

Chapter 2

The Setting

Pastoral Sedentarization in Marsabit District, Northern Kenya

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1. MARSABIT DISTRICT—POPULATION AND GEOGRAPHY

Northern Kenya has been treated by both the Kenyan government and the former British colonial administration as “another country”, a distant wasteland inhabited by small and economically insignificant populations of nomadic pastoralists. The area’s principle benefit was, and continues to be, viewed as a large space buffering Kenya from potentially hostile countries including Ethiopia and Somalia; it has also served as isolated location for detention and international refugee camps.

During its rule (1900–1963), Britain enforced a “Pax Britannica” in the then Northern Frontier District, maintaining peace between competing and warring pastoralist groups. Society-specific “tribal grazing areas” were created to separated and restrict pastoral movements by local Samburu, Rendille, Boran, Gabra, Sakuye, Adjuran, and Somali groups; the British also drew specific boundaries including the “Somali-Galla (Boran)” line drawn in 1934 between present day Marsabit and Wajir Districts. Ultimately, administrative units (later Districts) bounded ethnic groups into Turkana, Samburu, Marsabit, Isiolo, Wajir and Mandera Districts (Zwanenberg, 1977: 89). Marsabit District, located in north central Kenya, was shared by Boran, Gabra, Rendille, although the British attempted, with mixed success, to contain each of these groups in their own areas. Following Kenyan independence in 1963, the northern districts remained undeveloped by the government, although many famine relief organizations moved into the area following the droughts of the 1970s and 1980s.

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Marsabit District is Kenya's largest, most arid, and least inhabited region, and the majority of their residents were, until quite recently, nomadic pastoralists. Its population in 1993 was 138,500 people occupying 75,078 square kilometers. The district was divided in 1995 to allow for the creation of Moyale District on the Ethiopian border, after which Marsabit District's size was 61,296 square kilometers occupied by 121,478 people (Ministry of Planning and Development, 1997). Marsabit District (before its partition) bordered Ethiopia in the north, Wajir District in the east, Isiolo District in the southeast, Samburu District in the southwest, and Lake Turkana and Turkana District in the west.

The District has a mean annual rainfall of 200 mm in the lowlands and 800 mm in the highlands, with vegetation ranging from scrub bush in the lowland deserts ranging to ever-green forests in the highlands. While the district is predominately lowlands (from 400 to 700 m altitude), it is interspersed with several mountain ranges and hills including the Ndoto Mountains (2660 m) in the west, the Hurri Hills (1260 m) in the north, and solitary Marsabit Mountain (1545 m) in the center of the District. Marsabit town, on Marsabit Mountain, is the district capital, and the mountain is home to most of the district's agriculturalists, which include Burji, Boran, and Ariaal and Rendille communities. Today an estimated 30,000 of the district's 120,000 people live on Marsabit Mountain (Adano and Witsenburg, this volume).

There are no permanent rivers in the district, although mountain run-offs provide temporary surface water in the lowlands (Milgis and Merille Rivers), and the highlands have several permanent lakes, including Lake Paradise and several water-filled craters on Marsabit Mountain. The only permanent water resources, besides Marsabit Mountain, are Lake Turkana to the west and the Uaso Nyiru River to the south in Isiolo District. The Uaso Nyiru in particular has played an important role in pastoral livelihood, and is currently utilized by Samburu, Ariaal, Rendille, Somali, and Boran herders (Schwartz et al., 1991). The District administration estimates that livestock keeping pastoralists make up 80 percent of the total population, while another 10 percent are highland farmers, 5 percent commercial traders, and 5 percent are salaried employees working with the District administration, schools, police, hospital, or with non-government organizations (Ministry of Planning and Development, 1997).

The pastoral groups live predominately in the lowlands, although there are cattle keeping Boran and Ariaal settlements on Marsabit Mountain, and Samburu settlements in the Ndoto Mountains. Between the Ndoto Mountains and Mt. Marsabit lies the broad and flat Koroli Desert, which is occupied by Rendille camel keeping settlements. To the north of the Rendille is the Chalbi Desert bordering Lake Turkana and Ethiopia, inhabited by Gabra camel pastoralists, Boran cattle pastoralists, and Dasenech agro-pastoralists on the shores of Lake Turkana. To the west (in Turkana district) live the Turkana, cattle and camel pastoralists who have traditionally raided Rendille and Samburu. To the east (Wajir and Isiolo) are Somalis, made up of different clan groupings. All of these groups have raided and counter raided each other for livestock, with many raids intensifying during the extensive droughts of the 1990s.

At the time of Kenyan independence in 1963, Marsabit District had only two towns over 2000 people, Marsabit and Moyale, and several small trading posts at Laisamis, Maikona, Loyangalani, and North Horr. The district had only three primary schools, no secondary schools, and one government hospital. The Kenya government under Jomo Kenyatta made little investment in the north, allocating most resources and development efforts to the agricultural and densely populated urban regions around Nairobi, and to a lesser extent Kisumu and Mombasa. President Daniel arap Moi, who succeeded Kenyatta at his death in 1978, made some gestures to develop resources in the north, as he depended on the support of Kenya's smaller agro-pastoral groups including Samburu to maintain

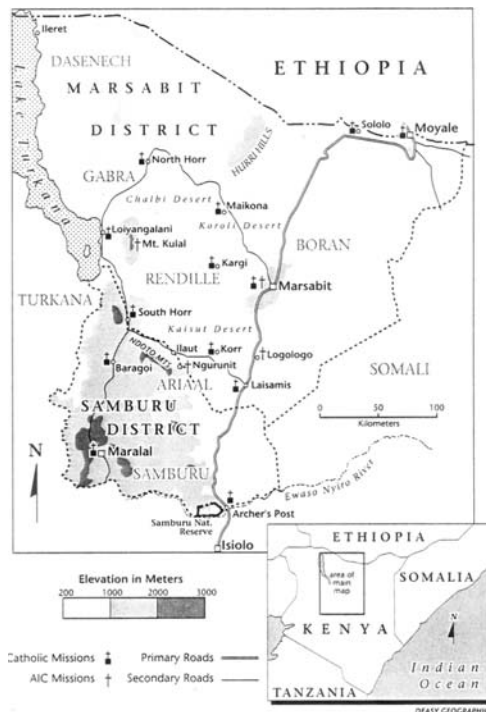


Figure 1. Marsabit District Kenya.

his political power. By 1995, the district had 7 secondary schools, 54 primary schools, 4 hospitals, and 15 medical dispensaries. Towns along the major roads (including Merille, Laisamis, Loglogo, Maikona, North Horr, Loyangalani) grew in size, and new towns grew, particularly in the lowland areas in response to mission-sponsored famine relief efforts, including Korr and Kargi among the Rendille (see Figure 1). While Catholic and to a lesser degree Protestant churches developed primary schools and health dispensaries in these communities, international development organizations including GTZ (the German Development Corporation) and religious-based organizations, including World Vision and Food for the Hungry, contributed to infrastructure development of mechanizing wells, building dams and catchments, and laying water pipes for irrigated agriculture.

2. TRADITIONAL LIVESTOCK PASTORALISM IN MARSABIT DISTRICT

Until the onset of long-term drought beginning in the late 1960s, the majority of Marsabit's residents practiced mixed species pastoralism, i.e., they lived principally off the products of their camels, cattle, and small stock of goats and sheep. These pastoral populations include Boran cattle keepers (pop. 36,447), Gabra camel herders (pop. 30,213), Rendille camel herders (pop. 23, 585), Samburu (specifically Ariaal) mixed cattle and camel herders (5887), Sakuye camel pastoralists (1856), and some Somali families who moved in from the larger Somali areas to the East in Wajir District.¹ In addition to large

Table 1. Ethnic Populations of Kenya.

Group	Population	% of total
<i>Agricultural/urban</i>		
Kikuyu	4,455,865	20.78
Luhya	3,083,273	14.38
Luo	2,653,932	12.38
Kalenjin	2,458,123	11.46
Kamba	2,448,302	11.42
Kisii	1,318,409	6.15
Meru	1,087,778	5.07
Mijikenda	1,007,371	4.70
Embu	256,623	1.20
Taita	203,389	0.95
Teso	178,455	0.83
Kuria	112,236	0.52
Basuba	107,819	0.50
Mbere	101,007	0.47
Degodia	100,400	0.47
Tharaka	92,528	0.46
Pokomo	58,645	0.27
Bajun	55,187	0.26
Kenyan Asian	52,968	0.25
Kenyan Arab	33,714	0.16
Indians	29,091	0.14
Other Kenyans	28,722	0.13
Taveta	14,358	0.07
Swahili	13,920	0.06
Bulji (Burji)	5975	0.03
<i>Pastoralists</i>		
Maasai	377,089	1.76
Turkana	283,750	1.32
*Pokot	225,000	1.05
Samburu	106,897	0.50
Boran	60,160	0.37
Ogaden	139,597	0.65
Gurreh	80,004	0.37
Orma	45,562	0.21
Somali	45,098	0.21
Gabra	35,726	0.17
Hawiyah	27,244	0.13
Ajuran	26,916	0.13
Rendille	26,536	0.12
Njemps (LChamus)	15,872	0.07
Sakuye	10,678	0.05
Dasnachi-Shangil	418	0.00
<i>Hunter-Gatherers</i>		
Dorobo	24,363	0.11
Boni-Sanye	10,891	0.05
El Molo	3600	0.02
<i>Non-Kenyan Groups</i>		
Ugandans	136,000	0.57
Not Recorded	19,325	0.09
Other Europeans	16,716	0.08
British	15,768	0.07
	15,608	0.07

Table 1. (*Continued*)

Group	Population	% of total
Other Africans	14,471	0.07
Other Arabs	7881	0.04
Others	6308	0.03
Other Asians	5264	0.02
Kenyan Europeans	3184	0.01
Tribe Unknown	2411	0.01
Gosha	2081	0.01
Pakistanis	1862	0.01

* Pokot included on census as Kalenjin.

Source: 1989 Census, Central Bureau of Statistics, Republic of Kenya, 1999.
Census figures not available.

animals, these groups kept large flocks of goats and sheep as well, used principally for trade and meat. In addition to these pastoral groups, there are several small mixed pastoral populations including the Dasenech (pop. less than 500 in Kenya) living on the northern edge of Lake Turkana who grow millet and keep cattle and small stock, the El Molo (pop. 3600), who are Samburu-speaking fishermen living on the eastern side of Lake Turkana, and Dorobo hunter-gatherers and small stock herders living mainly in the forests of the Ndoto Mountains which separate Samburu and Marsabit Districts. Their population is less than a few thousand. There also sedentary agricultural communities including Burji farmers (pop. 600) living on Marsabit Mountain, and who originally migrated from Ethiopia when the British built the Marsabit road in the 1930s. Population figures of Kenyan ethnic groups are listed in Table 1.

Although the various pastoral groups (Ariaal, Samburu, Rendille, Boran, Gabra, and Somali) have distinct cultures, languages, and customs, their social organization and livestock production system are quite similar. Each of these groups live in semi-nomadic settlements, where domestic livestock are herded in home territories. [East African pastoralists, by and large, are not long-distance nomads as are Fulani and Tuareg in West Africa.] Each group depends on milk animals for daily subsistence (camels or cattle), and trade or sell animals (mainly small stock) to purchase grains, tea, sugar, and other commodities. All move their animals in mobile herding groups, and all manage their livestock in male-headed household units, utilizing their children and occasionally hiring kinsmen to help herd their animals. Furthermore, all of these societies are organized into patrilineal kinship groups, and often reside close to one another based on their kinship ties. Homesteads can vary from a few male stockowner and their domestic families (as among Samburu and Boran living in highland areas) to large communities of over fifty stockowners, as Gabra, Rendille and lowland Ariaal. Politically, these are acephalous societies lacking chiefs or kings, and are organized into what anthropologists recognize as 'segmentary descent systems,' where affiliation is determined by degrees of closeness of consanguineal relationships. This is reflected in the well-known Somali proverb, "I and my clan against the world. I and my brother against the clan. I against my brother" (Cassenelli, 1982: 21).

The essential strategy of livestock pastoralism is to ensure adequate grazing and water for their livestock to provide a regular and food supply for the human community. Herders follow various strategies aimed at keeping their herds productive through both rainy and dry seasons, as well as deal with periodic and extensive drought. The two most important strategies for these herders are species diversity and herding mobility.

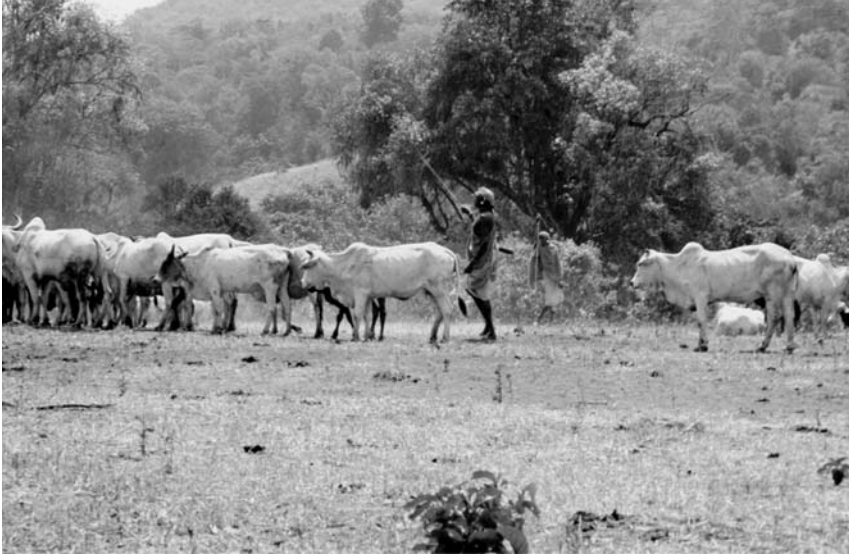


Photo 1. Ariaal warriors herding cattle in highlands.

Species diversity, keeping different types of livestock rather than specializing on one type of animal, enables a pastoralist to utilize different grazing environments as well as provide insurance against particular herd losses caused by diseases, including bovine pneumonia for cattle or trypanosomiasis in camels. Boran and Samburu raise cattle and small stock (goats and sheep), living mainly in or near highlands where cattle thrive due to greater grass and water availability. Gabra, Rendille, and Somali groups concentrate on camel and small stock production in the lowlands, where insect vectors of disease are fewer and where animals survive on a diet of browsing (leaves and bushes) rather than grazing (grasses). These ethnic/livestock divisions are not absolute, as some Gabra will own cattle and some Samburu keep camels. But most East African herders try to keep multi-species as insurance against loss to drought, disease, or raids (Fratkin et al., 1994).

Mobility is essential to pastoral production in arid lands. Because of the high seasonality in rainfall and the high evaporation rate, vegetation resources deteriorate quickly, and herds are taken to short-lived pastures following periodic rainfall. Except for camels who can graze for up to ten days without water, cattle and small stock have access to water at least every two days, and are herded near available water sources. Herding movements are consequently seasonal, with cattle alternating between highland and lowland resources and camels between home settlements and wide grazing areas away from the settlements.

Each type of stock has its own particular feeding requirements and grazing environment. Cattle are grazers (grass-eaters) which need water every two to three days, and consequently must be herded in the wetter highlands. Camels are adapted to desert conditions, preferring browse (leaves) of shrubs and trees that thrive when grasses dry out. Furthermore, camels can go without watering for ten days, offering enough time for their herders to graze them extensively in the desert lowlands between fixed water points. Small stock can thrive in the deserts, but like cattle need water every two to three days, and must be grazed near the mountain springs and wells.



Photo 2. Lewogoso girls and transport camels fetching water from Ngrunit wells.

Unlike long-distance herders like Fulani and Tuareg in West Africa (or Somali in northeastern Africa), Kenyan pastoralists remain home grazing areas, with semi-sedentary domestic settlements usually living near permanent water sources. Animals are taken from the settlements to either distant herding camp in dry seasons, and back to the settlement when there is sufficient grazing nearby. The Ariaal, like the Rendille, separate their animals into different herds, keeping milk animals, male transport camels, and small stock in or near the domestic settlements, while herding non-milking cattle in highlands and non-milking camels in distant lowlands grazing areas for long periods of time. Ariaal are not long distance nomads. Their settlements are semi-sedentary, located near permanent water sources and small urban centers along the Ndoto Mountains or Mt. Marsabit. People do not generally live closer than ten kilometers to the water holes, as they fear overgrazing the available vegetation quickly and have to graze their animals at greater distances. The chance of finding better pastures increases with the distance from the water points, and settlements with large numbers of transport camels will live farthest from towns or water sources (Fratkin, 2004).

Livestock production in northern Kenya provides three principle foods to the human population—milk, meat, and blood. Sale of livestock (usually small stock but increasingly cattle) as well as hides earn necessary money to purchase grains (maize meal) when milk production is low, and tea, sugar, tobacco. Milk is the preferred food, consumed either fresh following the morning and evening milking, or as sour (curdled) milk, usually consumed by older men. Milk can provide 75% of daily calories and 90% of their protein in the wet season, and 60% of their calories in the dry season. As milk supplies diminish in the dry season, blood is added to the milk, and more small stock are butchered to provide meat. In addition, small stock and cattle are sold to purchase maize meal, tea, and sugar. Cash income from livestock and skin sales is also used to buy cloth, rubber sandals, cooking utensils, and beads for jewelry.

Camels produce more milk than the other stock, where a lactating female can provide 5.0 liters of milk daily, providing an average of one liter of milk to each member of the household per day. Cattle produce an average of 1.0 liters of milk each daily, but this fluctuates directly with the quality of grazing vegetations. Typically cattle herds outnumber camels by 4:1, a feature due to their higher reproductive and survival rates (Fratkin, 2004: 83).

Ariaal pastoralists living in the lowlands have average household herds of 3 milk camels; 4 milk cows, and 12 milk goats and sheep, which yield approximately 1.5 liters of milk per person daily. However, actual milk consumption varies by both seasonal supplies and by differential consumption patterns based on age, gender, and wealth differences. A warrior in a cattle camp may drink 3–4 liters of milk mixed with blood in one sitting, while settlement children may have access only to one liter or less of milk daily. In the dry season when milk yields are reduced, households, which own only a few camels, may have no milk and depend on store-bought grains to survive. The grains, usually maize-meal sometimes wheat flour, are made as porridge, consumed with milk, sugar, and butter when available.

As the dry season progresses and milk resources are depleted, meat and maize meal are increasingly consumed as households slaughter or sell goats, sheep, and—to a lesser extent—cattle. Ariaal will also eat cattle or camels, which have died from predation or disease. The high milk, meat, and blood diet of East African herders provides more than adequate protein, exceeding the World Health Organization's recommended protein allowances of 65 g per adult male and 50 g per adult women per day. Despite high protein intake among the Ariaal, daily calorie consumption is low and there are seasonal shortages, particularly at the end of the dry season when their animals are producing very little milk. Where Americans typically consume over 2500 kcal of energy per day, Ariaal and other East African pastoralists make due on less than 1600 kcal per day, and less than 1200 kcal in the dry season, which the Ariaal call "the long hunger" (Fratkin, 2004; Sellen, 1996).

Subsistence pastoralists sell between 5–10% of their herds annually, mainly steers and male goats to local shopkeepers or urban markets. Cattle in particular bring in substantial income, \$100 to \$200 per animal, and are often taken down country to Isiolo town, on the main road to Nanyuki and Nairobi. Livestock marketing is the principle income generating activity for pastoralists, although it is increasingly common for a family to support one or two children through school, in the hopes they will obtain wage-earning jobs and contribute to the family.

2.1. The Ariaal and Rendille of Marsabit District

The Ariaal are a population of about 6,000 people who raise camels, cattle, goats, and sheep in both the lowlands and highlands of Marsabit District. Many Ariaal families descend from the larger Rendille people, a tightly integrated society of about 20,000 people, Cushitic-speakers distantly related to Somalis, and who subsist off camel, goats, and sheep production. But the Ariaal are also closely related to the Samburu, who are related to the Nilotic-speaking Maasai of southern Kenya and northern Tanzania. The Samburu are a population of 100,000 who subsist on cattle and small stock production in the highlands and plains to the west in Samburu District. The Samburu and Rendille have been mutually allied for generations (if not several centuries) against common enemies (Boran and Turkana) and who maintain their alliance through ties of intermarriage, intermigration, and the non-competitive economy of cattle (Samburu) and camel (Rendille) production

(Fratkin, 2004; Spencer, 1973). The Ariaal are a product of this union, and are bilingual in Samburu and Rendille (a Cushitic language of the Afro-Asiatic family), although Schlee (1989: 210) observes that Ariaal speak Rendille poorly.

Samburu and Rendille share similar cultural features including segmentary descent organization (where each community is made up of distinct and autonomous clan families) and the institution of named age-sets where whole sets of men collectively pass through the age grades of child, warrior, and elder. The Ariaal are affiliated with the Samburu clans and age-sets and are considered Samburu by the Rendille, yet because they also speak Rendille and keep camels as well as cattle the Samburu treat them as Rendille. The name 'Ariaal' is used by Rendille to distinguish those mixed groups of Samburu/Rendille who speak Samburu and who raise camels as well as cattle. (Ariaal call themselves Samburu (*Loikop*), distinguishing their clan identity from Rendille) (Fratkin, 2004: 45).

Most Ariaal live in the flat lowlands between the Ndoto Mountains and Marsabit Mountain, in large circular settlements indistinguishable from pastoral Rendille communities; other Ariaal live in the highlands and raise cattle and small stock, particularly on Marsabit Mountain. The community of Karare on the Marsabit road, about 17 km below Marsabit town, is a large Ariaal community, where families have lived for generations raising cattle, and more recently, engaging in maize agriculture.

Ariaal settlements are local descent groups belonging to the larger Samburu system, where communities are made up of relatives from the same clan. The Samburu descent group system divides the society into two halves (or moieties), the White Cattle and Black Cattle. Each moiety is made up of four clans (*I-marei*, the "ribs"), with the White Cattle clans of Lukumai, Lorokushu, Longieli; and Loimusi (the latter not represented in Ariaal), and the Black Cattle clans of Masala, Pisikishu (Turia in Ariaal), Nyaparai (LeSarge in Ariaal), and Lng'wesi (the latter clan is not found in Ariaal). The largest clans in Ariaal are Lorokushu, Lukumai, Longieli, Masala, and Turia. The main study site of Fratkin's

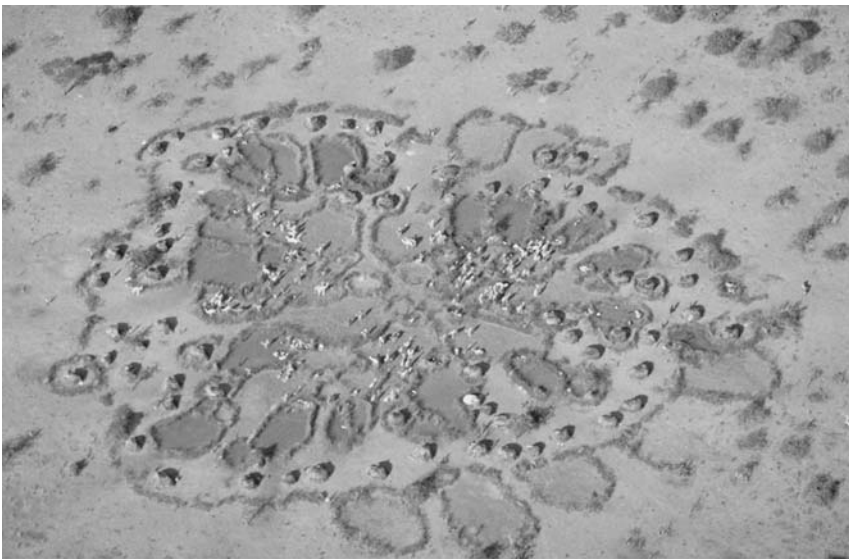


Photo 3. Pastoral Ariaal settlement of Lewogoso, with camels.

ethnographic research on Ariaal was in Lewogoso settlement, made up of patrilineal sub-clan of Lukumai section of Ariaal (and Samburu).

Ariaal share with the Samburu an age-grade organization with named age sets that cross cut clan and kinship ties, similar but independent from the Rendille age-set organization. (Boran and Gabra also categorize men by generation or age grade, but do not have named age-sets.) Among Ariaal, Samburu, and Rendille, adolescent boys are initiated (by circumcision) into a newly formed age set; they remain members of this age set for life, passing through the ladder of different age-grades together as warriors, junior elders, and senior elders. Like Rendille and Samburu, Ariaal age-sets are initiated every fourteen years, where boys who are three sets below that of their fathers (anywhere between the ages of ten and twenty-five are circumcised with other members of their clan. For the next fourteen years, the warriors are expected to herd animals in the distant camps and protect the settlements from armed attack. Two years before the initiation of the next warrior age set, these men are released from warriorhood and allowed to marry and start families of their own. Women are not formally initiated into age sets; they too pass through distinct life stages of young girls, adolescent girls, and married women (Fratkin, 2004). Women are circumcised (by clitoridectomy, also called excision) shortly before their weddings; the Ariaal see female circumcision as an essential ritual that prepares a woman for the pain of childbirth, and signals the legitimacy of the offspring (see Shell-Duncan et al., this volume). Widows may not remarry in Ariaal, nor can they usually divorce or return to their natal home, as families are reluctant to return the bride price, which is used to help brothers marry.

Ariaal, unlike the Rendille but similar to Samburu, practice polygyny. Lewogoso community between 1975–1995 averaged a 1.4 polygyny rate, where almost one half of the married men have more than one wife. A few wealthier men have three wives each. Both women and men informants in Ariaal value polygyny because of its contribution to the labor supply. Men state that multiple wives produce more children to herd animals, and women prefer having a co-wife with whom they can share household tasks.

While there are peculiarities to Ariaal society, many features are shared by other pastoralist groups in Marsabit District including the importance of patrilineal kinship, age grade organization, household autonomy, and patriarchy.

3. SEDENTARIZATION IN MARSABIT DISTRICT

Sedentarization is a recent phenomenon in Marsabit District. Unlike groups like the Orma who settled and participated in the market economy for most of the 20th century (Ensminger, 1992), northern Kenya has remained both isolated and undeveloped for much of the 20th century. This situation changed dramatically after a long series of droughts beginning in 1971, when both religious missions and international development agencies encouraged the settling of impoverished pastoralists in famine relief centers and agricultural projects. Today, about one quarter of the Rendille are settled, living in lowland towns of Korr, Kargi, and Laisamis or the highland agricultural scheme of Songa on Marsabit Mountain. A similar proportion of Ariaal are settled and live near the towns of Logologo, Karare, and Ngrunit.

3.1. Pre-Colonial History (to 1900)

Although ethnically distinct, Marsabit pastoral groups share intertwined histories of intermigration and assimilation as well as competition and warfare. Rendille, Somali,

Gabra, and Boran share distant origins in southern Ethiopia, and speak languages belonging to the Eastern Cushitic groups of Afro-Asiatic languages (Greenberg, 1955; Schlee, 1989). Boran, Gabra, and Sakuye belong to the Oromo sub-group of languages and cultures; the Rendille and Somali derive from a common 'proto-Rendille-Somali cluster' that moved into northern Kenya during the first millennium A.D. Rendille and Somali, who depended primarily on camel keeping, separated before 1500 as Somalis moved east into the Horn of Africa where they adopted Islam, while the Rendille remained in northern Kenya around Lake Turkana and did not adopt Islam (Schlee, 1989). The Samburu are part of a larger cattle-keeping Maasai migration who entered Kenya from Sudan sometime prior to 1600 A.D., with the Samburu and LChamus groups remaining in the northern Rift Valley and Maasai groups moving south into the grasslands below Mt. Kilimanjaro. A large Maasai group, the Laikipiak, occupied central Rift Valley near Lake Naivasha, but were defeated and dispersed by southern Maasai groups in the 1870s (Sobania, 1993; Spear and Waller, 1993).

Oromo speaking groups entered northeastern Kenya from southern Ethiopia during a major Borana expansion in the 16th century, differentiating into cattle-raising Boran and camel-keeping Gabra and Sakuye (Schlee, 1989). Initially the varying pastoral communities lived among each other with relatively little conflict, according to their oral traditions. This may be due to their small population sizes and ecological specializations, with the camel-keeping Rendille, Gabra and Sakuye living in the lowlands and cattle-keeping Boran, Ariaal and Samburu in the highlands. These communities were not isolated, however, and traded livestock for grain with agricultural Dasenech, Konso, and Burji, as well as intermarriage between camel keeping and cattle keeping communities (Sobania, 1991).

During the mid-19th century, many of these pastoral populations competed for grazing-lands. The Turkana expelled Samburu and Rendille from the northern plains west of Lake Turkana, while Boran fought Somalis in present day Wajir District and Samburu and Ariaal on Marsabit Mountain. To the south, rival Maasai tribes competed for the rich grazing lands around the Rift Valley Lakes Naivasha and Nakuru, culminating with the southern Maasai defeating and dispersing Laikipiak and Uasin Gishu Maasai from Kenya's central plains in the 1870s. The northern pastoral groups were only marginally involved in the Laikipiak wars, but Rendille and Ariaal fought against Laikipiak near the present town of Laisamis (Sobania, 1993; Spencer, 1973; Spear and Waller, 1993).

Following this period of warfare, pastoralists throughout East Africa faced tremendous hardships from drought, famine, and epidemics including bovine pleuro-pneumonia (1882) and rinderpest (1891) which decimated cattle herds, followed by smallpox which killed large number northern Kenyan pastoral herders in the 1890s. During this time, known in Maasai as *Emutai*, the Disaster, individual families moved in search of food, some becoming hunter-gatherers, some became livestock thieves (Waller, 1988). Simultaneously, Turkana from the west and Boran and Gabra from the north expanded into Rendille, Ariaal, and Samburu pastures (Sobania, 1988: 227; Spencer, 1973: 152–154).

3.2. Colonial Era (1900–1963)

The European powers divided up Africa following the Berlin Conference of 1884–85. In East Africa, the British had claimed by 1900 Kenya, Egypt-Sudan, Uganda, and British Somaliland; the French took Djibouti, and the Italians Italian Somalia and Eritrea, all choke points on the Red Sea and its access to the Suez Canal. The Ethiopians under Emperor Menelik II were also an imperial power, where the Shoa kingdom in the central highlands annexed the southern and eastern lowlands inhabited by Oromo and Somali populations (Marcus, 2002). The present day borders between Kenya, Somalia, and

Ethiopia were boundary lines drawn by these imperial powers, but their pastoralist populations were purposely ignored and left undeveloped.

The British occupied northern Kenya principally as a military buffer against Italy and Ethiopia, to protect their railroad line from Mombasa to Uganda (built 1895–1900) and the large highland tea estates and cattle ranches in central Kenya. The north was administered as a single entity, the Northern Frontier District (NFD), which encompassed an area as large as the rest of Kenya. But the NFD, which included present day Marsabit District, was closed to commerce or migration with the south, in part to reduce competition with European cattle ranchers in Kenya's Laikipiak District. Few roads, schools, or hospitals were built, and even Christian missions were not allowed in, for “the administration feared they might instill new desires in the local population which could not be satisfied later” (Schlee, 1989: 45). The British concentrated on preventing inter-pastoralist raiding; they established their first administrative post in Marsabit District at Marsabit Town in 1909, and in 1921 placed the entire NFD under military rule of the Kings African Rifles. They built several roads including one from Marsabit to Lake Turkana through North Horr, and a major road from Isiolo in the south to Moyale on the Ethiopian border in the 1930s. Police and administrative posts were established at Loyangalani (on Lake Turkana), Laisamis, Maikona, and North Horr in Marsabit District, and Archer's Post near the Ewaso Nyiru river near the boundary of Marsabit, Samburu, and Isiolo Districts (Falkenstein, 1996).

Boran and Gabra people had moved *en masse* from southern Ethiopia into northern Kenya at the beginning of the twentieth century to escape oppression and forced recruitment into Menelik's army. Gabra camel herders grazed their herds in the Chalbi Desert above the Rendille, Boran concentrated herded their cattle in the northern part of Marsabit District in the Hurri Hills and Marsabit Mountain, as well in Wajir District. The British established a “Galla-Somali” line separating the Boran, Gabra, Arjuran on one side and Somalis on the other (along present day Marsabit/Wajir District lines), although it was difficult to contain individual pastoralist households who were accustomed to moving to distant areas, particularly during drought (Schlee, 1989: 45–46). Earlier, in 1919, the British designated society-specific “Tribal Grazing Areas” which separated and restricted Samburu, Turkana, Gabra, Boran, Rendille, and Somali into their own defined areas, ultimately bounded as Turkana, Samburu, Marsabit, and Wajir and Mandera Districts. In 1932, the British forced the Boran to give up their wells in Wajir to avoid conflicts with the Somali, giving the Boran land as compensation (at the expense of local Samburu) in what is now Isiolo District along the Ewaso Nyiru River south of Marsabit District (Schlee, 1989: 47).

While many Boran of Isiolo District converted to Islam, the northern Kenyan Boran retained their traditional religion and *Gada* age grade organization as did other Boran in Ethiopia (Galaty, this volume; Hogg, 1986). In addition to external district boundaries, internal ‘tribal’ boundaries were also created to separate ethnic groups, including the Stigand Line in 1938, which separated Rendille from Gabra pasture areas. These bounded grazing areas were opposed by all pastoralist parties who needed to move to distant areas during drought, and it also defied the extensive network of social relations, both within and across ethnic boundaries. But older Rendille today acknowledge that the colonial boundary controls reduced the periodic raiding and killings over water and pasture. Nevertheless, pastoral mobility was greatly reduced by the restrictions, where the Rendille herding range was reduced from 57,600 km² to 8000 km² while their human population grew from about 8000 to 25,000 between 1960 and 1985 (Sobania, 1988).

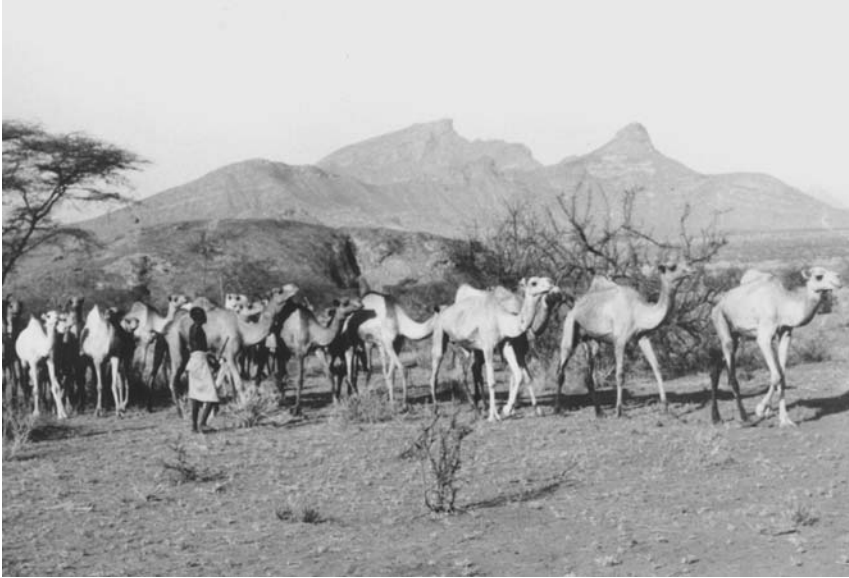


Photo 4. Lewogoso camels near Baiyo mountain.

Although pastoralists found themselves confined to restricted areas during the colonial era, their traditional livestock economy was not disrupted. Furthermore, despite administrative restrictions, livestock marketing developed with the construction of new roads, towns, and markets. This was particularly facilitated during the 1930s by the construction of the north–south road from Moyale through Marsabit town to Isiolo, and the east–west road from Marsabit to Loyangalani through Maikona and North Horr. Merchants from down country developed shops selling imported goods including maize meal, tea and sugar, while Somali traders bought local Borana (Zebu) cattle which were desired for cross breeding by European ranchers. As early as 1923, Gabra and Rendille were selling livestock in Isiolo, and Boran were selling milk and meat to local traders and administrators on Marsabit Mountain.

During colonial rule, the British consciously discouraged pastoralists from settling, although Boran and Ariaal were allowed to graze cattle on Marsabit Mountain. The British encouraged Burji and Konso farmers from Ethiopia to settle on Marsabit Mountain in the 1930s to provide grains for road construction and local administrators. (See Adano and Witsenberg, Galaty, this volume). The majority of the districts pastoralists were left relatively undisturbed, as long as they paid their taxes, stayed in their designated grazing areas, and their warriors did not raid each other's livestock. Some warriors from these groups found employment in the colonial police and army, particularly during World War II and as home guards during the anti-colonial Mau Mau rebellion of the 1950s (Spencer, 1973: 163).

3.3. Shifta Period (1962–1969)

Following Kenyan independence in 1963, a six-year period of violence, livestock raiding, and civil war occurred in the north during the *shifta* (“bandit”) conflict when

Somali and other Muslim populations attempted to secede from Kenya and join the Somali Republic. In 1962, the British held a series of meetings in the NFD which was attended by 40,000 Muslim Somalis, Boran, and Sakuye, who expressed their desire to join Somalia rather than remain in Kenya under a Christian and Bantu-speaking government (Kenya, 1962). However, in March 1963, without consulting the Somalia government as agreed, the British announced their decision to make the Northern Frontier District a seventh province in Kenya. Political opposition was swift. Somalis and their Muslim Boran and Sakuye allies boycotted the Kenyan national elections and called for secession. They began an armed insurrection which included the mining of roads and attacking government officials and missionaries in Marsabit, Wajir, and Garissa Districts; they also raided livestock from non-Muslim Boran, Rendille, Ariaal, Samburu, and Gabra pastoralists who had remained loyal to the Kenya government. The secession activists became known as *shifta* from the Amharic Ethiopian word for “bandit.” The Kenya government responded by forcing Somali, Sakuye, and Waso Boran into enclosed “strategic villages” (or *daba*). Camel herds were shot as “supporting the enemy,” and residents found a mile outside the villages were considered *shifta* and arrested or shot. Waso Boran concentrated around Isiolo town were particularly brutalized and left destitute as the government made large confiscations of their animals whenever a lorry was mined on the roads. (Hogg, 1986). The *shifta* period created a climate of physical insecurity, particularly for Rendille and Gabra who moved their manyattas closer to police posts and towns.

3.4. Drought, Famine, and Sedentarization 1970–2002

During the 1970s, the situation in Marsabit District irreversibly changed with the onset of protracted drought and the arrival of religious missions distributing famine relief foods. In short time, destitute pastoralists began to settle around the missions and migrate to newly created farm projects on Marsabit Mountain. Drought is recorded in Marsabit District for eight years between 1900–1970 (1919–22, 1928–29, 1934, 1945, 1949, 1960); the same number of drought years occurred in the following thirty years (1971, 1975–76, 1980, 1983–84, 1992, 1996 (O’Leary, 1990; Ministry of Planning and Development, 1997). Northern Kenya did not suffer the severe famines that occurred in Ethiopia during the 1970s and 1980s, although many animals were lost during drought periods. While the majority of the district’s residents continue to live as livestock pastoralists, many have reduced their mobility and moved closer to lowland towns, in part to have access to famine relief foods, in part to gain access to social services, particularly health care and education, and in part to seek safety from increased inter-ethnic raiding, which has become more deadly due to the flow of small arms into the region from civil wars in Ethiopia, Somali, and Sudan.

Many Marsabit pastoralists began to settle in large numbers following the droughts of the 1970s, attracted initially to famine-relief centers in the lowlands and agricultural schemes on Marsabit Mountain established principally by religious organizations. The Marsabit Catholic Diocese in the lowland towns of North Horr and Maikona for the Gabra, and Koror and Kargi for the Rendille, or agricultural schemes on Marsabit Mountain developed principally by members of the African Inland Church. Foreign church missions were kept out of the NFD during much of the colonial era, but were invited in during the 1950s and 1960s as the colonial and newly independent governments began active development of pastoral regions. These included improvements in education, health care, water development, and veterinary measures, in part to draw pastoralists into the commercial economy



Photo 5. Korr Catholic church, 1994.

(for a Maasai example, see Waller and Homewood, 1997: 74). In 1953, the Consolata Order of the Roman Catholic Church built a mission with a church, dispensary, and primary school in Marsabit town, and by 1968, had established a diocese with missions among Rendille and Ariaal at Laisamis and Archer's Post; among the Samburu at Baragoi, South Horr, and Maralal; among the Gabra at North Horr and Maikona; and among the Elmolo on Lake Turkana at Loyangalanai. Similarly, the protestant African Inland Church established missions (with churches, clinics, and primary schools) at Loglogo, Marsabit town, Ngrunit in the Ndoto Mountains, Illeret on Lake Turkana, and a hospital at Gatab on Mt. Kulal.

Following the drought of 1971, the Catholic church assumed responsibility in Marsabit District for distributing relief grains of corn, rice, and soybean flour, which were donated by international relief agencies including USAID, UNICEF, and CARE. Concentrating on the low-lying pastoral areas, the Catholic Church reached Gabra through Maikona and North Horr and Rendille through Laisamis. The Laisamis Catholic mission also began mobile food distribution to Rendille pastoralists at two wells in the Kaisut Desert, at Korr and Kargi, which soon attracted an estimated population of 6000 Rendille, primarily women, older men, and children too small to herd livestock in distant camps (Fratkin, 1991).

Both the Catholic and Protestant missions delivered humanitarian assistance, but their methods and impact differed. The Catholic Church, made up largely of expatriate clergy from Italy and India, encouraged the creation of permanent sedentary communities at Korr, Kargi, Laisamis, Maikona, North Horr, and Loyangalani to facilitate famine relief, education, and medical care, as well as religious conversion. Missionaries from the smaller Africa Inland Church (AIC), drawn predominately from the United States and Canada, were also interested in conversion, which they encouraged through church services, Sunday schools, and bible study. But the AIC also focused on water development, working

with religious NGOs including World Vision and Food for the Hungry to mechanize wells, lay water pipes, and build water catchments at Arsim and Ngrunit in the Ndoto Mountains, Loglogo and Karare village on Marsabit Mountain, and in the Hurri Hills. While these projects resulted in some settling of poorer pastoralists, in the main they left the local pastoral communities intact, and indeed improved water access for their livestock.

In addition to development sponsored work through church missions, Rendille, Ariaal, and Gabra communities became targets of a large multilateral project, UNESCO's Integrated Project in Arid Lands (IPAL), which emerged following the Conference on Desertification in 1977 held in Nairobi by the newly created United Nations Environment Program's (UNEP) and UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere Programme. "Desertification" embraced the view that deserts were expanding in part due to pastoralists' mismanagement of rangelands. The IPAL project intended to combine basic research in land use with practical policies aimed at reducing environmental degradation. Its first proposed field station (out of several world wide) was Marsabit District, and IPAL chose Rendille, Ariaal, and Gabra as subjects to demonstrate human environment interaction (IPAL, 1984).

Because IPAL viewed pastoral practices as responsible for overgrazing in areas including Korr and Kargi towns (when in fact people settled there in search of famine foods), IPAL implemented projects aimed at reducing herd size by encouraging more livestock marketing as well as improving livestock production by building roads, water catchments, and improving veterinary care. Much of these developments was carried out in Ngrunit and Korr, and contributed to some settlement by pastoralists, but not to the extent of the mission towns. Despite IPAL's efforts, Rendille did not increase their livestock off take (marketing or butchering), and continued to sell animals only during dry seasons to purchase grains when milk supplies ran low (Fratkin, 1991; Little, 1994). By 1985, the IPAL project had disbanded, and most international development efforts (including GTZ had sponsored much of the IPAL work) concentrated on improving agricultural crop production on Marsabit Mountain rather than pastoralism as the key to improving the region's economy. This was due to the fact the large numbers of pastoralists from Rendille, Gabra, and Boran communities were migrating to Marsabit Mountain.

4. THE IMPACT OF SEDENTARIZATION ON SOCIAL LIFE

4.1. Highland Farming Communities

In 1973, the AIC and other groups encouraged impoverished Rendille pastoralists living around missions at Loglogo and Laisamis to settle on new agricultural schemes on Marsabit Mountain, in order to learn and practice maize and vegetable agriculture as an alternative to pastoralism. Initiated by AIC missionary Herbert Anderson, a joint effort was coordinated between the government, the National Christian Churches of Kenya (NCCCK), African Inland Church (AIC), CARE, and the Catholic Mission Marsabit, to develop agricultural settlements at Naskikawe and Kitiruni (near the Ariaal community of Karare) and Songa (in the Marsabit Forest Reserve 17 km below Marsabit town). Immigrants were given small plots of land (2–5 hectares each) and building materials for houses, the use of communally owned oxen for clearing and plowing, and demonstrations in agricultural techniques. In 1976–77, agricultural communities for Boran were established at Manyatta Jillo, Sagante, and Badessa on the northern side of the mountain (see Adano and Witsenberg, and Smith, this volume). In time, new immigrants joined these communities

from both lowland areas as well as Boran and Ariaal cattle keeping communities on Marsabit Mountain. Today, these agricultural communities have 1500–2500 residents each, many with their own primary schools and clinics. Although distinct (Nasikawke and Kitiruni are rain-fed, while Songa has drip irrigation), these farms resemble those of other Kenyan agriculturalists, living in permanent houses with fields growing with maize, kale (*sukuma wiki*), peppers, squash, and fruit trees. Some households also keep a few milk animals.

Life for these formerly pastoralist farmers has changed dramatically on Marsabit Mountain. Anthropologist Kevin Smith (1998) reports changes in male authority, particularly a decline in the collective authority of male elders, and woman's greater autonomy to grow and sell crops. Geographers Wario Roba Adano and Karen Witsenberg (this volume) report that residents of Marsabit's agricultural schemes are highly satisfied with life as farmers and few wished to return to their former pastoral lives. Farms are seen as advantageous because they provided steady food and were less risky than dependence on animals which can be lost to drought, diseases, and war. Furthermore, people respond that settled farm life gives opportunities for the poor that were previously not available, although they also note that farm work is far more onerous, and that they missed the milk and meat of pastoral life. Fujita et al. (Chapter 11, this volume), note, however, that women in Songa farming community showed greater malnutrition than their pastoral counterparts, a fact they attribute to both declines in milk and greater work expenditures of farming versus pastoral women.

The success has attracted a continuing stream of Rendille and Boran immigrants, threatening a water and fuel wood supply of finite quantity. Conflicts over water and



Photo 6. Woman of Songa.

farmland have intensified between the Boran and Rendille at Songa, where since 1992, a dozen people, mainly women and children, have been killed in ambushes. While elders from both communities, as well as government officials and NGOs have worked at mediating between the two groups, competition and conflict remains a continuing threat on Marsabit Mountain.

4.2. Lowland Towns

Where the agricultural settlements on Marsabit Mountain have attracted destitute pastoralists, many lowland pastoralists who still keep livestock, particularly Rendille, have moved closer to towns and roads for security and social services including health care, education, and periodic famine relief. Similarly Gabra have moved towards Maikona and North Horr, Ariaal to Laisamis and Loglogo, and a large number of Rendille have settled near the mission towns of Kor and Kargi in the Kaisut Desert. An estimated 6,000 Rendille live within 20 km of these two towns, and although they still keep significant herds of camels, small stock, and some cattle, these cannot be maintained in the arid areas of Kor and Kargi, and are herded for most of the year in distant camps managed by young men. Consequently, the diet of the sedentary communities, made up of married women, elderly men, and small children, has changed from predominately milk maize meal (*posho*) as the staple food.

Towns including Kor, Kargi, Laisamis, Maikona, and North Horr are located in wind-swept lowland desert areas, and do not have enough vegetation to support animal herds. While these towns do have churches, schools, and dispensaries, there are few jobs available. Most shops are run by Somalis, Ethiopians, or other foreigners to the District. Alcoholism is a growing problem for both men and women, and where illegal beer brewing is associated with prostitution and the increasing risk of HIV/AIDS, according to interviews with the Marsabit District health officer.

The effects of the church sponsored famine-relief projects and the towns of Kor and Kargi have been large. The bilateral donor organization GTZ noted in a 1994 workshop that the pastoralists had become too used to charity and were too ready to accept aid without seeking new forms of income. While there may be some truth to this, Boran, Gabra, Rendille, Ariaal, and Somali find themselves in an increasingly restricted herding environment. Furthermore, pastoralists have sought new ways to continue their pastoral economy, including digging new water wells near the towns so they can keep animals in residence, at least during wet season when there is sufficient grazing for their livestock.

About one quarter of Rendille, Ariaal, Boran, and, to a lesser degree Gabra, have now permanently settled. Some have found security as farmers, or wage employees working in shops, government services, or various non-government organizations. Others who are less fortunate search for odd jobs including cleaning, selling charcoal, or herding animals to make ends meet. Many town residents and farmers have converted to Christianity; most continue to adhere to their traditional customs of age-grades, marriage rules, and ritual life. Smith (this volume) describes a diminishment in the importance of male age-sets in the farming communities, where young men are marrying earlier and where male elders have lost former authority over the warrior age-sets. Shell-Duncan et al. also describe changing patterns in female circumcision, where although the custom continues, it is becoming medicalized (despite prohibitions by the Kenyan government against female circumcision). Importantly, opportunities for women are increasing with settled life. Women have increased their participation in the market economy, were farming women sell produce and pastoral women are selling milk in town markets, particularly in Marsabit. Poor widows, who would have had to rely on the charity of their relatives in the pastoral community, have



Photo 7. Korr town in Marsabit Lowlands.

found some new outlets working for shopkeepers or making and selling charcoal for town dwellers. Some women, however, have turned to beer-brewing or the selling of *mira'a* (or *khat* (*Catha edulis*, a widely consumed stimulant) to earn income, and some have become prostitutes, particularly in the towns.

Despite these major changes, many pastoralists are not opposed to these new influences, but see the towns as one more resource to utilize, an essential alternative for poor households who have few animals, or an important center to gain employment, sell live-stock, seek health care, and obtain education for their children.

Patrick Ngoley, a resident of Korr town, remarked,

“Before we were nomads, we would move with our animals. Now we stay in one place, at Korr or at Kargi. This is *mandeleo* (development). Here we have shops, schools, hospitals. But we still keep our animals in *fora*. When we need money for food we tell our warriors to sell stock at Laisamis, Isiolo, or Merille. They sell them and send us home money. But now everybody is paying for things they used to get for free—meat, transportation, *posho* (meal), milk. People must spend money until rain comes (and animals with milk can return). People must look for work in town making buildings, cleaning houses, even digging urinals. If there is no work, people must sell an animal. If a person is too poor and has no animals or money, he must beg from others.”
[Fratkin, 2004: 126–127]

5. COMMUNITIES IN THIS STUDY

5.1 Lewogoso Lukumai—A Nomadic Pastoral Community

Lewogoso is a mobile camel-, cattle-, and small-stock-keeping Ariaal settlement of approximately 250 people practicing mixed-species husbandry. The live in several large circular settlements, located near one another in the area along the Milgis River,



Photo 8. Lewogoso settlement, 1996.

between the towns of Laisamis and Ngrunit. Lewogoso includes male stockowners and their families, predominately members of the same kinship group—Lewogoso (‘the long necks’) clan of the larger Lukumai section (one of eight Samburu sections, and members of the White Cattle moiety).’ This community was originally studied by Fratkin in 1974–76, by 1985 it had segmented into four settlements, some concentrating on camel ownership, and others more on cattle and small stock (Fratkin, 1991, 2004). While some members of Lewogoso have left the pastoral community, the majority have remained. Lewogoso forms a control group to which many of the comparisons with the sedentary towns and communities in this study were made (including Fratkin, Roth, Nathan, Shell-Duncan, Fujita).

5.2 Korr—A Lowland Mission Town

Korr is a town in the arid lowlands of the Kaisut Desert below Marsabit Mountain, near the Rendille water holes at Halisuruwa. Korr was developed initially by the Marsabit Catholic Diocese to feed destitute Rendille during the famine of the 1970s, today Korr has a sedentary population of about 2500 people, with semi-nomadic Rendille settlements of perhaps 2000 people living nearby. Korr has poor marketing facilities, although the town has a small stock and meat market. The town has a primary school, medical clinic (maintained by the Catholic Mission) and large Catholic church, and is home to several NGOs, including a Protestant adult education school (Roth, 1991, 1996).

5.3 Karare—A Highland Agro-Pastoral Community

Karare is a settled highland community on Marsabit Mountain 17 km from Marsabit town, the district capital. Its 2000 residents are primarily Ariaal (Samburu/Rendille mix) who both keep cattle herds and raise dryland maize. Karare has access to good marketing



Photo 9. Karare town on Marsabit Mountain.

facilities as well as a large urban population in Marsabit town and is located on the major truck road from Nairobi to Addis Ababa. Karare women sell milk on a regular basis to Marsabit townspeople (Fratkin and Smith, 1995; Roth, 1996). Karare has existed as an Ariaal settlement since at least 1897, when members of the Leruk family greeted Lord Delamere on his journey south from Ethiopia. It remained a cattle keeping settlement until the 1970s, when a coalition of churches the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK), the African Inland Church (AIC) and the Catholic Diocese of Marsabit developed a dryland agricultural scheme near Karare called Nasikakwe. Today, about one half of Karare's residents live in Nasikakwe as farmers, and the other half keep livestock.

5.4 Songa—An Agricultural Community on Mt. Marsabit

Songa is a sedentary highland agricultural community on Mt. Marsabit of 2500 people, founded by American Protestant missionaries from the African Inland Church in 1973 in a forest on Marsabit Mountain for destitute Rendille. Songa is located in the thick forest region south of Marsabit Town; many of its farms have drip-irrigation agriculture, and raise a variety of crops including maize, kale, fruit trees, tobacco, tomatoes, and peppers. Songa's population grows vegetables for sale in Marsabit town (Smith, this volume).

5.5 Ngrunit—A Settled Pastoral Community

Ngrunit is a sedentary agro-pastoral community of approximately 1200 people located in a forested valley in the Ndoto Mountains made up of Rendille, Ariaal, Samburu, and Dorobo peoples. This community has a church, school, and small dispensary but is isolated and not well integrated into marketing activities. Its inhabitants raise vegetables from their gardens and market livestock.

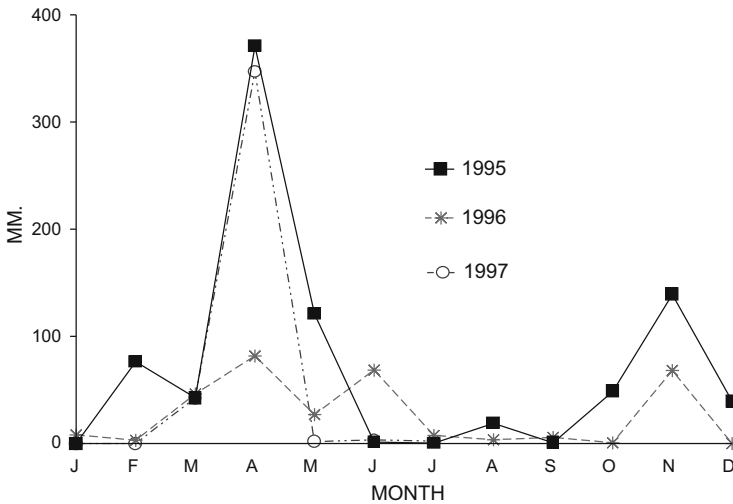


Figure 2. Marsabit District rainfall 1994–1997.

5.6 Other Communities in This Study

John McPeak and Peter Little's chapter compares several communities in their multi-ethnic comparison of Samburu, LChamus, Ariaal, Rendille, Gabra, and Boran. **Dirib Gumbo** is a Boran settlement approximately 10 kilometers from Marsabit town; **Ngambo** is an Il Chamus settlement approximately 10 kilometers east of Marigat town. Marigat town is located 100 kilometers north of Nakuru, and is the major market center used by Ngambo residents. **Sugata Marmar** is a Samburu settlement on the Laikipia—Samburu District border, approximately 50 kilometers south of Maralal on the Maralal—Rumuruti road. Significant populations of impoverished Turkana and Pokot are resident in this location as well. Sugata Marmar has a large weekly livestock market offering households the opportunity for alternative income sources and a place to sell animals. **Logologo** is an Ariaal settlement approximately 40 kilometers south of Marsabit town on the main Isiolo—Marsabit road. Logologo residents utilize markets in both Marsabit town and in Logologo town. Rain-fed agriculture is possible in the higher areas of this location, and a very small amount of small-scale irrigation is practiced in town. Most households in Logologo settled there in the 1970s following a series of poor rainfall years and herd losses. **Kargi** is a Rendille settlement approximately 75 kilometers to the west of Marsabit town in a flat, arid basin. Kargi residents mostly conduct market activity in Kargi town, although they make occasional use of Marsabit markets. Rendille in the Kargi area keep small herds in the area around town and rely on young men to stay with the remainder of the herd in highly mobile satellite camps. **North Horr** is a Gabra settlement approximately 200 kilometers west of Marsabit town on the northern edge of the Chalbi desert. Similar to Kargi, most market activity takes place in North Horr town, although residents do make occasional marketing trips to Marsabit town.

Adano and Witsenburg's chapter, as well as Smith (this volume) discuss **Marsabit Town**, which is the district capital. Marsabit's population grew from 4000 in 1974 to over 30,000 by 2002. Its principle residents include Burji farmers, Boran, Samburu (Ariaal), and Somali, with some Indian and Ethiopian, and Kikuyu shop keepers. It is also the location of the administration, employing several hundred people, the majority from "down country" including Kikuyu, Luo, Kalenjin, Kamba, and other groups.

6. CONCLUSION

Marsabit District is the setting for the majority of research discussed in this volume. Before 1970, the district was made up of almost exclusively nomadic livestock herding populations, about one quarter of whom settled near the growing towns and famine-relief centers created in large part by missionary activity. Both urban towns and agricultural communities have grown in the past half-century, and contribute to a dynamic interaction between herders, farmers, traders, and townspeople. The volume *As Pastoralists Settle* proceeds with focused descriptions and analysis of the social, health, and economic processes that occur with pastoral sedentarization.

NOTES

1. Population figures are based on 1989 Kenyan Census; figures from 1999 census have not been made available. See Table 1. Descriptions of these pastoral societies can be found for Ariaal (Falkenstein, 1995; Fratkin, 1991, 2004; Spencer, 1973), Boran (Baxter, 1978, 1979; Dahl, 1979; Hjort, 1979), Gabra (Tablino, 1999; Wood, 1999), Rendille (Sato, 1997; Schlee, 1989; Spencer, 1973), Samburu (Spencer, 1965, 1973), Laikipiak (Sobania, 1993.), Somali (Cassanelli, 1982; Lewis, 1961, 1994; Little 2003; Merryman 1987), and Turkana (Gulliver 1955; Lamphear 1992). For comprehensive histories of pastoral interaction in northern Kenya, see Schlee (1989) and Sobania (1988, 1991, 1993).

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