

Master thesis

Transition from Subsistence to Monetary Economy – A Counter Discourse to Mainstream Development Strategies. Case study from Samburu District, Kenya.

By

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The master thesis is carried out as a part of the education at the University of Agder and is therefore approved as such. However, this does not imply that the University answers for the methods that are used or the conclusions that are drawn.

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ABSTRACT

The present thesis is a case study with aim of performing an investigation of the process unfolding from the subsistence to a monetary economy. It is juxtaposed to counter mainstream development strategies amongst the Samburu people in Samburu District, Kenya. The objective has been trying to analyze the perceptions, ideas, transition- stages and patterns amongst the Samburu people as well as the reveal negative consequences that can occur from implementation of development and modernization strategies.

The Samburu people are classified as an indigenous population (IPACC 2007). Indigenous people around the world have often one unfortunate thing in common; negative outcomes from modernization and assimilation processes. While the Samburu people at the first glance appears to be a rather static and intact example of preservation of indigenous cultures, it is of course not true as all cultures have traces and evidence of changes occurring in their livelihoods and traditions (Spencer 1997). Since they usually have a different holistic worldview than the majority of the world's population, including development organizations, it is important to have bear in mind while creating and implementing development strategies in such communities.

Through a thorough chapter of theoretical framework and literature review, the common discourses on indigenous people, pastoralism and development are discussed. Theories and concepts forming the basis for this analysis are also examined in the same chapter.

Common researches on pastoralist communities have mainly concluded that they are maintaining a practice which leads to environmental degradation (Spencer 1997; McCabe 1997). But and loss is also one of the main issues proven negative among indigenous people. Populations relying on economic and social systems founded on natural resources are indeed more fragile to development initiatives and land loss than those who mainly rely on purchased goods (Survival international 2007).

The thesis reveals that a historically forced first stage of transition to monetary economy indeed changed the Samburu people. By being introduced to development strategies that are founded on a monetary economy, many of have become marginalized in terms of a monetary poverty which often bear negative consequences such as prostitution, alcoholism, crime and violence. While solely depending on pastoralism and subsistence economy, these outcomes were rarely occurring.

Five different locations in Kenya have been subject to this research, four of them located in Samburu District; Nairimirimo, Maralal, Barsaloi and Archers Post while the fifth research areas was Mtwapa, Mombasa. A mixed method consisting of both qualitative and quantitative methodology has been applied in the thesis.

The chapter on empirical findings and analysis is divided into four main sections. They analyse and discuss various mainstream development strategies and modernization processes which have had negative results on the Samburus but commonly are irreversible. Mainstream

development strategies in this thesis are associated with sedentary issues, urbanization, agricultural expansion, education, commercialization, business entrepreneurship and tourism.

KEY WORDS: PASTORALISM, DEVELOPMENT CRITIQUE, INDIGENOUS PEOPLE, SAMBURU.

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**NKAI EPIEKI KUROTO ORERE –
GOD LET ME LEAD EQUAL LIFE WITH THE SAMBURU SOCIETY.**

(Samburu proverb)

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS - Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
AP – Archers Post
BRS – Barsaloi
CCF – Christian Childrens Fund
CDF – Community Development Fund
GDP – Gross domestic product
HD – Human Development
HHI – Human Happiness Index
HIV - Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MBA - Mombasa
MP – Member of Parliament
MRL – Maralal town
NARC – National Rainbow Coalition
NFD – Northern Frontier District
NGO – Non-Governmental Organization
NMMO – Nairimirimo
UXO – Unexploded ordnance
SACCO traders -
SCC – Samburu County Council
SNR – Samburu National Reserve
STD- Sexually Transmitted Disease
UN – United Nations
UNDP – United Nations Development Programme
US – United States
WB – World Bank
WFP – World Food Programme

DICTIONARY

- Abiyo*** – Samburu term for “uncle” although it doesn’t in all cases apply to the biological brother of the mother
- Akuya*** – Samburu term for grandfather (used on elder men, not necessarily the biological grandfather)
- Apaya*** – Samburu term for elder man
- Banghi*** – Ghanja or marihuana
- Borana(s)*** – Ethnic group in Kenya from Cushitic origin
- Chamus*** – Ethnic group found in Kenya, Nilotic origin – ‘cousins’ of Samburus
- Hotel(i)*** – Commonly used Swahili word for cafe’s
- Jamhuri ya Kenya*** – Swahili phrase for ‘The Republic of Kenya’
- Kikuyu*** – Ethnic group in Kenya originated from Bantus
- Kodi*** – Samburu word for taxes introduced by the British colonials
- Laiboni(s)*** – Samburu word for ‘fortune-teller(s)’
- Lari*** – Samburu word for rainseason, rain, greenness and pasture and long duration of time, commonly a year or more
- Lais(i)*** – Samburu word for ‘witchdoctor(s)’
- Lale*** – Samburu term for area warriors or men gather with their animals for pasture outside their homes
- Lchoni*** – A skin for sleeping on, usually of cow.
- Leppapoos*** – Samburu adaptation of the English word labour force
- Lgumbao*** – Samburu word for chewing tobacco
- Lkishami*** – Current warrior generation of Samburu males
- Lmasula*** – The largest clan in Samburu culture
- Lmoimoi*** – Tree with soap like effect
- Lmoly*** – Age-set of Samburu males
- Lokop*** – Samburu name for original Samburu person
- Longeli*** – Samburu Clan of the white cattle
- Lorora*** – A very large enclosure with numerous traditional samburu houses, formed during ceremonies.
- Maa*** – Linguistic term for the language family of Samburu and Maasai amongst others
- Maasai*** – Ethnic group found in Kenya and Tanzania, Nilotic origin – ‘cousins’ of Samburus
- Mala*** – Samburu term for gourd – used to store milk
- Mandeleo*** – Kiswahili term for ‘development’
- Manyatta*** – Enclosure with a couple or more traditional Samburu houses and room for domestic animals.

<i>Matatu</i>	– Kiswahili word for minibuses which serves for public transport
<i>Meru</i>	– Ethnic group of Bantu origin
<i>Miraa</i>	– Khat – an eatable plant which gives stimulation in form of energy
<i>Mooti</i>	– Samburu word for clay pot
<i>Moran(s)</i>	– Samburu word for warrior(s)
<i>Mpira</i>	– A small bottle of liquor, spirits sold in bars for 50 shillings.
<i>Murata</i>	– Samburu term for ‘fellow circumcised’, used between warriors and fellow age-ments
<i>Muratare</i>	– Samburu word for circumcision
<i>Mzee</i>	– Kiswahili word for respectful addressing of an old man
<i>Mzungu</i>	– Kiswahili term for white person
<i>Naimaralal</i>	– Samburu word for ‘shiny surface’
<i>Ngrumma</i>	– Samburu word for maize flour
<i>Nkaji</i>	– Traditional Samburu hut
<i>Nkai</i>	– Samburu word for God
<i>Nkang</i>	– Samburu word for home
<i>Nkige</i>	– Samburu word for a certain tree which produces branches used as natural toothbrushes
<i>Nkolong(i)</i>	– Samburu word for drought or hunger, or also meaning that ‘you don’t have’...
<i>Pokot</i>	– Ethnic group of Nilotic origin
<i>Rendille</i>	– Ethnic group of Cushitic origin
<i>Rungu(s)</i>	– Samburu word for wooden or metal club(s)
<i>Pokot</i>	– Ethnic group of Nilotic origin
<i>Rendille</i>	– Ethnic group of Cushitic origin
<i>Rungu(s)</i>	– Samburu word for wooden or metal club(s)
<i>Sampurr</i>	– Samburu name for Samburu
<i>Sintaani</i>	– lover, girlfriend/boyfriend
<i>Saraii</i>	– Tree with soap like effect
<i>Shangaa</i>	– Samburu word for locally made brew similar to liquor
<i>Shuka</i>	– Kiswahili word for blanket used as wrapping cloth for dressing

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Appendix 1 – Commonly terms of addressing Samburu people

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Background

Indigenous people from around the entire world have generally had one poignant thing in common; deprivation of livelihood and social- and health related deterioration. While indigenous people in Australia, North America, Hawaii and Latin-America for instance, lost great parts of their environment at the same time as they were forced to adapt modernization strategies, this led to a monetary poverty which they had not experienced before (Survival International 2007; Kunitz 1994). Literature on indigenous people's history and policies inflicted on them, visualizes the importance of acknowledging non-universal development strategies generated according to the worldview and traditions of the targeted beneficiaries (Fratkin 1991; Anderson & Broch-Due 1999; Spencer 1997).



PICTURE 1.

CHILDREN AND YOUNG, MARRIED WOMEN IN NAIRIMIRIMO

It is not given that preserving cultural and traditional economic systems will be a panacea for avoiding social degradation similar to the above mentioned examples, but enhanced attentiveness to it might prevent development projects and strategies from causing such negative consequences. A counter effect on intended goals might be occurring in a more extensive range than to our knowledge.

The indigenous Samburu people in Northern Kenya (IPACC 2007) are like their famous relatives – The Maasai, in great extent still depending on subsistence economy through their pastoralist conduct of life. They are considered to be quite conservative as national and local development and modernization strategies in little extent have penetrated their supposedly 'static' culture. The Samburu people were in 1910 mainly living in an area the British Colonists termed; "*The Northern Frontier District*" (NFD) which was more or less a military base for the colonists. There was no movement allowed in and out of the district apart from British officials, and this strict policy lasted until the independence of Kenya (van Wyk 2006). This might explain why little experience with introduction of development projects compared to in example the Maasai Southern Kenya is found in this area. Having said this, people were met with force in terms of attending school, contributing to *leppapoos*, and to join the armed forces (MRL1, 4).

Similar with other indigenous people all over the world, the Samburu has generally been considered savage, primitive and perhaps somehow dense as they have not "been able" to develop themselves. Pastoralists in the Horn of Africa belong to the minority, and they are amongst the most marginalized people in this region. They are vulnerable in terms of climate change, environmental degradation, restriction of national borders, urbanization, sedentarization, seizure of land, tenure laws, as well as state neglect to mention some

(Spencer 1997; Kandagor 2005). Their wish for survival and social security is no less than for any of us, but there is a need for discovering and revealing consequence analysis of adapting and implementing various development projects and modernization strategies initiated amongst the Samburu people.

Even though mainstream development and monetary improvement of personal (family/livelihoods) economy is desirable and welcomed, the actual consequences are not revealed to the Samburus as they are difficult to measure. There are reasons why people have up kept traditions and cultural behaviour even while possessing knowledge of other lifestyles and by investigating counter effects of modernization and development processes, and they should be analyzed and accounted for to broaden the perspective on implementation of any development scheme.

In many case studies of indigenous people, often the conclusion is that they have suffered of transition to ‘modern lifestyles’ which has been aversely inflicted on them through different aspects of development strategies (Survival International 2007). To a vast extent, these examples are from people suffering from forced settlement, colonization, assimilation policies, and removal of ancestral land. Consequences have been decline in health, increased alcoholism, domestic abuse, violence, prostitution, crime, stigmatization and increased financial poverty (Kunitz 1994). As these types of outcomes are increasingly traceable in Samburu as well, they are not necessarily emerging due to forced policies, but perhaps due to prosperous desires and expectations arisen from formal education, globalization, urbanization and other current development strategies applied?

Rightfully, there has been a paradigm shift internationally and nationally from social darwinistic thinking towards acknowledging indigenous peoples rights and traditional understandings. However, conventions, declarations and covenants are not necessarily in line with the worldview of indigenous people themselves (IPACC 2007). Mainstream discourses and development strategies are by far orientated around benefits which can be achieved, measured or seen in relevance with monetary economy. In a development perspective, the transition from subsistence economy to monetary economy also brings about western values which has and still is dominating the mainstream development strategies.

1.2 Indigenous Pastoralists and Development

While indigenous people are regarded and classified as amongst the poorest people in the world (IPACC 2007), legal rights, empowerment, self-determination and recognition are important issues which positively are addressed frequently on international agendas these days. By giving the silent a voice, empowerment and inclusion is drawn attention to, but is it yet always spoken with the words of the indigenous while converted through other people’s connotation? If the latter is so, it doesn’t necessarily fit with the original message which can be unfortunate. The indigenous logics which give basis for the Samburu people’s lifestyle, traditions, culture, rituals and norms can easily be overlooked and connoted differently by external forces that have less experience with their worldview.

Although development projects might be well-intended, they are perhaps not giving recipients the proposed benefits (Spencer 1997, 2004; Fratkin 1997; Anderson & Broch-Due 1999; Goldschmidt 1981; Evangelou 1984; Behnke 1987). Again, mainstream development strategies are at large extent built on perceptions and objectives of economic growth or financial sustainability, something that isn’t necessarily consistent with the ideologies and

notions of pastoralists (Valdes & Gnaegy 1996; Spencer 1997; Fratkin 1991; Toksanbaeva 2004; Eversole et.al. 2005)

Assumingly, development strategies are converting from classic, Eurocentric roots into more adaptive and relative paradigms (Sen 1999; Friedman 1992; Kothari & Minogue 2002), but extensive literature indicates that critique of it still is applicable (Khotari & Minogue 2002).

The interest on pastoralists and development issues is currently becoming more popular to investigate. In particular in context with climate change, bloom and recreation of discourses on sustainable development, land management and overshoot (Sen 1999; IPACC 2007; Fratkin et.al. 2004; Spencer 1997) pastoralists are extensively being examined. Hence this, much of the literature is based on verifying Hardins theory of the 'Tragedy of the Common' as well as Malthus theory on food supply versus population growth (Hogg 1992; Barbier 2000; Spencer 1992, 1997). Furthermore the recognition of indigenous knowledge has lead to an increased interest on indigenous people's use of natural resources. (IPACC 2007) But in order to understand pastoralist conduct of life and enable viewing effects of transition from subsistence to monetary economy, one needs a larger perspective which includes external variables. It isn't sufficient to solely regard and describe pastoral systems as sedentarization, agrarian conduct, land resource management and legislative policies (Fratkin 1991, 1997). The very worldview and logics of the Samburu people needs to receive just as much attention as isolation of these factors diminish the possibility of understanding their indigenous logics, judgments, needs and aspirations for a good life.

Overall goals of development projects are poverty alleviation and social improvements, but the monetary foundation of development strategies might necessarily be regarded as a contradictory element as it could lead to deterioration for groups that are not building lives or identities on such (Kunitz 1994; Anderson & Broch-Due 1999; Fratkin 1991; Spencer 1997; Khotari & Minogue 2002).

1.3 Research Questions and Objectives

The main objective of the research is to contribute to counter mainstream development strategies mainly developed by western dominated organizations or institutions, to be applied in any community without reflection of spheres it might temper with. To understand how a monetary economy and the development strategies founded on it, affects traditional pastoral economy and society, I have selected the following research questions in attachment with the preliminary thesis phrasing.

- I. What are the main reasons for the Samburu people to convert from subsistence to monetary economy?
- II. To what degree do the Samburu people consciously or deliberately change to a monetary economy?
- III. Does the concept of monetary economy also change their traditional perceptions on joie de vivre?
- IV. Is monetary economy alone causing more social damage to the Samburu people than just traditional subsistence economy and will it lead to reduction in Samburu pastoralist practitioners?
- V. Would subsistence economy amongst sedentary Samburus have the possible ability to avoid common social and health related deterioration identified within other indigenous people?

- VI. What social effects of economic transition are traceable to the social life of the Samburu educated and the urban population in comparison with the local ‘unsullied’ illiterate population?

1.4 Motivation for the Topic

Different issues regarding indigenous people seem to have been of my interest since childhood. At early age, I explored literature on the aboriginal populations of America in particular, but also New Zealand and Australia. The relation between their social state and cultural heritage was of particular interest, especially solidarity perspectives based on how many of them were treated during pre- and colonial era. Disregarded of rights and scorn due to traditional practices, it is still an area of interest to me.

In 2001, I met my husband to be, who is of Samburu origin. We stayed in his native village for about 2 years, and within this period my curiosity of the culture grew. Numerous questions about external and internal influences, traditions, environment and connections between variables I am not yet aware of are still of interest to find answers to.

With indigenous people like the Samburu, fascination of preserving great deals of their cultural habits can be used as justification, whether deliberately or not – for not interfering with their livelihoods in terms of implementing development projects or modernization processes. But, the opposite also occurs. The assumingly primitive life has lead to several Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) being established to improve the living standard for the Samburu.

I have witnessed increased behaviour in terms of social degradation as mentioned earlier; alcoholism, monetary poverty, internal clashes and both physical and mental health problems. I also see that the Kenyan government and the majority of the present NGOs attend to the latest trend and discourses commended by the international development associations like United Nations (UN), World Bank (WB), and other big, private organizations, and not perhaps more adjusted strategies according to the area they operate in.

To look into the different aspects of transition from subsistence to monetary economy within the Samburu people, I hope I will get some answers to why they have resisted this shift for such a long time, and why it occurs more rapidly now? Another important motivation is as well looked upon which patterns of consequences that are caused by this transition. By revealing these answers, perhaps my research can contribute to a greater awareness of the multiple challenges that lies within acknowledging mainstream development strategies which seems to be based upon the notion that monetary economy can lead to positive changes in livelihoods of all people.

Chapter 2 - Contextual Overview

2.1 Country profile – Kenya

Fig.1

QUICK FACTS ABOUT KENYA

- Total population: 39,002,772
- Life expectancy rate at birth (M+F) 57.86 years.
- 42 different ethnic groups; Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya, Kalenjin, Akamba (the largest ones)
- Urban population of 6 million people
- Has the largest slum in the African continent - Kibera.
- Literacy rate (M+F) 85,1%
- Religion: Christianity - Protestants 45%, Roman Catholics 33%, Muslims 10%, Indigenous beliefs 10%, Other 2%.



(Source: CIA 2009)

2.1.1 Geographical and Topographical Overview

Kenya is situated in Eastern-Africa and borders Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda (CIA 2009). It has a total area of 582, 650 sq km which includes a coastline of around 500 km situated in the south-eastern part of the country (CIA 2009). The Indian Ocean Coastline is only one of the main biomes found in Kenya. In the western part, we find both Lake Victoria and tropical rainforest. In north-eastern, arid and semi-arid dry lands is the main topographical characteristic, accommodating deserts. The southern part is well known for its many savannahs and game parks like Amboseli, Masai Mara and Tsavo. The Country is bisected by the Rift Valley which gives partially reason to the great escarpments and mountains found here. Some of the tallest mountains in Africa is situated in Kenya, and almost in the middle of the country; Mount Kenya with its s highest point of 5,199 m (CIA 2009). Though snowy peaks and hot waves are contrasting the Kenya climate, the location on Equator contributes to a general, tropical climate in the country. There is also specific long- and short rain seasons which varies slightly around the different parts of the country, but the last years has made the rains more inconsistent (Calestous 2006).

2.1.2 Historical Outline

Jamhuri Ya Kenya (Republic of Kenya) gained its independence in 1963 from British colonial powers. Though aboriginal resistance movements, in particular the famous ‘*Mau Mau*’ suffered losses and fought for the right of self-government, the resignation from British colonists was actually quite peaceful compared to other African states liberation groups battles (Simensen 2004). This doesn’t mean that the resistance and liberation movements should in historical perspective only be considered as a scuffle, but since it was less bloodshed than for several other African countries, it is important to mention. Nevertheless, the displeasure with the settlers had grown severely after in particular the Kikuyu and Maasai people lost large areas to them over time. It was not a noteworthy lack of conflict between the aboriginal inhabitants of Kenya and the colonists. Also the traditional dispute of

landownership is vital for the current discussion on environmental degradation (Fratkin 1991, 1997; Spencer 1992, 1997, 2004; Arid Land 2005; Horowitz & Little 1987; IDCM 2006).

2.1.3 Political and Administrative Overview

Kenya has experienced four presidential elections. Their first independent President was Mzee Jomo Kenyatta who ruled until his death in 1978 (Simensen 2004). He was leader of the political party, *KANU* which was to hold the power until just after the new millennium. When *Mzee* Kenyatta died, the highly debated Daniel Arap Moi was with power for 24 years leaving the international society sanctioning the country (Simensen 2004). Human rights were violated in terms of strict conditions on freedom of speech, oppositional political actions and

behaviour for democratic rights. Corruption grew tremendously under Moi and when he resigned, Kenyans again looked for a new and prosperous start for their country and themselves as The ‘*National Rainbow Coalition – Kenya*’ (NARC) formed the third government was a multi ethnic constellation inspired by the ‘*Rainbow Nation*’, a concept developed by South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu, during

Fig.2

THE PROVINCES OF KENYA:

- 1: Central
- 2: Coast
- 3: Eastern
- 4: Nairobi
- 5: North-Eastern
- 6: Nyanza
- 7: Rift Valley
- 8: Western



(SOURCE: WIKIPEDIA 2008)

the reconciliation process after the fall of the apartheid regime (Tutu 2000). This wide coalition with president Kibaki was installed and Kenyans were positive, but optimism lasted just few years until the referendum debate took place in the country. Hereafter, old patterns of corruption, internal allegations and power shifting unravelled again. The most recent election itself ended in terrible riots and tribal clashes around Christmas 2007 due to severe allegations of election rigging. There is a high probability of rigging from both opposition as positional, but president Kibaki provoked by being sworn in at a very early moment from the publication of the highly doubtable election results. Currently, the country on a macro level, after mediation and integrating the oppositional in the government, is peaceful, but domestic tension is present and of great worry for all parties concerned. Ethnic clashes have escalated around the country, not even just amongst the two largest tribal groups which is the ethnic origins of the president and the prime minister.

Norwegian Minister of Environment and International Development (Erik Solheim) recently stated that the ethnicity of Kenya indeed is basis of the political agenda at current time. This is a crucial matter as Kenya is one of the few countries in Africa which haven’t suffered from ethnic clashes and civil war at the same degree as for instance Sudan, Uganda, Nigeria, South Africa, Rwanda and many other countries on the continent. Solheim further states that one of the most profound necessities for economic growth is peace (Solheim 2008).

2.1.4 Economic History and Socio-Cultural Factors

Kenya is currently the leading economy in East-Africa. The main export products are tea, coffee, sugarcane, petroleum products, cement and sisal-products (CIA 2009). Agriculture is the main source of income for the general population, though increased amounts of people has

engaged in different work concerning tourism (KNBS 2007). Tourism caters for most of Kenyan GDP (CIA 2009) and in particular the game parks or national reserves are attracting tourists to experience the Kenyan wildlife as well as multiple beaches along the coastline (KNBS 2007). Long durations of relative peace in the country have also played a vital part in Kenya's popularity amongst tourists (Solheim 2008).

The oldest documentation on the East-African past is; "*The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*", which was written in the first Century AD (Lodhi 2005). In this manuscript, accounts on merchants from the area which today is known as the Southern Arabia, visited the East-African coast. The Mercantile heritage from the Swahili areas is important in order to understand the complexity of the country, and also the economic hierarchy (Lodhi 2005; Middleton 1992).

The Swahili language is of Bantu origin (Lodhi 2005) and the Bantus form the majority of the people in the country. Among them are the Kikuyu people, the largest ethnic group in Kenya (CIA 2009). They developed the closest relations to the British colonial rule by being the ones in particular of Kenyans who worked for this establishment and therefore gained advanced administrative and organizational knowledge through their positions (Middleton 1992).

These organizational skills were developed through a long period of time, and simultaneously the missionaries demanded full understanding and acceptance for ethnocentric based development strategies in order for the aboriginal Kenyans to receive beneficiaries from them (Lesamana 2006b). It is also currently an ongoing debate on the colonial powers potential of promoting development and economic stability compared to how the indigenous forces manage the same tasks. The globetrotter Wilfred Thesiger was convinced until his recent death that the British was by large extend just assisting Kenya through colonizing them, and not just driven by exploitation strategies, lack of social conscience and empathy for the aboriginal people (Thesiger 1995). But the Arab and Asian contact with the Swahili coast is also significant in order to understand economical patterns, systems and development in Kenya.

The legacy from the colonial era is still important to consider and discuss as Africa is the poorest continent in the world, and Kenya still is depending on aid and financial support from abroad. Perhaps all segments of domestic and international development strategies, initiatives and discourses are based on the Eurocentric values and ideas descendent from the colonials were indoctrinated in the aboriginal inhabitants of Kenya? Regarding the recognition of capitalism after the colonial era, as well as the governments' maintenance of several organizational strategies implemented by the British, this can be realistic to believe.

But economically, it is the Asians and in particular the Indians who is regarded as the financially richest ethnic group in the country. Historically, they were by force brought to Kenya through the British Indian Empery primarily to serve as labour force for building railways (Patel 2003). Many remained after the railway was completed, and other family members were sent for to join them in Kenya. The Indians do stand for a lot of the domestic and international trade and business associated with Kenya (Patel 2003).

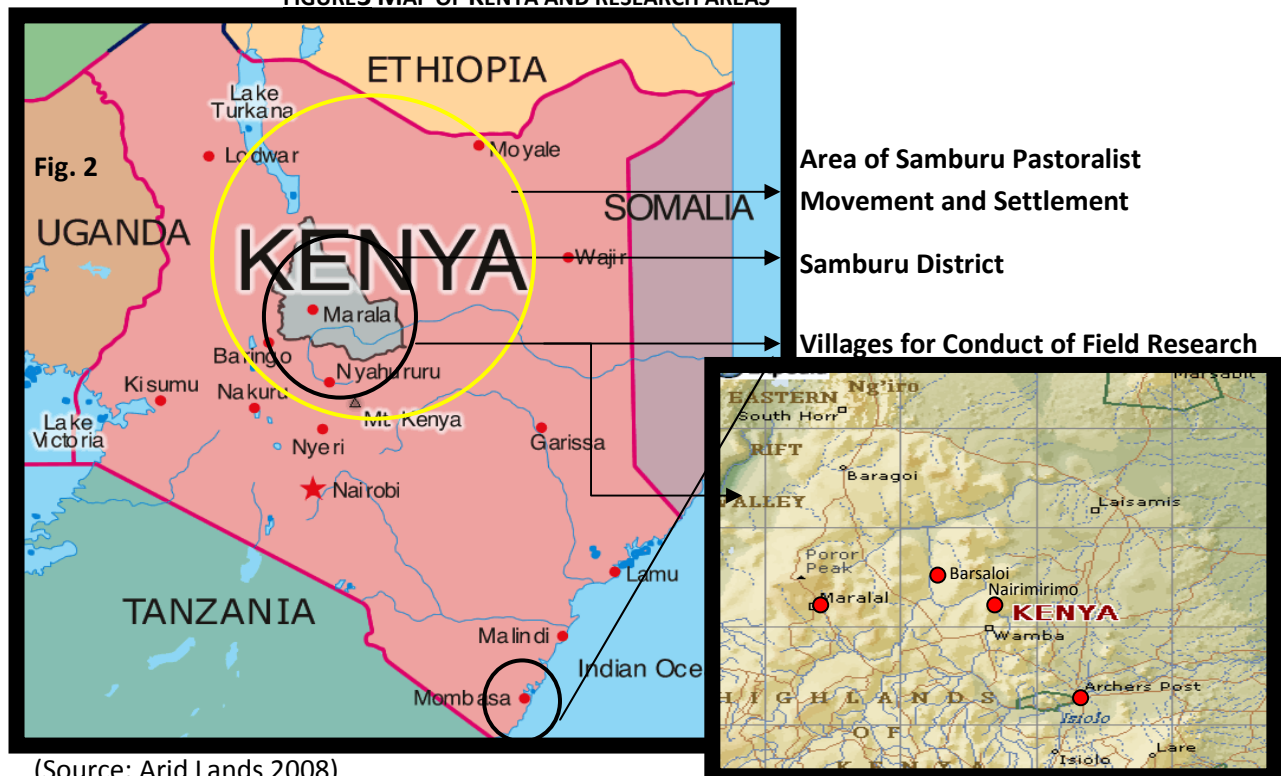
In Eastern Africa, pastoralism is a major livelihood and production system (WISP 2006). In Kenya, as many as 4 million people are estimated to be pastoralists, constituting more than 10% of the country's total population. By including pastoral and agro-pastoral activities, one can count approximately 80% of Kenya's total areal to be occupied by such conduct (WISP

2006), and most of the practitioners are found in the Northern areas (Fratkin & Roth 2004). Two of the pastoralist ethnic groups, the Maasai and the Samburu, are also massively involved in tourism as their traditional dressing and cultural practice seems to attract visitors (SCC 2007; the Maasai Association 2008; Miller 2006). In addition, their natural environments are in range of the most popular Safari destinations which automatically exposes them to the business of tourism.

2.2 Geographical and Environmental Overview of Samburu District

Samburu is one of the current 18 districts that make up the Rift Valley Province in Kenya. (Arid Land 2005)

FIGURE 3 MAP OF KENYA AND RESEARCH AREAS



(Source: Arid Lands 2008)

It is bordering Baringo, Turkana, Laikipia, Isiolo and Marsabit Districts (Arid Land 2005). The district is divided into two main units; Samburu East and Samburu West. These two again are subdivided into several locations.

The nomadic pastoralism and also post-modern insecurity and drought have led the Samburu people to wander around, though within the National borders of Kenya. The District covers an area of almost 21 000 sq. kilometres and has a varied topography, though mostly consisting of arid or semi-arid lands (Arid Land 2008). There are in particular three ways of defining the topography of the area which is mountains, valleys and plateaus (Arid Land 2005) and most of the district is consisting of arid or semi-arid lands, similar to the rest of Northern Kenya.

There are several Mountain ranges in Samburu, and 'Oldonyo Ngiro' is considered to be a sacred mountain according to the Samburu traditional beliefs. It is approximately 2000 m (Arid Land 2005). Again, the Matthew Ranges, Kirisia Ranges and Ndotto Ranges are also at their highest peaks around 2500 – 3000 metres high (Arid Land 2008). In these areas, the rainfall is at the highest in the district whereby the driest months are around January and February (Arid Land 2005). The areas around Kirisia and Porro are now growing farming areas due to its cool climate. There are also some possibilities of farming around the borders

of Marsabit District, but it is not yet a commonly adapted behaviour amongst the Samburu people living there although there is a slow increase of agricultural activities.

Even if Rift Valley region is assumingly rich due to tourist-based revenues from especially three of its districts (KNBS 2007) doesn't necessarily apply to the ethnical groups who live here. There is a mismatch on the actual benefits from it both individually and collectively (Miller 2006). In the Eastern part of Samburu, tourism is common as the Samburu & Buffalo National Reserve and Shabaa National Reserve are located there. The largest river in the district, Uaso Ngiro is one of the few permanent ones found in the area, and is providing the area with pasture. (KNBS 2007)

The road networks and other infrastructural components are unquestionably absent. The Arid Land describes the infrastructure of the district in a SWOT analysis from 2005 as this;

“Poor or non-extant physical infrastructure such as roads, irrigation canals, factories, hospitals and telecommunications” (Arid Land 2005)

However, a new tarmac road is in these days being constructed from Isiolo to Archers Post with the aim of reaching as far as Marsabit by 2012 (Lekeriyio 2008).

Most of the Samburu people are trekkers and tend to walk very far distances for different purposes. It is not uncommon for a warrior in particular to move several hundred kilometres a week (Spencer 2004; SCC 2007). This also complicates possibilities for economic growth, accessing good health care, involvement of necessary stakeholders in any development project or public policymaking. Most importantly is the lack of sufficient water sources in most of the areas of Samburu. Rivers are by large just seasonal, and with climate change, currently unreliable rain seasons as well as increased privatization and restrictions on land resources, the areas for accessing bare subsistence necessities is getting harder (Arid Land 2005; WISP 2006).

2.2.1 Administrational Organization and Demography

The district has a population of approximately 156,125 people and its' density is determined by natural conditions and development infrastructure. Kirisia division has the highest population due to its good climate, fertile soils and many trading centres (SCC 2007). Maralal town is the main urban centre in this division. During the dry season many people concentrate around the permanent water sources, otherwise most of the people who are pastoralists move with their livestock in search of water and grazing (Arid Land 2005).

Most of the Samburu people, apart from those born or deceased in urban areas, are never encountered for in any statistics. According to the national development funds for arid and semi-arid areas; Arid Lands, the population growth in Samburu District is immense.

Table 1. DECADAL POPULATION GROWTH RATES IN SAMBURU DISTRICT SOURCE: (ARID LAND 2005)

Year	Population	Growth rate (%)	Annual growth rate (%)
1979	79,908		
1989	108,834	36	3.6
1999	154,442	42	4.2

2008	183, 800 (projected)	19	2.1
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"BASED ON POPULATION PROJECTION FOR THE YEAR 2006, THE TOTAL POPULATION WAS EXPECTED TO RISE TO 176,782 AND THIS WOULD GIVE AN OVERALL MEAN DENSITY OF 8.3 PERSONS PER KILOMETRES IN THE DISTRICT."

The table indicates a quite extensive growth in population between the years 1989 and 1999. Though it is hard to establish any valid and reliable statistics on this, immigration from other ethnic groups is visible within the whole district. These are mainly Kikuyus coming with purpose of establishing businesses, or Somalis, Boranas and others. It is important to note amongst the pastoralists in the country, it is still not common to register either cases of birth or death (SCC 2007). Demographical statistics can thus not be trusted, and nobody therefore knows exactly how many people can be considered for instance as living below the line of poverty according to United Nations Development Programmes (UNDPs) indicators (Arid Land 2005; WISP 2006). It is also hard to establish how many of the pastoralist population who attends school, holds salary based labour or to measure median life expectancy and birth rates. This complicates the process of both estimating and verifying how many who really favours from development projects and strategies applied in their areas and who lessens the value of life according to for instance human development and happiness index approaches (Khotari & Minogue 2002; Anderson & Broch-Due 1999; Fratkin 1991; Spencer 1997). Spencer (1997 p. 214) uses data he has accumulated over years through his research in the region to estimate the population growth among the Samburu exclusive of immigration to be *"a suggested annual growth rate of 2, 3 percent"*

Even though the Samburu District mainly consists of the aboriginal ethnic group with the same name, there are of course also other populations here. Other pastoralists like Rendille, Somali, Borana, and Chamus (also frequently pronounced Lchamus), Pokot and Turkana are the most common. Immigrants like the Luo, Kikuyu, and Meru arrived mainly to establish commercial businesses, and they are increasing in numbers. In the administrative official centres like Maralal, a vast representation of the multiethnic composition in Kenya is visible (SCC 2007). But equal to the majority of the population in Northern Kenya is that most of them depend on nomadic pastoralism (WISP 2006). According to beliefs, traditions and ecological resources, agro-pastoralism is in little scale practiced compared to cattle herding (Arid Land 2005, 2008; WISP 2006; Fratkin 1991; Spencer 1997). The very topographic nature of the Northern Kenya suggests that pastoralism was indeed one of the few, if any other, possibilities to create activities for survival (Spencer 1997).

2.3 Samburu Kinship and Age-sets

The Samburu people claim they derive from *'Nkai'* (God) but are equal to cattle (Blauer 1987). They have a profound system of age-sets, clans and positions which guides them in identifying other people and they usually don't use given birth names to address people. It is also considered rude to do so, in particular to elders, but also while addressing warriors and married women. There are exceptions to when it is used. Commonly a mother or a father can be addressed according to names of in particular their firstborn as in example; *'Menye'* (means 'father').... (followed by the name of the child) or *'Ngoto'* (means 'mother'.... (followed by the name of the child). (See appendix 1 for detailed descriptions on how to address people hence Samburu customs)

Biological bonds are not usually the only rationale to determine how one should term people. More often it is a matter of the age-set and position of the person addressed. For instance, an uncle is usually not a real brother to the person's father or mother, but has family bonds that are related to the mother through different ways.

Most of the Samburu people are not aware of their real age determined by the actual date and year of their birth. But ages are classified by approximation depending on different age-sets which are initiated through the Samburus most important cultural event; namely the circumcision of boys (*Muratare*). The circumcision ceremony takes place in order to mark the transition from boyhood to warrior hood. This is considered the backbone event of the Samburu culture as a man's real identity is being built within this period of time (Blauer 1987). The identity comes through the name of the age-set and will guide other people in knowing who you are. Being a warrior imply an adolescent stage in life, but also consists of hard work. It is of great importance to the Samburu people as they believe you cannot become a real, responsible and wise man if you have ignored or skipped this stage as you will not yet be ready to dispatch from juvenile behaviour (Spencer 2004).

The Samburu age-sets are strict and cannot be jumped. A son can only be circumcised at the time when two generations has been initiated after his fathers'. It doesn't go according to the age of the son, so sometimes a boy becomes warrior at around the approximate age between 30-40 years. It is not allowed for an uncircumcised boy to become a father before he is legally a warrior, and he is further not allowed to have sexual relationships with women, which means circumcised girls. However, one can engage in sexual relationships with uncircumcised girls. All warriors of same age-sets consider the age-mates of his father to be equally important as his biological father, and his own kids will also be regarded as equally important to fellow age-mates. The age-sets are usually initiated every 15th year whereby the warriors to be gather in so-called *lorora* arranged according to their clans. Thereafter, they are usually circumcised together as part of one main event. However, it is also currently common for a family to arrange such ceremonies for the family's sons and circumcise at home instead of participating in a joint event together with the majority of the clan.

The following table list names the different Samburu age-sets which I was able to retrieve knowledge of, starting with the current one, initiated in 2006 (*Lkishami*). There are previous ones which my interview objects were unable to remember the names of. The table is set up in three coloured columns to illustrate the relationships between the fathers and the determination of their sons' age-sets. (In example, *Lkishami* is son of *Lkishili*, which again is son of *Lkileku* and so on)

TABLE 2. SAMBURU AGE-SETS

Lkishami	Lmoly	Lkororo (pl.) (Sing. = Lkororoi)
Lkishili	Lkimaniki	Lmekuri
Lkileku	Lmerisho	Lterito
Lmarikon	Ltarigring	Lkipiku
Lkiteku	Lkipayana	Lmanki
Siria	Lmaina	

Interrelated with the age-sets are the Samburu clans and sub-clans. By knowing which clan or sub-clan you belong to, one can easily trace the full family lines. While asking who a person

is, you will be answered with his or her surname which is interlinked with clans. Further you can ask who the mother is and by getting her surname, you will know which clan she originates from. As inbreed is considered a taboo, there is only one clan, The *Lmasula*, the largest, which can practice intermarriage. However, there are rules on which sub-clans can marry each other within the *Lmasula* as well.

Understanding the clans, one also gets a greater knowledge of the Samburu peoples' world view. They 'descend' from two types of cattle; the black and the white. Although there are conflicts and discontent between clans, there is still a great respect for them. Ceremonies cannot be planned by only the people from the white or black cattle, but usually, while for instance planning circumcision of boys, the *Lmasula* consults *Longeli*' and they are both

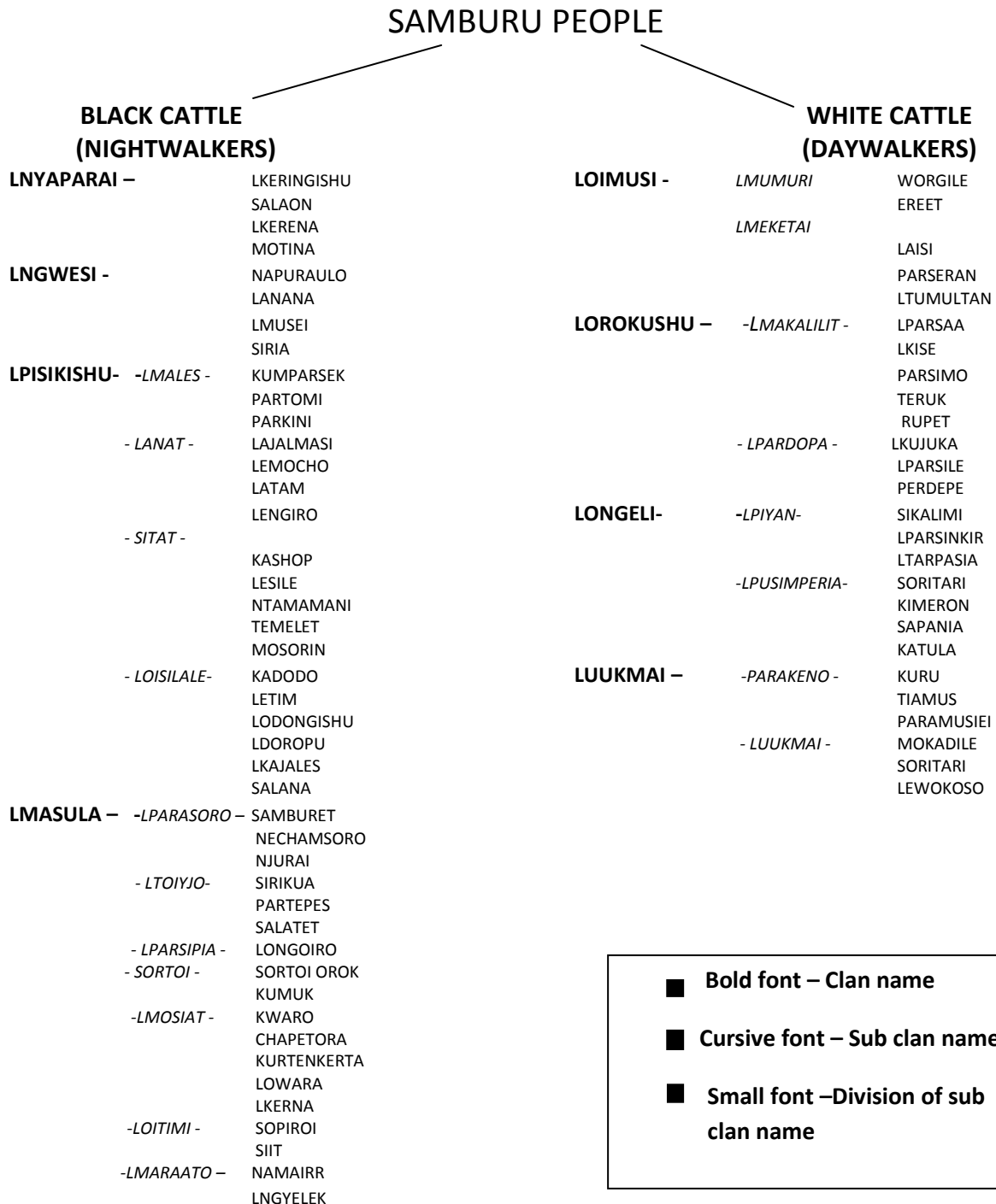
equally important on making decisions of the conduct of this ceremony. Having said so, it is common for one clan alone to perform the ceremonies after the rules and regulations are decided and agreed upon.



PICTURE 3. A *LMASULA* WOMAN PREPARING A 'MALA' TO BE USED IN THE CIRCUMCISION CEREMONY OF HER SON.

The following table illustrates the clans and sub-clans of the Samburu people which are of severe importance in order to determine social relations and therefore also duties, obligations and family ties within the Samburus.

FIGURE 4. THE SAMBURU SEGMENTARY DESCENT SYSTEM



(source Paul Spencer 2004, p.72-73) ¹

¹ Spencer uses other spellings and his table is sometimes mixed with common family names which are not sub-clans. He also lacks some of the sub-clans. Therefore his figure is here modified according to interview objects

Chapter 3 – Theoretical Framework

There are several concepts concerning indigenous people, economical transitions and development strategy critique. I have chosen some key contributions which I regarded vital for my further research. The connection between application of mainstream development strategies, economical transition and indigenous people is well addressed by several actors (Evangelou 1984; Behnke 1987; Anderson & Broch-Due 1999; Valdes & Gnaegy 1996; Toksanbaeva 2004; Fratkin 1991; Spencer 1997), whereby the common critique is that the perception and interpretation of poverty as antonym to development is insufficient (Khotari & Minogue 2002). Furthermore, development strategies which are founded on the idea of engender income as the most vital way for improving livelihoods of all people, is highlighted and debated. Together with the fact that most mainstream development theories and concepts mainly are formed by westerners and their set of values (Khotari & Minogue 2002) is also subject to discussion and critique.

According to the anticipated focus of this thesis, literature and concepts concerning the following subjects, listed in random order, should be integrated in order to review the transition from subsistence to monetary economy in accordance with mainstream development strategies. Chapter 4 which is an extensive literature review, will deal with the same topics;

- Indigenous people
- Pastoralism
- Environment
- Economical theory
- Development

3.1 Environmental Theory

3.1.1 ‘The Malthusian Check’ and ‘the Tragedy of the Common’

Most conclusions on pastoralist practice are based on giving consent to Malthus and Hardin’s theories of unsustainable land management (Fratkin 1997). Thomas Malthus was of the opinion that the population grew faster than the agricultural fundement so that people would always live with scarcity of food resources. His observations cannot be compromised, but his theories can (Lesamana 2005). The reason why Malthus often is used as a theory proven valid within pastoralist societies is the increased visualization of overgrazing in association with larger population growth around the pastoral areas.

information and participatory observation. He also calls the clans for “phratry” although the Samburu people themselves don’t use this type of description. I have chosen to use a translation suitable according to how the Samburu people term their own segmentary descent system.

Garrett Hardin's 'Tragedy of the common' is based upon that the free natural resources ought to be protected by all those who were in need of them. At the same time, it's a paradox that these people are not thinking collectively in a sense of what would favour them all and what would be the most convenient and beneficiary use of resources, but rather thinks individually of what solely benefit themselves (Lesamana 2007). The collective needs are diminished as one first and foremost thinks of one's own exploitation of the collective goods. Hardin's theory is often used to verify that pastoralists have an interest of first and foremost ensure that their own – in terms of individuals and family – cattle graze sufficiently enough while disregarding other pastoralists inclination of doing the same. By disregarding the collectives' needs for the same supplies, overgrazing becomes the result as one example.

3.1.2 The Sustainability Concept

The Brundtland Commission gave life to the concept of Sustainable development through the commission's report; 'Our Common Future' in 1987 (Brundtland Commission 1987). Sustainable development as concepts imply that environmental, economical and social activities requires conscience so that the coming generations also can benefit from the worlds resources as the previous ones have done (Brundtland Commission 1987). The importance of preserving the environment has become more emphasized currently. To regard environment, development and economic growth as separate issues are not adequate as a healthy environment is regarded as a necessity for a sustainable living.

“Development cannot be divorced from ecological and environmental concerns. Indeed, important components of human freedoms—and crucial ingredients of our quality of life—are thoroughly dependent on the integrity of the environment.”
(Amartya Sen, cited in UNCHR 2002)

Furthermore, the aspiration of economic growth should not jeopardize the environmental resources as this will cause long term or permanent damages which are a negative heritage for the coming generations. This will limit their possibilities of development as every generation needs resources for improving or sustaining their livelihoods. The current generations should be concerned of leaving the future populace with an environment in a condition which can enable further development.

3.1.3 Functionalism

The late Bronislaw Malinowski is regarded as one of the fathers of modern social anthropology. During his stay in the Trobriand Islands in the beginning of the 1800th Century, the First World War put a stopper to Malinowski his plan of returning to Britain after only one year on the islands. Therefore, quite accidentally he postponed his return with two extra years, leaving him to be one of the first people to conduct a longitudinal anthropological research. This culminated in the theory known as functionalism. The idea of functionalism is to view and analyze a society in its entirety (Hylland Eriksen 1997). By for instance only examine religion; one would have little possibilities of understanding the full logics and systems of the society. The society is a conglomerate which depends on other variables for optimal function and separating them will lessen the opportunity of understanding the purpose of actions and measures within the people one studies. Anthropology as scientific discipline has adapted this view in terms of describing societies through cultural relativistic lenses. This means that the researcher should describe the functions and notions within a certain society

through their point of view, and disregard his or hers own opinions or judgment of these practices (Hylland Eriksen 1997).

I have deliberately chosen to include functionalism under environmental theories because pastoralism is essentially an environmental activity, but for the Samburu people also basis of their worldview. Having mentioned this, the theory is subject to all sections organized under chapter 6.

3.2 Economic Theory

3.2.1 Substantivism

In the beginning of the 1960s, a debate between the so-called formalists and substantivist emerged in the Western academic societies. Substantivism is a concept descending from the Hungarian social scientist and economist Karl Polanyi's article; 'The Economy as Instituted Process' (Gjems 2006). Polanyi is still of great importance to the scientific discipline of economy. One of his major works; *"The Great Transformation"* (1944) has inspired several economic scientist to further develop theories based on Polanyi's work. The content of the book is concerning capitalism as unique phenomena, and he goes into depth of explaining the expansion of it as well as describing the pre-industrial economies trademarks (Bennholdt-Thomsen & Mies 1999).

"...in modern market economies the needs of the market determine social behaviour, whereas in pre-industrial and primitive economies the needs of society determine economic behaviour." (Latham 2007)

Polanyi claimed that to a formalist, all economies are based on the rational options of scarce resources in order to achieve wanted goals. On the other side is the substantivist who regards the phenomenon as human beings, its social and materialistic environment jointly, aspire satisfying the materialistic needs. Therefore, the substantivist regards economy as a particular part of the social life they belong in, and not solely as subject to behaviour. In the western world, these two views have become merged and are regarded more as part of the same issue. In non-monetary economies, the substantivist idea is still applicable (Hylland Eriksen 1997).

Polanyi also highlighted two important concepts visible in the pre-industrial types of economies; reciprocity and redistribution. These are both social economic systems whereby sharing and distribution of goods and services reinforces and to large extent determines social structures important in these communities (Latham 2007). The third concept of economic distribution was the principle of market. The market is anonymous in respect that it builds on the principles of a free choice of trading partners which is impersonal compared to the two other concepts of reciprocity and redistribution (Hylland Eriksen 1997). The principle of market is the common one found in the capitalistic system, but there are usually traces of all these three within most societies in the world. However, it is significant to note that the dominance and importance of each concept varies accordingly (Hylland Eriksen 1997).

A feminist critique described by Bennhold-Thomsen and Mies (1999 p.114) points at Polanyi failed to see the social consequence of; *“that the technologically progressive market economy ruins the subsistence aspect of economy that is essential to life.”*

Whether this above mentioned critique is applicable or not, Polanyi’s basic idea of reciprocity and redistribution is vital to understand the complexity of marginal economies and the historical background of capitalism.

Building on Polanyi’s theory, Sahlin (1972) suggested three different levels of a financial system within non- monetary economy societies;

- General reciprocity
- Basic reciprocity
- Negative reciprocity

General reciprocity is referring to trade within close family members, while in balanced reciprocity a more formal approach is common, usually occurring between more distantly related people. At last, negative reciprocity is the zone of trade between entirely strangers or enemies. Theft, fraud and scam can be methods used within this level of trade (Bates & Fratkin 1999).

Polanyi’s idea of reciprocity is through Sahlin (1972) brought down to macro level among the non-capitalistic societies, and is important to enhance the understanding of marginal economic systems (cited in Hylland Eriksen 1997).

3.2.2 Economic Spheres

Pierre Bourdieu was a French sociologist which has made an important contribution to cultural economy (Hinde & Dixon 2007). His works are intricate and consists of an overall philosophy that came to show throughout his academic contributions (Hinde & Dixon 2007).

Giving a brief introduction of Bourdieu’s reflections concerning economy is hard, but there are some key elements which can assist in understanding in particular indigenous people’s traditional lack of affiliation with a monetary economy. He distinguished between dissimilar types of capital; social, symbolic and cultural as in addition to financial capital which is the dominant sphere in economic discourses. Cultural capital could according to Bourdieu be accumulated through for instance education and our upbringing. Social capital refers to circles of people which can be beneficiary in terms of their status and position. According to Bourdieu, theoretical class fractions are fictive categories and people can move within these rooms by exchanging different volumes of ‘capital’. The fictive ‘class distinctions’ express distances in the ‘social room’ whereby limited understanding occur between people who are distant within the ‘room’. But all have different volumes of Bourdieu’s types of capital and by exchanging it; we will enable to move within the ‘room’ (Lebaron 2002). This he called ‘habitus’. By this, Bourdieu means the status and position we gain in the ‘room’ through the different volumes of our capitals. His division of capital can contribute to a healthier development debate as social and cultural values cannot be excluded from issues concerning improvement of livelihoods (Hinde & Dixon 2007). He also gives meaning to the concept of economic spheres by addressing power relations, the perceptions of class fractions, ‘habitus’ and the possible conversion of capital (Hinde & Dixon 2007).

As a continuation of Bourdieu's thoughts, Hylland Eriksen (1997) refers to the concept of economical spheres. In essence it means that there are different areas of which the economy is divided into, and that these spheres become more constricted in a dominating market economy. Objects, goods and services are used for trade and business within the different spheres (Hylland Eriksen 1997). The monetary economy can to different degrees change the social systems and therefore the structure of the society. Within the traditional spheres, there can be underlying moral commitments and dimensions that also can fade away or vanish with transition to monetary economy.

Hylland Eriksen (1997) further refers to the Tiv people in Nigeria while illustrating the meaning of economic spheres (p. 211-213). Traditionally they had three spheres whereby trade within each sphere was accepted, but between the 3 of them, moral obligations and taboos prevented it. With the transition to monetary economy, these spheres lost traditional ethical partition as the measuring system was changed because money penetrated all the spheres, and became one common yardstick for all economic transitions (Hylland Eriksen 1997). Some even claim that women gained a poorer position in the society than before as a direct consequence of this economical transition (Hylland Eriksen 1997).

“Money can be accumulated and invested. Money is impersonal and anonymous.”
(Hylland Eriksen 1997 – My interpretation)

Hylland Eriksen points at a problem. Services and commodities commonly subject to trade without having a monetary value can change a community and their traditions while converted into such. This is of importance in this thesis.

It was also an issue for Bourdieu. His description of exchanging different types of capital is vital to understand as Hylland Eriksen's example of the Tiv people illustrates. Economic spheres are containing substance of different capital, and when financial capital penetrate the spheres that have been dominated by social and cultural capital 'habitus' changes and causes movement in 'the room'. Once converting social and cultural capital into financial capital, there can come about changes within individuals and communities which were unpredicted. These can furthermore be on colliding course with their traditional world view (Hinde & Dixon 2007, Bennholdt-Thomsen & Mies 1999).

3.3 Development Theory

3.3.1 Indigenism and Indigenous Knowledge

A relatively newly appreciated concept – indigenism - is introduced to maintain and reveal indigenous knowledge is of importance to understand which set of values one challenges within indigenous societies while suggesting development deployment (Niezen 2005). The foundation of the concept is to raise awareness, empowerment and increase the ability of self-determination among indigenous communities, in particular in international forums so that they are no longer just spoken of or to, but spoken with.

The word indigenism in association with the same concept was first used by the Mexican activist and anthropologist Guillermo Bonfil Batalla around 1930s (Keshena 2008). It evolved due to the aboriginal Latin American populations' elevation of difficulties with modernization

and assimilation processes. Batalla associated the Spanish word *indigenismo* and claimed six principles to follow it, based on the situation for the Mexican indigenous population:

- Right to ancestral lands including complete control of land and subsoil, the defence of land and recuperation of land lost.
- Recognition of the ethnic and cultural identity of indigenous people- all indigenous peoples and organizations reaffirm the right to be distinct in culture, language and institutions, and to increase the value of their own technological, social and ideological practices.
- Equal political rights in relation to the state.
- The end of repression and violence, particularly that against the leaders, activists and followers of indigenous political organizations.
- The end of family planning programmes which have brought widespread sterilization of indigenous women and men.
- The rejection of tourism and folklore, meaning the end of commercialization of Indian music, dance and other art forms as well as other forms of cultural appropriation. Instead, respect for true indigenous cultural expressions.

(Bullet points are direct quote from Keshena 2008)

Although Batalla is credited as the brain behind indigenism, it was Ward Churchill, a radical scholar who made it known in the Western world (Keshena 2008). Indigenism is the concept which integrates 'indigenous knowledge', often also called 'traditional knowledge'. Its purpose is to emphasize the aboriginal peoples systems, ideas, and traditions, beliefs and values for thereafter creating and implementing development projects adjusted to this.

3.3.2 People Centred Development

People-Centred development (PCD) is one of the so-called alternative development concepts whereby the main idea is to have a 'bottom-up approach' (Monaheng 2001; Friedman 1992). The left wing, radical academic environment that stood behind the emerging of this concept questioned the common opinions on development strategies possibilities of success if they were only market centred or state centred? Since the beneficiaries were people, then a superior goal in development work should also be obliged to put people in the centre (Friedman 1992).

This concept is also founded on emphasizing the basic needs of people; food, shelter and water. Further, the environment should be respected; meaning sustainability should be an overall goal. Due to this, growth should be limited (Friedman 1992). There are also two more guiding principles of people centred development - namely *participation* of the beneficiaries in development processes and policymaking which are of their concern, and to assist and support the people's agendas through bureaucracy and voluntary organizations (Friedman 1992).

Similar to the concept of indigenism, is the idea of the people themselves being allowed to address and choose their needs and desires for livelihood improvement, although with limitation through the requirement of sustainability (Monaheng 2001).

Traditional western development approaches are usually based on the development practitioners being the ones who introduce, suggest and implement development strategies, while in the case of people-centred development, the role of the first party is to act as

facilitators. The communities will therefore be the power holders in terms of initiating and creating various development schemes (O' Brien 1987).

The result of following such a concept is alleged to be self-determination, empowerment and community ownership all associated with sustainability (Monaheng 2001).

Chapter 4 – Literature Review

This chapter will review and discuss literature subject to the thesis. Although the organization of the chapter is subdivided in various, general topics, the literature is highly interrelated to the concepts, theories and empirical findings subject to this thesis.

I find it advantageous to go in depths on prior research, literature and cases related to the earlier mentioned topics of indigenous people, pastoralism, environment, development, and economical theory. Integrated in this discussion is the focus of the four sections subject to my empirical findings and analysis discussed in chapter 6. Introducing the emphasis of chapter 6 at this point, can enhance the readers understanding of highlighted literature, as well as illustrate how theories also described earlier has been both proven and disapproved by other researchers.

These sections subject to chapter 6 on empirical data and analysis are organized as follows;

- Sedentary issues, urbanization and agriculture
- Education
- Commercialization and business entrepreneurship
- Indigenous logics

However, as all subjects are interrelated, the literature review more generally exposes the overarching connection between topics, theories, concepts and the basis of the empirical analysis. The literatures significance for the analysis of empirical data, theories and concepts will be thoroughly revealed in chapter 6.

4.1 Brief Overview of Key Contributors and Core Issues

The literature on pastoralism is large and expanding intensively. Elliot Fratkin (1997) says almost all are written in the past 20 years. Hence pastoralism and development issues, he further states that there has been a change from a dominant social and environmental perspective towards more political ecology approach (Fratkin 1997).

Again, Fratkin states that;

“...a significant number [of researches] focused on political and economic change, including problems of loss of communal grazing lands, sedentarization and urban migration, and rapid commoditization in a market economy.” (Fratkin, 1997)

Together with social anthropologist – Paul Spencer, these two men form a broad foundation of social studies concerning the Samburu pastoralist community. During the last two decades,

in particular anthropologists, but also researchers from other disciplines have concentrated more on studying possible negative consequences of development efforts implemented from both local and international actors in such communities (e.g. Bennett 1988; Hogg 1992; Horowitz & Little 1987; Kunitz 1994).

Paul Spencer is the most acknowledged social anthropologist and also perhaps overall social scientist on Samburu people. He has approached various variables on pastoralists, in particular on people of the 'Maa' speaking family. His work will be of primary importance, naturally as this master thesis is a case study from Samburu District. Again the Samburu people are pastoralists and are thoroughly explored by Spencer. "*The Samburu: A Study of Gerontocracy in a Nomadic Tribe*" (Spencer 2004) is the most extensive book on Samburus in an anthropological perspective. In later works, Spencer has concentrated more on the perspective of pastoralism and economy. The angle on subsistence economy versus monetary economy is amongst others covered in the book; "*The Pastoral Continuum: The Marginalization of Tradition in East Africa*" (Spencer 1997). This book consists of three parts whereby the second one addresses issues of development, sedentarization, and transition from subsistence to monetary economy. This part is an examination of the Chamus of Kenya which are considered to be descendants of the Samburu people (Spencer 1997). Their transitions from subsistence economy to monetary economy assumingly lead their social life to be deprived (Spencer 1991, 1997, 2004). But Spencer isn't adding a particular source to this allegation, apart from his own empirical knowledge which is debatable in terms of being regarded as scientific evidence. However, like Malthus, Spencer cannot be denied in terms of what he observed, and his long time acquaintances with the Chamus gives him a rather superior position hence analysing and discussing changes, perceptions and future supposedly consequences of his observations.

As mentioned, particularly cultural anthropologists have described the effects of development strategies on pastoralists' communities as often negative, unwanted or unfit (Anderson & Broch-Due 1997; Fratkin 1997). Though monetary economy is critiqued by various researchers (Khotari & Minogue 2002; Bennholdt-Thomsen & Mies 1999), it is to my knowledge not reviewed in synergies with 'universally' accepted development strategies such as formal education, salary based employment and business entrepreneurship. An understanding of indigenous people's indigenous knowledge and perceptions concerning the environment is commonly addressed both in research and by development organizations. However logics and worldviews on environmental issues are often isolated from a broader discussion on interrelated questions of social or cultural character.

By regarding development as a path for poverty alleviation in terms of financial sustainability and independence, it can collide with the traditional notion of pastoralist subsistence economy (Evangelou 1984; Behnke 1987; Anderson & Broch-Due 1999; Valdes & Gnaegy 1996; Toksanbaeva 2004; Fratkin 1991; Spencer 1997). The Samburus are a people who evolve livelihood and worldview around allegories, cattle and nature. This is vital to bear in mind while investigating reasons increased presence of economic transition and sedentarization (Spencer 2004; Lesamana 2005).

Economic discourses recognize that poverty isn't just based on financial capital, but also social and human values. However, this acknowledgement becomes inadequate while the determination of what such values are yet again is based on Eurocentric interpretation (Hylland Eriksen 1992). Even indigenous people's organizations efforts towards formalizing rights, legislations, attempt to increase global society's acknowledgment and empowerment of

indigenous legacies, is based on western perceptions of judiciary prime concepts. Common for development theories is the aspect of economic growth and independency (Khotari & Minogue (2002).

While we also know from empirical evidence that not all transitions forced on indigenous people are for the better, it is important to investigate how transition from subsistence economy and pastoralist conduct of life to monetary economy and sedentarization might affect the Samburu people (Anderson & Broch-Due 1999; Toksanbaeva 2004; Spencer 1997, 2004; Fratkin 1991).

There are uncountable development theories, but generally development is still today associated as an antonym to poverty – also in international development discourses (Kothari & Minogue 2002; Anderson & Broch-Due 1999; Spencer 1997; Toksanbaeva 2004). Again, multiple definitions of poverty are found in all sorts of literature, but common to the majority is that they by large extent are based on the assumption of development being synonymous with economic growth, accumulation of minimum of capital or material commodities (Toksanbaeva 2004; Sen 1999; Eversole et.al. 2005; Evangelou 1984; Fratkin 1991, Fratkin & Roth 2004; 2005; Kothari & Minogue 2002). The chosen approach is of rather recent date and puts both social and financial capital on equal footing;

"Poverty: a human condition characterized by the sustained or chronic deprivation of the resources, capabilities, choices, security and power necessary for the enjoyment of an adequate standard of living and other civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights." (UNCHR 2002)

In the economic development debate in the 1960s and 1970s, dissatisfaction with traditional approaches on modernization and industrialization for development, lead to creating new theories which advocates improvement and achievement of basic needs instead of primarily focusing on market efficiency (Friedman 1992). Pieterse (2001) further states that development theories with social aspects to it was introduced due to appropriate questions of redefining development goals and introducing anti-hierarchic participatory models of executing development projects.

Human Happiness indexes, Human Development indexes all assumingly takes this in consideration, but the bases of Eurocentric perceptions of happiness and social-capital is yet limiting towards identifying values and subjects to happiness as well as poverty through such indicators (Kothari & Minogue 2002; Eversole et. al.2005; Fratkin 2005; Anderson & Broch-Due 1999; Toksanbaeva 2004).

4.2 Environmental Discourses

4.2.1 Land Degradation

There are commonly two schools regarding pastoralism and environmental issues; one argue that pastoral nomadism unavoidably consists of such strong notions of livestock accumulation that is leads to overgrazing, famine and further environmental degradation. This is typical pro-Malthusian argumentation (Lamprey 1983; Ingold 1980; Picardi & Siefert 1976; cited in

McCabe 1997). The second position argues that it is interference with the traditional pastoralist system that is causing environmental crisis and dilemmas (Hogg 1987; Sinclair and Fryxell 1985; Swift 1977; cited in McCabe 1997).

Among Maasai and Samburu people for instance, land and pasture has met restrictions which to some extent have led to overgrazing. In particular the Maasai people have experienced this;

“However, that traditional tribal way of life is threatened by the exploding populations of Kenya and Tanzania (41 million people), who covet the vast open spaces of Masai Mara, Amboseli, and the Serengeti Plain. Today, more than half of the Maasai live in Kenya, with a style of life that requires extensive territory for cattle herds to roam in search of water and pastureland.” (Blauer 1987)

By introducing alternatives ways of land management, land use and economic activities, pressure on pastoral activities increases. In Paul Spencer’s; *“The Pastoral Continuum”*, he examines the society of the Samburu relatives, the Chamus residing along Lake Baringo. From this book, Spencer states;

“Little [P.D] has shown how planners’ concentration on land management has weakened the pastoral sector and the whole balance of the Chamus mixed economy.” (Spencer 1997, p. 221)

Pastoral sedentarization represents a response to multiple factors, including loss of livestock, increased competition for rangeland, tenure system, land privatization or appropriation, and fear of increasing violence, ethnic conflict and civil war. Although pastoral settlement often is encouraged by international development agencies and national governments as solutions to food insecurity, poor health care, and problems of governance, the social, economic, and health effects associated with sedentism are not inevitably beneficial (Fratkin & Roth 2004).

Much of the recent research conducted among pastoral nomads has occurred in areas where the local populations have been subject to significant disruption due to policy decisions at the national level and to the influence of development projects. Therefore the case for or against environmental degradation has been weakened as the actual effect of pastoral, traditional systems have not had a realistic opportunity to be measured. (e.g. Watts 1987; O’Leary 1984; Swift 1977; cited in McCabe 1997).

Pastoralists due to their marginal diet, traditional perception of basic needs and occupation of vast areas have met common perceptions by the public authorities, development organizations and in particular missionaries as being needy of development initiatives. The latter’s connotation of what the Samburu people need to pursue an adequate life has brought about changes in the livelihoods and traditions. Furthermore pastoralism has been and still is underestimated as economic system which is supported by this quote;

“The value and the potential of pastoralism in the national economies of Eastern Africa are significant. Pastoralism contributes significantly to employment opportunities and both household and national food security. It also plays an important social and cultural role that is critical for the life of the nation. If all these contributions were given a monetary value, it would become clear how important pastoralism is to national economies.” (WISP 2006)

Hardin's article; *“The Tragedy of the Common”* was published momentarily prior to the beginning of the Sahelian drought which harmed excessive amounts of livestock (McCabe 1997). This and an extraordinary obliteration of fine rangeland could be observed both fed upon the notion that pastoralist nomadism was destructive and lead to unconditional environmental degradation. In particular donor agencies and national governments adopted this impression and encouraged to quite an extent, development initiatives concerning privatizing formerly communal rangelands.

Unfortunately, one can evaluate that an almost uniform counter effect was the outcome of these projects. Furthermore, in many cases it also contributed to increase environmental degradation and in addition human suffering (Horowitz and Little 1987; Peters 1987; Sanford 1983; Swift 1977, cited in McCabe; 1997). Although Hardins' view is has been commonly accepted, and still is so, it has been criticized through both historical and theoretical perspectives (Kimber 1981; Runge 1981; Gilles and Jamtgaard 1981; cited in McCabe 1997).

“A school of thought prevalent among rangeland scholars suggests that maintaining pastoralists' mobility is critical to enabling them to remain successful herders. Accordingly, privatization of pastoral lands and the trend toward increasing sedentarization of pastoralists appears to be a threat to the continued viability of pastoral production and livelihoods.” (Lesorgol 2005)

This quote illustrates the argumentation of the second school of perceptions on pastoralism. Further, Spencer (1997) which shares this view is explaining how intervening with pastoralism in itself doesn't necessarily bring about change in initiating development schemes proven negative to pastoralist.

An example of a counter effect of development initiatives in socialist Tanzania and capitalist Kenya among the Maasai is reproduced by Spencer.

“Both were designed to improve the quality of Maasai cattle by controlling the use of grazing, restricting the increase in herd sizes, and encouraging herd-owners towards commercial ranching. Neither achieved this. Because schemes had been introduced in the best grazing areas for limited numbers of stock, this increased the pressure of cattle and overgrazing elsewhere.” (Spencer 1997, p. 221)

This quote indicates the importance of understanding the indigenous logics of the people regarded as beneficiaries of development projects. There is no verification of how these communities were approached, or if they were approached to give their approval at all, but nevertheless it verifies that lack of knowledge of the indigenous logics of the Maasai pastoralist practice - both in Kenya and Tanzania - was neglected and undermined. At least; one can conclude that functionalism within the Maasai communities was disregarded, underestimated or misinterpreted.

In terms of sustainable development, it appears as development organizations find it necessary to change pastoralist conducts and not the development strategies. As pastoralists are a marginal group, they are fragile and vulnerable to the majority's need of development for poverty alleviation.

“It is important to note.... that whereas the traditional pasture management techniques served the community well in the past, the community's need for an

effective livestock feeding management systems to ensure sustainability of the environment is a priority now. With changing circumstances and environment, the traditional knowledge needs to be complimented with modern knowledge.” (Arid Land 2005)

This quote is taken from the national rural development agency in Kenya; Arid Land. These days, it is claimed through international development forums that indigenous knowledge, perhaps in particular on sustainable living, gains more respect and acceptance. The notion of a rational reason behind preservation of systems and tradition is getting more realistic as all of us experience the impacts of climate change and overshoot in more drastic and fatale ways prior to our awareness. As subsistence economies usually are upkept in indigenous systems, the understanding of potential strategies for sustainable environmental development is logical (WISP 2006; Valdes & Gnaegy 1996; Woodhouse 2003; Fratkin 2005; Eversole et. al 2005; Spencer 1997).

But admitting this doesn't necessarily change the thrust of mainstream development schemes dominating the poverty alleviation strategies.

While addressing issues on sustainable development, the common conclusion on pastoralist livelihood has been in terms of giving both Malthus and Hardins' theories excessive support (Valdes 1996; Spencer 1992; Barbier 2000; Horowitz & Little 1987; Hogg 1992).

“With livestock being the key livelihood system for the people of Samburu, pasture is a critical natural resource.” (Arid Land 2005)

Land degradations are indisputably taking place. (Fratkin 1997) But numerous research utter that this might as well be due to restrictions on nomadic movements and diminution of land are crucial reasons for why indigenous grazing systems needs merging and adaptation of modern knowledge and behaviour. Climate changes, escalating urbanization and private ownership contribute as well and not necessarily only pastoral behaviour (Fratkin 1991, 1997; IPACC 2007). They are used to changes in livestock sizes due to weather conditions and other components which can affect their livelihoods. They have also shown adaptation to such situations (Spencer 1992; Fratkin 1997). But is this sufficient evidence enough to not tamper with indigenous pastoral systems or is the mainstream school of thought on poverty alleviation through market economy as foundation still with such power that indigenous knowledge and logics are defeated by it?

4.2.2 Agriculture

The Samburu people have traditionally regarded foodstuff that comes from the soil as a taboo. There are religious aspects to it, and the same applies to pig, several types of game and birds like chicken as well as eggs (Blauer 1987). They also don't hunt which has made their coexistence with game particularly beneficial hence tourism. It is just recently that Samburu people in the rural areas have started to enhance their diet, although yellow maize came as food supplement through both missionaries and World Food Programme (WFP) (Spencer 1997).

“The Masai do not crave animal trophies, they do not value rhinoceros horns for aphrodisiacs, meat is not part of their usual diet, and they don't farm the land, ... the grass that feeds the cattle and the ground on which it grows are sacred; to the Masai,

it is sacrilege to break the ground for any reason, whether to grow food or to dig for water, or even to bury the dead... Traditionally, where Masai live, the game is unmolested...” (Blauer 1987)

This quote is also translatable to the Samburu people. It is recently become more common to adapt potatoes, cabbage, onions and carrots, and also some fruits to their diets. Still, very many of the rural population are unable to eat eggs and chicken as they feel an aversion to it. International development organizations have in particular in Maasai areas encouraged establishments of agricultural practice in order to broaden the diet for the Maasai as well as assisting them in getting access to larger food supply (Blauer 1987).

Agriculture is the main activity in the whole continent of Africa and the dominating Bantu population of Kenya has this as the main business. This also explains why Kenya's most common exported goods are crop growing articles (Blauer 1987). As a strategy for poverty alleviation and against environmental degradation, agricultural practice has been regarded as a vital and important development strategy for pastoralists in southern Kenya (Blauer 1987). For the Maasai, it has led to decreased area for grazing their animals. Additionally, the conflict of accommodating game in the National Reserves has confiscated even more of their area. This conflict is mainly due to tourism, as the Maasai used to live like most of the Samburu people still do- side by side with wild game (Blauer 1987).

Spencer describes very devastating, but unfortunately common counter ripples of development strategies. He depicts that pastoralists have been encouraged to farm in the better, more fertile areas (Spencer 1997). This has led to that the remainder herders and their livestock have been pushed into more marginal areas. Furthermore the introduction of modern technology to dig water for the sake of improving these marginal areas has led to overgrazing in the surrounding areas (Spencer 1997, p. 223). Other places, banning of burning of grass has again led to increase of tick-borne diseases and benefited the conditions of the tsetse fly. Again, the nutritional value of dry-season grazing has decreased (Spencer 1997). By introducing health initiatives in terms of veterinary services and cattle dips in order to avoid and counteract such health peril, led to an acceleration of deprivation of the land because of overgrazing (Spencer 1997, p. 223). Spencer further argues that when advantageous schemes are introduced, the social, economic and political elite will be attracted which again leads to increasing social gaps and pushing disadvantaged population into more marginal areas (Spencer 1997, p. 223).

“All over the world, former pastoral grazing grounds are being alienated for crop cultivation. An especially dramatic example is provided by the Barabaig, semi-nomadic cattle breeders in Tanzania, who have lost more than 40,000 hectares to a wheat-growing project funded by the Canadian government” (Lane 1994)

The large areas used by pastoralists have annoyed both agricultural neighbours and governments as food supply is of great importance in order to feed the entire population. The fact that cattle also generate dairy- and meat products seems to be of less importance since it is produced through traditional lifestyle and not through market mechanisms (Blauer 1987). Agriculture requires large space, and bring small harvests as the soil in most places of Samburu District generally is less fertile than in other parts of the country.

It seems apparently that if further agricultural expansion is to take place in Samburu, it will create a larger conflict with traditional pastoralism. In fact, it can be devastating according to the climate changes Kenya also encounter. If a semi-arid area is to occupy the most fertile and rich areas of agricultural expansion, clearly pastoralist practice will suffer from it. I deem that the Northern Kenya cannot sustain both agricultural expansion and pastoralism. In particular since Malthus to some extent seem to be right through Kenya as an example.

“Kenya especially appears to exemplify Thomas Malthus’s argument that unchecked population growth outflanks the inventiveness of humans to increase food production, leading to a crisis of overpopulation” (Spencer 1997, p. 216)

It is not to be ignored that Malthus had little knowledge of the importance western medicine would have, also in Kenya. This is also applicable to an increased extent in Samburu. Since the limited diet of the Samburu people assumingly has been efficient for survival, their increased need for other food stuffs also brings about a dilemma. As the arid areas of Northern Kenya is less suitable for agriculture, whereby only a marginal vicinity is fertile enough to grow crops, it is advisable not to tamper with it in order to give the pastoralist a chance of continuing their practice which is proven to be of underestimated importance to the national economy as well as for local survival of the inhabitants.

Whether the diet of sedentary population versus the semi-nomadic populations is advantageous can also be discussed (Fratkin 1991). With increased food prices, it is hard to access various foods, and milk is among the more expensive goods. Again, the main foodstuff used by sedentary populations, as well as an additional provision for the semi-nomads, is maize flour (*ngrumma*) which is indeed containing little nutrition. Common accessory is cabbage which also contains little nutrition. Having a diet consisting of milk, meat and occasionally blood is a far better nutritious alternative than just *ngrumma* and cabbage (Fratkin & Roth 2005). Of course, sedentary population can access other foodstuffs as well such as meat, milk and other vegetables, but when food crisis are emerging all over the country, the possibility of purchasing such decreases.

The Maasai people have suffered from agricultural expansion to a severe extent.

“[When]...the run after the "unutilized" Massai Steppe began, encouraged by the Government's declaration of "siasa ni kilimo" (Kiswahili, "Politics is farming"), which means that farming is to be the backbone of the country's economy...”
(Ibrahim & Ibrahim 1995)

This together with tourism has caused a distressing result for the Maasai around Ngorongoro in Tanzania whereby the latter are almost to vanish completely from their area (Spencer 1997). It is obvious that food production is a prioritized field for any government and country, in particular the poorer ones, but there should be recognized that it can lead to environmental degradation if occupying all the most fertile areas in a country solely for this purpose.

4.3 Indigenous People and Development

There are two common approaches to the issue of indigenous people and development; the need for modernization for poverty alleviation, and the need for conservation due to fascination and attraction. Indigenous people have gained greater respect and legislative

security the last decade, but many are still marginalized regarding these rights. The idea of self-determination is currently the key issue hence indigenous people, but self-determination isn't necessarily useful unless ideas within indigenous people are upheld. Rights to land, to conduct cultural practices and to have a voice in policy- and decision making are just as important.

The understandings of holistic worldviews are also underestimated. One problem with mainstream development theories and strategies doesn't allow indigenous people themselves to define poverty (Eversole et. al 2005, p. 290). Eversole et.al. (2005) claim that indigenous people all over the world have their own development goals which are not necessarily coherent with international, mainstream development strategies. The fact that subsistence economy also is an economical system which is profound and holds great values both for national economies and local economy too is underestimated. Indigenous people have traditionally, and are still to a large extent still depending of different varieties of subsistence economy.

“I say what kind of development is it when the people live shorter lives than before? They catch HIV/AIDS. Our children are beaten in school and won't go. Some become prostitutes. They are not allowed to hunt. They fight because they are bored and get drunk. They are starting to commit suicide. We never saw that before. Is that 'development'?” (Roy Sesana, Gana Bushman, Botswana 2005, cited in Survival International 2007)

This quote indicates that numerous development programs have had a counter effect according to indigenous peoples own values. It is important to regard their perceptions on poverty, meaning of life and to identify their challenges as well as their desires of development.

Indigenous knowledge alone is not enough to take in consideration whilst rising issues and creating development strategies for in particular indigenous people. It is in my opinion not sufficient enough just to be obliged of the importance of such knowledge. Indigenous knowledge itself operates together with holistic worldviews and perceptions that also might discern with common views on what is defined as beneficial and positive. When the San people received money from Pfizer as compensation for their indigenous knowledge about the Hoodia plant, traditionally used by the San to calm hunger, the main development organizations and indigenous rights movements automatically regard this as a victory. But was it really so? When subsistence economy has been the main economic system for the San people, when ownership of land, plants, indigenous knowledge and traditions used to belong to everybody? Money, and in this case we are talking about an extreme amount, can actually be harmful to the receivers (Survival international 2007). It alters their traditions and causes anomaly, jealousy, domestic and ethnic conflicts.

The fact that most mainstream development strategies are based upon a monetary economy is problematic in itself. There is of course a dilemma of the Western world being the 'haves' and the Southern countries the 'have not's' and what the rich countries can do to even out this dissimilarity. But in the case of indigenous people fundamentally different strategies must be encouraged to evolve. The fact that indigenous people often have lived isolated and without

either any or minor interaction with other, external people makes them more vulnerable to ideas they get exposed to.

The common notion that modernization and globalization is beneficial, therefore usually automatically is associated with the content of mainstream development policies all over the world, including capitalist Kenya (Khotari and Minogue 2002). Mainstream development theory is based upon the system of market economy, and in Miller's case study of the Umoja Uaso Women's group in Archers post he reveals;

“In examining the group's interactions with outsiders, it will become evident that Umoja's very identity and practices of self-representation are being re-shaped, even “refracted through the lens of a dominant society,” (Niezen 2003, p. 211) in ways that have serious implications for addressing the most pressing self-identified issues of Umoja's members.” (Miller 2006)

Perhaps most indigenous organizations interacting with the larger development environments are unable to preserve their aboriginal logics while trying to make it fit into the required pedagogies that convert all empery, knowledge and ideas into concepts and theories. Khotari and Minogue most definitely express their concern of development theory being dominative and rigid in terms of trying to shape them to fit universally (Khotari & Minogue 2002). The fact that it is a large industry with immense amounts attached to it is another problematic factor, especially concerning indigenous people and their traditional needs (Khotari & Minogue 2002).

4.4 Education

Education is regarded as highly important, but has met criticism for its form. An increased number of academics and researchers are addressing disadvantages of formal education in particular amongst indigenous people (Hays 2007). Kenya have an educational system which is a continuation of the British Colonials traditions. National exams are produced, and curriculums are to a vast extent identical to what the British implemented. This has also been discussed by several contributors as negative in terms of giving pupils unequal chances of success (Hays 2007). Since question on national exams might seem less logical and comprehensible to students of more remote areas, it is also harder for them to reason, although they should be given lessons to prepare them for their exams in advance (Hays 2007). But formal education is based on logics which might appear as more incomprehensible to in particular indigenous people, but also other remote populations. Several new approaches have been given acceptance in order to improve conditions and possibilities of achieving the most beneficial education for in particular indigenous people. Mobile schools, informal curriculums and more amended approaches have been introduced to indigenous people in different countries (Hays 2007).

But education has an overall outcome, to benefit its attendances to enable generate income after graduation. This is regarded as a main profit of gaining knowledge through education. Commonly it is argued that through education, you increase your chances of getting a job and more prosperous life.

“Education is increasingly considered as a means to fuel economic growth, especially since the 1980s, when conservative economic values became predominant in Western

development thought. Despite a discourse on sustainability favouring ecologically sound and equitable growth, education is increasingly economy-centred.” (Nordtveit 2008)

Still a majority of boys attends school, but increased number of girls enrolled is a widespread tendency in Samburu. In Maasai areas in southern Kenya, the story of voluntarily sending their children to schools in recent times is quite differently;

“The Kenyan government’s requirement that Maasai children go to school has also affected the traditional roles of girls and women, who traditionally married at age twelve or thirteen and left school. Now the government will send fathers and husbands to jail for taking these girls out of school.” (Blauer 1987)

Force used on the Samburu people is mentioned in the chapter one in the introduction. Argumentation for change can often be adapted by those who oppose it. I believe as long as changes come from within, without attractive benefits which can act as objectives in terms of financial gain or similar is attached to it, it should be respected.

In Samburu, Umoja Uaso Women’s group, a woman rights organization based in Archers Post are stressing the importance of girls being sent to school in respect of gender equalization (Miller 2006). A study of their activities attached with cultural politics of indigenism is referring to men being the force of girls not attending school;

“Male elders often voiced the necessity of keeping some children from school, despite free primary education, to tend livestock or engage in other forms of household labour”. (Miller 2006)

The Samburu male elders have duties in terms of keeping the society safe and stable (Spencer 2004). Through propaganda of education for poverty alleviation, the mainstream development strategies penetrate communities whereby negative consequences not always are revealed. Education changes people, in particular indigenous populations. It is both complicated and rare that accumulation of knowledge as a concept in itself is critiqued, but curriculums and pedagogy are under constant debate – also in western countries.

Counter discourses towards formal education is as mentioned existing and currently more recognized as an important issue of concern. Drop-outs amongst Samburu people are common, but usually blamed on pastoralism as it needs quite a number of herders to maintain it. Parents are held responsible for pulling their children out of school in favour of assisting the family. Hays and Siegruhn (2005) adds explanations to dropouts and problems of keeping indigenous children in school from their case study of the San people in Namibia;

“The most obvious and commonly noted problem is a very high dropout rate (and thus low success rate) among San students. This has been attributed to a number of interconnection factories, including the lack of mother-tongue education for most San communities, cultural differences between home and school, cultural practices (such as hunting trips or initiation ceremonies) that keep students away from school, frequent abuse at the hands of school authorities and other students, and the alienating experience of boarding schools (often necessitated by the great distances between their home villages and the schools).” (Hays & Siegruhn 2005)

In the infamous case of the San people agreement versus the medical giant Pfizer, several important issues were raised. The case was concerning the San people's indigenous knowledge of the use of the *Hoodia* plant which they traditionally have used for suppressing hunger during droughts and through their nomadic practices. Pfizer made interest in the plant as developing a slimming drug meant for the Western market. A settlement worth around \$ 1 million caught the world's attention. But, to manage such an immense amount to benefit indigenous people, several questions were raised. One is fitting the discussion on whether indigenous people with higher education can be considered as representative for their aboriginal communities when they no longer live like them?

"I would also question whether the three San graduates can or should represent a community which has lived in the bush for centuries. These graduates are not, in fact, 'representative' of the San community; they are exceptions to the rule." (Unknown author 2003)

As higher education usually changes in particular aboriginal people, it can be followed by a change in their worldview. Traditional patterns of distribution and survival strategies are likely to be questioned connected with monetary independence.

Education can indeed enable changes within societies which was not intended or expected to occur. But education as a main a tool for poverty alleviation in terms of aiming for improving the possibilities of receiving monetary based income after graduation is to me rarely if ever criticized to a vast extent.

Fratkin and Roth (2005) review several different aspects of sedentarization amongst the Ariaal people in Marsabit District. Education is one of the variables looked into in terms of food security. Nutrition is a concern for the Samburu people, and since diets are changing, this is also a main concern for sending children to school. Enabling them to secure jobs will by intention mean securing food supply in particular through drought.

Fratkin and Roth describe a case of "*Letamara of Ngambo*" as positive in terms of food insecurity;

"... Even when livestock have been devastated by drought... Even before food relief came to Baringo [in Samburu District] in 2000, Letamara's household was able to purchase adequate food because he held a government job in Marigat and because his brother was employed in Nakuru town. This occurred despite the fact that they lost almost 80 percent of his livestock holdings and there was virtually no milk available from his herd for household members. Both Letamara and his brother graduated from secondary school and in the case of his brother he had attained a college degree. Not only did remittances and wages allow Letamara's household to fare better than other households – even those with more livestock – but they also were able to help numerous other family members and relatives with food purchases". (Fratkin & Roth 2005, p.100)

It can be two factors additional to this; the corruption level is high in official jobs. Again, nepotism is also common, in particular in rural areas where employment is scarce. There is also little transparency as the mainly illiterate population have little knowledge or possibilities to monitor where revenue and budgets are being placed. Again, there is also little confidence

in politicians and officials, and northern Kenya has in several occasions been characterized as the Kenya's 'Wild West' where officials retaliated or warned is transferred as a punishment due to the difficulties of the infrastructure of the area. There are also small possibilities of reporting corruption as it can cause conflict within communities and families, as well as national monitoring is low. Stakeholders have an overall weak position in Samburu District.

Another vital point is that the age-set of these workers are of importance as my research clearly shows that the older generations are more committed to their families and pastoralism than for instance the younger generations who in a larger scale amongst their peers have received education. This case of Fratkin and Roth (2005) is important as one of my case studies on education can challenge their conclusion. This will be further described and analysed in section 2 in chapter 6.

4.5 Economy

The aims of generating money have led to stimulation of creativity all over the world. But every so often does it bring about dilemmas for the ones involved. A transition from subsistence to market economy is changing the Samburu society to different extents and in different speed. However, development theory is usually based on strategies which imply a capitalist system to support it in order to be successful (Khotari & Minogue 2002). The Maasai people have undergone a far more extensive transition due to both force and contact with other people than the Samburus. Therefore, it is useful to pay attention to stages and consequences of this shift among the Maasai to learn from failures and mistakes which can be avoided within the Samburu communities. The perhaps most crucial point is that development initiatives often are irreversible and once implemented the results are mostly unchangeable.

“The greatest challenge the Maasai face concerns adaptation to rapid economic and social change. Increasing encroachment on Maasai lands threatens their traditional way of life. In the next decade, Maasai will need to address integration into the mainstream modern economies and political systems of Kenyan and Tanzanian society. The Maasai may fear losing their children to Western schooling, but a modern education has increasingly become a necessity for the Maasai in order to remain competitive with their neighbours and survive.” (encyclopedia 1999)

With change in economic systems a social transformation usually follows in indigenous communities (Kunitz 1994). Spencer (1997) discusses change in the Chamus society. He confirms through both his own and Little's research that individualism is replacing reciprocity.

“It is from the point of Peter Little's research amongst the Chamus in the 1980s provides a penetrating overview of the impact of change. By the time of his study, young men had grown up in the new economic climate and were taking initiatives that challenged the dominance of older men, not as an age-set of rebellious adolescent moran, but as individuals competing for their own interest: the earlier trend towards individualism had become a norm. The diminution of the Chamus age system appears to be due to more to their desire than throw aside its restrictions than to any other single factor. The older men predominantly held to traditional values, but at the expenses of being marginalized by those who had invested in new opportunities and now emerged as the new élite.” (Spencer 1997, p. 211)

Spencer was residing amongst the Chamus before Little did his research as referred to above. He confirms that changes are occurring more rapidly, but also emphasizes the significant that no culture is static. The elders of the Chamus disclosed that younger generations through all times had to different extent pioneered shifts within their systems and was always criticized for it. But, the elders were still enthusiastic about their traditions and ideals, and that the changes the younger generations now entertained most likely would change the Chamus society, ideals and system more profoundly than previous times (Spencer 1997, p. 211-212)

“A new order of priorities had captivated the younger generation, and, as the elders of the Napunye and Parimo age-sets grew old, so this order poised to engulf the Chamus way of life.” (Spencer 1997, p. 212)

It is essential to question what changes towards a market economy will do with the Samburu people, especially since there have been devastating results for other indigenous people all over the world while being subject to development in terms of modernization, assimilation and globalization. The concern of Blauer (1987) is indeed important to reflect over as he reveals how the Maasai as well as the Samburus backbone on identity building emerges through different age-sets. With a transition to monetary economy, several aspects of cultural practice and customs are jeopardized. In the search for money, many bypass important ceremonies in terms of confirming their identity. Often migration, employment and schooling can lead to skipping ceremonies as they often require a large amount of time in order to attend the different stages of the ceremonies. Migration to other continents makes it even more complicated to participate in keeping up traditions.

It is allegedly truthful that the Samburu people are the most exported ethnic group in Africa. By observing them interacting with westerners, it can easily be acceptable to believe it. Their looks have for decades fascinated foreigners, and their indigenous dressing adds an advantage hence attraction while promenading the beaches of Mombasa.

“In 1925 Norman Leys wrote, “Physically they are among the handsomest of mankind, with slender bones, narrow hips and shoulders and most beautifully rounded muscles and limbs.” (Blauer 1997)

Hylland Eriksen says that for the Maasai and (Samburu as well), the good life is about accumulating cattle and children (Hylland Eriksen 1992). When the Samburus involve themselves in relationships with westerners who are above the age of producing children, the social spheres of the Samburu are shifted into economic measurements. This will be further expressed in chapter 6.

But cultural lobbying can assist different indigenous peoples groups to get more funds. Indigenous looks can be a tool for attraction and consequently the funds are easier to access. (Miller 2006) Interestingly enough, aboriginal, ethnic identity can be used to endeavour homogeneity. Often, in particular women development projects are concerned with unequal rights within their own society use the marketable indigenism to gain similar rights as the dominant societies (Khotari & Minogue 2002).

4.6 Tourism

Tourism is a big industry in Samburu East around the Archers post area. Exposure to this type of industry has been extensively explored by many researchers (Butler & Hinch 2007). For a pastoralist as the Samburu, opportunities of earning cash have tempted many to leave traditional life for only to depend on the income from tourism (IRIN 2008).

“In reality, tourism is an extremely important local industry and not merely a supplementary diversion, especially in times of drought. It is integral to the lives of Samburu of all ages, as elder men demand payment for photos taken of them, children plead for money for a “gift” they have just placed in your hand, and students on holiday dress up as warriors and perform song and dance at villages where tour cars have arrived.” (Miller 2006)

But industries have conjunctures, and while Kenya was suffering from post-election violence, the tourist dependent Samburus in Archers suffered. As pastoralism demands large labour forces and is time consuming as well, many had left it for the benefit of the incomes they could generate from travellers. When the latter now petered out due to insecurity, the Samburus were left without any opportunity of generating either income or food (IRIN 2008).

Connection with their traditional land seems to be of greater importance to the Archers Post Samburus than to maintain tourism. The Samburu National reserve is a large area, and with increased tourism, other parts of the surroundings of Archers Post can easily be occupied by facilities related to this industry. This would be devastating for the Samburus as they are already suffering from land loss through the National Reserve and they are commonly involved in ethnic clashes with other neighbouring pastoralists. The domestic peace in Kenya can be jeopardized if the need of national budgets comes before the indigenous people's interest who maintained these areas for centuries. It is also a paradox that whilst the traditional Samburu lifestyle attracts tourists, the constant exposure brings about changes towards modernization and assimilation with other Kenyans. For instance, indigenism is deliberately used as a marketing tool for marketing Umoja Uaso Women's project;

“Uaso Women's Group uses this identity in a specific manner strategic to their local needs by simultaneously projecting their loyalty to Samburu culture and ways of life, yet also challenging and critiquing their society.” (Miller 2006)

Indigenous knowledge, also called traditional knowledge are concepts as mentioned assisting in the new discourse in development work, but still the mainstream agendas are powerful and influences NGOs objectives and international development discourses all.

“On the other hand, some...would undoubtedly see this process as an attempt by powerful institutions to neutralize radical ideas by taking them over, controlling their operation and emptying them for radical content.” (Khotari & Minogue 2002, p.190).

The above quote expresses concern of agendas being manipulated, changed and adapted to fit the stronger powers opinions. By using propaganda – and deliberately leaving out possible counter effects, it sugars the strategies. It is not easy for any of us to enable predicting contradicting effects to any concept or idea unless we have prior knowledge of it.

Chapter 5 - Methodology

Methodology is tools used in different scientific disciplines to reveal, interpret, collect and analyze data subject to a particular research (Silverman 2001). In social science, there are two overall categories of methodology; quantitative and qualitative. Depending on what data one intends to collect and which answers one is looking for, methodology assists in guiding the researcher to choose the most adequate tools. Both quantitative and qualitative approaches are commonly subject to critique, but there is profound acceptance that it is needed in order to enable regarding the research as scientific and not anecdotes (Bryman 2004).

5.1 Mixed Research Methods (Quantitative and Qualitative)

Social research is often based on a single research method which can make it vulnerable to accusations of incorrect or insufficient inferences and conclusions (Bryman 2004). By applying qualitative methodology in social research, it is a high probability that critique of bias, inference and enhances confidence in the collected data can be reduced (Bryman 2004).

Multi methods or mixed methods are becoming more popular amongst researchers as it strengthens their position of not becoming over reliant on a single research method. Using mixed methods can enhance the research as they can support data through different means (Bryman 2004). Some criticizes mixed methods as they claim the different epistemological and ontological obligations cannot align, for instance positivism and objectivism versus interpretivism and constructionism. But Bryman argue they can strengthen the data as one gets a broader methodological framework to support the data and analysis on (Bryman 2004). By using both qualitative and quantitative research methods, the data can be supported by each other and be given strength in terms of validity and reliability (Bryman 2004).

5.1.1 Qualitative Methodology

Qualitative research methodology is mainly consisting of verbal character rather than of numeric measurements often associated with quantitative research. The aim is to extract information in a more loosely structured manner in order to reveal or interpret a social system or people by interacting with the environment subject to the survey (Bryman 2004). Though qualitative research is the most common method used in social studies, there are several techniques available within this approach. Numerous types of interviews and levels of environmental participation can be chosen from, but for qualitative research, they all signify eventually constructing meaning of the empirical data collection (Silverman 2001, p.32). Again, qualitative research methods allow instrumental flexibility in greater extent than quantitative research. Qualitative research attempts to understand the perspective of the participants, or a certain situation, by studying experiences in order to provide meaningful data. *“It emphasises exploration, understanding, contextualisation, introspection and theory construction.”* (Van der Linde & Evans 2005) Qualitative research methods are basically structured in such ways that the researcher communicates directly with- and to the interview objects and through observation as well and through the data collection.

5.1.2 Quantitative Methodology

Quantitative research methodology is based on mathematical systems which seek to measure numerical data which can be interpreted on social phenomenon's (Bryman 2004).

Quantitative approaches have the character of being structured and systemized. It aims at giving explanations, mostly through measurable units, which again enables making statistics of the data (Bryman 2004). Quantitative research methods have the advantage through its rigid form to enable establishing accurate data. When all participants are given the same basics while collecting the data, less chances of bias and personal interpretation is commonly associated with quantitative methods. But Schutz argue that it is not possible to achieve same validity for the results in social research as in studies on 'the world of nature' (Bryman 2004, p. 14) He says that these disciplines cannot use the same methods because: "*The people interpret the world around them, whereas the capacity for self-reflection cannot be found among the objects of the natural sciences*" (Bryman 2004, p. 78)

Since quantitative methods give an association to the other world of numbers – the world of nature and mathematics – it can give a wrong idea of precision and accuracy if used in other fields like social science. Cicourel carry this further as he says it brings conflicting paradigms as the interpretation of i.e. questionnaires, are interpreted in different ways by the respondents, and by giving multiple choice variants of the questionnaire, one doesn't achieve key terms being answered on similar background, but it's just a way of ignoring the fact that our cognitive process is of great variety. (Bryman 2004, p. 78) Because of this, statistics or other interpretations done on the basis of questionnaires might not be sufficient as we don't know the respondents actual connotation of the questions (Bryman 2004).

A problem often associated with close-ended questionnaires is manipulation from respondents. Either they might answer in a hurry, ticking answers which are not necessarily consistent with their primary view (Bryman 2004). Social desirability is another risk especially while collecting sensitive data. For instance, if a questionnaire asks if one beats his wife and children, he might do so but still answer that he doesn't based on social desirability. Often, people wish to appear better than what their actual actions can confirm, even in research where answers are given anonymously (Bryman 2004). Furthermore, the respondent can answer according to how they think the interviewee might prefer rather than giving their own honest opinion. This can occur both in quantitative and qualitative approaches.

5.2 Format of Research

A case study will be the main format as my topic aims on constructing "*...an enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life contex.*" (Yin 1994). A case study doesn't start off by necessarily having any given answer to the main research questions, and the same applies to this case. Starting off, I didn't have any idea or proof of whether the Samburu people in general had or could experience negative impacts in comparison with other indigenous people if shifting from subsistence economy to monetary economy? It might also have been a sincere desire to undergo the stages of what causes this transition.

Critique of the format of case studies have met distinct counter argumentation from Bent Flyvbjerg (2006). He refers to five common areas of critique on case studies:

1. Theoretical knowledge is more valuable than practical knowledge;
2. One cannot generalize from a single case, therefore, the single-case study cannot contribute to scientific development;

3. The case study is most useful for generating hypotheses, whereas other methods are more suitable for hypotheses testing and theory building;
4. The case study contains a bias toward verification; and
5. It is often difficult to summarize specific case studies.

(Direct citation, Flyvbjerg 2006)

The case study is a detailed examination of a single case (Flyvbjerg 2006). Therefore critique based on the size of the research expresses that it is impossible to build and systemize hypothesis and generalize from case studies (Flyvbjerg 2006). As social science is about generalizing from hypothesis, the case study could be questioned as sufficient format. But case studies can indeed be useful and of adequate design to test hypothesis.

While conducting a holistic in-depth research, an ideal methodology can undeniably be in form of a case study. Yin (1994) argue since case studies are not sampling research, one should try to select cases in a way which maximizes the possibilities of knowledge in the period of time available (Tellis 1997). The design of case studies assists in extract detailed viewpoints of the participants through multiple sources. These could in example be interviews and observations. Flyvbjerg argues that case studies can be in particular valuable in order to illuminate and explain interlinking between complex real-life contexts which complements the concept of functionalism.

5.3 Selection of Research Approaches

5.3.1 Interview Types

For this thesis, I used in particular in-depth and unstructured interviews to compose this case study together with participatory observation, described later. In-depth interviews usually let the interview object lead the conversation through talking without directions of the researcher. This can bring about unknown information which the limits of the researcher didn't think of asking in the first place (Bryman 2004). Unstructured interviews are of more conversational character without the researcher asking too many questions (Bryman 2004).

In-depth interviews can allow the Samburu people to freely use their traditional way of using language. Significant questions are usually answered without direct speech, incorporating proverbs, allegories and other sub-textual depictions. Therefore, letting the interview objects speak freely is perhaps the most efficient way of accessing the information the thesis requires. But sometimes it can be an advantage, not to say a necessity to conduct semi-structured interview either jointly or solely to ensure accessing data measurable for the analysis.

5.3.2 Participatory Observation

Participatory observation means when the researcher enables becoming integrated in a community so that through common socializing and interaction, one can retrieve vital information by observing the behaviour of the environment subject to research (Bryman 2004). I am in my case through years of association with the Samburu people capable of using participatory observation as an advantageous tool for my research.

Common critique of this method;

” has stemmed from what they see as a lack of clarity and precision practitioners of participant observation have had in defining exactly what it is participant observation does and how it may practically be applied in the field”. (Wilmot 2006)

But while dealing with sensitive matters whereby the researcher relies on confidence and natural behaviour of the respondents in order to retrieve insightful data, participatory observation can be an excellent tool (Wilmot 2006). It can also assist the researcher in discovering behaviour that interview objects might be reluctant to talk about, and help creating more suitable approaches hence interviews.

Sensitive issues are addressed throughout this thesis, and it would have been impossible to retrieve all this information unless participatory observations were used as supplement to the other applied research methods. Through participatory observation, I enabled to support findings which strengthen the validity of this study.

5.3.3 Close Ended Questionnaires

For the Mombasa participants, semi-structured interview and close-ended quantitative interview was used as I knew I would meet reluctance from the interview objects due to the complexity and emotional stress this topic brings about to them (Bryman 2004). Even though money most likely is the main aim for their settlement in Mombasa, many of the methods to access it are regarded as taboo, and usually cause aggression while raising this subject. The fact again that I am a woman and the interview objects almost entirely are males, makes it even more challenging to get the correct answers instead of so-called social desirability answers or getting anybody to answer at all (Bryman 2004). I regarded a quantitative research questionnaire could limit the ‘humiliation’ and embarrassment of addressing these subjects. By using qualitative methods, it could lead to more compelling and dishonest answers from the participants through for instance semi-structured interviews. I saw the need of letting a male peer of same ethnic group conduct these particular interviews in order to get any answer at all as their lifestyles normally are not subject to conversation even among themselves. The semi-structured interviews from Mombasa was done with people I am more accustomed with, and because I wanted some qualitative support to the quantitative data in order to check the validity and reliability of these sensitive issues more thoroughly.

5.3.4 Focus Group Meetings

I also decided on including focus group meetings to my research. The aim of applying focus group meetings is that this interaction enables generating views which individual interviews can back up or reject, or reveal other significant information. Focus group meetings itself and the diverse sample of participants could assist the research in several ways which analysis eventually will reveal (Bryman 2004).

If the moderator and team do a good job, interview guides will not be used imitatively since the conversation generates information automatically through its natural flow. These variables are usually the positive aspects associated with focus group meetings, but it’s important to be aware that it may be a less positive experience. Participants might not contribute equally since some are talkative and others not. Again, bias can occur as positive data concerning the thesis unintentionally can be prioritized. The sample size also makes it difficult to consider the information as applicable to a larger assembly (Bryman 2004).

I conducted focus group interviews in all the research areas in Samburu District. I knew I didn't have to search for participants as Samburu people usually are very social and many can be found in one place, but a worry was that too many would want to attend.

5.4 Areas of Data Collection

In my opinion it would be easier theoretically, although not practically or logistically to conduct the case study in several different places. To examine and observe the transition in different locations gave me the opportunity of seeing the different stages and levels of this process and enable establish a more realistic and less subjective conclusion. It could have been practically difficult, which was one of the reasons why I attached a research assistant to my fieldwork. His role will be described more thoroughly later on in this chapter.

I conducted the fieldwork for this thesis with the focus on five different places;

5.4.1 Archers Post

Archers Post where the Samburu National Reserve (SNR) is situated, forms one of the largest tourist attractions in Kenya. Villages and *manyattas* neighbouring this area, are exposed to a totally different living than any of the other Samburus. SNR provides the Samburu County Council (SCC) with as much as 90% of its revenue whereby a quite large percentage goes back to this area in order to maintain an encouraging synergy between the local community and the external clients (SCC 2007). The Maasai people in Masai Mara are at this point starting to revolt tourism in that particular area due to negative experiences and notion of exploitation from both State and private lodge owners, investors and other operators (Maasai association 2008). Their experiences is therefore interesting to merge into interviews with the Samburus of Archers Post. Many people gain occupations through the vast number of tourists passing, leaving pastoralism which is both quite time consuming and complex work behind (SCC 2007).

5.4.2 Mtwapa - Mombasa

A vast group of particularly educated warriors tend to migrate to Mombasa whereby they are in search of prosperity. By focusing on how the younger generations identify with their cultural practices and heritage together with what they want for themselves, these particular Samburus was of great importance to my case study. The Mombasa Samburus have a tendency to get access to relatively large sums of money through relations built with western tourist visiting the area, but increased number of Samburus involved in such relations suffers from alcoholism, diseases, violence and distance to origin (Talle 1988).

5.4.3 Maralal

Maralal Town is functioning as the 'capital' of Samburu District and most of the businesses run in the town are dominated by the Kikuyu people. Most of the ethnic, Samburu urban population are educated and of both genders who has shifted from the *manyattas* in order to seek prosperity and employment. Unfortunately, prostitution, alcoholism, crime and lack of labour due to tribalism and incompetence are increasing in Maralal. The village Samburus coming to town also have a tendency to misuse the opportunities of urban accessible facilities by spending money on other items and services than the original purpose of their visit to town (IDMC 2006).

5.4.4 Nairimirimo

Nairimirimo village is a small place situated in the semi-desert. There is no infrastructure in the village, but a governmental school is running with assistance from a private NGO. Though some shops are operating randomly, they are primarily depending on their livestock for food and income. The largest clan of the Samburu People; the *Lmasula* are dominating the village. This is relevant as they are the key-participants in all major ceremonial decisions concerning all the Samburus in the district. Nairimirimo is the research area which is the most preserved one according to traditional pastoralist life.

5.4.5 Barsaloi

Barsaloi is another small village close to Nairimirimo, but the rural community has experienced vast contact with development organizations until present time whereby catholic mission, World Bank, government and various private NGO's have contributed to a variety of development projects and employment. Visiting Barsaloi one will find a small street consisting of a few shops, hotels, butcheries, bars and houses.

The choice of these five places is in my opinion highly relevant according to test the validity of the testimonies given by the participants in the case study. As they all are finding themselves at different stages of social and cultural progress, it is interesting to compare their reflections on the stated research question.

5.5 Sampling Frame and Collection of Interview Objects

While conducting social research, one should be concerned of how samples and interview objects are being chosen. In quantitative research, one should try to conduct the data gathering through a representative amount of people (Bryman 2004). This means that there should be enough respondents to enable measurements, and they should also be numerous enough to be regarded as representative for the remaining group which are not respondents. Quantitative methodologies rely fundamentally on the sampling frame as one is to generalize from their answers (Bryman 2004). For the Mombasa recipients; there are no statistics available on how many Samburus who actually reside in Mtwapa. But observations and estimations based on both mine and others opinions conclude that there are approximately around 200, vast majority being males, and around 20 females. I therefore decided on 50 respondents, 40 males and 10 females. The whole Mombasa region, from North-Coast to South Coast has an approximate Samburu population of around 400, both genders included.

For the other four destinations selected for my research, I have mainly used my own experience and knowledge to locate people who would volunteer participating in my research. Moreover to ensure accessing people who not feel embarrassed or disturbed by my questions. This basically means that a necessity in the respondents was that they were open, talkative and not intimidated. I needed to ensure the respondents didn't feel too annoyed or antagonistic towards participating in the research which could result in creating forged answers as a commonly done in Samburu while facing issues they dislike discussing (MRL 1, 2, 3, 4, BRS 1, 2). Not only foreigners are subject to this treatment, but generally anybody who appears to raise uncomfortable and inappropriate matter to another party. Deception and confusion are common tactics used if an issue becomes too personal or bothersome for a Samburu (MRL1, 2, 3, 4, BRS 1, 2).

It is necessary to emphasize that I didn't by far know all the interview objects personally, but I possessed knowledge of their positions, age-sets and whereabouts which was useful to bring

a variety of backgrounds, locations, engagement in activities and gender into the research. This encouraged a more thorough sampling frame than if I was to use snowball sample as method for gathering respondents in all the four different locations in Samburu. Snow ball sampling means that people introduced to your research further suggests other persons which in their opinion are suitable as respondents (Bryman 2004). I knew that snowball sampling could bring disadvantage in terms of getting respondents from within only the same family, age-set, with equal interest or which engaged in too similar labour activities. I argue that my prior knowledge of individuals suitable as respondents is valuable to this research. In my point of view it can avoid introducing bias and to collect views from a greater diversity of people in the Samburu society. This can also reduce the common critique on general case studies as described before as in terms of generalizing from case studies. The respondents in this research are from both various locations and have dissimilar backgrounds and age. The sampling frame is therefore more representative for the general Samburu society than if individuals were gathered through snowball sampling only. I had no prior empirical knowledge to this specific topic, and needed thorough information on all issues addressed in the thesis. I claim that the sampling frame assisted in retrieving vital, historical and sensitive information which would have been impossible in the time frame of a master thesis without prior knowledge of conceivably suitable respondents.

However, In Maralal town, the so-called snowball sample came about as a supplement to retrieve respondents as many people found my research interesting and wanted to contribute.

Under follows a table of the interview objects, their coded names, position and age-set they belong to. I have also indicated whether they own domestic animals or not.

TABLE 3. OVERVIEW OF RESPONDENTS

Coded name	Sex	Age-set	Position	Domestic animals
MRL1	M	Lkishami	Educated unemployed	Y
MRL2	M	Lkororoi	Uneducated employed	Y
MRL3	M	Lmoly	Uneducated employed	Y
MRL4	M	Lkimaniki (Bomb blast victim)	Uneducated unemployed	Y
MRL5	F	Unmarried	Partially educated unemployed	N
MRL6	F	Wife of Lkororoi	Uneducated charcoal burner	Y
MRL7	F	Wife of Lmoly	Uneducated employed	Y
MRL8	M	Lkororoi	Educated employed	Y
MRL9	M	Lmoly	Educated employed	Y
MRL10	F	Widow of Lkororoi	Educated employed	N
MRL11	M	Lmoly(Bomb blast victim)	Educated unemployed	N
MRL12	M	Lmoly(Bomb blast victim)	Uneducated unemployed	N
MRL13	M	Lmoly	Educated part time employed	Y
MRL14	F	Wife of Lkimaniki	Uneducated unemployed	Y
BRS1	M	Lmoly	Educated self-employed & employed	Y
BRS2	M	Lmoly	Partially educated, self-employed, some with children in school	Y

BRSgr.	M/F	Mixed group	Uneducated, cattle herders, some partly self-employed, some with children in school or graduated	Y
NMMO1	M	Lkishili	Uneducated, unemployed, several children of 1 st wife in school or graduated.	Y
NMMO2	F	Wife of Lkishili	Uneducated, partly self-employed	Y
NMMO3	M	Lmoly	Uneducated cattle herder	Y
NMMO4	M	Lmoly	Uneducated cattle herder	Y
NMMOgr.1	M/F	Mixed group	Uneducated, some partly self-employed, some with children in school or graduated	Y
AP1	F	Wife of Lkororoi	Uneducated project initiator	Y
AP2	M	Lmoly	Educated, self-employed in tourism	N
AP3	M	Lmekuri	Uneducated unemployed, but involved in tourism	Y
APgr.1	M/F	Mixed group -Tourist interaction	Educated and uneducated, some self-employed, some with children in school	Y
APgr.2	M/F	Mixed group - Non-tourist interaction	Educated and uneducated	Y
MBA		Quantitative	Educated and uneducated	Y/N
MBA1	M/F	Lmoly	Educated, self-employed and partially employed	Y
MBA2	M	Lmoly	Educated, unemployed	N

5.6 Data Analysis

5.6.1 Qualitative Approach in Data Analysis

I used a dictaphone for all the interviews together with manual noting. The data was then quickly transcribed and categorized. I had a book from each of the research areas whereby I marked and labelled the different information according to what was relevant to my thesis. The researcher is constantly analyzing the data due to his/her philosophical platform and theoretical sensitivity. Data can through this process therefore further be transformed (NTNU 2008). Due to this, classification is important and it's a demanding process. The common 4 intellectual moments of this process is called marking, labelling, defining and re-defining (NTNU 2008). It is important to do this every day after collecting data in order to keep them organized and systemized which will be severely time consuming, not to say almost impossible at a later stage (Bryman 2004).

5.6.2 Quantitative Approach in Data Analysis

There are many good tools for analyzing quantitative data. Most commonly in social research are SPSS and excel. Excel has received critique as insufficient tool as it has minimal facilities in terms of connecting variables than for instance SPSS. However, I regarded my questionnaire as of a manageable format to be analyzed through excel. The interesting part

according to me hence qualitative data collection is the analyzing process where variables are seen in interconnection.

5.6.3 Research Assistance

As mentioned earlier, I saw the need of using a research assistant in order to enable producing this thesis without accumulation insufficient or marginal information. The research assistance was a male of *Lmoly* age-set which I have known for years. Issues concerning taboos, shame, tension and discontent are commonly wanted shared with strangers or with familiar researchers for that matter. Again, the Samburu language is as mentioned crammed with metaphors, allegories and animation. Although I am fluent in Samburu language, I was afraid it at certain points might not be sufficient enough to interpret the entire meaning of such, and wanted to make sure that vital information would have minimal chance of being misinterpreted. Therefore, the interviews I recorded with the dictaphone were all gone through by the both of us in order to verify and interpret the information.

Together we also discussed apposite ways of approaching the respondents in order to make the data collection polite, sufficient and sincere.

For the focus group meetings, the research assistant acted as facilitator as he felt less reluctant than me to control the group and maintain the focus of the meeting. I observed, took notes and listened.

The Mombasa recipients were approached by a person who didn't act as my research assistant, but were part of the Samburu community in Mtwapa. This because of two reasons; my research assistant felt afraid of conducting the research as he was aware of the targeted respondents' unwillingness of answering the sensitive matters illustrated in the close ended questionnaire (appendix 2). As he himself would not be accountable for either the distribution or utilization of the information, he kindly asked not to be involved in such. He also pointed out that even he might get forged answers from the respondents as many needed assistance to read it and therefore had to answer the questionnaires face to face. I therefore decided to entrust a person who have resided in Mtwapa for several years. He is well known and trusted among the Mombasa Samburus and agreed, though with reluctance, to conduct the collection of data. I instructed him on how to deal with the close ended questionnaire and he managed to complete the task in an excellent matter. My role in Mombasa was primarily in terms of participatory observation as well as conducting a few in-depths interviews which could support the quantitative data.

5.7 Anonymity and Confidentiality

It is important for respondents of any scientific research to be ensured that their anonymity and confidentiality towards the information they give is maintained and respected by the researcher. This means that no particular data should be connected to names or personal information so the identity of the respondent would be revealed (Bryman 2004).

This thesis consists of sensitive data given only on the condition of anonymity and confidentiality. In particular the Mombasa recipients in the quantitative research are more than reluctant to get their identities and answers revealed. This is understandable as many of them practice activities defined as taboos to the remaining Samburu people at home.

Again, the qualitative research also relates to trust and confidentiality which enquires anonymity. Sensitive data are collected and many are afraid that their views will lead to a

decline in development initiatives in their areas which will be considered negative by many. Moreover, several respondents are ashamed and stressed over their life situation and don't want details of their perceptions, activities or actions to be identified in attachment to them. All real identities are therefore substituted with pseudonyms.

5.8 Potential Challenges and Advantages

Due to my role as an immigrant in the Samburu society, I had to be aware of when I'm a researcher versus the role as a member of the community. Hereunder I had to remind myself that it was severely significant to be aware of distinguishing between interpretation and the actual observation. Again, I had to consider the possibilities that some of the participants might feel like they should give me particular answers to appear either educated, reflected or in support of a school project I'm involved in based in Nairimirimo village. Again, the Samburu people might think my motives were towards action research in either positive or negative aspects. Fortunately, the Samburu linguistics was familiar to me, and therefore I to some extent have an understanding of favourable syntax to limit misunderstandings and unintended denotation.

Another issue to be aware of was the risk of ending up with material for just an anecdote. This is common to qualitative research whereby one thinks the material is relevant while it's not. Due to my prior empirical information, I might easier have overlooked the significant variables if I unconsciously have become accustomed to them.

I hold an advantage of language, trust, knowledge of key informants and areas significant to investigation, which gave me opportunity to leap-frog the first step in generating basic knowledge of the area for conducting the fieldwork. When my husband now has become a young elder due to the initiation of a new division of warriors, it enables me talking to all generations and genders more freely and with more respect than before. Another advantage is that I am so-called '*mzungu*' which means white person. A gender barrier usually counts less if there is a certain distance to the interviewee as through being a foreigner. This is usually explained with a greater understanding that this information is to be used formally, and not as gossip. But it could also have been a disadvantage. Many people want to exploit white people as they think they are immensely rich or they simply lack respect for them.

My main concern was to uttermost attempt avoiding bias. That is also why I chose to use both quantitative and qualitative methodology so that I would not be accused of have interfered with the either the data or interpretation. Inductive theory will was applied while conducting the research, as well as constructionism was the ontological consideration (Bryman 2004). This consists with qualitative research and the frame of a case study. Axiology also brings about important issues as in my case; I had to be aware of my own ideological platform from my political involvement in Norway which influences me to a large extent. This is also why I chose to do research on a topic I had minimal prior knowledge to. By starting this investigation from scratch, my personal views had little, if at all possibility of building any form of conclusion. My advantage was the contextual framework whereby I could easily access interview objects, information and resources benefiting my thesis.

I didn't want to produce a case study based on action research methodology, but I find it important to make sure the research can be useful concerning transition from subsistence to monetary economy in terms of development strategies applied or proposed to the Samburus. By almost solely being presented with positive argumentation of development programs, globalization and modernization processes, the Samburu people lack an adequate consequence

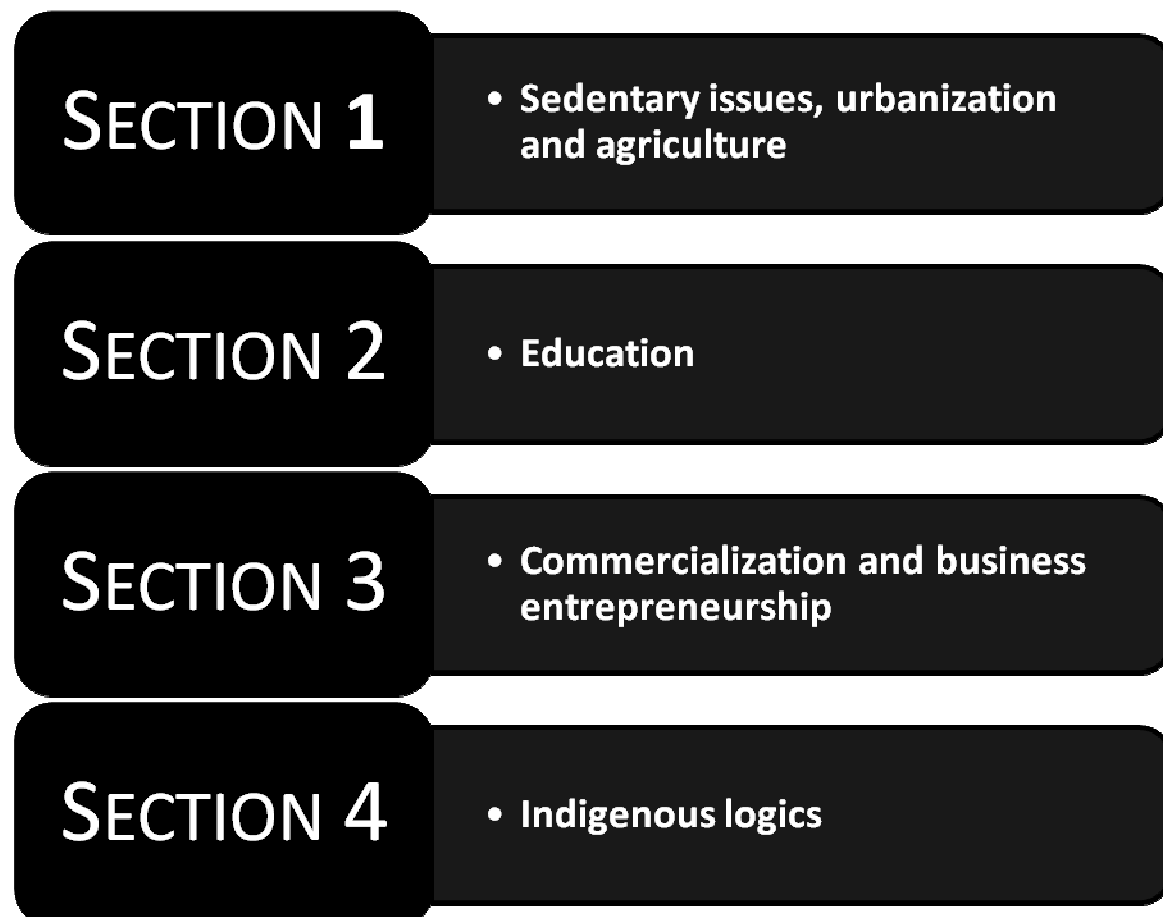
analysis of various variables which I believe they both deserve and are in need of getting acquainted to.

Chapter 6 – Empirical Findings and analysis

This chapter deals with the empirical findings and analysis of my research. I have divided it into four core parts consisting of different main topics which are linked to the theories, concepts and literature subject to the research. These are communicated in chapter 3 and 4. The four chosen sections enable juxtaposing counter effects revealed in the research with common and widespread development schemes implemented in Samburu District. Furthermore, frequent economic activities particularly found among the Samburus are explored in connection with this.

The research objectives and research questions will also be sought answers to through the as mentioned four interrelated sections:

FIGURE 5. STRUCTURE OF CHAPTER ON EMPIRICAL FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS



Section 1 - Sedentary Issues, Urbanization and Agriculture.

This section concerns sedentary issues and the effect on pastoralism and socially towards Samburu people. I have used both quantitative and qualitative methods to reveal important data on environmental degradation and social behavioural change as part of conversion to a monetary economy.

Thomas Malthus theory on population pressures versus sustainability of food supply is described before. In this chapter, I will incorporate the findings and analysis linked to his conviction that increased populations doesn't grow evenly with provisions needed to sustain livelihoods in terms of food. Also Hardins belief reviewed in "*The Tragedy of the commons*" will be addressed in same respect as Malthus. Both of them are regularly given acceptance and approval of their theories when it comes to prior research on pastoralism. While addressing issues on sustainable development, the common conclusion on pastoralist livelihood has been in terms of giving both Malthus and Hardins' theories excessive support (Valdes & Gnaegy 1996; Spencer 1992; Barbier 2000; Horowitz 1987; Hogg 1992).

6.1 Samburu traditional sedentarization patterns

As mentioned, the Samburu people are semi-nomadic pastoralists. Therefore, they have no tradition of common sedentary activities, including settling.

The Samburu people traditionally have two types of settlement; '*Nkang*' and '*Lale*'. '*Nkang*' means 'home' and '*lale*' means 'away from home'. Being semi-nomadic people entail being non-sedentary people. However, some patterns have changed over times, and people tend to shift in smaller scale contemporarily than some decades ago.

Lale means staying outside, in all types of weather. It contains tasks of protecting the livestock and human beings from wild game and other dangers. Again, warfare and rustling is common both as marking bravery and to protect the cattle from the neighbouring tribes that also look for pasture. It involves immense hard work in terms of giving the animals water, grazing them and constantly shifting for better pasture. The men and warriors who stay in *lale* can take several months without coming back to *nkang* in order to maintain the livestock. When the livestock is away from *nkang*, no ceremonies are performed. Again, there are less activity linked to joy and celebration such as singing, dancing and joint parties. *Nkang* is in these times also almost empty, only consisting of women, children, some men and a few animals if possible.

Currently homes (*nkang*) shift within 3 months to one year (MRL 1, MRL 2, NMMOgr., APgr.). In the past, they used to travel quite some distances to settle for a new home, often through several locations. Nowadays, it is less common to shift away from within the location, but '*nkang*' is re-established whenever necessary. This means when either somebody dies in the '*manyatta*', if the cow dung is extensive so sanitary conditions are deprived, if the drought is severe or if there is insecurity in the area. Amongst others, the initiatives of sedentary relief food distribution under direction by the WFP has encouraged the Samburus to reside longer in one place, or indeed shift by less distances than before.

“...The problem of these [relief food] camps follows the same pattern as subsidized schemes in general whereby destitute pastoralists become trapped in their dependency, even against the intentions of funding agencies, which are trapped in their commitment.” (Spencer 1997, p. 224)

I have observed that the Samburu people to a large extent rely on the relief food from WFP now. They wait around for it, and people rush home once the food is announced to have arrived. Some sell some bags of maize in order to buy other things like foodstuffs, clothes or medicine, but many sell them in order to buy alcohol (MRL 1, MRL 3, MRL 7, BRSgr., NMMOgr., NMMO 2).

Samburus are used to changes concerning the size of their livestock due to drought and other mechanisms which might affect their livelihoods. But as mentioned, they are accustomed to it (Spencer 1992; Fratkin 1997). There are also several proverbs addressing it as for instance; “*Mebara suom meeye*” which means that animals cannot multiply unless you experience increase and decrease in livestock (Lempuruk 2001)

The Samburu calendar carries vast descriptions of commonly weather patterns they have accumulated knowledge of through centuries.

FIGURE 6. CLIMATIC SEASONS OF SAMBURU PEOPLE

CLIMATIC SEASONS:

The climatic seasons of the Samburu people are of importance to understand their nomadic systems, as well as contribute against theories of Samburu people degrading the environment.

Dry seasons; (*Nkolong('i)*)

- *Lamei dorop* (short drought) – usually between December and February.
- *Lamei odo* (long dry season) – between July and October. Both livestock and people experience severe drought and starvation at this time.

Rain Seasons; (*Lari(n)*)

- *Lng'erng'erwa* – (long rains), these are again divided into sections which describes their impact;
 - *Somso oibor* – (Means ‘white rains’ – equal to small rainfall) Mid- February
 - *Somso orok* – (Means ‘black rains’ - beginning of long rains) End of March
 - *Ltaat (or Lakira) le kwe* – (Means ‘the stars ahead’ , indication of big rain- equal to April)
 - *Ltaat (or Lakira) le ware* – (Means ‘the second stars’ , indication of end of rains – equal to May)
 - *Llorok lekwe* – (Means ‘the first black’ , indication of beginning of drought – equal to June)
 - *Lorok lesiedi* –(Means ‘the last black’ , indication of long droughts – equal to July)
- (Lempuruk 2001; MRL 2, 3)

This seasonal calendar of the Samburu people illustrates that they traditionally had accurate and embodied understanding of the environmental diversity in their areas, which could assist them in planning where to migrate with their animals at different times of the year.

The annual calendar of the Samburu people is also divided into environmental characteristics. Similarities to the previous seasons mentioned above are found, but this is a more descriptive and detailed schedule for planning migrations of their domestic herds of animals. The following figure indicates the intricacy and detailed description of weather estimations through a calendar year.

FIGURE 7. ANNUAL CALENDAR OF THE SAMBURU PEOPLE

1. *Rialpala* – A dry season when trees shed their leaves
2. *Neing'ok* – The bulls are actively mating with cows
3. *Purkula* – A period between rains and drought, the leaves dry and fall down.
4. *Ltaat lekwe* – The beginning of long rains
5. *Ltaat le ware* – The second period of rains
6. *Lorok lekwe* – Black periods of rains with rituals and initiations
7. *Lorok lesiadi* – Second period of black rains with rituals and initiations
8. *Lekpern* – The time of butterflies
9. *Ntungus* – The beginning of short rains (drizzles)
10. *Lgisan* – Period between short and heavy rains
11. *Lukuluwae* – Period of hail-storms
12. *Arat* – The beginning of drought spell

(Lempuruk, 2001)

Together with this profound system of reading the weather, the Samburus are aware of the fact that environmental degradation means the end to their traditional lifestyle. This is also why they have accepted and respected the enormous workload it is to be a pastoralist. Trekking is a main activity, and a person can go as far as over 100 kilometres per day. It is logical to believe that the Samburu people don't go to *lale* and stay under such conditions just for the excitement of it, but understands the importance of maintaining their basis of existence – namely pasture (MRL 1, NMMO 1, MRL 14).

6.2 Pastoralism as Environmental Degradations System?

6.2.1 Malthusian Check, Tragedy of the Common and Sustainable Development

Increased sedentarization amongst pastoralist populations has taken place and branded most arid and semi-arid regions of the world during the past two millennia (McCabe 1997). Historical process of sedentarization amongst pastoralists in East- and Northern Africa, the Middle East and the Sudan is partially responsible for the origins of many towns in these areas (McCabe 1997). Seeking refuge or trying to enhance their economic situation was mainly the motivation for the mobile herders to settle (McCabe 1997).

If pastoralism was an environmental damaging system on its own, it is hard to believe that it has maintained its practice for as many centuries as it have, and amongst such a vast group in East-Africa and the Horn of Africa. McCabe also argues that;

” there is little evidence to support the notion that in the arid and semi-arid regions of East Africa livestock populations, without outside inputs, have been able to increase to the extent that environmental degradation has led to density- dependent mortality.”
(McCabe 1997)

There are several arguments against Malthus as the subsistence economy of the Samburus lies in the livestock supplying families with almost all necessary goods. Milk, meat, blood is the most commonly used diet by the pastoral practitioners. Again, the skin from both goats and cows function as clothes, mattresses, milk and food containers, schoolbags, shoes and i.e. Traditional herbal medicine has also been the common way of treating illness amongst the Samburu people. Again, the Samburu pastoralists don't rely on a lot of wood for survival, so cutting of trees is a limited activity. When they shift, they carry even small branches with them from their previous *nkaji* which is reused in the construction of the new one (MRL 1, NMMOgr., BRSgr.).

But sedentary life is increasing in Samburu District. While grazing areas are slowly reducing through modernization processes on land management and human behaviour, pastoralism is getting harder to practice. People seek financial, social and health related security through sedentary activities. In fact, observations and interviews in Maralal town have revealed that there are less possibilities of grazing cows sufficiently around town and village centres. Memories of thick forests and tall grass around Maralal town and its suburbs are being described (MRL 7). One of my interview objects told me that the name *Maralal* comes from the fact that there used to be a very large river in the town (*Naimaralal* means something shiny, like the surface of a dam or a river) (MRL 3). Currently, there is no large river in Maralal and water is a scarcity. It has been difficult to prove whether drilling for water has resulted in piercing a main ore of water which has diminished the water supply of the town. Nevertheless, lack of water is a problem to the population of Maralal, although it is also to a vast extent a problem for the whole Samburu population. Another interview object refer to her childhood in the neighbouring town of Maralal which used to be thick of grass, whereby today it's surrounded by sandy plains. Her grandmother recalls this in connection with how the Samburu people now are dressing according to modern fashions with for instance shirts and trousers and claims this is “*the end of the world*” (MRL7). In addition, a new breed of more stout cattle has been introduced in these urban or semi-urban areas. These cattle usually during the rainy seasons usually give more milk than the traditional breed which to Europeans usually is known as *Boran*, but they also need greatly more food for survival, and they are less resistant to illness and diseases than the latter (MRL 2, MRL 9). Again, it is less resistant to droughts. This type of cattle needs more pasture than the traditional cattle, and it is questionable whether it benefits such areas where pasture is in increasingly competition with sedentary activities?

As long as the Samburus could move freely with their livestock, there was no particular problem of overgrazing, land degradation and starvation (MRL 4, MRL 14, BRS 1, APgr., AP 3, NMMO 1, NMMO 4). The idea of nomadic or semi-nomadic practice proves that the pastoralists must have understood the importance of not stressing the environment too much in one place over a longer period of time. Pastoralism is a time- and labour consuming economic activity, and there is reason to believe that if the conductors through indigenous, empirical knowledge saw sustainability of residing in one place, gladly would have done so.

Evidence is that many of the people who engage themselves in sedentary activities, becomes unable to return back to a life of herding cattle. Proving this can amongst others be done through the quantitative data I collected in Mombasa. 70% of the male respondents say they would rather have a paid job than to herd animals (variable w). In connection with this, the respondents prefer having a paid job the longer they have resided in Mombasa. Of those who have stayed less than 6 months on the coast, 60% reply they would prefer herding animals. Of those who have stayed more than 10 years, 100% reply they would rather have a paid job. Those who have stayed 2-4 years 72, 7 % also respond as the latter (variable w).

This is the same for the people in Maralal town. All recipients describe that they are unfit for going back to the life at home. They have become accustomed to the urban life and while many of them still admire the life at home, they don't feel it suits them anymore. Their sets of values have changed. The monetary economy has little in common with the pastoralist economy, and people as well as traditional lifestyles changes with this transition.

“They are being torn between two contradictory economic systems, the one demanding a high degree of mobility, the other soil-bound settlement.” (Ibrahim & Ibrahim 1995)

The quote refers to Maasai people and their transition to sedentary, monetary based activities. But it is also applicable to the Samburus. In Samburu as similar to the prior research on Maasai areas, sedentarization, agricultural expansion and urbanization have furthermore decreased the traditional areas of pasture used by both the Samburus and other pastoralists in Northern Kenya. In Archers Post, the SNR has occupied and restricted grazing of cattle in the most diverse environment in the area (AP 2, AP 3). Commonly clashes and raiding occur between other ethnic groups like the Meru, Pokot and Borana who also pull further south for pasture. These conflicts culminated in a recent governmental intervention where Samburu cattle were confiscated in large numbers, leaving them without any source of food security. Again, several people were shot and injured from the battle.

If traditional land used for pasture is confiscated or restricted, the traditional systems of grazing for pastoralists also becomes weaker (Spencer 1997). This because the original conduct is based on having access to a quite larger area of pasture, and not limitations such as permanent establishments of agricultural fields, national reserves, privatization of land, expansion of urban centres and sedentarization bring about. If the Samburus could move freely with their herds, it's a high probability that environmental degradation as an actual cause of pastoralism would have been avoided. Therefore I argue that it is not the system developed by the indigenous pastoralists that is the main cause of environmental degradation, but the other variables of permanent land occupation and transformed consumption patterns that is the reason for it.

6.3 Privatization, Land Occupation, Agriculture and Land management

6.3.1 Top-bottom Implementations of Environmental Development Initiatives

The research and analysis in this thesis consent to the earlier mentioned 'second school' of beliefs of pastoralist systems being sustainable in terms of preserving the environment. It is according to observations and interviews as well as prior research sufficient evidence for disapproving Malthus theory. Unfortunately, I acknowledge tendencies towards changes in the Samburu societies which eventually will support fractions of Hardins' theory.

Nevertheless the traditions of the Samburu people differ from Hardins view on “*The Tragedy of the Common.*”

Usually sedentarization is encouraged in order to find employment, support larger food security during droughts, for educational purposes and in terms of accessing health care services (Fratkin & Roth 2004). It is of course common and understandable that urban or sedentary villages are centres which can receive development funds and benefit from business activities going on in the area compared to semi-nomadic settlements. But it also leads to attraction of more people.

Pastoralism seems to be highly underestimated by many development organizations. The logics of such mode of living seem to be hard to comprehend as being sufficient for several people from in particular the western world. However, also people of Kenya itself can find it both odd and unsustainable to conduct pastoralism. I have commonly heard people from other parts of Kenya criticizing it. Furthermore, several Samburu people I know have revealed that they find it insufficient, destructive and obsolete. These people are all well educated, often employed within the developing sector either through government or NGOs. They commonly



think they know more than their fellow Samburus on how to achieve development. This makes them to join the top-bottom attitude of development organizations whereby they appear to have all the answers to Samburu people’s problems, while functionalism within Samburu traditions is disregarded.

PICTURE 4. CATTLE GRAZING IN SAMBURU

Solidarity and sharing has been a backbone in the Samburu conduct of life (MRL 1, NMMO 1, MRL 4, BRS 2, AP 3). The system of reciprocity has also been applicable to rangelands as these are considered belonging to everybody. Although clashes with other ethnic groups has occurred and still does, fighting over grazing lands is one issue, since also the excitement and bravery trial of raiding has been a motivation. However, there has been an internal understanding that rangeland is shared between all the pastoralists. Commonly, Samburus meet up in *lale* with other pastoralists of different ethnic background whereby they share information on pasture and other relevant issues concerning livestock and security.

When the traditional acceptance and obligations of reciprocity is now challenged by various variables such as private ownership, settlement and expanding agricultural practice i.e., a type

of panicking is more traceable in the Samburu communities (BRS2, MRL 4, 10, 14). The fear of not getting access to the natural resources they need for survival has to some extent led to a more individual thinking of how to at least save themselves. This can also be termed as a type of anomaly for the Samburu, as they are not used to meet vast restrictions on their pastoralist conducts.

I have been to *lale* several times. *Lale* is meant to be the semi-nomadic stations for those with many animals, and they commonly divide them into several locations.

It isn't common like Hardin argues that the Samburu people consider themselves individually and their own herds more important than others (NMMO 1, MRL 4, AP 3). Families and peers are considered equal, and the environment is the profound basis of existence, therefore the rangelands must be maintained and sustained. The Samburu pastoralists therefore divide their herds if the animals due to these reasons;

- If an outbreak of diseases on animals comes, they have preserved another stock elsewhere.
- If raiders come, they still have some remaining another place.
- Because the workload can be too extensive if all animals are to be kept in one place.
- The grazing land can't be degraded.

These are common logical patterns followed by the Samburu people in order to maintain their livestock and themselves in the best possible way. The lack of comprehending the logics of pastoralists seems to have given severe counter effects in many occasions. Spencer (1997) also refers to a vital point of development institutions, whether governmental or private having great power and influence in persuading and convincing their targeted recipients. Once development initiatives are employed, it is hard to change their outcome or reverse the implementations, even if it is less successful than intended.

The United Nations Millennium goal number one describes the intention of halving extreme poverty and hunger by the year 2015. To achieve this, enforced focus on agricultural expansion and development will be given from the international development organizations such as the WB. There is a vast potential in Kenya of further expansion of farming, and to some extent it also includes various parts of Samburu District. Especially the areas around Maralal town are encouraged for farming, leaving the more urban cattle with reduced areas for grazing. But also other more fertile areas are as well being suggested for increased cultivation. Those who want and are able follows this, and fertile areas like *Porro*, *Loosuk*, *Lolkunono*, *Sirata*, *Lpartuk*, *Baragoi*, *South Horr*, *Tuum*, and around *Wamba* has had quite a distinctive growth in agricultural activities (MRL 1).

6.3.2 Development Rhetoric's

A real problem of development organizations is that they tend to use populist rhetoric towards the recipients which often are lacking abilities to perceive the possible negative consequences these concepts and strategies might inflict on them. If both developers and recipients had greater understanding of potential outcomes of development initiatives, an improved dialogue could take place. The indigenous logics and knowledge of the beneficiaries could modify the planned projects to encounter more success and accomplish the aims and objectives. But since rhetorical approaches usually are carried out by trained personnel, fear and respect of authoritarians diminishes the self reliance hence own knowledge (MRL 4). This is

unfortunate, but I have witnessed it on all occasions I have been present whereby development projects are to be initiated. There are backsides of every medallion, and admitting this could make the Samburu people feel less inadequate in terms of expressing their views of wishes they have for themselves.

There are several development initiatives implemented in Maralal town and in the rural parts of Samburu these also increases. A governmental initiative through the so called Community Development Funds (CDF) is established for the purpose of poverty eradication. But these projects have a tendency to disregard the reciprocity and collectiveness that lies within the Samburu people. Individuals are approached and also to a large extent individuals apply for the funds. There are for instance many examples of microfinance for women who want to start their own individual business (MRL 1, 3, BRS 1, 2). I will get back into a richer discussion on microfinance in section four of this chapter.

While targeting individuals, poverty alleviations don't occur collectively. In fact, monetary poverty creates a further gap between Samburu people, and transition towards more modern life and the commodities attached with it which is negative. Jealousy towards those who are assisted to establish a business or of those who are employed is increasing. While money is required in more parts of the daily life of the Samburus, those who have less chance of accessing it will suffer more.



PICTURE 5. BARSALOI COMMUNITY WATER PROJECT

Most development initiatives in Samburu tend to demand something back from each individual who wants to utilize the establishment which generates the need of accessing money. In example, if you want to be

treated in hospital, you have to pay, or if you send your child to school, you have to buy uniform, books,

pencils and etc. To approach the community in terms of assisting them collectively is rather scarce to witness apart from when dams are build or roads are made. To some extent unfair to say that schools and hospitals are not collective benefits for a society, but since money is needed to access these benefits, these projects demand that people generate them. While several communities have been encouraged to generate income for their community, others from the same ethnic group will experience negative consequences of this. One of the most abundant rangelands in Southern Samburu is found around *Marti*, but here water is privatized through a community project, and the herders have to pay per animal to enable giving their livestock water. This is also common several other places. Again, superior rangeland are often fenced and privatized, also by foreigners who demand payment for the animals to graze (For instance in the bordering Laikipia District which is an area the Samburus also use to a vast extent for pasture).

There are several examples of vast settlements and land grabbing whereby the best grazing fields are fenced, sometimes the size of a whole division, for private interests and profit

making. To generate income for local communities, developers or the government often encourage privatizing natural resources (BRS 1, 2). It is acknowledged that this has a negative effect towards the poorest people of these communities. If they can't access water for their daily responsibilities nor graze their animals unless they can accommodate funds, it creates a further gap within the society between the less fortunate and the remains.

In Barsaloi, water is a community based income service. The village is situated near a large river which compared to other rivers in the surroundings have quite sufficient ability to supply people with water annually. Privatization of this water was initiated by the WB (BRS 1, 2).

While the pastoralists assumingly have practiced a sustainable system, the aspiration of change for development is based on a notion of Hardins' and Malthus theories whereby pastoralists are destroying themselves and their own livelihoods through their traditional lifestyle. To change this destructive behaviour, adaptation and implementation of modern survival and development strategies are commonly accepted as the path for both poverty alleviation and sustainable development. It is a paradox that the traditional lifestyle assumingly was a far better option concerning environmental preservation than today's course.

6.4 Social Changes Interconnected with Sedentarization and Land Loss

6.4.1 Indigenism and Functionalism in Development Strategies

Although agriculture has less significance in the Samburu district, other development



PICTURE 6. "NKIGE" - A BRANCH OF A TREE USED AS TRADITIONAL SAMBURU TOOTHBRUSH

strategies have given reason for people to migrate and settle. These will be followed up further in the next chapters regarding tourism, education and commercialization.

Though indigenous knowledge and pastoralist systems on land management and sustainable use gets more credit, this has in particular been mainly associated with behavioural patterns towards use and handling of natural resources. Indigenous knowledge is often on colliding course with other development strategies and ideas of generating economic growth.

The sedentary life in terms of urbanization has turned out to for many people in several cases devastating. From all four locations where I performed interviews in the Samburu District, they all point out some similar observations according to town life. People tend to shift or migrate to the more urban areas in pursue of prosperity, employment

and food security (MBA 1, MRL 1, 3, 4, NMMO 1, 2). However, town life can be more difficult to these people than what was expected. Suddenly, many of them are met with the demands of a monetary economy for accessing most of the basic needs that they in the Manyatta had in large extent been shielded from. This implies rent of accommodation, food,

water, furniture, clothes, transport, medical assistance, firewood or charcoal, and even in some cases tax (all MRL respondents, BRS 2).

I have been living in Maralal town since September 2008, my first time to be actually situated in the town and not in the rural *manyatta*. Several of my friends have in their years of idleness in Maralal town turned into thieves, alcoholics and prostitutes. Their struggle for survival has affected their social health severely.

Once given a reason for living in town, it is hard for many of the Samburu people to return to their original homesteads (MRL 1, 2, 3, BRS 1, 2, NMMO 3, MBA 1). Similar for all the respondents, they say that people in town lack respect and overrule taboos which are common for the Samburu people.

“In town they don’t have respect. And stress is at a high level here. There isn’t that much stress in the manyatta, people are happier even if they have less.”
(MRL 5, female)

It appears that many of the Samburu people who come to live in town get stuck in a sort of a diaspora condition. They admire the life at home, but they don’t feel fit to return to it (MRL 1, 2, 3, BRS 1, 2, NMMO 3, MBA 1). Some interior hopes of getting a sufficiently paid job are holding them back from repatriating (MRL 1, 3, 9, BRS 1, 2, MBA 1). Nearly all interview objects in Maralal, regardless of age, sex and financial situation commonly refer to stress, poverty, shame and other difficulties while describing life in town. A monetary poverty is common for people in Maralal, and has worse consequences than monetary poverty back in the *manyatta* (all interview objects, including all 50 Mombasa respondents). While waiting for an opening of a job, peers meet up and share habits, often less positive ones like *miraa* chewing, drinking or smoking *banghi* (MRL 1, 2, 3, BRS 1, 2, NMMO 1, 2, 3, AP 2). The reciprocity of the Samburus also comes to show through drinking. If you don’t have money, there will be a high possibility of somebody buying you drinks. Strangely enough, reciprocity towards food appears to be very much harder than for leisure goods such as cigarettes, *miraa* and alcohol (MRL 1, MRL 10, NMMO 1, 2, 3).

An increased problem of Sexual Transmitted Diseases (STD) can be accounted for in Maralal. Monetary poverty and unemployment leads to more people seeking to prostitution for survival (MRL 1, 5). Valuable labour forces and foundations of lives changes for most people affected by it. Maralal is no exception to be harmed by HIV and AIDS. With polygamy still practiced, and in addition, a rather loose-fitted attitude towards sexual activities (Talle 2009), Samburu District can turn out to be one of the most harmed places in Kenya in the long run. Also alcoholism is extensively and rapidly increasing in Samburu, and not just in the urban places.

But in town one can access stronger brews, which can be more harmful. As taboos are slowly being more overruled with town life, it is not uncommon to see young *Lkishami morans* drinking together with peer girls as well as elder men and ladies. Just as little as a decade ago, this could rarely be seen. Again, ulcers, heart attacks, cancer and strokes are increasingly traceable amongst the Samburus (BRS 1, 2, MRL 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5).

By remaining in town, families in the manyatta also lose individuals to assist at home as pastoralism is a time and effort consuming activity. This affects the pastoral conduct as well. If you don't have enough people to herd the livestock, there are less possibilities of dividing them into sustainable quantities for grazing. This can again lead to environmental degradation.

Even if people want to go home, some of the shames they bring on themselves in town can be unbearable for them to be confronted with at home (MBA 1, MRL 1, BRS 1, 2). For instance, something that happens more often now than just a decade ago, is uncircumcised boys becoming parents (MRL 1, 5, 10, 14, BRS 1, 2, NMMO 2, 3, 4). This is an immense taboo in Samburu, as the uncircumcised are regarded as children, and therefore not suitable to be parents. Again, drinking is still regarded as by hook or by crook shameful, and even if it is well known that a person is drinking, he or she doesn't want to be confronted with it. Many people also fail to appear at significant ceremonies which are necessary for them to move on to different stages in life, and this adds up to reasons for losing contact with their families (MBA 1, BRS gr., NMMOgr.).

Town life is expensive compared to in the rural manyatta, but some of course handle this challenge well. But, to view a transition from subsistence to monetary economy, one can see how much more fragile and vulnerable people get from this following table.

TABLE 4. TRADITIONAL USED COMMODITIES VERSUS URBAN AREA COMMODITIES

COMMODITY	TRADITIONAL	URBAN AREA
FOOD	Milk, meat, blood, ghee	Milk, meat, vegetables, <i>ngrumma</i> , rice, beans, maize, spices, water, tealeaf, bread, butter, oil
ACCOMMODATION	<i>Nkaji</i> :made of cow dung, branches, mud, logs and sisal	Monthly rent of accommodation or buying plot, building materials, lodgings.
LIGHT	Firewood inside the <i>nkaji</i>	Electrical light or paraffin lamp, torch, batteries
COOKING EQUIPMENT	Firewood, <i>mooti</i> , barque, branches	Firewood, utensils, charcoal, paraffin, gas,
FURNITURE (MENTIONED IN DIRECT ORDER AS TO THE EQUIVALENT)	Cow skin, sisal baskets, roots	Mattress, cupboards, pillows, chairs
CLOTHES	Dressing skins	Modern clothes
TRANSPORT	Their feet and backs, donkeys, camels, skins	Their feet and backs, taxi, motorbike, <i>matatu</i> , rental car
MEDICAL ASSISTANCE	Herbs, fat	Chemical medicine, herbs (to be purchased)
COMMUNICATION	Horns, flutes, smoke, singing, messengers in form of trekking, visits, greetings	Telephone, letters, mobile phones, fax, internet, visits
OTHER NECESSITIES	<i>Nkige</i> , cow dung and sand, <i>lmomoi</i> , <i>saraii</i> , stones, leafs	Toothbrush, soap, toilet paper

This table clearly indicates that most of the commodities in the traditional life are ‘free’, while almost all of the commodities needed in urban areas have to be purchased. It must be emphasized that even in the traditional lifestyle, changes has come in terms of more modern dressing, cooking and medically (BRS 2, MRL 3, NMMO 1 and 3). However, there is still a long way until the traditional Samburu life becomes fully dependant on modern commodities according to how their traditional lifestyle currently is conducted.

Although there are clear and visible examples of a rather rapid transition from subsistence to monetary economy also amongst the traditional Samburus, one can see that it is still a smaller chance of monetary poverty affecting their lives to the same extent in the manyatta as in the urban areas. However, one habit that leads to a greater poverty among the Samburus in the manyattas as well is alcohol abuse (all respondents in NMMO, MRL and BS).

In the past of the Samburu people, drinking was something reserved to large occasions such as blessing ceremonies. If one would occasionally enjoy alcohol, one did it with discretion and fear (BRS 1, BRS 2, MRL 1, MRL 2, and AP1). Now, drinking is unfortunately becoming more and more common, and the past rules of only elders being able to do so are now partly vanished. A young woman, respondent to this case study, situated in Maralal detests town life, but her parents moved here when she was young, and she doesn’t know where to go. She is an alcoholic, and partly a prostitute. She reveals her views on the differences between the people in town and the manyatta and tells that traditions at *nkang* might seem rigid and adversary towards women, but that she still has preferences;

“I’d rather marry an old man than to have the life as I do now.” (MRL 5, female)

She illustrates that even traditions that most development organizations regards as negative, still would have been preferable to her than to lead the life she does. She also believes that men in *manyatta* have more respect for women than the men in town (MRL 5).

6.4.2 Generation of supplementary Development Initiatives

The town of Maralal is as mentioned the administrative centre of Samburu District, and many people seek here to look for employment opportunities, in particular for governmental jobs. Unfortunately, nepotism in terms of clanism is highly traceable in Samburu, and therefore it can be hard to access jobs if you are of the ‘wrong’ clan (BRS 1, 2, MRL 1, 3, 4 10). This makes it harder for qualified people to get a job maybe which they maybe ought to have. But the most severe problem for Maralal is the lack of jobs at all. This makes jobseekers idle.

I discovered that there are no activities for either organized or unorganized youth or others in Maralal town. This was confirmed by several of the respondents (MRL 1, 5, 10, BRS 1, 2). There is no football team, no sports clubs, no public or private library, nor location for meeting other friends or peers. There are some *hotels* which are not commonly used for social gatherings, but for dining and refreshments. Bars however are present in a vast amount. There are few practical restrictions to serving alcohol in Maralal, and people tend to drink until they drop. This is a severe problem as it is hardly ethnocentric to argue that idleness in urban areas seldom leads to positive or constructive activities for the majority. The frustration of being unemployed, victim of profound monetary poverty, struggling for survival and perhaps also lacking the social security network people have in the *manyatta* can lead to depression, alcoholism, crime, violence and domestic abuse to mention (Kunitz 1994).

To enable purchasing food, many people tend to produce charcoal which is negative towards deforesting the suburbs of the town (MRL 1, 4, MRL 6). Again, charcoal is the most common source of energy used for cooking. Several people I know in Maralal town, sadly reveal how many of the hilly areas surrounding the town used to be thick of forest, and today just a few bushes are remaining (MRL 1, 2, 3, MRL 7). The urban population usually also build their houses out of posts, as this is the cheapest building material together with stones. Cement is expensive, although more durable as termites tend to destroy wooden buildings. Fencing of plots is also usually done with posts and chicken wire, and many people fence their plots without starting to build before several years. This leads to less grazing areas for the domestic animals belonging to the town or suburb population which again generates environmental degradation.

Furthermore, there are also no sufficient waste disposal management in Maralal town and there are no dumpsites or similar in any of the rural community or villages (MRL 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10). This is disastrous as purchase of goods leads to more contaminated waste. In particular plastic bags and batteries are found everywhere. Especially in townships, the waste is becoming a problem to both nature and people. The issue of litter is also an increased problem in the rural areas. In the urban areas, sanitary concerns rise from the lack of waste disposal and human waste initiatives. Epidemics and waterborne diseases occur frequently, and if the population is just to grow without measurements being taken, this could have devastating results.

By initiating and implementing various development projects, there should be an analysis of further requirements which will be needed when these are rooted and established. By increasing the consumer activity of the population of Maralal, one also should consider that this also entail more waste and further pressure on sanitary facilitations. Again, only two public toilets are found in the town, and these are of a standard one cannot classify as sufficient.

CASE STUDY ON SEDENTARIZATION

MRL5, young woman.

“Nasula” is around 20 years and has been living in Maralal town since she was about 5. Her late father moved the family here because he got a job. She has for the last two years been drinking every day, and she has a son, aged 2. She also finds means of survival through prostitution.

“My family have only one cow, so it is not like we can look after animals as an alternative to this life in town. Things were better when my father was alive. But in town, I don’t know what to say is good here. People are so rude, they have no respect and abuse is common. I think the men at nkang have a lot more respect for their wives or girlfriends than the men here in town. The father of my child has three other girlfriends and he is just bad to me. I believe if I just get a job, I can quit drinking – I know that.”

But “Nasula” illustrates a common dilemma – the urge of finding employment. However, most people don’t want to employ drunkards and therefore they continue sedating their constant worries and sadness with drinking. At the same time, bar owners have an increased market and therefore stable and prosperous business.

She shivers when I give her the small bottle of spirits, *mpira*, and she is afraid that I’ll ask her about prostitution. I tell her I won’t because I don’t need to. I have observed her actions and I find it unnecessary to humiliate her for what I already know.

“The people at home are much more happy than us here in town. Just look at all of us in the bar – do you think any of us are really happy? We come here day after day to try to mute our stress and unhappiness. Those at home are not poor because they have each other and animals, while here in town it is even difficult to get food.”

6.5 Brief Conclusion

There are reasons to believe that if the Samburu pastoralists were not so dependent on the environment for pasture and for other basic needs for survival, they would perhaps give great evidence in terms of proofing both Malthus and Hardin right. In the urban areas, one can to some extent approve of several theories on environmental degradation, but it is not correct to categorize and term traditional pastoralist systems of the Samburu people as unsustainable. Modernization and development strategies have to take the blame for environmental degradation taking place. Due to increased sedentary activities, the aboriginal rangelands have been reduced. Also common ideas on privatization as income generation both for individuals and communities have reduced access to vital natural resources for both humans and animals (Spencer 1997, MRL 1, 4, BRS 1, 2).

By being subject to modernization processes and initiatives for development, the reciprocity within the Samburu people has been reduced. The interview objects all claims that it is harder to be given food than alcohol in town, and that the bonds in terms of family relations also are reduced in value in town. While money is involved, people tend to be more harsh and individualistic in spending them compared to the goods available at home. An increased monetary poverty has also emerged from sedentary activities. As the case of “Nasula” illustrates, food- and income security as well as social security is a lot more risky in town (MRL 5). If one family member which is regarded as breadwinner disappears, the remaining family members are left without means of sufficient survival commodities. In *nkang*, other people will to a larger extent make sure you get food and shelter as well as incorporating you in social activities if such situations should occur.

This section has revealed that mainstream development initiatives leads to environmental degradation and therefore conversion to a monetary economy. With increasing modernization and development projects, the Samburu people become more dependent on a monetary economy which forces them to take part in activities which can generate money. This is for many people difficult, and a larger monetary poverty is traceable within particularly the urban areas of the district.

Section 2 - Education

In this section, I intend to address and discuss mainly social effects of education in Samburu District.

Education is regarded as one of the most important tools towards poverty alleviation in the world, and is apparently the most common mainstream development strategies deployed in Samburu District. In the starting phase of introducing development projects, it was mainly missionaries and British Colonial rulers who initiated it, hereunder education (MRL 4, NMMO1).

Although formal education was given, it was mainly in the administrative areas and girls were rarely enrolled. Today, the Government of Kenya is the main organization responsible of educational services in Samburu, but there are also, in particular in Maralal, large presences of private schools.

Education is commonly looked upon as advantageous for all people. The recognition of having ability to read and write as fundament for individual development is understandable. Once being able to read, one can access information which otherwise would be unavailable, and writing can assist in expressing views and opinions which might not otherwise have reached the intended receiver. Learning is beneficial in terms of strengthening opportunities of employment, self determination and broadening levels of knowledge. Even in indigenous, illiterate communities, learning is regarded as crucial, and therefore it is hard to argue against it being offered to people through educational institutions.

But an important point is that education also is regarded as beneficial in order to enable economic growth. In non-monetary communities like the Samburu, education has brought about an unconscious transition from subsistence- to monetary economy.

6.6 Traditions and Current Practice on Education among Samburu People

6.6.1. Education for Empowerment?

The Samburu elders have for generation regarded education as a luxurious in-necessity. As mentioned before, pastoralism requires an immense workload, and ensuring labour forces are usually organized through multiple births per family (Hylland Eriksen 1992). This is still a practice for security, and although education is gradually getting more accepted and acknowledged, it is rare to see the majority of a family's children being sent to school (NMMO 1).

Unfortunately, one can easily observe that the conditions of most schools around in Samburu District suffer from mismanagement, lack of staff and resources and have vast variety in quality. The schools around Maralal town are regarded as some of the better ones, while rural schools are with few exceptions regarded as offering quite poor education. This doesn't necessarily mean that staffs are unqualified, but sometimes the teachers are too few to enable giving satisfactory lessons for the pupils (MRL 1, BRS 2).



It would be inappropriate to characterize any education as useless, but in very many cases, in particularly on higher levels, several pupils tend to spend more efforts on raising school fees than actually attending the schools (MRL 1, MBA 1, BRS 1, 2). This makes it complicated as results of Samburu schools on national exams therefore appear as very poor. Getting a job with

PICTURE 7. PUPILS IN NAIRIMIRIMO PRIMARY SCHOOL

unfortunate marks are after all harder and if your school has reputation of being of nationally poor quality, it doesn't make it easier.

Many parents make the decision of sending one or more of their children to school hoping that this can secure, or at least assist them financially later on. This can be the result in very many cases, but also it appears that a large amount of Samburus are unable to find employment (MRL 1, 2, 3, 5, 10, MBA 1, BRS 1, 2). Again, most jobs, apart from governmental or cooperate jobs are usually not well paid. To live on a marginal salary in town causes complications hence assisting the family back home financially.

But many educated Samburus tend to migrate to other urban areas to seek for jobs. Nairobi and Mombasa are the most common ones, although there are numerous people employed elsewhere in the country as well. Many of these people seldom return or visit at home, and some also loose complete contact with their families (MBA 1, MRL 1, 3, NMMOgr., BRS gr., AP gr., BRS 1, 2).

Education is often regarded as a vital tool for individual- and gender empowerment. In relation to this, it is furthermore one of the mainstream development strategies in the world which has been implemented the most. Though as mentioned it is hard to argue against education, common propaganda for schooling are repeated so often that it becomes the truth. The same applies to discourses on empowerment of women through education. I will try to give an example of counter effects of education for some of the Samburu girls, as well as look into Samburu indigenous empowerment possibilities for women.

Although girls are still not as prioritized as boys to receive education, it is in my point of view not only based on men's fear of women rights, but because they in their holistic worldview still considers pastoralism as the main activity, and to be able to pursue and maintain this, it demands large numbers of conductors. Girls are often used near *nkang* for herding smaller animals or assisting with chores at home and above all, they bring income in terms of dowry (NMMO 1). An interview object said;

“Men always love their wives more than their children because in case something happens to the children, the wife can produce more” (NMMO 1).

These two matters of labour requirements and view on women's positions, can explain why Samburus mainly still regard family planning in terms of having as many children as possible for social security (Spencer 1997).

Though women's positions in Samburu are regarded as unprivileged compared to men's, it appears as women rights are nourished through men to some extent in Samburu District. Men either educated or not but belonging to the administrative elite in some way, tend to empower both their wives and daughters. Rebecca Lolosoli is the chairperson of Umoja Uaso Women's group in Archers Post. Miller (2006) is referring to Mrs. Lolosoli being harassed and attacked by men in Archers Post area for her effort of battling gender inequalities. But Mrs. Lolosoli is married to the brother of former Samburu County Councils chairman (AP2), something that perhaps will explain how she can continue addressing women rights issues without being assailed? Mrs. Lolosoli has had little or no education (AP1), but I argue she has been able to put herself into- and keep a position as a spokesperson for women- mainly because of her husband's reputation and status. Interestingly, this seems to be the case for many Samburu women whether educated or not (MRL 1, BRS 2, MRL 10, MRL 14).

Education can help bringing women up and forward in any community, of course also in Samburu. But my findings are exciting in respect of revealing that women with a strong man can gain positions in the Samburu society they wouldn't achieved as easily independently with or without education.

Men are still very important to Samburu women as their identity becomes reshaped through their husbands (BRS 1, NMMO 2). Often, one can see educated women having problems of getting husbands as they tend to live a life unsatisfactory to potential spouses. This will be further analyzed and addressed later in this section.

6.7 Counter Effects of Education

6.7.1 Education and Marginalization

With education, the anticipation of ridding marginalization is a genuine objective. While the majority of the Samburu population still are illiterate, and by living in a remote area without sufficient infrastructure, marginalization economically (monetary speaking), politically and legally is unfortunately common. But, the case of education amongst Samburu people can also prove that a further marginalization can be the result of schooling (MRL 1, BRS 1, 2). There are of course many success stories of graduated Samburus, but the aim of this case is to focus on the counter effects of education which to my knowledge is very little, or not at all addressed before.

An interesting point marked by Hays and Siegruhn (2005) is the understanding of negative effects of boarding schools. It is also quite common in Samburu District to attend boarding schools, in particular the levels of secondary and high school, but also to quite an extent on primary level. During my sessions of interviews, two particular opposite views were exposed on boarding schools. One person was expressing how primitive and set-back the Samburu people are, and blamed them of not wanting to develop themselves. This person is also of Samburu ethnic origin, but has higher education with qualifications of being a teacher. The person was not an intended interview object, but got interested in some informal conversation on the topic, and aired firm opinions;

“The Samburu people are so primitive. Kids should be forced to go to boarding school to be shielded from the parents’ mind of keeping up pastoralism. The children get contaminated by this, and therefore many of them never come to school or don’t regard school as their primary task.”(MRL 8)

The quote is important in analysing a rather typical opinion of higher educated Samburus – namely that their own traditions and culture is primitive and needs changes (MRL 8, MRL 9, AP 1). Several Samburus have attended workshops and classes concerning development issues, whereby a common result is adopting a notion that the Western world’s economical development holds the key to financial growth and success (MRL 4, 8, 9, 14, APgr.) . Samburus with higher education seems to be caught up in concepts of growth being dependant on a will to change and adapt to more homogeny modernization strategies in order to develop. Again, they claim illiterate people have no knowledge of how to develop as they only know their own lifestyle, traditions and systems (MRL 9). Unfortunately, this is a widespread attitude amongst higher educated Samburus.

However, another interview object was expressing the opposite view on boarding schools. This person is also educated, although not with completed high school, but he is a recognized, young businessman;

“Children should be forced during school closing to get back to home immediately so that they can stay next to their parents and elders and maintain respect and get advice on how to lead their lives.” (BRS 2)

This person is stressing the importance of maintaining identity and family relations while being in school. The value of having guidance in life, in particularly when school is of such a different character than the Samburu, rural population is used to through their conduct of life, it is easy to become bewildered in respect of where one belong and how one should lead their lives (MRL 1, BRS 2)

All interview objects subjects to the qualitative research have referred to one common point; that there is less respect in town. They also say that younger people don’t follow traditional ‘rules’ in town, and in particularly those who have attended school. Unfortunately, this seems to be true, although it is a matter of opinion whether following all traditional ‘rules’ of the Samburu people is solely positive? But in terms of women empowerment, it seems that educated women often meet challenges they would have been shielded from in the manyattas (MRL 1, MRL 5, BRS 2). Just like boys, graduated girls can find themselves trapped in a diaspora like situation whereby they are looking for employment over longer periods of time in towns. Since monetary poverty is harder to cope with in town, many turn to prostitution for survival (MRL 1, MRL 5, BRS 2). It has to be added that prostitution is also occurring amongst uneducated women in town. But many of the girls who graduate from for instance high school get boyfriends in town which seems to be less committed than men in the manyattas (MRL 1, 5, 10, NMMO 2). Getting pregnant through random, casual relationships and in quite a few cases also with different men makes them vulnerable and further social stress can be traceable. Pregnancy is also a common dropout reason for girls (MRL 1, UMOJA 2008; AP1). The commitment of marriage apparently seems to be of less importance to both men and women in town, while in the manyattas marriage is a goal for the vast

majority (MRL 1, 5, 10, NMMO 2). Casual relationships can have more negative effects in town than in the rural locations because in particular women can be left as single mothers without having family or income to support them. In the manyatta, single mothers can still be subject to marriage as some men regard children as an advantage, whether their biological ones or adopted (NMMO 2, BRS 2). Again, a single mother in the rural life still belongs to her family and will be secured through these bonds (NMMO 2, MRL 2, 4).

6.8 Individuality

Education as mentioned is usually supported by parents in order to receive financial support after the children graduate. But often they get disappointed. Lack of employment is the most common reason for why people are unable to assist their families (MRL 1, 2, 3, 4, BRS 1, 2, MBA 1). Furthermore, the educated Samburus who find themselves in this situation, finds it both shameful and difficult to return back to the traditional life (MBA 1, MRL 1, MRL 3, NMMO 1, BRSgr.). After staying in boarding schools, diet and habits have changed which makes it more difficult for them to adapt to the traditional life at *nkang* again (MBA 1, MRL 1, MRL 3, NMMO 1, BRSgr.). Feelings of being a failure, and pressure of carrying immense responsibility of being the one in particular the family now rely on for financial support, results for many in anxiety (MRL 1, MBA 1). Unfortunately heavily drinking emerges from being in this situation (MRL1, BRS 1, 2, MRL 5, APgr, NMMO 1). For many, isolation or migration becomes the solution.

But, isolation and migration from their original homes is just as commonly occurring by those who find employment too. Many educated who gets jobs often disregard their families and tends to become greedy in terms of not wanting to assist their families or their people. This is also visible amongst those who receive quite satisfactory salaries (MRL 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,BRS 1,2, NMMO 1,2).

For instance, Members of Parliament (MP) from Samburu are receiving very little acknowledgement from my interview objects, and through the years I have coexisted with the Samburu people, their frustrations over how little they see of benefits from their MPs is vastly expressed.

“Leaders don’t care about us. The MPs have done nothing apart from catering for themselves.” (AP 3)

This is hard to argue against as there are minimal traces of funds or development initiatives in Samburu district as a direct consequence of their position. The Samburu people has lost more of their homogeneity as an indigenous, pastoralist nomadic group, but gained larger homogeneity towards most people in the world. Through this assimilation process, it seems that very many of the educated Samburus tend to become more individualistic, and perhaps in Samburu eyes regarded as greedy. This because so many of them don’t at all give back to their family so that it makes a difference for them to advance (MRL 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, NMMO 1, 2, BRS1, 2).

Education can make Samburu people suffer, in particularly socio-economically, a counter effect that has received little consideration or attention (MRL 1, NMMO 1, BRS 1, 2, MBA 1). Commonly, it is regarded as a setback, anywhere in the world, to hold any level of

education, though particularly higher education, without being able to get a job one qualifies for. But Samburu people who are educated tend in great numbers to be transformed to different extents (BRSgr. APgr). It is often illustrated by regarding their own background and people as primitive, and they become more individualistic. Frustrations and guilt of being ‘the chosen one’ of the family in order to undergo education for securing financial assistance is a tough responsibility to bear. Again, the adaptation to modern life can lead them into a diaspora existence, which makes them fall between two stools. Unfortunate social dilemmas of attending school for the Samburu people are many.

Cultures and traditions are always changing and transformed to different levels of extent, but this rapid change that is taking place in Samburu District has less possibilities of getting fair and accurate consequence analysis. The moving away from reciprocity is negative in terms of more hatred and jealousy becoming consequences of it (MRL 1, 4, BRS 2, MBA 1). Hereunder theft, curses and even murder can occur as result of a ‘have-not’ being denied assistance by one that apparently has funds or means to share (MRL 1, 3, BRS 2, MBA 1).

Some elders regard it as discontent for these people’s parents that they no longer want to consider their families yet it was the latter that gave them the chance of reaching this stage. Seeing their children and relatives roaming around town, drinking, stealing, practicing prostitution and having severe mental distress is devastating for most of them. Again, being cut off contact with their children because the latter chooses so is furthermore causing mental suffering for the ones at home as well.

“It is a disgrace and shameful. Is this what we struggled for? That our children should be spoiled and destroyed? Is that what education is?” (BRSgr)

The *Lkishami* and the *Lmoly* interview objects admit that they have less respect for their traditional rules and customs (MRL1, MRL 3, BRS 2, APgr, BRSgr., NMMOgr.) than among the previous generations. They also say that idleness among educated Samburus from their age-set is common (MRL 1, BRS 2, APgr., BRSgr.)

It is understandable that frustrations towards outcomes of education can result in thoughts as the above quote reflects. Education is after all one of the development strategies in the world which changes both individuals and society the most.

6.9 Education for Food Security

In the traditional life at *nkang*, there were as mentioned in figure 6 and 7 two particular distinctions in the Samburu calendars that assists in indicating when happiness and enjoyment will come to life. This is the time of rains, in Samburu language called *lari(n)*. The hard times are associated with drought and marginal resources available; *nkolong(i)*. *Lari(n)* can be interpreted as having equal value to ‘paradise,’ when maximum happiness will arise (MRL 1, MRL 3, NMMO 1, 2, 3, BRS 1, 2). It is also connected to endurance. People in the *manyatta* automatically knows that good times follows rains, and ceremonies are initiated which brings about feasts, meat, milk in plenty and social gatherings both night and day. The warriors can bring the cattle to *nkang* and relax from the struggles of *lale*. The Samburu people don’t sell cattle during rain seasons as they regard it as unnecessary. It is through these times they have

sufficient food security. They only sell animals during drought when they feel forced (Spencer 1997). The good life is evidently in traditional Samburu perception to enable staying next to cattle and engage in social life.

In terms of holistic worldview, the pain Letamara from the case of Fratkin and Roth (2005) felt when he lost his livestock is also underestimated in terms of measuring the actual value of his livestock. To consider the case of Letamara as Fratkin and Roth do, namely by being of primarily material value is uttermost one-dimensional. Letamara would almost guaranteed feel more pain by livestock being lost than if cash are lost (MRL 3, 7, BRS2). I argue that Fratkin and Roth have missed out on crucial variables in order to conclude as they do. Younger age sets with similar or identical positions and background might not do as Letamara in terms of assisting his family and relatives (MRL 1, 3, BRS 1, 2, NMMO 1, APgr.). As mentioned, the younger generations tend to move towards an individualistic behaviour, disregarding the difficulties of their families (BRSgr., APgr., MRL 1, 2, 3, 4, BRS 1, 2, NMMO 1, 2, 3). And with the high level of corruption in Kenya, food security can in cases be assisted through illegitimate funds (MRL 1, MRL 2, BRS 2). Therefore, education can in this case not fully be accepted as a proven successful instrument for food security.

Several interview objects living in town since graduation also express difficulties of getting food;

“It is really hard here in town. Sometimes I can go two days without eating anything. At home there is always something, apart from those years there is terrible drought. I don’t think my education changed anything for me apart from making things worse. I feel I really struggle most of the times here, and if I look back, I don’t think I have ever been happy” (MRL 11)

Of course, it is hard to blame only education for this recipient’s unhappiness, but it is important to acknowledge how he feels about the value of education. Furthermore, there are various questions which can be asked in relation to food security and education. With schooling, diets automatically change for the individuals concerned, something that leads to increasing expenses of foodstuffs. Again, since migration to towns are common for the former students, the ability of accessing nutritious and sufficient amounts of food is also at most times harder than in the manyattas apart from during drought seasons (MRL 1, MRL 3, 4, 13, 14, BRS 1, 2). Furthermore, the possibilities of nutrition value of town-meals compared to the food intake in the manyattas are also questionable (Fratkin & Roth 2005). During both *lari(n)* and *nkolong(i)* the people in town cannot differentiate it personally, but will appreciate that life is better for their families at home (MRL 3, 6, MBA 1, BRS 1, 2). But they themselves are still dependent on their ability of purchasing goods for survival, whether rain or drought. Also the guarantee of happiness through meeting people at home and enjoy the pleasures cattle will bring both socially, and nutritionally cannot be underestimated. This is almost impossible to achieve for the Samburus living in towns (MRL 1, 5, 14).

Through schooling, Samburus are transformed into becoming dependent on other foodstuffs that the traditional Samburu diet (MRL 1, NMMO 1, BRS 2). They also become reliant on cash. It can therefore be appropriate to ask which equilibrium of securing food is more advantageous, regardless of drought and loss of livestock. To be dependent on animals which has minimal expenses to it, or to become dependent on a monetary economy which can lead to a marginalization in terms of a monetary poverty which again will affect the ability of food security?

CASE STUDY ON EDUCATION

MRL1, Lkishami:

“Lchukutan” is Lkishami and lives in Maralal. He has resided here the last 9 years after graduation.

“My father was the one who sent me to school. His brother had education, and my father regarded it as a benefit in terms of us kids securing some income to assist the family at home.”

I found “Lchukutan” in a bar, drinking spirits which he claimed he did from eight in the morning to eight or nine in the evening – almost never with his own money. Life without job and with stress from a previous relationship with a woman had strengthened his depression. He was also father of a baby, but decided to leave both the child and the woman.

“I don’t think I have ever been happy in my life – but at least it is a long time ago since I had destructive thoughts of just ending it. Now I drink, I have my home here in this bar. None of us here are happy, but we have each other.”

“Lchukutan” reveals that he feels life isn’t good and that he doesn’t want any contact with his family, he would rather be left alone. But he has friends – those who buy him alcohol. He suffers from ulcers and sometimes faint because his mind ‘gets too full’. He drinks and sometimes also fights. There are some scars and signs of broken bones on his hands and in his face.

“My girlfriend was constantly cheating on me, and she always lied to me about even small things. I just decided enough was enough. Now she wants to take me to court, claiming that I have friends from Europe who sponsors me and can give me money for the child. I really hate life in town and I wonder what has happened to me? School was never good either, because I was spending more time on trying to get school fees, and I missed almost the whole final year because of that. I am not myself anymore, I used to have discipline and I was shy, now I am somebody I don’t know.”

“Lchukutan” went to court and was told to pay 3000 Kenya shillings per month in child support even if he doesn’t have a job. The children’s court is an initiative for single mothers’ rights. When “Lchukutan” was in court, several other men without jobs were sentenced to pay even higher monthly amounts than him. He also needs to be present every year in court until the child turns 18.

“This wasn’t justice. The court has made me think that it is better to even forget completely about the child. I was not allowed to speak. When I said; ‘Your Honour’ – I was told to shut up or go straight to jail. When I think of how this could happen, I just wish I had an innocent life at home. Anyway, school wasn’t just bad – I am happy for some of the things I learned, but I still consider my education as useless. I guess if I had not gone to school, I would have kept my discipline that was with me in childhood. It is hard to lead a life in a good way without anybody to guide or advice you. Now I just have to live with my mistakes.”

6.10 Brief Conclusion

Women are supposedly being enabled through education to become more empowered. But my empirical data shows it can be opposite too. Sedentary, destructive activities as result of lack of employment can unfortunately lead women to prostitution for survival (MRL 1, 5, BRS 1). Some gets children without any social network to support them. Indeed, this research has shown that women in fact more often gets empowered through their men, and gains a position whereby they can attempt empowering other people. But while women can be empowered through their husbands, a common consequence of education for both genders is marginalization. As many former students didn't have access to parental guidance, they tend to break traditional rules which cause social traumas. Educated Samburus can feel a lot of pressure in terms of returning benefits and money to their families, and once they are unable, other problems can evolve. Lack of respect, alcoholism, theft, crime and violence are common consequences of social stress. Rules within age sets are considered a taboo to break. But as educated Samburus are on their own in decision making without stakeholders from their families to observe and guide, they often do break rules.

The level of individuality also increases through education as those who enable getting hold of jobs, often becomes egoistic and cannot share as per the reciprocity system they are obliged to. While their parents gave them an opportunity to attend school, they are supposed to assist them once they graduate. Some doesn't want to and some are unable. Similar to both men and women is the possibility of falling into a sort of diaspora ambience whereby they don't feel they fit anywhere anymore. They are too adapted to modern life through schooling, and are unable to return to their original homesteads. Without jobs, the common consequence is increased monetary poverty which also causing stress to the ones involved.

Because of the transformation Samburus undergo through education, changes the perceptions on *joie de vivre* for Samburu people and trigger as well as accelerates the transition to a monetary economy.

Section 3 - Commercialization and Business Entrepreneurship

In this section, commercialization and business entrepreneurship in Samburu district will be explored. As monetary economy gradually becomes to be equally important as subsistence economy, ways of retrieving or earning money are also getting more advanced.

Many facilities and services proven successful in other parts of the country are still not available in either Maralal nor the other smaller towns and villages in the district. As Samburu district still offer a potentially large opportunity of succeeding in business, numerous people from other ethnic groups, in particularly kikuyu seek to this area for business establishments (BRS 2, MRL 3). But the craving for money grows within the Samburu communities at a fast rate, leading people to desert pastoralism in search for cash (MRL 1, MRL 3, 4, 5, BRS 1, 2, BRSgr.).

As mentioned, reciprocity used to be a reliable system among the Samburu, but individualism is increasing together with commercialization, capitalism and monetary development strategies (APgr., MRL 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, BRS1, 2, NMMO 1, 2). Accumulation of material goods was not common in the traditional Samburu society, but today it appears that an immense escalation of admiration for materialistic items causes shifts from grounds of pastoral subsistence economy to monetary economy (MRL 1, 4, BRS 2, APgr.).

However, the Samburu people seems to have one thing in common; the disability of saving or keeping money. Once getting any amount, it appears to vanish at a high speed without leaving particular traces of investments or accumulated goods as evidence of ‘good’ spending (MRL 1, 3, 4, BRS 1, 2, NMMO 2). Many people with or without jobs constantly complain how nothing “ever is enough” for both themselves and others (MRL 1,2,3,4, BRS 1, 2, NMMO 1, 2, AP 2).

In this chapter, in particular the findings from the quantitative research amongst the Samburus in Mombasa will come to show in illustrating the augment desire for money has led to.

Tourism is also included in this section. In particular the surroundings of Archers Post have vast experience with tourism as the Samburu National Reserve, popular for the conventional wildlife safari, is situated here. The contradictory phenomenon of tourism amongst indigenous people is interesting as cultural preservation attracts tourists, while the income generated from it is supposed to develop and modernize their communities (Miller 2006).

Addressing the growth of NGOs and development organizations as course of employment is another important issue. More projects are applied funds for, but the results are sometimes hard to trace (MRL1, 2, 7, BRS1, 2, NMMO 1, 2). Could it be that NGOs are established mainly because of income security for those involved, or is it the apparent and believed need for it that is the motivation behind it?

6.11 Business Entrepreneurship

Most of the shops and business enterprises in Maralal town are owned by Kikuyus. These are mainly immigrants, although through the times, following generations are now being born and raised in Samburu. The kikuyu people are the largest ethnic group in Kenya, and are well known for being good businessmen (MRL 3, 4, BRS 1, 2, NMMO 2).

Ethnic discontentment towards the Kikuyu is common to hear from Samburu people. They often lament that Kikuyu people only think about money and wouldn't consider it twice to get

hold of them, no matter means to get it (MRL 3, 4, BRS 1, 2, NMMO 2). Whenever something is bought that turns out to be of unsatisfactory quality, automatically the Kikuyus are blamed. Due to the low purchasing power amongst the Samburu, often poor quality Asian items are being offered for of course a lower price than real quality items.

An increasing number of Samburu people are turning towards business on different levels. It is becoming more common that people engaged in wage labour establishes a supplementary business for income generation (MRL 3, 4, BRS 1, 2, NMMO 2). Again, in the manyattas, shops are not necessarily present, but small scale business activities are growing fast. This can be selling sugar or *ngrumma* from their *nkaji*, or more commonly *shangaa* (MRL 1, 2, 3, NMMO 1, 2, 3, BRS 1, 2, AP 1, 2, 3) . Furthermore, the growth of weekly markets in the more rural areas is a common observation.

Shangaa is a women's business, and by my first long term stay in Nairimirimo, there was only one location in the village who involved themselves in this. At current point, almost every manyatta at some point brew and sell *shangaa* – which is an illegal business. The market for alcohol is growing immensely, and the founding of the Umoja Uaso Women's group project was a direct result of the *shangaa* business (AP1). Women were arrested for doing so, and taken away to jail while their children were left unattended (AP 1). This is an increasing problem in the whole of Samburu District. But arrest is not essential for children being ignored. The fact that more women and men, of all ages drink such brews is devastating and it results in neglecting children (AP 1, MRL 10, NMMO 3).

A woman visiting in Maralal was constantly worrying of her child being left in the village with the grandmother. The fact that she knew that food was available at home made no difference to her anxiety as she knew her mother would drink on a regularly basis which disabled her from taking care of the child (NMMO 2). She also explained that her mother easily could exchange food for *shangaa*. Unfortunately it is the worry of multiple people. To exchange beads, relief food or animals for *shangaa* is becoming frighteningly common (AP 1, MRL 2, 3, NMMO 2).

Furthermore, the expansion of bars in towns and villages is another depressing development. Bars are good business, and there are few, if any regulations on consumption. As long as you have enough money to pay for your bill, you can even fall asleep at your table for then again to wake up and continue drinking (MRL 1, 5, 11, 12). I have witnessed this at almost all times I have gone to the bars to make interviews and prior empirical observations add to it.

As mentioned, the reciprocity of Samburus seems to be maintained concerning alcohol while it is declining concerning food and other necessities (MRL 1, 5, 10). In Mombasa, reciprocity can still be observed due to their possibilities of giving, but also here it is mainly based on alcohol. Furthermore, theft and violence within age-sets is in fact very common, and reciprocity doesn't follow traditional rules, but are only applicable within close friends, whether peers or from diverse age-sets. Usually there are small teams of people who offer to supply each other through different means. Blood ties are also of less importance to the Samburus in Mombasa.

“You can be asked to come and drink for the money they have, but if you ask them to rather give you cash, they refuse. It is either drinking or nothing.” (MRL 10)

Business doesn't complement reciprocity because if so, there would be no profit. Observations have proven a tough attitude amongst businessmen towards rejecting families and relatives services because it would imply a loss. It is understandable that giving away goods and services would detriment the business which would be a burden to the investor, but nevertheless, aversion and disrespect for the person which denies gets nourished.

Jealousy is a destructive attitude noticeable within the Samburu communities. If somebody has enabled establishing a business, covetous remarks and actions are common 'sanctions' against the investor in order to ruin his/her success. Accusations of theft, attacks, curses or even murder are actions motivated by jealousy towards Samburus who have achieved different levels of success or accessed money (MRL 2, BRS 2, NMMO 2).

6.12 Commercialization

6.12.1 Dilemmas of Income Generation Strategies

I want to come back to the issue of microfinance for women to illustrate how a monetary economy can penetrate the economic spheres by altering traditional gender roles. Microfinance in a society like the Samburu can be negative towards the beneficiary women as their husbands often becomes marginalized as a breadwinner (MRL1, BRS 2). While losing appearance as a man who cannot support his family, it can in many cases lead to a worsened situation for the woman. Since the husband is set aside in the task of supporting the family through his traditional role which now is overtaken by the wife, drinking, accumulation of debts and domestic violence can be the result. I argue this doesn't assist the life situation of the woman although she gets possibilities of financial improvement; the anguish of her husband is negative (MRL 1, BRS 2). I personally regard microfinance towards women in a society as Samburu can have more counter effects than initiators think. As Samburu women by in particular western people are regarded as oppressed by the patriarchal traditions, microfinance is supposed to empower them. But by marginalizing the man as breadwinner, it can worsen the social and health related situation for the woman. This is a point to bear in mind.

Another issue of microfinance is that it can be the more resourceful women who benefits from it as they have people around them with knowledge of how to receive such funds (MRL 1, BRS 2).

The example of microfinance illustrates the dilemma of interfering with traditional role duties through tampering with the economic spheres. The objective of generating income traverses customary worldviews of the Samburu which can have negative consequences. As the aim of accessing money becomes stronger within the Samburus, the means to do so are also changing.

A special case particularly noticeable within young Samburu males is that they have found an opportunity of gaining frequently relatively large amounts of money. This is done through establishing acquaintances with foreigners from western countries. Hylland Eriksens (1997) descriptions of the theory of economic spheres can be illustrated amongst Samburu people in Mombasa. This will be addressed shortly. The economic spheres of the Samburu people are usually guided through general reciprocity. Some goods will never be denied given to others; it is regarded as a taboo (NMMO 1). When somebody asks you for chewing tobacco, you will give regardless of how little you have, but the superior economic sphere of the Samburu concerns trade with cattle (NMMO 1, MRL 2, 4). In this category, women (wives) belong. It

is allowed to have girlfriends or boyfriends (*sintaani*) in the Samburu culture, but no man is allowed to marry unless he can produce a dowry of cattle to the girl's father. There are never any cases of the girls family producing any goods, animals or commodities to a man's family (NMMOgr.).

While cattle being the largest and most valuable means of exchange among the Samburu, it is also still of higher significance than money (MRL 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, NMMO 1, 2, 3, BRS 1, 2, APgr.). It is highly uncommon for girls or women to give men gifts or items, and it is also regarded as disrespectful as it implies that the man cannot be reliable as breadwinner and the head of the family (MRL 1, 3, 4, BRS 1). Currently one can see Samburus creating means of generating income which traditionally were subjects to trade or general reciprocity which breaks common patterns of trading regulations (APgr., MRL 1, 3, 4 BRS 1) .

Truly the means of accessing money among the Samburu are becoming many. The otherwise friendly and hospitable Samburu people are sometimes seeing opportunities of commercialization through almost anything (BRS 2, MRL 1, 3). A visitor of my neighbour took a picture of a relative in a uninhabited hill opposite their house, but a lady came running demanding money as she claimed they had taken picture of her cactus – a weed demanded by local authorities to be eradicated (MRL13) Traditional 'witchdoctors' (*lais(i)*) 'fortune-tellers' (*laiboni*) are also using their advantages to generate income;

“Nowadays even laibonis and laisi take money for their services; these are powers that used to be approached for free. When people see an opportunity to get money, they use it.” (MRL 1)

6.12.2 Changes in Traditional Socio-Economic Behaviour

Through money, all commodities and services becomes to a certain extent of the same value since it can be measured in money (Hylland Eriksen 1988, p. 211) The accumulated money the Samburus in Mombasa receives from their relationships with westerners, is regarded by the Samburus at home as accumulated through sin, and therefore they can never develop the ones who access it, on the contrary it will destroy them (MRL 1,2,3,4, NMMOgr., BRSgr., APgr.). Having said so, it is an increasing attitude among most of the Samburu people that wherever money comes from, it is still a benefit (BRSgr., NMMOgr., APgr., MRL 1, 3, BRS 1, 2, NMMO 2). This can be illustrated through the high pressure on the Samburus which are able to generate money to give large amounts to their peers, families, friends and relatives. It can be common to expect more than an average monthly salary from a person to assist, which is impossible without illegal means or fraud being involved to access it (MRL 2, BRS 1, 2). However, it is not something that they want to talk about as they know it is against their traditional values concerning moral behaviour (BRS 1, 2).

But disregarding economic spheres on what is supposed to be decent ways of trade, the commodity or service itself can be dissociate from the one who breaks these barriers (Hylland Eriksen 1988, p. 212). To juxtapose personal relationships with money is a taboo for Samburu people, but a common phenomenon for those in Mombasa (BRSgr., NMMOgr., APgr, MRL 1, 3, BRS 1, 2, NMMO 2).

One of the overall aims of Samburu people going to Mombasa appears to be in order to establish relationships with Westerners. This is a common perception among the Samburus themselves, although for those already settled in Mombasa, rarely would admit it. Warriors or young elders deliberately demonstrate to foreign tourists that they admire them, and attempt to initiate a relationship. Often, the women approached are relatively older than the Samburu himself. Since Kenya is far poorer than the Western countries, and again Samburu people being amongst the poorest ethnic groups in terms of monetary conditions than other Kenyans, an uneven power balance nourishes the possibility of financial assistance for the Samburu.

It is necessary to express clearly that there are genuine relationships based on mutual love and admiration between Samburus and westerners as well, but these are not subject to this case study. Furthermore it is also important to say that both Maasai and Samburu people are in particular popular and requested for security jobs all over Kenya as they are known for being loyal, fearless and hard working (Talle 2009). This gives them an advantage of seeking such employment, but still, the majority of the Samburus in Mombasa still tend to involve themselves in tourist based activities, commonly to establish apparently romantic relationships (MRL 1, 3, BRS 1, 2, APgr.).

However, these types of relationships that are established in Mombasa must be termed as a form of prostitution. It is also regarded as a taboo within the Samburu communities themselves. Since it is illegal and immoral trade, many suffer from social traumas it implies to perform such operations.

Thorough the findings I made in Mombasa, it is reason to believe that hidden polygamy is practiced amongst several of the Samburu people who have girlfriends/wives from western countries. 72, 7% of all the recipients who have answered they have 2 or more partners; also receive financial assistance from people in Europe and US (variable H and R). It can perhaps be an even higher number, as social desirability can be common effects towards answering sensitive questionnaires. Furthermore the irregularity of young warriors being boyfriends of women from above their own age, often far above, mismatches with the perceptions Samburu people have on which age group their spouses are supposed to belong to (APgr., MRL 1, 3, BRS 1, 2). There are increasingly, but still very few numbers of younger Samburu men marrying elder Samburu women. Having said this, it is to my knowledge not done so unless the woman either has children from before or still is fertile. Commonly, a second wife is taken if the first proves unable to become pregnant. In the case of the westerners, most are above fertile age. There are numerous repatriated Samburus which used to live in Mombasa and many of them were also involved in intimate relationships with westerners. Fortunately for these individuals, they were capable of defining which life they preferred before social and health-related negative effects disabled them of it.

“That was not life – it was hell and I don’t want to talk about it. There is none of the Samburus in Mombasa who engage themselves in this type of activities that will have a long life.” (NMMO 3)

The above quote is a statement from a man who worked in Mombasa as a watchman, but he reveals to me that the whole setting of Mombasa with tourism and his fellow Samburus who was involved in it, particularly with the aim of getting a partner from the western part of the world was repulsive to him (NMMO 3). He felt that they (the Samburus) lost contact with life

and traditional values which made them all bad men. He is not the only one who reveals that Mombasa changes people and that the lifestyle there is destructive towards them (BRS 1, 2, MRL 1, 4, NMMO3, BRSgr, APgr.)

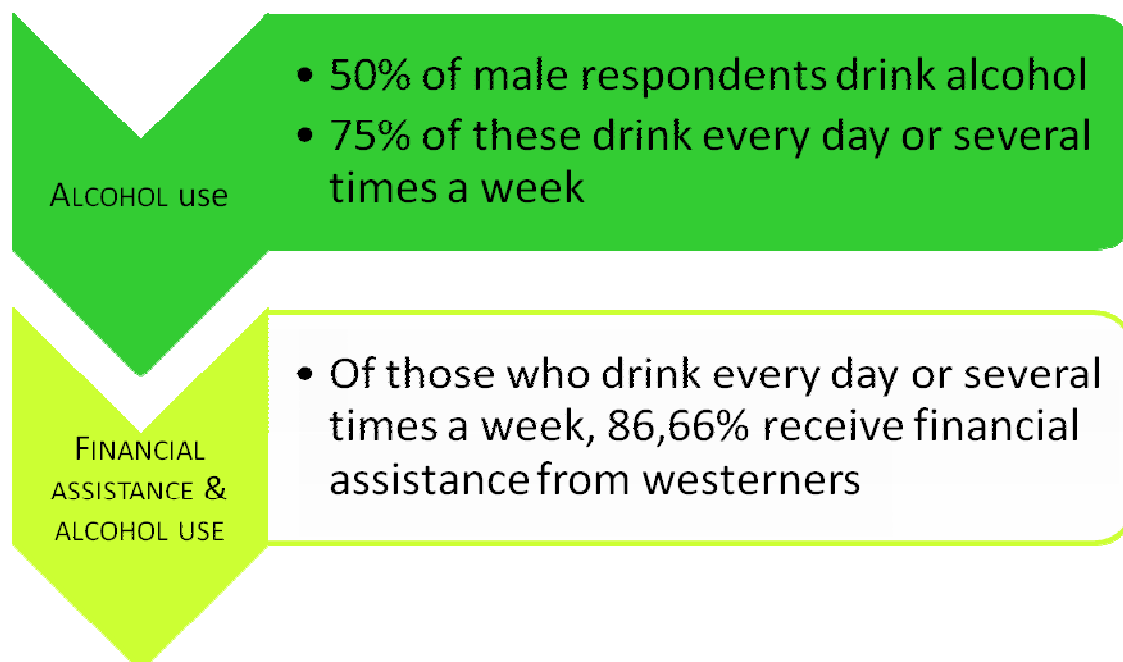
For the Samburu in Mombasa, there is a peculiar combination of social behaviours which comes to show through the described relationships. Undeniably, the affiliation with westerners is in most cases a type of prostitution, although prostitution usually entails both parties being aware that sexual services are exchanged for money. In this case, only one party – namely the prostitute – is aware that this is such type of service. The other party, the disburser – believes this is a romantic relationship (BRS 1, 2, MRL 1, 4, NMMO 3, BRSgr., APgr.).

At the same time, many of these relationships are of long term character, and hold the form of negative reciprocity whereby fraud and scam through showing affection results in bringing financial assistance (BRS 1, 2, MRL 1, 4, NMMO3). As most of the Westerners are unable to reside with their Samburu partner, the meanwhile of absence can be regarded as negative reciprocity while together, holding character as prostitution. This because while not being together, the Samburu man claims that his financial situations is unbearable and therefore need assistance, while together, assistance is given as compensation for intimate activities (BRS 1, 2, MRL 1, 4, NMMO 3).

6.12.3 Money for Poverty Alleviation?

Of the anonymous respondents in Mombasa, there is clear evidence that alcohol abuse follows these types of relationships. The following figure gives numbers of correlations between alcohol abuse and financial assistance from westerners;

FIGURE 8. ALCOHOL USE IN RELATION TO FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE



BASED ON VARIABLE O,P AND R. QUANTITATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE, APPENDIX3

By allowing traditionally regarded taboos to take place in order to receive money, psychological perturbation can be a consequence. By reading the statistics from the above figure, it seems evident that it is so. Of those who doesn't drink at all, it is only 0, 5 % who receives financial assistance from Westerners (variable O and R).

When asking the question why these Samburus in Mombasa rarely are able to preserve money, even though many of them access relatively large amounts per month, the common answer is divided into two reasons. First of all, Samburu people are not used to money, and they are still associated with a piece of paper.

“We Samburus don't have money inside our bodies. We can start with one cow and develop them slowly into become more, but with money, they will all finish at once. Even if we want money, we are not able to handle them because they are not part of our spirits.” (NMMO 3)

Secondly, for the Mombasa Samburus, they possess them through forbidden means, and therefore they cannot sustain the beneficiary. In the case of Maasai and Samburu bomb blast victims, the British Army was sentenced to pay reimbursement for victims that got injured from undetonated bombs left in training fields in Samburu and Maasai areas. The British Ministry of Defence paid out approximately £4, 5 million to 233 alleged victims (timesonline2003). Subsequently, it has been revealed that perhaps a majority of these claims were false (timesonline 2003). Among several of the people I have interviewed, also receivers of this reimbursement money, they assumingly agree to this allegation (MRL1, MRL3, MRL4, MRL9, NMMO1, 2, AP2).

“You know, most of the bomb blast victims lied about their injuries, and God is adding sickness to that illegitimate money. Therefore, they have suffered more after receiving that money” (MRL 3)

According to negative reciprocity, it can be regarded as acceptable to deceive or con strangers while you cannot do it to friends or family (Hylland Eriksen 1997). This appears to be true to some degree among the Samburu people as well. The deception of young Samburu males towards female westerners in Mombasa together with the bomb blast victims versus the British Army can to some extent prove it.

The bomb blast victims are interesting people to examine as most of them received immense amounts of money from the British Ministry of Defence as compensation for injuries allegedly arisen from unexploded ordnance (UXO).

Common to all of them is that they are unable to describe how they spent the monetary compensation from the British Army (MRL 4, MRL 11, 12). In a vast majority of the cases, most of the money is spent, or all of it. Some invested in plots whereby they build common sized rooms for rent. For the latter, this is now their only income. Others have simply just spent it on leisure (MRL 3, MRL11, MRL12). But leisure can turn into struggle. Two of the bomb blast victims interviewed for this thesis are alcoholics and are often seen around Maralal town begging for money, food or drinks. As most people are aware they once were rich (monetary speaking), mocking, violence and vocal abuse is commonly thrown at these bomb blast victims (MRL4, 11, 12).

The case of the bomb blast victims might hold a lot of secret answers to why Samburu people often undergo negative transitions both socially, environmentally and in terms of health

relations while money is involved, and in particularly large sums. An interesting reflection from an informant hence the difficulty of spending and saving amongst the Samburu was;

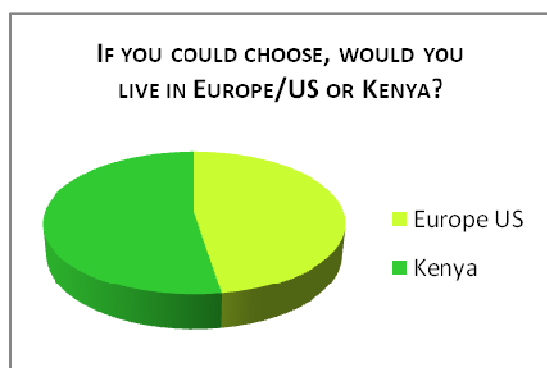
“We are not used to money, and the current world is showing us that spending a lot is they way to handle them.” (MRL 1, male)

Samburu people can easily steal money from each other, but it’s rare to see domestic animals being stolen (MRL 1, NMMO 3). On the subject of livestock, the traditional collective responsibility and solidarity is dominating. By occasion, a goat can be stolen, but this only happens, and is therefore usually forgiven, due to extreme hunger amongst warriors (MRL 1, NMMO 3). Warriors encounter difficulties of accessing food as they are not allowed to eat at home in the manyatta or to consume food which have been seen by women (Spencer 2005). Again, they are never allowed to eat alone. Due to this, they are sometimes regarding it as a forced necessity to steal a goat in order to calm their hunger (MRL 1, NMMO 3).

But money can be stolen – even within families. The same applies to other material goods such as mobile phones, clothes, torches and radios to mention some (MRL 1, BRS 2, NMMO 3). All items or commodities used traditionally are almost never a subject for theft (MRL 1, BRS 2, NMMO 3). This can be beads, *rungus*, *shukas* or as mentioned – domestic animals. Unfortunately, conning within Samburu communities has become more common regarding solid cash. Negative reciprocity has expanded concerning money, and fake issues of needing money are usually raised in order to attempt getting cash. Imaginary hospital bills, pretending to need fare for a journey or to pay school fees are common reasons (MRL1, BRS 2). The desire of money is by far larger than the need of it for the rural population in Samburu, and therefore if accessing it, spending can be on different commodities than what applied for (MRL 1, NMMO 3). Again, alcohol is commonly purchased for the extra cash, or as in increased number of cases, for the only cash meant for other items (BRS2, NMMO1, MRL4).

To illustrate the aspiration for monetary security, the following two figures will be discussed;

FIGURE 9.



BASED ON VARIABLE K

FIGURE 10.



BASED ON VARIABLE E

The two figures reveal data from the quantitative research in Mombasa. Figure 6 clearly illustrates that a slight majority would prefer to remain living in Kenya, while a quite large number would migrate to Europe or United States. Money can secure people in various ways. Due to advantages Western countries have in health services, infrastructure and political

influence compared to Kenya, this preference is comprehensible. At the same time, figure 10 visualize that the Samburu identity is still profoundly strong amongst the respondents in terms of keeping livestock. The monetary economy can therefore possibly be on colliding course with Samburu traditional values through their holistic worldview and perceptions on joie de vivre.

6.13 Development Initiatives, Indigenism and Tourism

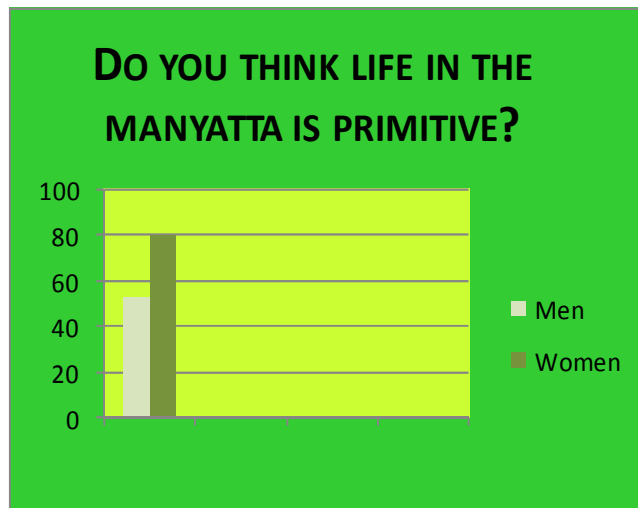


FIGURE 11.
BASED ON VARIABLE X.

I have mentioned increase of development initiatives in Samburu District. Many of them come from Kenyan governments adopted programmes, but also local or foreign projects are present.

From the quantitative response sets, as many as 90% say they believe the Samburu people needs to develop more (variable AE). Common lamenting from Samburu people is based on suffering during droughts and lack of infrastructure. Oddly enough, the United Nations Millennium goals have not

targeted transport and infrastructure (APgr., MRL 6). Without it, it becomes harder for the beneficiaries to gain a maximum out of nearly all development schemes. For the population of Nairimirimo for instance, they need to walk 70 km to the Catholic hospital in Wamba in order to get treatment for snakebite. To hire a car from Maralal to Nairimirimo costs around 8000 Kenya shillings due to the bad conditions of the roads, while a public transport fare from Maralal to Nairobi costs less than 1000 shillings. Even if the rural communities wanted to change in terms of adapting modern behavioural patterns, it is harder for them due to lack of infrastructure.

In correlation with the statistics from the Mombasa respondents, a majority says they believe life in manyatta is primitive and as many as 76% say they don't believe Samburu culture can survive if more development comes to the district (variables X and U).

During qualitative interviews, all respondents meant that development was positive and that it should be more initiatives. While asking further what was good about it, two respondents replied that restocking of animals was helpful. Both of them were critical to hospitals and none could answer to which other development initiatives apart from restocking had benefited the Samburu people (MRL 3, 7).

By looking at the statistics from figure 11, it appears as the women respondents perhaps regard their aboriginal culture as primitive, in particularly towards own gender. These women are educated to different levels or raised in urban environments (Respondents 41-50 quantitative questionnaire)

It is difficult to gather correct data of how many women groups and projects are found in Samburu district, but Umoja Uaso Women's group write in their website that they function as

umbrella organization for around 60 groups of this character (UMOJA 2008). As Umoja is situated in Samburu East, it is reason to believe that there will be an additional number of such organizations from Samburu West. However, it is plausible that most women's groups are found in the eastern part as tourism is extensive here and therefore also attention from foreign potential donors might be relatively higher.

The findings in Archers are interesting. The tourism dependent manyatta revealed that money spoils both the people and the culture, and if they could choose, they would rather upkeep their traditional routines instead of being exposed to tourists most of the times (APgr.). They told about how people turned away from their culture, and that security meant having cattle, not jobs or income from tourism (APgr.) They remembered life in the 'old' days and believed it had been better than the current. This manyatta alone had been able to raise funds to build and staff a primary school solely based on the income from tourism and most of their children were enrolled pupils (APgr.). However, the interesting part is that the transition phase from subsistence to monetary economy in some ways has come much further in Archers whereby they are able to see consequences of mainstream development strategies implemented with revenue from tourism. Furthermore they are also more familiar with money than in the other, less exposed and more rural parts of Samburu District. That they see negative consequences of this transition is valuable for the other parts of the District whereby the exposure to monetary activities has come less far. I believe it can also be disappointment with how much revenue the Samburus in Archers actually generate compared to how little they get back from it that can play a part in their discontent with modern life. The feeling of being exploited could have influence on their perceptions of which life is preferable - the current or the traditional (Miller 2006).

6.13.1 Establishment of NGOs for Development and Employment

In comparison with westerners, the Samburus have little material possessions. Appearances and traditional lifestyle can support the idea that development is needed in order to improve the latter's lives. Learned Samburus as mentioned often support this perception, and some are also engaged in NGO work (MRL 8, 9). In fact, due to the economic condition of Samburu people, establishing development projects are usually welcomed, have several possibilities of locating funds (MRL 1, 3), and can be an opportunity of obtaining employment for those involved. For some reason, the impact – or even visible results of development initiatives in Samburu are for many unknown. While mentioning to an informant that there are numerous women group projects in the district, immediately responded with astonishment followed by the statement;

“No, if they were doing anything, we would have heard about them, but very few people in Samburu society knows about them, so I think they just generate money for the members of those groups only. We have never heard of any workshops or anything or any changes that comes from their work. And in Samburu we definitely must have heard it if they were doing anything.” (MRL1)

Unfortunately, it seems to be a common acceptance and impression among Samburu people that development projects usually cater for those involved administratively first and thereafter for the beneficiaries if any funds are left (MRL 2,5,BRS1,2 NMMOgr.). Following up the conversation on women's projects, the same informant as quoted above further states;

“If I was a donor, I would rather give to men who work for women [s rights] than to women who work for women [rights]. The women are the ones who get a lot [of funds for development projects] then first they use them themselves. They are supposed to be mothers anyway, and I don’t understand why these women are not generous.” (MRL1)

A common problem is corruption within the NGOs. Thus using funds for personal interests instead of the proposed cause, Samburus tend to be more aggressive towards those involved in such work.

“Whenever a project is new, that is when it comes up, the slowly it dies and the members starts using [money] themselves. It is not to be negative to say like this, it is the truth. (MRL 1)

The above quote reveals the respondents negative experience with NGOs. It might be the Samburu peoples experience with development initiatives, both governmental and private that makes them rank development initiatives importance as shown in the figure as follows;

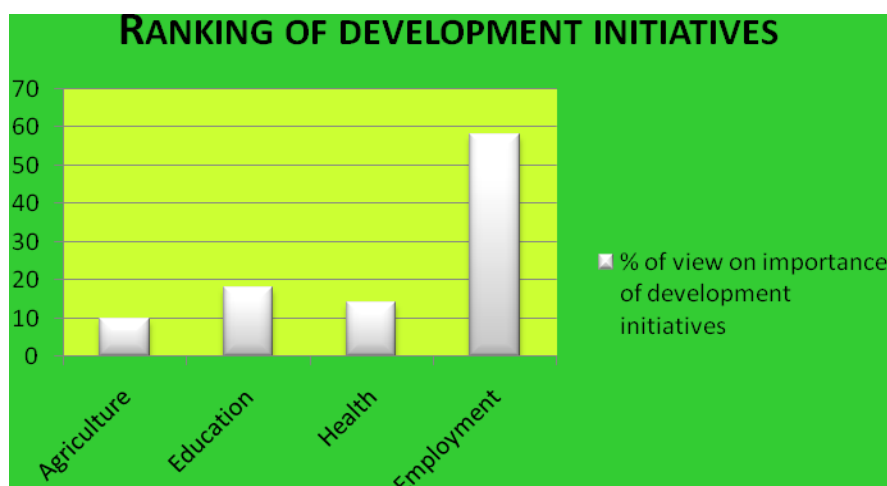


FIGURE12. BASED ON VARIABLE AI.

But it can as well be influenced by their holistic worldview. This is an important fact to be aware of in order to attempt initiating the most valuable and useful development strategies for the Samburu people. Informants have expressed their affection for traditional herbs and treatments compared to facilities and services offered by the hospitals and clinics (MRL 3, MRL 7, NMMO 1, 2, 3, BRS 1). But poor management and corruption can as well add upon their discernment of hospitals being futile. A lady residing with me was due to give birth, but while appearing in the hospital, she was told there was no water. A hospital is usually associated with sanitary supremacy, but with absence of water, it can hardly be so. Others have told stories of lack of plaster, common painkillers, cotton pads, bandages and trivial items generally found within hospitals (BRS 1). The usual explanation is the belief that corruption is the reason for the missing supplies. Many of the employed staff of the hospital also own private clinics and allegedly these items vanish into their facilities (NMMO3, MRL 6).

Regarding education, the usual opinion within the Samburu is that the local offers are of poor quality. In particular the public schools (NMMO1,2, MRL 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,BRS1,2).

“If they taught us how to read and write it would be sufficient enough as the other things we learn is shallow and useless.” (MRL1)

This statement of course depend on what the respondents compares to, but the disappointment many meet after graduating in terms of not getting a job and to stay idle in town since they are torn of the dilemmas of returning to their original home can be reason enough.

Direct employment seems to be the main development strategy that is the Samburus yearn for, whether learned or not.

CASE STUDY ON BUSINESS ENTREPRENEURSHIP

BRS 2, Lmoly:

“Lkarian” is a business man from Barsaloi. He was not originally from here, but he moved when he saw the opportunity of getting a piece of land to both build his house and shop on.

“Business is hard. Everybody wants you to give them something, and if people are sick, they want you to drive them to hospital if the priest is not willing or unavailable. But everything costs money; to have children in school, petrol and a lot of other stuff. We Samburus we look to our neighbours and we follow what they do. If your neighbour has a car, then you want a car as well.”

By observing the activities in respect of business, “Lkarian” clearly moves away from general reciprocity. He can deny people lift with his car when it goes to town if they don’t have money for the fare he decides on. When people come to his shop to beg for food, he rarely gives, in fact I have not witnessed that he gives anybody food apart from me when I was visiting.

“Lkarian” is the only one of my interview objects that has stocks in the SACCO traders’ bank. With the loan he enabled accessing from having shares in the bank, he bought a second-hand car. But he is still maintaining aboriginal life, and recently married his second wife whom he complains has made things a lot harder for him financially. He further claims that this was the right thing to do even if it is hard to maintain a profitable business with a large family. With pastoralism it is opposite – a large family will benefit the attempt of increasing the herds and also attend to make them healthier. This because dividing the cattle so they can graze in different locations benefits both environment and animals.

“I understand and appreciate both the life in town and in the manyatta. At home, there is less stress and people are happy more easily. Just by looking at a cow you can get happy there. Money causes a lot of stress in town. If you have them, then that is stress, if you don’t have them, then that is stress too.”

6.14 Brief Conclusion

While modernization processes has been introduced in Samburu District, their perceptions on what they want and need has also changed. Many wants to be involved in business as they can see there is an increased market for various effects, and the rural businesses are far from covering the potential of its market at current point. But business meets a problem in respect that it cannot align with reciprocity. While gifts and sharing are common traditional patterns in the Samburu social economic system, business is based on profit which cannot allow giving gifts. There are many Samburus who report on jealousy, violence, curses and even murder due to money, and business entrepreneurship clearly illustrates great transitions. The social life of Samburu people changes when economic spheres are penetrated by money. This has indeed happened in the case of the Samburus in Mombasa. Traditionally, peers regard each other with great respect, but in Mombasa, the desire of money has caused a negative shift in this balance.

In Archers Post where the transition phase has gone quite much farther than in the other locations subject for this case study, it is interesting to see that they regard life before as better than the life now with adapted commodities.

But a monetary economy has proven to cause more social degradation amongst the Samburu than what subsistence economy would have and would have done. The social changes and effects of monetary desires can be classified as rather destructive to many Samburus. The strict rules and regulations following traditional life are shattered to pieces when the monetary economy has penetrated the economic spheres and tampered with the reciprocity system. This has led to marginalization of many Samburus as they now are trapped in monetary poverty.

This section has revealed evidence of economy activities causing more social damage to the Samburu people in comparison with subsistence economy activities.

Section 4 – Indigenous Logics

In this section, I will explore the idea of indigenous logics as an overall development concern while designing instruments and strategies to be implemented among indigenous people like the Samburus. Concepts, theories, common development initiatives and policies have been reviewed in connection with prior research and literature, in the previous 3 sections of this chapter.

To enable answering the research questions thoroughly, an emphasis on the holistic worldview and logics of the Samburu people is required. The focus on functionalism and people-centred development is also relevant here. I have chosen to focus on *indigenous logics* and not *indigenous knowledge* which I regard as quite different. One can without doubt acknowledge somebody's knowledge, but it is by far harder to acknowledge and comprehend various logics.

Khotari and Minogue (2002) claims that many development institutions tend to re-shape concepts that could have given the beneficiaries more control over implementations and decisions. This I claim has happened to indigenism. Furthermore, *concepts* in itself limits and reshapes vital points that in isolation would have a much stronger impact than if incorporated in a such a pedagogical category as concepts are.

To illustrate this, I will refer to findings in my research which demonstrates that the Samburu people often are introduced to ideas and commodities they had little interest in, but through constant propaganda, adapted and integrated within their livelihoods (MRL 1, 4, NMMO 2).

It is essential to acknowledge and comprehend that capitalism isn't necessarily positive to be implemented as the key to development, social security and for individual and collective growth for all people and communities. This is perhaps the main reason why indigenous people around the world have suffered through various development and modernization processes they have been exposed to.

6.15 Traditional Social Economic Systems Meeting Monetary Economy

Subsistence economy is a marginal system compared to capitalism. Kenya is also a market economy oriented country which is demonstrated through policies and schemes initiated by the government. Since Kenya is receiving funds from international development organizations such as WB, UN and IMF, I suspect that the government often acclaims and approve of development strategies and concepts derived from these in order to obtain resources. With large development organizations being placed on both sides of the table – namely in terms of creating strategies and concepts – and by possessing the finances to implement it, an unhealthy balance of power is demonstrated.

The Samburu people have been totally dependent on their own legislative, judiciary, political, economical and social systems. (AP 3, NMMO 1, MRL 4) Development schemes are introduced mainly to improve livelihoods of people, and also to increase their ability of a long and sustainable life. It is true that indigenous people might live shorter lives in comparison with westerners, but this is not an adequate contrast to measure. Instead one should look at other indigenous people, for instance those in urban areas which in general live shorter than those in the rural areas (Survival international 2007).

The British colonials employed a number of Samburu people during their reign which was compensated with a monetary salary (NMMO 1, MRL 4). Together with them, missionaries

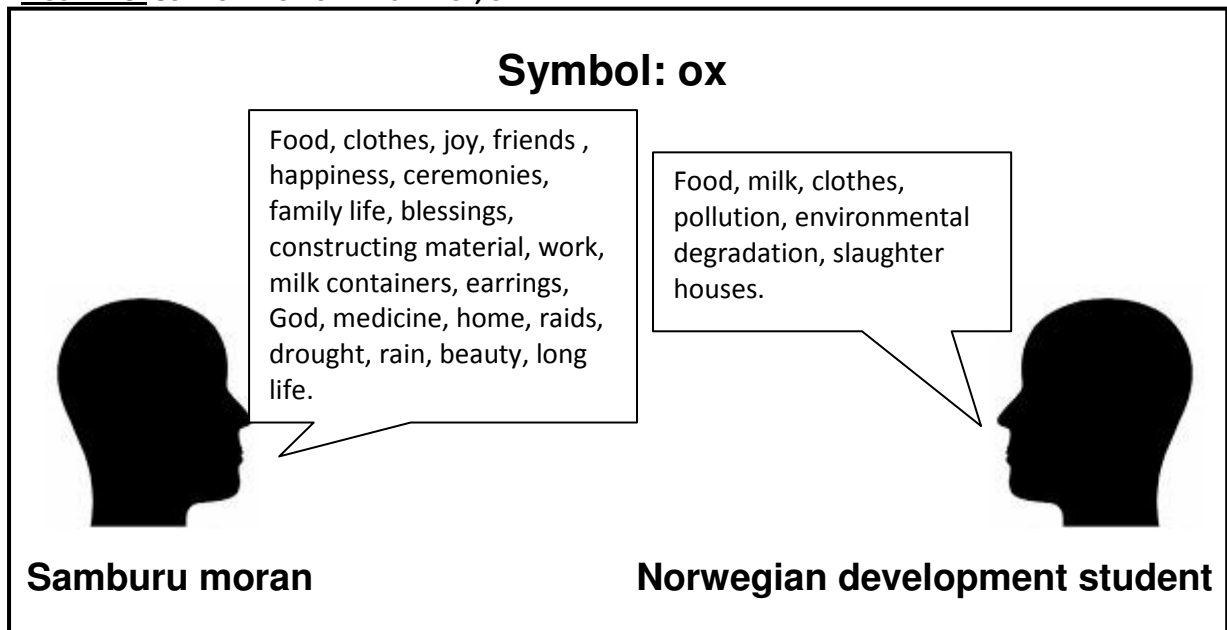
were the ones to further introduce money in the Samburu society (NMMO 1, MRL 4). Their perception of inadequate methods for survival and food security among the Samburu, led to several initiatives for improving their livelihood. One of the first schemes was to transform their diet and food handling (NMMO 1).

“What we learned from the missionaries was how to cook a goat in two pots”
(NMMO 1)

What the interview object meant by this was that usually they consumed meat relatively fast, as a rule by sharing with others, but the missionaries told them to rather sell one goat (or an ox) and by other foodstuffs which could last longer (NMMO 1). This meant guiding them away from reciprocity. Other provisions like *ngrumma* and rice could be measured in money, something considered personal, rare and precious, while animals were community possessions, although with private owners (NMMO 1, MRL 4, AP 3). Therefore, purchased food gets a different value and cannot be shared in the same ways as milk, meat, blood and fat generated from domestic animals (Hylland Eriksen 1997). The cattle have more value to the traditional Samburu than money itself (MRL 2, 3, 4, BRS 1, 2). Many family names have linguistic morphemes associated with domestic animals integrated in them, and no progress can be allowed without cattle being involved.

I asked a Samburu *moran* what he reflects when thinking about an ox; it is quite different from what a visitor of mine from Norway had in mind:

FIGURE 13. CONNOTATION OF THE SYMBOL; OX



The figure demonstrates that due to different cultural backgrounds, the Norwegian student and the *moran* connotes differently on the symbol of an ox. What mainstream development strategies usually contain is a force towards assimilation (Khotari & Minogue 2002). I believe this mainly comes because of different holistic worldview and therefore logics of what is regarded as positive and negative, clever and dense. As these views can differ tremendously, the objectives of benefits from development schemes are likely to do the same.

6.16 Comprehending Functionalism

In Mombasa, I have talked to several girlfriends and wives of Samburu men. When discussing the traditional Samburu life, a common ethnocentric view upon cattle is that they have too great importance to the Samburu people which for the westerners was incomprehensible. A common notion is that it would be more clever to sell surplus livestock in order to improve livelihoods materialistically. Again, environmental degradation related to rigid – and a word often used – stupid way of living is commonly expressed. Whether this reflects the common thinking of development organizations as well can be arguable, but several initiatives concerning selling surplus livestock due to environmental degradation and for food insecurity has components of this opinion (Fratkin 1998).

“We know everything about development through cattle. We can start with one cow given by somebody, and definitely we can make that one merge into several, soon a full herd.” (MRL3, male)

The religious belief that lies within cattle together with the perception that they descend from *Nkai* as people of cows, it is regarded as a holy activity to herd them (Blauer 1987). To compare, it can to some extent be similar to the life of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church’s eremites. Praying for the latter is what life is supposed to be concerned about, the good life, and to the Samburu activities related to livestock is of same value.



PICTURE 8. SAMBURU MORAN

“We are born with the sense of cattle inside us; they are part of our blood, body and heart.” (MRL3, male)

6.17 Money, Cultural Bonds and Relationships

While asking how money can prove their livelihoods, the respondents all agree that it can do and indeed does. But at the same time they say as mentioned before that hatred, curses, even

murders can occur from issues concerning money (MRL 1, 2, 3, 4, NMMO 1, 2, BRS 1, 2,

APgr.) . Truly my observations in particularly from Mombasa can confirm this. Covetousness and envy triggers unacceptable behaviour. Peers from same age-set usually respect each other greatly, regardless of clans (MRL 1, 3, 4, BRS 1, 2). Fighting over for instance girlfriends and wives who have committed adultery usually gets revenged within peers. Within a generation, great respect for each other is customary (MRL 1, 3, 4, BRS 1, 2). They don’t call each other by name, but ‘*murata*’ which means, ‘fellow circumcised’. Wives of men from the same age-set are considered to be the wife of all of them and vice versa, the same applies to children. This is also the way they identify and address each other (see appendix 1).

But in Mombasa, the peers have less unity and they often fight because of money or commodities, and frequently theft between them ensues (NMMO 3).

“The Mombasa people are cursed. They are a shame to everybody and they totally lack respect. They are in a different world there, a world concerning luxury and they are playing. Playing with their lives and the respect of those at home, and they are lazy. They are not serious about life and they don’t care about others than themselves.” (BRS2)

This statement shows that monetary economy has influenced Samburus to search for a new life which they don’t comprehend. While 54% of the Mombasa recipients claim they migrated to look for employment, the previous section has revealed that there are other underlying motivations for it (variable AJ). 22% admit that they came there in order to seek for people who could either assist them financially or take them abroad (variable AJ). Thus the idea of getting jobs emerges from two main things; the desire of getting money, and in the case of some of the educated ones, in order to utilize their knowledge accumulated from school. For the latter, the problem of becoming to some extent unfit for life at home after residing in schools for many years is crucial (MRL 1).

For the higher educated Samburus involved in development work, they appear to be unable to distinguish propaganda and common, mainstream thinking as having possibilities of hidden counter effects to it. The western world has mainly been able to develop and become financially superior through implementing strategies that fit their own holistic worldview (Baltodano 1999, cited in Kabeer & Cook 2000). It is not given that these are universal mechanisms which are convertible everywhere else in the world. My research on the case of the Samburu people has indeed proven that indigenous logics are important in order to be successful in development projects. To understand what they respect, term as important and how identity is built up is crucial. But since the Western world have gained success and economic growth through market economy, it is hard for the Samburu people to realize that we don’t all have the same starting point or foundation for making this system work.

“The white people just tell us to do a lot of strange things. They have no idea about who we are and how we live. But we follow them. After all we are curios” (MRL 4)

“Before, all tribes had their own lives and ideas. But then the white people came and we regarded them as supreme, like Nkai.” (MRL 4)

This respondent shows how the rich people had a position of being associated with God, something explaining how the white people were welcomed and listened to. They were above the Samburus and therefore their words must have been right (MRL 4, NMMO 1, AP 3).

While asked of which life they consider as the better; the previous, ‘unsullied’ traditional lifestyle or the modern one based upon ideas from external influence, they all reply their aboriginal life was superior.

“We didn’t know what development was, it was just the white people who came with those ideas. They told us to throw our skins and start to sell animals for clothes and beads in those times. This is also the times when we were introduced to ngrumma and sugar, in particular sugar. They even forced many to go to school. They still do. They forced them to do everything; join armed forces, attending to leppapoos [labour force] They forced us to pay kodi [taxes] and perhaps this is the time we felt we needed money. The colonials could just come to our manyattas and take some bulls, so we sold some sometimes first to pay them instead of them just coming and take them by force.” (MRL 4)

The practice of force towards mainstream development can be evident through this quote. Most likely the effect of colonial presence in Samburu District still carries a heritage of obedience and regarding external knowledge as superior to their own knowledge. When now Samburus increasingly are involved in development work, these people can further demonstrate power through being learned and at the same time have the credibility of being a Samburu. But if being indoctrinated with current concepts and strategies towards poverty alleviation, their value as holistic worldview guarantees diminish.

6.18 Limitations of People Centred Development in Samburu

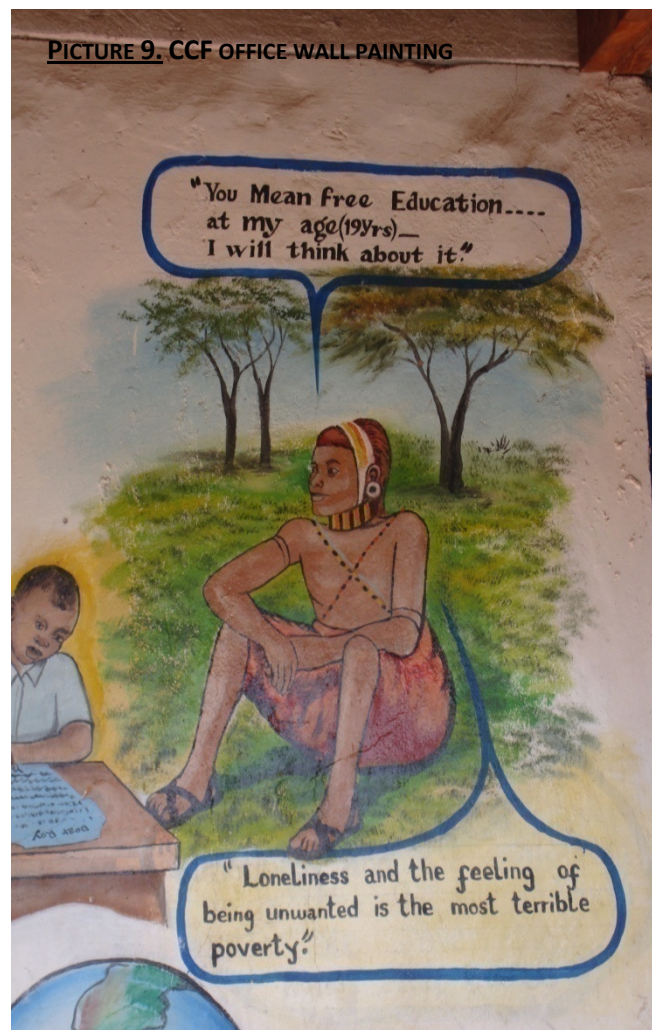
Mainstream development initiatives have indeed changed the Samburu society, and it is still in a rapid transition. They seem to just ‘follow the flow’ these days, accepting which ever changes that comes, and surprises of outcomes are no longer followed by shock or aversion, but with expectancy (MRL 1, 3, 4, NMMO 1). A monetary economy limits the possibility of holistic benefits in indigenous communities to be given space. They are marginalized to almost solely choose from development strategies based on a monetary economy which doesn’t align with their traditional worldview.

“It is too late now to go back to our traditional life. The changes has gone too far so we better just adapt to it. There is nothing we can do now.” (MRLA, male)

Although the majority of the Samburu people still reside in the *manyatta*, and mainly being occupied through pastoralist activities, the new generation will experience changes which they as well will adapt.

“Before, mandeleo [development] was not there, so it was good. Then development came and everybody turned to be clever. This is now what will change us even further. We will never be the same again.” (MRLA, male)

But in order to make changes within Samburu communities for the better, it is an obligation to recognize that the Samburus must be allowed to choose for themselves. Indeed it must also be legitimate to hear of counter effects of development initiatives similar to the ones they are offered for implementation.



“As Dorothy Hodgson explains, part of the ‘problem’ in pastoralist development is the formulation of the ‘problem’ itself. (Anderson & Broch Due 1999, p. 17)

Hodgson's quote is essential as it is sometimes hard to distinguish *who's* development one is talking about. In the case of the Samburu people, people centred development seems absent to a large extent, although public meetings are held in most cases while implementing development projects (MRL 1, 4, BRS 1, 2, NMMO 1, 2). To involve people as listeners is not sufficient enough. They should be the ones to address their needs, their view on the future and which path they need assistance to reach according to their own wishes. For the Samburu people, my observations prove that they are unfortunately often regarded as possessing too little knowledge of what benefits them, so after being persuaded, the administrative parts of project implementations is usually where they participate. But this is also done after recommendations of the facilitator.

Willingness and acknowledgement of understanding the holistic worldview of pastoralists has been non-existent when the first development projects established themselves amongst the Samburu people (MRL 4, NMMO 1, AP 1, BRS 1). But currently when aid initiatives are introduced to the Samburu, the characters reveal that these are strategies emerging from the latest international development trends. Indigenism as a recent concept following up the importance of considering indigenous knowledge is unfortunately also influenced by trends and common perceptions of what is positive and negative.

While incorporating different logics into a concept, the stronger one wins. For indigenous people, there are very many opinions on what is reasonable and what appears to be unintelligent. For a hunter and gatherer from Papua New Guinea, the logical approach to a good and beneficial life will most likely differ enormously from the logics of a Samburu. By conceptualizing indigenous beliefs and knowledge, one once again marginalizes the already marginalized. This can happen because framework rebuilds its own logics where the components which don't fit are eradicated. This can explain why Samburu people attending indigenous people's rights conferences and workshops get influenced by concepts and are unable to find room for their own traditional logics.

6.19 Conceptualization of Indigenous Logics

Indigenism is supposed to maintain the different logics of all indigenous people, but it is hard to maintain through any pedagogical framework. Indigenous knowledge has won respect, but mainly through components such as environmental approaches and traditional use of natural resources. This is perhaps largely proven through the case of the San people and the Hoodia plant versus Pfizer (unknown author 2003). But in terms of less visible logics such as religious beliefs or in the case of Samburu; through their identity and traditional lifestyle being built upon cattle, indigenism is also currently proving to be insufficient.

One can argue that it is not the concept of indigenism itself that is insufficient, but the development organizations lack of will to fully accept and incorporate it. But I suggest that once categorization in itself is the objective, crucial logics within indigenous communities are automatically being transformed to fit a wider range of logics, also mainly derived from western heads. It becomes to be a sort of *'we-them'* paradigm whereby *we* are to understand

them, and ‘they’ are to feed ‘us’ with information that afterwards is adjusted through ‘us’ to fit a concept.

I believe conceptualization destroys people’s ability to think creatively and use their empirical and indigenous logics to design more suitable development strategies. By being taught and persuaded without having proper opposite poles to discuss various views, adaptation of what they hear will be easier to ensue. The Samburus with higher education are also victims of conceptualization. It is interesting to see that none of the Samburu people whom I interviewed that are engaged in development work are able to answer which negative consequences the transition to monetary economy can lead to – it is just given a response of ‘I don’t know’ (MRL 8,9,13). Nevertheless, these people regard pastoralism as old fashioned and primitive, something unsuitable in this globalized world, while many of them still are unable to leave a certain level of domestic animal keeping. Furthermore, they despise Samburus who don’t follow traditional rites and were giving negative comments towards the current *morani* generation which they regarded as foolish and with lack of respect and knowledge (MRL9, 10, 13, BRS1, 2).

Understanding the cattle, one will understand the Samburus. This means that I believe thinking differently and allow the mind to take illogical turns can lead to a better understanding of Samburu peoples holistic worldview and traditional logics. The previous figure on connotation of an ox proves that it isn’t easy to make a cultural relativistic approach to other society’s logics (Hylland Eriksen 1997). It is just as hard for a Samburu to understand my indigenous logics without making a strong effort as for me to understand theirs. During interviews, several hours of common talk about cattle can reveal that they care enormously for these animals, but enabling interpreting what they actually say takes years of practice.

“We get everything we need from cattle. Even if you don’t slaughter a bull, you can still get fat, milk and blood from it. Cows have heart and bring joy. Money is just money. The importance of animals to us is that it is another one can live from it. We also feel that we want to have them, even if we need money. For those who turn away from animals, they get into debts and other problems. Eventually, they feel it would have been better if they just had had animals.” (MRL2, male)

This statement functions as proof for cattle not just being part of a survival strategy for the Samburu people. Pastoralism for the Samburu isn’t just an economic system. Cattle are an integrated part of their identity and also their perception of happiness.

“Before the white people came to teach us about life, we were not clever. Now we are clever, although life was better before. I think the position we are in now requires more development assistance for us to be better off.” (MRL2, male)

The quote might mean that before when pastoralism was a fully incorporated system for everybody from the Samburu ethnicity, they were able to manage as they were not aware of any other alternative. The traditions had passed down through generations, and everybody was born with the same destiny. Now, when some are educated, some urbanized, employed,

dependent on customary foodstuffs like the majority of Kenyans, they are even more marginalized than before. Therefore they require greater assistance in order to survive and improve their livelihoods (MRL 2).

It should never be an objective of development organizations and institutions to be the primarily ones to judge the eventual importance or need of development strategies and projects, but the beneficiaries themselves. What the first should offer is competence, knowledge of research and evaluations of development strategies and projects. This so the ones can integrate these facts with their own indigenous logics and from there reflect what benefits and negative effects it might have on them, regardless of success in societies incomparable with their own. This is the stem of people centred development (Friedman 1992). Although indigenous people have gained greater respect and understanding that they in different aspects are to some extent unique, they are also influenced by the mainstream agendas of the development aid associations. Conferences, meetings and networks play a key



role in terms of inspiring, teaching and shaping the agendas of indigenous organizations. (Hodgson 2002) For the Umoja Uaso Women's group in Archers post, Miller (2006) reveals that several of the

PICTURE 10. MARRIED SAMBURU WOMAN

members opposed to turning away from female circumcision while non-indigenous workshop facilitators found it rather inappropriate to have such a view. There are customs and traditions within many societies that are regarded by others, and even from within as appalling and destructive, but often changes can be initiated from within. A male respondent claimed that soon restrictions on elder men marrying young girls would come as more people regarded it as inappropriate (MRL 13).

Although certain issues and customs within societies are both regarded as terrible from those who are part of them as well as external viewers, it is not always beneficial to intervene through force, but dialogue can be just as useful, if not more (Friedman 1992).

I have witnessed many women discussing female circumcision whereby those in favour of it ask the women opposing it how they are going to distinguish between women and children if they don't upkeep the practice? Incest is considered as a strict taboo, and uncircumcised girls are regarded as children which are not to have interaction with circumcised men. The men hold position as fathers or grandfathers while the girls are still uncircumcised (MRL 1, MRL 13, NMMO 2, BRS 1). This is where the discussion ends as they all agree that girls cannot have sexual relations with adult men. Perhaps the only thing they need to end this practice as initiative from within their own community is an alternative to symbolize a girl's transition from child to woman (MRL 13)? A project initiated by a foreign woman to end female circumcision met aggression and vast reluctance, mainly because functionalism was disregarded (MRL 1, 2, BRS 1). To encounter success a more respectful approach is advisable and thereafter a good dialogue can bring about solutions that might be acceptable to both parties.

“I consider myself a modern man, but I have only daughters and I don't know if I'll circumcise them or not? They can't marry men while they are still children!”
(MRL13)

The man who said this is torn between circumcising his girls or to regard them as children for the rest of their lives. By circumcising, the girls become women, rightful to conceive children, but he is expressing the dilemma he is in. He doesn't like the practice of circumcision, but by lacking another rite for transforming them into women when time comes, he suffers from confusion (MRL 13).

This is not the only dilemma the Samburu people face. By accepting and adapting mainstream ideas of development, they are forced to make changes in practices and life whereby they don't know the consequences for either themselves or the ones they make choices for – in most cases – their children.

Allowing them to believe that they have knowledge which qualifies as being just as valuable as anybody else's, they might find peace and opportunities to reflect over transition processes, of what they define as new goals for their communities, families and also individually. Being allowed to choose and not assuming they know too little can enable the Samburu people to evaluate, analyse and decide on the paths the future will follow. This regardless of whether it fits any concept or idea, while simply based on their own indigenous logics.

CASE STUDY OF MONETARY IMPOVERISHMENT

NMMO 2, Woman Married to Lkishili

“Namnyak” is around 30 years and recently married to an *Lkishili*. She tried to oppose to it and ran away to town. From a previous casual relationship, she has a daughter around 10 years old.

“Now I consider myself lucky to have a husband, but I don’t like him when he drinks, but then I just fight him. It is good to be married and I want a lot of children. I do as I want, I have my small business from time to time, and he is also away with animals most of the time. He usually doesn’t disturb me, and he has told me I can come and live with my friend in Maralal if she needs me. (She has a close friend which lives alone with 3 children since the husband is living in Mombasa.) Home is changing, now you will find shangaa everywhere and it is hard to get our mothers to take care of our children if we need to go. Children can stay for days without food because the whole manyatta are drunk.”

She reveals that people at home will sell anything in order to get alcohol and that money has changed everything. She needs more money now than before and struggle for food is increased as they have different habits now in respect of their diets. She wears clothes which is a combination of traditional *shukas* and modern items. She as many others have a mobile phone and her *nkaji* is quite modern compared to the others in her *manyatta*.

“Life is harder now when we need a lot of things, and we don’t have anywhere to get money for it.”

6.20 Brief Conclusion

Indigenous logics are overlooked in most development theories and concepts. Also, by conceptualizing indigenous ideas and knowledge, it brings limitations as concepts are based on pedagogies to create a collective logic. For indigenous people who so undeniably are diverse and independently unique, conceptualization will force the majority's common customs and desires to be strengthened and emphasized, while marginalizing the more inimitable logical systems. This is just the very nature of conceptualization. As it pedagogically transforms ideas, traditions and perceptions to fit a larger framework, it is bound to happen that original schemes are transformed and re-shaped to fit the logics of the concept itself. This again is a continuation of universalism, only different for the indigenous people in respect that it becomes a concept of universalism for the marginalized. The Samburu people's indigenous knowledge has historically been regarded by outsiders as less beneficial. This is why development strategies have been implemented, in order to improve the impoverished Samburus. But by overlooking their holistic worldview, the intricate functions within their lifestyle, a monetary poverty has been brought about. Furthermore, they have become placed in a twilight zone whereby many of them suffer through social deprivation compared to when they were living as a pastoral entity (MRL 4).

The transition from subsistence to monetary economy definitely gained basis of growth because of prior force and have current potential of escalation through indoctrination of mainstream development schemes initiated by western people and organizations.

Chapter 7 –Conclusions and Further Recommendations

The missionaries and British colonial rulers were the first to expose the Samburu people to alternative livelihood strategies and here under a monetary economy. They told them about needs for other foodstuffs to improve their traditional diet, and were also told to sell surplus livestock in order to purchase woven clothes and other necessities. Furthermore, forced taxes and participating in labour forces initiated by the British Colonials forced a need for cash as well as it was the introduction of wage labour. This was the first exposure the Samburus had to a monetary economy.

I never expected the empirical findings and results of this case study to be merely as negative as they clearly are. The objective of this thesis has certainly been to counter mainstream development strategies implemented among the Samburu people, but the impacts are more severe than anticipated.

The research indicates that respondents migrated to Maralal town have suffered most from this transition. In particular Samburus who undergo education seem to suffer in an uttermost unintended way by becoming financially marginalized and assimilated to a more dominating worldview, alienating them from their culture, traditions and families. As many of them stay in boarding schools, or far from their families while being educated, they miss out on vital parental or adult advice on how to lead their lives (Hays & Siegruhn 2005). This is important as shame of having gone against the rules and practices of their culture can lead to social degradation. By settling in Maralal town straight after graduation, many become trapped in a diaspora like condition whereby they feel unable to return home. A great individual transformation is commonly the result of education whereby it becomes harder to feel fit for life in the *manyatta*. Furthermore the guilt of being chosen for securing financial support of their families leads many to despair. Alcoholism, prostitution, crime and violation of traditional rules are common consequences of their pressure. The research reveals that this was likely to not happen if they had maintained their traditional life in the *manyattas*. By staying idle and unemployed in town, a monetary poverty adds further pressure. If one is lucky enough to get a job, the salary might seem undersized to share as expenses for survival in town are high compared to *nkang*.

The goal of financial prosperity also increases within the Samburu people. But often the means of accessing it cannot align with their worldview which leads to social degradation. In particular the Samburus in Mombasa have proven that money can destroy relationships with their families and peers. In addition it evolves around taboos, making them guilty, ashamed and often depressed. That as many as 86, 66 % of the Samburus in Mombasa drink every day or several times a week while they also receive financial support from westerners point at an essential problem. While conducting traditional pastoralism, alcoholism was rare, and is indeed less common in the rural areas than the urban. When money becomes a main objective for having a good life, many find themselves on a trail they are unable to benefit from. The Samburu bomb blast victims had a lot and lost all – including their dignity. Being subject to mockery and violence because they have fallen from millionaires to alcoholised, poor dossers is depressing. When various respondents say that it doesn't come natural to a Samburu to hold money, one understands that it is a need for addressing counter effects of development strategies built upon a monetary economy being so intensively accepted in the international forums.

Throughout the chapter of empirical data and analysis, one sees that numerous, social, economic, cultural and environmental, negative consequences follow the transition to a market economy. I believe the quantitative data from Mtwapa in Mombasa provide good evidence to back the qualitative research and analysis. The dilemma of being regarded as marginalized or as well primitive has been common motivation for intervention among indigenous people (Survival international). The Samburus also adopted the notion that they are unprivileged and poor. 90 % of the respondents from Mombasa mean Samburus need more development while at the same time 76 % of them say they don't believe the traditional pastoralist practice can survive if so is initiated. The Samburus themselves therefore disapproves Fratkin & Roth's (2005) conclusion on sedentary activities not necessarily will lead to a decrease in pastoralist practitioners. This is extremely serious as they mean that assimilation and modernization processes will wipe out the Samburu traditional life – their basic of identity and therefore existence. This shows the complexity of interfering with indigenous societies without considering their holistic worldview and their indigenous logics. While there has been a paradigm shift hence development and indigenous people, it is inadequate just to consider their knowledge and traditions without comprehending their logics. This is crucial to understand why they uniquely have maintained their traditions and why counter effects of modernization processes are so common between them (Survival international 2007)?

Concepts have the mere effect of reshaping ideas as they become part of a larger pedagogy. I claim this is negative. Although indigenous people have gained more acknowledgement and respect for their lifestyle, values, traditions and practices, conceptualization of these elements diminishes the relevance and logics of their heritage. Khotari & Minogue (2002) correctly points out that alternative, more radical development concepts often gets seized by powerful development institutions in order to control its content and neutralize it. Spencer (1997) has been successful through a functionalistic approach to stress the magnitude of holistic worldviews among the Chamus. Although there currently might not be any other path for the Samburus than to continue a transition towards a market economy, it cannot be underlined enough that their indigenous logics must be the primary objective to consider before any development initiative is sought implemented. The Kenyan Government have immense responsibility as head of state to ensure that all the ethnic groups are regarded as an entity. This means giving them equal opportunities of security for survival and progress. However, it is insufficient to neglect their differences both socially and environmentally. I argue that the dominant development orders make it hard for poor countries to implement diverse and relevant development practices accustomed to their populations. This because the donors often are the very same who designs the schemes and concepts on what in their opinion are beneficial and intelligent objectives (Khotari & Minogue 2002).

While sedentary activities have risen in the Samburu district, the pastoralist range land has also decreased (McCabe 1997). Further, development initiatives have encouraged privatization of natural resources that traditionally has been considered as collective benefits (McCabe 1997). For the Samburus around Maralal, environmental degradation and individuality in terms of Hardins' theory have come as a result of sedentary activities and mainstream development schemes. But this also affects the Samburus depending solely on pastoralism. As their grazing lands have met restrictions, the pastoral practice becomes difficult to upkeep. Furthermore, privatization for community income has lead to more

services like pasture and water needs payment. Therefore the Samburus are forced to participate in a monetary economy even if it was not intentionally an aim to do so.

The case study of “*Namnyak*” in Nairimirimo shows an overall dilemma of the transition to a monetary economy through common development schemes. As they have become accustomed to modern commodities, they are trapped in a monetary poverty which requires increased implementation of development projects. Innovative solutions on how to generate income often have a negative effect. Traditional services offered by *laibonis* and *laisi* can now be demanded compensation for, and illegal brewing and selling of *shangaa* have brought many into poverty through alcoholism. Children are neglected while the adult members of the *manyatta* are drunk and valuable relief food is commonly exchanged for brew. Drinking didn't use to be a customary activity for Samburus to engage in, but is becoming rapidly a widespread, negative source of income generation.

Barsaloi have like Maralal and the other research areas met a decline in traditional practice of general reciprocity. As business entrepreneurship have been recommended by for instance the World Bank and Catholic Mission, accumulating money for both individually and collectively have caused decrease of traditional solidarity leaving the less privileged to be more marginalized. As business cannot align with reciprocity, the Samburu entrepreneurs have to choose between profit and keeping up their traditional imperatives. Their perceptions of what a good life is changes through monetary activities. Many become confused, stressed and bewildered as they are torn between to contradictory worldviews.

I was surprised that the Archers Post respondents were so negative towards tourism and development. They recalled they ‘unsullied’ life, depending solely on pastoralism and stated their preference. For the educated Samburus in Maralal who were involved in development work, they insisted that the Samburus needed progress which was to come through modernization strategies and adaptation to more dominant worldviews. The Archers Post Samburus have undergone the transition to market economy by far longer than people in Maralal, although the latter town is bigger and have more facilities. But it is uttermost important to mark the words of the Archers Post Samburus as the other parts of the District can learn from their negative experiences, avoiding this to be repeated elsewhere.

The Samburu people are presented with propaganda of only the benefits of development projects and initiatives, but they have never been told of the possibilities of failure and negative effects of it. Therefore, most of them are not able to comprehend or analyse the consequences of implementing or adapting modernization strategies.

Very many educated Samburus act as instigators for more development according to mainstream strategies acknowledged by the international communities. I argue that the urge and dogmatic approach to conceptualizing and building framework for developments strategies to a certain extent blindfolds the Samburu people. They are taught to follow and embrace the contemporary mainstream development strategies constructed and designed by a majority to fit a majority. This prevents the Samburus to be innovative in terms of developing livelihood improvement strategies that are shaped and designed to fit the conditions of the Samburu traditions and indigenous lifestyle better. By being told that these strategies are well defined, analysed and comprehensive for all people who need initiatives for poverty

alleviation, creativity and indigenous, empirical knowledge is diminished and loses its vital value. If the experience and knowledge from their own area could be valued more, universal, destructive or erroneous effect of implementing mainstream development strategies could perhaps been avoided to a larger extent.

One size usually doesn't fit all, and that is also the case whilst addressing development strategies and indigenous, pastoralist people. This case of the transition from subsistence to monetary economy from the Samburu district clearly proves the need for indigenous logics to gain further respect and acknowledgement from all organizations and participants who involve themselves in development world. It is a key element to understand the holistic worldview of the people one is to deploy projects in. It must also be accepted that people are different and have dissimilar values and logics on how to lead their lives. While feeling sorry for the Samburus living in small cow dung huts grazing their cattle over vast distances, or assuming their conduct of life is less efficient and intelligent and sustainable, one can ask why they used to care more about each other and unite towards divergent potential of survival and at the same time had less health- and social related difficulties than after implementation of mainstream development strategies?

The power balance of the funding organizations and the creators of development strategies are unhealthy and damaging to many of the beneficiaries targeted. A greater acceptance for the possibilities of not having same goals and objectives for our lives to be considered as satisfying must gain more credibility and recognition. We cannot all be the same, all don't want to be the same and by attempting to assimilate the world's people, it is created counter effects in respect of inequalities and plausible reduced contentment with our lives.

7.1 Further recommendations

This thesis brings about an aspiration for further studies of consequences of development strategies based on a monetary economy, and for an enhanced discourse and debate around indigenous peoples place in this globalized world. Kunitz (1994) has through his research given great evidence on negative consequences in terms on health- and social related degradation on indigenous people while being subjects to modernization processes. But the capitalistic dominance in this world seems to have been given far too little attention. The assumption that alternative development concepts and theories alone can bring positive changes to a far too universal approach which is controlling the aid sector today appears to be naive and insufficient. Whether people centred development, indigenism or sustainable development concepts in consideration, they all limit themselves if functionalism, social, traditional economic systems and indigenous logics are not the primarily focus.

Before the monetary foundation of development strategies are met with advanced questioning, the marginalized remains in the periphery and becomes further marginalized. This case of the Samburu people has proven that also they are transferred into a monetary poverty and social differentiation which affects them negatively.

There are in particular two groups of Samburu people that I recommend becomes subject for further studies in terms of understanding the impact and value of money in their pastoralist culture. These are the so-called bomb blast victims, and the ones migrating to Mombasa. Both of the groups might hold additional valuable information to enable an extensive analysis of

the consequences of introducing and implementing systems, ideas and projects based on a monetary economy among the Samburus. The format of a master thesis is unfortunately too limited to go into depths of this.

Furthermore, it would be very interesting and important to perform a quantitative research on various outcomes of development initiatives, in particular education among the ‘modern’ Samburu compared to the pastoral practitioners. I am sure there are very interesting and significant data found in making this comparison, especially towards enriching the debate of education for poverty alleviation.

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APPENDIX 1 – HOW TO ADDRESS SAMBURU PEOPLE?

POSITION	TERM USED TO ADDRESS HIM/HER
A person considered as a grandfather	<i>Akuya</i>
A person considered as a grandmother	<i>Nkoko</i>
Elder man	<i>Apaya</i>
Elder woman	<i>Mama, Ngusilay</i>
Mother	<i>Eyeyo</i>
Father	<i>Papa</i>
Father of...(Used to address father of a particular child)	<i>Menye...</i>
Mother of...(Used to address the mother of a particular child)	<i>Ngoto...</i>
“Brother” to the father (Same age-set as the father)	<i>Arashe</i>
“Sister” to the mother (Same age-set as the mother)	<i>Nashe eyeyo</i>
“Brother” to the mother (Same age-set as the mother)	
“Sister” to the father (Same age-set as the father)	
Uncle	<i>Abiyo</i>
Newly married woman	<i>Nkabartaini</i>
Wife	<i>Ntomonone, Nakitok, Napartut</i>
Husband	<i>Lpayan</i>
Fellow age-mate	<i>Murata</i>
Fellow age-mates wives	<i>Ntomonone,</i>
Fellow age-mate of wife’s husband	<i>Lpayan</i>
Females with husbands of same age-set	<i>Sintani</i>
Warrior	<i>Moran, Lmarn</i>
Sister	<i>Nkanashe</i>
Brother	<i>Lalashe</i>
Child	<i>Ngerrai, Nkutukai, Namelokai, Nkooai</i>
Boy	<i>Layeni</i>
Girl	<i>Ntito</i>

APPENDIX 2 – QUANTITATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE USED ON MOMBASA RESPONDENTS

(THE VARIABLES ARE CONVERTED FROM THE QUESTION NUMBER TO AN ALPHABETIC LETTER. I.E. Q1= VARIABLE A)

Questionnaire nr. _____

Questionnaire for fieldwork on Samburu peoples traditional life and development

Tick on the answer that fit most according to your view. Do not tick on several options per question. All answers are confidential and no identity will be revealed by answering this form. The answers are simply to be used in fieldwork on the above mentioned topic.

Q1: Gender

Male [] Female []

Q2: How long have you been in Mombasa?

Less than 6 months [] 6 months – 1 year [] 2 – 4 years []

5-10 years [] more than 10 years []

Q3: Is Mombasa a better place to live than Samburu?

Yes [] No []

Q4: Do you need more money to survive in Mombasa than Samburu?

Yes [] No []

Q5: Is it important for you to keep livestock?

Yes [] No []

Q6: Do you miss life at home in Samburu?

Yes [] No []

Q7: How often do you visit your home and relatives in Samburu?

7- 8 times per year [] 6-4 times per year [] 1-3 times per year []

Not every year [] Never []

Q8: How many wives/girlfriends/husband/boyfriends do you have? (UNDERLINE THE ALTERNATIVE(S) AND TICK THE BOX SUITABLE FOR YOU)

0 [] 1 [] 2 [] 3 [] 4 [] More than 5 []

Q9: Do you own property?

Yes [] No []

Q10: What is your main daily activity?

Dancing [] Selling items on the beach [] Working as watchman []

Working in shop/hotel/lodging [] Trying to accompany foreigners [] Other []

Q11: If you could choose, would you live in Kenya or in Europe/US?

Europe/US [] Kenya []

Q12: Do you have a bank/posta account?

Yes [] No []

Q13: If yes, how much is on your account?

0 [] Less than 1000 [] 1000 – 5000 [] 6000 – 10000 []

10000 – 20000 [] 21000 – 50000 [] More than 50000 []

Q14: How much money do you usually have per month?

Less than 1000 [] 1000 – 3000 [] 4000 – 7000 [] 8000 – 15000 []

More than 15000 []

Q15: Do you drink alcohol?

Yes [] No [] (**DON'T ANSWER QUESTION 16 IF YOU MARK NO ON THIS QUESTION**)

Q16: If yes, how often?

Every day [] More than once a week [] 2-3 times per month []

Monthly [] Rarely []

Q17: Have you ever been outside Africa?

Yes [] No []

Q18: Do you have friends from Europe/US which sometimes assists you financially?

Yes [] No []

Q19: do you think you will return to live in Samburu?

Yes [] No []

Q20: Do you think you know more about life than the elder Samburus?

Yes [] No []

Q21: Do you think the Samburu culture will survive with more development coming to the area?

Yes [] No []

Q22: Do you want to school (more)?

Yes [] No []

Q23: If you can choose, would you in the future look after animals or have a paid job?

Looking after animals [] Have a paid job []

Q24: Do you think the Samburu life in the manyatta is primitive?

Yes [] No []

Q25: Since you came to Mombasa, have you changed your diet?

Yes [] No []

Q26: Do you need more money for survival now than before?

Yes [] No []

Q27: Do you see any differences between the Samburus in town and in the rural manyattas?

Yes [] No []

Q28: Do you see any differences between the different generations on how they lead their lives according to money expenditures?

Yes [] No []

Q29: How do you regard education?

Very important [] Important [] Helpful [] Not helpful []

Not applicable []

Q30: Are development project initiatives important?

Yes [] No []

Q31: Do you think Samburu people needs to be more developed?

Yes [] No []

Q32: Do you think Samburu Culture will continue with being mainly based on pastoralist activities in the future?

Yes [] No []

Q33: Do you regard yourself as poor?

Yes [] No []

Q34: Do you want to have more money?

Yes [] No []

Q35: Which if the following sectors on development is most important?

Agriculture [] Education [] Health [] Job []

Q36: What was your aim of coming to Mombasa?

To find a job [] To see a new place [] I had friends & relatives there []

To find somebody who could assist me financially [] To find somebody who could take me abroad []