

**GENDER AND PROPERTY AMONG SEDENTARIZED PASTORALISTS
OF NORTHERN KENYA**

(Volume II)

by

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VOLUME II

CHAPTER 6

WOMEN'S SUPPORT NETWORKS AND ROLES IN LEGITIMIZING MEN'S STATUS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

As described in the preceding chapter, women in each study community frequently experienced turbulent relationships with their husbands or their children, which concomitantly brought unhappiness into their homes. Conflict within a home inevitably creates emotional stress for a woman and affects her ability to cope with her tremendous workload. In all the communities, each married, divorced, separated or widowed woman is expected to perform a multitude of daily household chores and childcare duties. Each woman is also expected to contribute many hours of labor to prepare for numerous settlement or community projects and important rituals and ceremonies.

In order to obtain assistance with labor, gain solace in companionship or find a place of refuge away from the marital home, each woman uses strategies to maintain two major networks of support that she can count on. The first major network includes the members of a woman's natal family. The second one involves the women who reside in her settlement or community.

In Section 6.2, I present a comparative analysis at the community level that illustrates the extent to which the women in Archer's Post, Parkishon/Karare and Songa maintain contact with members of their natal kin and believe they can depend on their parents or full siblings for assistance. In Section 6.3, I describe the activities that women engage in collectively and the extent to which women count on their female friends, neighbors and relatives for socio-economic support and assistance. In effect, there is no

room for longstanding disputes between women within a community. Without their mutual goodwill and co-operation, the existence of their families, settlements, communities and cultural groups would diminish. Because women's collective work endeavors are extremely important to the viability of each community, I briefly examine Samburu, Ariaal and Rendille men's knowledge of the types of collective activities in which the women engage, illustrating the extent of men's awareness, or acknowledgement, of the amount of labor which women contribute in order to maintain their communities.

In Section 6.4, I show the essential roles that pastoral women play in legitimizing the status of males as the latter progress through the lifecycle. Concomitantly, I present both men and women's perspectives from each community regarding the importance of women's roles within this context. Unfortunately, there is a dearth of data in the literature on this complex subject (Almagor 1978:68; Chieni and Spencer 1993:160; Kipuri 1989:95-100; Talle 1988:102-104). Thus, any further findings in research are significant. That a pastoral man cannot move from one age-grade to the next without having a ritual act carried out by a woman points to the enormous influence and power that women have within their societies.

6.2 WOMEN'S RELATIONS WITH THEIR NATAL KIN

Are pastoral women cut off from their natal kin after marriage? The existing literature demonstrates that researchers have contradictory opinions regarding the extent to which pastoral women maintain post-marital relationships with their natal family members. On the one hand, Martin and Voorhies (1975:237-238, 295) using a cross-cultural approach argue that women in patrilineal and patrilocal societies are, for the most

part, disconnected from their natal kin once they are physically separated from their family of origin upon marriage. Talle (1988:82) writes that among the Maasai of Kenya, "Once a woman is married she seldom returns to her natal home. In fact she is discouraged from doing so unless she has specific economic or conjugal problems which are of concern to her relatives." Talle (1988:82) further emphasizes, "Even in the case of the husband's homestead being situated relatively close to that of her parents, years may elapse between the visits of a married woman to her former homestead."

On the other hand, Talle (1988:82) adds that a woman "...will meet members of her family quite frequently, but in other places: at the shops, at local ceremonies, watering places, etc. They will also come to visit her." In addition, she mentions that both women and their sons will frequently shelter their livestock with the women's natal kin in order to prevent husbands from mismanaging the animals (1988:263).

Other researchers maintain that women remain closely connected to their natal families. For example, Spooner (1973:30) contends that in the case of fully mobile pastoral populations, "generally a woman does not become a full member of her husband's kin group [and] her father and her brothers retain responsibility for her." Dahl (1987:265) states that in East African patrilineal societies, "...a woman continues to hold a stake in her agnatic group of origin" which gives her some leverage and bargaining power when dealing with her husband. In addition, Oboler (1985:273) notes that among the agro-pastoral Nandi of Kenya, if a woman decides to leave her husband, "there must always be a place for her on the land of her father or one of her brothers." And Almagor (1978:217) claims that a Dassanetch woman keeps in close contact with her natal kin and plays an important mediating role between her husband and her own family. She advises

her spouse as to which of her relatives is actively pressing for livestock, and also informs "...her parents and brothers of her husband's actions and intentions."

My interest in the relationships between a woman and her natal kin following her marriage was first kindled in 1995, when I visited the Ariaal and Rendille in Karare. Up to that time, I had accepted the idealized (male) model of exogamous patrilineal and patrilocal African societies with respect to a woman's post-marital relations with her birth family (i.e. physical and emotional separation from natal kin and lack of support from birth parents should the marriage fail because of the latter's unwillingness to return the bridewealth). This 'abstract model,' which I had unfortunately acquired from the literature, quickly fell apart when I arrive in Karare and encountered married women living happily next door to their parents and/or siblings. It was here that I also first heard rumors that some women in nearby Songa had been allocated land by their fathers or brothers.

Prior to returning to the field in 2002, I reviewed the material I collected in 1995 during my interviews with 48 Parkishon and Karare women. I noted that, apart from the women's income gained through milk sales during the previous year, most of their additional financial assistance came from their natal kin, not their husbands. This suggested that perhaps the state of women's long-term financial well-being and assured access to productive resources was more closely linked to the state of their personal relations with their natal kin than what was formerly believed. During 2002-2003, I explored this question further.

In the preceding chapter, I noted that numerous women said they sought refuge at their parents' home during times of marital conflict. I now consider the possibility that

their parents' home served as an important space in which to resolve conflict. Women often mentioned that most husbands were likely to appear at the homes of their wives' parent(s) within the week following a dispute, demanding that the women return to their marital homes. A meeting is then hastily called between the woman, her parent(s), her husband and several male elders from the community. If the problem is serious and involves physical abuse of the wife by her husband, the elders usually demand that he pay a heavy fine and stop this type of behavior. If the conflict is due to a husband's persistent infidelity, he is reprimanded by the elders and ordered to cease the affair. In most resolutions that materialize from the meetings held at the wives' parents' homes, very few involve reprimands directed towards the women.

In effect, the home of a woman's parents serves as a safe 'courtroom' for her, where her complaints and marital troubles are heard and taken seriously. The women whose parents are deceased are disadvantaged in this regard and must rely on well-meaning male or female elders in their communities, or brothers, to intervene on their behalf when marital conflict arises. If the elders are not able to resolve cases where there is persistent physical abuse, a woman must seek assistance through the courts. A major problem is that most women are not aware that they have this alternative, and if they are aware, few of them have the resources to pursue this option.

The following Tables 6.1 – 6.7 present findings from the women's survey; all interviews took place November 2002 - May 2003, inclusive. Table 6.1 shows that in each community, on average, women had two brothers and two sisters. The majority of women also had mothers who were still living, but most women's fathers were deceased.

Table 6.1 Details on Women's Natal Kin
Means and Percentages by Community

Details on Natal Kin	East Uaso/ Archer's Post (N = 51) (Means)	Parkishon/ Karare (N = 41) (Means)	Songa (N = 43) (Means)	F Value
Live brothers	2.6 (50)	2.1	2.2	1.27 ⁽⁺⁾
Live sisters	2.3 (50)	2.2	2.1	0.44 ⁽⁺⁾
	Percent	Percent	Percent	
Mother still living	70.6	80.5	67.4	-
Father still living	29.4	39.0	25.6	-

Note: (+) = $p > 0.05$ (non-significant)

Table 6.2 Number of Natal Kin Who Live in Close Proximity to Women
Means by Community

Variable	East Uaso/ Archer's Post (N = 51) (Mean)	Parkishon/ Karare (N = 41) (Mean)	Songa (N = 43) (Mean)	F Value
Number of natal kin (i.e. father, mother, brothers and sisters) who lived in, or near, the respondent's community (near = less than a 15-minute walk away)	2.5	1.4	2.5	2.11 ⁽⁺⁾

Note: (+) = $p > 0.05$ (non-significant)

Table 6.2 showed that that women had, on average, at least one birth family member living nearby. Based on those who answered the questions, most women visited with these kin at least once a week (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3 Women's Visits/Year with Nearby Natal Kin Percentages by Community

Frequency of Visits	East Uaso/ Archer's Post (n = 51) (%)	Parkishon/ Karare (n = 51) (%)	Songa (n = 43) (%)
Everyday or every second day	48	25.0	30.3
Frequently during the week	4	12.5	28.0
Once per week	4	2.5	2.3
Once per month	-	2.5	-
3-5 times per year	-	-	2.3
6-12 times per year	2	-	-
No contact at all	-	2.5	-
Not specified	42	55.0	37.1
Total	100	100.0	100.0

Table 6.4 Average Number of Women's Visits with Distantly Located Natal Kin in the Previous Year Means by Community

Long Distance Visits with Kin During the Previous Year	East Uaso/ Archer's P. (Means)	Parkishon/ Karare (Means)	Songa (Means)	F Value
Number of visits with parent(s)	6.6 (20)	6.0 (24)	2.2 (13)	0.35 (+)
Number of visits with brother(s)	8.6 (34)	4.8 (31)	10.2 (26)	0.78 (+)
Number of visits with sister(s)	1.9 (34)	5.6 (31)	9.3 (28)	1.83 (+)
Number of journeys made by women to visit kin	2.7 (47)	2.3 (36)	5.3 (40)	0.54 (+)

Note: (+) = $p > 0.05$ (non-significant)

Women in each community also maintained some degree of contact with distantly located birth kin, particularly their brothers (Table 6.4).

Table 6.5 Most Common Mode of Transport and Longest Trip Made (Travel Time-Wise) by Women or Natal Kin Percentages by Community

Variables	East Uaso/ Archer's P. (n = 51) (%)	Parkishon/ Karare (n = 41) (%)	Songa (n = 43) (%)
Most Common Mode of Transport Used by Women or Natal Kin			
Foot	15.7	17.0	32.6
<i>Matatu</i> (bus)	39.2	2.4	-
Lorry	3.9	19.5	11.6
Land Cruiser	1.9	7.3	7.0
Combination of two or more of above	7.9	29.4	9.3
Not specified	31.4	24.4	39.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Longest Trip Made (Travel Time-Wise) by Women or Natal Kin			
< 1 hour	7.8	4.9	-
1-3 hours	27.5	17.0	14.0
4-6 hours	13.7	29.3	11.6
1 day (8 hours)	11.8	22.0	7.1
2 days	9.8	-	11.6
3 days or more	-	2.4	13.9
Not specified	29.4	24.4	41.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

The most common mode of transport used by Archer's Post women and their birth kin to visit each other was the *matatu* (bus). Regardless of the mode of transportation, the travel time involved in most one-way journeys ranged between one and six hours. In Parkishon/Karare, women and their kin used multiple modes of transport and the travel time for most one-way journeys ranged between four and eight hours. In Songa, most women or their kin traveled by foot or lorry to visit each other and the time involved in their journeys varied considerably (Table 6.5).

The differences noted in the mode of transport used by women can partially be explained by the geographical situation of each community. The condition of the roads

running from Isiolo to Archer's Post and north of Archer's Post westward to Maralal is not so hazardous as to prohibit the passage of *matatus*, except during the rainy seasons, when flooding can periodically create difficulties. Travelers heading to the far north, i.e. Marsabit, or south from Marsabit, usually utilize the lorry as a mode of transport because of the extremely rugged conditions of the north-south central highway and the pervasive insecurity along this stretch of road because of frequent episodes of banditry. For security reasons, lorries generally travel in convoys from Archer's Post town to Marsabit town. There is a daily *matatu* service which carries passengers to and from Logologo and Marsabit, which makes a stop in Karare, but no regular lorry or *matatu* service exists between Marsabit and Songa. Thus, Songa residents must travel by foot to Marsabit in order to board a lorry or *matatu* to take them to their desired destination.

Table 6.6 General Practice with respect to Gift Exchange during Women's Visits with Natal Kin in the Year Prior to the Survey
Percentages by Community

Question and Response Categories:	East Uaso/ Archer's Post (N = 51) (%)	Parkishon/ Karare (N = 40) (%)	Songa (N = 43) (%)
Did you and/or your birth kin exchange gifts* during visits over the past year?			
Yes, we exchanged gifts	19.6	22.5	27.9
We only exchanged greetings	15.7	25.0	14.0
On some visits we exchanged gifts and on others, we only exchanged greetings	27.4	32.5	25.6
I received gifts but I did not give any in return	11.8	5.0	-
My relative(s) received gifts but did not give any in return	5.9	2.5	-
We just shared (ate) food	-	-	14.0
Nothing was exchanged	11.8	-	2.3
Not specified	7.8	12.5	16.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: * - Gifts consisted of cash, animals, food, tobacco and/or clothing.

Questions about the extent to which women and their birth kin exchanged gifts during visits that took place during the previous year suggest that there was no set protocol surrounding gift exchange. If family members could afford to give gifts or share food, they did so, but if not, the exchange of greetings was considered sufficient.

Each woman was also asked if her brother(s), sister(s), mother or father would assist her financially, or permit her to live with him/her should she ever be in a situation where she needed help. Which member(s) of her natal kin did she feel she could rely upon to assist her during difficult times? The majority of women believed they could count on their brothers for assistance, and most women in Songa also believed they could rely on their sisters.

**Table 6.7 Natal Kin on Whom Women Could Rely for Material Assistance
Percentages by Community**

Variable	East Uaso/ Archer's Post (N = 51) (%)	Parkishon/ Karare (N = 41) (%)	Songa (N = 43) (%)
Women who answered that natal family member below would provide cash, food, livestock and/or housing when needed			
Full Brother(s)	68.6	68.3	83.7
Full Sister(s)	29.4	34.2	53.5
Mother	35.3	14.6	25.6
Father	21.6	19.5	14.0
Other (i.e. uncle, half-siblings, cousins, etc.)	9.8	4.9	25.6

Each woman was asked if the family member(s) whom she had chosen had previously helped her, or if she just believed this person(s) would give her assistance if needed. In Archer's Post, 63% of the women stated they had received assistance from these individuals before, while 31% said they just believed that person(s) would help. In

Parkishon/Karare, 51% of the women stated they had previously received assistance from the relative(s), but 49% claimed they just thought the selected relative(s) would help them. In Songa, 60% of the women maintained the indicated kin had come to their aid before, while 21% of the sample claimed they just had faith that this person(s) would provide help. Another 19% commented that at times they had received assistance from the person(s) and at other times, they had not, depending on their relative's financial situation.

In summary, the interview data showed that most women maintained fairly close contact with members of their birth family. The majority of women in each community felt they could rely on their brothers to provide them with assistance should they be in dire need of cash, livestock, food, or a place to live; many also believed that their mothers and sisters would come to their aid (Table 6.7). Other findings lend support to the respondents' claims.

First, each woman was asked if she had ever been assisted with a gift(s) of livestock from her parent(s) and/or full-siblings during the course of her lifetime. A high percentage of women in each community replied in the affirmative: 45% in Archer's Post (n = 51); 73% in Parkishon/Karare (n = 41); and 63% in Songa (n = 43). Second, the data to be discussed in Chapter 7 show that women had received various amounts of cash from their parents, brothers and sisters during the previous year (Table 7.10). Despite the variability in the average amounts given within and between communities, the very fact that women received cash from their birth kin is evidence of their kin's continuing support. Finally, as Chapter 7 will show, in Karare and Songa communities, women's

fathers or brothers seem to be becoming major benefactors of land to their daughters or sisters, respectively.

It is difficult to know whether married women were able to maintain as much contact with their natal kin during colonial times as at present. One elderly informant in Archer's Post (OLH/1/AF) claimed that, after her marriage, she could only visit her family members when her husband gave his permission, and usually her brothers and sisters were the ones who traveled to see her. Another elder from Karare (OLH/1/KF) also stated that her parents, brothers and sisters occasionally traveled on foot to visit her.

Given that most pastoral families maintained a more mobile existence in the past, it is likely that keeping in contact with birth kin would have been much more difficult for women in general. In this regard, one positive aspect of sedentarization is that most women are now more likely to have one or more of their parents and/or siblings living in close proximity. While the transportation system in the north still remains relatively inadequate, the available services of lorries and *matatus* have reduced travel times, making it easier for married women to visit and maintain close relations with their natal kin.

6.3 WOMEN'S RELATIONS WITH OTHER WOMEN IN COLLECTIVE ACTIVITIES

During the survey, each woman was asked to describe the prominent activities which she and the other women in her community carried out collectively. I first outline the women's joint activities (sub-section 6.3.1) and then analyze the extent to which men in each community were aware of, or perhaps prepared to acknowledge, the collaborative efforts of women (sub-section 6.3.2).

6.3.1 Women's Descriptions of their Collective Activities

Women listed from seven to fourteen major categories of activities that they participated in collectively, either in small or large groups. The women in Archer's Post described fourteen different categories, the women in Parkishon/Karare mentioned seven, and the Songa women maintained they generally combined their efforts in the context of ten different categories of activities.

Collecting Firewood and Water

The women around Archer's Post do most chores together for security reasons. Generally, women meet in each village to pre-arrange a suitable time to collect firewood and water on the following day. Alternatively, they will recruit one another on the spur of the moment to collect supplies when the need is immediate.

Cutting Sisal (*Lopa*) and Gathering Wood for Carving Milk Containers (*Calabashes*)

Women in Archer's Post also venture out in groups in order to cut sisal. Once the sisal is cut, they burn it and bury it underground for a period of three days, before unearthing it. The treated sisal is then taken to the "shade meetings" (see below) where the women manufacture it into ropes and mats. The women also travel together to find the type of gourds they need to construct calabashes.

"Shade Meetings" - Preparing Artifacts, Beadwork and Household Articles

In each settlement in Archer's Post, groups of women meet together under a shady tree near the centre of the village after they have finished the bulk of their household chores for the day. The "shade meetings" are informally organized, but they form an integral part of each woman's daily routine; they provide a socially acceptable period of time in which women can sit and rest, yet at the same time be involved in

multitasking. These meetings serve as workshops in which women prepare items such as calabashes, beadwork, clothing, skins, carriers for donkeys, sisal ropes and mats, and brooms. As women chat and recite fables, and manufacture their wares, they often train young ladies in the art of oral history and storytelling and demonstrate the skills needed for the construction of handicrafts and household articles.

While women relax and work with their hands, they exchange news and ideas and discuss local issues. And at some point later in the evening, they usually relay what they have heard to their husbands. The men, in turn, will discuss the information imparted to them by their wives at the next meeting of the elders. Thus, women's "shade meetings" serve as forums that affect and influence the world of men and give women an indirect voice in the men's political gatherings.

Building Fences and Animal Husbandry

In Archer's Post, when a woman's house is moved to a new location, the women in the settlement gather to help the newcomer collect thorn bushes and together they construct a fence, creating an enclosure to contain her animals. The women in each settlement are also skilled at identifying illnesses of household livestock and generally assist each other in treating sick animals.

House Construction

In Archer's Post, all able-bodied women are responsible for building huts. In order to initiate hut-construction, women either arrange to build a hut together as a group, or they are directed by the male elders to do so, especially when a ceremonial hut is needed for circumcision or marriage. According to Archer's Post women, prior to a ceremony, usually several male elders appear in the centre of the settlement and shout

orders for the women to appear outside their homes to receive hut-building instructions. In each settlement, certain women are known for their laziness or unwillingness to assist in hut-construction for ceremonial purposes and are notorious for hiding in their houses. The men continue to yell until all women are gathered outside in order to make sure they know what is expected of them. Once the women are assembled, they are told to collect the materials needed for the hut and to begin the construction.

The women tend to collectively initiate hut-construction only when the dwelling is needed for an elderly or infirm person or for someone who does not have the skills to build one. They will also build huts for "lazy" women for the sheer reason that some form of shelter is needed for their children. During the process of hut construction, women use this time as an opportunity to train others to build homes and exchange innovative ideas for more efficient methods of building.

In contrast to Archer's Post, none of the women in Parkishon/Karare mentioned that they were ordered by male elders to construct huts for ceremonial occasions. Instead, they stated that it was their obligation to build huts for marriage and circumcision ceremonies through joint effort. The women first gather poles and sticks, and then fabricate the framework of the hut. Mud and grass are used to construct the walls and the leaves of banana trees and grass are thatched together for roofing (*makuti*). While some women busy themselves with hut construction, others cook tea and weave mats called *sutt*, which are similar to *makuti*. After the hut is completed, all the women take tea and tobacco together.

In Songa community, the women offered mixed messages as to which gender initiated hut construction. Some women stated that when hut construction was required

for ceremonial occasions, the men informed them when their labor was needed. Other women claimed that women initiated the hut building on these occasions and the men only offered their blessings at ceremonies and gave advice to a couple immediately following their marriage.

Regardless of which gender initiates the construction, the actual labor involved is provided by groups of Songa women. Together, they dig holes for the main poles, cut the poles and sticks needed, plait ropes and fabricate the hut's framework. Some women fetch water and mix mud for the walls, while others collect grass with which to thatch the roof; they also find and use old gunny bags or sacks to secure the roofing. In addition, they weave mats for the roofing and flooring. When the construction is complete, the women fill the hut with the appropriate furnishings and articles traditionally associated with the ceremony. In cases where huts have been built for newcomers or elderly women, or the infirm, the women will transport the person's belongings to the new home. In order to lighten their labor, Songa women sing, joke and gossip, and tease and advise or correct one another. They share milk and tea during their rest breaks throughout the project.

Providing Assistance for Bride's Circumcision and Marriage

All of the informants in Archer's Post (n = 51) claimed that Samburu did not have a women's initiation group since each girl was circumcised on an individual basis. Nonetheless, a girl's circumcision is a highly social event involving other women. Normally, a girl's circumcision takes place within the hour prior to her marriage ceremony and neither she nor her mother, nor the women who assist in organizing these events, have much advanced warning of when the wedding will be. This is usually left to

the discretion of the girl's male relatives. Thus, when the marriage day is set, there comes a flurry of orders issued from the elders to the women, demanding that they carry out a series of chores to aid the bride's family.

Women travel from many surrounding settlements to assist in the collection of building materials with which they construct a hut (*nkaji naibor*) for the bride. They must prepare ropes for the new house and a special goatskin for the bride, and help the bride's mother to make *calabashes* (milk containers) for her daughter. They must also collect large quantities of firewood and water to be used during the ceremony and celebration. Whenever there is to be a wedding ceremony, women usually pray for the bestowal of God's blessings on the settlement concerned.

On the wedding day, just before the girl's circumcision, eight women must search out and cut *salabani* (local plant used in rituals) to place on the bride's raised platform bed. Many other women arrive with milk and other gifts for the occasion. They surround the area where the girl is being circumcised to offer her encouragement and shield her from the sight of men. Later in the day, the women will sing and dance to entertain the guests at the wedding celebration. They will also sing special songs to the couple and give marital advice to the new bride.

In Parkishon/Karare, the women's opinions were divided on whether the community had a women's initiation group. On the one hand, 49% of the women (n = 41) stated that there was an initiation group, because women routinely gather to witness the circumcision of a girl and to provide the latter with encouragement. These women also make sure that the girl's circumcision is done properly. On the other hand, 51% of the respondents stated that the community did not have a women's initiation group

because each girl is circumcised individually, not in a group, and is initiated by one circumciser.

All the women agreed that that much of the labor involved in the preparations for a girl's circumcision and marriage ceremony was their responsibility. They build the couple's house, make *kubuyus* (milk containers), render fat into oil to be later smeared on the couple's bodies, and prepare oiled skins that they give as gifts to the couple. During the early morning hours, they arrive in a large group to witness the circumcision of the girl, bringing other gifts of milk, firewood and water. In the afternoon, well after the slaughter of the *Rukoret*, women dance and sing praise songs (*Guuro*) and share tea, milk and tobacco together to celebrate the marriage and to witness the couple. When warriors and beaded girls begin to dance, older women and men join in the celebration by dancing together. In the evening, the women take their leave and return home.

In Songa, 91% of the women (n = 43) claimed that Songa did not have a women's initiation group, while 9% disagreed. Some said that the girls who identified themselves with a certain moran age-set were considered to be in an initiation group, while others argued that the women who supported a girl during circumcision were members of an initiation group.

As in Archer's Post and Parkishon/Karare, women collectively carry out most of the work involved in preparing for a bride's circumcision and marriage. For the girl's circumcision, they prepare skins, build the customary raised platform bed (*Lkoroor*) for her to rest upon, shave the girl prior to circumcision and nurse her following the procedure. The women's joint efforts with respect to the actual marriage consist of building a hut for the couple, crafting milk containers, preserving sour milk for the

celebrations, collecting firewood and water, and removing the sandals of the bride, the bridegroom and his best man prior to the slaughter of *Rukoret*. The women carefully adorn the bride with special cosmetics, beadwork and clothing and inform her that she is a beautiful woman. After their work is done, they feast, sing and dance in celebration. When they depart for home, they are provided with gifts of tea and sugar from the groom.

Preparing for Boys' Circumcision Ceremonies

In Archer's Post, when boys are about to be circumcised *en masse* when entering an age-set, women prepare special skins for the boys to wear during the month prior to their circumcision. As the ceremonial day approaches, women are ordered by the male elders to construct the circumcision huts. They collect the building materials together and pause for a short rest before building the houses. Women are also expected to provide plenty of milk, firewood and water for the circumcision proceedings.

The women in Parkishon/Karare also collectively carry out a large number of duties just prior to, and during, boys' circumcision ceremonies. Initially, the male elders meet and choose a date for the circumcisions to take place. They also choose which male circumciser will be present. When all is arranged, the women in the settlements become extremely busy, preparing skins, beads and *kubuyus* for all the involved initiates. Skins are need for clothing and bedding for the boys. Circumcision huts are erected and raised platform beds are constructed, all through the efforts of numerous women. The women deliver milk, water and firewood to the ceremonial site, cook and make tea, and sing songs of praise, giving encouragement to the initiates to be firm and strong. Only when the circumcisions are completed do women finally share tea and tobacco, and sing and dance in celebration.

In Songa, women's collaborative work for the preparation of boys' circumcision ceremonies is much the same as for Archer's Post and Parkishon/Karare communities. Together, women prepare the leather skins for the boys to wear during the month prior to circumcision and they craft milk containers and beads for the initiates. They build the circumcision huts and the *Lkoroor* upon which an initiate will rest until he is fully recovered. They preserve sour milk, collect water and firewood together, and pray for their sons, encouraging them to be brave. After the circumcisions are done, the women sing, dance and take tea together. Mothers, sisters and female relatives nurse the boys in physically separate locations and provide them with their meals during their month-long recuperation.

Assisting with Childbirth

In Archer's Post, when a woman is in the stages of advanced pregnancy, neighboring women in her community take care of her family's needs. They fetch firewood and water for the household, do the washing, and cook all the daily meals. When a woman goes into labor, they assist with the baby's delivery. Thereafter, a new mother can expect to receive ongoing assistance with household chores from other women for up to three weeks or a month. A few days after the birth of a child, a goat is slaughtered and consumed only by the assisting women. This ritual has a twofold purpose: it is an offering to honor the child's birth and it provides meat with which to strengthen the mother.

In Parkishon/Karare, women did not mention that neighboring women collaboratively carry out the chores of a woman when she has reached the final trimester of her pregnancy. However, they stressed that the women of a settlement go to great

lengths and trouble to assist a woman during her labor and for weeks following her delivery. A large group of women always attend a birth and work alongside the midwife. In preparation for the delivery, many women bring water, firewood, soap, food and sugar. Some women hold the mother while she kneels on a skin, and the midwife holds the baby's head. Immediately after the birth, an elderly woman, or a female child of the household, cuts the umbilical cord. The women also bathe the baby and the mother. Shortly after the delivery, the women meet with the male elders to pray and, later, the women bring presents to the new baby. The men slaughter a goat and the women share the meat and take tea and tobacco together. The neighboring women and female relatives continue to collect firewood and water, and cook meals and wash clothes for the new mother until she is strong enough to manage on her own.

Songa women, as neighbors and kin, are always on hand to assist a woman during childbirth. They encourage her during her labor, and nurse and care for her after the baby's delivery. They collect firewood and water, bring milk to the home, prepare meals, and wash clothing, dishes and utensils. They present small gifts to the baby and together share the meat of the goat (*morr*) that the men have slaughtered for the mother and her attendants. The sex of the slaughtered goat will match that of the child. The women also sing lullabies to the baby, name the child and put strips of skin on the wrists of the mother and the infant. They smear the forehead of the baby with blood from the goat. Neighboring women and relatives collectively carry out all the household duties for a new mother, sometimes for as long as two months.

Assisting with Funerals and Burials

In Archer's Post, only older women are buried when they die and their bodies are carefully prepared for burial by groups of elder women. When a young woman dies, her body is rubbed with fat and taken out of the village where it is left for the hyenas; her bones are never collected. If a woman dies in the hospital, the hospital or mission buries her body.

In Songa, when a person dies, the women of a village come together to support the family of the deceased, often spending a great deal of time consoling the immediate family members. In addition, they fetch water, bring milk and cook for the bereaved relatives and the visitors who gather to mourn.

Participating in Seasonal Prayer Sessions and/or Church Groups

In Archer's Post, seasonal prayer sessions, also known as *Ntorosi* (sacrifice days) are initiated either by an elderly woman or a local *laibon*, when one of them believes that too many unfortunate events are taking place in the community. The sessions can also be initiated to offer prayers of thanksgiving. The women gather in large groups and move from settlement to settlement, offering prayers to God and singing praise songs. In each settlement, they are given sheep and goat meat to eat. When rain has not fallen for a long time, the elders also summon the women to bless the vicinity. As many as 100 women will sing and pray for a week and some ladies carry containers of milk to Archer's Post from as far away Learata in order to pour milk into the Uaso River.

In seasonal prayer sessions, women gather on the banks of the Uaso River where they pour offerings of milk into the water, and collect seeds, leaves and river water to use during their prayer sessions in various villages. Women view prayer sessions as special

occasions where they can meet and have the freedom to move about in prayer. They are exempted from household chores and may absent themselves from their homes for the duration of the prayers without being punished by their husbands.

Some of the women in the Archer's Post community are also actively involved in a Catholic women's group, the duties of which are to organize celebrations at the church and to propagate the Catholic doctrine to non-Catholic locals.

In Parkishon/Karare, during dry seasons and in times of drought, women of all ages gather from each community to sing songs of praise to God to request rain. They wander from village to village and visit rivers, sacred caves and mountains, concomitantly pouring offerings of milk as they pray for God to send rain, peace, and unity for all.

Only three women in Parkishon/Karare ($n = 41$) noted the existence of a Catholic women's church group; this was in the context of women's attendance at church seminars and workshops, or women's participation in songs and prayers in meetings held on Sunday after church services. One woman maintained that the African Inland Church (AIC) also sponsored a women's church group.

In Songa, women gather periodically to participate in Thanksgiving Ceremonies in which they pray together using the medium of sacred songs. They also carry milk and pour it at the foot of a sacred mountain, or at the base of a special tree, where they simultaneously place green leaves around the trunk. Women also pour milk and offer praise and thanksgiving songs to God in special, sacred locations that have sources of moving water.

Only 28% of the women said that Songa women participated in traditional or religious groups. I was informed that the African Inland Church (AIC) sponsors a group, called "Light," which includes 20 women. They organize duties and prepare the church for services. They also run a small shop in which they take turns selling small commodities. In addition, the group collects "merry-go-round" funds (i.e. it serves as a rotating credit association) and will also lend money to a group member for medical expenses incurred by her child. In addition to the AIC-sponsored group, there is a Catholic women's choir which performs during various church activities and functions.

Singing and Dancing Groups

In Archer's Post, no ceremony would be complete without women's songs of praise. Both young and elderly women always gather to sing and dance at circumcisions, marriages and childbirth. Women also gather to sing in praise of God during times of hardship, i.e. when there is lack of rainfall. In addition, an annual singing competition, known as *Nkopi*, is held in which groups of women and men compete for first place. The competition has been known to last three full days before the winners are chosen.

In Parkishon/Karare, singing is carried out for pleasure, comfort and socialization in the community. Songs are presented in a social and religious context. Women sing in the rainy seasons because they are happy. They sing in dry seasons to ask God for rain. At the eclipse of the moon, women believe that the moon is dead and they sing in order that the moon will bring back the light. Women sing for the benefit of bringing solidarity to the community, to please the ancestors and to give thanks to a supreme being.

In Songa, whenever there is an upcoming ceremony or celebration of any sort, women in the community regularly meet together to compose words and tunes for songs

that are relevant to the occasion (i.e. circumcision, marriage, lunar eclipse, *Sorio*, birth of child, etc.). They also select the soloist and rehearse the songs. The entire creative process becomes a time when women are at their most joyful, as they freely tease, laugh and joke with one another. When the day of the occasion arrives, the women oil their bodies, put on their best garments and travel to the ceremony. When their major work duties have been completed, they entertain the guests with song, expressing their joy to God for the celebration.

Songa women also compose praise songs in which they ask God to send rain during a long dry spell or a drought, or to send their people assistance when there are outbreaks of disease, epidemics and/or violence. Older women encourage younger women to participate in order to train them to respect God and learn the appropriate songs for worship.

Brewing *Changa'a*

In Archer's Post, brewing and selling *changa'a* is a major income-generating strategy for Turkana and Samburu women. The women who are skilled in the practice will frequently gather to teach young novices the art of brewing.

Gardening and Harvesting

In Songa, the chores involved in gardening and crop harvesting are usually the responsibilities of a wife, her husband, her children and possibly her co-wife (co-wives). However, there are times, known as "Way Forward Development," when groups of women come together in the community to help each other dig plots, weed crops and erect temporary fencing in an attempt to keep livestock out of the *shambas*. It is as much a social gathering as it is a joint work effort and great preparations are made beforehand

with respect to arranging the date and time for the project, collecting firewood and water, and gathering donations of milk, tea leaves and sugar for the women's refreshment.

Similar gatherings are also organized when it is time to harvest the crops. The women assemble in order to clean out granaries, cut crops, collect grains and transport them to the storage granaries. Women constantly sing to motivate those working. At rest periods, they share tea and food and engage in gossip together.

Marketing

In Archer's Post, the women in each settlement often help each other with milking chores, and if milk sales are involved, they usually travel in small groups to sell their milk in the town market.

In Parkishon/Karare, the women generally travel in groups to market milk in Marsabit, the Karare soko, or the Mount Marsabit Dairy near Karare centre. The marketers who are proficient in the Swahili language, and who sell their milk in Marsabit, generously offer their assistance to any woman who has difficulty with the language while making her sales. Women often take turns selling each other's milk supplies on an informal basis and are more than willing to teach novices the skills of successful marketing.

In Songa, traveling to Marsabit for the purpose of marketing is carried out collectively by women almost every day. Large groups of women, i.e. 15 - 20 women, walk 13 km. along the winding forest road to town, market their produce, *miraa* and milk, and, later, return together to Songa safely by nightfall with their earnings and/or purchased supplies. Such a coordinated effort, taking place at approximately the same time each morning and late afternoon, involves a great deal of organization.

Songa has a *Sukuma Wiki* Committee whose main function is to schedule specific days on which women from each ridge are permitted to market in Marsabit. Besides keeping a watchful eye on the supply and demand of the market, the committee continually consults with the marketers with regard to the current road conditions and any transport problems.

The Songa marketers have hired a guard to accompany them to and from the market place because of the threat of attacks by Boran. The women transport their produce either by carrying the loads on their backs or through the use of donkeys. They set their selling prices for produce together, share their skills in bartering and bargaining, and work hard to build good relationships with their customers. Each woman also uses this time to search out credit for purchases from Marsabit shops. Some difficulties arise from time to time with regard to women's infractions of scheduling rules and these problems are discussed in more detail in Chapter 9, in the context of community conflict.

Women's Groups

Informal and formal women's groups abound in, and around, Archer's Post. Of these, Umoja, Umoja II, Meyagari, and Kalama appear to be the most established groups. The Giltamany Women's Group had just been organized and they were in the process of opening a bank account in Meru.

In Chapter 4, I mentioned the Umoja Women's Group and noted that the members gather each day to make jewelry and sell artifacts to the tourists who journey to the Samburu Game Reserve and Park. Umoja is a well-organized group and is formally recognized by the national government; it has also been given leased land. The group oversees and maintains the local campsites that have been set-up for tourists near Umoja

village, and they make it a policy to entertain any tourist with song and dance during his/her visit. The group runs a cultural museum, a curio shop and craft centre. In addition, they operate a pre-school and a small posho mill, and they own and care for a small number of cattle and goats.

At the time of my research, the Umoja Women's Group contained 48 members. I was told that the Umoja Group sometimes gave credit to its members, but its true strength lay in its policy to rally around, and provide protection for, any one of its members when needed. Any wrong doings that are inflicted on group members are immediately reported to the District Officer.

The Meyagari Women's Group is another prominent group in Archer's Post and its members also have obtained leased land. This group is in direct competition with the Umoja Women's Group because the Meyagari Group has a craft centre situated just south of Archer's Post town, placing its group members first in line on the main highway to catch the tourist trade. In the craft centre, women produce and sell woven baskets, beaded jewelry and other curios. The group also offers credit to members who are in immediate need of financial aid.

North of Archer's Post, in Kalama, another well-known group is in operation. The Kalama Women's Group contains 30 members who hold business meetings each Friday morning. The group buys and sells loose beads, sugar, maize meal and goats and they regularly prepare hides and skins to sell in Isiolo. The women also frequently gather to collect firewood and water and to organize fence-building workdays together. In addition, the group offers credit to members in need on the condition that the loan is paid back as soon as possible.

In Parkishon/Karare, the most established women's group is the one which operates the milk depot at Mount Marsabit Dairy (see Chapter 4). Many women also noted that numerous informal marketing groups had been established, in which marketers spelled off each other with respect to their marketing duties in Marsabit or at the Karare milk depot. The majority of respondents claimed they were not aware of any group that offered credit to women. One woman mentioned that a few women in Karare had an informal "merry-go-round" group, in which the members contributed a certain amount of cash each week and gave the total to one member, on a rotating basis. Thus, in this way, each woman was able to pay off a debt or purchase an item that would otherwise be unaffordable.

The majority of women in Parkishon/Karare claimed that they did not have a women's group which worked to protect women's rights (i.e. rights to access land and livestock). However, one informant claimed that the women of the community generally protected, or stood up for, each other, while another stated that the elderly women of the Masula and Lukumai clans were notorious for fighting with the male elders for women's rights.

In Songa, informal women's groups only exist in the context of marketing and within the realm of both the Catholic Church and the African Inland Church (AIC). It is within the latter organization that women can obtain credit and/or 'merry-go-round' funds. All of the respondents indicated, however, that Songa does not have a women's group that protects the rights of women who suffer from abuse, or are denied access to land or livestock by their husbands.

There is some evidence that the women in Songa are quite capable of organizing themselves into a protest group when circumstances cause them to become extremely angry, however. In one of the women's focus group sessions (S2, April 15, 2003), I was informed that, between 1986-87, the headmaster of the Songa primary school was a Kikuyu man who drank excessively and continually beat the children. The women in the community became very agitated, to the point where approximately 100 women gathered one day and marched to the D.C.'s office in Marsabit, threatening to beat him with sticks if he did not fire the headmaster and bring in another. By all accounts, the women's march proved to be successful.

The Songa women's admonishment of the D.C. is reminiscent of other instances where African women have collectively applied sanctions against men for inappropriate actions. The most frequently cited examples are the Barabaig "council of women" (Klima 1979, 1970) and "sitting on a man" by Igbo women (Van Allen 1979). Oboler (1985:56) also writes that pre-colonial Nandi women took punitive action against men for inappropriate actions or treatment of women. In addition, Kipuri (1989:104) describes how Maasai women act collectively to punish men who sexually violate women.

6.3.2 The Extent of Men's Awareness or Acknowledgement of Women's Joint Efforts in Activities

In each community, men were asked to describe the activities that women carried out collectively and to detail the occasions during which women worked together. This exercise revealed that the men in Archer's Post were the least knowledgeable about the collective activities of women in their community.

Slightly more than half (56%) of the Archer's Post men described no more than two activities and only 20% of them described four or more of the fourteen categories of

activities described by the women. The vast majority (88%) of the men claimed that there was no official women's market group, 94% said there was no women's credit group and 98% claimed there was no women's group that protected the rights of women in the community. Only 8% of the men acknowledged that a traditional women's prayer group existed. The single area in which information from male and female respondents was similar was in regard to whether a women's initiation group existed or not; 100% of the men and women replied in the negative.

Overall, men in Parkishon/Karare were the most knowledgeable about the chores or activities that women carried out collectively. Most men (85%) described four or more of the seven categories of activities described by the women. Sixty-six percent of the men stated that there was an official women's market group, 94% said there was no women's credit group and all of them claimed there was no women's group that protected the rights of women in the community. Most men (90%) confirmed that many women participated in church groups and/or traditional prayer groups. Virtually all men (98%) believed that there was a women's initiation group in the community because the women who gathered to support a girl during her circumcision could be considered as members of such a group.

In Songa, the men fell into the mid-range position in terms of their knowledge of women's collaborative efforts. Forty-five percent described four or more of the ten categories of activities described by the women. Virtually all men (98%) claimed that there was no official women's market group and no women's group that protected the rights of Songa women, while all stated there was no women's credit group. All of the

men also stated that there was no women's initiation group in their community and 88% believed that there was no women's religious group.

This suggests that there is a significant difference in the way men and women perceive women's activities. From the women, I found that women in each community relied heavily on one another to accomplish chores, prepare for celebrations and ceremonies, and provide entertainment for the community. They gather to give thanks to, or to seek assistance from God through prayers and, in some instances, they join forces to protect the rights of one another, or the rights of the children in the community.

Overall, the women in Archer's Post are more involved in carrying out chores or participating in activities on a collective basis than the women in Parkishon/Karare and Songa. Yet men in Archer's Post seemed to be least aware of the extent of women's collaborative efforts. This could indicate that the men lack interest in women's lives or they were unwilling to acknowledge the tremendous amount of work that women accomplish through collaborative effort. From what I observed, a more likely explanation is that men and women lead more segregated lives in Archer's Post than in the other communities and are unaware of the activities of the other.

I seldom observed any personal interaction between women and men in Archer's Post and I did not observe husbands and wives, or any members of the opposite sex, walking together around the town or in any of the settlements. This segregation of the sexes was most obvious in Archer's Post town, where I noted that the main road running through the centre of town, and which hosted the three main bars in Archer's Post, was the domain and meeting place of men, while the second major road, which led to the Catholic Mission and the central market place of the town, was the domain of women.

Another indication of the lack of interaction between men and women appears in the findings outlined in Table 5.3 (Chapter 5) where I show that less than 50% of the Archer's Post women actually lived with their husbands. I also illustrate in Chapter 7 that women generate and manage their income quite independently from men. It stands to reason that the less men and women interact on various levels, the less knowledge they will have of each other's activities.

In contrast to Archer's Post, I observed that gender relations were friendlier and more casual in Parkishon/Karare and I often saw spouses interacting together in public. Karare town centre (i.e. the market place) was not split into specific domains for each gender and men and women chatted and joked freely with one another. In Songa, my overall impression was that there was more integration between the sexes than in Archer's Post, but less than in Parkishon/Karare. However, my observations of Songa men and women's exchanges were limited to the domestic domain because the community did not have a central market place. What I noted in the domestic domain was that spouses seemed to have more interaction with one another on a daily basis than couples did in the other communities because the economic focus of wives and husbands was heavily centered on garden production.

6.4 THE ROLES OF WOMEN IN LEGITIMIZING THE STATUS OF MALES

Previous researchers have credited the cultural phenomena of male age-sets with regulating just about every aspect of African age-set societies, i.e. sexual relations, intra- and intergenerational relationships, age at marriage entry, fertility levels, population-control, political/military organization, dietary taboos and restrictions, living accommodations, and sexual division of labor (Fratkin 1987, Kurimoto and Simonse, eds.

1998, Spencer 1965). Since women theoretically remain outside the male-age set system, their roles in male age-set promotional rituals are often overlooked, creating a void in the literature concerning the extent to which the status of a male is legitimized *via* his relations to women.

Several researchers who have not ignored women's roles in the functioning of age-sets are Almagor (1978), Chieni and Spencer (1993), Kipuri (1989) and Talle (1988). Chieni and Spencer (1993:160) succinctly elaborate on this issue in the context of Maasai society.

"...A *murran* can only belong to the *manyata* where his mother is installed and she plays an essential part in his *murranhood*; the status of an elder ultimately hinges on the fertility of his wives which is central to the domain of women. It is not just women whose position is defined in relation to men, but also the reverse. The whole transition for a male from boyhood to elderhood hinges on the transformation of relations through women."

In addition, Talle (1988:102) indicates that the main actors in the rituals involved in the Maasai *eunoto* (a ceremony promoting junior moran to senior moran) are the elders, the moran, and their mothers. In the following passage, Talle describes a ritual that occurs on the final day of *eunoto*.

"...Mothers remove their [sons'] long ochre-coloured hair with a razor blade and afterwards smear their sons heads as well as their own with fat and red colouring. This act of smearing their bodies in a similar fashion communicates the oneness between mother and son and their close and enduring relationship" (Talle 1988:102).

Kipuri (1989:95) claims that women's participation in age-set rituals can be understood on two levels: "from the roles they play in men's promotional rituals and other occasions, and from their involvement in their own parallel rituals." With respect to the former, she (1989:95-96) emphasizes that among the Maasai "the significance of women

in "men's" rituals is expressed by the fact that there is hardly a rite of passage that can be performed without the active participation of daughter, wife or mother of the candidate."

In demonstrating how female rituals parallel those of male age-set rituals, Kipuri (1989:100) describes *nkamulak-oo-nkituaak* (women's blessing), which occurs just after *eunoto* and prior to the initiation of a new male age-set. The women's ritual culminates with the blessing of women by male elders to promote female fertility and "to unite the male and female "principles" to complete the symbols of reproduction" (1989:101).

Almagor's (1978:68) work also portrays the significance of females in men's age-set rituals as he notes that a Dassanetch man cannot pass into elderhood *via* the *Dimi* ceremony until his first-born daughter becomes eight to ten years of age.

Because of time constraints, my own investigation into the significance of female roles in men's age-set promotional rituals was actually quite limited, in that I only directly addressed the matter with one question posed to all the women and men who participated in the surveys. Each informant was asked whether his/her society had ceremonial occasions in which the participation of women was important in order to legitimize or establish the status of men. According to the vast majority of women and men in each community, women played crucial roles in legitimizing the status of males in various ceremonies. I present some of their responses at the community-level.

Archer's Post Community

In Archer's Post, most women's immediate response to the question came in the form of tersely phrased statements such as "there are no ceremonies that can be carried out without the presence of women" or "a man cannot perform a ceremony without women, except in the *na'apo* (the elders' sacred meeting place), and even then, the

women build the fence that surrounds the na'apo for the men!" What was surprising was that, when pressed for details, none of the women specifically referred to any age-set promotional ceremonies by name when referring to the importance of the roles of women. This caused a great deal of confusion on my part, as their descriptions were sketchy, and so unlike those given by Spencer (1965:85-89), who tidily named the various stages, and *Ilmugit* ceremonies, involved in moranhood.

What I was able to piece together from their responses was that two major ceremonial events occurred in which women must be present to validate the status of males: mothers must be present during the circumcision of their sons and they must also be present during "a ceremony" which occurs one month later, in which their sons each kill an ox and present part of the meat to their mothers.

Some women elaborated on the specifics of women's roles during circumcision ceremonies for males, claiming that a mother of an initiate must always be present. If a woman has left her husband, he must find her in order for her to carry out the rituals assigned to her with respect to her son's circumcision. If a boy's mother cannot be found, or if she is deceased, another female relative must represent her. If a boy's father dies, the initiate's circumcision is not held up, but if his mother is not present, or represented, his circumcision cannot take place. The women said that it was important that the boy's mother prepare skins and beads for him to wear during this occasion. They also claimed that when the elders order the boy to collect milk from his mother, she must wait for her son at the entrance of her home in order to pour milk over the boy's legs. After his circumcision, she will care for him at home until he is fully recovered from his operation.

Perhaps this is the reason why the circumcision cannot proceed without the presence of an initiate's mother or another female relative.

The men in Archer's Post offered much the same information, except they stated that before circumcision, the initiate milks a cow with his mother and the elders are given the milk to pour on the boy. They also noted that marriage was a time where a woman must be present because a man cannot marry if a woman does not participate. Some men claimed that women's prayers were mandatory in every age-set promotional ceremony.

The lack of information given by both women and men with regard to specific ceremonial names and the vague references made as to why the presence of women was important at a boy's circumcision, or at the time when a moran either entered or departed from warriorhood, was extremely puzzling. I cannot help but wonder if poverty and/or sedentarization in this community have caused a reduction in the number of traditional milestone Samburu age-set ceremonies and rituals that Spencer (1965) so aptly described forty years ago.

Parkishon/Karare Community

In Parkishon/Karare, the majority of women claimed there were two major ceremonies in which women played essential roles in validating the status of men: *Ilmugit* (entrance to warriorhood) and *Ilmenong* (departure from warriorhood). The specific name(s) of the "*Ilmugit*" was never mentioned, nor was circumcision cited as an important event for women's presence. In fact, only one woman claimed the only important duty that mothers carried out in the circumcision of their sons was to collect, and burn, the removed foreskins and any blood remaining on the ground in order to prevent future use of this material for witchcraft.

Most women described *Ilmugit* as a time when the initiates formally entered warriorhood and *Ilmenong* as the occasion when the moran officially left warriorhood. The women claimed that, during *Ilmugit*, every moran must kill an ox, camel or goat, and then cart the good parts of the meat away, leaving only the head, the back and the innards. Some women said that the moran personally gave the heads of their kill to their mothers, while others claimed that the mothers retrieved the heads themselves, and carried the meat home to be cooked and shared with the women in their settlements. Women stressed that another important role of women on this occasion was to sing praise songs to encourage the warriors to provide good leadership for the community.

The women described *Ilmenong* as a time in which a warrior is blessed by the elders and permitted to eat meat in the presence of women. Mothers must bring milk and cook tea and meat to serve to the elders and the warriors. The meat is blessed and rubbed on the faces of graduating warriors by the elders. This symbolizes that the warriors have left moranhood and can eat meat with their wives or mothers.

The Parkishon/Karare men's accounts of the ceremonies in which women's roles were crucial were quite different from those given by women. They stressed that the mothers' participation was necessary during the circumcision of sons and also during *Ilmugit*, or *galgulum* (the Rendille age-set naming ceremony), but they made no mention of *Ilmenong*. Instead, many of the men emphasized that women played a crucial role in *Sorio*, and that if a woman was not present in the house during the thanksgiving ceremony, the elders could not bless the head of the household and his family.

One man claimed that women's presence was essential in almost all ceremonies because a greater part of each ceremony was conducted by them and they supported the

position of men during these occasions. Most men stated that the women legitimized the status of males in ceremonies such as weddings, circumcision and *Ilmugit*, or *galgulumi*, through the medium of song, especially the short rhythmic songs they composed in praise of men.

The responses from the Parkishon/Karare women and men proved to be, as in the case of Archer's Post, somewhat confusing, especially in terms of defining which *Ilmugit* ceremony was being referred to when the respondents spoke of the essential roles of mothers. Fratkin (1991:29) writes "both the Samburu and Ariaal...mark stages in their warriorhood by a series of five ritual ox-slaughters called *mugit*." I sensed during the interviews that both the men and the women had lost track of names of the five *Ilmugit* ceremonies for even my assistants were unable to relay the names of them. Another puzzling aspect was the women's major reference to *Ilmenong* since the men in this community made no reference to this at all. According to Spencer (1965:87), *menong* means, "despised food (*a-men* = 'to despise')." I surmise that the women have used this term to denote the ceremony in which warriors are permitted to eat what was formerly considered despised food (i.e. meat) in front of women.

Songa Community

As in Parkishon/Karare, most Songa women referred to *Ilmugit* and *Ilmenong* as the two ceremonies in which women's participation was essential. They also added that marriage and the circumcision of boys were two other important events in which women legitimized the status of males. Many women offered names for the *Ilmugit* in which a mother must collect the head of the animal slaughtered by her son, and/or the *Ilmugit* in which a warrior gives his mother a piece of meat to thank her for all she has given him.

but unfortunately, very few of the names given turned out to be similar, i.e. *Ilmugit* of the Name, *Ilmugit* of the Bull, *Ilmugit* of the Fire, *Ilmugit* of the Birds, or *Ilmugit Lengweni* and *Ilmugit Lalagwani*. *Ilmenong* was simply described as a meat and milk ceremony in which the elders permitted a warrior to eat the food cooked for him at his wife's home.

In Songa, men's responses were similar to those of women. Most men stated that women legitimized the status of men in the ceremonies held for marriage, *Ilmenong* and *Ilmugit*, but there was no consistency in the name(s) they gave for the latter. Interestingly, Songa men referred to *Ilmenong*, which is a ceremony that men in the other communities did not mention.

The information of women's roles in male rituals is patchy, to say the least, but it does show that there are certain ceremonies among the Samburu, Ariaal and Rendille, in which mothers, wives, or groups of women, must be present in order to legitimize the status of men. Nevertheless, it remains a mystery as to why the women and men were not terribly familiar with the names of the *Ilmugit* ceremonies in which representation of women was considered essential. There are several possible reasons that could account for this. Perhaps some ceremonies have been collapsed into one, or eliminated over time, due to impoverishment or the effects of sedentarization. Because my informants were largely sedentarized, they may have been distanced from the wider arena of age-set activities and thus less informed about them. Another possibility is that many of the informants may not have experienced these events, or if they have, they may have forgotten the details, since *Ilmugit* ceremonies do not occur very often over the span of an age-set (12-14 years) or in the lifespan of a man or woman.

6.5 CONCLUSION

I have analyzed two important relationship networks of women in Archer's Post, Parkishon/Karare and Songa and the roles that women play in validating the status of males. The most significant finding was that most women in each community maintained regular post-marital contact with members of their natal kin. On average, each woman had at least one, if not two, natal kin who lived in close proximity and visits between the parties generally took place at least once *per week*.

The effort put forth by immediate birth family members and the respondents to maintain contact when distance separated them is now clear. Parents, siblings and/or the women sometimes traveled for many hours or days to visit each other in their home communities. The protocol regarding gift exchange during visits was extremely flexible, as most often the exchange of greetings was considered sufficient. The emphasis was placed on social bonding, not on a set of rules about material exchanges.

The majority of the women in all communities believed they could rely on their brothers to provide assistance in the form of cash, livestock, food and/or accommodation, should they ever be in need. Also important, many women additionally felt that their mothers and sisters would come to their aid. Each woman was asked if she had ever been assisted with a gift(s) of livestock from her parent(s) and/or full-siblings during the course of her lifetime. The majority in Parkishon/Karare and Songa replied in the affirmative, as did 45% of the women in Archer's Post.

An interesting aspect of women's continuing post-marital relationships with their birth kin is that during focus group sessions, many women claimed they turned to their parent(s) for moral support in times of marital conflict. In general, women viewed the

homes of their parent(s) as safe places to resolve their disputes with their husbands. One woman mentioned that a major advantage of marrying a spouse of her father's choice was that when marital problems arose, her parents felt some responsibility and went out of their way to assist her.

This presents some cause for concern, particularly in Archer's Post and Parkishon/Karare, where more and more girls are currently allowed to select their marriage partners. Will parents continue to involve themselves in resolving their daughter's marital problems when they had little to do with selecting her spouse in the first place? Up until now, parents have provided a place of refuge for their daughters during periods of marital strife, but if this safety net breaks down, there are few alternative social or legal aid services to which women can turn.

The women from Archer's Post described fourteen prominent categories of group activities in which they participated together. The respondents in Parkishon/Karare detailed seven major collective activities, while the Songa women described ten. Based on the breadth and depth of their descriptions and my observations while in the field, women in Archer's Post appeared to be those most involved in collectively carried out activities. They frequently organized into small or large groups to prepare for ceremonies (i.e. birth, circumcision, marriage, and funerals), collect firewood and water, manufacture and sell beadwork, artifacts and/or *changa'a*, and provide traditional religious blessings or ceremonial songs to the local residents. And as noted in Chapter 4, throughout the build up to the National Election in December 2002, women often gathered together to show their support to the local KANU MP and Councilor candidates by singing praise songs and attending all campaign rallies and meetings.

My results from investigations of men's knowledge or awareness of women's joint activities in each community illustrated that men in Archer's Post were the least informed about the collaborative efforts of women, while men in Parkishon/Karare proved to be the most aware of the latter. My explanation for this is that there is more segregation between the sexes in Archer's Post than in Parkishon/Karare; thus, men in Archer's Post have limited knowledge of the collective activities of women.

In Section 6.4, I reviewed the literature pertaining to the question of whether pastoral women were in a position in their societies to legitimize the various statuses of males. According to some researchers, females play important roles in the validation of male status (Almagor 1978; Chieni and Spencer 1993; Kipuri 1989; Talle 1988). I found that the majority of women and men in each community claimed they held certain ceremonies in which the presence of a woman, or women, was necessary to legitimize the status of males. Despite this, men and women's responses were vague and inconsistent when pressed for details regarding the specific ceremonies. However, the evidence suggests that the presence of a boy's mother, or a warrior's mother, is mandatory in at least two or more age-set promotional ceremonies.

In pursuing the question of the nature of women's social and economic relationships with natal kin and other women, I have demonstrated that women's social networks are not simply defined by the patrilineal structure. Samburu, Ariaal and Rendille women in the three study communities maintain close links with their natal kin following their marriages, even though their societies are strongly patrilineal and patrilocal. Women's birth kin provide a crucially important support system, regardless of whether the relatives dwell close to, or at a distance from, women's marital homes.

I next consider the gendered nature of the rights of women and men in Archer's Post, Parkishon/Karare and Songa, to access, or own, livestock and land. I also examine women and men's income-generating activities, as well as their average annual income and expenses.

CHAPTER 7

LIVESTOCK, LAND AND THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In my introductory chapter, I presented a theoretical overview of contemporary pastoralism in Kenya which explained, among other things, why livestock and land are of crucial importance to pastoralists for economic and social reasons. I also illustrated, through a review of the existing literature, how women's current rights to access, or own, livestock and land have been problematic, highly nuanced and not easily understood.

The primary importance of Chapter 7 is that it addresses the latter issues in the context of the study communities and, in doing so, provides greater understanding of the socio-economic position of sedentarized pastoral and agro-pastoral women, their ability to gain access to, possess, and/or inherit, livestock and/or land, and their capacity to generate or accumulate sufficient income *per annum* to cover the expenses incurred by their families. The findings on men's economic profiles and roles in each community have primarily been included to provide further context for the results pertaining to women.

Some of the major questions addressed in this chapter include the following. What is the calculated livestock wealth of women's houses and male-headed households in each community? And what significant differences exist between the communities? Are women allocated more livestock in one community than in another and, if so, what factors, other than the amount of their spouses' livestock wealth, could account for this? What are women and men's views regarding sedentarization and privatization? To what extent do women in each community depend on allocations of livestock and/or land by

men in order to participate in income-generating activities? Is there a significant difference between the communities with respect to the average amount of income that women or men earn per year? Furthermore, in communities where privatization is in progress, are women being included in the land registration process? And what trends or protocols are emerging in these communities regarding women's ability to inherit land?

The analyses contained in this chapter are based on the results obtained from the women and men's surveys carried out November 2002 to May 2003. I wish to reiterate that the women's survey was carried out with women whose individual domains consisted of 'houses,' whereas the men's survey was carried out with men who were in charge of households, i.e. they were "household heads." In polygynous marriages, households included two or more 'houses' of men's wives.

Section 7.2 provides quantitative data, at the community level, revealing the average livestock wealth for women's houses and for male-headed households and the mean numbers of livestock that male-headed households had lost due to drought, livestock disease and/or raids during the year prior to the survey. Also included in this section are empirical data indicating the mean figures for livestock holdings per house and mean figures for allocated livestock per woman. In addition, I present qualitative results indicating the degree of authority that women have with respect to livestock transactions, and discuss the contemporary customary practices regarding the inheritance of livestock by women. The section also notes the percentage of women's houses in each community in which females were actively involved in herding activities.

Section 7.3 begins with a brief summary of the broad debate surrounding tenure reform in Africa and reviews some of the previous research regarding the effects of

tenure reform on women. The section continues with a community-level analysis of the general perceptions held by women and men regarding sedentarization and privatization, and their beliefs surrounding their spiritual connections with the land. In addition, this section highlights findings obtained in Parkishon/Karare and Songa communities with regard to the recent move towards individualized tenure, revealing specific details about the particulars of the informants' *shambas* and the degree to which the women had access to land and/or the degree to which they had been included in the land registration process. Data are also given regarding the current status of women with respect to local practices governing the inheritance of land. Since a central theme running through most counter debates regarding individualized tenure pertains to the possible growth of landlessness, this section discloses the personal sentiments of the women and men in Karare and Songa regarding the issue of landlessness.

Section 7.4 presents a statistical analysis at the community level, revealing the main income-generating activities of women and men, and the average annual income and expenditures for both women's houses and male-headed households. Information on the savings and debts incurred by the informants is also presented. In addition, this section provides an analysis of the extent of women's decision-making powers and financial responsibilities with regard to family expenses. Section 7.5 concludes the chapter.

7.2 GENDER AND LIVESTOCK

7.2.1 Introduction

The literature notes that, in the past, livestock served two main purposes for pastoralists – subsistence and the creation and maintenance of social relationships

(Sobania 1991). While livestock no longer directly supply all the subsistence that pastoralists require, they are still loaned, bartered and exchanged among social networks, forming part of the pastoralist "moral economy" – the safety net for those whose livestock are decimated through drought or disease (McCabe 1990:131). Livestock are also tied to the formation of marriages and various relationships between affines and natal kin.

Once married, a man is expected to allocate various species of livestock to his wife, to create a house-controlled herd which will be inherited by her sons. Among a wife's allocated livestock are milch cows, intended for the purpose of meeting the subsistence demands of the family and, ideally, to provide a surplus of milk as well (Michael 1987:120; Talle 1988:205). In addition, milk is also the nutritional basis for herd reproduction and it is in this capacity that a woman controls "the distribution of milk between humans and animals" (Talle 1988:205). How well a woman manages her milk supply reflects her capabilities as a wife and mother, both in the eyes of her husband and her community (Talle 1988:210; Waters-Bayer 1988).

The above portrays the importance of livestock in pastoral societies, indicating that women hold prominent positions in terms of managing the livestock allotted to them. However, women only maintain some degree of control over livestock if men allocate animals to them in the first place. One aim of my research was to determine how many animals were being assigned to women's houses and how many were specifically allocated to women in communities where pastoralists were settled and relatively poor. By 'assigned', I mean the animals which a husband designates to a wife's house, other than those allocated to her, of which she has use and responsibility for, but which are not

included in her allocated herd. These animals will not be inherited by her sons and can be reclaimed by her husband and reassigned.

In the following sub-sections, I present an overview of the livestock wealth of women's houses and the male-headed households in each community, and women's abilities to access livestock, make decisions about livestock transactions, and inherit livestock. The purpose of Section 7.2 in its entirety is to illustrate one portion of the entire portrait depicting women and men's socio-economic roles and activities.

7.2.2 Livestock Wealth of Women's Houses and Male-Headed Households

During the surveys, women and men were asked to give detailed accounts of their livestock holdings *per* house(hold) so that the mean livestock wealth could be calculated for each sample in each community.¹ In Table 7.1, the figures represent the mean livestock wealth of women's houses in each community (based on assigned animals, which included allocated livestock) and in Table 7.2, the figures indicate the mean livestock wealth of male-headed households in each community.

**Table 7.1 Indicators of Livestock Wealth - Women's Houses
Means by Community**

Women's Houses	East Uaso/ Archer's P. (N = 51) (Means)	Parkishon/ Karare (N = 41) (Means)	Songa (N = 43) (Means)	F Value
Permanent Residents/ House (#)	5.3 SD = 2.4	6.7 SD = 2.4	5.2 SD = 2.2	5.13 **
TLUs/House (##)	7.5	11.7	7.2	2.03 (+)
TLUs/Person/House	2.4	2.2	1.7	0.30 (+)
Livestock Wealth according to Fratkin and Roth's Scale (1990:394) ¹	Poor	Poor	Poor	-

Note: (#) = Permanent residents = total people minus temporary residents

(##) = 1 TLU = .8 cattle/camel or 10 small stock

(+) = $p > 0.05$ (non-significant)

** = $p < 0.01$

On average, women's houses in Parkishon/Karare contained significantly higher numbers of permanent residents. The final analysis indicated that across the communities women's 'houses' were livestock poor.

Table 7.2 Indicators of Livestock Wealth – Male-Headed Households Means by Community

Male-Headed Households	East Uaso/ Archer's P. N = 48 (Means)	Parkishon/ Karare N = 41 (Means)	Songa N = 40 (Means)	F Value
Permanent Residents/ Household (#)	8.3 (n = 50) SD = 3.6	8 SD = 3.0	6 SD = 2.5	6.61 **
TLUs/Household (# #)	27.5	16.1	14.5	2.93 (+)
TLUs/Person/ Household	4.1	2.1	3.1	1.97 (+)
Livestock Wealth According to Fratkin and Roth's Scale (1990:394) ¹	Poor	Poor	Poor	-

Note: (#) = Permanent residents = total people minus temporary residents
 (# #) = 1 TLU = .8 cattle/camel or 10 small stock
 (+) = $p > 0.05$ (non-significant)
 ** = $p < 0.01$

On average, male-headed households in Songa contained significantly fewer permanent residents than male-headed households in Archer's Post and Parkishon/Karare. In all communities, male-headed households were livestock poor.

When it came to collecting information regarding livestock transactions (i.e. sales and purchases) and births and deaths of livestock that had occurred during the year prior to the surveys, women in each community were not as certain as men were about these details. The only information that women seemed to be sure of at the time of my interviews were the number of animals that belonged to their houses and, out of these, the number of livestock that had been allocated to them personally. The men, on the other hand, provided large quantities of data on all the above-mentioned aspects of livestock

management, including the number of livestock they had slaughtered for food or ritual purposes during the previous year (see Appendix H).

The most startling results from the men's survey were those illustrating the tremendous depletion of household livestock that had occurred in the Archer's Post area during the year prior to the study (see Table 7.3). Men claimed the loss of livestock had been due to the combined factors of livestock disease and/or accidental death, conditions of drought, and/or livestock raids.

**Table 7.3 Household Livestock Lost in Year Prior to Men's Survey
Means by Community**

Livestock/ Household	East Uaso/ Archer's Post N = 48 (Means)	Parkishon/ Karare N = 41 (Means)	Songa N = 40 (Means)	F Value
Cattle	39 (n = 47) SD = 33.6	5 SD = 7.1	0.8 SD = 2	44.99 ***
Camels	1.3 SD = 3.2	0 SD = 0	0 SD = 0	6.82 **
Goats	52 SD = 36.3	2.9 SD = 5.5	0.3 SD = 0.7	76.48 ***
Sheep	53 SD = 39.5	2 SD = 4.2	0.4 SD = 1	69.03 ***

Note: ** = $p < 0.01$

*** = $p < 0.001$

The results in Table 7.3 add credence to my observations that the Samburu people in Archer's Post were immersed in a great deal of hardship at the time of my research (see Chapter 4). The findings also suggest that if my field research in Archer's Post had taken place one year earlier, before the loss of so many livestock, the results presented in Tables 7.1 and 7.2 regarding house(hold) livestock wealth might have been much different.

7.2.3 Women's Position with Respect to Livestock Allocations

Table 7.4 indicates the mean numbers of cattle, camels and small stock that had been assigned to women's houses by husbands and also shows the mean numbers of animals that had actually been allocated to women from the assigned animals.

**Table 7.4 Livestock Assigned and Allocated to Women's Houses
Means by Community**

Variables	East Uaso/ Archer's Post (Means)	Parkishon/ Karare (Means)	Songa (Means)	F Value
Cattle:				
Cattle Assigned/ 'House'	6.1 (51) SD = 14.1	13.6 (41) SD = 12.8	8.1 (43) SD = 6.7	4.72 *
Cattle Allocated/ Woman	3.5 (43) SD = 5.6	8.4 (40) SD = 9.4	3.1 (42) SD = 4.0	7.85 ***
Camels:				
Camels Assigned/ 'House'	0.4 (51)	0.1 (41)	0.3 (43)	1.06 (+)
Camels Allocated/ Woman	0.2 (43)	0.1 (40)	0 (42)	2.14 (+)
Small Stock:				
Small Stock Assigned/'House'	23 (51) SD = 41.7	8.1 (41) SD = 7.0	5.2 (43) SD = 8.3	6.23 **
Small Stock Allocated/Woman	12.3 (44) SD = 18.6	5.7 (40) SD = 6.9	2 (42) SD = 7.1	7.75 ***

Note: (+) = $p > 0.05$ (non-significant)

* = $p < 0.05$

** = $p < 0.01$

*** = $p < 0.001$

On average, Parkishon/Karare women were assigned significantly more cattle and were allocated significantly more cattle than women were in the other communities. Other significant differences noted are that a) women's houses in Archer's Post had been assigned a higher number of small stock than houses in the other communities, and b) the women in Archer's Post had been allocated a higher number of small stock than Songa women. Small stock tend to thrive at lower and hotter altitudes, such as Archer's Post,

which may explain why significantly higher numbers of small stock were assigned and allocated to women's houses in Archer's Post.

The above details are particularly significant when considered in the context of the mean figures shown for the total number of cattle per male-headed household in each community (see Appendix H). In fact, ANOVA revealed that no significant differences existed in this regard between communities (F value = 0.67 [$p > 0.05$]). If male-headed households in each community possessed roughly the same number of cattle, yet Parkishon/Karare women were being allocated significantly more cattle than their counterparts, we must ask whether the men in Parkishon/Karare were benefiting in some way from the allocations. As indicated in Section 7.4, husbands were indeed benefiting from the steady income that their wives provided from milk sales.

7.2.4 Women's Position with Respect to Livestock Transactions

The results indicated that married and widowed women had little authority or autonomy within the realm of decision-making with regard to livestock sales, purchases, loans (to and from the house(hold)), or the slaughter of livestock for food or ritual purposes. Most married women in each community believed that husbands were in charge of making decisions regarding the slaughter of livestock or any transactions involving livestock. They also believed they could never sell livestock without their husbands' permission. While some widows gave the initial impression they were the sole decision-makers in terms of livestock management, on closer questioning, they usually claimed they had a son(s) or a co-wife's son(s), or a brother-in-law, or a father-in-law with whom they had to consult before making any decisions regarding livestock transactions.

As for the men's perspectives, 62% of the Archer's men claimed that any decisions about livestock management were made jointly by husband and wife, whereas 76% of the Parkishon/Karare men and 98% of the Songa men said only husbands made these decisions. Seventy-eight percent of the Parkishon/Karare men conceded that, if they were away and could not be reached, their wives could sell livestock if they needed money for an emergency. Only 25% of the men in Songa said their wives could sell livestock under similar circumstances. Unfortunately, the men's perspectives were not obtained on this matter in Archer's Post.

In summary, in the Archer's Post community, there seemed to be a discrepancy between men and women's perceptions as to who was in charge of decision-making with respect to livestock transactions. Most men claimed both husbands and wives made these decisions together, whereas the women believed only their husbands had any say in these matters. In Karare community, most men stated their wives could sell livestock if need be while the men were away, whereas the women thought they could only sell livestock with their husbands' permission. Songa proved to be the only community where most men and women were in agreement; each perceived that men were the sole decision-makers regarding livestock and that women always needed the permission of their husbands or another male relative before selling any animals.

7.2.5 Customs Regarding the Inheritance of Livestock by Women

One question posed to all informants in the survey was, "Are women able to inherit livestock?" The following is a comparative analysis of the women and men's responses at the community level.

In Archer's Post, the majority of women claimed that women could not inherit livestock because this was traditionally the preserve of men. A widow could only 'inherit' livestock if she had a son(s). Women can never own livestock in the true sense of the word and they can only retain the allocated livestock of their 'houses' in trust for males. If a widow does not have a son, then the son of a co-wife or her dead husband's brother(s) will take the animals away from her. Only one woman in the sample (n = 51) stated that a widow could inherit livestock even if she did not have a son.

The majority of men in Archer's Post (n = 50) did not view the situation in quite the same way, claiming that women could inherit livestock. These men interpreted the term 'inherit' to also include the 'gifts of livestock' that a woman received from her father over her lifetime, and/or the 'allocations of livestock' given to her by her husband. Many men also claimed widows could inherit the livestock of their deceased husbands to hold the animals in trust for their sons. And one man stated that, nowadays, widows without sons often go to court to prevent the families of their deceased husbands from taking the livestock away. In most men's view, however, inheriting livestock and having control over livestock were two separate issues; the latter, they believed, remained ultimately in the hands of males.

In the Parkishon/Karare community, the majority (80%) of the women (n = 41) claimed a woman could only inherit livestock if she became a widow and had at least one son. Twenty percent of the women stated that widows who had borne only daughters could also inherit their dead husbands' livestock, provided they went to the elders, the chief, or the courts in order to fight for possession of the animals. Some of these women claimed that a father is now apt to give his daughter(s) livestock, but first, he will inform

the girl's brothers and/or his own brothers that they must not take the livestock from her after his death. However, when she marries, or if she is already married, her husband will maintain control over the animals.

Eighty-five percent of the men ($n = 41$) in Parkishon/Karare said that a woman can only inherit the livestock assigned to her house after her husband dies if she has a son. However, 15% of the men claimed that a daughter could receive livestock from her father as pre-inheritance and/or they stated that a widow, who had borne only daughters, could inherit her deceased husband's livestock and then leave the animals to her daughters to pass on to grandsons.

In the Songa community, the women ($n = 43$) and men ($n = 40$) unanimously agreed that women were not permitted to inherit livestock from their natal families, because there were multiple complex relationships, entailing debts and obligations, which had been constructed between certain men in connection with the animals. These debts and obligations were similar to liens and were inherited along with the livestock as they passed from one generation of males to another. One man firmly believed that women could not inherit livestock because they could not defend them during raids. The majority of men and women claimed that a widow was only permitted to inherit her dead husband's livestock if she had a son(s) who would take full possession of the animals when she died.

In brief, the overall findings presented in this sub-section suggest that the women in Parkishon/Karare have a slight advantage over the women in the other two communities when it comes to their ability to inherit livestock. Regardless, as this investigation has demonstrated, 'inheritance' of livestock by women does not translate

into 'ownership' or 'control' of livestock by women; the males are the ultimate heirs and controllers of herds no matter which way one approaches the issue.

7.2.6 The Involvement of Females in Livestock Herding

According to the literature, in certain situations and particularly where there is insufficient male labor in a household, practicalities demand that women and young girls undertake the duties of herding, and this may involve caring for small stock, pregnant cows and young animals near the home, or taking large and small stock out to graze on a daily basis. Some women and girls may even look after cattle that are located in dry season grazing camps (Beaman 1983; Dahl 1987; Fratkin 1989; Fratkin and Smith 1995; Joekes and Pointing 1991; Sperling 1987; Talle 1987; Weinpahl 1984).

In order to determine the extent to which females were involved in herding in each study community, each woman was asked to give some information about the person, or people, who tended the livestock assigned to her house. The data in Table 7.5 indicate the percentage of houses in each community in which one or more females participated in small stock and/or large livestock herding. The significance of my findings is that, in each community, female herding activities were largely confined to the grazing of small stock.

Table 7.5 Participation of Females in Livestock Herding (Women's Survey)
Percentage of Houses by Community

Variables	East Uaso/ Archer's Post (n = 51) (%)	Parkishon/ Karare (n = 41) (%)	Songa (n = 43) (%)
Small Stock Herding	41.2	24.4	32.6
Cattle/Camel Herding	18	7.3	2.3

7.2.7 Conclusion

The women and men in each of the study communities were living in sedentary conditions in which their houses and households were livestock poor. In Archer's Post, drought, livestock disease and frequent raids had taken a toll. In Parkishon/Karare and Songa, the livestock economy was now only part of a larger picture, as agro-pastoralism and privatization had become full realities. A significant finding was that, despite the fact that male-headed households in each community possessed, on average, roughly the same number of cattle, the Parkishon/Karare women had been allocated a higher number of cattle than their counterparts in Archer's Post and Songa. While this puts the Parkishon/Karare women at a distinct advantage, this is owed in part to the benefits which the allocations ultimately provide to men in terms of women's milk sales (see Section 7.4).

When women were asked who was in charge of decision-making with regard to livestock transactions, the majority of women in each community believed that husbands were the sole decision-makers and that women could only sell livestock with their husbands' permission. The men in Archer's Post, however, claimed that both spouses made decisions together where livestock transactions were concerned. The Songa and Parkishon/Karare men maintained that males were the main decision-makers, but Parkishon/Karare men conceded that wives could sell livestock in the event of an emergency when the men were away.

For the most part, the informants claimed that women were not able to inherit livestock, unless they became widows and had living sons. Even then, a widow's role is to hold the livestock of her dead husband in trust for her son(s) until she dies and/or he

becomes old enough to take command of the animals. Yet in Parkishon/Karare, there was some indication that the patrilineal livestock inheritance rules were no longer written in stone. In this community, 20% of the women claimed that widows who had borne only daughters could also retain their deceased husbands' livestock, provided they go to the elders, the chief, or the courts and fight against their brothers-in-law for possession of the animals. Some of the women also said that fathers are now apt to give daughters some livestock as pre-mortem inheritance and they inform their sons and brothers that the livestock are not to be taken away from their daughters when they (fathers) die. Fifteen percent of the Parkishon/Karare men also claimed that a daughter could receive livestock from her father as pre-inheritance, and, interestingly, these men stated that a widow who had borne only daughters, could inherit her deceased husband's livestock and then leave the animals to her daughters to pass on to their sons.

According to the literature, it is not unusual for women and girls to undertake livestock herding duties when necessary. In the communities under study, my findings indicated that female herding activities were largely confined to the grazing of small stock.

7.3 GENDER AND LAND

7.3.1 Introduction

What are Samburu, Ariaal and Rendille women and men's attitudes towards sedentarization and privatization? Does land have spiritual meaning to them as well as economic value? In the communities where privatization is already in progress, are women being included, or excluded, in the land registration process? If they are being excluded, do women feel fairly confident they have secure usufruct rights to land? And

what practices, if any, are unfolding in these communities with respect to women's rights to inherit land? This section addresses all these questions in the context of my findings on women and men's relationships with land.

Most of the sub-sections that follow largely focus on land-related issues pertaining to Parkishon/Karare and Songa communities. The informants in Archer's Post were not involved in the process of individualized tenure. The questions posed to them during the surveys were restricted to ascertaining their opinions on sedentarization and individualized tenure, and whether they felt a spiritual connection with the land and surrounding environment.

Each of the following seven sub-sections addresses a specific set of land-related issues. Sub-section 7.3.2 presents a brief overview of the literature, describing the current debate over tenure reform in Africa and the effects of privatization on women. Most of what we know pertains to women in agricultural societies because little research has been carried out regarding the effects of privatization on pastoral women. Sub-section 7.3.3 reviews the land situation as it was in each community during the time of my research (see also Chapters 2 and 4). Sub-section 7.3.4 analyzes the respondents' perspectives on sedentarization and sub-section 7.3.5 presents the informants' opinions on privatization.

In sub-sections 7.3.6, 7.3.7 and 7.3.8, I analyze women and men's status with respect to registered land in Parkishon/Karare and Songa. In 7.3.6, I give the specifics regarding the ways that the informants initially obtained land and the sizes (acreage) and locations of their *shambas*. I also indicate, at the community level, the percentage of women and men who claimed that their *shambas* contained a source of water. I give

details on which women had been able to register land in their own names and how many informants had sold part of her/his *shamba*. In 7.3.7, I analyze the position of women with respect to the local practices governing land inheritance and, in 7.3.8, I describe the informants' sentiments on the subject of 'landlessness.' Sub-section 7.3.9 summarizes the opinions of the informants with respect to the spiritual meaning of land. And in sub-section 7.3.10, I discuss the significance of the all the major findings highlighted in Section 7.3.

7.3.2 Summary of Related Literature: The Broad Debate Surrounding Tenure Reform in Africa and Effects of Tenure Reform on Women

Much of the African continent suffers from chronic shortages of food. Since the 1980s, western governments and donor agencies have increasingly pressured African nations "to develop large-scale land privatization and title registration programmes to provide tenure security in order to increase investment in agriculture" (Field-Juma 1996:21). Western economists who abide by the 'property rights' paradigm based on neo-classical theory contend that African indigenous land tenure systems are inefficient due to fragmentation of holdings and ambiguous property rights. The latter, they claim, produce high transaction costs in ownership determination and litigation of sales, as well as continuing uncertainty regarding possible contestations (Barrows and Roth 1990). In addition, customary tenure systems are viewed as technologically 'static' and a hindrance to the conception of entrepreneurial activities because of the heavy emphasis placed on kin networks and obligations (Huss-Ashmore 1989:19; Besteman 1994).

Western-based reform proponents claim the first step towards solving the agrarian crisis is to consolidate land and individualize title in order to bring about tenure security. By offering tenure security, they argue, African governments could raise the

incentive of farmers to invest in land and technological improvements, facilitate farmers' access to credit, reduce dispute and litigation costs, and make it more conducive for farmers who possess more cash, ambition and/or kin to increase their landholding and implement large scale agricultural production (Atwood 1990:659; Barrows and Roth 1990; Besteman 1994; Shipton 1988:98-99). Efficiency and productivity justifications for privatization have also been posed for livestock development, with claims that enclosure of private herds would enhance soil conservation and control livestock disease (Shipton 1988:89).

The counter arguments arising over radical African state individualization campaigns, or state-imposed villagization and/or collectivization reforms, attempt to dismantle the main criticisms of indigenous tenure systems by refuting some, or all, of the justifications for tenure reforms (Atwood 1990; Barrows and Roth 1990; Bassett 1993; Besteman 1994; Bruce 1993; Gyasi 1994; Migot-Adholla *et al.* 1991). Rebutters additionally call in to evidence the current or possible deleterious socio-economic effects of reform on indigenous societies, indicating both the negative repercussions for long-term resource sustainability and the structural parameters of reforms that inhibit any resolution of the agrarian crisis (Atwood 1990; Bazaara 1994; Berry 1988; Besteman 1994; Bruce 1988; Deng 1988; Fleuret 1988; Hoben 1988; Lane and Moorehead 1994; Lenaola *et al.* 1996; Melasuo 1990; Ndagala 1994; Ogolla and Mugabe 1996; Okoth-Ogendo 1993; Shipton 1988). The central theme running through most counter debates is the problem of land concentration, which, it is generally argued, results in land dispossession and the growth of landlessness (Fratkin 1994; Galaty 1994a, 1994b, 1996; Galaty *et al.* 1994; Lane 1994; Ocan 1994; Saul 1998; Shipton 1988).

Land dispossession and the growth of landlessness are topics of concern with respect to pastoralists and women in general in Africa. In brief, many investigators have noted that the majority of indigenous tenure systems in Africa do not recognize land ownership rights for women (Bruce 1993:46; Davison 1988a; Hakansson 1988; Hay 1982). They claim that in East African patrilineal agricultural societies, for example, men acquire individual rights to land *via* their membership in a lineage group and these rights are transmitted by inheritance laws which are biased towards males. The division of land generally follows house-property complex rules so that, in polygynous unions, any land that is allocated to a man by the lineage group is divided equally between his wives. Women maintain their plots of land for subsistence and/or cash crop purposes while holding it in trust for their sons; in this capacity, the women serve as mediators for the transmission of property from one generation (father) to another (son). The women's actual rights to land are, however, merely usufruct and access is primarily gained through relationships with men (i.e. husbands, sons, fathers or brothers). Thus, researchers emphasize that land control customarily rests in the hands of males (Bruce 1993; Davison 1988a; Hakansson 1988; Hay 1982).

Kenya is the only country in Africa that pursues an out-and-out campaign for generalized privatization (Barrows and Roth 1990:265; Field-Juma 1996:21). The state has institutionalized statutory laws which permit women to inherit, purchase and own land. The Law of Succession Act (1972) gives daughters the same rights as sons to inherit property; the Married Women's Property Act (1882) and the Law Reform (Married women and Joint Tortfeasors) Act (1935) of England, have both been incorporated into the Laws of Kenya; and the Registered Land Act (Chapter 300) is non-

discriminatory regarding ownership of land (Karanja 1991, Onalo 1986). Elsewhere in the Constitution, however, Section 82 does not prohibit discrimination on the basis of gender (Mucai-Kattambo *et al.* n.d.). And laws are in place, allowing local land committees to determine the basis for land allocation in most areas of Kenya. These committees generally allocate land to males, under the principle and assumption that their family members will have access to, and use of, the land.

Davison (1988a, 1988b) and Karanja (1991) outlined the effects that Kenya's land reform policies have had on many women in agricultural societies, contending the capitalization of agriculture and individualization of tenure simultaneously marginalized women's labor and placed males in control of income-generating cash crop production. Furthermore, male-composed land adjudication committees promoted the registration of land title solely under the names of household male elders. As more and more land was taken up in commercial farming, women became less able to grow crops for their households and grew more reliant on producing cash-value crops to earn income to buy food for their families. Where they previously enjoyed some degree of self-sufficiency, women became more dependent upon males, who, as farm managers, landowners and kin, controlled female labor and income, as well as the allocation of women's rights to land.

Davison (1988b: 168-172) commented that marital status plays a key role in determining a woman's access to land in agricultural societies, in that unmarried, separated or divorced women rely on their fathers and/or brothers to provide them with land. A widow is at risk because male relatives or grown sons of her deceased husband may make immediate claims to her assigned plot of land and the latter is unlikely to be

registered in her name. In addition, co-wives often have limited access to land for subsistence purposes since individual husbands cannot afford to purchase more property to bolster holdings that have dwindled due to inheritance or cash-crop production factors.

Previous research about women and land ownership is largely non-existent in the pastoral realm; most investigations carried out in Kenya have focused primarily on the effects of land reforms on men. A number of studies (Galaty 1980, 1994a, 1994b) investigated the formation and subsequent division of Maasai group ranches, and from these findings it was noted that Maasai women were not granted ownership of group or private ranches (Horowitz and Jowkar 1992:33). Pointing (1995:259) also mentioned the discrimination which pastoral women experienced during the registration process of group ranches and paralleled this with the experiences of women farmers throughout Sub-Saharan Africa.

7.3.3 The Land Situation in Each Community (See also Chapters 2 and 4)

Archer's Post, Samburu District

The informants in Archer's Post community resided as semi-permanent residents (i.e. squatters) in various settlements within the town limits. This area is not communal land. At the time of the surveys, none of the respondents possessed allocated plots with temporary leaseholds granted by the Samburu County Council. Individualized tenure was not in progress in Archer's Post; privatization was restricted to collectively-held group ranches. Whether or not any of the informants were registered members of the nearby GirGir Group Ranch was never determined. At the time of my research, the Council and the Group Ranch officials had not made any attempt to prevent non-registered members from using the ranchland. Only one woman claimed she and her

husband owned their own their own parcel of land but the *shamba* was located in Isiolo District and was maintained by the couple's children. Two men said they possessed parcels of land; however, one stated that his land was located in Loroki and was registered in his father's name, while the other claimed that the Group Ranch Committee had given him a small piece of grazing land in Losesia. Whether this man meant that he was herding livestock in Losesia and had not been expelled from the land by the Group Ranch Committee, or that he was a registered, or soon-to-be registered member of this proposed Group Ranch scheme, was never determined.

Parkishon/Karare, Marsabit District

According to the Marsabit District Commissioner, the Kenyan government intends to survey and privatize all the land on Mount Marsabit, excluding the National Park and Forest Reserve. This is to be carried out at no cost to the local residents except for the survey fees. The Chief of Karare Location, Mr. A. Galsaracho, confirmed that the Karare Location Land Committee recently recorded all the names of residents in the Parkishon/Karare region who either received, or had been allocated, land. The local authorities had agreed to survey the parcels sometime after the 2002 National General Election. At the time of my research, land surveys had not taken place in Parkishon/Karare and none of the local residents had titled deeds.

Songa, Marsabit District

In Songa community, land surveys had already been carried out prior to my research and the residents were waiting for their titled deeds. Privatization is a politically sensitive issue in Songa due to the persistent claims of the neighboring Boran that they are the rightful owners of the area.

7.3.4 Informants' Views on Sedentarization *versus* Migration

Archer's Post

All informants in Archer's Post were asked whether permanently residing in one place was better or worse than moving around. Sixty-three percent of the women (n = 51) and 66% of the men (n = 50) claimed that permanently residing in one place was better. The women argued they had few livestock now and many said they needed easy access to the Archer's Post market to sell *changa'a* in order to purchase food. They also stated that migration increased the risk of raids and banditry and it was better for their families to live near reliable water sources, health care facilities, government services and schools. The men likewise mentioned the advantages of having better security and of dwelling near local institutions and services, notably the educational facilities that were established for their children. In addition, they claimed moving around was costly and time-consuming due to the constant need to rebuild houses and reconstruct enclosures for the livestock. The men stated it was better to have a permanent place in which to live and either take the livestock out to graze on a daily basis or place the animals temporarily with relatives who would care for them. Furthermore, the Samburu men foresaw a time when the land would become more 'developed' and believed if they continued to move around, they would decrease their chances of ever obtaining plots of land.

In contrast, roughly 20% of the men and women believed that being permanently settled was far worse than moving around because migrating was the most efficient way to search for pasture and water for the animals. Some felt that permanently residing in one place enhanced the spread of desertification and/or livestock disease. One man stated

he missed the state of involvement that he had with his livestock when he migrated from place to place.

Some women and men believed that having a permanent home and moving around were both good, stating that one's choice depended on one's situation or the environmental conditions. If one was elderly, or if one had small children in school, then residing in one place was good, but if one was young and had lots of animals then moving around was good. These Samburu felt that it was better to maintain both types of lifestyle so that if a prolonged drought occurred, they had the option of migrating in order to mitigate any damaging effects on their livestock.

Parkishon/Karare

The majority (98%) of women (n = 41) in Parkishon/ Karare believed that residing permanently in the area was better than moving from place to place because the former type of living arrangement enabled the Ariaal people to farm. The women also mentioned that the climate was good and they had enough pasture and water for grazing the animals. An added bonus, they claimed, was living in close proximity to the main road and Marsabit town, which made it easier for them to conduct milk sales.

All the men (n = 41) believed that sedentary living was better than constantly moving, because they could grow crops and plant fruit trees and not be so dependent on livestock to support their families. They could also build permanent houses and their children could easily access schools and health care facilities.

Songa

Seventy-two percent of the Songa women (n = 43) believed that permanently residing in the area was better than constantly moving around. Their reasons were fairly

numerous. Sedentarization allowed them to farm and grow crops, which, in turn, gave them the ability to provide a more balanced diet for their families and to market produce in order to buy various commodities. In addition, they claimed their people now had easier access to markets, government administration offices and personnel, hospitals and health clinics, and schools. The women also said they had better access to media sources and were much more aware of world news.

In contrast, 28% of the women stated that sedentarization had made their living conditions worse, claiming that both people and livestock were now exposed to more parasites and diseases. They stated there was increased drug abuse, loss of cultural values and mutual respect, and low community labor input because many children were now going to school. They also complained that the community was subjected to harsh directives and laws because Songa was within easy reach of the government administration offices. And finally, many women felt that livestock numbers were not increasing under conditions of sedentarization and that overgrazing was causing soil erosion around the community.

The majority (90%) of men ($n = 40$) also believed that sedentarization was better than moving from place to place. Many of the reasons they gave were similar to those given by women; however, they also mentioned that monetary dependence on livestock sales was not reliable and they had accumulated more wealth *via* agricultural development. In addition, men claimed that settled living allowed families to develop stronger relationships, build permanent homes and take advantage of the educational facilities available for their children. The men's basic outlook was that people moved around because of major difficulties and when they settled, there were opportunities.

Only 10% of the men thought that their living conditions had become worse with sedentarization. Most of their reasons were similar to those given by women, but they also added that sedentarization had caused more inter-ethnic conflict and had diminished the warriors' ability to defend the community.

7.3.5 Informants' Views on Privatization and Land Title

Archer's Post

The majority (80%) of women (n = 51) and the majority (88%) of men (n = 50) in Archer's Post looked favorably upon individualized tenure and each of these informants stated that she/he would like to possess titled deed to land in future. Women claimed land title would ensure that they and their children would always have a place to live and nobody could ever tell them to move. A few women added they would plant crops and obtain food from the land, while many others stated they would sell part of their land to obtain money. The men, on the other hand, viewed land title as a strategy for personal security or as a potential means for obtaining bank loans.

Some women (14%) and several men (4%) did not know what land title entailed. A few others felt that land title would not be good because their livestock would be reduced to grazing on small portions of land.

Parkishon/Karare

All the women (n = 41) believed it would be good to receive land title because then nobody could take away their land. And all the men (n = 41) looked forward to receiving land title because they claimed this would give them security of land ownership and enable them to apply for loans.

Songa

Despite some Songa women's negative sentiments about sedentarization, 100% of the women (n = 43) claimed that land title would be a good thing to possess because this would provide security of ownership. They also believed the issuance of titled deeds would allow most families to obtain loans to develop their farms, should they choose to do so.

As for the men's perspectives, 90% of the sample (n = 40) believed that individualized tenure was good. The main reasons included security of ownership, the ability to apply for loans and/or sell part of the land, and the ability of children to receive a 'practical' inheritance that would allow them to 'exchange' land for livestock or money. Only five percent of the men believed that land title was bad. One man stated that many Ariaal and Rendille did not know the importance of land title and that they must be educated about its meaning before titled deeds were issued. Another man argued that land title would give the Ariaal and Rendille people the ability to sell their land to anyone without consulting the members of the Songa community. Five percent of the men admitted they did not know enough about land title to offer their perspectives.

7.3.6 Specifics regarding Registered Land in Parkishon/Karare and Songa

Parkishon/Karare

Women and Land (Parkishon/Karare)

Almost all of the Parkishon/Karare women (n = 41) did not have any problems in accessing land; 98% of the sample stated that they had *shambas*. However, only 5% (2) of the women had land registered in their own names with the local authorities. One married woman claimed her father had given her land, and another married women stated

she had bartered five cattle for her *shamba*. Another 10% of the women claimed their *shambas* were registered in their names and those of their husbands. Only 7% of the women stated they had some knowledge of Kenya's statutory laws governing the rights of women to own and/or inherit land.

The majority of the women had either been allocated (56%) or 'given' (32%) land by their husbands. They stated that most of their husbands were originally assigned land by the Chief, the elders and/or the County Council. Twenty-two percent of the women claimed their co-wives had been allocated separate parcels of land, whereas 12% stated that they and their co-wives shared the same piece of land.

There was no consensus among the women as to where house(hold) land was registered. Approximately 10% believed the records for land allocations were kept in the Chiefs' offices in Parkishon and Karare, whereas 27% of the women thought the registration records were held in the County Council office. Another 34% said the records existed in the Agricultural Office in Karare or Marsabit.

Forty-six percent of the women claimed they resided on their *shambas*; 37% stated they lived only a short distance away and 15% claimed they had to travel a few kilometers to reach their land. The sizes of women's *shambas* generally ranged between 1-2 acres (44%) and 3-4 acres (29%). All the women said that they had no permanent or piped-water sources on their land.

None of the women or their husbands had sold part of their land. In principle, they could not sell their land without obtaining titled deeds, but this did not stop some Songa informants from selling part of their *shambas* before obtaining titled deeds. Seven percent of the Parkishon/Karare women worried that their land could be reallocated to co-

wives and/or their co-wives' sons, but generally the majority of the women felt confident they would be able to continue to use the land assigned to them during the coming year. Roughly 50% of the respondents claimed their husbands could not sell the land allocated to them without obtaining their permission, but one woman believed her husband could sell her allocated land without consulting her. Unfortunately, the rest of the women were not asked what their own situations were with regard to this issue.

Men and Land (Parkishon/Karare)

Ninety-five percent of the Parkishon/Karare men ($n = 41$) had designated parcels of land. And 13% of the men claimed they possessed two *shambas*. The majority (80%) of men said the land was registered in their names or their fathers' names. None of the men claimed that land was registered in their wives' names or in both spouses' names, but one man admitted that 'his' land was actually registered in his mother's name. Ninety-eight percent of the men had no knowledge of Kenya's statutory laws that govern the rights of individuals to own or inherit land.

The majority (77%) of men stated that the Community Trust Land Committee or the Chief and the elders, or their fathers, had originally allocated the land to them. Two men (5%) claimed to have purchased their *shambas*, one man (3%) said he received land as a gift from his brother, and 15% of the men claimed they inherited the land from their fathers. One man stated that one of his two wives did not have allocated land, but the rest of the men with land claimed their wives had been allocated *shambas*.

The Parkishon/Karare men were no better informed than the women regarding the exact location(s) of the land registration records. Approximately 33% of the men believed the records were kept in a registration office in Marsabit, 21% stated they were

housed in the Chief's office in Karare, and 18% claimed they could be found in the Chief's office in Parkishon. Ten percent believed that the County Council Office was in charge of land registration records, 8% claimed they were held in the Agricultural Office in Marsabit and 5% of the men thought the records lay in the Agricultural Office in Karare.

Forty-four percent of the men stated their *shambas* were located next to their homes, 31% claimed they had to walk for a short distance to their *shambas* and 23% declared they had to travel one to two kilometers to reach their land. As would be expected, the number of acres designated to most men was larger than the number of acres which husbands, in turn, allocated to women. Only 5% of the men (n = 39) stated their land contained permanent water sources.

Table 7.6 Size (acreage) of Men's Household *Shambas* in Parkishon/Karare Percentages by Sample (N = 39) (January 2003 – May 2003)

No. of Acres	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-8	8-10	10-15	N/S
% of Households	12.8	28.2	12.8	12.8	23.1	5.1	2.6	2.6

The majority (95%) of men claimed their land could not be reallocated to other people. None of the men had sold part of their land. And 68% of the men said they would need to obtain permission from their wives and/or their sons before selling any portion of their land.

Songa

Women and Land (Songa)

Ninety-five percent of the Songa women (n = 43) claimed they had *shambas*. Five percent of the women stated that their *shambas* consisted of borrowed land; one woman claimed she had land on Leiyai ridge that was registered in her name, but she had

been forced to move temporarily to borrowed land because of the threat of attacks from the Boran.

Twenty-one percent of the women had land registered in their own names; three of these women were married and the other six were widows. Another widow stated that she had a two-acre *shamba* in Karare that was registered in her name, but she currently cultivated crops on borrowed land in Songa. One woman said that her *shamba* was registered in her own name and her husband's name, another woman claimed that the land she lived on was registered in her deceased daughter's name, and a third woman said 'her' *shamba* was registered in the names of her mother and father. Compared to the results indicated for Parkishon/Karare, the above data indicate that a significantly higher number of women had been included in the registration process in Songa. There is some evidence to suggest that the survey process possibly contributed to some women's inclusion as one married woman stated that the family's *shamba* ended up being registered in her name because her husband was away at the time of the survey. Perhaps when formal surveys are carried out in the Parkishon/Karare region, more women's names will be included in the land registration process. Only 7% of Songa women had any knowledge of Kenya's statutory laws governing the rights of women to own and/or inherit land.

Most women (58%) claimed that they and/or their husbands were originally allocated land by the Community Trust Land Committee in Songa, while others stated they received land from their siblings or other relatives (both male and female), or a missionary. Sixteen percent mentioned they shared land with their co-wives, one woman

(2%) claimed her co-wife had her own plot, and 9% of the informants stated their co-wives did not have any access to land.

Overall, the Songa women seemed fairly well-informed as to the exact location of the land registration records. Forty-nine percent of the informants stated that the survey and registration records were kept in the Marsabit District Survey Office, and 37% claimed that the records were filed in the Songa Land Adjudication Section in the office of the Ministry of Land and Settlement (Kenya).

Sixty percent of the women claimed they resided on their *shambas*, 14% stated they lived only a short distance away, and 19% said they needed to travel a few kilometers to reach their land. The sizes of women's *shambas* were described as being 1-2 acres (23%), 2-3 acres (12%), or 3-4 acres (21%). Fifty-three percent of the women stated they had access to piped water on their land.

None of the women or their husbands had used their land as credit to obtain loans because they did not yet have titled deeds. One widow, who had 18 acres registered in her name, claimed she sold two acres for 60,000 Ksh. A married woman disclosed that her husband had sold part of their land but she did not give specific details. Only 9% of the informants were worried that their land could be reallocated to someone else in the coming year (i.e. three women who relied on borrowed land and one woman with a land-hungry co-wife). Roughly 63% of the women felt certain their husbands could not sell all, or part of, the household land without obtaining their permission.

Men and Land (Songa)

All the men (n = 40) in Songa stated they had land. Ten percent mentioned they 'owned' two *shambas*. Fifteen percent of the men claimed their land had never been

registered or surveyed; 40% stated that their land was registered in their own names. Seven percent claimed that the land was registered in the names of their fathers-in-law, which indicates that some men are accessing land *via* their wives. One man said that his father was the registered landholder and another man stated that his *shamba* was registered in his maternal uncle's name. The remainder (32%) of the men did not specify as to whether their names were registered as landholders or not. None of the men had any knowledge of Kenya's statutory laws governing the rights of individuals to own or inherit land.

The majority (52%) of men claimed that they obtained land through allocations granted by the Trust Land Committee or through staking their own claims to land. Ten percent stated they purchased land through the means of savings, bartering livestock or borrowing money from relatives; others claimed they inherited the land (12%), or borrowed the plots (12%), or received land as a gift (12%). Most had inherited land from their fathers, but one man admitted he had inherited land from his concubine. The primary gift-givers of land were the men's brothers. With the exception of one man, all men stated their first wives had access to land and all who had second wives stated that they also had access to land. Third and fourth wives did not seem to fare as well; only 50% of third and fourth wives had access to land.

The majority (60%) of men claimed that the land registration records were held in the Marsabit District Survey Office. Twenty percent maintained that the records were kept in the Songa Land Adjudication Section, in the office of the Ministry of Land and Settlement (Kenya).

Eighty percent of the men said they lived on their *shambas*, while the rest of the informants claimed that their *shambas* were very close to home. Table 7.7 presents statistics with respect to the sizes of men's household plots in Songa. Most (57%) of the men claimed they had access to piped-, or permanent water supplies on their land.

**Table 7.7 Size (acreage) of Men's Household (H/H) *Shambas* in Songa
Percentages by Sample (N = 40)
(January 2003 - May 2003, inclusive)**

No. of Acres	< 1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-8	8-10	10-15	N/S
% of H/Hs	7.5	17.5	12.5	10	10	20	2.5	12.5	7.5

The majority (90%) of men declared that their land could not be reallocated to other people. None of the men had used land as credit to take out loans, because they did not yet have title. Three men had sold portions of their land: one man sold two acres in the year 2000 for 40,000 Ksh., another sold three acres in 2000 for 60,000 Ksh., and the third man sold two acres in 1999 for 100,000 Ksh. A fourth informant stated that he gave away sections of his land to his daughter and his brother. Eighty-two percent of the men claimed they would need to obtain the permission of their wives and/or their sons before selling all, or part of, their land.

7.3.7 Protocols regarding Inheritance of Land by Women

Parkishon/Karare

The local practices regarding the inheritance of land are in flux in Parkishon/Karare largely because the move to individualize tenure is relatively recent. Even though the residents have only begun to devise protocols in regard to land inheritance, there are already indications that they have modified the age-old custom of favoring the rights of males just enough to allow some women to inherit 'rights to access land.' The latter may sound peculiar, but there really is no other way of phrasing it.

Most (88%) of the women (n = 41) and the majority (95%) of the men (n = 41) claimed that women could inherit land, but added that certain qualifications applied. In the matrimonial realm, a widow with a son(s) is always permitted to inherit her dead husband's land, but if she only has a daughter(s) and does not have a co-wife with a son, her male in-laws will attempt to take the land away. In such a scenario, the widow can either appeal to the elders or her clansmen to protect her or take the matter to court. If a widow has assertive brothers, they are apt to prevent her in-laws from seizing the land so that her daughter(s) can inherit the property.

Where the inheritance rules for land largely diverge from those for livestock is within the context of the transmission of property within a woman's birth family. Forty-nine percent of the women and 66% of the men said that fathers now frequently give their daughters land before they die and established their daughters' rights to the land by forbidding their brothers and/or sons to take the land away following their (fathers) demise. Even if the land is transferred to a daughter's husband, the giving of pre-mortem inheritance secures the daughter's access to land, which, in turn, may guarantee that her mother has access to land during her lifetime should she not have a son.

Songa

Protocols regarding inheritance of land have not yet been devised in Songa. According to the Rendille and Ariaal, land inheritance is evolving into an issue that is much more complicated and more sensitive than livestock inheritance and because the protocols for land inheritance remained undetermined, each man or woman was using his/her own discretion when it came to passing land on to children.

The majority (88%) of the women (n = 43) claimed that women could inherit land and only a few women stated that widows could not bequeath land to their daughters. Eighty-one percent were certain that fathers could allocate land to their daughters as a type of pre-mortem inheritance 'gift.' Seventy-nine percent also claimed that brothers could allocate land to their sisters, if they choose to do so.

Most (57%) of the men (n = 40) also stated that women could inherit land. Widows could, and daughters could, but in the case of daughters, this largely depended on the goodwill of fathers and whether their daughters had been nice to them. Eighty-five percent of the men stated that a father could allocate land to his daughter(s), but most added that in order to make this allocation permanent, the father must give the land to her before he died and make it clear to his brothers and sons that this land was not to be taken away from her in future. Only 42% of the men stated that brothers could allocate land to their sisters and noted this was more apt to happen if a sister was particularly good to her brother(s).

In comparison to the results obtained from the Karare samples, more Songa women and men claimed that widows who did not have sons could pass their land to daughters. Many informants stated if a widow made formal arrangements with the local authorities and/or her brothers-in-law prior to her demise, her daughter(s) would inherit land. And I spoke with some widows who had both sons and daughters and they claimed they planned to make formal arrangements for their daughters to receive, or inherit, part of their land. Despite the fact that local practices have not been formally established with respect to land inheritance by women, most of the Songa informants seemed to be

intuitively moving in the direction of ensuring that females have guaranteed access to land, if not outright ownership.

7.3.8 The Question of Landlessness: Parkishon/Karare and Songa

Parkishon/Karare

Because only two women in Parkishon/Karare had land registered in their own names, and all the women and men had yet to have their land surveyed, each participant was asked if she/he felt 'landless.' Ninety-three percent of the women (n = 41) and 97% of the men (n = 41) stated they did not feel landless. In the women's opinion, someone was only landless if he/she did not have any place on which to settle. For example, nomads were landless, they claimed, because they did not remain permanently in one place. The majority of women perceived that they had land regardless of whether the parcels were registered in their husbands' names. Only two women said they felt landless. One woman claimed she felt that way because the land was registered in her husband's name, while the other woman maintained that anything could happen and she would not feel secure until the land was surveyed and officially registered in her name. Almost all of the men said they did not feel landless because they had supportive preliminary documents showing that their plots had indeed been registered.

Songa

Since titled deeds had not yet been issued in Songa, and since many women did not have land registered in their own names, each informant was asked if she/he felt 'landless.' The results showed that 44% of the women (n = 43) and 57% of the men (n = 40) stated they felt as though they were landless. These findings demonstrated that the

respondents in Songa felt more insecure than the Parkishon/Karare informants did about maintaining rights to land.

Most of the women who perceived themselves as landless claimed they felt that way for one of the following reasons: a) they or their husbands had not yet received titled deeds; b) they or their husbands were living on borrowed land, in which case, they would not be receiving titled deeds, or c) they felt totally dependent on their husbands or other male relatives because titled deeds would only be issued in the men's names.

Many of the men who perceived themselves as 'landless' were either living on borrowed land or had not registered their land or had their land surveyed. However, a much larger portion of men, whose land had been surveyed, claimed that until they held the titled deeds in their hands, they would not feel secure about ownership since they believed the government could snatch the land back at anytime. I suspect this fear is part and parcel of the insecurities felt by all the informants over the ongoing claims of the neighboring Boran that the land in Songa belongs to them.

7.3.9 Views on Spirituality, Land and the Surrounding Environment

Archer's Post

Most (63%) of the Samburu women (n = 51) and the majority (76%) of men (n = 50) in Archer's Post claimed the land and the surrounding environment had spiritual meanings for them. When women were asked to elaborate on this, however, they had difficulty in articulating the spiritual-land connection they felt and none referred to any particular place as being sacred. This was surprising considering that some women had previously mentioned that the Uaso Ng'iro River was a special place where sacrifices of milk were customarily poured by traditional religious groups of women during

thanksgiving pilgrimages (see Chapter 6). Almost all of the women referred to the recent rainfall that had made the land very green, claiming the healthy state of the land and the contentment of the animals made them feel happy and closer to God. They claimed that the abundant grass was proof of God's love for them and ample vegetation and water enabled the animals to produce more milk for everyone.

Men, on the other hand, referred to specific, sacred places when speaking of their own spiritual relationships with the land. It was they who mentioned the Uaso Ng'iro River in connection with the sacrificial offerings of milk made by women. In addition, the men claimed that mountains, such as Mount Sabachi or those situated in the Matthews Range, or around Maralal, were particularly holy and it was in each of these places that the presence of God could be found. Some men stated that the Tinga forests and the acacia trees were spiritually meaningful to them; however, the majority of men claimed they obtained spiritual nourishment just by witnessing the livestock, the wildlife and the physical features of the land in general, since all demonstrated the presence and power of a supreme being.

Parkishon/Karare

All of the Parkishon/Karare women (n = 41) claimed that the land and the surrounding environment had spiritual meanings for them. When asked to elaborate on the spiritual-land connection, 19% drew upon the biblical teachings of Christianity, stating that "God created the land and environment and gave man power over it, and since man has to sweat on the land to get food, this connects man to the land and to God." The remaining women claimed they had a spiritual connection with the land because God made the land and everything on it and they depended on the land to obtain food, water,

firewood and building supplies, and pasture for their livestock. Nineteen percent (19%) of the women felt spiritually connected to the land because they would one day be buried there; only one woman mentioned that the land had spiritual meaning because it contained sacred places.

Only 56% of the Parkishon/Karare men (n = 41) said they received spiritual nourishment from the land and surrounding environment; the majority of these men referred to sacred places where they had received spiritual guidance, claiming that an external force in charge of all things resided in the *na'apo*, the mountains, the hills, and the rivers. They also referred to Lchuta wells and Ndonyo Nkai as being sacred places where the women's traditional religious groups gathered when the rains were delayed, in order to sing, pray and make offerings of milk to God in exchange for rain. Six of the men stated that the spiritual connection that they initially felt in the sacred places later developed into something greater when they began to attend church. And 44% of the men said they only found spiritual meaning through church attendance, religious education, and/or their belief in Christ, and not through any attunement with the land.

Songa

Sixty-five percent of the Songa women (n = 43) claimed they found spiritual meaning in the land and the surrounding environment. Most women said that God made the land, the mountains and the forests, and they depended on the natural environment for most of their needs. They added that their grandfathers had lived on Mount Marsabit and they felt kinship with this land because their ancestors were buried there. And they said that the sacred water contained in nearby Lake Paradise was used during many of their ceremonies and rituals.

A higher percentage of the men in Songa (n = 41) claimed they felt a spiritual connection with the land. Eighty-seven percent said that everything in the natural world was a symbol of God's greatness and presence. They remarked that all that they witnessed on the land and in the surrounding environment brought them closer to God. The men frequently mentioned that, at death, their bodies would be buried in the land and their spirits would join the Creator; thus, they expressed their sentiments that no true separation existed between people, God and the land. The informants referred to the importance that the community placed on using traditional plants during ceremonial occasions, indicating that the local people had a strong spiritual connection to the surrounding environment. Only two men in the sample noted the existence of sacred places, but neither man described their locations.

7.3.10 Conclusion

There are a number of significant findings in Section 7.3 that warrant discussion. The first set of significant results pertains to the informants' views with respect to sedentarization and privatization. In each community, most informants preferred a settled lifestyle rather than one which would involve continuous migration; the advantages offered by sedentarization far outweighed any of the negative aspects mentioned. The findings indicating that most women and men preferred to live near markets, health care services and schools for their children, and that many families have invested, or wish to invest, in building permanent homes, strongly suggest that most of these pastoralists have no desire to return to a more mobile existence. On the contrary, they seemed to have adapted to sedentarization and their attention is now turned to land privatization in the hopes that tenure reform will eliminate poverty.

Archer's Post has proved to be a haven for many informants because of the ongoing insecurities in the region and the ever-increasing depletion of their herds. According to most men in Archer's Post, dwelling as squatters within the town limits is less costly and less strenuous than migration. Each time they move, huts and livestock enclosures must be dismantled and then reconstructed. The current trend is to take the livestock out to graze on a daily basis or place the animals temporarily with relatives who are able to care for them. In addition, the men foresaw a time when land in, and around, the town limits would become privatized and they believed that they would increase their chances of obtaining land if they and their families remained settled.

In Parkishon/Karare and Songa, sedentarization has enabled the informants to farm and grow crops, which, in Songa, has facilitated the sale of produce to generate house(hold) income. In Songa, the men claimed that monetary dependence on livestock was not reliable and that they had accumulated more wealth through agricultural development. In their view, people only moved around because of major difficulties and settled living brought key opportunities.

In each community, the desire to have one's own piece of land had become prominent. While livestock were still valued for cultural and economic purposes, herds were no longer regarded as primary sources of financial security. In Archer's Post, most men and women wanted the area to become privatized so that they could acquire titled deeds. The benefits which they foresaw included security of ownership, and a means to obtain cash through applying for bank loans or by selling a portion of land. In Parkishon/Karare and Songa, where privatization was already in progress and possession of titled deeds was soon to be a reality, ownership of land was valued for similar reasons.

'Security of ownership' and 'applying for loans or selling land' is a bit of an oxymoron, however. The extremely heavy emphasis which the informants placed on the immediate monetary returns that could be gained by having land title was somewhat disconcerting, particular in the context of Parkishon/Karare and Songa communities. In my opinion, the informants had not really grasped the notion that land ownership facilitated long-term investment. And as one Songa man astutely pointed out, many Ariaal and Rendille did not know the importance of land title. My results revealed that surveyed land had already been sold by four men and one widow in Songa, even though they had not yet officially obtained their titled deeds!

I propose that one of the main reasons for the lack of understanding regarding the importance of landownership lies in the fact that land has always possessed, and still possesses, a spiritual component for most of the informants. In essence, they do not separate spiritual beliefs and the economy with respect to land. The land and the surrounding environment, the inhabitants, livestock, wildlife, sacred places and graves of the ancestors all merge as one construct, denoting the power of a supreme being. For the most part, sedentarization has not conflicted with the pastoralists' concept of 'oneness' with the land, because it has largely entailed 'communal' living, albeit within limited parameters. In Karare/Parkishon and Songa, a sense of private space has developed with the impetus of land registration, to the point where conflict erupts between neighbors over established boundaries, but individuals have not yet really made the psychological leap between their world-view of land and western concepts of landownership. Outwardly, it may appear that they have, in that they are building permanent structures and farming the land, but inwardly, they have not grasp the concept that their *shambas*

will dwindle, not multiply, in size when inherited by their children, and that their families' security will diminish rapidly if they sell a section of land for cash or risk land seizure for non-repayment of bank loans.

The second set of significant results noted in Section 7.3 pertains to the position of Parkishon/Karare and Songa women vis-à-vis privatization (i.e. their rights to own, access, and inherit land). Although each community was at different stages of the privatization process, a general conclusion can be made with respect to the course of action taken during the initial land registration proceedings. In both communities, the majority of women were excluded from the registration process by male authority figures (the chief, the elders, the county council and/or the land committee). Land adjudication committees promoted the registration of land title under the names of household males, the principle being that men would hold land on behalf of their families.

In Parkishon/Karare, only 5% of the women claimed they had land registered in their own names. Another 10% said that their *shambas* were registered in both spouses' names, but none of the men in this community claimed that land was registered either in their wives' names, or in both spouses' names. Since many of the male and female informants in this particular community were married to each other, I can only surmise that these women had misunderstood, or had been misled about the legalities surrounding the registration of the related *shambas*, or some of the men did not disclose that land had been registered under their wife's names or under both spouses' names.

In Songa, 21% of the women had land registered in their own names; three of the women were married and six were widows. As mentioned previously, some findings suggested that the actual survey process possibly contributed to the inclusion of some

women, because, if the male responsible for the household happened to be away at the time of the survey, the surveyor registered the land title under the name of the woman.

Most Songa men had *shambas* that had been registered and surveyed, but not all had the land registered under their own names. One man had land registered under his uncle's name, another had a *shamba* that was registered under his father's name, and 7% of the men held land that was registered under the names of their fathers-in-law. This was the first indication in my findings that some Songa men were accessing land *via* their wives.

In both communities, women were not aware of Kenya's statutory laws governing their rights to own or inherit land. And most Songa women were denied the opportunity to obtain land title when the cost only involved the survey fees. Women in Parkishon/Karare will likely be in the same position once surveys take place in their area and their husbands or male relatives are awarded titled deeds. Women's ability to access land through allocations or loans largely depends on their relationships with men.

The majority of women in Parkishon/Karare had been allocated land by their husbands. Because of lack of available water in this community, none of the informants' *shambas* contained access to piped water. Most women felt fairly confident that they would maintain their usufruct rights to land and stated that their husbands could not sell household land without obtaining their permission. The majority of women perceived that they were not landless, regardless of whether their *shambas* were registered in their husbands' names. In their view, only nomads were landless because they moved from place to place.

In Songa, all the women who did not have land registered in their own names had access to land, or had received allocated land. Unlike Parkishon/Karare women, most Songa women had access to piped water on their *shambas* because of the availability of water and the existence of a piped-water system. Over 50% of the women felt fairly secure about maintaining their usufruct rights to land and most married women believed that their husbands could not sell any of the land without first obtaining their permission. That being said, however, a large percentage (44%) of the sample claimed they felt 'landless' because either they or their husbands had not yet received titled deeds, or they lived on borrowed land, or they felt entirely dependent on their husbands or other male relatives because titled deeds would only be issued in men's names. Overall, Songa women felt more insecure about their ability to maintain access to land than the women did in Parkishon/Karare. They had some reason to feel that way because, as the results indicate in the remainder of this chapter, the financial well-being of Songa women is directly linked to their ability to access land and cultivate crops to generate income from produce sales. In contrast, in Parkishon/Karare, women are more dependent on allocations of livestock than allocations of land as their primary earnings come from milk sales.

Protocols regarding land inheritance by women have not been formally established in Parkishon/Karare or Songa. In both communities, widows who had borne sons are always permitted to inherit their deceased husbands' *shambas*, just as they are entitled to inherit any livestock property. The difference between the communities in this realm is that more Songa men and women acknowledged that widows can inherit land when they have borne only daughters and can pass the land on to them.

In both communities, fathers were beginning to allocate land to their daughters and this was particularly apparent in Songa, where many informants said that fathers were actually awarding land to daughters as pre-mortem inheritance. In order to make an allocation permanent, a father must give land to his daughter before he dies and inform his brothers and sons that the land is not to be taken away from her in future. When she marries, however, any land she holds will end up being partially controlled by her husband. As previously noted, several Songa men claimed that their *shambas* were registered under the names of their fathers-in-law, indicating that they were accessing land *via* their wives. I strongly suspect that the bequeathing of land to daughters, which, in turn, incorporates their husbands into the equation, is linked to the continuing lack of rights that most Songa girls experience with respect to their choice of marriage partners. In effect, a girl's father and/or her brothers cannot afford to take the risks involved if they allow her to choose her husband and he proves to be an unsuitable match for the woman and/or the socio-economic stability of her natal family.

7.4 GENDER AND THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY

7.4.1 Introduction

What are the main income-generating activities of women and men in Archer's Post, Parkishon/Karare and Songa? To what extent are women dependent on the allocation of livestock and/or land from men in order to generate income? And how much do men depend on livestock sales for their earnings? What is the average annual income earned by each gender at the community-level? And what are the average total annual incomes and expenditures of both women's houses and male-headed households? Do spouses pool their income? Are women or men able to save money or acquire credit

and/or loans? Finally, what significant differences exist between the three communities in the above contexts?

This section addresses all these questions via a series of quantitative tables which I present in three major sub-sections. In sub-section 7.4.2, I describe the income-generating activities of the women and the men, revealing the percentage of informants who participate in each activity. In sub-section 7.4.3, I present quantitative data indicating the mean total income and expenses of women's houses during the year prior to the survey. I also discuss the women's ability to accumulate savings and acquire credit and/or loans. And in sub-section 7.4.4, I present statistical data indicating said same for male-headed households. All findings are presented at the community-level.

7.4.2 The Income-Generating Activities of Women and Men

The following tables are designed to illustrate the range of activities and strategies that the women and men have adopted in order to generate income. Many survey participants in each sample were frequently engaged in two or more earning activities; thus, when one totals the percentages given by community in Tables 7.8 and 7.9, each column adds up to more than 100%. Regardless, these figures give us a bird's eye view of the overall strategies used by women and men to gain earnings.

**Table 7.8 Income-Generating Activities of Women
Percentages by Community**

Women's Income-Generating Activities	East Uaso Archer's P. (n = 51) (%)	Parkishon/ Karare (n = 41) (%)	Songa (n = 43) (%)
Sale or Re-sale of Milk	15.7	80.5	37.2
Sale of <i>Sukuma wiki</i> (collard greens) only	-	-	76.7
Sale of Other Produce (maize, beans, tomatoes, bananas, etc.)	-	12.2	53.5
Sale of <i>Changa'a</i>	31.4	-	-
Sale of Beadwork and Artifacts to Tourists	31.4	-	-
Sale of <i>Busa'a</i>	-	12.2	25.6
Sale of <i>Miraa</i>	1.9	-	23.3
Sale of Firewood	19.6	2.4	-
Sale of Water Collected for Others	1.9	12.2	-
Sale of Livestock	9.8	7.3	11.6
Resale of Small Commodities in Settlements (i.e. sugar, tea, tobacco, soap, maize meal, etc.)	-	2.4	11.6
Carrying Milk to Market for Other Women	-	9.8	2.3
Sales (profit) from Self-run <i>Dukas</i> (shops)	-	9.8	2.3
Sale or Re-sale of Animal Hides	3.9	7.3	9.3
Wage labor (maid, child-care, laundress)	5.9	2.4	6.9
Sale of Charcoal	3.9	4.9	-
Sale of Poultry	-	-	4.7
Sale of Eggs	-	-	4.7
Construction of Houses	1.9	2.4	-
Sale of Small Stones for Cement	1.9	-	-
Sale of Woven <i>Makuti</i> for Roofing	1.9	-	-
Midwifery and/or Naturopathic Services	1.9	-	-
Services as Female Circumciser	1.9	-	-
Monetary Settlement from British	1.9	-	-

**Table 7.9 Income-Generating Activities of Men
Percentages by Community**

Men's Income-Generating Activities	East Uaso Archer's (n = 50) (%)	Parkishon/ Karare (n = 41) (%)	Songa (n=40) (%)
Sale of Livestock	82	73.2	75.0
Sale of Animal Hides	82	2.4	7.5
Manual Labor (i.e. fencing, cutting poles, road work, digging/planting <i>shambas</i> , clearing trees and brush, digging dams, digging latrines, breaking up stones, livestock caretaker, house construction, and/ or casual labor in Isiolo)	2	26.8	42.5
Contract Work (i.e. for Civil Service, Food for the Hungry, Christian Children's Foundation, Save the Elephants Project, WFP Relief, the Electoral Commission, or British (for bomb disposal). Watchman, tractor-driver, employee in butcher shop, tree seedling nursery, tourist lodges and campsites or hotels, healthcare worker, or maintenance worker at Catholic Mission.	32	17.1	15.0
Sale of Produce (<i>sukuma wiki</i> , beans, etc.)	-	7.3	32.5
Sale of Produce (Maize only)	-	9.8	27.5
Sale of <i>Miraa</i>	-	-	27.5
Sale of Charcoal	-	9.8	-
Professional Work (i.e. pharmacist (animal medicine), adult education teacher, Assistant Chief, preacher, or serves in Armed Forces)	8	4.9	-
Funds Given by Son(s)	8	4.9	2.5
Income from Pension (retired employee of Kenya Wildlife Service, Armed Forces, or Unnamed Branch of Civil Service.	2	7.3	7.5
Funds Given by Others (i.e. wives, brothers, daughters, and/or in-laws)	6	2.4	2.5
Sale of Carvings, Spears and Stools	6	2.4	2.5
Hire of Oxen/ Ploughing <i>Shambas</i>	-	4.9	5.0
Sale of Tobacco	-	-	2.5
Sale of Honey	-	-	2.5
Settlement Package (from Civil Service)	-	-	2.5
Driver for NGO or Wildlife Reserve Project	2	2.4	-
Rental of Houses and <i>Duka</i> (shop) plots (i.e. as Owner and Landlord)	2	-	-
Funds Given by Christian Children's Foundation (sponsorship of children)	2	-	-

Significant differences exist between the sedentarized pastoral communities with respect to both women and men's income-generating activities. In Archer's Post, women generated income mainly through sales of beadwork and artifacts to tourists, and through sales of *changa'a*, firewood and/or milk to the local residents. Men's earnings were mainly obtained through livestock and hide sales and/or through contract work (i.e. Christian Children's Foundation, Save the Elephants project, WFP Relief, service- and maintenance-related employment at nearby tourist lodges, campsites and hotels, etc.). These findings suggest that more segregation exists between men and women in Archer's Post vis-à-vis income-generating activities than in the other communities.

In comparison, in Parkishon/Karare, the vast majority of women were engaged in milk sales; their other primary or supplementary income-earning activities involved the sale of maize, beans, *busa'a* and/or collected water supplies. And some women (4 of 41) owned or had leased small shops in Karare centre and were generating earnings through small commodity sales. As in Archer's Post, most Parkishon/Karare men earned income through livestock sales, but approximately one-quarter of the men gained earnings through manual labor and one-third obtained income through contract work.

In contrast to the other communities, in Songa, the vast majority of women earned income through sales of *sukuma wiki* (collard greens) and other types of produce (see Chapter 8). A fair number of women were also engaged in the sale of milk, *miraa* and *busa'a*. The Songa men were the most eclectic group in terms of their income-generating activities. While the majority relied on livestock sales, many also engaged in manual labor and contract work to generate income. In addition, at least 25% of the men (n = 40) sold *miraa*, *sukuma wiki* and other types of produce.

The differences observed between the communities with respect to women's earning activities stem from many factors (i.e. political, socio-economic and environmental), the most prominent being the different eco-systems and environment in which each community was situated. Archer's Post is located in a low lying region in Samburu District where rainfall is sparse. The area is much too dry to sustain any type of agriculture. Piped-water supplies have to be pumped to the town from Buffalo Springs in Isiolo District as it is (see Chapter 4). In the year prior to the survey, many livestock had been lost due to drought, disease and banditry. And as noted in Section 7.2, women had been allocated a few cattle for milk supplies. Using their ingenuity, the women developed strategies for earning income which did not rely on men's provisioning of livestock. Tourism dominates the Archer's Post region and both women and men had seized the opportunities available to them to generate income through tourist-related activities.

Parkishon/Karare and Songa are both located on Marsabit Mountain, but each is situated at a different altitude and compass-point on the horizon. Songa has a slightly higher altitude than Karare and is surrounded by forested land. The soil is richer, the air is moister, and there is higher precipitation than in Parkishon/Karare. The community has plenty of water and a piped-water system. As a result, irrigated agriculture is prominent and both women and men engaged in crop production and sale. As noted in the previous sub-section, registered title of surveyed land in Songa had been primarily granted to males. Thus, most Songa women relied on gaining access to land through men in order to generate earnings from the sale of produce.

In contrast to Songa, the piped-water system in Karare had not evolved into one in which individual homes had easy access to water. And in Parkishon, piped water was non-existent, although plans were underway to develop a system. Agricultural activities, therefore, largely involved the cultivation of beans and maize or any crops that could be sustained with limited rainfall. Residents in Parkishon/Karare largely relied on raising livestock and most women depended on the livestock allocated to them by their husbands to generate earnings from milk sales.

Tourism in the Marsabit region is virtually non-existent for a number of reasons. The area is further removed from Nairobi than is Archer's Post and Samburu National Park and the main highway running north from Archer's Post to Marsabit is in extremely poor condition. Banditry along this stretch of road has become a major problem. An airstrip is located in Marsabit and chartered flights from Nairobi are available, but tourist facilities have not been developed, apart from the few rooms and dining services available in the National Park lodge. And the ongoing political unrest between local ethnic groups poses serious security risks to tourists.

The significance that the above mentioned differences between the communities have for house(holds) in each site relates to the members' abilities to venture outside the pastoral or agro-pastoral realm and participate in alternate income-generating activities when necessary. As long as the tourists frequent the lodges, hotels and campsites in Samburu Park and other resorts nearby, the residents of Archer's Post will continue to have the opportunity to work in the tourist industry without needing to leave their homes for extended periods of time. This is especially beneficial for women because it gives

them alternative ways to earn income when they cannot rely on men for allocations of cash and/or livestock.

7.4.3 Income, Expenses, Savings and Loans with respect to Women's Houses during the Year Prior to Survey

Since my results demonstrated that the communities differed with respect to women's income-generating activities, the next question is, did the communities differ in terms of women's average annual earnings from their income-generating activities or the average total annual income accrued by women's houses? Furthermore, did they differ with respect to the average annual expenditures of women's houses and the abilities of women to accumulate savings or access loans? This sub-section addresses these questions.

The statistical data provided in the tables below are only approximate figures. Since the majority of women were non-literate and not familiar with the process of keeping records of their income or expenses, the figures that women gave for each income and expense category were strictly based on personal recall. In actual fact, many women became exasperated during this part of the survey as the concept of budgeting was unfamiliar to them and my questions and calculations seemed unnecessarily time-consuming. Their interest was peaked, however, when they learned what the calculations revealed about their total income and expenses during the previous year. On hearing the tallied amounts, most women were quite shocked that the income and/or expenses of their 'houses' had been "so high."

Most women claimed that their spouses were aware of how much they earned. I cross-checked this information by looking at the results for men's household income in Parkishon/Karare (i.e. most of the female and male informants were married to each other

in this community and most of the female informants were first wives). In Table 7.16, the figures show that men in Parkishon/Karare indicated that their first wives earned 20,374 Ksh. (\$260 USD) per annum. This amount is so close to the 21,223 Ksh. (\$270 USD) indicated for Parkishon/Karare women's earnings in Table 7.10, that I can only conclude that women's husbands were very aware of how much money they earned and this likely applies to the other study communities as well.

Table 7.10 **Average Income of Women's Houses**
During Year Prior to Women's Survey
Means given in Ksh.[#] or US \$ by Community

Income-related Variables	East Uaso/ Archer's P. (Means)	Parkishon/ Karare (Means)	Songa (Means)	F Value
Total Income (Ksh.)/ House ^{##}	49,052 (37) (\$625)	42,793 (39) (\$545)	47,224 (42) (\$602)	0.30 ⁽⁺⁾
Total Income (Ksh.)/ 'House' Capita ^{l-1}	10,690 (37) (\$136)	7,043 (39) (\$90)	10,088 (42) (\$129)	1.90 ⁽⁺⁾
Total Earnings (Ksh.)/ Woman	25,537 (44) (\$325)	21,223 (39) (\$270)	23,110 (42) (\$294)	0.27 ⁽⁺⁾
Total Earnings (Ksh.)/ Woman's Husband	23,090 (21) (\$294)	20,922 (32) (\$267)	27,049 (28) (\$344)	0.33 ⁽⁺⁾
Total Ksh. Received per Woman from Husband	6,498 (40) (\$83)	6,668 (27) (\$85)	2,326 (30) (\$30)	1.02 ⁽⁺⁾
Total Ksh. Received per Woman from Full Brother(s)	708 (45) (\$9)	301 (39) (\$4)	623 (40) (\$8)	0.79 ⁽⁺⁾
Total Ksh. Received per Woman from Full Sister(s)	29 (46) (< \$1)	255 (38) (\$3)	411 (38) (\$5)	1.35 ⁽⁺⁾
Total Ksh. Received per Woman from Birth Parent(s)	235 (45) (\$3)	434 (38) (\$6)	569 (34) (\$7)	0.46 ⁽⁺⁾
Total Ksh. Received per Woman from Friends and Other Relatives	3,022 (45) (\$38)	1,510 (39) (\$19)	5,868 (43) (\$74)	2.20 ⁽⁺⁾

Note: [#] = Currency exchange rate: 78.5 Kenyan Shillings (Ksh.) = 1.00 USD.

^{##} = Total income/house included the woman's own earnings and any money she received from her husband and/or other relatives, and friends.

\$ = USD

^{l-1} = In 2003, the per capita annual income in Kenya was \$360 USD²

(+) = $p > 0.05$ (no significant difference between communities)

Overall, the F values in Table 7.10 indicated that no significant differences existed between the communities with respect to the mean total annual incomes of women's houses and women's average annual earnings. Thus, I contend that the differences between communities in terms of women's main income-generating activities had little effect on the total earnings that women were able generate per annum. In this regard, each community was at par with one another.

Table 7.11 Average Expenditures of Women's Houses
During Year Prior to Women's Survey
Means given in Ksh.[#] or US \$ by Community

Expense-related Variables	East Uaso/ Archer's P. (Means)	Parkishon/ Karare (Means)	Songa (Means)	F Value
Per 'House'	42,945 (46) (\$547)	38,120 (39) (\$485)	39,771 (42) (\$507)	0.27 (+)
Per Capita/'House'	10,321 (46) (\$132)	6,481 (39) (\$82)	8,418 (42) (\$107)	2.27 (+)
Major Expense Categories:				
Food/House ³	29,864 (47) (\$380)	27,235 (39) (\$347)	22,106 (42) (\$282)	2.47 (+)
'Stimulants'/House (i.e. tobacco, alcohol, & <i>miraa</i>) ⁴	4,166 (49) SD = 7,219 (\$53)	1,365 (38) SD = 1,865 (\$44)	1,833 (42) SD = 2,255 (\$23)	4.50 *
School Fees/House	1,944 (46) (\$25)	1,597 (39) (\$20)	3645 (42) (\$47)	0.92 (+)
Medical Services/House	1,268 (45) (\$16)	751 (39) (\$10)	2,246 (42) (\$29)	1.23 (+)
Livestock-Related/House (care/purchase of livestock & bridewealth costs)	2,132 (46) (\$27)	2,019 (39) (\$26)	850 (41) (\$11)	1.38 (+)

Note: [#] = Currency exchange rate: 78.5 Kenyan Shillings (Ksh.) = 1.00 USD.

\$ = USD

(+) = $p > 0.05$ (no significant differences between the communities).

* = $p < 0.05$

Findings revealed that the amount of money that women's houses in Archer's Post spent on tobacco (snuff), alcohol and/or *miraa* was significantly higher than the amount spent by women's houses in Parkishon/Karare. The amount spent on stimulants

by women's houses in Songa was not significantly different from the amount spent by women in Archer's Post or Karare. Many women stated that they purchased alcohol, *miraa* or tobacco for their husbands, relatives and friends.

Other results shown in Table 7.12 suggest that most women frequently use snuff (tobacco) themselves and approximately 30% of the women in Archer's Post and Songa also used *miraa*. Alcohol use by women was most prevalent in Songa.

Table 7.12 Percentage of Women Who Use Tobacco, Alcohol and/or *Miraa* by Community

	East Uaso/ Archer's Post (n = 51) (%)	Parkishon/ Karare (n = 41) (%)	Songa (n = 43) (%)
Tobacco	70.6	63.4	62.8
<i>Miraa</i>	29.4	19.5	32.6
Alcohol	5.9	14.6	37.2

Although no significant differences were noted to exist between communities with respect to the educational expenditures of women's houses (see Table 7.11), for interest's sake, I include Table 7.13 to indicate the average number of female children/house and male children/house who were attending school at the time of my survey. I should note that, when the NARC government took over power in January 2003, a policy of free primary school education was implemented across Kenya. By the time I reached Songa in April 2003, this policy was in full-throttle. As a result, it was difficult to determine how many children had only recently entered, or returned to, primary school because of fee-waivers, or how many had attended school when fee payments were mandatory. In any event, the findings in Table 7.13 are important because, while they suggest that more boys than girls were enrolled in school *per* house, they concomitantly propose that the education of girls was becoming more of a priority.

Table 7.13 **Details on Children's School Attendance**
Means by Community

Variables	East Uaso/ Archer's P. (Means)	Parkishon/ Karare (Means)	Songa (Means)	F Value
Number of Female Children/House Attending School at Time of Survey.	0.7 (43)	0.9 (36)	0.6 (35)	0.70 (+)
Number of Male Children/House Attending School at Time of Survey.	1.2 (46)	1 (39)	1 (36)	0.46 (+)

Note: (+) = $p > 0.05$ (no significant differences exist between the communities)

Each woman was asked which person(s) was in charge of making decisions about, and paying for the expenses incurred by her house. Table 7.14 presents the results at the community-level.

Table 7.14 **Person(s) Responsible for Expense-related Decisions**
and Payment of House Expenses
Percentages by Community

Main Person(s) Responsible for Expense-Related Decisions and Payment of House Expenses	East Uaso/ Archer's Post (n = 51) (%)	Parkishon/ Karare (n = 41) (%)	Songa (n = 43) (%)
Respondent	47.1	19.6	30.2
Respondent's husband	19.6	2.4	2.3
Respondent and husband	25.5	75.6	55.8
Not specified	7.8	2.4	11.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

The findings shown in Table 7.14 strongly suggest that almost half of the female informants in Archer's Post were responsible for managing, and paying for, their families' expenses. Non-pooling of income by spouses appeared to be prevalent. In Parkishon/Karare and Songa, however, many women claimed that they shared the responsibility of managing, and paying for, house expenditures with their husbands. The pooling of income by spouses was particularly evident in Parkishon/Karare community.

Research inquires were also made as to whether any of the women and/or their husbands had established savings accounts at a bank, or whether any of the women had savings hidden in some other location. In each of the Archer's Post and Songa samples, one woman claimed she had her own savings account and four women said that their spouses had bank accounts. None of the Parkishon/Karare women claimed they had bank accounts, but four women stated that their husbands had accounts. When women were asked if they had hidden savings, most (57%) of the Archer's Post informants and the majority (95%) of the Parkishon/Karare women claimed they had savings tucked away in special boxes in their homes, or in the care of trusted *duka*-owners. Only 44% of the Songa women claimed to have hidden savings.

One of my Songa-based field assistants informed me that very few pastoral and agro-pastoral people in northern Kenya entrusted their savings in the care of a bank. There are several reasons for this including the factor of illiteracy, the lack of convenient transportation to bank locations, and the exorbitant cost of bank service fees. For example, in 2003, the policy of the Marsabit-based Kenya Chartered Bank was to take 2% of the sum of each cheque deposited to a client's current account and add a 200 Ksh. (\$2.50 USD) service charge for each transaction. If a client had a savings account, the bank paid interest on the funds in the latter, but charged the client 200 Ksh. for each withdrawal and/or transfer beyond the two permitted withdrawals or transfers *per year* (personal communication, D. Lemoille, Songa, May 12/03).

Table 7.15 presents the final set of figures that are related to the finances of women's houses in each community. The results suggest that very few women were able

to obtain major loans, but many were able to gain access to credit from *duka*-owners in order to purchase food supplies.

Table 7.15 Average Loans and Credits (Ksh.)[#] - Women's Houses Means by Community

Variables	East Uaso/ Archer's Post (Means)	Parkishon/ Karare (Means)	Songa (Means)	F Value
Loans/Woman/House	122 (50) SD = 535	0 (41) SD = N/A	0 (42) SD = N/A	-
Loans/Husband/ House	24 (46) SD = 165	1,263 (38) SD = 7,787	738 (42) SD = 4,628	0.64 (+)
Credit at <i>Duka(s)</i> / House	459 (49) SD = 802	409 (41) SD = 615	380 (43) SD = 753	0.14 (+)

Note: [#] = Currency exchange rate: 78.5 Kenyan Shillings (Ksh.) = 1.00 USD.
(+) = $p > 0.05$ (no significant differences between communities)

In summary, the results in this sub-section revealed that the communities were similar with respect to women's average earnings, their total 'house' incomes and the amount of money they received from husbands, natal kin, other relatives and friends per annum. The communities were also similar with respect to the mean figures indicated for the expenditures of women's houses, with one major exception. Women's houses in Archer's Post spent more on the purchase of stimulants than women's houses did in Parkishon/Karare. Additional results illustrated that almost 50% of the women in Archer's Post were responsible for managing, and paying for, their families' expenses, whereas, in Parkishon/Karare and Songa, most women shared these financial responsibilities with their husbands.

The vast majority of women did not maintain bank accounts, but most women in Archer's Post and almost all the women in Parkishon/Karare had savings hidden away in their homes or in the care of trusted *duka*-owners. Less than 50% of Songa women had any hidden savings. Other findings indicated that few women had been able to obtain

major loans, but many had been able to obtain credit from *duka*-owners in order to purchase food supplies.

7.4.4 Income, Expenses, Savings and Loans with respect to Male-Headed Households during the Year Prior to Survey

As indicated for the women's survey results, the men's survey results outlined in the tables below are only approximate figures. Since the majority of men were non-literate and did not keep records of their income and expenses, the amounts given by the men for different income and expense categories were entirely based on personal recall. Overall, the men's income and expenses were much more difficult to analyze than those of the women because some men had multiple wives and were in charge of two or more 'houses.' During interviews carried out with men, I was struck by the men's intense concentration as they carefully answered the questions posed about their finances. Rather than being exasperated by the questions, as many of the women were, most men were fascinated with the concept that one could keep track of household income and expenses. In fact, many of the men in Songa asked if a future workshop could be given so they could receive instruction on budgeting. Most men were startled to learn that the households they were in charge of had earned and spent so much money during the previous year.

Table 7.16 **Average Income of Male-Headed Households**
During Year Prior to Men's Survey
Means given in Ksh.[#] or US \$ by Community

Income-related Variables	East Uaso/ Archer's Post (Means)	Parkishon/ Karare (Means)	Songa (Means)	F Value
Income/ Household ^{##}	183,603 (46) SD = 98,661 (\$2,339)	78,392 (41) SD = 46,184 (\$999)	89,221 (40) SD = 49,924 (\$1,136)	29.47 ^{***}
Income/ Capita ^{l-1}	26,110 (46) SD = 18,838 (\$333)	10,522 (41) SD = 6,312 (\$134)	21,747 (40) SD = 38,714 (\$277)	4.50 [*]
Income/ Man	115,167 (48) SD = 75,749 (\$1,467)	45,730 (41) SD = 40,525 (\$583)	44,737 (40) SD = 41,333 (\$569)	23.20 ^{***}
Income/ 1 st Wife	44,476 (41) SD = 52,523 (\$567)	20,374 (39) SD = 24,594 (\$260)	35,981 (34) SD = 26,599 (\$458)	4.20 [*]
Income/ 2 nd Wife	30,028 (17) SD = 38,010 (\$383)	22,890 (11) SD = 17,019 (\$292)	30,361 (11) SD = 18,431 (\$386)	0.26 ⁽⁺⁾
Income/ 3 rd Wife	33,000 (6) SD = 46,126 (\$420)	[31,125 (1) SD = N/A] (\$397)	[36,375 (1) SD = N/A] (\$463)	-

Note: [#] = Currency exchange rate: 78.5 Kenyan Shillings (Ksh.) = 1.00 USD.

^{##} = Total income/household includes a man's total income, plus the total income of each wife.

\$ = USD

^{l-1} = In 2003, the per capita annual income in Kenya was \$360. USD.²

(+) = $p > 0.05$ (no significant differences between communities)

* = $p < 0.05$

*** = $p < 0.001$

Archer's Post men, and the totality of their households, had obtained the highest average income during the previous year. In addition, the per capita income and average income of 1st wives was higher in male-headed households in Archer's Post than in male-headed households of Parkishon/Karare. I suggest that the main reason why male-headed households in Archer's Post, and the men themselves, accumulated the highest income is because these men earned more from livestock and hide sales than men did in the other communities during the previous year. The figures in Table 7.17 support this view.

**Table 7.17 Men's Total Earnings from Livestock and Hide Sales
During Year Prior to Men's Survey
Means given in Ksh.[#] or US \$ by Community**

Variables	East Uaso/ Archer's Post (Means)	Parkishon/ Karare (Means)	Songa (Means)	F Value
Income/Man (i.e. his earnings and cash given by relatives and friends)	115,167 (48) SD = 75,749 (\$1,467)	45,730 (41) SD = 40,525 (\$583)	44,737 (40) SD = 41,333 (\$569)	23.10 ***
Earnings Obtained via Livestock & Hide Sales/Man	76,054 (48) SD = 68,553 (\$968)	17,868 (41) SD = 19,406 (\$228)	11,020 (40) SD = 11,190 (\$140)	29.84 ***
Livestock-related Income Expressed as Percentage of Man's Income	66%	39%	25%	-

Note: [#] = Currency exchange rate: 78.5 Kenyan Shillings (Ksh.) = 1.00 USD.

\$ = USD

*** = $p < 0.001$

These results clearly indicate that the domestic economy of Archer's Post is livestock intensive and men in this community accumulated more income from livestock and hide sales than men did in the other communities. When rains are plentiful and livestock are healthy, a livestock-intensive economy gives men greater potential income, but when drought and livestock disease are prevalent, men's earnings become less reliable. One informant stated that generally the men around Archer's Post did not have many other means for obtaining income other than hide and livestock sales. He emphasized that even though some men occasionally obtained contract work, they could not obtain income by doing jobs that were considered to be women's work (i.e. making and selling *changa'a* and/or beadwork, or engaging in child care and cleaning services) because their masculinity would be questioned and their reputation in the community would suffer.

Interestingly, there is a great difference between the average amount of income that Parkishon/Karare men earned per year (see Table 7.16) and the average amount of income that Parkishon/Karare women claimed their husbands earned per year (see Table 7.10). The most obvious reason for this discrepancy is overestimation on the part of the men and/or underestimation on the part of women. I strongly suspect, however, that most Parkishon/Karare wives are kept in the dark about the amount of money their husbands earn, and this could be the major reason for the differences appearing between the two mean figures. I also suspect that a similar situation exists for wives in the other communities.

Table 7.18 shows that the average annual expenditures of male-headed households and the average annual household expenditures for food and for medical services were all significantly higher in Archer's Post than in Parkishon/Karare and Songa. In addition, the male-headed household expenditures per capita and per livestock-related expenditures were both significantly higher in Archer's Post than in Parkishon/Karare.

Most male-headed households in Archer's Post primarily relied on purchased milk supplies and food items for subsistence and, because vegetables and fruits had to be transported daily to Archer's from Isiolo, the cost of fresh produce was exorbitant. Why medical expenses were higher in Archer's Post than in the other communities is somewhat of a mystery to me. Since each community had equivalent medical services, I suspect that the prevalence of malaria, AIDS and illnesses related to poor nutrition in Archer's Post were leading factors. Livestock-related expenses were likely higher in

Archer's Post than anywhere else because of the greater number of small stock owned and the prevalence of various livestock diseases.

Table 7.18 **Average Expenditures of Male-Headed Households**
During Year Prior to Men's Survey
Means given in Ksh.[#] or US \$ by Community

Variables	East Uaso/ Archer's P. (n = 45) (Means)	Parkishon/ Karare (n = 41) (Means)	Songa (n = 40) (Means)	F Value
Expenditures/ Household	147,851 SD = 90,961 (\$1,884)	73,043 SD = 51,553 (\$931)	82,732 SD = 45,113 (\$1,054)	16.08 ***
Expenditures/Capita/ Household	21,499 SD = 16,499 (\$274)	9,527 SD = 5,791 (\$121)	18,661 SD = 25,722 (\$237)	5.19 **
Major Expenditure Categories:				
Food/Household ³	63,312 SD = 32,983 (\$807)	38,864 SD = 19,566 (\$495)	35,915 SD = 17,913 (\$458)	15.91 ***
Stimulants/Household (tobacco, alcohol and <i>miraa</i>) ⁴	9,839 SD = 13,888 (\$125)	5,963 SD = 6,133 (\$76)	16,293 SD = 12,106 (\$208)	8.63 ***
School Fees/Household	6,109 (42) (\$78)	4,198 (\$54)	3,447 (\$44)	0.60 (+)
Medical Services/ Household	7,538 (44) SD = 10,019 (\$96)	2,294 SD = 2,266 (\$29)	1,021 SD = 1,732 (\$13)	13.36 ***
Livestock-Related/ Household (i.e. care and purchase of animals & bridewealth)	10,395 (43) SD = 12,851 (\$132)	4,574 SD = 6,077 (\$58)	6,666 SD = 10,988 (\$85)	3.38 *

Note: [#] = Currency exchange rate: 78.5 Kenyan Shillings (Ksh.) = 1.00 USD.

\$ = USD

(+) = $p > 0.05$ (No significant differences between communities).

* = $p < 0.05$

** = $p < 0.01$

*** = $p < 0.001$

In each community, the average amount of money that male-headed households spent on stimulants was proportionately higher than the money spent on children's school fees. On average, male-headed households in Songa spent a higher amount of money on

the purchase of stimulants than male-headed households in the other communities. And additional results presented in Table 7.19 suggest that the percentage of men who used tobacco, alcohol and/or *miraa* on a regular basis was highest in the Songa sample.

Table 7.19 Percentage of Men Who Use Tobacco, Alcohol and/or *Miraa* by Community

	East Uaso/ Archer's Post (n = 50) (%)	Parkishon/ Karare (n = 41) (%)	Songa (n = 40) (%)
Tobacco	70	70.7	92.5
<i>Miraa</i>	44	39	85
Alcohol	42	61	62.5

Men in each community were asked which person(s) was in charge of making decisions about expenditures, and which person(s) was responsible for the payment of various expenses incurred by their households. Table 7.20 presents my findings.

Table 7.20 Person(s) Responsible for Expense-related Decisions and Payment of Household Expenses Percentages by Community

Main Person(s) Responsible for Expense-Related Decisions and Payment of Household Expenses	East Uaso/ Archer's Post (n = 50) (%)	Parkishon/ Karare (n = 41) (%)	Songa (n = 40) (%)
Respondent and Each Wife	68	78.2	77
Respondent only	8	12.2	20
Respondent and All Wives	2	2.4	-
Wife/Wives only	2	2.4	3
Respondent and Stepmother	2	-	-
Wives, Sons and Daughters	6	-	-
Son(s) only	-	2.4	-
Not specified	12	2.4	-
Total	100	100.0	100

As indicated in Table 7.20, most men in each sample claimed they made expense-related decisions in consultation with each wife and shared the responsibility of paying for 'house' expenses with each wife. Considerable discrepancy exists between the information given by the women in Archer's Post (see Table 7.14) and the data obtained

from the men in the same community, since almost half of the women in the Archer's Post sample claimed they were solely responsible for managing, and paying for, their 'house' expenses.

Inquires were made as to whether any of the men maintained bank accounts and/or if they had savings in some other location. In the Archer's Post sample, 14% of the men (N=50) claimed they had bank accounts and 52% stated they kept savings at home or in a local *duka*. In Parkishon/Karare, 7% of the men (n = 41) reported they had bank accounts and 83% stated they kept their savings in a box at home or in a nearby *duka*. Most informants in Archer's Post and Parkishon/Karare reported their wives were aware of the fact that they had some savings. Most men did not believe that their wives had savings of their own.

The findings in Songa varied from those given above, in that only one man (n = 40) claimed he had a bank account and just 15 men (38%) stated they had savings hidden elsewhere. Only 10% of these men believed that their spouses were aware of their savings. Unfortunately, the men in the Songa sample were not asked if they knew whether their wives possessed savings of their own, and in this regard, my findings are inconclusive.

Table 7.21 presents the final set of results with respect to the finances of male-headed households in each community. No significant differences existed between the communities with respect to the average amount of major loans that male-headed households needed to repay. However, male-headed households in Archer's Post owed significantly more money to local *dukas* because of outstanding accounts than male-

headed households did in the other communities, a finding which again indicates the extent to which Archer's Post households rely on purchased food items.

Table 7.21 Average Loans and Credits (Ksh.)[#] - Male-Headed Households Means by Community

Variables	East Uaso/ Archer's Post (n = 50) (Means)	Parkishon/ Karare (n = 41) (Means)	Songa (n = 40) (Means)	F Value
Loans/Household	1,350 SD = 9,546	49 SD = 312	1,813 SD = 7,090	0.69 (+)
Credit at <i>Duka(s)</i> / Household	1,301 SD = 1,989	256 SD = 608	768 SD = 1,307	6.69 **

Note: [#] = Currency exchange rate: 78.5 Kenyan Shillings (Ksh.) = 1.00 USD.

(+) = $p > 0.05$ (no significant differences between communities)

** = $p < 0.01$

In summary, the men in Archer's Post earned significantly more money in the year prior to the survey than men did in the other communities and the average total income of male-headed households was significantly higher in Archer's Post than in Parkishon/Karare and Songa. The main reason for these differences was the men in Archer's Post earned a proportionately higher amount of income from the sale of livestock and hides than men did in the other communities. Households in Archer's Post also had significantly higher expenditures in all expense categories with the exception of children's school fees and the purchase of stimulants. Male-headed households in Songa spent more on tobacco, alcohol and *miraa* than male-headed households did in the other communities.

In all communities, most men claimed they made expense-related decisions in consultation with each wife. There is some discrepancy between the men and women's responses in Archer's Post on this issue, however, because 50% of the women claimed they were solely responsible for managing, and paying for, their 'house' expenses.

Archer's Post had the highest percentage of men with bank accounts, and most men in Archer's Post and Parkishon/Karare claimed they kept some savings at home or in a local *duka*. Only one man in Songa had a bank account and less than 40% of Songa men had savings kept elsewhere. Overall, the men's households in Archer's Post owed the most money to local *dukas* for outstanding accounts vis-à-vis the purchase of food.

7.4.5 Conclusion

The statistical analyses presented in Section 7.4 represent more than mean figures and percentages. In essence, the figures serve as media for the voices of many Samburu, Ariaal and Rendille people. In various communities, I observed women cooking *changa'a*, weaving *makuti*, creating beaded jewelry and artifacts, gathering firewood and water, and marketing milk, produce, eggs and *miraa*, etc. I also watched as Archer's Post women cleaned and treated animal hides, which men then sold for income. And I observed men caring for livestock, working as watchmen, ploughing and tending *shambas*, erecting fences, clearing trees and brush, and working on road improvement projects. But if my research had only relied on my own observations, I would not have been able to evaluate how much women and men in each community depended on certain activities to generate income, nor could I have provide details about the income and expenditures of women's houses or male-headed households.

Of particular interest in Section 7.4 were the results indicating that no significant differences existed between the study communities with respect to the mean total earnings of women, even though each sample of women pursued different ways and means to acquire income. This suggests that women's income-earning capacities were neither enhanced, nor handicapped because of the locations or typologies (i.e. semi-

pastoral or agro-pastoral) of their communities or because of the prominent types of commodities they sold (i.e. Archer's Post – beadwork and *changa'a*; Parkishon/Karare – milk; Songa – produce). These results run contrary to the claims of Smith (1997:215) who suggested that crop production and produce sales are more advantageous to women than milk sales because they enable “women to make more money and gain economic autonomy.” The results also revealed that women in Archer's Post largely pursued income-generating activities that did not depend on allocations of livestock or land from men; yet, overall, their average annual earnings and household incomes were at a par with those of the Parkishon/Karare and Songa women, whose income-generating activities depended on gaining access to livestock and land, respectively.

Since the total mean expenses and expenditures of women's houses were not significantly different between the communities, despite the differences noted in the ecosystem and environment of each community and the types of income-generating activities of women, I suggest that the figures in Tables 7.10 and 7.11 represent the average annual income and expenses of women's houses in most sedentarized pastoral communities in northern Kenya, provided the community lies in close proximity to a sizeable market place and/or tourist destination.

Men's annual earnings and household income and expenses, on the other hand, indicated that Archer's Post men earned more than men did in the other communities and their household incomes and expenditures were also generally much higher. There are too many variables to consider with respect to male-headed households (i.e. number of wives who are earning income and size of herds vis-à-vis amount earned from livestock sales)

to suggest that the findings in Tables 7.16, 7.17 and 7.18 are indicative of the average earnings and income of men in other sedentarized pastoral communities in the north.

In Parkishon/Karare and Songa communities, married couples pooled their income and managed their finances and payment of expenses together, but in Archer's Post, some evidence suggests that almost 50% of the women were responsible for managing, and paying for, their house expenses. Of the 135 women interviewed across the communities, only two had established bank accounts. And, of the 131 men interviewed, 11 men had set up accounts (seven were informants in Archer's Post). Most women and men in Archer's Post and Parkishon/Karare claimed they had savings hidden elsewhere, but less than 50% of the women and men in Songa made similar assertions. Overall, more men were able to obtain major loans than were women. In terms of outstanding loans and/or credit, male-headed households in Archer's Post owed more money to local *dukas* than households did in the other communities.

Serious attention should be paid to indications that substance-abuse may be a serious social problem in each community. In each field site, I frequently observed men and women using tobacco and *miraa* and more than occasionally encountered men and women who had consumed far too much alcohol. However, it was not until I analyzed the expenditures of women's houses and male-headed households that I realized how much of their total incomes were spent on purchasing stimulants. This is an area in 'research and development' that warrants further investigation.

7.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented a community-level, gender-based, broad-scale analysis of the contemporary socio-economic positions of Samburu, Ariaal and Rendille women and

men in three sedentarized pastoral communities in northern Kenya. In my analysis, I examined the women's ability to gain access to, own and/or inherit livestock and/or land, and their capacity to accumulate enough income *per annum* to cover the expenses incurred by their houses. I inspected whether women were making any headway in obtaining modification to the male-biased customary practices regarding livestock ownership and inheritance, and whether the economic positions of pastoral women had been influenced by the introduction of different forms of land tenure. I also examined whether women were being included in the land registration process in the two communities where privatization was in progress, and whether protocols regarding inheritance were being devised to allow women to inherit land.

The purpose of statistically analyzing the informants' house(hold) economies was threefold. The first objective was to ascertain whether the women in the near-privatized, agro-pastoral communities of Karare and Songa were accumulating more income than the women in the livestock-raising community of Archer's Post, where individualized tenure was not underway. The second and third objectives were to determine the ways in which the women and men in each settled community were spending their total house/household income and which person(s) was considered responsible for expense-related decision-making and payment of the expenditures.

The highlights of my findings are summarized and discussed at the community-level in the context of the three realms that this chapter examined: livestock, land and the domestic economy.

Livestock

Pastoralists settle because they have become livestock poor so it was no surprise to find that women's houses and male-headed households in each community were indeed livestock 'poor' (i.e. < 4.5 TLUs/person). The most startling results were those demonstrating that male-headed households in Archer's Post had lost enormous numbers of livestock during the year prior to the study. The men attributed these losses to the combined factors of drought, various forms of livestock disease and injuries, and the numerous raids made on their livestock by members of the Boran and Turkana societies.

On average, Parkishon/Karare women had a higher number of cattle assigned to their houses and more milch cows allocated to them than women did in Archer's Post and Songa. Thus, they were in better position to provision their families with milk and earn income from milk sales. The situation for women in Parkishon/Karare was much more favorable than it had been during my research in 1995. At that time, the community was destitute, having endured several years of prolonged drought. The women were desperate for income and walked daily to Marsabit to sell small amounts of milk. Most were forced to sell milk in secret because their husbands strongly disapproved of their milk sales. In 2003, however, research results revealed an entirely different story. The recent rains had been plentiful, husbands were allocating women more cattle and the men had become very supportive of women's milk sales. The men had not taken over managing the women's sales, either at home or in the local dairy.

In each community, most women generally believed they had no authority or autonomy when it came to making decisions about selling, purchasing or slaughtering livestock. In Parkishon/Karare and Songa, men also thought males were the main

decision-makers, but men in Archer's Post maintained that their wives participated in livestock-related decisions.

Most of the informants claimed that only widows with sons could inherit their deceased husbands' livestock and these animals were to be held in trust for their sons. In general, women and men claimed that women could not inherit livestock from their natal families as this was the reserve of men. Multiple, complex relationships existed between various men in connection with their livestock, involving debts and obligations; if these were left unpaid or unfulfilled, they were inherited by, and became the responsibilities of, male relatives in the next generation.

Despite this consensus, approximately one-fifth of the Parkishon/Karare informants maintained that girls and women could receive livestock from their fathers in the form of pre-mortem inheritance. The same informants also claimed that some widows who had borne only daughters could gain rights to inherit their deceased husbands' herds provided they went to the elders, the chief, or the courts in order to fight for possession of the animals. In this case, a widow's daughter(s) would later inherit the livestock and pass these on to sons; in other words, the transmission of livestock passed through the matrilineal line.

Other results revealed that females in Parkishon/Karare were also in a more favourable position when it came to labor demands vis-à-vis herding-related duties. Overall, my findings showed that, in each community, female herding activities were largely confined to the grazing of small stock. A community-level comparison indicated, however, that the community with the lowest percentage of houses containing females who were engaged in small-stock herding was that of Parkishon/Karare.

In conclusion, in the realm of gender and livestock, the Parkishon/Karare women have made some headway in procuring more access to livestock than women in Archer's Post and Songa and some Parkishon/Karare women have even managed to bypass the roadblock of customary rules that prohibit livestock inheritance by women. The geographical location of Parkishon/Karare and the herding arrangements for livestock gave women a certain advantage in accessing milch cattle. Most livestock were taken out to graze on a daily basis and were returned home by nightfall. In addition, the development of the local dairy had done much to boost women's morale. Their husbands supported their milk sales and allocated a sufficient number of cattle to their wives to ensure they had enough milk to market.

The women in Archer's Post and Songa were not in very favorable positions when it came to accessing milch cattle. In Archer's Post, most household cattle were herded in *fora* for long periods of time. And in the year prior to the survey, household livestock numbers had been reduced considerably due to drought, livestock disease, raids, and men's livestock sales. These factors made it extremely difficult for women to obtain allocated cattle. In Songa, the predominant economic focus rested on the cultivation and sale of crops, not livestock-husbandry. Raising livestock in close proximity to farms was a difficult feat because of the limited grazing space and the real possibility that the animals would be raided by the Boran.

Land

Previous research on the effects of land privatization on women in agricultural societies indicated that most women were being excluded from the land registration process and, thus, were becoming more dependent on men, who as farm managers,

landowners and kin, controlled their labor and income, as well as the allocation of their rights to land. Because little was known about on the effects of privatization on pastoral women, my main aim in research was to find out whether the women in the near-privatized ago-pastoral communities of Parkishon/Karare and Songa were being included in the land registration process.

My conclusion is that the majority of women in the two communities had been excluded from the registration process by male officials and authority figures. This is disturbing for a number of reasons. First, most women have missed the opportunity to obtain land title when the price of a *shamba* involved only the remittance of survey fees, which effectively eliminates many of them from entering the land market at a later date because of their low income-earning abilities. Secondly, the majority of women are now totally dependent on males for usufruct rights to land in order to grow household crops and/or produce for market sales. While my findings revealed that Parkishon/Karare and Songa women are not 'landless,' they are still more vulnerable without title, particularly if they do not have sons.

In both communities, the vast majority of women were not aware of Kenya's statutory laws governing their rights to own and inherit land. In other words, women did not know they had legal rights to own land before the land allocation and registration process took place. This was a tremendous oversight on the part of NGO's and development agencies already established in the Marsabit region, especially those whose policies are directed towards enhancing family food security. If women had been aware of their rights prior to registration, more might have been in a position to petition their

local land committees to allocate and register *shambas* under the names of both spouses, and not just the names of their husbands.

Local practice with respect to land inheritance had not been formally established in either community. Generally widows who had borne sons are always permitted to retain their deceased husbands' *shambas* in trust for their sons, just as they are entitled to inherit any livestock property to hold in trust for their sons. The difference between Parkishon/Karare and Songa in this realm is that more Songa men and women acknowledged that widows can retain land when they have borne only daughters and can arrange to pass the land to their daughters.

In both communities, but more so in Songa, daughters were beginning to receive allocated land from their fathers. Some daughters received *shambas* as pre-mortem inheritance if their fathers informed their uncles and brothers that the land was to remain with them after their fathers died. What daughters really inherit are rights to maintain access to the land that is possessed by their natal families. When these daughters marry, their husbands gain some manner of control over the land.

The Domestic Economy

In Archer's Post, most women earned money by selling beadwork to tourists and *changa'a* and/or firewood to local residents, whereas men's income was mainly obtained through hide and livestock sales and contract work. In Karare, the majority of women earned income *via* milk sales and the majority of men gained income through livestock sales and manual labor. In Songa, women and men had each established a diverse range of income-generating activities. Women obtained cash from sales of milk, *sukuma wiki* and other produce, as well as from sales of *busa'a* and *miraa*. Most men obtained income

from livestock sales, and/or sales of produce and *miraa*, and a fair number earned income through part-time employment as manual laborers.

Quantitative analyses of the income obtained by the women's houses at the community-level revealed that there were no significant differences between the three communities with respect to the average total income/house, total income/house capita and total earnings/woman in the year prior to the study. In other words, one cannot say that women were better off in one community or another in terms of 'house' or personal income. Statistical analyses of the expenditures of the women's houses/year at the community-level did show, however, that, on average, houses in Archer's Post spent more money on the purchase of stimulants than women's houses did in Parkishon/Karare and Songa.

Quantitative analyses of the income and expenditures of male-headed households at the community-level revealed very different results from those indicated for women's houses, since some of the male-headed households in each community were composed of multiple 'houses.' My findings showed that, on average, male-headed households in Archer's Post accumulated more income in the year prior to the study than male-headed households did in the other communities, the main reason being that the men obtained more income through hide and livestock sales than men did in Parkishon/Karare and Songa.

Overall, the male-headed household expenditures/year were much higher in Archer's Post than in Parkishon/Karare and/or Songa communities, with the exception of school expenses and the expenses incurred for the purchase of stimulants. Male-headed households in Songa maintained the highest average expenses for the purchase of

stimulants in the year prior to the study; this data lends support to the comments made by Mr. Joseph Lekale, the in-charge nurse at the Songa medical dispensary, regarding his concerns over the rising use of alcohol and *miraa* by the residents in Songa (see Chapter 4, personal communication, Joseph Lekale, Songa, April 12, 2003).

The majority of women and men in Parkishon/Karare and Songa stated that they and their spouses shared the responsibility for decision-making regarding their house/household expenses and payment of these expenses. In Archer's Post, however, there was considerable discrepancy between the responses of the women and men in this regard. Almost 50% of the women claimed they were solely responsible for the management and payment of their house expenses, whereas 77% of men stated that they shared these responsibilities jointly with their wives.

Other results indicated that only one woman in Archer's Post and one woman in Songa maintained banks accounts of their own. The majority of women in Archer's Post and Karare claimed they had savings hidden away at home or at a local *duka*, but less than half of the women in Songa stated they had hidden savings. In contrast, 14% of the men in Archer's Post stated they had bank accounts and over half of the male informants claimed they had savings in other locations. In Karare, 7% of the men had bank accounts and 83% of the informants claimed to have savings hidden at home or in a *duka*. In Songa, only one man reported that he had a savings account and roughly one-third of the informants stated they had savings hidden elsewhere. It would appear from these findings that Songa women and men are not able or not inclined to put savings aside in a bank account or in other locations.

The results regarding the average amount of loans, or credits that male-headed households owed to local *dukas* disclosed that men appeared more able, or more apt, to obtain major loans than women were, but both women and men were generally able to obtain credit at the shops where they regularly purchased food supplies.

Closing Comments

Based on the findings revealed in this chapter, it is impossible to argue that women are *economically* further ahead, or further behind, when they live under conditions of one form of land tenure or another. In other words, the findings do not suggest that women's economic position in terms of total house income/year is higher in communities where land is undergoing privatization *versus* one where land was not being privatized. In addition, the results do not suggest that women are *economically* further ahead, or further behind, when they pursue one combination of income-generating activities or another.

On average, the women in Archer's Post accumulated as much income per 'house' and per 'house' capita/year as the women did in Parkishon/Karare or Songa. Despite the fact that none of the women in Archer's Post had been allocated land and none had access to more than a few allocated cattle, on average they accumulated enough income to cover their house expenditures *via* activities that did not depend on accessing resources controlled by men.

Over the past decade, the women in Parkishon/Karare have managed to turn what began as a strategy for bare survival into a lucrative enterprise. Milk marketing is the women's dominant income-generating activity and, unlike in the past, the men now approve of women's milk sales. The Parkishon/Karare women received higher

allocations of cattle than their counterparts in Archer's and Songa and are making some headway in the realm of livestock inheritance. Although the majority of Parkishon/Karare women were not included in the land registration process, almost all women had access to land via their relationships with men.

In the Songa community, most women have very few allocated milch cattle and while many women have been excluded from the land registration process (i.e. only three married women and six widows managed to have land registered and surveyed in their own names), most have access to land via their relationships with men. Women gain most of their income through crop production and sales and have been able to maintain control of their earnings.

Local practice regarding inheritance of land by women is in flux in Parkishon/Karare and Songa. Widows with sons are always able to retain their dead husbands' *shambas*, but, in Songa, there is some evidence suggesting that, in some cases, widows who have only daughters are retaining their husbands' land and transmitting the land to their grandsons through the matrilineal line. In both communities, some fathers are allocating land to daughters as pre-mortem inheritance, but they are not registering land in their daughters' names. The inheritance is, in essence, an inheritance of rights to access the land belonging to a woman's natal family and, when a woman marries, her husband will assume some manner of control over this property.

There are several significant findings in this chapter which warrant further investigation or attention. First, certain results suggest that many of the Songa informants do not understand the meaning of land titles and are unaware that land ownership is a long term investment. Too many stated that obtaining titled deeds would

allow them to gain access to cash via loans or land sales and, in fact, some had already sold part of their land prior to receiving titled deeds. Workshops or community meetings must be held to caution the residents against selling their land or obtaining large loans that could eventually lead to foreclosure.

Secondly, while national laws do not prohibit women from owning land, at the same time, local land committees, composed of male elders, are authorized by law to determine the basis for land allocation. Throughout most of Kenya, allocations have been limited to male household heads, the principle being that men will hold this land on behalf of the family and that their use of it assumes the involvement of family members. Regardless of the assumptions of local land committees, widows and wives without sons live a precarious existence in relation to maintaining access to land. I believe it was an oversight on the part of local development agencies in the Marsabit region not to have advised women that they had rights to own land prior to the allocation and registration process. Future steps should be taken to ensure that other women living in the Mount Marsabit region are informed that they have these rights prior to the advent of privatization in their communities, so they can decide whether they wish to petition their land committee members to allocate land directly to women, or register them as co-title holders with their husbands.

Third, although most of the informants in each community believed that settled life was more agreeable than constantly moving around because of the many benefits gained by sedentarization, a major disadvantage of settled life may be that it is now too easy for pastoralists to gain access to tobacco, alcohol and *miraa*. Women produce and sell alcohol and *miraa*, and all three products can easily be purchased from local shops,

bars and/or markets. Some of the Songa women and the nurses in charge of the local health clinics in Archer's Post and Songa indicated that substance abuse was now a serious social problem (see Chapter 4). And when I analyzed the expenditures of women's houses and male-headed households in each community, the results did suggest that women's houses in Archer's Post and male-headed households in Songa used large portions of their total incomes to purchase stimulants.

NOTES

1. The following explains how the calculations for livestock wealth were reached in Tables 7.1 and 7.2. In Dahl and Hjort's work (1976:224), livestock counts for each household *per* settlement were standardized into TLUs (Total or Tropical Livestock Units) as per the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) Production Yearbook formula, with 1 TLU = 0.8 cattle/camel or 10 small stock. I adopted the same formula in my calculations shown in Tables 7.1 and 7.2. In Table 7.1, the mean livestock wealth of women's houses for each community was determined by calculating the mean TLUs/capita. TLUs were calculated on the basis of type and number of livestock assigned to women's houses. And in Table 7.2, the mean livestock wealth per men's households for each community was also determined by calculating the mean TLUs/ capita.

To scale the mean house/household livestock wealth for each community, I adopted Fratkin and Roth's (1990:394) classification established for the Ariaal:

Poor = <4.5 TLUs/person

Sufficient = 4.5 - 9.0 TLUs/person

Rich = > 9.0 TLUs/person

In effect, the scale is based on the nutritional requirements *per* capita and presupposes that pastoralists are dependent on animal products for most of their nutritional needs. "The first category represents minimal per capita nutritional requirements, while the second and third represent, respectively up to and beyond two times the minimum" (Fratkin and Roth 1990:394). Even though the pastoral and agro-pastoral societies under study are not totally dependent on livestock products for food, the categories are still valid as effective guidelines for making some comparisons between the average house(hold) livestock wealth calculated for each community.

2. Data obtained from USAIDKENYA.com
3. Purchased food included the following items : maize meal (*posho*), tea, sugar, oil, meat, vegetables, fruit, flour, rice, pasta and beans.
4. The *miraa* traded in Archer's Post is largely produced in Meru, whereas the *miraa* traded in Parkishon/Karare is largely produced in Songa.

CHAPTER 8

FEMALE LAND USE BEYOND PASTORALISM: GENDER, GARDENING AND GATHERING

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In the last chapter, I concluded that the majority of women in Songa and Parkishon/Karare had been excluded from the land registration process, but almost all maintained usufruct rights to land. In this chapter, I continue to focus on gender and land issues but center my analyses on the gender dimension in land-use, first, in the context of house(hold) agricultural production and, secondly, in the broader realm of wild plant material collection.

In the first context, one of my main research aims was to determine what kind of produce women were selling and whether they were marketing harvested crops that could otherwise be dried, preserved and consumed by their family members between growing seasons. In addition, I sought to determine whether women were generally able to participate in the decision-making process with regard to the types of crops they cultivated and sold.

A second major goal was to assess whether one gender was contributing more hours of labor per week to agricultural production than the other. In Section 8.2, I provide answers to these issues, at the community-level, based on survey results.

Another reason for examining the gender dimension in land-use, or natural resource management, was to determine the extent to which each gender collected and/or used wild plants for food, medicine, rituals and/or ceremonies. The collection of wild plant materials has usually been portrayed in the literature as being a woman's chore or activity, but is this the case when pastoral communities are settled in conflict-ridden

regions? Furthermore, do residents of sedentarized pastoral communities still rely on the use of medicinal plants when they have fairly easy access to the services of medical facilities? As indicated by the average annual medical expenditures of women's houses and male-headed households (see Chapter 7), medical services were used by the house(hold)s in all communities. More importantly, has local knowledge about the curative properties of various wild plants survived in the three communities despite the effects of sedentarization? The results presented in Section 8.3 and Appendix I shed some light on these issues.

Section 8.4 contains my concluding remarks. On the whole, this chapter is short, but essential, as its components complement, crosscheck and/or add to the data presented in Chapter 7.

8.2 GENDER AND GARDENING

8.2.1 Introduction

In order to more fully understand the nature and extent of crop cultivation and produce marketing activities taking place through the efforts of women and men in Parkishon/Karare and Songa, this section details the approximate sizes of the cultivated areas within the respondents' *shambas*, the extent of women's participation in decision-making regarding the types of crops grown and sold, the percentage of crops maintained for house(hold) use versus the percentage sold, and the mean number of hours of labor per week contributed by women and by men during the major growing and harvesting seasons. Also indicated are data illustrating how often, and where produce marketing took place, and the extent of men's participation in crop sales.

This section is divided into three major sub-sections, the first being devoted to the particulars of crop production and sales by women's houses and male-headed households in Parkishon/Karare (8.2.2). Sub-section 8.2.3 describes similar particulars for the Songa community. The third sub-section (8.2.4) provides details on the garden-related duties carried out by the women and men in the two communities and compares the mean number of hours of labor *per* week that women and men estimated that they and their spouses devoted to crop cultivation during the growing seasons.

There are a few aspects to keep in mind when considering the information presented in this section. First, there are two rainy seasons and two dry seasons in the Mount Marsabit region each year. The Parkishon/Karare and Songa residents plant maize and beans just prior to both the short and long rains, resulting in two dry-season harvests per year. In Songa, *sukuma wiki* (collard greens), *miraa* and bananas are grown and harvested throughout the year, but other crops, such as tomatoes, mangoes or oranges, are usually harvested soon after the rains have finished (Smith 1997:97). Secondly, while many Songa residents have access to piped water, most of the crop production in each community is rain-fed. And third, although the vast majority of the male and female informants in Parkishon/Karare were married to each other and the data often refer to the same piece of land, eleven of the male informants had additional wives with separate houses, and in some cases, the men's land holdings contained several cultivated areas, each assigned to the house of a different wife.

8.2.2 Parkishon/Karare - Gender and Gardening

Determining the actual size of cultivated plots contained within each *shamba* was one of the most difficult aspects of the survey. For example, many informants initially

claimed they planted 'x' number of acres in maize and 'x' number of acres in beans without taking into account that they usually inter-planted the two crops on the same acreage. For this reason I stress that the following figures are approximations only.

In Parkishon/Karare, 12% of the women (n = 41) stated their gardens were less than one acre in size, 54% claimed their gardens occupied 1-2 acres, and 27% of the respondents stated they cultivated 2-4 acres. Only one woman said her house maintained a garden that was more than four acres. In Chapter 7, I indicated that most of the same informants stated that the overall size of their allocated land ranged between 1-2 acres (44%) and 3-4 acres (29%); therefore, the data relayed to me regarding the actual size of their gardens was not inconsistent. Any minor discrepancies are likely due to confusion over inter-cropping practices vis-à-vis the estimated acreage under cultivation. Based on my observations while visiting the informants' homes, I conclude that the average size of most cultivated areas was roughly between one and two acres.

Unfortunately, the male informants in this site were only asked to estimate the size of their land holdings (see Chapter 7) and not the size of the cultivated areas. Even though many of the female and male informants were married to each other in this community, I cannot presume that most men would have given roughly the same estimates for the size of cultivated areas as the women did, because, as mentioned previously, eleven of the men had other wives, some of whom had their own cultivated areas on the household land.

Ninety-eight percent of the women claimed they grew maize and beans; 49% also cultivated cowpeas. Twenty-two percent planted millet, and 7% engaged in *dengu*

(lentil) production. Only 2% of the woman stated they grew *sukuma wiki*, yellow beans, tomatoes, mangoes, bananas and/or oranges.

In contrast, 69% of the men ($n = 39$) claimed their households grew maize and/or beans; 8% stated their households cultivated onions and/or *sukuma wiki*. Only one man (3%) claimed that his household grew tomatoes, *kunde* (i.e. green peas) and/or bananas.

Each woman was asked to estimate what percentage of crops she sold and what percentage she maintained for home use. The majority (87%) stated they kept 100% of their produce for home use. Roughly 10% of the women claimed they sold between 25% and 50% of their maize and bean crops which is consistent with the information presented in Table 7.8 in Chapter 7. Most of the women who marketed their produce usually did so in the Karare *soko*. When asked how frequently they marketed over the past year, most replied they only sold after harvest times and were unable to estimate the number of days spent in marketing.

Most men (69%) also stated that 100% of the crops were grown for household use only. Although 13% of the men claimed that their households sold maize and beans, none of the men indicated that the market sales exceeded more than 30% of the total crops harvested. A handful of men claimed that they cultivated certain crops without the assistance of their wives. In fact, 13% of the men claimed that they personally cultivated maize and/or beans, 5% said they grew *kunde*, and one man (3%) maintained he grew cowpeas and/or cashew nuts. Ten percent of the men stated they personally sold the crops at the local Karare market or in Marsabit. During my fieldwork, I observed several men in this community actively tending crops, but I do not know whether they were

caring for their own crops or those of the household. I can say with certainty that I did not observe any men selling produce in the Karare *soko*.

The majority of house(hold) gardens in Parkishon/Karare were fenced in an attempt to keep the livestock and wild animals from destroying crops, but despite the residents' best efforts, livestock still managed to break through the barriers and destroy gardens (see Chapter 9). Most informants claimed they always let their livestock graze in their gardens after the crops were harvested. Five percent of the women maintained that they cut and cleared the plant debris after harvest and fed the material to their livestock outside of the cultivation plots.

In summary, my results indicate that that agricultural production in Parkishon/Karare was largely based on the cultivation of maize and beans, two crops that required little water. And approximately half of the women's houses also cultivated cowpeas. The vast majority of house(hold)s maintained the bulk of their harvested crops for household consumption; only 10%-12% of the women and men marketed produce. The agro-pastoral system in Parkishon/Karare was one in which livestock production was of far greater economic importance than agricultural production for both women and men. Until piped-water systems are developed throughout the area, there is little likelihood that the current status quo of crop production will change.

8.2.3 Songa - Gender and Gardening

In Songa, most female and male informants were not married couples and therefore, they did not share the same piece of land. In fact, many of the women whom I interviewed were widows. For this reason, I present the particulars on crop production and sales for women and men under separate headings.

Songa Women and Crop Production

In Songa, 23% of the women's houses (n = 43) cultivated plots that ranged from one-quarter acre to one acre in size. Forty percent cultivated crops on 1-2 acres. Sixteen percent of the houses cultivated 2-3 acres of land, and 9% grew crops on over four acres of land.

Table 8.1 Data given by Songa Women regarding the Types of Crops Cultivated, the Percentage of Harvested Crops Maintained For Home Use and the Percentage of Harvested Crops Sold (April 2003 – May 2003)

Type of Crop	% of Women's Houses involved in Cultivation of of Crop (n = 43)	% of Total Harvested Crop Maintained for Home Use (n = 43)	% of Total Harvested Crop Sold in Market (n = 43)
Maize	83.7	70 – 100	30 or <
<i>Sukuma wiki</i> *	83.7	5 – 30	70 or > *
Beans	76.7	95 – 100	5 or <
<i>Miraa</i> *	39.5	5 – 25	75 or > *
Bananas *	37.2	5 – 25	75 or > *
Tomatoes *	32.6	5 – 25	75 or > *
Mangoes *	30.2	5 – 10	90 or > *
Cowpeas	9.3	100	-
Onions	7	50 – 75	50 or >
Millet	4.7	n/s **	n/s
Avocados	2.3		n/s
Lemons	2.3	n/s	n/s
Oranges	2.3	n/s	n/s
<i>Pilipili</i> (Hot Peppers)	2.3	n/s	n/s
Spinach	2.3	n/s	n/s

Note: * = 70% or > of the harvested crop is sold

** = not specified

Table 8.1 illustrates that the majority of Songa women's houses (n = 43) cultivated maize, beans and *sukuma wiki*. Approximately 40% of the women's houses produced *miraa* and/or bananas and roughly 30% cultivated mangoes and/or tomatoes. Overall, the results indicate that women's houses sold at least 70% of the total harvested

sukuma wiki, tomatoes, *miraa*, mangoes and bananas, but they maintained most of the harvested maize and beans for home-use. As in Parkishon/Karare, maize and beans were kept for home-use because they can be dried and stored in granaries and later consumed during the months between growing seasons. Harvested crops of tomatoes, mangoes and bananas were sold for several reasons. First, once picked, these fruits ripen rather quickly in the heat, making it difficult for family members to consume all over a short period of time. Secondly, the fruits fetch a high price on the market because of the scarce supply available in the Marsabit region. *Sukuma wiki* and *miraa* are sold because there is constant demand for them. They require daily watering to thrive and residents with piped water on, or near, their land are able to cultivate these crops with great success and, in turn, sell a large portion of the harvest for income.

All the marketers (i.e. 86% of the total sample) sold their produce to shop-owners or stall-keepers in Marsabit, who in turn resold the produce to a wide range of customers. A few women (7%) also sold produce to shop-keepers and/or other individuals in Karare, Lpus, Kitiruni, and Songa. As to the frequency of the women's marketing trips, 33% of the women claimed they marketed once *per week*, 23% stated they sold their produce twice *per week*, and 9% of the respondents maintained they marketed three times *per week*. The remainder of the marketers stated they either sold produce twice *per month* (14%) or twice *per year* (7%) (i.e. after major harvests).

Less than half of the Songa women and men indicated that the gardens were fenced to prohibit their livestock from destroying crops, a finding that was quite different from what was noted in Parkishon/Karare, where the vast majority of house(hold)s had erected some sort of fence or barrier around the cultivated areas. I suspect that fencing

was not popular in Songa for a number of reasons, one being that the average size of cultivate areas was larger than in Parkishon/Karare and building fences would involve a great deal of time and collected material. Plus, no fence constructed from thorn brush, wood, or wire could withstand the force of hungry elephants.

At the height of the growing seasons and right up until times of harvest, Songa women and their husbands spend considerable time patrolling the gardens, protecting their crops from being damaged or destroyed by livestock, baboons or elephants. The elephants are more apt to infiltrate the cultivation areas during the night, making it necessary for the members of house(hold)s to work in rotation to maintain twenty-four hour surveillance. The vast majority of women and men in this community claimed that, once crops were harvested, they allowed their own livestock to graze on the debris in the cultivated areas belonging to their own house(hold)s.

Songa Men and Crop Production

Twelve percent of the male-headed households cultivated crops on less than one acre and another 12% cultivated gardens on one acre. Eighteen percent planted crops on 1-2 acres, another 18% cultivated 2-3 acres, and 18% cultivated more than four acres. Twelve percent (12%) of male-headed households planted 3-4 acres of crops. Ten percent of the male informants did not specify the amount of land that was used for cultivation.

Table 8.2 Data given by Songa Men regarding the Type of Crops Cultivated, the Percentage of Total Harvested Crops Maintained for Household Use and the Percentage of Total Harvested Crops Sold (April 2003 - May 2003, inclusive)

Type of Crop	% of Men's Households Involved in Cultivation of Crop (n = 40)	% of Men Who Grew Own Crop ^(^) (n = 40)	% of Total Harvested Crop Kept for Home Use (n = 40)	% of Total Harvested Crop Sold (n = 40)
<i>Sukuma wiki</i> *	70	10	5 – 15	85 or > *
Maize	67.5	25	70 – 100	30 or <
Beans	50	15	70 – 100	30 or <
<i>Miraa</i> *	42.5	10	10 – 50	50 – 90 *
Bananas *	25	10	10 – 35	65 or > *
Tomatoes *	20	-	10	90 *
Cowpeas	17.7	-	100	-
Mangoes *	17.5	2.5	10	90 *
Millet/ Sorghum *	15	-	0 – 10	90 or > *
Oranges *	10	2.5	0 – 10	90 or > *
Spinach *	10	-	5	90 *
<i>Dhania</i> *	5	-	0 – 10	90 or > *
Onions *	5	-	0 – 10	90 or > *
Sugarcane	2.5	-	Not specified	Not specified

Note: (^) = % of men who claimed they cultivated separate crops from their wives without the assistance of the latter.

* = Most of the harvested crop is sold.

Table 8.2 indicates that the majority of male-headed households (n = 40) grew *sukuma wiki* and maize. Only 50% of the households cultivated beans. Approximately, 40% produced *miraa* and roughly 15%-25% cultivated bananas, tomatoes, cowpeas, mangoes, and/or millet/sorghum. The most prominent crops that men cultivated without the assistance of women were maize (25%), beans (15%), bananas (10%), *miraa* (10%), and *sukuma wiki* (10%). I observed quite a few Songa men who were working alone in their shambas. In fact, I saw a greater number of men tending gardens in this community than I did in Karare, but whether they were caring for their own personal crops or those of the household was something that I neglected to determine at that time.

The figures in Table 8.2 also indicate that male-headed households sold large proportions of the total harvested crops with the exception of maize, beans and cowpeas. In this regard, the results shown for male-headed households are quite similar to those indicated for women's houses.

Over 50% of the men claimed that they marketed crops in Marsabit, but many informants did not specify whether they actually sold produce themselves, or whether their wives marketed the household crops and/or their produce for them. Since I did not observe any men transporting produce from Songa to Marsabit, I surmise that most men relied on their wives to sell what the former considered to be their share of the crop production.

In summary, the significance of my findings is that, similar to house(hold)s in Parkishon/Karare, most Songa house(holds) maintain the bulk of their harvested maize, bean and cowpea crops for home-use. Other than that, the two agro-pastoral systems are extremely different. The Songa ago-pastoral system is one in which agricultural and livestock production are both equally important for the household economies of men, but crop production has far greater economic importance than livestock production vis-à-vis the houses of women.

8.2.4 Gender, Gardening and Division of Labor in Parkishon/Karare and Songa Communities

The labor involved in agricultural production is intensive and arduous for men and women in Parkishon/Karare and Songa because of the limited months in which the region receives rain. Prior to the rains, all house(hold)s must decide which crops to plant and select the seeds accordingly. Most married women in Parkishon/Karare claimed that

their husbands were in charge of making this decision, but the majority of married women in Songa stated that both spouses made this type of decision together.

The vast majority of married women in both communities claimed that their husbands were in charge of plowing the cultivation plots with oxen, or hiring a local resident with a team of oxen to do the job. If oxen were not available, their husbands turned over the soil by hand. Most divorced or separated women relied on male relatives, neighbours or friends to carry out this arduous chore. Plowing cultivation areas with a team of oxen is not something most women are physically capable of doing. This fact was brought home to me when I witnessed a team of oxen run amuck in Songa. At the time, I was interviewing an informant and we sat a short distance away from where her husband was plowing their field. One minute, all was relatively peaceful and the next minute, the oxen had rebelled and broken away from her husband's control, dragging both him and the plow in our direction. After scrambling to safety, we anxiously watched as he used all his strength to bring the animals back under control. Because of this episode, I firmly believe that women will continue to rely on men's strength and endurance in the realm of plowing.

Most women in Parkishon/Karare and Songa claimed that the responsibility for carrying out all other gardening-related duties was that of both spouses, but many women in Songa admitted that their husbands did most of the work. The major chores included fertilizing the soil, planting seeds (or growing and planting *sukuma wiki*, tomato and fruit tree seedlings in Songa), weeding crops, spraying pesticides, and in Songa, hand-watering certain plants, such as *sukuma wiki*, *miraa* and/or young fruit trees.

Women in both communities claimed that harvesting was usually a family affair. Wives, husbands and their children pick the maize and beans and transport the produce to their homes where it is processed and stored in sacks placed in home-built granaries. If a house(hold) in Parkishon/Karare sells any crops, the decision to do is generally made jointly by both spouses. In Songa, however, most married women stated that their husbands were in charge of deciding how much of any one crop the house(hold) could sell; only 25% of the married women claimed they made this type of decision on their own. This is a significant finding because it indicates that the amount of income that Songa wives are able to generate through produce marketing is ultimately determined by husbands.

In Table 8.3, I indicate the average number of hours/week that Parkishon/Karare and Songa women estimated they and their husbands spend on agricultural-related duties. And, in Table 8.4, I indicate the average number of hours/week that men estimated they and their wives spend on garden-related chores.

**Table 8.3 Mean Hours/Week that Women Estimated that They & Husbands Spend on Agricultural-Related Duties (Women's Survey)
Means by Community and 'House' Worker
(January 2003 - May 2003, inclusive)**

Variable	PARKISHON/KARARE		SONGA	
	Women (Mean)	Husbands (Mean)	Women (Mean)	Husbands (Mean)
Hours/Week in Agricultural - Related Duties	43.1 (40) SD = 16.0	30.7 (33) SD = 19.5	34.6 (41) SD = 22.5	53.9 (31) SD = 42.6

Note: *T*-tests revealed that Songa women estimated that their husbands spend significantly more hours/week on agricultural-related duties than the hours/week that Parkishon/Karare women estimated for their husbands ($t = -2.83$, $p = 0.05$). The average number of hours/week that women estimated that they spend on agricultural-related duties was not significantly different between the two communities.

Table 8.4 Mean Hours/Week that Men Estimated that They & Wives Spend on Agricultural-Related Duties (Men's Survey) Means by Community and 'Household' Workers (January 2003 - May 2003, inclusive)

Variable	PARKISHON/KARARE		SONGA	
	Men (Mean)	Wives (Mean)	Men (Mean)	Wives (Mean)
Hours/Week on Agricultural-Related Duties	31.2 (38) SD = 32.6	22.8 (38) SD = 28.8	53.8 (39) SD = 32.9	46.8 (40) SD = 22.8

Note: *T*-tests indicated that Songa men estimated that, on average, they spend significantly more hours/week on agricultural-related duties than Parkishon/Karare men estimated they spend themselves ($t = -3.03$, $p = 0.05$). Songa men also estimated that their wives spend significantly more hours/week on crop-related duties than Parkishon/Karare men estimated that their wives spend ($t = -4.09$, $p = 0.05$).

The results in Tables 8.3 and 8.4 pertain to the same issue, i.e. the estimated time spent in agricultural labor, but refer to different contexts, i.e. women's houses and male-headed households. Table 8.3 illustrated that many female informants did not have husbands for various reasons (see Table 2.2. in Chapter 2) and Table 8.4 revealed that all the male informants had at least one wife. The significance of the findings, therefore, depends on the context in which the data was analyzed.

The results presented in Table 8.3 strongly support the work of Bossen (1989:330-339) regarding the changes that occur in the sexual division of labor when societies move to "a greater reliance on cultivated foods and intensive agriculture" (1989:330). She writes, "Women's contributions to outdoor farm work remain roughly consistent with intensification, but men go from a minimal or irregular input to a much more substantial contribution (1989:330)." The data in Table 8.3 indeed indicate that the average number of hours/week that women estimated that they spend in agricultural labor/week was not significantly different in Parkishon/Karare and Songa, but, according to women's estimates, Songa husbands spend more hours/week on agricultural-related

duties than Parkishon/Karare husbands do. The findings outlined in Table 8.4, however, do not indicate that women's contributions to agricultural labor remain consistent with intensification, but instead, they suggest that the contributions of both men and women increase substantially with intensification.

The overall significance of my results is twofold. First, they suggest that Songa men spend more hours/week on agricultural-related duties than men do in Parkishon/Karare. Secondly, and more importantly, the results also strongly suggest that Songa men spend more hours/week on cultivation-related duties than Songa women do.

There is no evidence in my findings to propose that men are planning to establish a monopoly over crop production and sales in the Songa community; however, it remains to be seen what will happen when titled deeds are in hand, and more and more land is cleared to increase the production of the most lucrative crops (i.e. maize, beans, *miraa*, and various types of fruit). One wonders if, at that time, the combined factors of women's exclusion from the land registration process, men's control over the amount of produce that women can sell, and men's greater involvement in agricultural production, plus, the increased expenses as agricultural production expands, will result in men taking control of women's labor and income. One pro-active strategy that women could employ in order to establish an economic safeguard for themselves is to form a women's 'produce co-operative,' implementing the same policies and practices as those used by women who manage the milk depot in Karare.

8.2.5 Conclusion

The emphasis placed on agricultural production in each agro-pastoral system is determined by the degree of water availability. Unlike livestock herds, crops cannot be

moved to water sources. In Parkishon/Karare, scarce water supplies prevented most women and men from cultivating crops other than maize, beans and cowpeas. Most house(hold)s maintained the bulk of these crops for home-use. Maize and beans can be dried and stored for family consumption during the months between growing seasons. Only 10-12% of the women and men's house(hold)s sold 30% or less of the maize and beans harvested. And no more than 12% of the men claimed they personally cultivated and sold crops without the assistance of their wives. I never observed men selling crops in the Karare *soko*. Most married women stated that their husbands decided which crops to plant, but if a house(hold) decided to sell crops, then spouses made this decision together.

The average number of hours/week that Parkishon/Karare women spend in agricultural-related labor remains uncertain. Women claimed they spend almost twice as many hours/week in garden-related labor than men claimed that their wives spend. This discrepancy made it difficult to estimate whether Parkishon/Karare women spend less hours/week than Songa women, or the same number of hours/week, in agricultural-related duties. I suspect that the time that women spend working in their gardens is less than what women claimed they spend. Most Parkishon/Karare women rely on milk sales for their income and most of their time is spent in milk marketing. The views of women and men were consistent regarding the average number of hours/week that men spend in cultivation-related labor, enabling me to state with some certainty that on average, Parkishon/Karare men spend less hours/week than Songa men do in agricultural labor.

The agro-pastoral system in Songa operates differently than in Parkishon/Karare. Adequate water supplies are at the root of the community's ability to focus heavily on

agricultural production. In general, the gardens of Songa house(hold)s were larger than those in Parkishon/Karare and spouses usually made decisions together regarding which crops to plant. The majority of women's houses grew maize, beans and *sukuma wiki* and the majority of male-headed households grew maize and *sukuma wiki*; only 50% of the male-headed households grew beans. In addition, many house(hold)s cultivated *miraa* and bananas year-round, along with seasonal crops of tomatoes and mangoes.

Songa house(hold)s did not sell more than 30% of the harvested maize and beans, and they dried and stored the remaining percentage for household consumption, as was the case in Parkishon/Karare; however, a major difference noted between the communities was that most Songa house(hold)s marketed maize and beans, whereas only 10-12% of Parkishon/Karare house(hold)s sold part of the harvest.

Overall, Songa house(hold)s sold at least 65% of their harvested *sukuma wiki*, *miraa*, bananas, mangoes and tomatoes. Most marketers sold their produce to shop-owners or stall-keepers in Marsabit, who, in turn sold produce to a wide-range of customers, but a few women also sold produce to shop-keepers or other individuals in Karare, Lpus, Kitiruni and Songa. Between 10%-25% of the male informants claimed that they grew their own crops of maize, beans, bananas, *miraa* and/or *sukuma wiki* without the assistance of their wives. While I observed some Songa men working in gardens, I never determined whether they were tending crops of their own, or those they managed with their wives. Many men also claimed that they marketed the house(hold) crops, but I never personally observed any Songa men selling produce in any location.

A significant finding was that most Songa husbands were the sole decision-makers regarding how much of any one crop their wives could sell. In essence, the

amount of income that women could earn was determined by their husbands' authority. Husbands limited what their wives could sell to ensure that enough produce was maintained for household use. Further significant findings pertained to the average number of hours/week that men and women contributed to agricultural labor. Results showed that Songa men spend more hours/week in cultivation-related labor than men do in Parkishon/Karare. They also suggest that Songa husbands spend more hours/week than their wives do in agricultural labor and production.

8.3 GENDER AND GATHERING

8.3.1 Introduction

One of the purposes of exploring issues related to natural resource management was to determine the extent to which each gender collected and/or used wild plants for food, medicine, rituals and/or ceremonies. The collection of wild plants has usually been portrayed in the literature as being a chore carried out by women, but is this an accurate portrayal in cases where pastoral communities are settled and located in conflict-ridden regions? Moreover, how much do sedentarized pastoral men and women rely on the use of medicinal plants when they have fairly easy access to the services of medical facilities? As indicated by the average annual medical expenditures of women's houses and male-headed households (see Chapter 7), medical facilities and services are being used by the communities in question. More importantly, is local knowledge about the curative properties of various wild plants surviving the effects of sedentarization? To address these questions, I present some of my findings at the community level and present others in Appendix I at the regional level (i.e. Archer's Post and Mount Marsabit regions).

8.3.2 Comments regarding Appendix I

The information contained in Appendix I was collected during the HNRM surveys, at which time all informants were asked to provide details about their use of wild plant resources for food, medicine, ceremonies and rituals. Appendix I contains the names of local plants, the parts commonly used, the purposes of use, and the seasons in which the plant resources were available. The data have been organized on the basis of both region and gender. To avoid unnecessary duplication of the material, I amalgamated the related information obtained from the Parkishon/Karare and Songa informants under the heading of "Mount Marsabit Region, Marsabit District" and organized the data collected from the Archer's Post informants under the heading of "Archer's Post Region, Samburu District."

The material contained in Appendix I is by no means complete. The botanical names and classifications of the local plant resources have not been determined, and the accuracy of the spelling of some of the names of local plants is in question. In addition, there are many discrepancies shown between regions and/or gender with respect to the plant parts used and/or the related medicinal or ceremonial purposes and/or the seasons in which the plant resources were available. Further investigations are required before the information in Appendix I can be considered as anything more than preliminary findings. However, that being said, I firmly believe that enough reliable material has been provided in Appendix I to make the claim that indigenous knowledge of wild plants and the curative properties of various plant materials has been acutely maintained in all the study communities, despite the changes brought about by sedentarization and the proximity of government or mission-sponsored health care facilities.

8.3.3 Who Collects Wild Plant Material?

Along with determining which plant resources were most commonly used by the informants at the regional level, another purpose of research was to assess if one gender played a more active role than the other in the collection of plant resources at the community level. In Tables 8.5 and 8.6, percentages are given to illustrate the gender identities of the gatherers in women's houses and male-headed households.

**Table 8.5 Gender Identity of Plant Gatherers in Women's Houses
Percentages by Community**

Gender Identity of Wild Plant Gatherers	East Uaso/ Archer's Post (n = 51) (%)	Parkishon/ Karare (n = 41) (%)	Songa (n = 43) (%)
Combination of Males & Females (friends, relatives, husband, respondent)	41.2	68.3	46.4
Respondent only (female)	33.3	9.8	39.5
Husband only	-	7.3	4.7
Combination of Males (friends, relatives, husband)	5.9	12.2	-
Combination of Females (friends, relatives, respondent)	3.9	2.4	4.7
Not Specified	15.7	-	4.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Table 8.6 Gender Identity of Plant Gatherers in Male-Headed Households
Percentages by Community**

Gender Identity of Wild Plant Gatherers	East Uaso/ Archer's Post (n = 49) (%)	Parkishon/ Karare (n = 41) (%)	Songa (n = 40) (%)
Respondent only (male)	36.7	48.8	30
Wife (wives) only	4	-	2.5
Combination of Males (friends, relatives, respondent)	28.6	39	7.5
Combination of Males & Females (friends, relatives, wives, respondent)	8.2	9.8	55
Not Specified	22.5	2.4	5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

In the context of women's houses, the results presented in Table 8.5 suggest that females were the most frequent gatherers of plant resources in Archer's Post and Songa. However, in the context of male-headed households (Table 8.6), the findings indicate that males were more involved in wild plant collection in these communities than females were. Parkishon/Karare was the only community in which the results in both contexts suggested that males were the most prominent gatherers (Tables 8.5 and 8.6).

Based on these results, it is difficult to draw any conclusions regarding the gender division of labor in plant collection, particularly in Archer's Post and Songa. However, because of the pervasive political insecurity surrounding these two communities, I suggest that it is highly probable that females gather plant resources only when the latter can be found close to home. If specific plant resources are needed for medicinal or ceremonial purposes and are unavailable nearby, it is likely that males (i.e. elders, warriors and boys) collect the needed resources from the 'bush' or *fora*.

8.3.4 Quantifying the Use of Wild Plants by Gender and Community

What percentage of the respondents used wild plant materials for food, medicines and/or ceremonies and rituals on a regular basis? How often did women and men actually use wild plants for any of these purposes during the month prior to the survey? The results presented in Tables 8.7 and 8.8 address these questions.

Table 8.7 Use of Wild Plant Resources by Women
Percentages and Means by Community

Variables	East Uaso/ Archer's P. (n = 51)	Parkishon/ Karare (n = 41)	Songa (n = 43)	F Value
Percentage of Women Who Used Wild Plant Resources on a Regular Basis	92.2%	100%	100%	-
	(Means)	(Means)	(Means)	
Times Women Used Plant Resources as Food in Previous Month	8.2 (47) SD = 16.6	0.6 (22) SD = 2.2	4.5 (41) SD = 10.1	2.91 (+)
Times Women Used Plant Resources for Medicinal Purposes in Previous Month	2.6 (48) SD = 2.6	5.6 (14) SD = 6.0	7.5 (43) SD = 11.2	4.79 (+)
Times Women Used Plant Resources for Ritual/Ceremonial Purposes in Previous Month	0.1 (48) SD = 0.5	0.3 (41) SD = 0.7	1.1 (43) SD = 1.4	11.71 ***

Note: (+) = $p > 0.05$ (no significant difference between communities).

*** = $p < 0.001$

The results in Table 8.7 indicate that the vast majority of women used wild plant resources for food and medicine and in ceremonies and rituals on a regular basis. The results also revealed that, in the month prior to the survey, most informants in Archer's and Songa had used plant resources for all these purposes, however fewer women in Parkishon/Karare used fruits and wild plant material for food and/or medicine, respectively (see sample numbers). At the community level, however, no significant differences existed between communities with respect to the average number of times that women had personally used wild fruits or plants for food and medicine. Songa women had used wild plant material for ceremonial or ritual purposes significantly more often than women had the other two communities. The main explanation is that *Sorio* (Rendille thanksgiving ritual/ceremony) occurred during the month prior to Songa

interviews and women had used wild plants, such as *Ejeer*, *Salabani*, *Silalei*, and *Lng'eriori*, in rituals/ceremonies performed during this occasion.

Table 8.8 Use of Wild Plant Resources by Men
Percentages and Means by Community

Variables	East Uaso/ Archer's P. (n = 50)	Parkishon/ Karare (n = 41)	Songa (n = 40)	F Value
Percentage of Men Who Used Wild Plant Resources Regularly	92%	97.6%	100%	-
	(Means)	(Means)	(Means)	
Times Men Used Plant Resources as Food in Previous Month	3.4 (45) SD = 5.4	4.5 (41) SD = 6.8	1.5 (39) SD = 3.5	3.22 *
Times Men Used Plant Resources for Medicinal Purposes in Previous Month	4.5 (44) SD = 6.8	33.4 (39) SD = 24.8	4 (40) SD = 4.3	52.08 ***
Times Men Used Plant Resources for Ritual/Ceremonial Purposes in Previous Month	1.7 (48) SD = 1.1	2.2 (41) SD = 1.3	1 (40) SD = 1	0.40 (+)

Note: (+) = $p > 0.05$ (no significant difference between communities)

* = $p < 0.05$

*** = $p < 0.001$

The results in Table 8.8 indicate that the vast majority of male informants used wild plants for food and medicine or in ceremonial and ritual purposes on a regular basis. During the month prior to interviews, men in Parkishon/Karare used wild fruits for food significantly more often than Songa men did, and they also used wild plant material for medicinal purposes significantly more often than men did in Archer's Post and Songa. The first major difference can be explained by the fact that different seasons were involved at the time of the interviews in each community. That is, Parkishon/Karare men were interviewed just after the rainy season when wild fruits were beginning to ripen.

whereas Songa men were interviewed at the beginning of the rainy season, when most wild fruits had waned.

An explanation for the second major difference consists of several combined factors. First, 95% the Parkishon/Karare men had used roots from the *Lasarami* plant at least once during the previous month for the purpose of treating malaria. Secondly, 52% of the men claimed that they had dosed themselves daily with concoctions made from the roots of *Lasarami* and *Loiborbene* plants as preventative measures against contracting malaria and colds, respectively. Third, 56% of the men used roots from the *Lmakutukuti* plant for the purpose of treating STDs at least once during the prior month.

Malaria, colds and STDs were also prevalent among men in Archer's Post and Songa, but the men did not use wild plants for the purpose of treating these ailments as often as Parkishon/Karare men did. Interestingly, back pain was a common ailment for Songa men, more so than for men in the other communities, which could be related to the amount of hours that Songa men spend in agricultural labor. The usual treatment for back pain was use of seeds from the *Seketeti* plant or roots of plants such as *Lmakutukuti* and *Lomurei*.

8.3.5 Conclusion

Although the information contained in Appendix I is purported to be no more than preliminary findings, there is enough evidence in this material to claim that women and men in each community were extremely knowledgeable about the names of wild plants and the purposes of their use, regardless of the socio-economic and cultural transformations which had occurred due to sedentarization. In fact, the vast majority of all the informants claimed they used wild plant resources for food and medicine and in

ceremonies and rituals on a regular basis. Major findings with respect to the frequency of wild plant use during the month prior to the surveys indicated that Songa women had utilized wild plants more often for ritual/ceremonial purposes than women had in the other communities. And the most frequent male users of wild plant material for the purpose of medicines or preventative medicines were the men in Parkishon/Karare.

Did one gender played a more active role than the other in the collection of wild plant resources at the community level? The answer is both yes and no. Based on data given by men and women in Parkishon/Karare, males were the most frequent gathers. And men in Archer's Post and Songa also indicated that males were the primary plant collectors. In contrast, women's responses in Archer's Post and Songa suggested that females were the most frequent gathers. Because of the ongoing political insecurity around Archer's Post and Songa, I suspect that it is highly probably that girls and women gather wild plant materials only when the latter can be found close to home. If specific plant resources are needed for medicinal or ceremonial purposes and are unavailable nearby, it is likely that males (i.e. elders, warriors and boys) collect the needed resources from the 'bush' or *fora*.

8.4 CONCLUSION

The nature, purpose and extent of agricultural production were different in the agro-pastoral systems of Parkishon/Karare and Songa because of unequal distributions of water. Although both communities had two rainy seasons each year, Parkishon/Karare did not possess the sustainable water resources or the widespread piped-water system that Songa maintained.

Crop cultivation in Parkishon/Karare consisted of maize and beans. And the majority of house(hold)s dried, stored and maintained these food staples for home-use. Maize and beans were planted just prior to the short and long rains, and other being rain-fed, these crops required little water. The main purpose of agricultural production was to provide households with food supplies rather than generate income. Men decided which types of crops to grow, but in the event that crops needed to be sold, spouses made the decision to do so together.

It was difficult to determine whether one gender spent more time than the other in agricultural labor in Parkishon/Karare. In the context of women's data, the results indicated that women spent more hours/week in garden-related activities than their husbands, but in the context of men's data, details suggest that men spent more hours/week in agricultural labor than their wives did. Since Parkishon/Karare women were generating most of their income from milk sales and not produce sales, my suspicion is that they devoted more time to milk marketing and lesser hours than they indicated to agricultural production.

In contrast to Parkishon/Karare, crop production in Songa was more diversified and the purpose of agriculture was equally divided between providing house(hold)s with food and subsidizing house(hold) income with monies gained through women and men's produce sales. Usually spouses made decisions together regarding which crops to plant. Maize and beans were primarily grown for household consumption, but the majority of house(hold)s sold up to 30% of these two crops. On average house(hold)s sold at least 65% of other crops such as *sukuma wiki*, *miraa*, bananas, mangoes and tomatoes. And more men in Songa claimed they grew their own crops without the assistance of wives.

Many men also claimed that they sold crops, but I did not observe any men marketing produce while in Songa.

A significant finding was that most Songa husbands were the sole decision-makers regarding how much of any one crop could be sold. In effect, men allocated land to their wives for agricultural purposes but limited the amount of produce their wives could sell. In doing so, men limited the amount of income women could generate through produce sales, but at the same time, they also ensured that enough produce was maintained for home-use.

Another significant finding was that Songa men spent more hours/week in agricultural labor than men did in Parkishon/Karare, supporting the theory that when societies or communities move to “a greater reliance on cultivated foods and intensive agriculture...men go from a minimal or irregular input [of work] to a much more substantial contribution” (Bossen 1989:330). And the details provided in Tables 8.3 and 8.4, together with Songa women’s admission that their husbands spend more time in agricultural labor than they do, all strongly suggest that, in this regard, Songa men work harder than Songa women do

Research with respect to the collection and use of wild plant materials in Archer’s Post, Parkishon/Karare and Songa provided a number of significant findings. First, enough evidence was collected (see Appendix I) to indicate that all the women and men were extremely knowledgeable about the names of wild plants and the purposes of the parts used, despite the changes that had occurred in their lifestyles and cultural practices during the course of sedentarization. In fact, the vast majority of the informants claimed

they used wild plant resources for food and medicine and in ceremonies and rituals on a regular basis.

Secondly, there is some evidence to suggest that the gatherers of wild plants are more likely to be male than female, particularly in Parkishon/Karare. While discrepancies existed between the results indicated in Tables 8.5 and 8.6 with respect to the gender of gatherers in Archer's Post and Songa, I maintain that, in both these communities, females are more likely to gather plant resources only when the latter can be found close to home. Due to political insecurity, it is probable that males collect any needed plants that cannot be attained nearby when they travel to distant pastures with the livestock.

Third, quantitative results shown in Tables 8.7 and 8.8 revealed that both women and men in each community had used wild plant material for medicinal purposes at least twice during the month prior to the interviews. This strongly suggests all house(hold)s combine the use of traditional medicines with the services and medicines offered by local government- or mission-sponsored medical facilities. The most frequent users of wild plant material for medicinal purposes were Parkishon/Karare men, many of whom ingested daily doses of traditional medicines concocted from the roots of *Lasarami* and *Loiborbene* plants as preventative measures against contracting malaria and colds, respectively.

In the next chapter, I present qualitative findings from focus group sessions in which women offered their perspectives on local conflict. Since the northern region of Kenya is extremely volatile, any research on the roles and activities of pastoral women would be incomplete without including data on the gender-related aspects of community-based disputes and inter-ethnic conflict.

CHAPTER 9

GENDER, INTRA- AND INTER-SETTLEMENT DISPUTES AND ETHNIC CONFLICT

9.1 INTRODUCTION

I have previously described some of the reasons for the conflict that exists within and between pastoral societies in northern Kenya, particularly with respect to the study communities. In Chapter 3, I examined the causes of conflict from an historical perspective, focusing on the relevant regions and districts. In Chapter 4, I conveyed the perspectives of the leaders in each community regarding the current causes and effects of internal dispute and ethnic conflict. In Chapter 5, I analyzed the views given by the informants in each field site regarding the extent to which they believed that the warriors' girlfriends incited the moran to raid other ethnic groups or instigate discord at the intra- and inter-settlement levels. I also analyzed the primary causes of disputes within Samburu, Ariaal and Rendille house(hold)s and discussed the ways in which the women and men instigated and/or resolved altercations.

In this chapter, I focus more closely on conflict-related issues at the intra- and inter-settlement levels, as well as those pertaining to the regional-level. The purpose of the analysis is to provide some answers to the following questions. What roles do the women and men play in initiating and/or resolving disputes that arise within and between settlements in each community? What are the main causes of these disputes and the usual methods employed for their resolution? Are the causes different or are they similar at both levels? Do they overlap with the causes given for household-level disputes or for ethnic conflict? And what are women's views regarding the reasons for the conflict occurring between their societies and other ethnic groups? Are they in favor of, or

ambivalent about, current peacekeeping efforts? Do women have confidence that the Modogashe Declaration will bring long-lasting stability to their region, and, if not, what do they believe would bring about wide-spread resolution to the violence? Finally, what are the women and men's thoughts with respect to the feasibility of establishing a women's peacekeeping movement in each community and what springboards do they believe the women could use to initiate and institute the latter?

Section 9.2 commences with a qualitative, community-level analysis of the main causes of intra-settlement disputes. The primary reasons for inter-settlement disputes within each community are likewise examined in Section 9.3. In each section, passages from the women and men's focus group discussions are included to illustrate the usual causes of, and the methods employed to resolve, altercations. In Section 9.4, certain findings obtained from oral life histories and the surveys are incorporated into the analysis of the focus groups on issues pertaining to ethnic conflict, and the causes and effects of armed violence in each study community. Other factors are also explored, including the specific ways in which women are affected by the violence and the degree to which the women believe that the use of guns in their communities has been problematic. In addition, the section presents the women's suggested solutions for permanent peace in their communities, describing their perspectives on initial steps that could be taken to enable them to use their informal power at the grassroots to initiate peacekeeping workshops and public forums. Section 9.5 provides a discussion and summary of the findings.

9.2 INTRA-SETTLEMENT DISPUTES IN THE STUDY COMMUNITIES

A content analysis of the material obtained during all focus group sessions held in Archer's Post, Karare and Songa revealed that two major types of intra-settlement disputes were found in each community. The first cause involved misbehavior of children and the second related to problems regarding livestock and/or poultry. Interestingly, the two causes were frequently intertwined.

The informants in 22 of the 23 sessions claimed that the primary cause of conflict between the adults in a settlement was because of the misbehavior of, or fighting between, their children. If a child received a beating from an adult other than his/her mother, the latter viewed this as justification for quarreling. Altercations also arose between adults when two or more households grazed their animals together and the children from one household neglected to carry out their herding duties. Classic examples of child-centered disputes arising between neighbors are illustrated below.

My children fought with the neighboring children and my neighbors beat my children in my presence. My children were crying and I fought the woman who beat them. We stayed for a week without speaking to one another. Then we settled the dispute by talking (A7, Katanga Drum, Archer's Post, separated woman, 12/06/02).

My child and another child were quarreling. My child hit the other child and the mother came and hit my child. I began to fight with that mother because of this. Meanwhile the children started playing again and we realized that we should resolve our quarrel (K3, Kulapesa, Karare, female informant, 02/15/03).

My neighbor's wife beat my child. Then my wife beat the child of the neighbor when I was not around. Later these two wives fought and my wife injured the other one. The elders told my wife that I had to pay a fine of 1,000 Ksh. but when I came home, I bargained with them and ended up paying 200 Ksh. We were able smooth things out with the neighbors and we became friends again (KM1, Karare town, male informant, 03/08/03).

I rebuked my neighbor's daughter who acted without manners by quarrelling in front of the warriors. My neighbors quarreled with me for doing this. I explained the situation and the matter was resolved amicably (A4, Laresoro, Archer's Post, married woman, 09/18/02).

We used to share the care of the cattle with another neighbor. Sometimes my children looked after the cattle and sometimes the other children looked after them. Sometimes the other children said they could not take care of the animals. Then the children quarreled with each other and we [the adults] beat each other. Finally we told each other, "You look after your cattle and I will look after mine." After awhile we became friends again (S4, Lturuya, Songa, female informant, 05/01/03).

We fight because our children can go and look after the animals with the neighboring children and delay coming home with the livestock because of the other children. I like my children to be very responsible when they take the animals to graze and I want them to bring the livestock back at the right time. But some neighbors' children are not as good as my own, so that makes me quarrel with my neighbors. Then I tell my children not to mix my animals with the neighbors' livestock (SM1, Songa, male informant, 05/10/03).

The children of a neighbor killed one of my chickens and I quarreled with the children's mother. We later said sorry to each other and she said she would pay for the chicken (K1, Karare, female informant, 02/01/03).

My neighbor's bull was fighting with our bull. My son hit the neighbor's bull and broke its horn. Then the neighbor's son, who was older than my son, beat my boy. I began to quarrel, as I did not want my son to be beaten. A court of elders discussed the situation and decided not to impose any fines (A1, Umoja, Archer's Post, married woman, 08/05/02).

Sometimes a child goes into the house of another family. When the owner of that house comes home, she may find the neighbor's child taking a cup. When she rebukes the child, his/her mother starts making noise and the two women begin to fight, because maybe the child's mother told him/her to steal so she could quarrel with that woman. Then they become enemies. Their children play together but they remain enemies. The neighbors ask them what they are fighting about, reminding them that their children are friends. They advise the women to come together. So, at that time, one woman calls to the other, "My friend, even if we have fought, come, so that we can be one again" (A7, Katanga Drum, Archer's Post, female informant, 12/06/02).

I quarreled with my neighbor who claimed that my child broke into the school library. There was no evidence that my son did this so I fought with her for calling my son a thief. She apologized and the matter ended there (A2, Ldregesi, Archer's Post, married woman, 08/12/02).

Children can make neighbors fight. Say, for example, my children stole some fruit from my neighbor's trees and I was not aware of this, and my neighbor went ahead and beat my children. I will ask him why he beat them and he will tell me that they stole his fruit. Then we will start fighting (SM2, Songa, Lmooli male, 05/13/03).

According to the members of four focus groups in Archer's Post, six groups in Karare and eight groups in Songa, the second most common reason for flare-ups within a settlement was because of problems related to livestock and/or poultry.

Early one morning, I caught a neighbor milking my goat. I quarreled with her for being a thief. She apologized and I pardoned her (A1, Umoja, Archer's Post, married woman, 08/05/02).

One day, my husband instructed me to slaughter a goat in the evening and I refused. My neighbor took the initiative and slaughtered the goat without my permission. I fought with her because I did not want my goat to be slaughtered in the first place. She apologized for what she did and paid me a goat (A2, Lderegesi, Archer's Post, married woman, 08/12/02).

One day, I quarreled with my neighbor because her chickens entered my garden and ate my seed. She apologized and, upon my advice, she built a shed for the chickens at her home (K1, Karare, female informant, 02/01/03).

Sometimes one neighbor's livestock will enter another's *shamba*, and the neighbors will begin to quarrel. One cries, "Why did you let your livestock come and ruin my crops?" Later, the other will apologize, stating "I will not repeat this; I will go and look after my cattle somewhere else" (K4, Karare, female informant, 02/22/03).

Neighboring men often quarrel because of their bulls. One man tied his bull near his *boma*, and another man released his bull so that it would come and kill the other man's animal. The men beat each other until the elders came and talked with them. Nobody was fined (K4, Karare, married woman, 02/22/03).

I fought with my neighbor because he came and speared my bull when our bulls were fighting. When I saw that my bull had been speared, I looked for my neighbor and we beat each other. The next day, the elders came; they made this man give me a goat and charged him an additional fine. Then we apologized to each other for fighting (KM1, Karare, male informant, 03/08/03).

I really fought hard with one of my neighbors because of a chicken that my brother gave me. I did not have a cock, and because my neighbor had several. I took my chicken over to his place. Whenever my chicken laid eggs, I gave

some to my neighbor. Then my neighbor decided to kill my chicken and he said that a wild cat had killed it. But I realized that he had killed and eaten it and then left a little evidence to show that maybe a cat had done this. I accused him of this, but he denied it, and then I hit him on the head. Some people called the police and then the elders arrived and prevented the police from taking me to jail. The elders have tried to solve this matter, but there has been no resolution and there is still anger between the two of us (KM1, Karare, male informant, 03/08/03).

Neighbors will quarrel when the cattle and goats of one household destroy the garden of another household (S3, Milimani, Songa, female informant, 04/26/03).

My neighbors' cattle came and ate my *miraa*, so I beat the cattle and returned them to their owners. Then I quarreled with the neighbors, telling them to bring the fine. Once they brought the fine, we resolved our dispute (S4, Lturuya, Songa, female informant, 05/01/03).

Last week, I fought with my neighbor because her animals destroyed my *shamba*. She apologized and I told her that if this happened again, she would need to pay a fine (S6, Lesukul, Songa, female informant, 05/12/03).

Once, my cattle entered my neighbor's *shamba*. The man removed my cattle from his garden and came to my home. He told me to come and see what the animals had done to his full-grown crop of maize. So I accompanied him and looked at his garden and felt badly as my animals had eaten all his maize. I was shocked and scared, and asked him, "Please, what would you like me to do so that you will be a little bit comfortable in forgiving me?" We had always been friends before but the way he looked at me that day made me feel very, very bad. He told me, "Today, you will not pay anything for this damage. I forgive you. But, let it happen twice, and there will be problems" (SM1, Songa, male informant, 05/10/03).

I will give you an example of why neighbors fight. Suppose my small stock go into the garden of my neighbor and my neighbor ends up killing one of them. Maybe my neighbor had given me a warning that I should take care of my small stock and I did not pay attention. This makes him very angry because he has warned me several times. So he decides to kill an animal to make me feel pain. When I see that my animal is dead, we fight, but I realize there is no compromise, and eventually we "exchange hands" and cry together (SM2, Songa, Lmooli male, 05/13/03).

The only other major cause of intra-settlement disputes mentioned by the majority of women in at least two study communities (i.e. six focus groups in Archer's Post, four

in Songa and two groups in Karare) was adultery or the suspicion on the part of one spouse that his/her partner was having an affair with a neighbor.

I quarreled with my neighbor as she befriended my husband. I felt jealousy because she was involved with my husband in an extramarital affair. A panel of elders cautioned my husband and resolved the matter (A5, Lorubae, Archer's Post, married woman, 10/25/02).

If you befriend the husband of your neighbor, you will hide this deed until the day his wife knows. Then she will come and accuse you of taking her husband as a boyfriend and she will fight with you (A6, Lderegese, Archer's Post, separated woman, 11/25/02).

Men fight because of women. One husband might go and take another woman as a friend and her husband learns about this and fights that man. The same thing happens with the wives; they fight over the husbands (K5, Karare, separated woman, 02/28/03).

If your husband has a lover in the settlement, you will be jealous of this woman and fight her, or maybe her boyfriend or husband will fight your husband (S2, Lpus, Songa, female informant, 04/15/03).

Another woman in my settlement befriended my husband and I fought with her and we beat each other. My husband now tries to hide the fact that he is still seeing her, but I know they are friends (S3, Milimani, Songa, married woman, 04/26/03).

It is important to note that the three main causes of intra-settlement disputes in each community are connected to the most frequent causes of household disputes, as discussed in Chapter 5. For instance, spouses sometimes quarreled over the misbehavior of children, and husbands blamed their wives for the children's misdeeds. If quarrels erupted between neighboring children, the children's mothers usually became fierce combatants and this may have been fueled, in part, by their fear of reprisal from their husbands. Secondly, spouses also fought because the wife or a child let the livestock go astray, enabling the animals to enter the garden of neighbor or engage in fights with the livestock of another household, in which case, the conflict moved into the settlement-

level. And, thirdly, conflict arising between spouses over adultery naturally included a third party, someone who likely dwelled in the same settlement or in one close by.

In respect to other causes of intra-settlement disputes, no other major themes were mentioned in the Karare group discussions. In Archer's Post, two other main reasons were given for intra-settlement conflict. The first included gossiping and backbiting, a theme that was prominent in five of the seven group discussions.

A man from the neighborhood quarreled with me over a remark that I made about his wife. I told my husband, who went to inquire about the circumstance, and a fight broke out between the two men. A court of elders rebuked me and told each of the men to slaughter a cow as a penalty (A1, Umoja, Archer's Post, married woman, 08/05/02).

My neighbor heard that my husband did not want me to spend time in her company because of her unbecoming behavior. I had shared my husband's sentiments with another friend of mine who later passed this information on to my neighbor. Then my neighbor became engaged in a verbal dispute with my husband and I stopped spending time in her company (A1, Umoja, Archer's Post, married woman, 08/05/02).

Your neighbor can backbite you, saying that you are always borrowing food, etc. When you hear that she was talking about you and you confront her, she may not respond in a good way. So you will start to fight (A6, Lderegesi, Archer's Post, married woman, 11/25/02).

A neighboring woman befriended another woman in our settlement. The second woman began a false rumor about the first woman. When I heard the story, I confronted this woman and we ended up fighting. Finally the issue was resolved by some elderly women (A7, Katanga Drum, Archer's Post, female informant, 12/06/02).

The second additional type of intra-settlement dispute in Archer's Post was due to a neighbor's repeated requests to 'borrow' water, firewood or fire embers from another. And the chance of a row greatly increased when a neighbor 'borrowed' without asking permission.

Neighbors fight because of fire. For example, suppose that you go to get fire from your neighbor everyday, because your fire is always going out. Eventually, your neighbor will ask why you do not keep your own fire going and she will refuse to give it to you. Then you will quarrel (A6, Lderegesi, Archer's Post, married woman, 11/25/02).

When I came home from the market, I found a neighbor taking fire from my house. This is not customarily acceptable, particularly in the evenings, and I quarreled with her for trying to bring bad luck to my home. I refused to let her take the fire and she apologized (A1, Umoja, Archer's Post, single female, 08/05/02).

Maybe your neighbor is always coming to your house when you go out and she takes your water and maybe your firewood. When you return, you see that these things are missing and you know who took them. Then you will fight with her (A6, Lderegesi, Archer's Post, widowed woman, 11/25/02).

In contrast to the further reasons given for disputes arising within Archer's Post's settlements, an analysis of Songa group sessions demonstrated that difficulties in gaining access to water (mentioned in six groups), and land encroachment or disregard of surveyed boundaries (mentioned in five groups) were the added major causes of conflict in this community. The first set of passages illustrates the reasons for, and resolutions of, the disputes arising over water-related issues.

You know, we are sharing one pipe. If a neighbor uses my share of water, then there is a fight between us. Once a neighbor came and used my water. We fought and I called the elders. They told her not to do this again and they told me not to start a fight again. If there is a problem and a neighbor cannot get water, the elders must solve the difficulty (S1, Leiyai, Songa, female informant, 04/12/03).

In Milimani, each woman has water at her house, but we are using a schedule and somebody can use your time. So, suppose I had already used my time and nobody was around and I wanted more water. I might open my tap. Then the woman who has the right to take water at that time will notice that the water is coming slowly and she will look to find out which person is using the water. Then both of us will fight (S3, Milimani, Songa, female informant, 04/26/03).

I do not have a water tap but my neighbours do, so I go to them to ask for water. When I went to them three or four times in one day, they shouted. "Why are you drawing so much water?" I told my husband and he quarreled

with the neighbors and the two men eventually beat each other. We told the members of the Water Committee and they talked to our neighbors. We can now take water from their tap more easily (S5, Sirata, Songa, married woman, 05/01/03).

We fight over misuse of water schedules. Neighbors fight because one does not let the water flow to another at the right time and that person is waiting to get water (SM2, Songa, Lmooli male, 05/13/03).

We also fight because of water wells. Suppose I have used all my time to dig a well for my animals and one morning I find a neighbor watering his animals at my well. Because my animals are with me, I will fight that man to stop his animals from taking that water. This happens often, especially during the dry season, and sometimes people are killed. You might spear somebody just because he has come and used your well when your own animals are thirsty (SM2, Songa, Lmooli male, 05/13/03).

The second set of passages exemplifies some of the scenarios involved in the intra-settlement disputes pertaining to land encroachment.

The land has been surveyed but sometimes one neighbor will move his/her boundary, or make a road on the land of another. Then they will fight (S5, Sirata, Songa, female informant, 05/06/03).

I have a neighbor with whom I quarreled over land...the boundary. We fought and the elders separated us and put in posts to demarcate the surveyed boundary. The elders then cursed us and told us we had to stay outside like animals and we could not go to our own homes. We stayed outside for a week before asking the elders to forgive us. They told us that we each had to slaughter, skin and roast a cow. Nobody was allowed to help us. Then we had to call them to come and eat the meat before they would forgive us (SM1, Songa, male informant, 05/10/03).

Neighbors fight over land boundaries. Even though the land has been surveyed, each person wants to make his/her *shamba* bigger. Neighbors continue to push over the boundary line until they fight with each other (SM2, Songa, all Lmooli males, 05/13/03).

In each community, roughly 75% of all intra-settlement disputes were eventually resolved, usually by means of apologies or retributions offered by the combatants themselves. While some disputes involved sudden bouts of physical violence between two women or two men, forgiveness and reparations often materialized just as swiftly.

Male and female elders intervened in approximately 25% of the intra-settlement disputes described.

In addition to discussing the causes of intra-settlement conflict, all the informants in the women's focus groups were asked to give examples of any recent land-related disputes or problems that had involved or affected women. One widow from Archer's Post summarized the difficulties that women had in obtaining leased land in this particular community.

The women who do not have power or money do not receive leased land. If you are poor, you do not get land. If you are rich, you get. Even when you go to the government [county council] and tell them, "I do not have a husband or children, and I do not have a job, so please give me land," they refuse to help you. Sometimes the government will even lease the land, on which you are living, to rich people, so I have problems. The government tells me to go and live in Laresoro and be a nomad, but I do not have any cattle or goats, so if I go there, I will not have food to eat and the Borana might attack that place (A7, Katanga Drum, Archer's Post, widow, 12/06/02).

Although five of the seven Karare-based focus groups did not raise the issue of land encroachment as a major cause of intra-settlement disputes, a handful of informants described the circumstances surrounding the involvement of women in conflict over land.

Somebody has grabbed my land. The resolution of this will be left until the surveyors come and designate the *shambas* for land title (K1, Karare, female informant, 02/01/03).

A father gave his daughter some land in Scheme [Nasakakwe]. The woman also had another piece of land awarded to her by the County Council. She grew her crops on the land given to her by her father, but since she did not use the other piece of land, the Council eventually assigned the plot to someone else. Then her father and mother died and now her brothers want her off the land that her father gave her. So, she will not have any land at all and she is a widow with children (K2, Scheme, Karare, female informant, 02/08/03).

A married woman and a very old husband live in Lakartinya. She grows crops on their land. Formerly, another man laid claims to this land but then he moved to Kitiruni and stayed there for many years. Recently, he returned

and said the land was his. The woman said no, because the community elders had registered the land in her husband's name and she had already prepared the garden. Now, both the male and female elders are trying to resolve this conflict (K3, Karare, female informants, 02/15/03).

Shortly after their parents died, two brothers fought over the ownership of the parents' *shamba* in Scheme. They did not want to divide the land because each wanted the entire *shamba*. Then their wives entered this quarrel and advised the brothers to share the land equally. The quarrel was resolved and the women were the peacemakers (K4, Karare, married woman, 02/22/03).

One day, two of the women in this group quarreled because of land. One of them put her fence on the other's land and they fought. Their husbands came and told them to be quiet and then divided the land equally (K6, Karare, female informant, 03/08/03).

Some of the examples presented below indicate that the issues surrounding women's involvement in land disputes in Songa were similar to those in Karare. But in some cases, Songa women had to fight for justice because they had been victimized by shady land vendors.

In Leiyai, a man sold a piece of land to two people, a widow and a man, and he took money from both of them. The male buyer told the widow that he had paid more money for the land and thus, the *shamba* did not belong to her. The widow went to the chief and the police and the outcome was that the widow lost the land, but she received her money back (S1, Leiyai, Songa, female informants, 04/12/03).

A man sold a piece of land to two women and took money from both of them. One woman lived far away, but the other woman lived near and she began to plant her garden. When the former woman arrived, the two women fought over ownership of the land. Then they contacted the chief and the elders, who made the man return the money to one of the women (S4, Lturuya, Songa, female informant, 05/01/03).

A woman fought with a man because he said that the land she was using was his. The Land Committee resolved this issue in her favor (S2, Lpus, Songa, female informant, 04/15/03).

I fought with my neighbor over the boundary of our *shambas*. There was an old man who knew where the boundary line should be, so he took some poles and put them in the ground. We now know where the true boundary lies and we will not fight again. Now we are friends, but not very good friends,

because there is still hurt (S3, Milimani, Songa, female informant, 04/26/03).

Two neighboring men fought over the position of the boundary dividing their land and they beat each other. I was standing there and told them to stop fighting and apologize to each other. The problem was then resolved (S4, Lturuya, Songa, two identical incidents reported by two female informants, 05/01/03).

Recently, some men came and told a widow, "This is not your correct boundary," and they took a big piece of her land. She did not have a man to protect her so she went to the Land Committee and the elders on this committee solved her problem (S5, Sirata, Songa, married woman, 05/06/03).

The data obtained during the focus group interviews provided valuable information about the multiple ways in which pastoral women are drawn into disputes over land. However, I must emphasize that men without power or money are also not able to lease land in Archer's Post and the men in Songa are likewise embroiled in conflict with their neighbours because of land encroachment.

In the next section, I compare and contrast the main causes of inter-settlement disputes within the study communities. I also illustrate how disputes between two individuals can quickly mushroom into larger conflicts involving several other individuals or entire clans or sub-clans.

9.3 INTER-SETTLEMENT DISPUTES IN THE STUDY COMMUNITIES

Many group informants in Archer's Post and Karare claimed that internal disputes within their communities occurred between settlements and between clans, and that often these were indistinguishable since the majority of residents in the individual settlements usually belonged to one particular clan or sub-clan. In Songa, the informants referred to internal disputes as being conflict between ridges and discussed the causes of the disputes within this context.

The group sessions did not reveal any one cause of inter-settlement conflicts that applied across the communities. Several members of two groups in each site claimed that conflicts arose from gossiping and backbiting, insulting behavior, non-payment of debts, minor thefts and/or the intrusion of bulls or cattle into another settlement, but other members made no mention of these causes at all.

A major source of dispute in both Archer's Post and Karare arose from rivalry between warriors over girls or warriors' harassment of girls. These issues were addressed in Chapter 5 during my discussion of the relationships between warriors and girls. Here, I illustrate the clanship component of these disputes.

A moran from the Lukumai clan wanted to have an intimate relationship with a girl from the Lmasula clan, but she was already beaded to an Masula warrior. When she refused, the Lukumai warrior beat her. This brought conflict between the two warriors and it also caused dispute between the two clans. A major fight nearly erupted, but the elders of the settlements averted the fight and ordered the Lukumai moran to pay a fine of one cow (A1, Umoja, Archer's Post, married woman, 08/05/02).

A dispute occurred when a moran from Lpsikishu [Village] began a fight with my daughter, who is Lukumai; she refused to be beaded by him as she was beaded to someone else. I called my eldest son who is a moran and he said he would solve the problem. He went to the elders and they ordered the moran to pay a fine for fighting with my daughter. Further conflict was averted (A2, Lderegesi, Archer's Post, married woman, 08/12/02).

An Lpsikishu moran beaded a girl from the Lorokushu clan. Then a Lorokushu moran seduced the girl and became her secret boyfriend. When this came to light, the Lpsikishu moran clubbed the other moran. The elders from both clans met and told the Lorokushu moran to stop seeing the girl. They also ordered the Lpsikishu moran to pay a bull to cover the costs of the medical treatment and the medication needed by the injured moran (A3, Supalek, Archer's Post, married woman, 09/12/02).

The Lukumai and Long'eli warriors fight because of the girls. When a Lukumai moran beads a Long'eli girl and her family arranges her marriage with another man, all the Lukumai warriors will start fighting with that family. Then the Long'eli clan will retaliate and both clans will use knives, guns, and clubs to fight each other. Finally, the elders from both sides will

call the warriors, telling them that if they continue fighting, many of them will die (A7, Katanga Drum, Archer's Post, female informant, 12/06/02).

The warriors from Karare often quarrel with the warriors from Scheme [Nasakakwe] because of competition over girls. These disputes are usually clan-based (K1, Karare, married woman, 02/02/03).

The warriors and girls cause conflict between the settlements. They might be singing in the night hours, when one warrior will start to bother another warrior's girlfriend. The two warriors will then exchange bad words and the next day, the girls' parents and brothers get involved and they beat up that warrior (K6, Karare, female informant, 03/08/03).

Maybe a warrior from one clan might bead a girl from another clan, possibly in another settlement. Or a warrior will try to steal another warrior's girl. Then the warriors will divide themselves amongst clans or sub-clans and fight. Then the quarrel is no longer between two individuals and the fight becomes huge. Between 1982 and 1983, there was a very bad fight between the Lkororo moran from different clans and three moran almost died (KM1, Karare, male informant, 03/08/03).

Another source of dispute in both Karare and Songa arose over insufficient water-access. Most quarrels in Songa occurred between the members of entire ridges, but, in Karare, individuals from different settlements frequently fought for access to water at communal taps or boreholes.

I went to fetch water and another woman from another settlement came and pushed her way in, saying she must take water first. We fought with each other and then we both left without taking water. The situation was never resolved (K1, Karare, female informant, 02/01/03).

The women from Karare say that the Kulapesa women bring corruption at the borehole, because they fight with the Karare women over the water. The Kulapesa women always want to take water for household-use while the Karare women are in the process of watering their livestock. Then all the husbands become involved and beat their wives for fighting (K3, Kulapesa, female informant, 02/15/03).

I live in Karare and some men from Kulapesa beat me to prevent me from taking water while they were watering their livestock. After I was beaten, I called my husband. He collected the water for me and later he went to find those men to make them apologize. The men then came and apologized to me (K4, Karare, married woman, 02/22/03).

I am from Karare and I fought with a man from Kulapesa because he took water from the jerry cans that I had just filled and gave it to his livestock. I started quarreling with this man and we began abusing each other. After I had filled my jerry cans again and the man had watered his cattle, we both ended up apologizing to each other (K4, Karare, married woman, 02/22/03).

We often quarrel with people from other settlements/clans at water points. Maybe one comes and says that she/he should take water first and then you fight and beat each other over that (K5, Karare, female informant, 02/28/03).

Conflict also surfaced between Karare town elders and elders in Scheme (Nasakakwe) over unequal water distribution.

There is one water tank in Scheme and one in Karare town. Water is released into these tanks from a central point controlled by the elders. Sometimes, the water is release twice a week into one tank, but nothing is released to the other. Then the elders from each area fight each other (K1, Karare, female informant, 02/01/03).

The elders from Karare and Scheme look after the water. Sometimes they release water to the Karare tank twice a week and do not release any to the tank in Scheme. The usual practice is to release water to each tank once a week. The elders of Karare are corrupt; they often neglect to pay their share of the expenses for the diesel and oil purchased for the main pump (K2, Scheme/Nasikakwe, several female informants, 02/08/03).

The causes of inter-settlement disputes that occurred over water-shortages were much more complicated in Songa. Interestingly, none of the female or male informants referred to the water-shortages as being a direct result of the under-sized pipes, which was the cause most commonly cited by Songa leaders (see Chapter 4). Instead, each group of women from one specific ridge blamed the residents of the other ridges for creating shortages.

We [Leiyai] fight with Lturuya, because men from Lturuya stuff our main water line with paper to divert our water into their main water pipe. Both ridges are supposed to share the water coming from one tank; there are two pipes, one for Leiyai and one for Lturuya. When the men do this, then the warriors from Leiyai want to go and beat them, but the elders

counsel them not to do this (S1, Leiyai, Songa, female informant, 04/12/03).

The Chairman of the Water Committee lives in Lturuya and he is trying to divert most of the water in Songa to his ridge. So we [Milimani] are not friendly with the people of Lturuya. Even the residents in Lesukul ridge tell us we cannot install more water pipes to our homes. We have problems because there are more men in Lturuya and Lesukul than here; we are mainly women (S3, Milimani, Songa, female informant, 04/26/03).

People from Lesukul put paper, nylon articles, and shoes in the water pipe that runs to our ridge [Lturuya] to divert our water into their pipe. We remove these things and we bring them to the chief and the elders. This is an ongoing problem and we have to check each day that our pipe is not blocked (S4, Lturuya, Songa, female informant, 05/01/03).

Even the people from Leiyai steal our [Lturuya] water during the night. They block our pipe and there is nothing left for us when we go to use water the next morning. So we report this to the chief and the elders (S4, Lturuya, Songa, female informant, 05/01/03)

The people from Milimani want to divert our [Sirata] water at the main source which is near Milimani ridge. Our men are prepared to fight if this happens (S5, Sirata, Songa, female informant, 05/06/03).

The ridges quarrel because one group diverts water from the pipe of another to send it to their own ridge. The conflict mainly occurs between the ridges of Lesukul, Lturuya and Leiyai. Sometimes the residents use sticks or guns to fight each other and the quarrels become very serious (SM1 and SM2, Songa, male informants from all ridges, 05/10/03 and 05/13/03, respectively).

Other inter-settlement disputes were site-specific. No other key causes were claimed for Karare. In Archer's Post, conflict also arose over rivalry between warriors over the use of waterholes and the division of stolen livestock and weapons.

A dispute erupted between two warriors, one belonging to the Lukumai clan and the other to the Long'eli clan. Both *moran* were at the water hole and each one expected that his cattle would take water first. This caused problems, but a court of elders solved the problem and fined both *moran*. I do not like it when people are divided here because they are all Samburu (A2, Lderegesi, Archer's Post, married woman, 12/08/02).

Thirteen Pisikishu warriors and three Masula warriors stole some livestock from another place. On their way home, a dispute arose over how they would share the animals. The Masula warriors were not given any livestock because the Pisikishu warriors outnumbered them in force. Since that time, nothing has been resolved and the potential for greater conflict still exists (A3, Supalek, Archer's Post, female informant, 12/09/02).

A moran shot two bandits and seized their guns. Another moran, who was Pisikishu, forcefully took the guns away, shooting and leaving the first moran for dead. The injured moran reappeared to tell his story, but being a wanted man himself, he was taken into custody by the authorities. The matter has yet to be resolved (A4, Laesoru, Archer's Post, female informant, 08/18/02).

Disputes also arose in Archer's Post when warriors from an entirely different community raided livestock from elsewhere and then implicated an innocent community by passing through it on their way home with the stolen animals. This type of dispute can mushroom into ethnic conflict.

The warriors from Learata, Serolipi, Lpus and Ngongilai have stolen animals from around Meru or Isiolo many times and they often pass through our settlement or community on their way home. The security officers track the footprints that pass through our area and we end up being implicated. We are innocent, but the affected people believe we are not and they raid our animals in retaliation (A7, Katanga Drum, Archer's Post, several female informants, 12/06/02).

In Songa, conflict arose between the ridges because of marketers' infractions of marketing rules and schedules as set out by the *Sukuma Wiki* Committee. This issue was briefly referred to in Chapter 6 during my analysis of the Songa women's collective activities.

Each ridge is only supposed to market produce in Marsabit on certain days of the week. On some days, it is Lturuya's turn and on other days it is Leiyai's turn, or Milimani's turn, etc. If a person from Lturuya tries to market produce on Milimani's day, the Milimani marketers will confiscate her produce and beat her. The people from different ridges do not always stick to the schedules (S4, Lturuya, Songa, female informant, 05/01/03).

When it is Sirata's turn to market in Marsabit, and women from Lturuya

show up, the Sirata women take their *sukuma* away and keep it in their stall until it is Lturuya's turn to sell. The *sukuma* can go bad in the meantime, but the Sirata women do not care. Sometimes the women will even throw the *sukuma* away. Fighting between the women can often go on until the police arrive and separate them (S5, Sirata, Songa, several married female informants, 05/06/03).

Each ridge is assigned certain days on which to market, but there are people who like "to creep between the ridges." Then entire ridges start to hate each other. If some people go to market with their vegetables on the wrong day, the members of another ridge will take their vegetables and lock the produce in a town shop until those crops spoil. It is the job of the male elders to set the schedule for the marketing days of each ridge and to monitor the marketers. Representative elders from each ridge arrive at the park gate each morning to identify the people who should not be going to sell in Marsabit. For example, when it is Lesukul's day, the elders from that ridge will be at the gate to check on the marketers. Sometimes, people will slip by the gate very early in the morning before the elders have a chance to get there, but eventually they are apprehended in Marsabit and their crops are confiscated (SM1, Songa, several male informants, 05/10/03).

Male elders in each community were called upon to resolve many of the disputes that arose between the settlements or ridges and/or clans. However, in the examples given for Karare regarding conflicts that occurred between two individuals from different settlements over access to water, there was no mention of any mediation by the elders, or any set protocol for dispute-resolution between the quarreling parties. The latter appeared to resolve the disputes in one way or another by themselves. And in Songa, when the elders failed to catch marketers who set off to market on an unscheduled day, the legitimate marketers took matters into their own hands and beat the culprits and confiscated their produce in the market place.

9.4 GENDER AND ETHNIC CONFLICT

Very few investigations undertaken in northern Kenya have focused on the roles of, or the impact on, pastoral women with regard to ethnic conflict or inter-clan warfare.

One important study, carried out by the Community Based Animal Health and Participatory Epidemiology (CAPE) Unit and the African Union/Interafrican Bureau for Animal Resources (AU/IBAR), reported by Watson (2003), examined the Turkana women's involvement in conflict and dispute-resolution in Northwestern Kenya. And an excellent article by Elmi *et al.* (2000) reviewed the steps taken by Somali women as they worked to bring peace to Wajir District in Northeastern Kenya. Both studies underscored the important roles that women played in the realm of peacekeeping efforts, some of which often go unnoticed.

In group discussions, Samburu, Ariaal and Rendille women offered their perspectives on the causes and effects of ethnic disputes and upon further questioning, some women presented their views on possible ways to resolve ethnic conflict. In order to compare informants' views at the community-level, the results of my analysis are divided under three sub-headings: causes of ethnic conflict; effects of ethnic conflict; and suggested solutions for peace.

9.4.1 The Causes of Ethnic Conflict

Raiding and banditry were prevalent in and around Archer's Post during the period of my field research. Samburu women claimed that the main reason for continuous bouts of conflict was the tremendous enmity existing between the Samburu and the Boran, Turkana and Somali. What was once considered an effect of conflict was now thought to be the primary reason for violence, whether involving cattle rustling, banditry or competition over water points and grazing pastures. The build-up of hatred between the Samburu and the Boran and Turkana was even manifested during chance meetings between women, or between groups of women, in the market place.

When Samburu women meet Turkana women, they say bad things to each other. The Turkana women yell to the Samburu, "You eat donkeys," and the Samburu women shout to the Turkana women, "You are not women, because you are not circumcised. You just pretend to be women, but you are just girls" (A6, Lderegesi, Archer's Post, female informant, 11/25/02).

When we [Samburu women] go to Isiolo, we meet Borana women who are selling *miraa* and we ask them for credit. Then the Borana women say words like 'poop,' to indicate we smell bad, so we start fighting with each other (A6, Lderegesi, Archer's Post, female informant, 11/25/02).

Informants also maintained that there were a number of ways in which Samburu women and young girls encouraged the warriors to antagonize or raid the Boran or Turkana; in this respect, their views differed from those offered by the survey participants, since the latter believed that the warriors raided other groups regardless of whether the girls or women encouraged them or not (see Chapter 5).

As a result of drought, women encouraged the Samburu warriors to herd the cattle to a place with good pastures. The moran drove the cattle far into Boran country and conflict ensued over grazing rights. But the Samburu stayed put and when the rains came, they came back, bringing some animals they had stolen from the Borana (A1, Umoja, Archer's Post, female informant, 08/5/02).

The Samburu moran have been involved in raids in Turkana territory in Isiolo District. Raids are encouraged because girls praise the warriors and the elders also bless the moran for engaging in this practice. Girls encourage their boyfriends to steal cattle for bridewealth and women also encourage their sons to do the same (A2, Lderegesi, Archer's Post, female informant, 08/12/02).

The young girls will praise the warriors, praising them until they have gained the courage to raid, so the girls are also making the fighting continue because they sing. The moran raid because of the pressure placed on them by the girls (A6, Lderegesi, Archer's Post, female informant, 11/25/02).

The women's focus groups in Archer's Post were somewhat divided over whether the use of armed weapons by the Samburu was contributing to the violence.¹ On the one hand, many women claimed that the availability of guns encouraged cattle rustling,

highway banditry and theft, and fueled conflict between clans and ethnic groups. The illegal possession of armed weapons also encouraged poaching and, because no formal training was given for handling guns, accidental deaths and injuries often occurred because of the misuse of weaponry.

The Samburu do not know how to use the guns properly. When they raid Boran cattle with these weapons and the elders chastise them for stealing, the warriors make problems at home. Sometimes they start fighting in a settlement and shoot the animals. And at times, children are even killed (A7, Katanga Drum, Archer's Post, female informant, 12/06/02).

The Samburu started buying guns in 1990 to protect themselves and their animals from raids. The guns come from Isiolo and Marsabit Districts. But now, when the Turkana people come to sell guns here, sometimes the Samburu steal the guns from them and kill them and then immediately raid the Turkana in Isiolo. Then the Turkana retaliate by raiding us and people are killed (A7, Katanga Drum, Archer's Post, female informant, 12/06/02).

Other women maintained there were advantages to owning guns, even if the guns were held illegally. They claimed that guns were needed for self-protection and to maintain a balance of power *vis-à-vis* armed Borana, Turkana and Somali.

In Archer's Post, most elders said that the main cause of internal violence and ethnic conflict was the illegal possession of guns by many Samburu. The elders claimed the moran were completely out of control and if any elder told the warriors not to use guns, he or she ran the risk of being shot (OLH/2/AM, 11/30/02 and OLH/4/AF, 12/04/02). One female elder went so far as to say that the women in Archer's Post were partially responsible for the increased purchase and use of armed weapons.

The women are the ones who are at the front line of the fighting and gun trafficking. They do not tell the men to leave the guns alone; instead they tell the men to buy these things. The people in this generation...they have major problems and maybe the women are the cause, because in this place, you will not find a woman who tells her husband not to buy a gun (OLH/1/AF, elderly woman, Archer's Post, 11/16/02).

In contrast to Archer's Post, the Karare community had not been directly involved in ethnic conflict for several years. During the drought in 1996, Karare warriors drove numerous livestock to Baragoi in search of pasture and water, during which time they suffered a massive raid and massacre by the Turkana. Many households in Karare were affected in one way or another by the loss of relatives and friends and/or livestock. The most recent direct conflict occurred in April 2001, when the Boran and Gabra brought their animals to graze in nearby Iltrim without the Karare elders' unanimity. The Karare warriors were incensed by this and chased the Boran and Gabra away, killing two of their cows in the process.

Despite the fact that the Karare community had not suffered from recent major raids or banditry, focus group informants strongly identified with the continuing insecurity around Songa, not only because of the close proximity of Songa, but also because of the many kinship and friendship ties that stretched between the two communities. As a result, informants constantly referred to the conflict that took place with the Boran in Songa when discussing the reasons for ethnic dispute in their own community.

Of the seven focus groups held in Karare, two women's groups openly mentioned the intense dislike that the Ariaal Rendille felt towards the Boran. Yet this enmity was not perceived as being the underlying cause of conflict; instead, most of the informants believed that disputes primarily arose because of the Boran's desire to obtain livestock pasture and water in Ariaal Rendille territory. Some women felt that the Rendille warriors instigated episodes of conflict by stealing the Boran's livestock, which in turn caused acts of retribution, while other informants believed that the warriors raided the

Boran in retaliation for the group's massacre of Rendille women and warriors on the Songa-Marsabit road.

On the whole, informants did not think that the possession of guns was a problem in Karare. The majority claimed that there were few incidents of misuse and the weapons were essential to protect the community against the Boran. In addition, many women stated the guns were needed in order to fire blank bullets to scare the elephants away from *shambas*.

In Songa, recent conflict between the Rendille and Boran occurred in December 2002, when Boran murdered two Rendille warriors who were homeward bound with several cattle they had purchased in Marsabit. In May 2002, the Boran killed a mother of young twins from Milimani and an elderly man from Lpus, both on the same day. During 2001, the Boran twice raided the Lpus settlement, killing a total of six people. They also took all the livestock, but the authorities eventually recovered the animals.

Each of these traumatic events remained fresh in the minds of Songa informants. Most of the women's groups expressed their extreme dislike of the Boran and blamed them for the conflict because of their attacks, rustling and demands for pasture and water. Some men claimed that Gabra also contributed to the violence, stating the Gabra could not be trusted as they pretended to be friends with the Rendille, but joined with the Boran in their raids (SM2, Songa, Lmooli informants, 05/13/03). Other men maintained that the Burji were additionally to blame, since those who were rich perpetuated the carnage by supplying guns to the Boran, Gabra and Rendille.

The Burji never personally come and kill us. What the wealthy Burji do is supply the Boran and Gabra, and even the Rendille people, with guns. The Burji are the ones who stir everything up, but in a way that most people cannot see or understand. The Burji have already bought a great

deal of land from the Boran, and the Boran now feel envious and want Songa, as they admire our soil. But we have taken an oath that we will never leave. We are the ones who settled here and this is the only place that has good soil, a good climate and enough water in all of Marsabit District (SM1, Songa, male informants, 05/10/03).

Most informants admitted that, at times, Rendille warriors initiated raids and killed members of the Boran. Many women believed these actions were retaliatory in nature, but the group of Lmooli moran claimed they initiated raids to receive coveted praise songs from the beaded girls.

Informants did not believe that the possession of guns was problematic in Songa. In fact, most women and men wanted more guns to be issued to households throughout the community. The members of seven focus groups claimed that only a few residents had been issued guns by the government, but an eighth group admitted that many of the warriors had purchased guns illegally. There were very few reported incidents of misuse and the possession of guns was generally viewed to be beneficial *vis-à-vis* the protection of the Songa people and their livestock.

An analysis of men's survey data indicated how often each man's household and/or his father's household had been raided by other ethnic groups. Tables 9.1 and 9.2 present measures for the extent of violence in each community and the identities of the most frequent raiders, respectively.

Table 9.1 **Number of Household Raids (Men's Survey)**
Percentages by Community

Times the Informant's Household and/or the Household of Father was Raided during Informant's Lifetime	East Uaso/ Archer's Post (N = 50) (%)	Parkishon/ Karare (N = 41) (%)	Songa (N = 40) (%)
None	26	65.8	70
Once	38	29.3	30
Twice	10	4.9	-
Three times	12	-	-
Four times	4	-	-
Five times	4	-	-
Six - Nine times	6	-	-
Total	100	100.0	100

Table 9.2 **Ethnic group(s) Held Responsible for Raids as per Table 9.1**
(Men's Survey)
Percentages by Community

Ethnic Groups	East Uaso/ Archer's Post N = 50 (%)	Parkishon/ Karare N = 41 (%)	Songa N = 40 (%)
Boran	48	12.2	27.5
Turkana	2	14.6 *	-
Somali	-	4.9	2.5
Boran and Turkana	10	2.5	-
Boran and Somali	8	-	-
Boran, Turkana and Somali	6	-	-
Not Applicable (i.e. no household raids)	26	65.8	70
Total	100	100.0	100.0

Note: * - There are no Turkana living near Karare. This figure represents the percentage of men's households affected by the massive Turkana raid of livestock pastured near Baragoi in 1996. Because of drought conditions around Karare that year, some households sent their livestock far away to pastures near Baragoi and subsequently lost many animals during the raid.

Eighty-five percent of the men in Archer's Post said that their households and/or those of their fathers had been raided at least once during their lifetime. A much lower percentage of men in Parkishon/Karare (34%) and Songa (30%) made similar claims (Table 9.1). The Boran were held most responsible for the livestock raids carried out in Archer's Post and Songa, but in Karare, the Boran were blamed for local raids and loss of

livestock and Turkana were blamed for the loss of livestock near Baragoi (Table 9.2). Needless to say, in affected households, women would have felt the effects of the violence, and in the next sub-section, I relay the perspectives of the focus group informants regarding the repercussions of ethnic conflict on women.

9.4.2 The Effects of Ethnic Conflict

Women in Archer's Post were definitely the most outspoken of all informants about the effects of ethnic violence on women. Raiding meant loss of household livestock, which, in turn, plunged families into poverty. Lawlessness and the use of guns caused injuries and death to loved ones. Displacement frequently followed, along with the separation of family members. Women claimed they constantly endured stress and anxiety. They feared for the lives of their children, their husbands and their livestock. They agonized over the safety of their moran sons, never knowing whether they would be killed during a raid. Some women claimed that they could not eat until their boys turned up alive at home. And their minds were always preoccupied with the worry that they would not have enough time to run for safety with their young children when the next raid occurred. It was not a matter of whether there would be another raid; it was just a matter of when.

When people come to raid the animals, usually the women and children are at home. So we catch our children and run, because these people can kill us. Sometimes we run to the bush, but even there, lions and elephants might kill us. Problems happen when we are running because sticks and stones can break our legs and snakes can bite us. Later, when the gunfire stops and we return home, we might discover that many people were killed, maybe even our husbands and some of our children. And we find that all the animals are gone. Then we have to move to another place where we have never lived before (A7, Katanga Drum, Archer's Post, female informants, 12/06/02).

The Boran attacked my settlement in 1995, at a time when my husband

was away. One of our children was killed and a snake bit me while I was hiding in the bush (A7, Katanga Drum, Archer's Post, female informant, 12/06/02).

The informants in three of the Archer's Post groups maintained that incidents of rape occurred during internal disputes or ethnic conflict. One group reported there had been fourteen cases of rape in their community during the previous year and that each case had been reported to the police (A1, Umoja, Archer's Post, female informants, 08/05/02). A second group claimed there had been eight incidents of rape and that all had been reported to the authorities (A2, Lderegesi, Archer's Post, female informants, 08/12/02). But when it came to details, neither of these groups identified the culprits or actually described the rapes as being confined to conflict situations. A third group of women described some incidents of rape in which Borana and Turkana men had been the perpetrators.

When the Borana people came to town last year, they took a Samburu woman to the bush and raped her, again and again. Then they left her there and she died. That woman did not have a husband but she had five children. The authorities followed the footprints but they have never captured these people (A7, Katanga Drum, Archer's Post, female informant, 12/06/02).

Rape is very common during raids. When the Boran raid the settlements, they steal all the animals and other valuables and rape women of all age groups (A7, Katanga Drum, Archer's Post, female informant, 12/06/02).

When the Turkana come to take Samburu cows, they rape Samburu women. They even rape small four-year old children and old women; they do not care about their ages (A7, Katanga Drum, Archer's Post, female informant, 12/06/02).

This particular group of women had other theories about why so many women were raped in the Archer's Post area.

There are more rapes here because women sell *changa'a* so they can support their children. The men come to drink the *changa'a* in the

women's houses and they become drunk and rape the women. When a woman is raped and she gets sick, she dies unless she has money to give to the hospital. Many women die from AIDS here because they obtained that disease after being raped. Even if a woman goes to the police to report the rape, they want her money before they will write a letter supporting her charges in court. If she doesn't have money, the police will not write the letter (A7, Katanga Drum, Archer's Post, female informants, 12/06/02).

The women in three other groups reported they did not know of any rapes that had occurred in the previous year, and they claimed they had not noticed whether rape ever happened more frequently during episodes of conflict. The women from one other group claimed that some Samburu warriors had raped a Somali woman near Samburu lodge just one month prior, and one member reported that a Samburu moran had raped her during the previous year (A6, Lderegesi, Archer's Post, female informants, 11/25/02). Some women said that Samburu warriors tended to rape young girls during the day, when the girls were herding animals. The moran were also known to molest mature women when they traveled home alone from town after dark (A7, Katanga Drum, Archer's Post, female informants, 12/06/02).

Informants in the Karare groups offered few comments about the effects of ethnic conflict on women, other than to emphasize how much they worried about the safety of their sons once they became moran. As mentioned previously, the Karare community had not been directly involved in attacks by the Boran in the recent past; nevertheless, the Karare warriors were often called upon to assist the moran in Songa when that community was unduly threatened. The knowledge that this could happen at any time, along with the awareness that sons could be part of a raid instigated by local warriors, or become victims of a Boran raid while herding, caused many a Karare mother to lose sleep because of worry and anxiety.

The number of rape incidents in Karare over the previous year was nowhere near as high as the number reported in Archer's Post, but the notion that one moran from Scheme (Nasakakwe) was suspected to be an active, repeat offender was enough to make most women nervous about walking alone in the community after dark. Two informants, who were over the age of 60 years, claimed they had been raped by this man, saying that he was notorious for creeping into women's homes during the night hours (K3, Kulapesa, Karare, two widows, 02/15/03). One men's group mentioned that a local uncircumcised boy, aged 20 years, had recently raped a 17 year-old girl, and was subsequently fined 2,300 Ksh. (\$29 USD), plus one goat, by the elders (KM1, Karare, male informants, 03/08/03). And a women's group reported that two local girls had been attacked by a Samburu moran; one girl was raped and she was subsequently taken to the hospital. The elders ordered the warrior to pay a heavy fine: 4,000 Ksh. (\$51 USD) to the girl who was raped and one goat to the other female (K2, Scheme/Nasakakwe, Karare, female informants, 02/08/03). None of the informants in Karare reported any incidents of rape that had been inflicted by Boran, Turkana or Somali males.

The stress of worrying about sons who were warriors or about to become warriors was paramount in Songa, as it was among the women in Karare. Two informants had already lost sons due to attacks by the Boran, and it was very evident that the others feared that this would also happen to their sons.

We always feel sad because when the moran go to *fora*, we never know if they will be killed. We think about our sons all the time. When the warriors come home, we cannot believe our sons are safe until we actually see them. Only then can we feel happy and free (S2, Lpus, Songa, female informants, 04/15/03).

Both mothers and fathers struggled to cope with their anxieties and gain a sense of control by repeatedly giving advice to their sons to be careful.

When our sons are going out with the livestock to search for pasture, we tell them "Do not take the cattle far away; do not go up a tree because the Boran can see you in a tree and shoot you." We also tell the elder men to visit the warriors in the afternoon to make sure they are alright. But some moran do not listen to us; they are not afraid because they have guns and they take the cattle very far away (S5, Sirata, Songa, female informants, 05/06/03).

This place is a place of conflict, and as a father, you call your son and tell him, "Be careful. I do not want you to be named with the others who raid. The elders do not raid. It is only you young people. So do not do such a thing. Do not kill or get killed. Do you understand?" And then your son will tell you, "I get it. I will not do that." A son who loves you and respects you will always tell you that. That is what makes a father less worried even if there are conflicts, because he has told his son not to raid and the son knows that his father has told him (SM1, Songa, male informants, 05/10/03).

Another effect of ethnic conflict on the women was their very real fear of attack when they traveled to market on the Songa-Marsabit road. And some mothers constantly worried over the safety of their children when they had to walk long distances to and from school.

The fear of rape was not much of a concern in Songa. One woman had heard of a rape that had taken place during the previous year, involving a local warrior. Another informant claimed she had been raped in Lturuya ridge, but when she reported the rape to the elders, they advised her to leave the issue alone. She believed they advised her thus because they belonged to same clan as the rapist. Despite these two incidents, most women maintained they were not overly worried about the possibility of being raped by local males, nor were they afraid to walk alone at night around their settlements. And the possibility of being raped by Boran males was the least of their concerns, for as one

woman exclaimed, "We are afraid the Boran will kill us, not rape us" (S5, Sirata, Songa, female informant, 05/06/03).

The strategies that women used to cope with conflict varied from community-to-community. In Archer's Post, women visited their natal kin often in order to keep busy so they would not think or worry so much about the violence; and it was from their birth families that they sought emotional or financial support. They continually prayed that the Samburu males would be able to protect them by patrolling the area and driving off potential raiders. But in the event of a raid, the foremost strategy that women always employed was to flee with their children to safety.

In Karare and Songa, the manner in which women coped was to continually advise their moran sons not to instigate raids against the Boran. And in Songa, where attacks from the Boran were prevalent, women always traveled together to sell produce in Marsabit and hired home guards to accompany them.

9.4.3 The Suggested Solutions for Peace

In each community, I inquired about the usual practice or methods involved in conflict resolution. In seeking to learn whether the informants had given thought to other ways in which peace could be established in their regions, I also asked the members of each focus group what they believed would need to happen to bring about peace in their respective regions. In addition, I asked women and men whether they thought women could contribute solutions for peace.

In Archer's Post, a chain of command was firmly in place to deal with episodes of ethnic conflict. If the elders could not find a resolution, they went to the Chiefs, who in turn approached the local Councilor, the District Officer and the District Commissioner.

The police were called in to track and recover any stolen animals, arrest the wrong doers and arrange for the culprits to be tried in the courts. One group of women maintained, however, that the police and courts made no real effort to resolve the ongoing banditry and raids and that resolution was brought about by the elders in the community, who joined with the government leaders and the elders from other ethnic groups to discuss ways of diffusing the conflict. Most women stated that the local churches did not directly involve themselves in resolving ethnic violence; instead, they preached peace and held workshops or seminars that focused on family dispute resolution. None of the Samburu informants made any reference to the Modogashe Declaration or its mandate to force the offending ethnic group to pay a large number of livestock as compensation to the affected group. Perhaps the women were unaware of the agreement, or it may be that the authorities in Samburu District had not been able to enforce the terms of the Declaration.

The Samburu women had firm views about what would need to happen to bring about peaceful conditions in the Archer's Post-Isiolo region. The most prevalent suggestion was that the government should disarm all the communities in the area and tighten its security to prevent any further illegal purchase of guns. Secondly, the political leaders (i.e. the MPs) needed to stop inciting the opposing societies and a neutral provincial administration should be installed, representing the interests of all neighbouring ethnic groups. Other suggestions included peace reconciliation workshops and seminars, government and public condemnation of tribalism, rustling and banditry, local promotion of inter-ethnic business activities and more public support for intermarriage between the members of different societies.

Out of the seven groups of women interviewed in Archer's Post, only two groups did not believe that women had enough sway in the community to make suggestions that might assist with peacemaking in the region. One group of women claimed that at this level of decision-making men would never incorporate the views of women (A7, Katanga Drum, Archer's Post, 12/06/02). A second group maintained that the women did not even have enough influence to stop the young girls from encouraging the Samburu warriors to raid other societies.

The women cannot stop the girls from singing and encouraging the warriors. Each generation claims that their mothers' generation praised the warriors, so they want to do the same. Even a meeting with the young girls would not work. Only the old men can tell the girls not to sing those songs (A6, Lderegesi, Archer's Post, female informants, 11/25/02).

But most women believed that, if given the chance, Archer's Post women could contribute to solutions for peace. They expressed a strong desire to participate in conflict resolution meetings, workshops and seminars, and to express their views at public forums. The informants claimed that there should be meetings and joint ventures held between the women's groups to preach and practice peace and co-operation. They also believed that if intermarriage between the ethnic groups was encouraged and practiced, more women would be in a position to influence their daughters, sisters or other female relatives to advise their husbands, brothers-in-law, etc. to discontinue the hostilities. As the situation was at the time of the sessions, the women claimed that the only avenue open to them was to inform their husbands and sons how much they desired peace in the hopes that the men would pass on their sentiments at the local or regional peace meetings.

In the Karare and Songa communities, the informants reported that the chain of command for implementing peace was much the same as in Archer's Post. The primary

difference seemed to be in the degree to which the informants trusted the government leaders, the police, and the judicial system. While most women in Archer's Post expressed no distrust, the majority of the Karare and Songa informants had little faith in the honesty of government agents, the police and the courts, stating that each was notorious for demanding bribes before taking any action towards justice. And they implied that a major hindrance to establishing peace in the Marsabit region was this form of corruption. Whether their opinions were based on personal experience or hearsay was never fully explored in the discussions, but what matters most, in the context of possible solutions to ethnic conflict, is that the people in Karare and Songa are extremely mistrustful of the Marsabit authorities.

As in Archer's Post, the churches in Karare and Songa worked to resolve disputes that occurred in their parishioners' households or settlements, but generally did not involve themselves directly in meetings held to resolve ethnic violence. The church leaders prayed for peace in the region and preached against intolerance and conflict.

Approximately 50% of the women in the Karare groups were familiar with the terms of Modogashe Declaration and were aware that the mandate applied to all ethnic groups who lived in the Mount Marsabit region. Although peaceful conditions had been maintained in recent months, the majority had little faith that the peace agreement would hold. They claimed that the Borana were bound to attack again and that only God could bring permanent peace to the area. Most other Karare informants were not aware that a widespread effort to quell the violence was underway, and suggested that the government authorities and Ariaal and Boran elders would do well to establish a peacekeeping committee. One group of women believed that the attacks by the Boran would cease if

the government reinstated food aid programs in the region. The Karare men's group wanted the Boran to be sent away from Marsabit District, but, since this was unlikely to happen, they believed that camps of soldiers should be established along the Songa-Marsabit road to prevent further fatalities. The men expressed their hopes that the newly elected Kenyan government would take more interest than the previous government had in resolving the ethnic violence. The men's group also claimed that any person who knew of someone who had participated in a recent raid should report the culprit to the authorities, instead of maintaining secrecy about this information. Overall, the majority of the women and men believed that permanent peace would only come about when more of their children received a formal education.

The informants in the Songa groups more or less offered the same views as the Karare respondents regarding the changes that needed to happen to bring about peaceful conditions. They were more aware of the terms of the Modogashe Declaration, however, since their community had recently paid stiff fines imposed for livestock raiding. While informants were not hopeful that the tentative peace would last, they did feel that the heavy penalties, as mandated by the Declaration, would lower the incidents of raiding and murderous attacks. Their additional suggestions for maintaining the existing peace included increasing the number of scheduled peace negotiation meetings held by the elders, chiefs, councilor and D.C. to more than the single two-day session held per year, and instigating first-hand communication with the new President so he would be sure to hear about the unstable conditions that existed around Songa. The informants believed that lack of media services in the region prevented news of the local violence from reaching the central government in Nairobi.

Of the seven focus groups held in the Karare community, only one women's group believed that the women did not have enough influence to contribute to the establishment of long-lasting peace. The other women's groups maintained that this used to be the case, but claimed that men's attitudes were slowly changing. They pointed out that when the Boran warriors trespassed on Iltrim in 2001, an esteemed female elder worked with the Karare elders to devise a method to remove the Boran. The informants in each group suggested that the male elders from different clans should hold a joint meeting with all women, beaded girls and warriors. Such a forum would give all mothers and fathers the opportunity to express their disapproval of raiding directly to their children. And most women wanted the chance to tell their daughters, *en masse*, to cease encouraging the warriors to steal Boran livestock. In fact, the majority of women felt it was time to publicly denounce the entire process of beading. Nonetheless, there were some ambivalent feelings expressed about the loss of certain benefits to women should peaceful conditions prevail. One Karare woman stated that she wanted peace, but, at the same time, both she and her son's girlfriend were happy when her son raided cows and they had no intention of discouraging him.

The members of the Karare men's group believed that the women could contribute a great deal if they took an active role in the current peacemaking endeavors.

If women were given a chance by the government to go around to talk about peace in every community, they would bring us very good peace. They are the ones who are feeling great pain because most of the people getting killed are their children. The elders who talk about peace just stay in a small house and talk. When you want to talk about peace, you have to go around the communities and you must go around more than once. You have to visit many times and preach to the people. As it is now, the elders only call the people together after there is a raid (KM1, Karare, male informants, 03/08/03).

In Songa, the men expressed very different views regarding Songa women's potential roles as peacemakers. One men's group stated that men never listened to, or took advice from, women. They also stated that most parents did not know how to tell their daughters not to sing praise songs to the moran and, by tradition, the girls and the moran had the right to sing and do whatever they wanted to outside their parents' homes. They added that it would be difficult to teach the girls to act differently because girls learned this behavior from each other, and encouraging the moran was a cultural tradition. The only way to eliminate beading and all the detrimental songs that this process entailed would be to send the girls to school to learn a new way of living (SM1, Songa, group informants, 05/10/03).

In general, the members of the six Songa women's groups did not exhibit the confidence that the Karare women did when discussing the possible ways that women could contribute to solutions for peace. In fact, the very question of whether women could assist in the peacemaking process appeared to be a novel notion for the informants. Consequently, the discussions that took place were more along the lines of brainstorming sessions, rather than conversations in which the women presented suggestions that they had previously considered or discussed with one another. In this context, four out of six groups of women decided that it might be possible for women to try harder to influence their husbands, sons and/or daughters by advising them to desist from contributing to, or participating in, livestock raids. Most Songa women agreed that long-term peace would only come about when all the children in the community received a formal education.

9.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented an analysis of the causes of, and the resolutions for, the disputes and bouts of conflict that plague northern Kenyan communities. The primary purpose of the analysis was to present women's perceptions, because, unless their views are closely examined, we will never comprehend the difficulties that pastoral women face while living in regions ravaged by conflict. This chapter also revealed that it is important to take a community-by-community approach when analyzing the women's position in the realm of conflict and to consider women's socio-economic situations in the final analysis. Unless this approach is taken, the recommendations that researchers make to governments and peacekeeping agencies regarding the ways in which pastoral women could contribute to the peacemaking process cannot be tailored to meet the requirements of the residents in a particular community. Suggestions that may be ethically sound for one community or group of people may not be so for another.

In the first half of the chapter, I analyzed the informants' perspectives with respect to intra- and inter-settlement disputes. As outlined in Section 9.2, the primary cause of intra-settlement disputes in each community involved the misbehavior of, or fighting between, neighboring children, which, in turn, drew parents into conflict. The second major cause was related to problems arising between neighbors with regard to livestock or poultry. And the third reason was linked to adultery or the suspicion of adultery between neighboring spouses. In Archer's Post, gossiping and backbiting between neighbors, and excessive 'borrowing' of firewood, water or fire embers by a neighbor were frequently cited as reasons for disputes. In Songa, disputes were associated with water access, or misuse of water schedules, and land encroachment.

The primary causes mentioned for intra-settlement disputes overlapped with the most frequent reasons given for household disputes as outlined in Chapter 5. Husbands usually blamed their wives when their children misbehaved and this likely fueled the fighting that occurred between neighboring mothers when their children quarreled. Spouses also had rows when wives or children let the livestock go astray which frequently mushroomed into disputes with neighbors because the wandering animals had destroyed their gardens or attacked their livestock. And conflict between a husband and wife over an extramarital affair inevitably involved another person who lived in the same settlement or in close proximity.

Most disputes that arose at the intra-settlement level were resolved through negotiation and apologies offered by the quarreling parties. Male and female elders were involved in settling about 25% of the disputes described. In disputes over land boundaries and/or rightful ownership, male elders always headed the negotiations to resolve conflicts, and they were the first to whom Karare and Songa women turned when their land rights were threatened. The women in Archer's Post had little hope of obtaining leased land unless they had sufficient funds of their own or had connections to men with power and money. In Karare, only a few female informants offered descriptions of boundary- or land-related conflict in which women had been involved. In Songa, however, the informants described some complicated cases where individual women had been embroiled in conflict over property boundaries or purchased land.

The most prominent reason for inter-settlement or inter-clan conflicts in Archer's Post and Karare pertained to competition between warriors over girls or the mistreatment of girls by the moran. In Karare and Songa, a major reason for disputes occurring

between the settlements or ridges was attributed to insufficient water-access. In Archer's Post, an additional key cause pertained to rivalry between warriors over the division of stolen livestock and guns and over the use of waterholes. Disputes between Samburu settlements or communities also flared-up when the moran from one community raided another ethnic group and implicated an innocent Samburu village by passing through it on their way home with the stolen livestock. The resulting consequences for the innocent parties included incriminating accusations by the local authorities and retaliatory raids by the affected ethnic groups. In these instances, the cause of inter-settlement disputes and the reason for ethnic conflict were entwined.

In Songa, a major cause of dispute between the ridges pertained to disregard of the marketing rules and schedules assigned to the ridges by the local marketing committee. Episodes of conflict between marketers from different ridges were most apt to occur during the peak growing seasons, particularly when the supply of *sukuma wiki* exceeded the market demand.

In each of the three communities, esteemed male elders gathered to resolve much of the conflict that occurred between the settlements, ridges or clans. Two exceptions to this protocol were noted, however. The first exception was that, when disputes arose over access to water between Karare individuals from different settlements, the elders did not appear to step in and resolve the conflict. Women either settled the disputes themselves or called upon their husbands to assist them. The second exception was that, when the Songa elders failed to intercept and prevent marketers from taking their produce to Marsabit on an unscheduled day, the authorized marketers resorted to beating the offenders and impounding their produce at the marketplace. At no point did the Songa

informants mention that the elders either brought all parties together to sort out the dispute or imposed fines on the offenders.

The second half of the chapter (Section 9.4) presented a community-level analysis of views offered by Samburu, Ariaal and Rendille women regarding the causes and effects of ethnic conflict and the steps which they believed needed to be taken to end the violence. In Archer's Post, where pastoral women were most affected by ethnic conflict, the majority of informants claimed that the existing hatred among the Samburu towards the Boran and the Turkana was the main reason for the ongoing violence. In addition, the women believed that the Samburu women and young girls played a large role in encouraging the warriors to raid livestock from the two societies.

Archer's Post women were divided over whether the possession of armed weapons by the Samburu was a contributing factor in the current violence. On the one hand, they realized that cattle rustling, highway banditry and poaching were easier to implement because of the availability of guns, but, on the other hand, they claimed that the community needed the weapons for protection and to maintain a balance of power with the warring societies. The elders who participated in the oral life history sessions maintained that the flagrant use of illegally purchased guns by the Samburu was the cause of the continuing conflict and one elder raised the notion that the women perpetuated the violence by advising the men to buy the weapons.

In Karare and Songa, female informants blamed the Boran for most of the conflict in the Mount Marsabit Region, stating that the Boran attacked and murdered Ariaal Rendille because they wanted the land and water resources located in Songa. Songa men implied that certain actions on the part of the Gabra and Burji also contributed to the local

turmoil. Neither Karare nor Songa informants attributed the current availability of guns as a central cause of the conflict, but rather maintained that the weapons were primarily used to protect the communities against the Boran.

Informants believed that both women and girls played a role in promoting ethnic conflict through inciting the warriors to seek revenge through praise songs or derision, accepting gifts of raided livestock from the moran, and encouraging the men to purchase guns for security purposes. Most of the informants claimed they hated the Boran, but, at the same time, they desired peace. These sentiments gave rise to ambivalent feelings where peacemaking was concerned. Interestingly, Watson (2003) noted similar provocative tendencies of women in promoting conflict and similar ambivalence among Turkana women. In her report, she implied that, because of this ambivalence, the ways that women sometimes encouraged raiding were carried out sub-consciously (2003:18-20).

The negative effects of conflict on women in the three field sites also proved similar to the effects that Watson reported for the Turkana (2003:15-17), particularly with respect to Archer's Post community. There, the negative effects included livestock loss, deaths and injury of family members, rape, restriction in movements, and a reduced network of trading partners. I elaborate somewhat on each of these effects below.

The frequency of household raids was extremely high in Archer's Post and evidence presented in a previous chapter indicated that numerous livestock had been lost by the community's households during the previous year (see Chapter 7, Table 7.3). Samburu informants frequently emphasized that family members, including women, were

injured or killed during raids. Women had to be prepared at all times to flee with their children and find safety.

The number of rapes reported by Archer's Post informants was much higher than elsewhere. Some Archer's Post women stated that Boran and Turkana had raped Samburu women and girls during raids. Other women in Archer's Post and Karare admitted that the threat of rape restricted their movements but generally identified Samburu warriors as the main perpetrators and not outsiders. Still other women in Archer's Post theorized that rape was prevalent because of women's *changa'a* sales, claiming that when men purchased and drank *changa'a* in women's homes, sometimes they became drunk and raped the women.

In Songa, women were also restricted in movement but not because of the threat of rape. In the past, the Boran had murdered Ariaal Rendille men and women while they were either collecting firewood or walking to and from Marsabit town. As a result, the Songa women feared they would meet a similar fate if they fell into the hands of Borana males.

In Archer's Post, networks of trading relationships had been reduced as a result of conflict and good relationships did not exist between the Samburu women and the women of other ethnic groups. This was mentioned in the focus group discussions and also during my interview with the District Officer of Uaso and Wamba Divisions, Samburu District (personal communication, November 11, 2002). The ongoing hostilities between the Samburu and the Boran and Turkana had negatively affected the local economy as the conflict limited the opportunities for Samburu men and women to sell or trade livestock, or market crafts and beadwork, in the town of Isiolo.

Several other negative effects of conflict on women were not emphasized by Watson (2003) with respect to the Turkana women. The first pertained to displacement. In Archer's Post, repeated attacks inflicted by the Boran or Turkana on a particular settlement often resulted in the displacement of families. Safety concerns propelled the women, men and children to find other settlements in which they would be welcomed or to create entirely new villages away from the affected area. While many informants had originally moved to Archer's Post because of the long-established police post there, some residents found that dwelling in close proximity to the authorities did not always guarantee security. A handful of women in Songa also reported that, after Boran seized or attacked their livestock, they found it necessary to move from their homes on the outer edges of the ridges near Boran territory and set up temporary living quarters on borrowed *shambas* in more secure areas.

Another repercussion of conflict, which was felt by the women in all three communities, was the stress that women endured because of their concerns over the security of their family members, especially the safety of their *moran* sons. Some focus group participants had already lost their sons during conflict with the Boran or Turkana, and for the women who had not, the possibility that this could likewise happen was extremely worrying.

The strategies that the women used to cope with recurring conflict and their resultant anxiety varied from community to community. In Archer's Post, the women frequently visited their natal kin for emotional support. They prayed that their men would be able to protect the community from potential raiders, but, in the event of an attack, their foremost strategy was to take flight for safety with their children to the

nearby bush. In Karare and Songa, the women continually advised their *moran* sons not to instigate raids against the Boran. Where Boran attacks were prevalent, such as in Songa, the women who marketed produce in Marsabit always journeyed in groups, accompanied by home guards to protect them.

The informants in Archer's Post had definite views about the steps that needed to be taken before peace could be established in their region. They suggested that the government should disarm all the communities and tighten its security to prevent the illegal trafficking of guns. Other recommendations included a complete halt to the attempts on the part of certain politicians to maintain unrest between rivaling ethnic groups, more widespread condemnation of tribalism, rustling and highway banditry, continued peacemaking meetings between elders and government officials, the organization of reconciliation and peacekeeping workshops and seminars, more public support for intermarriage, and political incentives to increase the free flow of goods and services between the societies.

At the time the Karare and Songa focus group sessions took place, the informants had experienced relatively peaceful conditions for almost a year, primarily as a result of the Modogashe Declaration. Nevertheless, the women had little faith that the peace would last, claiming that the Boran would attack again and that only God could take steps to end the violence. The men maintained that the newly elected government should be more fully informed about the hostilities and rivalries that existed between the societies in the Mount Marsabit region and the officials should deploy soldiers to the area to guard the Songa-Marsabit road. In Songa, the informants believed that to maintain the existing peace, the number of scheduled peace negotiation meetings held between the elders and

government leaders should be increased to more than the single two-day session held per year. In both communities, most women believed that permanent peace would largely come about when more boys and girls received a formal education.

When the group participants were asked if they thought that the women could contribute solutions to end the conflict in their respective regions, the informants in each field site demonstrated varying degrees of confidence that the women could do so. In Archer's Post, the majority of women strongly believed that, if given the chance, the Samburu women could contribute a great deal to the process of peacemaking by participating in conflict resolutions meetings, workshops and seminars and by expressing their sentiments at public forums. In addition, the women claimed that the existing women's groups could put aside their differences and meet together to jointly preach and practice peace and co-operation.

In Karare, most of the women also believed that they could find ways to involve themselves in the peacemaking process. They pointed out that the men's attitudes towards women were changing and that the elders had already accepted the advice and participation of a female elder in resolving a conflict situation with the Boran. The women suggested that forums should be held that included the elders and all women, beaded girls and warriors from different clans. Such forums would provide parents with a meeting place to publicly express their disapproval of raiding to their children and denounce the entire process of beading. Many of the male participants agreed that women could do a great deal to bring about peace in the Marsabit region and were supportive of the concept of women's involvement. They suggested that women could

travel to different communities to hold rallies or meetings in order to spread the word of peace.

Women in Songa were much less confident than their counterparts in Archer's Post or Karare regarding their abilities to make a positive contribution to peacemaking. The notion that women could possibly reinvent their roles by becoming involved in promoting peace through various workshops, forums or rallies held in other areas was one with which the women seemed unfamiliar and uncomfortable. Furthermore, it was not a concept that the Songa men indicated they would either approve of or support. Nonetheless, most of the women conceded that they could possibly influence their daughters to resist from encouraging the warriors to seek revenge *vis-à-vis* the Boran and would advise their sons not to participate in retaliatory raids.

In conclusion, my analysis strongly suggests that any recommendations made to government and outside agencies for methods to include women in the realm of peacemaking must be carefully tailored to suit each community. For recommendations to be ethical, they must be based upon an in-depth assessment of the existing cultural norms and values with respect to gender relations and the overarching socio-economic position of women. In the next and final chapter, I include recommendations for incorporating women's efforts in peacekeeping activities, modifying them in accordance with women's position in each community.

NOTES

1. With the support of Samburu MP's, the Samburu began to purchase guns in the early 1990s as a defensive move. After the fall of Mengistu, Ethiopian soldiers fled to northern Kenya and sold their rifles for cash in order to buy food. The Gabra purchased the weapons and began to kill Samburu, Ariaal and Rendille, stealing most of the camels belonging to Ariaal and Rendille in the process. At the same time, Somalis from Isiolo began attacking Samburu south of Archer's Post (personal communication, Professor John Galaty, November 28, 2006).

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1 INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, I faced two theoretical challenges, the first being to discuss the marginalization of pastoral women in the contemporary era while demonstrating that there are certain domains in which women exert influence and employ empowerment strategies when living in settled conditions. The second challenge was to portray a balanced view of the complexities involved in women and men's roles, rights and relationships in the three study communities. The analyses specifically pertain to the Samburu of Archer's Post, Samburu District, and the Samburu, Ariaal and Rendille of Parkishon/Karare and Songa communities in Marsabit District, northern Kenya.

I linked these communities together in research because all are cases of pastoral sedentarization, with fixed abodes and proximity to towns, markets, schools, medical facilities and churches. Each has developed significant economic diversification away from the full pastoral livestock economy, resulting in strong integration with markets and heavy reliance on purchased foods for household nutrition. Furthermore, across the communities, residents are largely Samburu-speakers who share various clanship relations.

My thesis addressed two general issues, the first being whether pastoralists, and in particular women, are better off when they settle. More specifically, are they better off when they settle near towns, but remain more incorporated into the livestock economy, or when they establish themselves as cultivators, tied to a regional market economy? The second issue is the situation of pastoral women under conditions of

social change. I originally proposed that there were six realms in sedentarized pastoral communities in which women maintained spheres of influence and employed empowerment strategies, of which researchers, government agents and development workers often remained unaware. The realms included 1) premarital relationships, and bridewealth and marriage; 2) relations with natal kin; 3) property and control or ownership of land; 4) market accessibility and cash revenue through income generation and redistribution within family networks, credit organizations and among friends; 5) knowledge and management of natural resources; and 6) involvement in the onset and mediation of intra-community and inter-ethnic conflict.

The important objectives of research were to uncover areas where women's influence or empowerment strategies had remained hidden, assess the current status of their influence and rights amidst modern forces, and determine where their influence could best be incorporated in the initial planning and implementation of development and peacekeeping projects. An additional aim was to pinpoint the socio-economic environs in which women's well-being was most at risk in each community and offer suggestions for aid and peacemaking undertakings.

The conclusions presented in Section 10.2 are organized on the basis of findings in each domain (sub-sections 10.2.1 – 10.2.6, inclusive). Because the boundaries of each realm or sub-realm are not fixed, inferences are incorporated from other realms or sub-realms where appropriate. The overall result is a breakdown of how contemporary political, socio-economic and cultural factors in each community have interacted with the forces of modernity in enhancing or protecting women's rights, or eroding them.

10.2 RESEARCH HIGHLIGHTS AND CONCLUSIONS

10.2.1 Premarital Relationships, Bridewealth and Marriage

Premarital Relationships

Because of the widespread belief across sub-Saharan Africa that a man's overall health will suffer if he does not have frequent sexual intercourse with multiple partners, men in age-set societies, such as the Ariaal and Rendille, are not expected to remain celibate during the time they are moran (Roth and Ngugi 2005:258). In each of the study communities, an age-set system is in place in which men are prohibited from marrying throughout warriorhood. To ensure that the biological needs of moran are met, premarital sexual relationships are socially sanctioned. Warriors choose certain girls (*nkeryi*) to be their lovers and the couples are given special status.

Being selected as a warrior's *nkeryi* can be an exciting time for a young girl because she gains prestige among her peers and acquires influence as a 'beaded' partner. She also gains the freedom to spend evenings engaged in song and dance and the nights in the arms of her lover. However, not all relationships between warriors and beaded girls commence in a positive fashion.

In fact, my findings showed that mothers usually play a major role in assisting warriors to 'bead' their daughters, often against the explicit wishes of the girls. In this scenario, female elders, not male elders, collude with warriors in legitimizing the beading arrangements.

Overall, the custom of beading in each study community interacts with the forces of modernity in several ways that jeopardize the well-being of young girls. First, there is the issue of STDs (sexually transmitted diseases) and the increased prevalence of

HIV/AIDS. It is well-known that warriors frequent towns and larger cities and often seek out the services of sex-trade workers. Roth and Ngugi (2005:259) also noted that, according to Ariaal men and women, “warriors frequently have sex with their age-mates’ *nkeryi*, and that such sexual sharing is culturally condoned.” Furthermore, condoms are seldom used during the sexual activities of moran and their girlfriends for numerous reasons, including lack of education about the reasons, or methods, for safe sex, the cost of purchasing condoms, or their local unavailability, and finally the influence exerted on young people by the local Catholic missions. The Catholic Church does not condone the use of condoms for prevention of STDs because of the implications for birth control. Roughly 40-50% of the women interviewed in the three communities were practicing Catholics, which I believe is an accurate reflection of the religious orientation of the younger female population as well. And while most men in Archer’s Post and Songa adhered to the African Traditional Religion, 61% of Parkishon/Karare men were practicing Catholics and it is likely that their warrior sons were Catholic as well.

Once girls are beaded, they are inclined to incite the moran to prove their bravery by raiding other ethnic groups. They can also indirectly cause jealousy, competition and quarreling to occur between moran from different settlements or clans. Inter-ethnic conflict in regions where sedentarization has occurred is particularly dangerous for women and children, because armed enemy groups have been known to carry out retaliatory livestock raids in the midst of settled areas, injuring, raping and/or killing women and children in the process. I conclude, therefore, that the influence of young girls, and elder females, while manifested in quite different ways, contributes to the onset and/or continuation of conflict in, or around, the study communities.

While beading still continues in Archer's Post, Parkishon/Karare and Songa, there are several hints that the tradition is gradually changing. First, parents now attempt to force a moran to marry their daughter should she become pregnant. Secondly, Songa warriors are moving away from giving beads to their girlfriends because they do not want to sell their livestock to cover the cost of purchasing beads. And third, many of the women whom I interviewed in Archer's Post and Karare have begun to feel that the custom of beading is dysfunctional in their communities and would like to see its cessation.

Marriage Arrangements and Bridewealth

Strong connections still exist between bridewealth, marriage and women's property rights. In each community, girls only gain status as women and acquire most of their rights to access property through marriage. What is changing in Archer's Post and in Parkishon/Karare, in particular, is the manner in which marriages are being initiated. In these two communities, many families now permit their daughters to choose their own marriage partners. This is not the case in Songa, which is likely due to the conservative nature of the Rendille and the emerging trend among families to allocate surveyed land to daughters. Since a girl's father and brothers are stakeholders in the land, it naturally follows that they would want to maintain control over the selection of her spouse since he will be the one to assume authority over her *shamba* following marriage.

In cases where girls still cannot choose their partners, the initiation of marriage is carried out by males, who, after selecting girls of their liking, obtain permission to marry them from male elders in the respective families. All indications are that mothers do not officially participate in the initial marriage arrangements unless they are widowed and are

speaking on behalf of their sons. But other results indicated that mothers and other female relatives in Archer's Post often privately advise males which girls would make the best marriage partners. When a girl is reluctant to marry an approved suitor, her father or other male relatives employ different tactics to force her to marry. In Archer's Post, most girls are subjected to beatings, curses or are even driven away if they refuse, and, while similar tactics are also applied to daughters in Parkishon/Karare and Songa, most girls in these communities succumb to unwanted marriages out of respect for their male relatives and the fear that parents would not regard them "with good hearts" if they refused.

Bridewealth negotiations continue to be the main component of any marriage arrangement. In the sedentarized communities under study, bridewealth entails the payment of nine livestock by the groom and his family to the family of the bride. Cash and blankets are also included in bridewealth payments, but the amounts are not fixed and are determined during the negotiations. In each community, the women and men did not associate the act of transferring bridewealth payments with the act of "purchasing" a bride. Rather, they believe that the 'payment' of bridewealth was an enactment of appreciation to the bride's parents for her upbringing and a method to draw the two families closer together. Most informants said that only males from both families attended the bridewealth negotiations, but my analysis indicated that many mothers of the Songa women and many mothers of the prospective brides of the men in Archer's Post also attended the negotiations. Whether women influence the outcome of these arrangements through discussions held with their husbands or other close male relatives prior to the negotiations remains open to speculation. However, because the majority of men in each community said they listen to their wives' advice when making most

decisions, I believe that mothers generally have some input with respect to their sons or daughters' bridewealth negotiations

As a rule, women are entitled to receive a few bridewealth livestock at the time of their daughters' marriages. The usual custom is to transfer three of the nine animals to the mother of the bride. These include one pregnant cow/camel, or one cow/camel with a calf (*Rapa*), one female sheep (*Zepen e Pakare*), and one 'ox of the drought' (*Lmong'olengolang*). My findings suggest that, nowadays, the number of animals each mother 'customarily' receives depends on the extent to which her community relies on raising livestock. For example, in Archer's Post, where the focus still largely remains on livestock herding and sales, mothers are entitled to receive all three animals. In Parkishon/Karare, where the focus is on some crop production, as well as livestock production, mothers are entitled to receive two animals. In Songa, where the economy relies heavily on agriculture and crop sales, one-fifth of the informants claimed that mothers normally obtained only one cow even though they were entitled to receive two animals when their daughters married.

The above findings must be considered in the context of the results denoting the existing connections between the economic focus and livestock wealth of each community and the extent to which husbands had completed their bridewealth payments. In Archer's Post, most men had completed the bridewealth payments for their first, second and third marriages, whereas many men in Parkishon/Karare had only completed payments for their first, not second, marriages. In Songa, the vast majority of women said their husbands had not completed the payments for their marriages and most male informants claimed they still owed bridewealth livestock for first and second marriages.

These results strongly suggest that when settled pastoral communities become less reliant on livestock production and more dependent on agricultural production, the rights and ability of a bride's mother to receive bridewealth livestock decline. One could also say that, in the short term, the ability of a bride's father and her paternal and maternal uncles to obtain bridewealth livestock also decline, although admittedly, over the long term, men's rights to claim all unpaid animals are passed on from one generation of males to the next.

Marriage

The concept that African marriage is a process in which a union between a couple is in a perpetual state of 'becoming' appears in numerous case studies presented on African societies, among them being the Dassanetch (Almagor 1978), the Rendille (Beaman 1981), the Nuer (Evans-Pritchard 1951) and the Maasai (Talle 1988). All informants in the surveys were asked to describe at which point they believed that a marriage became final (i.e. If the marriage payments are still ongoing, is your marriage finalized, or will the marriage only be finalized when the payments are complete?). According to the vast majority of women and men in each community, marriage is both an event and an act and they believed that a union between partners is finalized as soon as the bride is circumcised and the marriage ox or sheep (*Rukoret*) is slaughtered during a customary marriage ceremony. Other than the payment of the *Rukoret*, the amount of bridewealth that a groom initially pays and the timing of his remaining payments do not determine the finality of marriage. In this regard, in the community's eyes, the status of a married woman is not dependent on how many payments her husband has completed, although this point was debated by the women in Archer's Post. They claimed that if a

woman's husband had only paid a few livestock and still owed many to her parents, she was not highly-regarded by the women in her community. She is viewed as a threat because she can easily obtain a divorce from her husband with the return of one or two animals and then marry the spouse of another woman.

The subject of female circumcision arose periodically during my interviews with women and men in each community because clitoridectomy is still routinely performed on girls in the early morning hours of their wedding day. Surprisingly few women indicated that their own experience with circumcision was overly traumatic or injurious to their health and all expressed pride at having been circumcised. No reference was made to a woman's inability to experience sexual pleasure following clitoridectomy, nor did I specifically ask the women about this matter. In a brief review of possible short-term and long-term complications arising from female genital cutting, Shell-Duncan *et al.* (2005:236-237) noted, "All forms of female genital cutting are alleged to be potentially associated with diminished sexual pleasure and, in certain cases, inability to experience a clitoral orgasm." But these researchers (2005:243) found that only some, not all, of the Rendille women interviewed in five communities claimed they experienced reduced sexual pleasure after female genital cutting.

During my focus group discussions with men, it became apparent that the participants were not aware of the original reasons for female circumcision or that the practice of clitoridectomy might cause some women to experience reduced sexual pleasure. This brings up the possibility that researchers have mistakenly assumed that contemporary Samburu, Ariaal and Rendille men know the reasons for, or the possible repercussions of, female circumcision.

A notable change with respect to the timing of female circumcision is taking place in Archer's Post and Parkishon/Karare, where many parents are beginning to have their daughters circumcised well-before marriage because of fears they will become pregnant before being circumcised. And in Archer's Post, there were rumors that pseudo-circumcision or symbolic cutting of girls was beginning to take place in the Maralal area in Samburu District. This raises the remote possibility that this form of female genital cutting will be adopted in future by educated parents in the Archer's Post area. However, given that Samburu women are highly in favor of clitoridectomy and often denigrate Turkana women because they are not circumcised, I believe that a major paradigm shift would need to take place vis-à-vis the nexus of ethnic identity and prerequisites for adulthood, marriage, pregnancy and childbearing before any such modifications would widely occur.

During the evening hours of a couple's wedding day, newly-weds meet with the elders from both families to receive blessings and marital advice; they are told to respect and take good care of one another. It is during this meeting that the bride's father or close male relatives officially transfer the marriage rights to the groom and his family. My analysis revealed that in Archer's Post, only certain marriage rights are transferred to a husband, which include rights to a woman's children and her labor and sexual services. Rights to property (i.e. livestock and cash) held by a wife at the time of marriage are not included. This does not necessarily mean that a bride brings property from her parents' home and retains it in her new 'house.' More likely, it means that she leaves any property, such as livestock allocated to her during childhood, at her parents' home. In

contrast, in Parkishon/Karare and Songa, all marriage rights, including rights to any property held by a wife (i.e. livestock, land and cash) are transferred to the husband.

A significant change is occurring in Parkishon/Karare with regard to the type of marriage ceremonies performed. At the time of the informants' marriages, 17% of the Parkishon/Karare women were married in both church and customary ceremonies, whereas only 2% of the women in Archer's Post and 5% of the women in Songa were married in both ceremonies. Roughly 46% of the Parkishon/Karare women stated that if they were young again and were having a marriage ceremony, they would prefer to have a church ceremony, if not in lieu of a customary ceremony, at least as an accompaniment to it. Much lower percentages of women in Archer's Post (14%) and Songa (9%) made similar claims. This strongly suggests that the daughters of Parkishon/Karare women might be inclined to marry in both church and customary ceremonies, and if this transpires, the dissolution of a marriage in this community could become a slippery slope and mired in legal difficulties.

The Complex Connections between Marriage, Property Rights and Reproduction

The tie that binds each couple together in marriage is the birth of children. And in each community, it was clearly evident that children are the most cherished members in families. They are a source of love and are loved in return, but they also play a central role in the state of their parents' long-term economic well-being. Eventually, daughters will bring in bridewealth and sons will manage the family herds and land. And parents remain expectant that their children will care for them in their later years.

The importance placed on reproduction sets the stage for the initial phase of marriage, in which many reluctant new brides gain an initial sense of power and

influence over the actions of their husbands. My findings suggest that men must devote considerable time and energy in courting new brides in order to gain their affection and sexual attention. In the public realm, a man must demonstrate that he has control over his wife, but in private, he must draw on his inner reserves of gentleness, consideration and patience and pursue a courtship that will transform the house of his wife into a viable reproductive unit.

Customarily, a married woman is allocated animals of all sorts, an important subset being milch cows to provide for the family. These allocated animals form the basis of the herd that will be inherited by her son(s). Her husband will also 'assign' other livestock, including those from his residual herd, which she has use of and responsibility for. These livestock will not necessarily be inherited by her sons and can be reclaimed by her husband and reassigned. Should the husband die without his wife having borne a son, or if her son dies after the husband's death, the livestock allocated to her house is usually inherited by the son of a co-wife, or by her brothers-in-law, who, in turn, may attempt to take the animals from her prior to her demise. I state 'usually', because my research uncovered some evidence in Parkishon/Karare suggesting that widows who had borne only daughters could inherit their dead husbands' livestock, provided they went to the elders, the chief, or the courts in order to maintain possession of the animals. In such cases, the livestock were later inherited by daughters and passed on to grandsons through the matrilineal line.

Two little known customs were uncovered during my research on marriage and gender relations. Both are currently used as empowerment strategies by women to ensure their well-being in the context of the house-property complex. The first is employed

most often by Samburu women in the Archer's Post area. When a Samburu girl is about to marry, her mother and other female elders will routinely and privately advise her to have a child, or several children, with another man, as well as with her husband. They inform her that a child sired by another man may turn out to be the best and smartest of all her children and may be the one to grant her total security in her later years. The legal husband may end up never knowing, or he may sense that the child is not his and, with the help of the elders, force his wife to identify the biological father in order to collect a fine from him. Alternatively, he may know, but pretend not to know, or only pretend to make a fuss because he secretly approves of his wife's choice of lover. Later, however, he may take out his revenge by abusing the child.

I should note that birth control practices, when employed by partners in each community, basically entail withdrawal or abstinence. Of the 135 women interviewed in the survey, only two claimed that their partners used condoms and one stated that she was receiving birth control injections. Some women said they had given birth to a child or children *via* another partner before they were married. And many widows mentioned they had had additional children as a result of relationships with lovers following their spouses' demise. In some cases, women were noncommittal as to when they had conceived their children *via* lovers.

In all communities, a divorced woman is permitted to remarry, provided that all bridewealth paid during her prior marriage has been returned to her previous husband. Widows still cannot remarry, but they are permitted to have lovers. By customary law, any children born during these partnerships belong to the family of the deceased husband.

This raises the topic of woman-woman marriage, which turned out to have had a long history of employment by elderly Samburu and Rendille women, particularly widows. Woman-woman marriage, while rare, occurs for multiple reasons, but the usual forces that propel separated women or widows to seek female marriage partners are factors of infertility and/or the death of sons and, in the case of widows, the immediate fear that their brothers-in-law, or the sons of co-wives, will seize their allocated livestock.

In two case studies, I described how two Rendille widows, who were past childbearing age and possessed numerous livestock but no living sons, had married young Rendille girls and paired them with lovers in the hope that they would conceive and produce male heirs. The third case involved a separated, Samburu female elder, who, following the death of her only son and her husband's swift allocation of her livestock to other co-wives, had married a twelve year-old Samburu girl in an attempt to obtain a male heir in order to recover her livestock.

In each case, the parents of the younger wife had been pressured by the elder woman to give their daughter in marriage; in two cases, the parents agreed because of local belief that their daughter would be cursed if they refused. In each situation, a customary wedding ceremony was performed following the girl's circumcision. In one case, the marriage had been a happy one and the younger wife had produced four sons. At the time of my interviews, the two other marriages were very troubled. In one partnership, the younger wife had contracted gonorrhoea and had not conceived, and neither partner was happy with the other. In the second marriage, the younger wife had not conceived and had returned to live with her parents until she became pregnant.

I have highlighted the practice of woman-woman marriage among the Samburu and Rendille, and the practice in which Samburu girls are encouraged by elder females to embark on having children from several biological fathers, for several reasons. First, there is no previous mention of either practice in reference to these societies in the literature. Secondly, these practices illustrate the radical steps that pastoral women will take when seeking long-term economic security. In effect, both practices are strategies of enhancing fertility in societies in which the greatest risk for women is barrenness.

Earlier works that referred to woman-woman marriage in African societies tended to portray this type of marriage form as a positive alternative to heterosexual marriage, the theoretical implications being that female partnerships brought autonomy and benefits to women (Gough 1971; Oboler 1980; Rosaldo 1974). My material suggests, however, that the elderly women whom I interviewed did not choose to marry young girls as a first choice or as an expression of their independent power, but rather as a solution to the problems they encountered with respect to patrilineal inheritance rules and the need for a male heir. And unfortunately, as indicated in two of my case studies, these elders tried to safeguard their own security at the expense of the physical and emotional well-being of young girls. An added complication for any young wife who is unhappy in this form of marriage is that she cannot be divorced, because by tradition, divorce can only be arranged when a woman is married to a man.

Gender Relations in Marriage

By examining the most common causes of marital conflict and the typical methods used for resolution, one gains some understanding of the strategies that wives employ in order to influence or alter the behaviors of their husbands. In my analysis, I

concluded that three major types of marital or house(hold) disputes commonly occurred in each community and these fell under the following rubrics: adultery, suspicion of infidelity and jealousy; failure of wives to meet their husbands' expectations regarding household and livestock duties, and child care; and the misbehavior of children. A fourth prominent cause, noted only in Archer's Post and Songa, pertained to husbands' favoritism of one co-wife.

Basically, women in each community used two main strategies to attain or maintain power during times of trouble. They either engaged in verbal battles with their husbands, knowing full-well that men really dislike confrontation and quarrels with women, or they sought help from their natal kin or other women in the community. In turning to valuable support systems, wives put increased pressure on husbands to change their attitudes and behavior, especially when this behavior involved physical abuse or extramarital affairs. Women in polygynous marriages also turned to their natal families for assistance when their husbands repossessed the livestock they either allocated to them or assigned to their houses at the time of marriage, and transferred the animals to the houses of more cherished wives.

There seems to be little doubt that modern forces are playing havoc with long-standing arrangements established between wives and husbands, and between parents and children. Many children now refuse to herd livestock and this causes frequent bouts of conflict with their parents. Children no longer seem to find meaning and value in tending the livestock, one possible explanation being the increased importance placed on children's school attendance. A second possible explanation could be that the direct connection between the animals and the food which children consume is no longer there:

the commoditization of livestock and milk has transformed what were previously dairy-based meals to meals consisting of grain products, foods which children do not associate with the animals they herd. Wives and husbands are also often embroiled in conflict either because of their children's behavior or because women increasingly refuse to carry out all the chores expected of them by their husbands. Most elders maintained that marital relationships are more troubled than in the past because women are "too smart" nowadays and no longer fear their husbands. Women realize they can support their children through their income-generating activities and do not need to rely so much on their spouses to provide cash or food. Men, on the other hand, seem thoroughly confused by the change in their wives' attitudes and are grappling with the effects of women's growing confidence.

In each site, women gain a great deal of strength and support from the friendships and interactions they have with each other. All ceremonial occasions, such as births, circumcisions, and marriages, require the collective participation of women to carry out many of the arduous chores involved in the preparation for rituals and celebrations. No ceremony would be complete without women's lively performances of song and dance. And in all three communities, women play crucial roles in validating the status of males in age-set promotional rituals, much as women do among the Maasai (Chieni and Spencer 1993; Kipuri 1989; Talle 1988). Women also gather to sing praise songs to God in times of hardship or in traditional thanksgiving ceremonies and often travel in large groups to bless local settlements or to visit rivers, sacred caves, special trees or mountains where they present offerings of milk to God.

Men in Archer's Post, Parkishon/Karare and Songa acknowledged that women's participation in certain ceremonies is crucial in order for males to progress through the various age-set rituals. However, the extent of men's acknowledgement, or awareness, of the collective efforts put forth by their wives and the other women, in carrying out day-to-day chores and preparing for ceremonies, varied considerably between communities. The men in Archer's Post were the least informed about the collaborative efforts of women, while men in Parkishon/Karare were the most knowledgeable about the group efforts of wives. Based on my observations and other findings, I surmise that men in Archer's Post were the least informed about women's collective activities because men and women tend to lead more segregated lives in Archer's Post than they do in the other communities.

The formation of grassroots women's groups in both Archer's Post and Karare has evoked entirely different sentiments from men in each community. In Archer's Post, husbands feel threatened by the presence of women's groups, particularly the Umoja Women's Group, as it campaigns for 'women's rights' under the leadership of activist, Rebecca Lolosoli. Most women's groups in Archer's Post concentrate on creating beaded artwork and jewelry and marketing these articles to local tourists, but the Umoja group also has the policy of providing protection to its members. Any wrong-doings inflicted on the women are immediately reported to the District Officer, resulting in a general sense of wariness about women's groups on the part of Samburu elders and warriors in this community.

In stark contrast, husbands in Parkishon/Karare are supportive of their wives' involvement in women's groups, whether these are church-based or enterprises formed

for the purpose of milk sales. I suggest that there are two reasons for this. First, the majority of men are practicing Christians, and, secondly, men benefit directly from their wives' income from milk sales. What was encouraging in Parkishon/Karare was the change that I noted in men's attitudes towards their wives' participation in the market. I believe this has partially come about over the past decade because of the formation of women's groups and the financial support received from an outside agency and a private donor by two of the Karare groups. The successful enterprises launched by these groups have, in turn, aroused a sense of pride in men over their wives' ability to contribute financially to the household and the community.

Apart from several women's church groups, the women in Songa do not have an official women's group and, while they have gained self-confidence through earning income from produce marketing, they still lack the level of confidence they would obtain if they went through the process of organizing and operating a formal women's group. This would involve establishing a group purpose, gathering dedicated members, and working collectively towards a specific long-term goal. It would also likely involve facing their husband's initial opposition to the group's activities as this generally comes with the territory of women's attempts to improve their status quo. By working through these phases, Songa women would gain the strength and confidence needed to create better social conditions for themselves, their families and their community.

10.2.2 Women's Relations with their Natal Kin

Conflicting opinions exist in the literature regarding the extent to which married pastoral women maintain connections with their birth kin. Some researchers imply that women have little or no post-marital contact with members of their natal families (Martin

and Voorhies 1975; Talle 1988), while other researchers suggest the opposite (Almagor 1978; Dahl 1987; Oboler 1985). My findings support the latter view. The data illustrated that married women in Archer's Post, Parkishon/Karare and Songa are in frequent contact with their natal kin and rely heavily on their birth families for emotional, financial and material support. Most women also viewed their parents' homes as a refuge during times of marital conflict and a safe place in which to engage in dialogue with parents, husband, and community elders to resolve serious disputes.

Regular contact with birth families may have been more difficult to achieve in the past, when pastoral families led a more mobile existence. But in each of the three settled communities, women now have, on average, at least one, if not two, birth family members living nearby and they visit with these relatives at least once a week. In addition, the existing available services of lorries and buses in the north have made it easier for women to exchange visits with distantly located birth kin; nowadays, women in each community maintain a moderate degree of post-marital contact with distantly located parents and siblings, especially their brothers.

Most women firmly believed that they could count on their brothers to assist them during difficult times and most Songa women also believed they could rely on their sisters. Other findings show that the majority of women in Parkishon/Karare and Songa, and roughly 50% of the women in Archer's Post, had received gifts of livestock from their parents and/or full-siblings during their lifetimes. Furthermore, it is not unusual for women to receive gifts of cash from family members and most informants had received funds from various members of their birth kin during the previous year

In the context of property transmission within a woman's birth family, a daughter's right to inherit livestock is still largely non-existent, except in rare cases where her father dies and she does not have full-brothers. If her mother succeeds in preventing her paternal uncles or half-brothers from taking the animals, then eventually she (the daughter) will inherit the livestock to pass on to her sons. In the two communities, where property transmission entailed land, an entirely different scenario was evolving.

In the agro-pastoral communities of Parkishon/Karare and Songa, where land is in various stages of privatization, local practices governing land inheritance have not been formulated. Since land transmission does not need to take into account the multiple complex relationships and rights, entailing debts and obligations, which exist between males in connection to certain livestock, parents are using their own discretion when it comes to passing land to their children. In both communities, enough information was gathered to suggest that fathers are frequently allocating land to favorite daughters as a form of pre-mortem inheritance. And they are establishing their daughters' long-term rights to the land by informing their sons and brothers that these arrangements are to remain permanent. This implies that even if the land eventually falls under the control of a daughter's husband, her ability to access land remains secure, which, in turn, may guarantee that her mother, once widowed, has access to land during her lifetime should she not have a living son. In Songa, most women claimed that brothers could also allocate land to their sisters, but slightly less than half of the men stated that this actually occurs. They noted that such allocations are more likely to take place if sisters have been particularly good to their brothers.

Based on these findings, I conclude that women's long-term financial well-being and assured access to productive resources is more closely linked to the state of their personal relations with their natal kin than what was formerly believed. Furthermore, I argue that the "house-property" complex and the matrification principle, which have long served as key theoretical concepts to explain the transmission of property in pastoral societies, cannot be employed to explain the transmission of land in situations where *shambas* are being privatized and fathers are awarding permanent land rights to their daughters. An added complication is that when daughters marry, their husbands assume control over the *shambas* and acquire land through their wives.

10.2.3 The Gender Dimension to Property Rights and Control or Ownership of Land

Gender and Livestock

Community-level, quantitative analyses of livestock holdings in women's houses and male-headed households indicated that in each community, house(hold)s were livestock 'poor.' That is, the average TLUs/person per house(hold) was below 4.5 TLUs/capita (Fratkin and Roth 1990:394). The data indicated that Samburu households in Archer's Post had suffered the severest livestock-loss during the previous year due to combined factors of livestock disease or accidental deaths, conditions of drought, and raids inflicted by the Boran and Turkana.

At the time of research, there was no significant difference, at the community-level, between communities with respect to the average number of cattle each man owned (see Appendix H) or the polygyny rate (see Table 2.8), but there was a significant difference between Parkishon/Karare and the other communities with respect to the average number of allocated cattle that women's houses maintained (see Table 7.4). That

is, on average, women's houses in Parkishon/Karare had received significantly more allocated cattle than women's houses did in the other communities.

Other significant differences were that women's houses and male-headed households in Archer's Post had been assigned and possessed, respectively, a higher number of small stock than their counterparts in the other communities. A likely reason for these findings is that small stock thrive more at lower and hotter altitudes, i.e. such as in Archer's Post *versus* the Mount Marsabit region.

In Parkishon/Karare and Songa, married and widowed women have little authority or autonomy within the realm of decision-making with regard to livestock sales, purchases, loans (to and from the house(hold)), or the slaughter of livestock for food or ritual purposes. Most women and men in these communities believe that men are always in charge of making these decisions. In Archer's Post, there was some discrepancy between men and women's views on which spouse is in charge of decision-making in regard to livestock transactions. Most men claimed that husbands and wives make these decisions together, whereas women believed that only their husbands have any say in these matters.

Gender and Land

The first set of important results regarding land issues pertains to the informants' views on sedentarization and privatization. In each community, most informants said they preferred having a settled lifestyle rather than one involving continuous migration. And most women and men preferred living near markets, health care service and schools for their children and wished to invest, or have already invested, in building permanent homes. On average, the informants had resided in their respective communities for as

long as sixteen to twenty-one years and most appeared to have adapted to a settled lifestyle. These findings are similar to those obtained by Adano and Witsenburg (2005), who conducted a 1998 survey of 287 households in eight villages on Mount Marsabit. Their analysis revealed that “only 10% of the respondents belonging to the major pastoral groups said they wanted to return to a mobile pastoral life” (2005:126).

Archer's Post serves as a haven for many informants because of the ongoing insecurity in the region and the ever-increasing depletion of their herds. According to most men, dwelling as squatters within the town limits is less costly and less strenuous than migration, as each time one moved, huts and livestock' enclosures must be dismantled and then reconstructed. Nowadays, the trend is to take the livestock out to graze on a daily basis or place the animals temporarily with relatives who are able to care for them. The Archer's Post informants live in hope that eventually the land in, and around, the town limits will become privatized and they believe they will increase their chances of obtaining land if they remain settled.

In Parkishon/Karare and Songa, sedentarization has enabled the informants to farm and grow crops and, in Songa, this has facilitated the sale of produce to generate income for women and men. Songa men claimed that monetary dependence on livestock is not reliable and that their households accumulate more wealth through agricultural development.

In each community, the desire to have one's own piece of land has become paramount. Livestock are still valued for cultural and economic purposes, but herds are no longer regarded as reliable sources of financial security. In Archer's Post, the informants believe that acquiring titled deeds will bring benefits, such as security of land

ownership and the means to obtain cash through bank loans or the sale of some of the land. In Parkishon/Karare and Songa, where privatization is actually in progress, ownership of land is valued for similar reasons. Based on these and other findings, I conclude that most informants are not aware that the major value of landownership is that it facilitates long-term economic investment. In this regard, my concerns lie with the future well-being of the residents of Parkishon/Karare and Songa, especially the latter, because evidence indicates that surveyed land had already been sold by four Songa men and one widow, even though they had not yet received their titled deeds. During interviews, I also sensed that many informants had not really grasped the concept that their *shambas* will dwindle, not multiply, in size, when inherited by their children, nor had they awakened to the fact that their families' security will diminish if they sell part of their land for cash or take out bank loans that they might be unable to repay. In his recent work, Smith (2005:142) also expressed some concerns regarding Songa residents and land sales.

Title deeds give the government land commission jurisdiction to settle all disputes. With no committee of elders to halt or reverse sales, comparatively wealthy outsiders who know the value of farmland could eventually purchase all of the farms in Songa, thereby forcing Rendille and Ariaal off of what was once their land (2005:142).

The second set of significant results pertains to the position of Parkishon/Karare and Songa women vis-à-vis land and privatization (i.e. their rights to own or access land, and widows' rights to inherit land). Although each community was at different stages of the privatization process, my findings showed that during the initial phases of land registration, the majority of women in each community were excluded from the registration process. Local land committees promoted the registration of land allocations

under the names of males, the principle being that men would hold land on behalf of their families. In this regard, tenure reform has affected agro-pastoral women in much the same way that it has affected women in agricultural societies in Kenya (Davison 1988a, 1988b; Karanja 1991).

In Parkishon/Karare, where land had not yet been surveyed, only 5% of the women had land registered in their own names. Another 10% of the women claimed that their *shambas* were registered in both spouses' names. However, none of the male informants claimed that their land was registered in their wives' names. Since many of the male and female informants were married to each other in this community, I can only surmise that women misunderstood, or had been misled about the legalities surrounding the registration of their *shambas*, or some men did not disclose that land had been registered in their wives' names.

Regardless, the majority of Parkishon/Karare women had received allocated land from their husbands, but because of the scarcity of water in Parkishon/Karare, none of their *shambas* contained piped water supplies. Most women felt fairly confident they would maintain their usufruct rights to land and stated that their husbands could not sell the property without obtaining their permission. In this regard, Parkishon/Karare women maintained some degree of influence over their ability to access land on a long-term basis. They certainly did not consider themselves as being in a state of landlessness.

Almost all the Parkishon/Karare informants claimed that a widow with a son is always permitted to inherit her deceased husband's land, but should she only have daughters, her co-wives' sons or her male in-laws will attempt to take the land away. In such an event, a widow can either appeal to the elders or her clansmen to protect her or

take the matter to court. As I pointed out previously, if a widow's daughter received rights to a portion of her mother's allocated land from her father before he died, her mother would likely maintain access to this land.

In Songa, where land has been surveyed, 21% of the women had land registered in their own names; three women were married and six were widows. These findings indicate that one-fifth of the women whom I interviewed will eventually receive titled deeds and thus, will be landowners, bringing a glimmer of light into a rather dark picture of pastoral women's ability to gain control over land. Most women were not aware of Kenya's statutory laws governing their rights to own land. While national laws do not prohibit women from owning land, at the same time, local land committees, composed of male elders, are authorized by law to determine the basis for land allocation. What subsequently evolved in this community was that the majority of Songa women were denied the opportunity to obtain land title when the cost of the land only involved the payment of survey fees.

All forty men interviewed in Songa stated that they possessed land. While most possessed *shambas* that were registered and surveyed, in some cases the land was not registered in their own names. One man's land was registered in his uncle's name, another's *shamba* was registered in his father's name, and three had *shambas* that were registered in the names of their fathers-in-law, meaning they had acquired land *via* their wives. And in 15% of cases, men claimed that their land had never been registered or surveyed.

All Songa women who did not have land registered in their own names had access to land or had received allocated land and most had access to piped water within their

shambas. Over 50% of the women felt secure about maintaining access to land and most married women claimed that their husbands could not sell part of their *shambas* without obtaining their permission. Yet at the same time, many women said they actually felt 'landless' because either they or their husbands had not yet received titled deeds, or they lived on borrowed land, or they felt dependent on their husbands or other male relatives because deeds would only be issued in the men's names. As in Parkishon/Karare, Songa widows who had living sons were permitted to inherit their deceased husbands' *shambas*; however, more informants in Songa claimed that widows who had only daughters were also able to inherit land and pass the land on to the latter.

10.2.4 Market Accessibility and Cash Revenue through Income Generation and Redistribution within Family Networks, Credit Organizations and Among Friends

Significant differences definitely exist between the communities with respect to women's income-generating activities. In Archer's Post, women gain income mainly through the sale of beadwork and artifacts to tourists and through the sale of *changa 'a*, firewood and/or milk to local residents. In comparison, Parkishon/Karare women primarily earn income from milk sales and other sales involving maize, beans, *busa 'a*, and collected water supplies. A few women own or lease small shops in Karare centre and generate income through small commodity sales. In contrast, in Songa, the vast majority of women earn income through sales of *sukuma wiki* and other types of produce. A fair number of women also engage in the sale of milk, *miraa* and *busa 'a*.

The differences between the communities with respect to women's earning activities stem from a number of factors, (i.e. environmental, socio-economic and political). Archer's Post is located in a low-lying region in Samburu District where

rainfall is sparse and the area is much too dry to sustain agriculture. Women maintain very few allocated cattle, due, in part, to major losses of livestock in households because of drought, disease and livestock raids. Using their ingenuity, the women in Archer's Post have developed strategies for earning income through tourist-related activities and brewing.

Parkishon/Karare and Songa are both located on Marsabit Mountain in Marsabit District, but each community lies at a different compass-point on the horizon. Songa is surrounded by forested land; the soil is richer, the air is moister, and there is higher precipitation than in Parkishon/Karare. The community has plenty of water and a piped-water system. As a result, both rain-fed and irrigated crop production is possible, enabling women and men to market various types of produce. As noted previously, however, land title in Songa has primarily been granted to males. Thus, most Songa women must depend on the men in their lives to gain access to land in order to generate earnings from produce sales.

In contrast to the design of the water system in Songa, piped water in Karare does not run to individual homes and Karare residents collect their water supplies from communal taps. Parkishon is without a central pump or pipe to bring water into the area, although plans are underway to develop a system. Agricultural activities in both regions are largely limited to rain-fed cultivation of beans and maize. Thus, Parkishon/Karare still relies heavily on raising livestock and most women depend on receiving allocations of milch cattle from men in order to generate earnings from milk sales.

Quantitative analysis of the income obtained by women's houses at the community-level revealed that no significant differences exist between communities with

respect to the average total annual income per house, the average annual income/capita/house, and the average total annual earnings per woman. This strongly suggests that women's income earning abilities are neither enhanced, nor handicapped because of the different locations (lowlands versus highlands) or typologies (semi-pastoral versus agro-pastoral) of their communities, or because of the prominent types of commodities they sell. One could argue that, by necessity, women in Archer's Post have acquired more economic autonomy than women in Parkishon/Karare and Songa because they have devised ways to generate income without relying on men to allocate livestock, land or cash. But for many women in Archer's Post, economic autonomy comes with a heavy price, as it is highly unlikely that women who earn income by illegally brewing and selling *changa 'a* experience the same quality of life and receive the same respect as women who sell beadwork in Archer's Post, or milk and produce in Parkishon/Karare and Songa, respectively.

Other results at the community-level revealed that, in each community, the average total income of women's houses included a substantial amount of revenue from women's parents, brothers, sisters, other relatives and friends. Redistribution of income through credit organizations only occurred very informally through loosely organized "merry-go-round" groups.

No significant differences existed between communities with respect to the average total annual expenses of women's houses; however, my analysis revealed that women in Archer's Post spend significantly more money per annum on the purchase of stimulants (i.e. alcohol, *miraa* and tobacco) than women do in Parkishon/Karare. In the larger picture, however, the average figures indicating the total income and expenses per

annum in women's houses are uncannily similar in each community, so much so that I conclude they can be used as baseline figures for future longitudinal studies of sedentarized communities in northern Kenya.

Quantitative analyses of men's income-earning activities at the community-level revealed that the vast majority of men rely heavily on livestock sales for income, particularly in Archer's Post. The main difference existing between communities is the degree to which men earn income through other means (i.e. contract work, manual labor, and/or produce sales). In Archer's Post, 32% of the men gain income from contract work. In Parkishon/Karare, approximately 27% obtain income through manual labor and 17% obtain income through contract work. And in Songa, 42% of the men engage in manual labor, 15% gain income from contract work and at least 25% of the men sell *miraa*, *sukuma wiki* and other types of produce.

My analysis of men's average annual income (men's average annual earnings and gifts of cash received from relatives and friends), the annual family household income (men's income and each wife's income) and the annual family household expenses (the expenses of men and each wife's house) illustrated that men in Archer's Post earn more than men in Parkishon/Karare and Songa, and their annual family household incomes and expenses are also generally much higher. The higher earnings and higher family household incomes are largely the result of higher annual revenue gained from livestock sales. The higher annual family household expenses is the result of combined factors, including heavy reliance on purchased milk supplies and food items, higher use of medical services because of the prevalence of malaria and other illnesses, and more frequent use of veterinarian services because of ongoing bouts of livestock disease.

Other data indicated that, in all communities, the average amount of money that male-headed households spend on stimulants per annum is proportionately higher than the amount they spend on paying children's school fees. In the previous year, male-headed households in Songa spent more money on stimulants than households in the other communities. Based on these findings, my own observations, and the information obtained from community leaders, I conclude that substance-abuse is a serious social problem in each community, with a substantial amount of men and women's income being wasted on the purchase of stimulants.

In Parkishon/Karare and Songa, married couples pool their income and manage their finances and expense payments together; however, in Archer's Post, roughly 50% of women are responsible for paying for 'house' expenses. Less than 50% of Songa women and men are able to accumulate savings, but most women and men in the other communities have savings hidden in their homes or entrusted with local shop-owners (i.e. shop-owners in Archer's Post, Karare and Marsabit town also served as pseudo-bankers, providing a secure place for the savings of locals and a line of credit to individuals). At the time of the surveys, almost every house(hold) in each community had an outstanding line of credit as a result of ongoing purchases of food and small commodities. Payments were generally made in small amounts when earnings were substantial enough or when shop-owners refused to give credit for further purchases.

10.2.5 Gender, Land Use and Natural Resource Management: Agricultural Production and Management of Wild Plant Materials

Use of Agricultural Land

In Parkishon/Karare, agricultural production is largely based on the cultivation of maize and beans, both of which require little water. The majority of women's houses and

male-headed households use most of the harvested crops for home consumption; less than 12% market produce and when this occurs, the decision to do so is made jointly by spouses.

Parkishon/Karare husbands decide which types of crops to grow and they select the seeds; they are also in charge of plowing cultivation plots. Both spouses are responsible for fertilizing the soil, planting seeds and weeding crops. Wives, husbands and children harvest the crops and transport the produce to their homes where it is processed and stored in sacks placed in home-built granaries.

My findings are inconclusive with respect to the average number of hours/week that each gender spends in garden-related labor in Parkishon/Karare. According to the estimates given by female informants (i.e. women's houses), women spend more hours/week in agricultural labor than men, whereas, according the estimates given by male informants (i.e. male-headed households), women spend fewer hour/week than men do in caring for *shambas*. I periodically observed different women at work in their *shambas*, particularly in the Nasakakwe area, but I observed very few men engaged in similar labor.

The agro-pastoral system in Songa is entirely different from the one operating in Parkishon/Karare. Adequate water supplies and better soil conditions allow the residents to cultivate larger gardens containing a variety of crops in addition to beans and maize. Most of the women's houses and the male-headed households market up to 30% of their harvested maize and beans. And in general, they sell at least 65% of their harvested *sukuma wiki*, *miraa*, bananas, mangoes and tomatoes. At least 25% of Songa men (n = 40) grow their own crops of maize in gardens adjacent to those of their wives. Other

crops grown by men include *sukuma wiki*, beans, bananas and *miraa*. The majority of husbands decide how much of any one crop can be sold, which, in turn, puts a ceiling on the amount of income that they and their wives can generate from produce sales.

Songa spouses make joint decisions regarding which crops to grow and they select the seeds accordingly. Husbands are in charge of plowing, but wives and husbands are equally responsible for all other garden chores, including hand-watering certain plants, such as *sukuma wiki*, *miraa* and/or young fruit trees, and warding off livestock, baboons or elephants from entering their shambas. And harvesting is generally a family affair. Songa women admitted, however, that their husbands do most of the work. My analysis regarding the estimated number of hours/week that each gender dedicated to agricultural labor in Songa suggests that men contribute more hours of work/week than women do, regardless of the context being considered (i.e. women's houses or male-headed households).

I conclude that most married women in Parkishon/Karare and Songa are not able to make autonomous decisions with respect to agricultural land-use. Every major decision is made by their husbands or in consultation with their husbands. In Parkishon/Karare, both spouses decide whether to sell produce or not, but wives have no choice when it comes to selecting the types of crops to grow. In Songa, spouses make joint decisions regarding which types of crops to cultivate, but wives have no say in regards to the amount of produce they are permitted to sell. And in both communities, wives are regularly chastised by husbands when they neglect to carry out their garden-related duties or other household chores. In Songa, some wives are also beaten. Many women in Songa have learned to detach themselves from worrying about the outcome

should they fail to meet their husbands' expectations. In using this strategy, they attempt to diminish men's power to manipulate them to work harder through fear tactics.

Knowledge and Management of Wild Plant Materials

In this particular domain, my investigations revealed that all the informants in each community possess an abundance of knowledge regarding the identities, locations and useful properties of wild plants and their materials. And despite the many changes brought about by modern forces, both women and men continue to use wild plant resources on a regular basis for food and medicine, and in ceremonies and rituals.

Based on a combination of results, including data denoting the average annual expenses that were incurred by women's houses and male-headed households for use of modern medical services, and results illustrating the average number of times that women and men used wild plant material for medicinal purposes in the previous month, I conclude that the majority of women's houses and male-headed households in each community use both traditional and modern medicines to treat various illnesses and ailments. In effect, local knowledge regarding the curative properties of certain wild plants continues to survive in each community, despite the effects of sedentarization. Interestingly, the most frequent users of traditional medicines are Parkishon/Karare men, because they have developed the practice of ingesting daily doses of medicines made from the roots of *Lasarami* and *Loiborbene* plants in order to ward off contracting malaria and colds, respectively.

My findings in Archer's Post and Songa are inconclusive with respect to identifying whether females or males are the most frequent gatherers of wild plant materials. According to women, females are the most frequent gatherers, but according to

men, males are the primary gatherers. The results in Parkishon/Karare indicated that males gather wild plants more often than females. Because of inter-ethnic conflict and ongoing insecurity in the Archer's Post and Mount Marsabit regions, I suspect that females gather plant resources when these materials can be located close to home. If certain plants are unavailable within these confines, then males obtain these resources while traversing the bush or when in *fora*.

10.2.6 Gender, Intra-Community and Inter-Ethnic Conflict

All of the thesis findings must be viewed in the context of the political insecurities that plague the communities. In many respects, my research indicates that women's influence and power, and the choices they make, contribute in some measure to the onset of intra- and inter-settlement disputes, and inter-ethnic conflict.

Intra-Settlement Conflict

Two major types of intra-settlement disputes regularly occur in each community. The first type takes place between neighboring adults because of the misbehavior of, or fighting between, their children. The second type occurs because of problems related to livestock and/or poultry. Frequently, the two types of disputes merge as, for example, in instances where several families graze their animals together and the children from one of these families neglect to carry out their share of the herding duties. In child-centered disputes, neighboring mothers fight when their children quarrel and often they continue to bicker long after their children resolve their own disputes. And livestock- and poultry-centered disputes involve the participation of neighboring women as well as neighboring men.

An additional cause of conflict arising between neighbors in Archer's Post and Karare is adultery, or the suspicion that a wife or husband is having an affair with a neighbor, which, in either case, involves the participation of women. Other rows occur between women in Archer's Post when one woman repeatedly asks to 'borrow' water, firewood or fire embers from another, or she takes fire embers without first asking permission.

In Songa, female and male neighbors fight because of difficulties in gaining access to piped-water supplies due to misuse of water schedules. Male neighbors quarrel when one man waters his livestock at another's well and uses all of the water. Men and women also fight when a neighbor disregards demarcated boundaries and lays claim to, or uses, the land of another.

In each community, most intra-settlement disputes are eventually resolved by the parties in conflict. Usually, dispute-resolution at this level does not require mediation by male or female elders.

Inter-Settlement Disputes

The main cause of inter-settlement disputes in both Archer's Post and Karare is attributed to the violence and rivalry occurring between warriors over girls and/or the harassment of young girls by the warriors. These are usually clan-based disputes, involving entire settlements. In Archer's Post, conflict between clans also arise because of rivalry between warriors over the use of waterholes and division of stolen livestock and weapons. And fighting also erupts when warriors from an entirely different Samburu community raid livestock from Meru or Isiolo regions and then implicate an innocent

settlement in Archer's Post, or even the entire community, by passing through it on their way home with the stolen animals.

Inter-settlement conflicts occur in both Karare and Songa because of difficulties in accessing water. In Karare, individual women or groups of women from different settlements battle with each other at communal water points (i.e. taps or boreholes) in order to collect water before the other. Women also fight with men on occasion for similar reasons. Elders in Karare town and nearby Nasakakwe share control over the central water point and take turns releasing water to the tanks located in their settlements. Quarrels often erupt when elders only allow water to flow to the tank in their own settlement and withhold it from the other.

The conflicts arising over water-access in Songa are more complex than in Karare. None of the Songa residents attribute water-shortages as being a direct result of under-sized pipes as Songa leaders claim. Instead, residents from each ridge blame the residents of other ridges for creating the shortages. Quarrels erupt because people from one ridge stuff paper, shoes, and other articles inside the main waterline that services another ridge, clogging the line to divert the water flow to the pipe which services their own ridge. At times, conflict becomes so intense that people from opposing ridges use sticks or guns during combat.

Another type of inter-ridge conflict in Songa frequently arises between marketers from different ridges. In short, a central marketing committee, composed of two members from each ridge, devised marketing rules and schedules in order to keep the supply of *sukuma wiki* at par with the demand in the Marsabit market. Women from each ridge are only supposed to market produce on designated days of the week. Conflict

often arises because women from one ridge disregard the rules and attempt to sell their produce on a marketing day scheduled for women from another ridge. Serious physical fights between women ensue until the produce of the guilty party is finally confiscated. At the time of my research, the number of infractions had increased to the point where marketers from different ridges had grown to dislike one another.

In each community, conflicts involving entire settlements are usually resolved by male elders. Fines are imposed on certain individuals whenever the elders agree that penalties are appropriate.

Inter-Ethnic Conflict

Sobania's (1980) account of the immediate pre-colonial period (1880-1900) in northern Kenya indicates that conflict first began to flare up between Boran and Samburu, Turkana and Samburu, Boran and Rendille, and Turkana and Rendille, during the period known as *mutai* (disasters). And the colonial reports indicate that animosity existed between these societies throughout the history of British occupation. Based on my findings in 2002/03, I conclude that a tremendous amount of hostility still remains between Samburu and the Isiolo Boran and Turkana, and between Ariaal Rendille and the Mount Marsabit Boran. In addition, Samburu, Ariaal and Rendille have acrimonious feelings towards the Somali.

Because of the persistent inter-ethnic conflict in the north, in 2001, male elders and various District Commissioners gathered from Garissa, Madera, Wajir, Isiolo, Samburu and Marsabit Districts in order to discuss peacemaking tactics. The outcome was the Modogashe Declaration. The Declaration was designed to mediate conflict through forced compensation payments of large numbers of livestock by offending ethnic

communities. Henceforth, heavy fines were to be imposed on those who killed, injured or stole. The mandate included stipulations that 100 cattle must be paid for the murder of one man and 50 cattle must be paid for the murder of one woman. The peacemakers involved in establishing the Declaration attempted to apply intra-societal norms vis-à-vis blood wealth payments (in which the payment for killing a woman is much less than the payment required for killing a man) to inter-societal relations. The distinction between genders in this way rests on a long cultural precedent throughout Kenya.

Based on my experiences in Archer's Post in 2002, I conclude that the Modogashe Declaration has done little to quell the violence in Samburu District. In fact, the Archer's Post region was the most volatile of all the study regions. Basically, the Samburu warriors had run amuck. They attacked and injured, or killed, passengers traveling in private vehicles or transport lorries on the main highway, and shot, or beat up, any Samburu elder who condemned their actions. They also instigated an armed raid against the Isiolo Turkana and stole their livestock. The Turkana subsequently retaliated one night and raided numerous goats from a Samburu settlement in Archer's Post. At the first sound of gunfire, women and children fled from surrounding settlements and huddled in the bushes until morning.

My analysis of conflict in Archer's Post also indicates that warriors do not always act alone in perpetuating violence because there are numerous ways in which women and young girls consciously or unconsciously encourage the moran to antagonize or raid the Boran and Turkana. During dry spells, some women urge warriors to find good pasture for the livestock regardless of whether it is in enemy territory. Girlfriends encourage moran to steal livestock and offer praise when they arrive home with animals. And some

women advise their husbands and the warriors to purchase illegal automatic weapons; in doing so, they essentially support the trafficking of guns.

At the same time that women and girls in Archer's Post contribute to the onset of conflict, they also suffer from the effects of the raids and violence. Raiding means loss of livestock. Lawlessness and the flagrant use of guns cause injuries to, and the death of, loved ones. Displacement often follows a raid, along with the separation of family members. And women endure constant stress and anxiety. They worry about sons who are warriors and they worry about the safety of their other children should trouble arise. They also worry about being attacked and raped. Incidents of rape are more prevalent in Archer's Post than in the other communities; however, these incidents are not just confined to conflict situations in which Turkana and Boran have been known to rape females of all ages. Every now and then, a Samburu girl or a mature woman is molested and raped by a Samburu warrior or an elder. Some women believe that the high incidence of rape is linked to women's *changa'a* sales because men purchase the alcohol in women's homes and when they become drunk, they are more apt to rape the women.

Overall, Samburu women offered firm views about the changes they believe are needed to bring about peaceful conditions in the Archer's Post-Isiolo region, i.e. disarmament of all communities in the region, and public condemnation of tribalism, rustling and banditry. And many women expressed their desire to participate in conflict resolution meetings, workshops and seminars, and present their views at public forums. They felt that, if given the chance, they could make a difference in reducing the violence. I agree with their sentiments and conclude that it would be very beneficial for the entire

community if a peacekeeping agency sponsored and established a women's peacemaking project.

In contrast to Archer's Post, Karare community has not been directly involved in ethnic conflict for several years. However, the informants strongly identified with the continuing insecurity around Songa, not only because of its close proximity, but also because of the many kinship and friendship ties that stretch between the two communities. When conflict does arise in Songa, Karare warriors are often called to assist Songa moran. Mothers worry about their sons in this situation and they also fear that sons and other warriors might instigate raids on the Boran, or become victims of Boran raids while herding. Karare had only a few rape incidences in the previous year, but none had been inflicted by Boran, Turkana or Somali males. Reportedly, a local warrior was a repeat offender, but he had not been apprehended; at the time of my research, he still wandered freely in the community. Thus, most Karare women were careful not to travel on their own after dark.

On the whole, Karare informants believed that the corrupt practices of local government agents, police and the courts were the main obstacles to establishing peace in the Marsabit region; authorities demanded bribes before they took action to bring about justice. Roughly 50% of the Karare women were aware of the mandate set out by the Modogashe Declaration, but most felt that Boran would attack again, particularly in the Songa area, and that the peace agreement would not last. Generally, Karare women and men believe that peace will only come about when more of their children receive a formal education. Until such time, most women are convinced that if the women's groups in Karare are given some guidance in the realm of peacemaking efforts, they

could channel their influence towards creating values of peace in the area. Karare men also believe that women could contribute a great deal if they took an active role in peacemaking endeavors. Women stated that forums should be devised in which male and female elders could gather with the warriors and beaded girls to publicly denounce livestock raiding, the custom of beading, and any songs which encourage the warriors to raid. Based on the positive transformations which have taken place in this community, which, I believe, evolved *via* the persistent and collective efforts of women, I conclude that Parkishon/Karare women are in a favorable position to play a key role in promoting peace, not only in their own communities, but throughout the Mount Marsabit region.

In Songa, conditions are more secure than in Archer's Post, but less secure than in Karare. Mountain Boran still hold fast to the claim that land in Songa is rightfully theirs. In 2002, Boran murdered several Songa-based Rendille warriors and two local residents. In turn, Rendille warriors raided the Boran in retaliation. The Songa community and various Boran communities were ordered to pay stiff fines as mandated by the Modogashe Declaration. As a result of the harsh penalties, a tentative state of peace had evolved.

Most Songa informants believe that women and girls play a role in promoting inter-ethnic conflict because they incite the warriors to seek revenge through praise songs or derision, accept gifts of stolen livestock from moran, and encourage men to purchase guns for security purposes. The effects of conflict on Songa women are not unlike the effects which women in Archer's Post and Karare experience; most women worry about the safety of their moran sons and other children. However, women's movements are more restricted in Songa than in the other communities; Songa marketers begin each day

burdened with the fear that they might be killed by Boran on the Songa-Marsabit road during their journey to and from Marsabit. In order to reduce the risk of an attack, marketers have hired an armed guard to protect them. Incidents of rape seldom occur in Songa and, if they do, the perpetrators are usually males who reside in the community.

Most of the changes which Songa informants viewed as being crucial before permanent peace could ever exist in the Marsabit region are similar to those noted by Karare residents; however, Songa residents also recommended that elders and authorities in Marsabit District increase the number of scheduled peace negotiation meetings held per annum in order to establish more continuity in the peacekeeping process. In addition, Songa women stressed, as did Karare women, that permanent peace will only come about when all their children are educated. The notion that women could collectively act to promote peace through workshops and public meetings was not one which Songa women had previously considered, nor was it one with which they felt comfortable. Moreover, it was not a notion that appealed to Songa men. Based on these and other findings, I conclude that, at this point in time, Songa women are not ready, in the collective sense, to play an active role in promoting peace in their community.

10.3 CLOSING COMMENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Have modern forces enhanced or undermined pastoral women's economic prospects and rights to access or own property? There is no clear answer to this as my analyses illustrated that the market economy and changes in land tenure systems have simultaneously enhanced and undermined women's prospects and rights.

Do sedentarized pastoral women wield more influence and power in their homes in the early years of the 21st century than they did a decade or two ago? I conclude that

they do, in the context of the study communities. First, women currently generate steady income, over which they have managed to maintain control. Secondly, the majority of women now have natal kin living in close proximity, who provide them with emotional and financial support when marital conflicts arise. In addition, the existence of better transport enables women to visit distantly-located birth family members with less difficulty. And women's awareness that they can easily approach their natal kin for assistance has given them additional confidence and more leverage when dealing with their husbands.

I also conclude that women wield more influence and power in their communities than they did even a decade ago. In Archer's Post, women's groups have become a collective force with which men now have to reckon. In Parkishon/Karare, women have made great strides in developing strong productive women's groups and their sheer persistence over the past decade has generated respect from men. In my 1995 assessment of women's socio-economic conditions in Karare, I stated that women had suffered negative effects from sedentarization (Mitchell 1997, 1999). But my findings in the same settlements during 2002/03 show that, in a period of seven to eight years, many positive changes have come about for Parkishon/Karare women, largely due to their persistence, and the aid of development projects such as the Mount Marsabit Dairy and the new posho mill, sponsored by KARI and private donors, respectively. This evidence supports Adano and Witsenburg's (2005:132) theory that "...settlement programmes negatively assessed in the past, might show positive effects after a long time."

In Songa, approximately 20% of the women are currently registered as landowners, and females have not been entirely excluded from inheriting rights to land.

While there is still a call for improvement in both realms, women have gained some control over land in the Songa community. Overall, women and/or their daughters and granddaughters have begun to access institutions that come with social change, i.e. churches and sponsored groups, medical facilities, organized markets, tourism, women's NGOs, schools and courts of law. These are all positive effects of sedentarization.

Most women with whom I spoke were avidly interested in national politics. During the build-up to the 2002 National General Election, I witnessed hundreds of women attending campaign rallies in Archer's Post and many more hundreds waiting in line at polling stations to cast their votes on Election Day. And at least 50% of the workers at the stations were local women. Overall, Samburu, Ariaal and Rendille women embrace their right to vote, and through exercising this right and making decisions and choices, they endeavor to bring about change in a political 'world' which does little to alleviate the poverty, conflict and social problems that plague their communities. It is in this light that I ask researchers, international peacekeeping agencies, development and aid agencies, whether government or NGOs, to consider the following recommendations.

First, I recommend that outside peacemakers establish dialogue and working relationships with women in Archer's Post and Karare with the objective of fostering the women's own ideas about ways they could contribute to peacemaking. In the course of hosting seminars and workshops, agents could also initiate brain-storming sessions, in which they could underscore other important avenues where women could endeavor to use their influence to quell local violence. Agents must familiarize themselves with the local customs and practices and the types of relationships in which females are able to

exert influence and power. In the dissertation, I have illustrated that the women most able to influence decisions and actions formulated by male elders are female elders, and these women also possess a great deal of influence and power over younger married women and young males and females. In addition, married women use strategies to influence their husbands and are in charge of raising and disciplining their children. And any advice given by a mother holds great weight with her adult daughters and sons. Favorite daughters hold sway over fathers, and female siblings influence each other, as do sisters and brothers. And young adolescent girls exert influence and power over the warriors.

Fostering women's seminars and workshops in Archer's Post and Karare would give women the opportunity to focus on devising and implementing their own plans for peacemaking action. These strategies could include public meetings and traveling *en masse* to other communities to promote values of peace. Thus, in the latter context, women in Archer's Post could reach out and influence Samburu women in neighboring communities and Karare women could provide inspiration for Songa women.

Women's peacemaking tactics could also include educating their children about the need for peace and reminding warriors that their primary role is that of protectors. Other strategies might involve the agreement between women to stop participating in acts leading to the beading of their daughters and to openly discourage the practice of beading. Women might also campaign to encourage young girls to create special praise songs for those warriors who do not participate in raids or banditry. And they could also collectively decide to discourage their husbands from purchasing guns. In time, women might even elect to meet with local chiefs, councilors, and Ministers of Parliament, and

their District Commissioners, requesting that the Modogashe Declaration be altered to make the number of cattle paid in compensation equal for the killing of a man or woman and to include compensation payments for the killing of a child.

The Archer's Post and Mount Marsabit regions have great potential for the growth or development of tourism, but both continue to be two of the most volatile, conflict-ridden areas in the country. Because of the violence, the tourist industry has declined in the Archer's Post region and is non-existent in the Mount Marsabit area. More importantly, conflict, whether in the form of raiding or banditry, plays havoc with the security and physical well-being of many Samburu, Ariaal and Rendille men, women and children. In January 2003, a group of young adults, who were traveling by lorry from Marsabit to Isiolo to return to secondary and post-secondary schools located further south, were attacked, robbed and shot by bandits. One affected student was a young Songa male who lost a lower limb as a result of his injuries. This young man's situation is only one of a multitude of situations that call for the development of peacemaking projects that incorporate the grassroots involvement of women.

My second major recommendation is directed to outside development and aid agencies, particularly those focused on providing educational opportunities for people in developing nations. Many of the women with whom I spoke claimed that permanent peace would only come about in their communities when all their children had received formal education. I suggest, however, that resolution of conflict and other social problems that plague the study communities will only come about if adults also receive some formal education. I recommend, therefore, that Adult Education Programs be sponsored in the study sites, for a trial period of two years, in order to provide the many

young and mature women and men who indicated that they would like to obtain an education with the opportunity to do so. These programs should consist of instruction in the basic skills of reading, writing and math, and also provide a forum in which workshops and seminars could be held on additional subjects or issues. The language used for communication in class should be Kiswahili. Since few women are fluent in Kiswahili, they will need to devote the first few months of classes to learning the fundamentals of the language

The logistics involved in setting up these programs are not insurmountable. All the communities in question have school classrooms, church halls or other facilities which are used intermittently and could otherwise be rented. Regular class hours (two-hour sessions for women and two-hour sessions for men) could be offered in the afternoons. Residents are preoccupied with carrying out chores in the mornings, and evening classes would be difficult because darkness falls early and electricity is not available. Local young women, who are not interested in participating in the program, could be engaged to provide daycare for young children of women who attend classes. Accommodation for teachers or student interns, whether Kenyan or foreign, could be arranged in each of the communities. Educators could oversee class instruction and engage adult students in organizing workshops and seminars in collaboration with visiting or local health care personnel, and legal and financial advisers.

In each community, health-care workshops and seminars could be held to disseminate information on the symptoms and effects of substance abuse and to raise the notion of self-help groups and 12-step programs. Seminars and public meetings could also be held to disseminate information regarding all aspects of STDs and HIV/AIDS, i.e.

identifying the symptoms, the pathways of transmission, the available treatments, and the precautionary measures needed to prevent transmission.

In addition, I suggest that workshops and seminars be held in each community for the purpose of informing women and men about their legal rights, as set out by the laws of Kenya, in the contexts of marriage, separation, divorce, and ownership and inheritance of land. My findings revealed that the majority of Samburu, Ariaal and Rendille were not familiar with Kenyan laws that governed women and men's rights in these realms. In order for women to claim their rights, they, and the men with whom they have relationships, must know that women have these rights in the first place. Although land ownership was not an immediate issue in Archer's Post, except in the context of nearby group ranch schemes, I believe that Archer's Post women should be informed of their rights to own land, in case they should ever find themselves in a situation where land becomes privatized.

Many Parkishon/Karare and Songa men expressed the desire to learn how to budget their income and keep track of their expenses. In truth, the whole concept of budgeting was not a familiar one for men or women in each community. Earnings come in on a day-to-day basis and expenses are paid in dribs and drabs. And a considerable amount of income is wasted on purchasing stimulants. Since the informants made a specific request to have workshops on budgeting techniques, I recommend that the latter be offered to both men and women in all three communities.

I also recommend that other workshops be held in Parkishon/Karare and Songa to ensure that women and men understand the meaning and value of land title and the perils involved in selling land or using land as credit to acquire loans. And I suggest that, in

future, aid and development agencies provide education on these issues to all settled pastoral people before government privatization takes place in their communities.

Similarly, pastoral women must be informed of their rights to own land before land registration and surveys occur and they should be advised that it is only during the survey phase that *shambas* can be obtained by merely paying the government survey fees.

Adult Education Programs in each community could also incorporate seminars in which development agents moderate discussions and disseminate information regarding possible avenues for women's groups to obtain sponsorship or micro-loans for the creation of small businesses in their communities. In this type of forum, Songa women would be able to obtain guidance in exploring ways and means of forming a marketing co-op that would essentially bring marketers together from all ridges and eliminate the need for so many women to make the dangerous daily trek to and from Marsabit market.

Other possible workshops or seminars might consist of discussions on methods to improve livestock care or farm production, or how to repair and maintain generators (i.e. the generators currently installed to operate water pumping stations or power electric fences to keep elephants out of gardens).

A project of this nature will require strong collaboration between sponsoring agencies as well as an interdisciplinary approach. Above all, agents and educators will need to be extremely sensitive to the ways and customs of the local people; they will need to assume the role of advisors, not supervisors. In the end, I believe that education programs for adults will enable parents to obtain some of the skills, knowledge, and self-confidence needed to assume more responsibility in creating the values and socio-economic conditions that they wish to pass on to their children.

My third major recommendation to development agencies is in relation to water development projects in Karare and Songa. First, I recommend that improvements be made to the existing piped-water system in Karare town centre and, secondly, I recommend that agents provide follow-up investigations on the reasons for the current water problems in Songa. In the case of Karare, residents of Karare town and those dwelling in nearby settlements on the west side of the main highway are currently only able to access piped water at a central tap located at the water tank behind the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) offices. There is an existing set of water pipes running from the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) tank to a water-tap located behind one of the residences in the heart of the town, but a pump is needed to move water from the KWS tank uphill to this location. I recommend that such a pump be provided and installed. Lack of water, or access to water, is the greatest problem for the people of Karare and any assistance to alleviate this difficulty would be beneficial for the community.

In the case of Songa, the community is experiencing tremendous problems with their new piped-water system, one that was sponsored by the European Union – Community Development Trust Fund, an NGO based in Nairobi. I recommend that agents from the NGO provide follow-up on the project and, in the process of doing so, obtain views from all community leaders and members regarding the current water difficulties, not solely those offered by the community's Water Committee. The general perspective of Songa leaders and residents was that the project was mismanaged by both the NGO and the Water Committee.

I offer some final recommendations in the hope that they might encourage development and aid institutions to re-evaluate some of their policies and practices before

they embark on future development and aid projects in northern Kenya. First, I advise agencies to make it a rule to obtain in-put from local women when designing and implementing projects. Secondly, I urge agencies to invest additional funds to ensure that a development worker remains on site, or nearby, to provide guidance and any necessary training for sponsored women's groups, or communities, during the first year, or possibly two, of a project's development. It is not enough to merely have an agent on site at the initial stages of a project, for two reasons. First, unforeseen difficulties can arise and community members may not possess the experience or expertise to deal with them. And secondly, if projects are not closely monitored, ventures that start out having the collective and equal participation of all members of a community or woman's group may end up being monopolized and controlled by a small number of elites in the community.

Last, but not least, sponsored communities and groups feel abandoned and discouraged when development workers leave and fail to reappear at a later date, especially when project endeavors start to flounder. Development and aid agencies must invest additional funds to ensure that follow-up is provided. This is crucial because to do otherwise decreases the probability of a project's success and undermines the related efforts made by impoverished pastoralists to improve their socio-economic conditions.

APPENDIX B

CERTIFICATION OF ETHICAL ACCEPTABILITY FOR RESEARCH
INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS

McGill
University

Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
Dawson Hall

CERTIFICATION OF ETHICAL ACCEPTABILITY FOR RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS

A review committee consisting of:

Position	Field of Research
<u>Colin Scott, Assoc. Prof., Dept. Anthro.</u>	<u>social-cultural anthropology</u>
<u>Janet Rossen, L. Rossen, Assoc. Prof., Dept. of Anthropology</u>	<u>Social Anthropology</u>
<u>Roscoe Spurr, Grad student</u>	<u>Social Anthropology</u>
<u>Colin McCreedy</u>	<u>Social Anthropology</u>

has examined the application for funds in support of a project titled:

THE GENDER DIMENSION TO PROPERTY RIGHTS AND NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN
AN EAST AFRICAN PASTORAL COMMUNITY: THE ARJAL HEMDILLI OF NORTHERN KENYA

As proposed by Julith D. Mitchell to _____
(Applicant) (Granting agency, if any)

and consider the experimental procedures, as outlined by the applicant, to be acceptable on ethical grounds for research involving human subjects.

MAY 14 1999
Date

[Signature]
Head of Department

N/A
Cos. of Faculty

Ethical review committees are to be convened by the head of the Department, or Administrative Unit, in which the proposed research is to be done and are to consist of a representative appointed by the Dean, two individuals knowledgeable in the field of the proposed research but not associated with the proposed project and preferably not from the department in which the project is to be carried out and one or more individuals who would represent a general point of view. The applicant should not serve on the Committee nor should he sign on behalf of the department or the faculty.

Form RGD 73-9-200

Printed address: 853 Sherbrooke Street West, Montreal, P. Q. H3A 2T5

APPENDIX C

**McGill University, Montreal, Canada
PI: Judith D. Mitchell**

**'HOUSE' AND NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR WOMEN**

NAME OF INTERVIEWER _____

PLACE OF INTERVIEW _____

DATE(S) OF INTERVIEW(S) _____

HOUSE NUMBER _____

Date _____

PART I. PERSONAL INFORMATION

Settlement Name _____ House Number _____
 Respondent's Name (Surname) _____ (First) _____
 Respondent's Ethnicity _____ Clan _____ Sub-Clan _____
 Birth Date/Age _____ Birthplace _____
 Marital Status _____ (Single=1; Married=2; Separated=3; Divorced=4; Widowed=5)
 Religious Denomination _____

Languages Spoken

Please list code numbers for each language spoken, describing the degree of proficiency and where or from whom each language was learned.

Languages* Degree of **

Spoken / Proficiency / Where or From Whom Each Language was Learned

(* Languages Spoken: Rendille=1; Samburu=2; Swahili=3; Boran=4; Gabra=5;
 Somali=6; English=7; Other=Specify)

(** Degree of Proficiency: Good=G; Fair=F; Poor=P)

Education

Can you read now? Y N

Can you write now? Y N

Have you attended school? Y N

If yes - Where? _____

When? _____

What class did you finish? _____

If no - Please give reason(s) why you did not attend school. _____

Would you like to attend school now? Y N

Please explain. _____

Place of Residence

When did you begin to live here? _____

Why did you come to live here? Please give details. _____

Where did you live before and for how long? _____

What type of work did you and/or your family do before you moved here? _____

Marital Information

If you are married, separated, divorced or widowed, please indicate the following:

1. Who is (was) your husband?

Full Name _____ Ethnicity _____
 Clan _____ Sub-clan _____
 Birth Date/Age _____ Age-set _____ Birthplace _____

2. Number of co-wives _____ What number are you? _____

Co-wife: Full Name _____ What number is she? _____
 Ethnicity _____ Clan _____ Sub-clan _____
 House Location _____

Co-wife: Full Name _____ What number is she? _____
 Ethnicity _____ Clan _____ Sub-clan _____
 House Location _____

3. If you are married, is your husband living with you? Y N

If no, where does he live? _____

4. How old were you when you married your husband? _____

5. In which place were you married? _____

6. Please indicate which type of marriage ceremony you had:

a) Customary _____ b) Civil _____ c) Church _____

7. Which type of marriage ceremony do you prefer and why? _____

8. Were bridewealth payments involved in your marriage? Y N

If yes, please indicate the kind of payments, amounts, date(s) of payments and relationships of the people who were involved in the actual transactions.

Kind of Payments	Amount	Payment Date	People Involved in the Transactions

9. Are the marriage payments complete, or are they still ongoing? _____

10. If the marriage payments are still ongoing, is your marriage finalized, or will the marriage only be finalized when the payments are complete? Please explain. _____

11. Has your birth family made any payments to your husband and/or his kin? Please explain. _____

12. Is bridewealth a good thing or a bad thing? What is the significance of bridewealth to you, your family and your group? _____

13. Are certain rights (i.e. rights to property, the woman's labor and her children, etc.) transferred from a woman's birth family to the kin of her husband upon marriage? If so, please explain. _____
14. Are certain rights (i.e. rights to property*, the man's labor and his children, etc.) transferred from a man's birth family to the kin of his wife upon marriage? If so, please explain. [* Property other than that given as bridewealth] _____
15. In your group, what is the status of a married woman in the following situations?
 a) she had no bridewealth given for her _____
 b) she had low bridewealth given for her _____
 c) she had high bridewealth given for her _____
16. Do you have any rights to the bridewealth payments receive for your marriage (i.e. money, animals, etc.)? _____
17. Do you have any rights to the bridewealth received when your daughter marries? _____
18. Are women required to help their sons or brothers accumulate bridewealth? _____
19. Some books that focus on the lives of Kenyan pastoral people give the impression that fathers are usually the only ones who arrange the marriages of their daughters (and sons) and that mothers do not take part in the initial arrangements. In addition, some information indicates that daughters are not allowed to choose their marriage partners. Please help me learn about women's current roles in the marriage process.
 a) Do mothers ever play a role in finding wives for their sons? _____
 b) Do mothers play a role in finding husbands for their daughters? _____
 c) Do mothers participate in the marriage negotiations regarding the amount of bridewealth to be paid or received? _____
 d) Do sisters, aunts or grandmothers participate in finding marriage partners for their brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, granddaughters or grandsons? _____
 e) In your society, are women allowed to choose their own marriage partners? Y N
 f) Did you choose your marriage partner? Y N
 If yes, please explain how you met your husband. _____
 If no, please explain how your husband was selected for you. Describe how you felt about this and explain what would have happened if you had refused to marry him. How much time passed before you began to care about your husband?

20. Does (Did) your husband listen to your advice and do you believe you influence (influenced) his decisions regarding household matters, etc.? _____
21. Are (Were) you ever afraid of your husband? Y N
 If yes, please explain _____
22. In your society, can women remarry once they are divorced or widowed? _____
23. Have you heard of woman-woman marriage? Y N
 If yes, please explain and, if possible, give the names and location of any women who are involved in such a marriage. _____
24. Have you heard of 'cow of the urine'? Y N
 If yes, please explain _____
25. What Kenyan state laws do you know about that govern legal rights for men and women regarding marriage, divorce, child custody or inheritance? Please describe what you know. _____

Information on Children and Fertility Issues

1. Have you ever had children? Y N If yes, please give the following information.

Birth Order	First Name	Sex M/F	Alive Y/N	DOB/ Age	Father's Name	Current Location	Education Level	Languages Spoken*

(* Languages spoken: Rendille=1; Samburu=2; Swahili=3; Boran=4; Gabra=5; Somali=6; English=7; Other=Specify)

Please use the same birth order as above to answer the following:

<u>Birth Order</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Place of Occupation</u>
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

2. Have you ever had foster children? Y N

If yes, please provide the same information as requested above for biological children and state whether the child is related to you and by what manner (i.e. through brother, sister, etc.). _____

3. Are you pregnant now? Y N

4. Are you breast-feeding now? Y N

5. Have you ever had any of the following? Y N

If yes, please indicate when, the number of times, and possible causes or reasons.

a) Miscarriage(s) _____

b) Stillbirth(s) (i.e. baby died near end of pregnancy) _____

c) Abortion(s) _____

6. Have you ever tried to avoid pregnancy? Y N

If yes, what did you do? _____

Was your husband in favor of this? _____

7. Who else lives in your house right now and what relation is this person to you (i.e. foster child, parents, brother/sister, friend, other)? _____

8. Please indicate the total number of people (including yourself) who live in your house at the present time. _____

PART II. LIVESTOCK HOLDINGS, INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF MARITAL HOUSE

A. Livestock Holdings

1. How many of the following animals does your husband or house possess?

	<u>Bulls</u>	<u>Oxen</u>	<u>Cows</u>	<u>Heifers</u>	<u>Calves</u>
Cattle	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Camels	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>			
Goats	_____	_____			
Sheep	_____	_____			
Donkeys	_____	_____			

2. How many of these animals have been allocated to you? Can you sell these animals without obtaining permission from anyone?

	<u>Bulls</u>	<u>Oxen</u>	<u>Cows</u>	<u>Heifers</u>	<u>Calves</u>
Cattle	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Camels	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>			
Goats	_____	_____			
Sheep	_____	_____			
Donkeys	_____	_____			

3. How many animals were born in the past 12 months?

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Cattle	_____	_____
Camels	_____	_____
Goats	_____	_____
Sheep	_____	_____
Donkeys	_____	_____

4. How many animals died in the past 12 months? (List sex, age and cause)

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Age(s)</u>	<u>Cause(s)</u>
Cattle	_____	_____	_____	_____
Camels	_____	_____	_____	_____
Goats	_____	_____	_____	_____
Sheep	_____	_____	_____	_____
Donkeys	_____	_____	_____	_____

5. In the past 12 months, how many animals were:

	<u>Sold (Price)</u>	<u>Bought (Price)</u>	<u>Given</u>	<u>Loaned</u>	<u>Borrowed</u>	<u>Eaten</u>
Cattle	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Camels	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Goats	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Sheep	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Donkeys	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Who makes the decisions regarding the above? _____

6. Where does your house maintain and/or graze its livestock? Please identify the people who manage and/or herd the animals.

<u>Type of Livestock</u>	<u>Location kept/grazed</u>	<u>Manager/Herder</u>	<u>Migration Routes</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____

B. House Income

1. Do you personally earn money from employment or certain activities? Y N
 If yes, how much money did you earn in the past year from activities listed below?

<u>Activities</u>	<u>Earnings/year</u>
a) Livestock sales _____	_____
b) Hide sales _____	_____
c) Milk sales _____	_____
d) Crop sales (specify) _____	_____
e) Wages (specify) _____	_____
f) Other (specify) _____	_____
	Total = _____

2. Is your husband aware that you earned this money? Y N

3. What happened to this money? (Please check either a, b or c)

a) I kept all of it _____

b) I gave part of it away _____

Please indicate to whom you gave this money and how much you gave.

<u>Recipient</u>	<u>Amount given/year</u>
------------------	--------------------------

Husband _____	_____
---------------	-------

Kin (specify) _____	_____
---------------------	-------

Others (specify) _____	_____
------------------------	-------

c) I gave all of it away _____

Please indicate to whom you gave this money and how much you gave.

<u>Recipient</u>	<u>Amount given/year</u>
------------------	--------------------------

Husband _____	_____
---------------	-------

Kin (specify) _____	_____
---------------------	-------

Others (specify) _____	_____
------------------------	-------

4. How much money did your husband earn in the past year? _____

How did he earn this money? _____

5. How much money was given to your husband in the past year from family members and/or friends? Please specify who gave him money and how much he received.

<u>Relationship of Donor</u>	<u>Amount received/year</u>
------------------------------	-----------------------------

_____	_____
-------	-------

_____	_____
-------	-------

6. How much money did you receive from your husband in the past year for house and/or personal expenses? _____

7. How much money did you personally receive from other kin and/or friends in the past year? Please specify who gave you money and how much you received.

<u>Relationship of Donor</u>	<u>Amount received/year</u>
------------------------------	-----------------------------

_____	_____
-------	-------

_____	_____
-------	-------

C. House Expenses

1. How much money did you personally spend on the following items in the past week?

<u>Item</u>	<u>Ksh./week</u>	<u>Item</u>	<u>Ksh/week</u>
Maize Meal (posho)	_____	Rice	_____
Tea	_____	Pasta	_____
Sugar	_____	Beans	_____
Oil	_____	Soap/Omo	_____
Meat	_____	Tobacco	_____
Vegetables	_____	Alcohol	_____
Fruit	_____	<i>Miraa</i>	_____
Flour	_____	Other (specify)	_____

Total = _____

2. Is the total amount indicated above what you normally spend each week on food?
3. Who decides how the money is spent for the items listed above? _____
4. If you purchased alcohol, *miraa* or tobacco, was it because your husband asked you to do so, or did you buy these items because you wanted them? _____
5. If you purchased tobacco, alcohol or *miraa*, please indicate whether you used these items yourself.

Tobacco	Y	N
Alcohol	Y	N
<i>Miraa</i>	Y	N

6. How much money did your house spend on each of the following in the past year?
Please indicate who is responsible for payment (Husband = 1; Wife = 2; Both = 3).

<u>Expenses</u>	<u>Ksh/year</u>	<u>Individual(s) Responsible</u>
Food	_____	_____
Household Items	_____	_____
Children's Clothing	_____	_____
Self/Spouse's Clothing	_____	_____
Accommodation	_____	_____
School Fees	_____	_____
Medical Treatment	_____	_____
Livestock-related Costs	_____	_____
Bridewealth Payments	_____	_____
Travel Expenses	_____	_____
Seed/Agricultural Costs	_____	_____
Personal Items	_____	_____
Other (specify)	_____	_____
<u>Total</u> =	_____	_____

D. Savings and Loans

1. Does your husband have a savings account? Y N
 If yes, do you know how much he has in the account? Y N

2. Do you have your own savings account? Y N
 If yes, where do you have this bank account? _____
 Is this a bank account that only you control? Y N

3. Do you have any hidden savings? Y N
 If yes, does your husband know about this money? Y N

4. Have you ever been given a loan? Y N
 If yes, please indicate the following:
When? From Whom/Where? How Much? Amount Repaid

Were you personally able to maintain control over the money received? Y N

If yes, what did you spend the money on? _____

If no, please explain _____

5. Do you have credit with a *duka* (shop)? Y N

6. Do you owe any money to a *duka*? Y N
 If yes, how much do you owe? _____

PART III. NATAL HOUSEHOLD

1. Father:
 Name (Surname) _____ (First Name) _____
 Ethnicity _____ Clan _____ Sub-clan _____
 Age-Set _____ Birth Date _____ Birthplace _____
 Still Living? Y N Language(s) spoken _____
 Current (Last) Place of Residence _____

2. Mother:
 Name (Surname) _____ (First Name) _____
 Ethnicity _____ Clan _____ Sub-clan _____
 Age-set with whom she identifies (identified) herself _____
 Birth Date _____ Birthplace _____ Still Living? Y N
 Language(s) spoken _____
 Current (Last) Place of Residence _____

3. Siblings: (* Relationship: F=Full; H=Half; S=Step; A=Adopted)
 (** Marital Status: 1=Single; 2=Married; 3=Separated; 4=Divorced;
 6=Widowed)
 (***) Languages Spoken: 1=Rendille; 2=Samburu; 3=Swahili; 4=Boran;
 5=Gabra; 6=Somali; 7=English; Other=specify)

Sex	Relation*	Age	Marital**	Place of Residence	Level of School	Lang.***	Work	Contact?
<u>M</u> <u>F</u>	<u>F</u> <u>H</u> <u>S</u> <u>A</u>		<u>Status</u>			<u>Spoken</u>		<u>Y</u> <u>N</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

4. a) Please indicate the number of livestock held by your father now.

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Cattle	_____	_____
Camels	_____	_____
Goats	_____	_____
Sheep	_____	_____
Donkeys	_____	_____

- b) Please indicate the number of livestock the your mother holds now and whether she is able to sell any of these animals without obtaining permission from someone.

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Cattle	_____	_____
Camels	_____	_____
Goats	_____	_____
Sheep	_____	_____
Donkeys	_____	_____

5. a) Does your father have access to land, or own a *shamba*? Y N
 If yes, please specify and give location, size and type of use.
-

- b) Does your mother have access to land, or own a *shamba*? Y N
 Is this land different than your father's land? Y N
 If yes, please specify and give location, size and type of use.
-

6. Have you received livestock or land through inheritance, a gift or allocation from your father, mother, brother and/or sister? Y N
 If yes, please specify the following:

<u>Donor</u>	<u>Type of Property</u>	<u>Rec'd</u>	<u>Amount/Size</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Location of Land/Animals</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

7. Please use the table below to provide information regarding visits or meetings between you and your parents, brothers, sisters or any other members of your birth family in the past 12 months. Please specify the following:

- i) Who you visited, and/or which family members visited you (even if the visit was only for a few minutes).
- ii) Where the visit(s) took place.
- iii) How frequently you visited with him/her in the last 12 months.
- iv) The travel time, distance and cost that was involved in order to meet each other.
- v) The means of transportation used.
- vi) The type of gifts (if any) that were received by you and/or given to him/her.

Relationship of Person	Place of Visit	Number of Visits/year	Travel Information				Means of Transport
			(Time	Distance	Cost	Who traveled)	
1. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

For each person listed above, please also indicate the following:

Gifts Given	Gifts Received
1. _____	1. _____
2. _____	2. _____
3. _____	3. _____
4. _____	4. _____

8. Would your brothers, sisters or parents, or other members of your birth kin assist you financially, or allow you to live with them, should you ever be in a situation where you needed this type of help? Y N
 If yes, please identify who would help you and the type of assistance that would be offered.

Relationship of Person	Type of Assistance You Would Be Offered
_____	_____
_____	_____

9. Have you ever actually had to ask for help and been granted or refused assistance, or is the information you provided for Question 8 based on what you believe would happen? _____

PART IV. RESOURCE MANAGEMENT INFORMATION

1. Do you have a *shamba*? Y N
 If yes, where is it? How far from your home? _____
 How big is it? _____
 Are there water resources on this land? Y N
 Are there any other important resources on this land? Y N
 If yes, please describe these resources. _____
 How would you rate the quality of this land (i.e. fertile, poor, etc.)? _____
2. How did you obtain the *shamba* you are using?
 a) Purchased _____ How much did it cost? _____
 b) Leased _____ How much does it cost? _____
 c) Inherited _____ From whom? _____
 d) Allocated _____ By whom? _____
 e) Gift: (Permanent) _____ (Temporary) _____ From whom? _____
 f) Other (specify) _____
3. If your land was purchased, who supplied the funds? Please specify the amount?
- | <u>Source of Funds</u> | | <u>Amount</u> | <u>Source of Funds</u> | | <u>Amount</u> |
|------------------------|-----|---------------|------------------------|-------|---------------|
| a) Self | Y N | _____ | f) Sister | Y N | _____ |
| b) Husband | Y N | _____ | g) Husband's Kin | Y N | _____ |
| c) Children | Y N | _____ | h) Friend(s) | Y N | _____ |
| d) Parent(s) | Y N | _____ | I) Other(s) | Y N | _____ |
| e) Brother | Y N | _____ | (specify) | _____ | _____ |
4. Has this land been registered? Y N
 If yes, where is it registered? _____
 Is it registered under your name? Y N
 If not, whose name is the land registered under? _____
5. Has this land been officially surveyed yet? Y N
6. Do you have land title yet? Y N
 Does (will) your name appear on the titled deed? Y N
 If no, whose name is (will be) on the titled deed? _____
7. Have you taken credit/loan on this land? Y N
 If yes, from where or from whom? _____
8. Are you able to sell or lease part of this land? Y N
 If you are able to sell this land, can you do so without the permission of your husband (or father or brother)? Y N
 Can your husband sell this land without your permission? Y N
 Have you sold or leased part of this land? Y N
 If yes, please specify how much land was sold and the amount received. _____

9. If you do not own the land, can you use this land next year? Y N
Can this land be allocated to another person? Y N
10. If you have access to this land, but not ownership, do you consider yourself as someone who is 'landless?' Y N
Please explain _____
11. Does your husband have title to land or lease a shamba? Y N
Is this land different than your land? Y N
If yes, please give details. _____
12. Do your co-wives have allocated land, title to land or a leased shamba? Y N
If yes, is this land different than your land? Y N
If yes, please give details. _____
13. Do you grow crops? Y N
If yes, please indicate the type of crops, the area or weight for each crop per year (i.e. corn - 2 acres or 200 lbs.). Also please indicate what percentage (%) of each crop is used for market sale (Cash Crop) and/or your house (H/H Crop).
Name of Crop Acreage or Weight per year % Cash Crop % H/H Crop

14. Does your husband grow crops? Y N
Are these different crops from the ones listed above? Y N
If yes, please indicate the type of crops, the area or weight for each crop per year (i.e. corn - 2 acres or 200 lbs.). Also please indicate what percentage (%) of each crop is used for market sale (Cash Crop) and/or your house (H/H Crop).
Name of Crop Acreage or Weight per year % Cash Crop % H/H Crop

15. Who decides which crops to grow? _____
Who turns over the soil? _____
Who plants the seeds/crops? _____
Who waters the crops? _____
Who weeds the crops? _____
Who harvests the crops? _____
How do you divide the responsibilities of tending the *shamba(s)*? _____
How many hours *per week* do you spend tending the *shamba(s)*? _____
How many hours *per week* does your husband spent tending the *shamba(s)*? _____
16. If you have co-wives, do they grow crops? Y N
If yes, please indicate the types of crops grown and the location of the *shamba(s)*.

17. Is your *shamba* fenced to keep the animals out? Y N
 18. After the crops are harvested, do you allow livestock to graze in the *shamba*? Y N

19. Do you market crops? Y N

If yes: Who makes the decision to sell crops and how much to sell? _____

What crops do you sell? _____

Where do you sell? _____

How often do you sell? _____

If your husband grows crops: Do you sell his crops for him? Y N

Does he sell the crops himself? Y N

20. Do you use wild plants for food, medicine, rituals and/or ceremonies? Y N

If yes, please give the following information:

- i) Specify the name of the plant(s) you use.
- ii) Specify what the purpose of use is, i.e. if the plant is used for medicine, also specify what problem(s) it helps to cure, or, if the plant is used as food, describe whether this is eaten on special occasions or if it is considered an everyday food.
- iii) Specify how many times you used the plant for this purpose in the past month.
- iv) Specify how and where the plant is obtained, i.e. collected by self in bush, or collected by husband, friend, etc. in a special place, or purchased from loibon, friend, at duka, etc.
- v) Describe how the plant was physically collected, i.e. by digging roots, by cutting branches or leaves, by plucking off the ground or bushes, etc.
- vi) Specify which part of the plant is used, i.e. roots, leaves, bark, seeds, etc.
- vii) Specify the seasons in which the plant is available (long rains = 1; short rains = 2; long dry season = 3; short dry season = 4).

<u>Name of Plant</u>	<u>Purpose</u>	<u>Times Used Last Month</u>	<u>Place Obtained (by Whom)</u>	<u>Collection Method</u>	<u>Parts Used</u>	<u>Season(s) Available</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

21. Does your relationship to the land and the surrounding environment have a spiritual meaning for you? Y N

If yes, please explain. If no, please describe how you find spiritual meaning in life.

22. I understand that in this region, many people are more or less living in settled conditions. Do you think that permanently residing in one place is better or worse than moving around? Why?

23. Do you think it is a good thing or a bad thing to have land title? Why?

24. According to your traditional laws, can land be divided for purposes of inheritance?

25. Can women inherit land? If not, why? _____

26. Can fathers give land to daughters before they (fathers) die?

27. Can brothers give land to sisters? _____
28. Can women inherit livestock? If not, why? _____

29. Do co-wives of different marriage orders, or ages, have different rights with respect to accessing land and/or livestock? Y N
 If yes, please explain. _____
30. What Kenyan state laws do you know about that govern men and women's legal rights regarding property/land ownership or inheritance? Please describe what you know about these regulations. _____
31. Have you or any members of your household been involved in any dispute over access to or ownership or occupation of land? If so, please explain and give details.

32. Have you or any members of your household been involved in any dispute over livestock? If so, please explain and give details.

33. Have you or any members of your household been involved in livestock raids? If yes, please give the following information:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Group(s)/ People Involved</u>	<u># of Animals Lost/Taken</u>	<u>Human Death/Injury</u>	<u>Livestock Recovered?</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

PART V. WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES

1. In your community, what types of activities and events do women participate in together (i.e. circumcision, marriage and child birth ceremonies, house-building, singing, gardening, harvesting, and marketing, etc.)? Please describe each, giving details about who generally initiates the event(s), the special customs or arrangements involved in these activities, and elaborate on your role or participation.

<u>Activity/Event</u>	<u>Description</u>
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

2. Are there any ceremonial occasions where the participation of women is important in order to legitimize, or establish the status of men (i.e. when men enter or leave warriorhood, etc.)? Y N

If yes, please explain. _____

3. Is there an official women's market group or co-operative? Y N

If yes, please describe. _____

4. Is there a women's credit group? Y N

If yes, please describe. _____

5. Is there a women's religious group? Y N

If yes, please describe. _____

6. Is there a women's initiation group? Y N

If yes, please describe. _____

7. Is there a women's group that protects women's rights to access land and livestock? Y N

If yes, please describe. _____

APPENDIX D

**McGill University, Montreal, Canada
PI: Judith D. Mitchell**

**HOUSEHOLD AND NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MEN**

NAME OF INTERVIEWER _____

PLACE OF INTERVIEW _____

DATE(S) OF INTERVIEW(S) _____

HOUSEHOLD NUMBER _____

Date _____

PART I. PERSONAL INFORMATION

Settlement Name _____ Household Number _____
 Respondent's Name (Surname) _____ (First) _____
 Respondent's Ethnicity _____ Clan _____ Sub-Clan _____
 Birth Date/Age _____ Age-set _____ Birthplace _____
 Marital Status _____ (Single=1; Married=2; Separated=3; Divorced=4; Widowed=5)
 Religious Denomination _____

Languages Spoken

Please list code numbers for each language spoken, describing the degree of proficiency and where or from whom each language was learned.

Languages* Degree of **

Spoken / Proficiency / Where or From Whom Each Language was Learned

(* Languages Spoken: Rendille=1; Samburu=2; Swahili=3; Boran=4; Gabra=5;
 Somali=6; English=7; Other=Specify)

(** Degree of Proficiency: Good=G; Fair=F; Poor=P)

Education

Can you read now? Y N

Can you write now? Y N

Have you attended school? Y N

If yes - Where? _____

When? _____

What class did you finish? _____

If no - Please give reason(s) why you did not attend school. _____

Would you like to attend school now? Y N

Please explain. _____

Place of Residence

When did you begin to live here? _____

Why did you come to live here? Please give details. _____

Where did you live before and for how long? _____

What type of work did you and/or your family do before you moved here? _____

Marital Information

If you are currently married, please indicate the following:

1. Number of wives _____

2. 1st wife: Name _____ Age _____
 Ethnicity _____ Clan _____ Sub-clan _____
 House Location _____
- 2nd wife: Name _____ Age _____
 Ethnicity _____ Clan _____ Sub-clan _____
 House Location _____
- 3rd wife: Name _____ Age _____
 Ethnicity _____ Clan _____ Sub-clan _____
 House Location _____

3. Are you currently living with a wife? Y N
 If yes, which one? _____
 If no, with whom do you live? _____

4. How old were you when you married?
 1st marriage _____ 2nd marriage _____ 3rd marriage _____

5. In which place were you married?
 1st marriage _____ 2nd marriage _____ 3rd marriage _____

6. Please indicate which type of marriage ceremony you had:

	<u>1st marriage</u>	<u>2nd marriage</u>	<u>3rd marriage</u>
Customary	_____	_____	_____
Civil	_____	_____	_____
Church	_____	_____	_____

7. Which type of marriage ceremony do you prefer and why? _____

8. Were bridewealth payments involved in your marriage(s)? Y N
 If yes, please indicate the kind of payments, amounts, date(s) of payments and relationships of the people who were involved in the actual transactions.

Marriage Order	Kind of Payments	Amount	Payment Date	People Involved in the Transactions
1 st marriage				
2 nd marriage				
3 rd marriage				

9. Are the marriage payments complete, or are they still ongoing? If they are still ongoing, what remains to be paid?
 1st marriage _____
 2nd marriage _____
 3rd marriage _____
10. If any marriage payments are still ongoing, is this marriage finalized, or will the marriage only be finalized when the payments are complete? Please explain.

11. Is bridewealth a good thing or a bad thing? What is the significance of bridewealth to you, your family and your group? _____

12. Are certain rights (i.e. rights to property, rights to woman's labor and rights to children, etc.) transferred from a woman's birth family to the kin of her husband upon marriage? If so, please explain. _____
13. Are certain rights (i.e. rights to property*, the man's labor and children, etc.) transferred from a man's birth family to the kin of his wife upon marriage? If so, please explain (* property other than that given as bridewealth).

14. In your group, what is the status of a married woman in the following situations?
 a) she had no bridewealth given for her _____
 b) she had low bridewealth given for her _____
 c) she had high bridewealth given for her _____
15. Are women required to help their sons or brothers accumulate bridewealth? _____
16. Some books that focus on the lives of Kenyan pastoral people give the impression that fathers usually arrange the marriages of their daughters (and sons) and that mothers do not take part in the initial arrangements. In addition, some books indicate that daughters are not allowed to choose their marriage partners. Please help me learn about women's current roles in the marriage process.
 a) Do mothers ever play a role in finding wives for their sons? _____
 b) Do mothers play a role in finding husbands for their daughters? _____
 c) Do mothers participate in the marriage negotiations regarding the amount of bridewealth to be paid or received? _____
 d) Do sisters, aunts or grandmothers participate in finding marriage partners for their brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, granddaughters or grandsons? _____
 e) In your society, are women allowed to choose their own marriage partners? Y N
 f) In your society, are men allowed to choose their own marriage partners? Y N
 g) Were you and each of your wives able to choose each other as spouses? Y N
 If no, tell me how each marriage was arranged and who handled the arrangements. _____

17. Does the advice given to you by your wife (wives) influence your decisions regarding household matters, etc.? _____
18. Does the advice given to you by other female relatives (i.e. mother, sisters, grandmother, etc.) influence your decisions regarding your personal life?

19. In your society, can women remarry once they are divorced or widowed? _____
20. Have you heard of woman-woman marriage? Y N
If yes, please explain and, if possible, give the names and location of any women who are involved in such a marriage. _____
21. What Kenyan state laws do you know about that govern legal rights for men and women regarding marriage, divorce, child custody or inheritance? Please describe what you know. _____

Information on Children and Fertility Issues

1. Have you ever had children? Y N If yes, please give the following information.

Birth Order	First Name	Sex M/F	Alive Y/N	DOB/ Age	Mother's Name	Current Location	Education Level	Languages Spoken*

(* Languages spoken: Rendille=1; Samburu=2; Swahili=3; Boran=4; Gabra=5; Somali=6; English=7; Other=Specify)

Please use the same birth order as above to answer the following:

<u>Birth Order</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Place of Occupation</u>
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

2. Have you ever had foster children? Y N
If yes, please provide the same information as requested above for biological children and state whether the child is related to you and by what manner (i.e. through brother, sister, etc.). _____

3. Is your wife pregnant now?
- | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| 1 st wife: | Y | N |
| 2 nd wife: | Y | N |
| 3 rd wife: | Y | N |
4. Is your wife breast-feeding now?
- | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| 1 st wife: | Y | N |
| 2 nd wife: | Y | N |
| 3 rd wife: | Y | N |

5. Do you and your wife practice birth control? If yes, please indicate what methods you use.

Birth Control Methods

1 st wife:	Y	N
2 nd wife:	Y	N
3 rd wife:	Y	N

6. Does anyone else live in your household besides your wife (wives) and/or your children? Y N
- If yes, please specify what his/her relationship is to you and whether he/she is a dependent. _____

7. Please indicate the total number of people (including yourself) who live in your household at the present time:

<u>Household</u>	<u># of People</u>
House 1	_____
House 2	_____
House 3	_____

PART II. LIVESTOCK HOLDINGS. INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF MARITAL HOUSEHOLD

A. Livestock Holdings

1. How many of the following animals do you possess? Please indicate in brackets () how many of these are on loan to you and not actually owned by you.

	<u>Bulls</u>	<u>Oxen</u>	<u>Cows</u>	<u>Heifers</u>	<u>Calves</u>
Cattle	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Camels	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>			
Goats	_____	_____			
Sheep	_____	_____			
Donkeys	_____	_____			

2. How many of the above animals (noted in Question 1) can be accessed by your wife (wives) for milking purposes?

	<u>Bulls</u>	<u>Oxen</u>	<u>Cows</u>	<u>Heifers</u>	<u>Calves</u>
Cattle	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Camels	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>			
Goats	_____	_____			
Sheep	_____	_____			
Donkeys	_____	_____			

Can your wife (wives) sell these animals without your permission? Y N

3. How many animals were born in the past 12 months?

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Cattle	_____	_____
Camels	_____	_____
Goats	_____	_____
Sheep	_____	_____
Donkeys	_____	_____

4. How many animals died in the past 12 months? (List sex, age and cause)

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Age(s)</u>	<u>Cause(s)</u>
Cattle	_____	_____	_____	_____
Camels	_____	_____	_____	_____
Goats	_____	_____	_____	_____
Sheep	_____	_____	_____	_____
Donkeys	_____	_____	_____	_____

5. In the past 12 months, how many animals were:

	<u>Sold (Price)</u>	<u>Bought (Price)</u>	<u>Given</u>	<u>Loaned</u>	<u>Borrowed</u>	<u>Eaten</u>
Cattle	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Camels	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Goats	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Sheep	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Donkeys	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Who makes the decisions regarding the disposal or transactions of the livestock as indicated above? _____

6. Where does your household maintain and/or graze its livestock? Please identify the people who manage and/or herd the animals.

<u>Type of Livestock</u>	<u>Location kept/grazed</u>	<u>Manager/Herder</u>	<u>Migration Routes</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

B. Household Income

1. Do you personally earn money from employment or certain activities? Y N
If yes, how much money did you earn in the past year from activities listed below?

<u>Type of Activity</u>	<u>Earnings/year</u>
a) Livestock sales _____	_____
b) Hide sales _____	_____
c) Milk sales _____	_____
d) Crop sales (specify) _____	_____
e) Wages (specify) _____	_____
f) Other (specify) _____	_____
Total = _____	

2. Is your wife aware that you earned this money?

1st wife: Y N 2nd wife: Y N 3rd wife: Y N

3. What happened to this money? (Please check either a, b or c)

- a) I kept all of it _____
b) I gave part of it away _____

Please indicate to whom you gave this money and how much you gave.

<u>Recipient</u>	<u>Amount given/year</u>
1 st wife _____	_____
2 nd wife _____	_____
3 rd wife _____	_____
Kin (specify) _____	_____
Others (specify) _____	_____

c) I gave all of it away _____

Please indicate to whom you gave this money and how much you gave.

<u>Recipient</u>	<u>Amount given/year</u>
1 st wife _____	_____
2 nd wife _____	_____
3 rd wife _____	_____
Kin (specify) _____	_____
Others (specify) _____	_____

4. How much money did your wife earn in the past year? How did she earn this money?
Please indicate the total amount of earnings for each activity.

	<u>Amount Earned in Past Year</u>	<u>Income Activities</u>
1 st wife _____	_____	_____
2 nd wife _____	_____	_____
3 rd wife _____	_____	_____

5. How much money was given to your wife in the past year from family members or friends? Please specify who gave her money (i.e. her brother, mother, friend, etc.) and how much she received from each person.

	<u>Relationship of Donor</u>	<u>Amount Rec'd in Past Year</u>
1 st wife _____	_____	_____
2 nd wife _____	_____	_____
3 rd wife _____	_____	_____

6. How much money did you receive from each wife in the past year for household and personal expenses?

1st wife _____ 2nd wife _____ 3rd wife _____

7. How much money did you receive from other kin (or friends) in the past year?
Please specify who gave you money (i.e. brother, father-in-law, friends, etc.) and how much you received from each person.

<u>Relationship of Donor</u>	<u>Amount Rec'd in Past Year</u>
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

C. Household Expenses

1. How much money did you spend on the following items for each wife's house in the past week?

a) 1st Wife's House:

<u>Item</u>	<u>Ksh./week</u>	<u>Item</u>	<u>Ksh/week</u>
Maize Meal (posho)	_____	Rice	_____
Tea	_____	Pasta	_____
Sugar	_____	Beans	_____
Oil	_____	Soap/Omo	_____
Meat	_____	Tobacco	_____
Vegetables	_____	Alcohol	_____
Fruit	_____	<i>Miraa</i>	_____
Flour	_____	Other (specify)	_____

Total = _____

Is the total amount indicated above represent an average amount spent each week on food, etc., for this wife's house? Y N

Who decides how the money is spent for the items listed above _____

b) 2nd Wife's House:

<u>Item</u>	<u>Ksh./week</u>	<u>Item</u>	<u>Ksh/week</u>
Maize Meal (posho)	_____	Rice	_____
Tea	_____	Pasta	_____
Sugar	_____	Beans	_____
Oil	_____	Soap/Omo	_____
Meat	_____	Tobacco	_____
Vegetables	_____	Alcohol	_____
Fruit	_____	<i>Miraa</i>	_____
Flour	_____	Other (specify)	_____

Total = _____

Is the total amount indicated above represent an average amount spent each week on food, etc., for this wife's house? Y N

Who decides how the money is spent for the items listed above _____

c) 3rd Wife's House:

<u>Item</u>	<u>Ksh./week</u>	<u>Item</u>	<u>Ksh/week</u>
Maize Meal (posho)	_____	Rice	_____
Tea	_____	Pasta	_____
Sugar	_____	Beans	_____
Oil	_____	Soap/Omo	_____
Meat	_____	Tobacco	_____
Vegetables	_____	Alcohol	_____
Fruit	_____	<i>Miraa</i>	_____
Flour	_____	Other (specify)	_____

Total = _____

Is the total amount indicated above represent an average amount spent each week on food, etc., for this wife's house? Y N

Who decides how the money is spent for the items listed above _____

2. If you purchased alcohol, *miraa* or tobacco, please indicate who used these items.

	<u>Alcohol</u>	<u>Miraa</u>	<u>Tobacco</u>
Self	_____	_____	_____
1 st Wife	_____	_____	_____
2 nd Wife	_____	_____	_____
3 rd Wife	_____	_____	_____
Kin (specify)	_____	_____	_____
Friend	_____	_____	_____
Other	_____	_____	_____

3. In the past year, how much money was spent by each wife's house for the following categories? Please indicate who is responsible for payments (Husband = 1; Wife = 2; Both = 3).a) 1st Wife's House

<u>Expenses</u>	<u>Ksh/year</u>	<u>Individual(s) Responsible</u>
Food	_____	_____
Household Items	_____	_____
Children's Clothing	_____	_____
Self/Spouse's Clothing	_____	_____
Accommodation	_____	_____
School Fees	_____	_____
Medical Treatment	_____	_____
Livestock-related Costs	_____	_____
Bridewealth Payments	_____	_____
Travel Expenses	_____	_____
Seed/Agricultural Costs	_____	_____
Personal Items	_____	_____
Other (specify)	_____	_____
<u>Total</u>	= _____	

b) 2nd Wife's House

<u>Expenses</u>	<u>Ksh/year</u>	<u>Individual(s) Responsible</u>
Food	_____	_____
Household Items	_____	_____
Children's Clothing	_____	_____
Self/Spouse's Clothing	_____	_____
Accommodation	_____	_____
School Fees	_____	_____
Medical Treatment	_____	_____
Livestock-related Costs	_____	_____
Bridewealth Payments	_____	_____
Travel Expenses	_____	_____
Seed/Agricultural Costs	_____	_____
Personal Items	_____	_____
Other (specify)	_____	_____
<u>Total =</u>	_____	_____

c) 3rd Wife's House

<u>Expenses</u>	<u>Ksh/year</u>	<u>Individual(s) Responsible</u>
Food	_____	_____
Household Items	_____	_____
Children's Clothing	_____	_____
Self/Spouse's Clothing	_____	_____
Accommodation	_____	_____
School Fees	_____	_____
Medical Treatment	_____	_____
Livestock-related Costs	_____	_____
Bridewealth Payments	_____	_____
Travel Expenses	_____	_____
Seed/Agricultural Costs	_____	_____
Personal Items	_____	_____
Other (specify)	_____	_____
<u>Total =</u>	_____	_____

D. Savings and Loans

1. Does your spouse have a savings account?
 1st Wife: Y N 2nd Wife: Y N 3rd Wife: Y N
 If yes, do you know how much she has in the account?
 1st Wife: Y N 2nd Wife: Y N 3rd Wife: Y N
2. Does your spouse have any hidden savings?
 1st Wife: Y N 2nd Wife: Y N 3rd Wife: Y N
3. Do you have any hidden savings? Y N
 If yes, does your spouse know about this?
 1st Wife: Y N 2nd Wife: Y N 3rd Wife: Y N
4. Do you have your own bank account? Y N
 If yes, where do you have this bank account? _____
 Is this a bank account that only you control? Y N
5. Have you ever been given a loan? Y N
 If yes, please indicate the following:

<u>When?</u>	<u>From Whom/Where?</u>	<u>How Much?</u>	<u>Amount Repaid</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____

 What did you spend the money on? _____
6. Do you have credit with a *duka* (shop)? Y N
7. Do you owe any money to a *duka*? Y N
 If yes, how much do you owe? _____

PART III. NATAL HOUSEHOLD

1. Father:
 Name (Surname) _____ (First Name) _____
 Ethnicity _____ Clan _____ Sub-clan _____
 Age-Set _____ Birth Date _____ Birthplace _____
 Still Living? Y N Language(s) spoken _____
 Current (Last) Place of Residence _____
2. Mother:
 Name (Surname) _____ (First Name) _____
 Ethnicity _____ Clan _____ Sub-clan _____
 Age-set with whom she identifies(ed) herself _____
 Birth Date _____ Birthplace _____ Still Living? Y N
 Language(s) spoken _____
 Current (Last) Place of Residence _____

3. **Siblings:** (* Relationship: F=Full; H=Half; S=Step; A=Adopted)
 (** Marital Status: 1=Single; 2=Married; 3=Separated; 4=Divorced;
 6=Widowed)
 (***) Languages Spoken: 1=Rendille; 2=Samburu; 3=Swahili; 4=Boran;
 5=Gabra; 6=Somali; 7=English; Other=specify)

Sex	Relation*	Marital**	Place of	Level of	Lang.***	Work	Contact?
<u>MF</u>	<u>F H S A</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Residence</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Spoken</u>	<u>Y N</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

4. a) Please indicate the number of livestock held by your father now.

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Cattle	_____	_____
Camels	_____	_____
Goats	_____	_____
Sheep	_____	_____
Donkeys	_____	_____

- b) Please indicate the number of livestock your mother holds now and whether she is able to sell any of these animals without obtaining permission from someone.

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Cattle	_____	_____
Camels	_____	_____
Goats	_____	_____
Sheep	_____	_____
Donkeys	_____	_____

5. a) Does your father have access to land, or own a *shamba*? Y N
 If yes, please specify and give location, size and type of use.
-

- b) Does your mother have access to land, or own a *shamba*? Y N
 Is this land different than your father's land? Y N
 If yes, please specify and give location, size and type of use.
-

6. Have you received livestock or land through inheritance, a gift or allocation from your father, mother, brother and/or sister? Y N

If yes, please specify the following:

<u>Donor</u>	<u>Type of Property</u>	<u>Rec'd</u>	<u>Amount/Size</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Location of Land/Animals</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

7. Please use the table below to provide information regarding visits or meetings between you and your parents, brothers, sisters or any other members of your birth family in the past 12 months. Please specify the following:

- i) Who you visited, and/or which family members visited you (even if the visit was only for a few minutes).
- ii) Where the visit(s) took place.
- iii) How frequently you visited with him/her in the last 12 months.
- iv) The travel time, distance and cost that was involved in order to meet each other.
- v) The means of transportation used.
- vi) The type of gifts (if any) that were received by you and/or given to him/her.

Relationship of Person	Place of Visit	Number of Visits/year	Travel Information				Means of Transport
			(Time	Distance	Cost	Who traveled)	
1. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

For each person listed above, please also indicate the following:

Gifts Given

Gifts Received

- | | |
|----------|----------|
| 1. _____ | 1. _____ |
| 2. _____ | 2. _____ |
| 3. _____ | 3. _____ |
| 4. _____ | 4. _____ |

8. Would your brothers, sisters or parents, or other members of your birth kin assist you financially, or allow you to live with them, should you ever be in a situation where you needed this type of help? Y N

If yes, please identify who would help you and the type of assistance that would be offered.

Relationship of Person

Type of Assistance You Would Be Offered

9. Have you ever actually had to ask for help and been granted or refused assistance, or is the information you provided for Question 8 based on what you believe would happen? _____

PART IV. RESOURCE MANAGEMENT INFORMATION

1. Do you have a *shamba*? Y N
 If yes, where is it? How far from your home? _____
 How big is it? _____
 Are there water resources on this land? Y N
 Are there any other important resources on this land? Y N
 If yes, please describe these resources. _____
 How would you rate the quality of this land (i.e. fertile, poor, etc.)? _____
2. How did you obtain the *shamba* you are using?
 a) Purchased _____ How much did it cost? _____
 b) Leased _____ How much does it cost? _____
 c) Inherited _____ From whom? _____
 d) Allocated _____ By whom? _____
 e) Gift: (Permanent) _____ (Temporary) _____ From whom? _____
 f) Other (specify) _____
3. If your land was purchased, who supplied the funds? Please specify the amount?
- | <u>Source of Funds</u> | | <u>Amount</u> | <u>Source of Funds</u> | | <u>Amount</u> |
|------------------------|-----|---------------|------------------------|-----|---------------|
| a) Self | Y N | _____ | f) Brother | Y N | _____ |
| b) Wife/Wives | Y N | _____ | g) Sister | Y N | _____ |
| c) Child | Y N | _____ | h) Wife's Kin | Y N | _____ |
| d) Father | Y N | _____ | i) Friend(s) | Y N | _____ |
| e) Mother | Y N | _____ | j) Other(s) | Y N | _____ |
4. Has this land been registered? Y N
 If yes, where is it registered? _____
 Is it registered under your name? Y N
 If not, whose name is the land registered under? _____
5. Has this land been officially surveyed yet? Y N
6. Do you have titled deed yet? Y N
 Does (will) your name appear on the titled deed? Y N
 If no, whose name is (will be) on the titled deed? _____
7. Have you taken credit/loan on this land? Y N
 If yes, from where or from whom? _____
8. Are you able to sell or lease part of this land? Y N
 If you are able to sell this land, can you do so without the permission of your wife / wives (or father/brother)? Y N
 Can your wife/wives (or father/brother) sell this land without your permission? Y N
 Have you sold or leased part of this land? Y N
 If yes, please specify how much land was sold and the amount received. _____

9. If you do not own the land, can you use this land next year? Y N
 Can this land be allocated to another person? Y N

10. If you have access to this land, but not ownership, do you consider yourself as someone who is 'landless?' Y N
 Please explain _____

11. Does your wife have title to land or lease a shamba? Y N
 Is this land different than your land? Y N
 If yes, please give details. _____

12. Do you grow crops? Y N
 If yes, please indicate the type of crops, the area or weight for each crop per year (i.e. corn - 2 acres or 200 lbs.). Also please indicate what percentage (%) of each crop is used for market sale (Cash Crop) and/or your household (H/H Crop).

<u>Name of Crop</u>	<u>Acreage or Weight per year</u>	<u>% Cash Crop</u>	<u>% H/H Crop</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

13. Does your wife grow crops? Y N
 Are these different crops from the ones listed above? Y N
 If yes, please indicate the type of crops, the area or weight for each crop per year (i.e. corn - 2 acres or 200 lbs.). Also please indicate what percentage (%) of each crop is used for market sale (Cash Crop) and/or your household (H/H Crop).

a) 1st Wife:

<u>Name of Crop</u>	<u>Acreage or Weight per year</u>	<u>% Cash Crop</u>	<u>% H/H Crop</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

b) 2nd Wife:

<u>Name of Crop</u>	<u>Acreage or Weight per year</u>	<u>% Cash Crop</u>	<u>% H/H Crop</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

c) 3rd Wife:

<u>Name of Crop</u>	<u>Acreage or Weight per year</u>	<u>% Cash Crop</u>	<u>% H/H Crop</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

19. Does your relationship to the land and the surrounding environment have a spiritual meaning for you? Y N
If yes, please explain. If no, please describe how you find spiritual meaning in life.

20. I understand that in this region, many people are more or less living in settled conditions. Do you think that permanently residing in one place is better or worse than moving around? Why?

21. Do you think it is a good thing or a bad thing to have land title? Why?

22. According to your traditional laws, can land be divided for purposes of inheritance?

23. Can women inherit land? If not, why? _____

24. Can fathers give land to daughters before they (fathers) die?

25. Can brothers give land to sisters? _____

26. Can women inherit livestock? If not, why? _____

27. Do co-wives of different marriage orders, or ages, have different rights with respect to accessing land and/or livestock? Y N

If yes, please explain. _____

28. What Kenyan state laws do you know about that govern men and women's legal rights regarding property/land ownership or inheritance? Please describe what you know about these regulations. _____

29. Have you or any members of your household been involved in any dispute over access to or ownership or occupation of land? If so, please explain and give details.

30. Have you or any members of your household been involved in any dispute over livestock? If so, please explain and give details.

31. Have you or any members of your household been raided? Y N

If yes, please give the following information:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Group(s)/ Location Involved</u>	<u># of Animals Lost/Taken</u>	<u>Human Death/Injury</u>	<u>Livestock Recovered?</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

32. Have you or any members of your household instigated a raid? Y N

If yes, please give the following information:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Group(s)/ Location Involved</u>	<u># of Animals Stolen/Taken</u>	<u>Human Death/Injury</u>	<u>Livestock Returned?</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

PART V. WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES

1. In your community, what types of activities and events do women participate in together (i.e. circumcision, marriage and child birth ceremonies, house-building, singing, gardening, harvesting, and marketing, etc.)? Please describe what you know with regard to what women do in these activities and events.

<u>Activity/Event</u>	<u>Description</u>
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

2. Are there any ceremonial occasions where the participation of women is important in order to legitimize, or establish, the status of men (i.e. when men enter or leave warriorhood, etc.)? Y N

If yes, please explain. _____

3. Is there an official women's market group or co-operative? Y N

If yes, please describe. _____

4. Is there a women's credit group? Y N

If yes, please describe. _____

5. Is there a women's religious group? Y N

If yes, please describe. _____

6. Is there a women's initiation group? Y N

If yes, please describe. _____

7. Is there a women's group that protects women's rights to access land and livestock? Y N

If yes, please describe. _____

APPENDIX E

McGill University, Montreal, Canada
 PI: Judith D. Mitchell

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONNAIRE
 SUBJECT: DISPUTES

Name of Community _____

Meeting Place of Focus Group _____

Name(s) of Interviewer(s) _____

Date of Focus Group _____

Focus Group # _____

<u>Names of Group Members</u>	<u>Marital Status*</u>	<u>Age</u>
1. _____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____
4. _____	_____	_____
5. _____	_____	_____
6. _____	_____	_____
7. _____	_____	_____
8. _____	_____	_____
9. _____	_____	_____
10. _____	_____	_____

(* Single=1; Married=2; Separated=3; Divorced=4; Widow(er)=5)

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONNAIRE
SUBJECT: DISPUTES

The following questions are designed to obtain your views regarding the roles and activities of women and men within the context of domestic and community disputes and inter-group conflict. This focus group session also seeks to obtain your perspectives regarding the effects that local dispute and conflict have had on your lives.

1. What are the most common reasons for the occurrence of disputes within house(hold)s or families?
2. Would each of you please describe a recent dispute that took place within your house(hold) or family (How and why did it start? How were you involved? How was it resolved?).
3. What are the most common reasons for the occurrence of disputes between house(hold)s within your settlement?
4. Would each of you please describe a recent dispute that took place between your house(hold) and another house(hold) within your settlement (How and why did it start? What was your involvement? How was it resolved?).
5. What are the most common reasons for the occurrence of conflict between your settlement and other settlements within your community?
6. Please describe some recent episodes of conflict that took place between your settlement and other settlements within your community (How and why did each begin? Was clanism a major problem? Which settlements were involved? How were you involved? How was each episode of conflict resolved?).
7. What are the most common reasons for the occurrence of conflict between your group, or community, and other ethnic groups?
8. Please describe some recent episodes of conflict that took place between your group, or community, and other ethnic groups. (How and why did each start? Which ethnic groups were involved? How were you involved? How was each episode resolved?).

9. Please describe a dispute that occurred recently over land. Did this dispute involve women? If so, please explain.
10. Please describe a dispute that occurred recently over inheritance. Did this dispute involve women? If so, please explain.
11. What role does each of the following institutions or people play in settling disputes that arise within or between house(hold)s, as well as settlements, or between your group, or community, and other ethnic groups?
 - a) Church -
 - b) Police -
 - c) Courts -
 - d) Local Commission / Government Agents -
 - e) Chiefs -
 - f) Elders (male) -
 - g) Elders (female) -
 - h) Traditional Healers (i.e. laiboni or dabel) -
 - i) Household Head (male) -
 - j) 'House' Head (female) -
 - k) Others -
12. In your opinion, are armed weapons a problem in your community? Please explain.
13. What are some of the major effects that dispute and conflict have had on your lives? Please describe some of the strategies that you have used to cope with these effects.
14. Have women from your settlement or community been raped? If so, approximately how many rapes occurred in the past year? Can you tell what happened?

15. Do more rapes occur at times when there are major disputes between the settlements within your community, or between your group, or community, and other ethnic groups? If so, please give examples and name the clans or ethnic groups involved.
16. Do women instigate or cause disputes in any way within the following contexts? If so, please explain.
 - a) Within the house(hold) or family.
 - b) Between house(hold)s or families.
 - c) Between settlements within your community (please name the clans involved).
 - d) Between your group, or community, and other ethnic groups (please specify which groups).
17. Do women behave in a certain manner or say anything that continues disputes, once they arise, within the following contexts? If so, please explain.
 - a) Within the house(hold) or family.
 - b) Between house(hold)s or families.
 - c) Between settlements within your community (please name the clans involved).
 - d) Between your group, or community, and other ethnic groups (please specify which groups).
18. Do women play an active role in the resolution of disputes within the following contexts? If so, please explain and give examples.
 - a) Within the house(hold) or family.
 - b) Between house(hold)s or families.
 - c) Between settlements within your community (please name the clans involved).
 - d) Between your group, or community, and other ethnic groups (please specify which groups).
19. What would need to happen in order for there to be peaceful conditions in the Archer's Post (Marsabit) region?
20. Do you think that women can contribute to solutions for peace in the Archer's Post (Marsabit) region? Why? How? Please explain.

APPENDIX F
McGill University, Montreal, Canada
PI: Judith D. Mitchell
INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Purpose of the Research Project:

I have been informed that the purpose of the research project is to understand the roles, rights and activities of the _____ men and women of the _____ region of Kenya. I understand that the project seeks to gather information about the position of men and women on the following matters:

- Knowledge and management of natural resources, especially in relation to land used for cultivation, grazing and collection of food, water, household materials and medicinal plants.
- Rights concerning access to, control over or ownership of land and other resources.
- Ability to access cash income and the market economy through income generation and redistribution within family networks, credit organizations and among friends.
- Involvement in the onset and resolution of disputes.

By participating in this research study, I may help to assist development policy makers, government agents and researchers to design and initiate more appropriate development, aid and peacekeeping programs for the _____ society and other pastoral people.

Procedures Involved in the Research Project:

I understand that the research project will involve the participation of myself in formal interview(s) in which I will be asked questions about myself and members of my household. I understand that the answers I give will be recorded in written format and/or audio taped. I also understand that I can refuse to be audio taped or request that the tape recorder be turned off at anytime during the interview(s).

Conditions of Participation in the Research Project:

I understand that I can withdraw my consent to participate in the project at any time. I understand that I can terminate the interview at any time, and should I so choose, I may refuse to answer any question(s) without giving any explanation. I further understand that my responses will be kept in the strictest confidence and that my anonymity will be preserved in the presentation of results. I comprehend that the information gathered in this study may be published. I have read and/or orally heard this agreement and I understand the purpose, procedures and conditions of the research project. I give my consent to participate in the study.

Name (please print) _____

Signature _____

Witness signature _____

Date _____

Location _____

APPENDIX G

McGill University, Montreal, Canada
 PI: Judith D. Mitchell

CONTRACT FOR FIELD ASSISTANT POSITION

I have been informed that the purposed of the research project is to inquire into the roles, rights and activities of _____ men and women of the _____ region of Kenya. I understand that the project seeks to gather information about the position of men and women on the following matters:

- Knowledge and management of natural resources, especially in relation to land used for cultivation, grazing and collection of food, water, household materials and medicinal plants.
- Rights concerning access to, control over or ownership of land and other resources.
- Ability to access cash income and the market economy through income generation and redistribution within family networks, credit organizations and among friends.
- Involvement in the onset and resolution of disputes.

By participating as an employed field assistant in this research project, I understand that I may contribute to assisting development policy makers, government agents and researchers to design and initiate more appropriate development, aid and peacekeeping programs for the _____ society and other pastoral people.

I understand that the data may be published and that my name will be cited in acknowledgement of my field assistance.

I understand that during and after the time of my employment, I am obliged to maintain confidentiality of all the data that are received from, or about, each respondent and to strive in all circumstances to maintain each respondent's anonymity.

I accept the conditions of employment as stated above.

Name (please print) _____

Address _____

Signature _____

Witness signature _____

Date _____

APPENDIX H

Table H.1 Details Regarding Household Cattle and Camels
(Men's HNRM Survey)
Means by Community
(November 2002 - May 2003, inclusive)

Variables	East Uaso/ Archer's Post (N = 48) Means	Parkishon/ Karare (N = 41) Means	Songa (N = 40) Means	F Value
CATTLE/ HOUSEHOLD:				
Total Number (at time of survey)	21.8 SD = 28.4	18.1 SD = 18.6	16.3 SD = 19.5	0.67 (+)
No. Born (over past 12 mo.)	5.9 (n = 47) SD = 6.6	4.3 SD = 4.4	3.1 SD = 4	3.11 (+)
No. Died/Raided (over past 12 mo.)	39 SD = 33.6	5 SD = 7.1	0.8 SD = 2	44.99 ***
No. Purchased (over past 12 mo.)	0.1 SD = 0.4	0.3 SD = 0.8	0.7 SD = 1.5	4.62 *
No. Sold (over past 12 mo.)	4.2 SD = 4.7	2.2 SD = 2.7	1.3 SD = 1.7	8.45 ***
No. Eaten (over past 12 mo.)	0.2 SD = 0.7	0.1 SD = 0.2	0 SD = 0.2	1.55 (+)
CAMELS/ HOUSEHOLD:				
Total Number (at time of survey)	1.9 SD = 9.4	0.5 SD = 2.0	0.5 SD = 2.7	0.82 (+)
No. Born (over past 12 mo.)	0.4 SD = 2.5	0 SD = 0	0.1 SD = 0.7	0.97 (+)
No. Died/Raided (over past 12 mo.)	1.3 SD = 3.2	0 SD = 0	0 SD = 0	6.82 **
No. Purchased (over past 12 mo.)	0	0	0	-
No. Sold (over past 12 mo.)	0.1 SD = 0.4	0 SD = 0	0 SD = 0	3.18 (+)
No. Eaten (over past 12 mo.)	0.1 SD = 0.5	0 SD = 0	0 SD = 0	0.84 (+)

Note: (+) = $p > 0.05$ (not significant)

* = $p < 0.05$ (Songa men purchased significantly more cattle than men did in Archer's Post.)

** = $p < 0.01$ (Men in Archer's Post lost significantly more camels than men did in the other communities)

*** = $p < 0.001$ (Men in Archer's Post lost a significantly higher number of cattle and they sold significantly more cattle than men did in the other communities.)

APPENDIX H (continued)

**Table H.2 Details Regarding Household Goats and Sheep
(Men's HNRM Survey)
Means by Community
(November 2002 - May 2003, inclusive)**

Variables	East Uaso/ Archer's P. (N = 48) Means	Parkishon/ Karare (N = 41) Means	Songa (N = 40) Means	F Value
GOATS/ HOUSEHOLD				
Total Number (at time of survey)	38.8 SD = 53.6	7.9 SD = 8.5	5.6 SD = 9.3	13.78 ***
No. Born (over past 12 mo.)	15.9 SD = 17.9	3.1 SD = 4.1	1.5 SD = 2.9	22.24 ***
No. Died/Raided (over past 12 mo.)	52 SD = 36.3	2.9 SD = 5.5	0.3 SD = 0.7	76.48 ***
No. Purchased (over past 12 mo.)	1.1 SD = 3.2	0 SD = 0.2	0.7 SD = 1.1	3.07 (+)
No. Sold (over past 12 mo.)	14.2 SD = 12.9	1.2 SD = 2	0.6 SD = 1.2	42.06 ***
No. Eaten (over past 12 mo.)	9.2 SD = 10.4	0.6 SD = 1	0.3 SD = 0.6	28.06 ***
SHEEP/ HOUSEHOLD:				
Total Number (at time of survey)	46.9 SD = 83.1	4 SD = 3.8	5 SD = 9	10.43 ***
No. Born (over past 12 mo.)	17.8 SD = 20.8	1.6 SD = 2.2	1.5 (n = 39) SD = 2.7	23.53 ***
No. Died/Raided (over past 12 mo.)	53 SD = 39.5	2 SD = 4.2	0.4 SD = 1	69.03 ***
No. Purchased (over past 12 mo.)	0.4 SD = 1.1	0.1 SD = 0.2	0.1 SD = 0.7	2.45 (+)
No. Sold (over past 12 mo.)	15 SD = 16.7	0.1 SD = 0.2	0.1 SD = 0.3	32.60 ***
No. Eaten (over past 12 mo.)	10 SD = 9.9	0.5 SD = 0.9	0.2 SD = 0.5	37.79 ***

Note: (+) = $p > 0.05$ (not significant)

*** = $p < 0.001$ (At the time of the survey, on average, men in Archer's Post possessed significantly higher numbers of goats and sheep than men did in the other communities. In the year prior to the survey, however, Archer's Post men lost significantly more goats and sheep, and sold and slaughtered more small stock than men did in the other sites; at the same time, they had a significantly higher number of small stock' births.)

APPENDIX I

**NAMES AND USES OF WILD PLANT RESOURCES
BY REGION AND GENDER**

PART A. ARCHER'S POST REGION, SAMBURU DISTRICT

Section I. Wild Plant Resources Used for Food

Table I. 1 Data from Women's HNRM Survey (Archer's Post)

Local Name of Plant	Part(s) Used	Season(s) Available*
Ldalum	Berries	Long Dry Season
Ldoruko	Berries	Short/Long Dry Seasons
Lgisoria	Roots	Short/Long Rains
Lkino	Berries	Short/Long Dry Seasons
Loka	Fruit	All Seasons
Loyengorok	Seeds	Short Rains
Lpupo	Berries	Short/Long Rains
Lpusan	Berries	Short/Long Rains
Ltipai	Berries	Short/Long Rains
Monok	Gum/Sap	Short/Long Dry Seasons
Sagarum	Fruit	All Seasons
Santau	Berries	Short/Long Dry Seasons
Sekotei	Berries	Short/Long Dry Seasons
Terere	Leaves	Short/Long Rains

Table I. 2 Data from Men's HNRM Survey (Archer's Post)

Local Name of Plant	Part(s) Used	Season(s) Available*
Langoi	Roots	All Seasons
Ldoruko	Berries	Long Rains
Lgisoria	Roots	Long Rains
Lkino	Berries	Short/Long Rains
Loka	Fruit	Short/Long Rains
Lordo	Leaves	Long Rains
Loyengorok	Leaves	Short/Long Rains
Lparnai	Fruit	October
Lpupo	Berries	Long Rains
Lpusan	Berries	Short/Long Rains
Monok	Gum/Sap	Long Rains
Njasin	Roots	All Seasons
Santau	Berries	Long Rains
Sekotei	Berries	All Seasons

* Jan. - Feb. (short dry season); March - May (long rains);
June - Sept. (long dry season); Oct. - Dec. (short rains).

Section II. Wild Plant Resources Used for Medicinal Purposes

Table I. 3 Data from Women's HNRM Survey (Archer's Post)

Local Name of Plant	Part(s) Used	Medicinal Purpose(s)	Season(s) Available*
Kaleyo	Leaves	Malaria	Short/Long Rains
Lardane	Bark	Purgative	All Seasons
Lasaramai	Roots	Coughs, Malaria	All Seasons
Lcheketi	Bark	Yellow Fever	All Seasons
Lgiriai	Roots	Malaria	All Seasons
Lkiloriti	Seeds	Malaria, Stomach Disorders	Short Rains
Lkinil	Roots	Purgative	All Seasons
Lmakutukuti	Roots	Joint/Back Pain, Malaria, STDs, Stops Bleeding in Pregnancies, Enema for Infertile Women	Short/Long Rains
Lmargwet	Roots	Colds, Malaria	Short/Long Rains
Lmisigioi	Roots	Chest Pain, Headache	All Seasons
Lng'alaloi	Roots	Eye Infection, Malaria, Back Pain, Chest Problems, Stomach Disorders, Yellow Fever	All Seasons
Lodongnowei	Bark	Stomach Disorders	All Seasons
Loisung	Seeds	General Illnesses	Long Rains
Lokirding'ai	Roots	Joint Problems, Malaria, Urinary Disorders	All Seasons
Losorat	Leaves	Colds	Short/Long Rains
Losurlasha	Roots, Leaves	Tuberculosis, Stomach Pain	All Seasons
Ltalala'mongi	Roots	Malaria	All Seasons
Lteani	Roots	General Illnesses	All Seasons
Ltepes	Bark	Malaria	All Seasons
Lturkan	Roots	Purgative	All Seasons
Marubuni	Leaves	Malaria	All Seasons
Njiriman	Roots	Constipation, Malaria	All Seasons
Seketeti	Roots	Tapeworm, Back Pain, Weakness, Childbirth	Short/Long Dry Seasons
Salabani	Leaves	Cough	All Seasons
Sokoni	Bark	Pneumonia, Chest Pain/Disorder	All Seasons
Sucha	Leaves	Circumcision Wounds	All Seasons

Section II. Wild Plant Resources Used for Medicinal Purposes (continued)

Table I. 4 Data from Men's HNRM Survey (Archer's Post)

Local Name of Plant	Part(s) Used	Medicinal Purpose(s)	Season(s) Available*
Lasaramai	Roots	Malaria, Cough, Body Pains, Stomach Disorders	All Seasons
Lgiriiai	Roots	Stomach Pain, Back Problems	All Seasons
Lmakutukuti	Roots	Malaria, Colds, Cough, Headache, Gonorrhoea, STDs, Back/Joint Pain, Bone Disease/Fracture, Stomach Disorders	All Seasons
Lmanoman	Roots	Joint Pain	All Seasons
Lmarti	Roots	Vitamins	All Seasons
Lng'alaloi	Roots	Malaria	All Seasons
Losurlasha	Leaves	Stomach Pain	Short/Long Rains
Lpopong'i	Leaves	Whooping Cough, Malaria	Short/Long Rains
Ltalala'mongi	Leaves	Headache, Malaria	Short/Long Rains
Ltepes	Bark	Malaria, Painkiller	All Seasons
Lturkan	Roots	Malaria	All Seasons
Njiriman	Roots	Purgative, Stomach Pain, Poor Appetite, Cough, Malaria	All Seasons
Seketeti	Seeds	Stomach Pain	All Seasons
Sesiai	Bark	Stomach Pain	All Seasons
Sokoni	Roots	Malaria, Cough, Chest Disorders	All Seasons

* Jan. - Feb. (short dry season); March - May (long rains);
June - Sept. (long dry season); Oct. - Dec. (short rains).

Section III. Wild Plant Resources Used for Ceremonial and Ritual Purposes

Table I. 5 Data from Women's HNRM Survey (Archer's Post)

Local Name of Plant	Part(s) Used	Ceremonies/Rituals	Season(s) Available*
Lardane	Bark	Used in soup prepared for new mother after childbirth.	All Seasons
Laresoro	Leaves	Burned during weddings; Also tied to the head of each female guest to keep away curses.	All Seasons
Lorotua	Leaves	Burned during <i>Sorio</i> to create 'sacred smoke' which the livestock inhale. Blessings.	All Seasons
Ltarakwai	Leaves	Used by men during prayers at the time of new moon	All Seasons
Ltepes	Leaves, Branches	Placed in front of houses during circumcision, childbirth and <i>Sorio</i> .	All Seasons
Sagurudume	Branches	Burned with maize in front of homes to expel evil from houses.	All Seasons
Seyai	Leaves, Branches	Woman/man who supports girl/boy during circumcision bites the leaves and drops the latter into milk which is poured over the initiate. Also used during prayers for rain at the river.	All Seasons
Salabani	Leaves, Branches	Placed in front of houses during circumcisions, weddings and <i>Sorio</i> . Used in mattresses of circumcised boy/girl. Placed on top of house where bride will sleep.	All Seasons
Sucha	Leaves, Branches	Placed at entrance to <i>boma</i> to bless the cattle returning from <i>fora</i> after rains. Burned during <i>Sorio</i> to bless cattle. Used during women's prayers for rain. Used in circumcision and wedding ceremonies.	All Seasons

**Section III. Wild Plant Resources Used for Ceremonial and Ritual Purposes
(Continued)**

Table I. 6 Data from Men's HNRM Survey (Archer's Post)

Local Name of Plant	Part(s) Used	Ceremonies/Rituals	Season(s) Available*
Laresoro	Leaves, Branches	Used during circumcision, marriage, and festivals.	All Seasons
Lgoita	Branches	Used in building bride's house.	All Seasons
Ltarakwai	Leaves	Used during circumcision and marriage ceremonies	All Seasons
Ltepes	Leaves, Branches	Used during circumcision, marriage, childbirth and festivals.	All Seasons
Sagurudume	Leaves	Used during marriage and childbirth ceremonies.	All Seasons
Sarukitang	Roots	Used in rituals to protect person or place against witchcraft.	All Seasons
Sarunju	Roots	Used in healing from witchcraft.	All Seasons
Salabani	Leaves, Branches	Used during circumcision, marriage and childbirth ceremonies.	All Seasons
Sucha	Leaves, Branches	Used during circumcision, marriage and childbirth ceremonies	All Seasons

* Jan. - Feb. (short dry season); March - May (long rains);
June - Sept. (long dry season); Oct. - Dec. (short rains).

PART B. MOUNT MARSABIT REGION, MARSABIT DISTRICT
(Includes Parkishon/Karare and Songa Communities)

Section I. Wild Plant Resources Used for Food

Table I. 7 Data from Women's HNRM Survey (Mount Marsabit Region)

Local Name of Plant	Part(s) Used	Season(s) Available*
Domoog	Berries	Short Rains, Long Dry Season
Lamai	Berries	All Seasons
Lderendei	Berries	All Seasons
Ldoruko	Berries	Short/Long Rains
Lkinmowo	Fruit	Short/Long Rains
Lkino	Fruit	Long Rains
Lkoromoso	Berries	All Seasons
Lkurdasia	Berries	Short and Long Dry Seasons
Lmisigiioi	Berries	Short/Long Rains, Short Dry Season
Lmomung	Fruit	All Seasons
Lmomwa	Fruit	All Seasons
Lmoroon	Fruit	Short/Long Rains
Lordo	Leaves	Short/Long Rains
Lpupo	Berries	Short/Long Rains
Lpusan	Berries	Short/Long Rains, Short Dry Season
Monok	Gum/Sap	All Seasons
Obohoob	Berries	Short/Long Rains, Short Dry Season
Santau	Berries	Short/Long Rains, Short Dry Season
Salabani	Fruit	All Seasons

Section I. Wild Plant Resources Used for Food (continued)

Table I. 8 Data from Men's HNRM Survey (Mount Marsabit Region)

Local Name of Plant	Part(s) Used	Season(s) Available*
Domoog	Berries	Short/Long Rains, Long Dry Season
Lamai	Berries	All Seasons
Lderendi	Berries	Short/Long Rains, Long Dry Season
Ldoruko	Berries	Short/Long Rains, Long Dry Season
Lkino	Berries	Short Rains, Short Dry Season
Lkoromoso	Berries	All Seasons
Lmomwa	Berries	Short/Long Rains
Lmroon	Fruit	Short Rains, Short/Long Dry Seasons
Loka	Fruit	Short Dry Season
Lordo	Leaves	Short/Long Rains, Short Dry Season
Lparnai	Fruit	Short/Long Rains
Lpupo	Berries	All Seasons
Lpusan	Berries	All Seasons
Ltogomi	Roots	All Seasons
Obohoob	Berries	All Seasons
Santau	Berries	All Seasons
Salabani	Gum/Sap	Short Rains

* Jan. - Feb. (short dry season); March - May (long rains);
June - Sept. (long dry season); Oct. - Dec. (short rains).

Section II. Wild Plant Resources Used for Medicinal Purposes

Table I. 9 Data from Women's HNRM Survey (Mount Marsabit Region)

Local Name of Plant	Parts Used	Medicinal Purpose(s)	Season(s) Available*
Geylahawet	Roots, Bark	Malaria, Stomach Disorders	All Seasons
Lasaramai	Roots	Malaria, Whooping Cough, Pneumonia, Colds	All Seasons
Lchingei	Roots	Child's Cough, Stomach Pain	Short/Long Dry Seasons
Ldolo	Roots, Leaves	Malaria, Cough, Tuberculosis	All Seasons
Leparmunio	Roots	Malaria	All Seasons
Lkikiei	Roots	Stomach Pain	All Seasons
Lkiloriti	Seeds, Leaves	Constipation, Stomach Pain, Wounds	Short/Long Rains
Lkiriantus	Roots	Stomach Pain	All Seasons
Lmakutukuti	Roots	Malaria, Coughs, STDs, Fractured Ribs	All Seasons
Lmargwet	Bark	Coughs (adults only)	All Seasons
Lmisigioi	Roots	Child's Cough, Colds, Energy Booster	All Seasons
Lmugursan	Bulb	Used to Induce Vomiting	All Seasons but Short Rains
Lng'aleidi	Bark	Chest Ailments	All Seasons
Loiborbene	Roots	Colds	All Seasons
Loisuk	Seeds	Throat Ailments (Tonsillitis), Given to Cattle for Colds	Long Dry Season
Loipasai	Roots	Child's Cough, Colds	All Seasons
Lokirding'ai	Roots, Bark	Whooping Cough, Malaria	All Seasons
Losesei	Roots	Diarrhoea	All Seasons
Lotogomi	Roots	Bathing Infant with High Fever, Salve for Chicken Pox and Tick Bites	All Seasons
Lpopong'i	Branches	Asthma	All Seasons
Lpugai	Bark	Malaria, Dark (Red) Urine	All Seasons
Ltepes	Roots, Bark	Indigestion, Brucellosis, Colds, Joint Pain	All Seasons
Matahatira	Roots	Child's Cough	Short Rains
Njiriman	Roots, Bark	Malaria, Purgative, Infertility	All Seasons
Seketeti	Seeds	Tapeworm, General Illnesses	Short/Long Rains
Salabani	Bark	Malaria, Infant's Cough, Colds	All Seasons
Sokoni	Bark	Tuberculosis, Chest Ailments	All Seasons
Suguroi	Roots	Stomach Ulcer, Yellow Fever	All Seasons
Sung'urwai	Leaves	Malaria	All Seasons

Section II. Wild Plant Resources Used for Medicinal Purposes (continued)

Table I. 10 Data from Men's HNRM Survey (Mount Marsabit Region)

Local Name of Plant	Part(s) Used	Medicinal Purpose(s)	Season(s) Available*
Ejeer	Leaves	Purgative	All Seasons
Gayeer	Leaves	Chest Ailments	All Seasons
Geylahawet	Roots	Colds, Nausea	All Seasons
Lasaramai	Roots, Seeds Bark	Malaria, Colds, Coughs, Urinary Tract Infections	All Seasons
Lchingei	Roots, Seeds	Diarrhoea, Worms	All Seasons
Ldule	Bark, Stems	Cholera, Upset Stomach	All Seasons
Lkiloriti	Bark, Seeds	Indigestion	All Seasons
Lkiriantus	Roots, Seeds	Stomach Ailments	Short/Long Rains
Lmakutukuti	Roots	Malaria, Gonorrhoea, STDs, Chest Ailments, Back Pain	All Seasons
Lmargwet	Roots, Bark	Malaria, Colds, Cough	All Seasons
Lmugursan	Bulb	Chest Ailments, Cough, Stomach Disorders	All Seasons
Lng'alaloi	Roots, Seeds, Bark	Gonorrhoea, Stomach Pain	Short/Long Rains
Loiborbene	Roots	Malaria, Flu, Colds	All Seasons
Loimurtana	Roots	Diarrhoea	All Seasons
Loisuk	Seeds	Throat Infections	Short/Long Rains
Lokirding'ai	Roots	Colds	All Seasons
Lomurei	Roots	Joint Pain	All Seasons
Lpopong'i	Roots	Pneumonia, Congestion	All Seasons
Lpugai	Bark	Stomach Ailments	All Seasons
Ltepes	Roots, Bark	Malaria, Brucellosis, Cough, Aches, Pains	All Seasons
Malmal	Gum/Sap	Fever	All Seasons
Misaroiboine	Leaves	Malaria	All Seasons
Njiriman	Roots	Malaria, Used as Emetic for Stomach Ailments	All Seasons
Obohoob	Seeds	Headaches	Short/Long Dry Seasons
Seketeti	Roots, Seeds	Worms, Stomach Pain, Cough, Back Pain	All Seasons
Salabani	Stems, Leaves	Fever & Cold (children)	All Seasons
Sokoni	Bark Fibers	Vomiting	All Seasons
Sucha	Leaves	Stomach Disorders	All Seasons
Suguroi	Stems	Malaria	All Seasons

* Jan. - Feb. (short dry season); March - May (long rains);
June - Sept. (long dry season); Oct. - Dec. (short rains).

Section III. Wild Plant Resources Used for Ceremonial and Ritual Purposes

Table I. 11 Data from Women's HHRM Survey (Mount Marsabit Region)

Local Name of Plant	Part(s) Used	Ceremonies/Rituals	Season(s) Available*
Ejeer	Branches, Leaves	<i>Sorio</i>	All Seasons
Gayeer	Branches, Leaves	<i>Sorio</i>	All Seasons
Geykuku	Leaves	Marriage	Short/Long Rains
Haru	Branches, Leaves	New Moon	All Seasons
Laresoro	Leaves, Gum	Marriage	All Seasons
Lmerapari	Branches, Leaves	Marriage	All Seasons
Lng'erioi	Branches, Leaves	Marriage, <i>Sorio</i>	Long Dry Season
Ltarakwai	Branches	Marriage, New Moon	All Seasons
Ltepes	Branches	<i>Almhado</i> , Childbirth, Circumcision, Marriage	All Seasons
Sagurudume	Leaves	Marriage	All Seasons
Silalei	Branches, Gum	Marriage, New Moon, <i>Sorio</i>	All Seasons
Salabani	Branches, Leaves	Marriage, New Moon, <i>Sorio</i>	All Seasons
Sucha	Branches, Leaves	<i>Almhado</i> , Childbirth, Circumcision of males, Marriage, New Moon	All Seasons

Table I. 12 Data from Men's HHRM Survey (Mount Marsabit Region)

Local Name of Plant	Part(s) Used	Ceremonies/Rituals	Season(s) Available*
Laresoro	Branches, Leaves	Marriage	All Seasons
Lgoita	Roots, Branches	Marriage	All Seasons
Lmerapari	Stems	Marriage	All Seasons
Lmisigioi	Stems	Marriage	All Seasons
Lng'erioi	Branches, Leaves	<i>Lmuget</i> , Marriage	All Seasons
Ltarakwai	Branches, Leaves	Marriage, New Moon (to obtain blessings).	All Seasons
Ltepes	Branches	Marriage, Protection against Witchcraft	All Seasons
Silalei	Gum/Sap	Dances (gum produces a nice smell when burned).	All Seasons
Salabani	Branches, Leaves	Marriage, Protection against witchcraft, <i>Sorio</i>	All Seasons
Sucha	Branches, Leaves	Marriage, Protection against Witchcraft	Short/Long Rains

* Jan. - Feb. (short dry season); March - May (long rains); June - Sept. (long dry season); Oct. - Dec. (short rains).

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Fellowships, Awards and Grants-in-Aid

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Publications, Manuscript and Book Reviews:

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