya utafiti huu. Nakubaliana na masuala yafuatayo katika utafiti huu:

.....Nimesoma au nimesomewa, maudhui katika hati hii na kuyaelewa kwa usahihi. Nimemuuliza swali/maswali mtafiti kabla ya kusaini hati hii ya ushikiri.

.....Nakubali kushiriki na kufanyiwa usahili katika utafiti huu.

..... Naelewa kwamba usahili nitakaoshiriki utakuwa ni wa hiari, na ninaweza kutuondelea nao wakati wowote pasipo faini.

.....Natambua kuwa usahili huu utakuwa ni wa faragha, na kwamba jina langu litabadilishwa ili kuzuia utambuzi wangu hasa ikiwa utafiti huu utachapishwa.

.....Naelewa kuwa mkalimani atakuwepo muda wote wa usahili, na kwamba mkalimani atatunza siri kama ilivyo kwa mtafiti mkuu.

.....Nakubali kuwa maudhui ya katika usahili huu yarekodiwe kwa njia ya sauti kwa lengo la kusaidia tafasili.

..... (Siyo lazima): Nakubali kupigwa picha na mtafiti katika usahili wangu.

..... (Siyo lazima): Nakubali kuwa picha yangu inaweza kutumika katika uchapaji wa matokeo ya utafiti huu.

Jina: .....

Sahihi: .....

Tarehe: .....