

PREFACE

The study of social change in relation to development is still open to discussion in terms of both conceptualization and substantive generalization. Conceptualization, whether based upon a dichotomy of tradition and modernization, or that of exogenous and endogenous developments, has been ideal and typical in terms of a complex of traits, and discussion has suffered from the shortcomings of the theoretical framework. It is not so much that generalization about social change has been led astray, as that attempts at generalization have not been forthcoming. We intend to turn away from such conceptualization that asserts conclusions rather than raise questions toward the ethnographic particular.

Development theories showed a paradigm shift in the 1970's from the economic modernization theory to the anthropological approach from insights gained through extensive field research. Development policies in the 1960's emphasized modernization from "big pushes" and "trickle-down" effects emanating from centralized "growth poles" in the form of big cities and other special areas producing a ripple effect to the rest of society. The success of entrepreneurs, once thought of as the standard bearers of economic growth, however, led to increased social stratification, while the local economies were either destroyed or kept stagnant. Trickle-down effects were absent even in the countries that had achieved high economic growth.

Then, the theoretical basis was reassessed and shifted to a theory of endogenous development. This, on the one hand, criticized the one-dimensional application of Western modernization theory, and on the other, relied on the re-acknowledgment of the unique values and traditions within and asserted by non-Western societies. The ideology, therefore, lay in criticizing the simplistic view of humanity, symbolized by the modern capitalistic notion of the economic man and profit-motivation, and sought to develop a self-sufficient subsistence lifestyle rooted in the community.

Emphasis came to be placed on location-specific findings based on participant observation, rather than data formerly gathered widely in the process of policy making. Detailed anthropological study has shown that endogenous production systems were finely adapted to the local ecological, economic and political conditions, as well as the transformations within them. The rural and pastoral societies once simplistically thought of as poor, incorporated imbalances in power, authority, or wealth. It became also known that patron-client relationships were not rigid tradition-bound institutions, but rather could flexibly re-organize in response to market conditions. Furthermore, the poor were fulfilling their own needs through understanding the strengths and weaknesses of the local institutions. It was learned that the local people accepted new technology and organizations so long as perceived risks and costs were low and matched real needs.

Within the above-mentioned theoretical framework, we have pushed on our field researches from 1993 to 1997 in the pastoral and agricultural spheres of Kenya. The former included the Turkana land, Sambur land, Rendile land and Gabbral land, and the latter the Gusiiland, Luoland, Kikuyuland and Mbeereland. Our study on the agricultural spheres focused on the socio-cultural value system in terms of family planning and kinship structure, whereas that on the pastoral spheres focused on the herding ecology and socio-economic system in terms of adaptive strategies, live-stock transaction, gender and illness. We believe that these various approaches provide insight into new ideas on the possibilities of endogenous development.

In the same years, drought relief aid and developmental projects were introduced and carried out from outside of these societies. These external factors, however, exerted heterogeneous influences to the societies concerned, because people recognized, interpreted and responded to them according to their own inherent logic unique to each society. In other words, they were modified by the actors concerned. Thus, the actors' inherent logic produced a complex way of life.

The Rendille are faced with the encroaching market economy. They have resisted socio-economic polarization, and cope with it by manipulating their own dual economy and the comprehensive personal relationships with local livestock dealers. Thus, their herding way of life still persists. The Samburu also have not rushed into the interactions with the market economy. The livestock economy is merely utilized for the new opportunity of exchanging livestock with the mediation of cash. They are in the process of constructing a new pastoral system which is compatible with market economy while maintaining their own culture by taking advantage of the livestock market. The Gabbra recognize the reality of their ethnicity and clan ship through the camel trust system.

Kitamura discusses the Turkana way of coming to agreement based on 'my self,' which is to effectively establish 'my' justice in bodily communication. A claim of 'my' justice is verified by way of confronting an opponent's claim, and turns out 'our' justice that is inevitably based on others' agreement. Then, their activeness is directed to producing their pride. Sakumichi clarifies the Turkana way of coping with illness. They rely on the patterned ritual to throw away the illness out of ordinary life because illness is, for them, a difficult situation where there is no room for collective negotiation. In the Luo society, the ritual for the dead has been changing along with modernization and Christianity, including the intensified permeation of various Christian denominations.

Matsuzono reports how most Gusii men show negative and antagonistic attitudes towards vasectomy and argues that such attitudes are deeply rooted in their cultural values concerning manhood, men's procreative ability and the idealized image of a large family. Ishii has shown that the number of Kikuyu children has decreased, while the rate of acceptance of contraception has risen since the mid-1980's due to land shortage. Katakami has analyzed the naming principle of individuals in the Mbeere society in terms of social relationship.

Papers in this volume have been presented by nine scholars from the ethnographic point of view. Knowledge that transcends particular and unique cases is also desirable, but our first-hand of ethnographic exploration should be a valuable component to clarifying social change in relation to development.

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Shun SATO & Koji KITAMURA

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