

**A MARKET ON BOUNDARY:
THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF
THE POKOT AND THE MARAKWET IN KENYA**

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ABSTRACT

The market activities of three peoples--the Pastoral Pokot, the Agricultural Pokot, and the Marakwet--were observed at Chesegon Village, western Kenya. This village is located on the territorial boundary of the Pokot and the Marakwet, and sandwiched between mountains and dry plains. This location allows easy exchange of each people's particular products, because producers need only transport their goods short distances. It is not food staples but rather supplementary food, meat, and handicrafts that characterize the market. There is comparatively little external trade. The market is also significant as a place to obtain cash and to exchange information.

I present the background of their market activities (the natural environment, modes of livelihood, intertribal relations, etc.), the market activities in relation to material culture and to the family budget, economic activities outside the monetary spheres, and discuss characteristics of the economic activities around Chesegon, the function of the market and shops, and the location of the market.

INTRODUCTION

This research was undertaken from August 1980 to January 1981 in and around Chesegon Village, Rift Valley Province, Kenya (Fig.1). Along the base of the Cherangani Hills, some summits of which reach over 3000 m above sea level, there are several marketplaces. Chesegon Village is one of these marketplaces, where the Agricultural Pokot, the Pastoral Pokot, and the Marakwet exchange products.

The purpose of this paper is to describe the actual market activities of the Pokot and the Marakwet, and to analyze these activities with respect to the peoples' whole livelihood. The Pokot and the Marakwet have been studied by many researchers (Beech, 1911; Peristiany, 1951; Huntingford, 1953; Kipkorir, 1973). Although the significance of market activities in their livelihood has been noted (Schneider, 1953; Tanno, 1980a), a detailed description and analysis has not yet been presented. While many previous studies of other tribes have given detailed descriptions of the market activities and the connections among the market centers, they have minimized the background of the market. The type of natural environment, mode of livelihood, and the function of the market goods in their daily lives are evaluated in this paper.

The Pokot and the Marakwet both belong to the Kalenjin group of the Southern Nilotic peoples (Gregersen, 1977), and live in the western part of Kenya. The Pokot territory has a diverse environment; there are dry

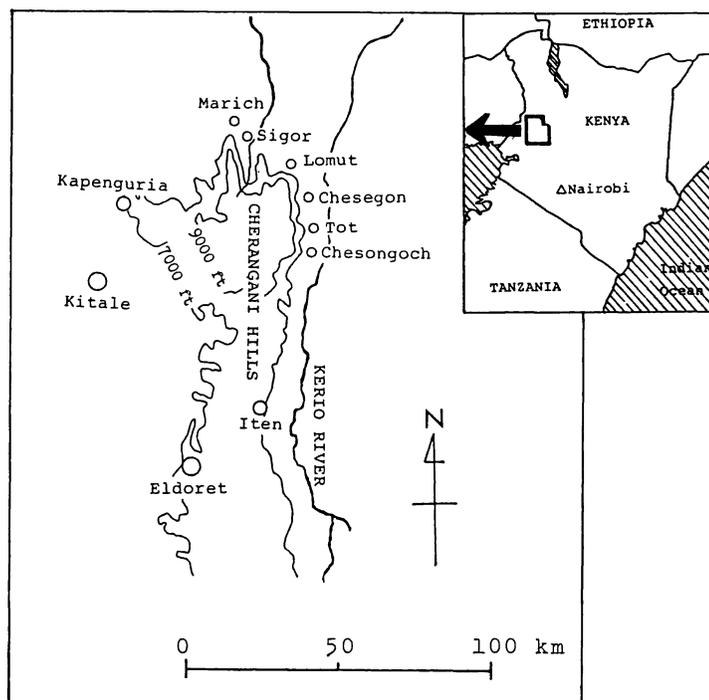


Fig. 1. Topographical map of the study area and the surrounding area.

Table 1. Average temperature (from 1978 to 1980) and rainfall (from 1973 to 1980) at Chesongoch*

Month	Temperature		Rainfall (mm)	Rainy days (day)
	Max.(°C)	Min.(°C)		
Jan.	34.5	15.7	29.0	4
Feb.	35.0	17.0	43.6	4
Mar.	35.0	16.7	73.5	8
Apr.	34.0	17.7	103.3	13
May	34.0	16.3	161.6	15
Jun.	33.0	15.7	75.7	11
Jul.	31.1	15.3	107.5	9
Aug.	32.7	16.0	98.9	13
Sep.	34.7	16.0	60.9	9
Oct.	34.3	16.7	69.7	12
Nov.	33.7	17.0	71.0	12
Dec.	34.0	17.3	16.5	4
Total			911.2	114

*These data were kindly offered by Chesongoch Catholic Mission.



Fig. 2. Pastoral Pokot women on their way to Chesezon market.

Pokot women wear skin clothes. Girls not yet circumcised wear skin aprons and skirts, while the circumcised wear only skirts. Some put on capes and use them to carry things. They wear necklaces, bracelets, and earrings. Many women shave the hair on the sides of the head and knit the remainder, using fat, into many strings. Men wear a sheet of cloth across the shoulder. They travel with their stools and sticks. They sometimes plaster clay on their head, and put color on the clay. The Pastoral Pokot wear more traditional clothes than the agricultural people, and women wear more traditional clothes than men.

Marakwet women often wear brightly printed sheets of cloth called leso. They shave all their head.

plains (Pokot Plain), montane forest (Cherangani Hills), and rocky slopes (Elgeyo Escarpment). The Pokot mode of life varies with these differences in the natural environment. For convenience, the Pokot are classified into two tribes according to their modes of life. The Agricultural Pokot are sedentary people, live in the mountains or at their base, and subsist mainly on agriculture. The Pastoral Pokot are nomadic and live in the plains, where they subsist entirely on herding stock (Fig.2). Most Marakwet people are farmers and their irrigation and iron work technology are superior to the Pokot techniques. The three tribes have patrilineal descent (Huntingford, 1953; Kipkorir, 1978). The Pastoral Pokot have extended families (Tanaka, 1980), while the Agricultural Pokot and the Marakwet practically have nuclear families; the ratio of polygamy among the farmers is low.

STUDY AREA

1. Natural Environment

Table 1 shows the temperature and rainfall at Chesongoch Village. Chesezon, 20 km to the north along the base of the Cherangani Hills, is assumed to have the same climate. The total rainfall in one year is less

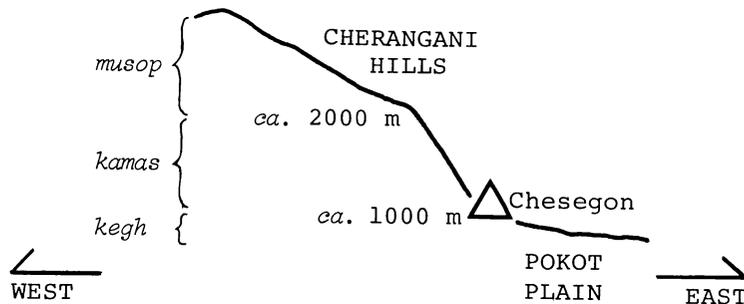


Fig. 3. Cross section of the eastern Cherangani Hills.

than 1000 mm. The dry season lasts from December to March.

The natural environment around Chesegon has three stratified zones according to the altitude (Fig.3). The Pokot Plain, at an altitude of 900–1000 m, extends to the east from the foot of the Cherangani Hills. In this Plain, the Kerio River flows north into Lake Turkana. The Pokot call this area kegh. Since there are very limited water resources in this area, it is mostly unsuitable for agriculture. The Pastoral Pokot raise livestock here.

From the base to the Hills' shoulder, about 2000 m above sea level, there forms a steep escarpment. The Pokot call this rocky place kamas. The boundary between the kegh and the kamas is geographically distinct, although the altitude varies (1040 m to 1120 m around Chesegon). In the kamas, the streams are rapid and there is much soil erosion. The Agricultural Pokot and the Marakwet prefer to use this area for housing rather than for cultivation, because they can avoid mosquitoes and enemies. There are some malaria-bearing mosquitoes in slowly moving streams in the base. From their houses on the Escarpment, they can easily recognize an enemy raiding party. The Pokot's enemy is the Turkana and the Marakwet's enemy is the Pastoral Pokot.

The land above 2000 m, where the slopes of the Hills are gradient and water is available for farming, is used primarily for cultivation. The Pokot call this area musop. The boundary between kamas and musop, the shoulder of the Cherangani Hills, is not as clear as the boundary between kegh and kamas.

2. Chesegon Village

Chesegon is a small village of 60 to 70 people, straddling across the boundary between the West Pokot District and the Elgeyo–Marakwet District. The West Pokot District is inhabited by the Pokot (pop. 93,000), while the northern part of the Elgeyo–Marakwet District is inhabited by the Marakwet (pop. 80,000). The Keiyo people (pop. 111,000) also belong to the Kalenjin group, and live in the southern part of the Elgeyo–Marakwet District (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1979).

Chesegon is at the end of truckage both from Kapenguria, the capital of the West Pokot District located in the northwestern foot of the Cherangani Hills, and from Iten, the capital of the Elgeyo–Marakwet District located in the Hills (Fig.1). The Cherangani Hills are surrounded by a partially paved vehicle road, and from Kapenguria to Marich (40 km away from Chesegon, Fig.1), this road is unpaved and used as the main truck route to the Sudan. On the eastern foot of the Hills, there is little

traffic and no scheduled transportation.

The Chesegon River flows down from the Cherangani Hills, forming a boundary between the Districts around Chesegon. The river insufficiently supplies water for drinking and for crops to the area around Chesegon throughout the year. There is a short street with several shops and houses both on the Pokot side and on the Marakwet side of the Village. Trees (*Cassia siamea*) are planted in front of the houses on these streets and people enjoy talking in the shade. At the end of the street on the Pokot side, there is an open space where the market is held. The unpaved road passes near the ends of the streets, through the open space (Fig.8).

On the Pokot side, there are two shops, one lunchroom, two butcher shops, one primary school, two lodging houses for teachers, two government officer's houses, and one house for a church assistant. An officer of the Ministry of Natural Resources, whose office is at Lomut (18 km away from Chesegon, Fig.1), and three Baluhya carpenters live in the government officer's houses. There is no church; once a week, a Father comes from Sigor (33 km away, Fig.1) to attend the meeting arranged by the assistant. On the Marakwet side in Chesegon, shops and houses are situated along the Chesegon River. There are three shops, one lunchroom, two butcher shops, one lodging house for teachers, a tailor shop, and a farmhouse. In Liter, located in the Marakwet territory about 500 m from Chesegon, there is a primary school, a dispensary, and a church associated with the Africa Inland Church. A Somalian merchant owns one of the shops on the Marakwet side. He mainly deals in skins with the Pastoral Pokot. A Baluhya owns the tailor shop. The other shops, the lunchrooms and the butcher shops are owned by the Pokot or the Marakwet. One shop on the Pokot side is owned by a rich Agricultural Pokot man, who has other shops in Lomut and Kapenguria. He transports goods by his own truck. An Assistant Chief of the Marakwet owns two shops, one at Chesegon and another at Tot (12 km away, Fig.1).

Chesegon is not a population center, since most of the farming population is concentrated in the escarpment zone (*kamas*). Similarly many other west African markets are located in sparsely populated areas (Hodder, 1962). There are only 30 to 40 salaried persons--teachers, government officers, employees of a shop and a lunchroom, and church assistants--around Chesegon including those who live in Liter. There is no branch of the Central Government in Chesegon. A Chief and an Assistant Chief live in or near Chesegon, on both the Pokot and the Marakwet side (the government appoints a Chief for every Location, and an Assistant Chief for every Sub-Location; the order of administrative areas in Kenya from the highest to the lowest is, Province, District, Division, Location, and Sub-Location). There is no full-time butcher. Butcher shops are owned by shopkeepers. Those who sell meat in the shops slaughter their own animals and pay rent to the shopkeepers according to the types of animal: camel, 50 Kenya Shillings (Sh in abbreviation; one U.S. Dollar was roughly equivalent to 7.5 to 8.5 Sh during the study period.); cattle, 30 Sh; goat and sheep, 9 Sh, each.

3. Agriculture

Maize (*Zea mays*), finger millet (*Eleusine coracana*), sorghum (*Sorghum vulgare*), and cassava (*Manihot* spp.) are the primary crops of the agriculturalists. Bananas (*Musa* spp.) and kidney bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris*) are the secondly crops.

Shifting cultivation is the agricultural method used in the *musop*. Presently montane forest remains untilled only above an altitude of 2600-2800 m. Since slashing and burning montane forests is prohibited and the altitude of the remaining forests is too high to grow crops, farmers reuse fields after they lie fallow for several years. Irrigation farming is



Fig. 4. The arrows point out a Marakwet irrigation canal.

practiced at the base of the Hills and their vicinity in the kegh. Because water is rapidly absorbed into the dry ground, it is difficult to grow crops in the kegh without irrigation.

The Marakwet have excellent irrigation techniques. They construct canals not only from the base of the Hills to the kegh but also from the musop to the base of the Hills, traversing steep valleys (Fig.4). Soper (in press) reported that some canals were constructed 15 feet higher than the original earth surface level, intakes and ends of some canals differ more than 1400 m in altitude, and there are even two-level crossings of canals. The Marakwet have been making and maintaining irrigation canals for at least two hundred years. These canals were constructed and are maintained by each clan (Soper, in press).

The distribution of the cultivated fields and the crops was recorded by scanning each part of the study area. The area are divided into 500 m-by-500 m square grids. If there is any cultivated area in a grid, the whole grid is considered cultivated. The study area is divided into four altitudinal zones: lower than 1000 m, 1000 m to 1200 m, 1200 m to 2000 m, and higher than 2000 m. These zones roughly correspond to the kegh, the irrigated area at the base of the Hills, the kamas, and the musop respectively. The ratio of cultivated area to the whole area is calculated by counting the grids in each altitudinal zone. Some grids are situated in just one zone, while others lie across the contour line of 1000 m, 1200 m, or 2000 m. Each complete grid in each altitudinal zone is given a score of 1 point, and each incomplete grid 0.5 points.

The whole zone below 1000 m in Figure 5 or 6 has a score of 195 points, and 3.5 points (1.8%) for cultivated area illustrated in Figures 5 & 6. Of the 1000-1200 m, 1200-2000 m, and above 2000 m zones, 33%, 38% and 55%, respectively, are cultivated area. In the musop, water is plentiful and there are relatively gentle slopes so a much larger area can be used for farming. More than one third of grids at 1200-2000 m zone (kamas) were considered cultivated, first, because the shoulder of the Hills originates below 2000 m in some places, and there are gentle slopes

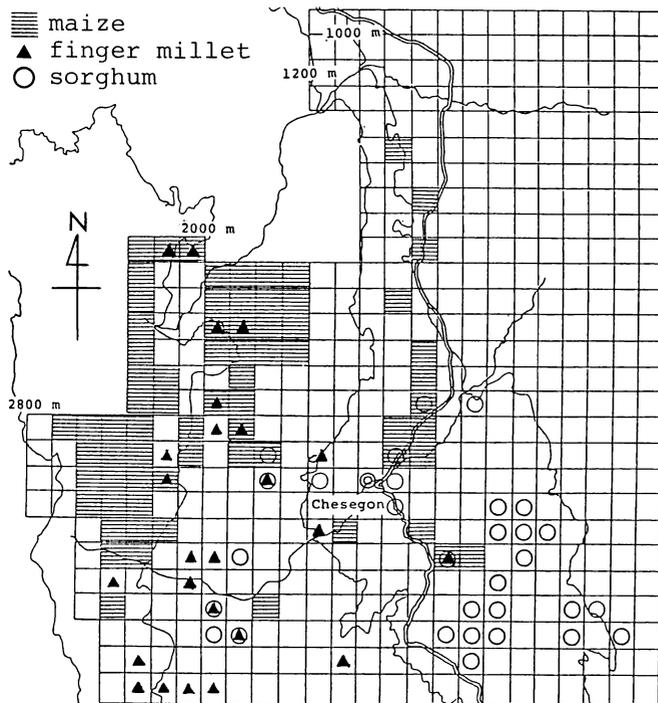


Fig. 5. Cultivated field distribution (Maize, Finger millet, and Sorghum). Each square grid is 500 m X 500 m.

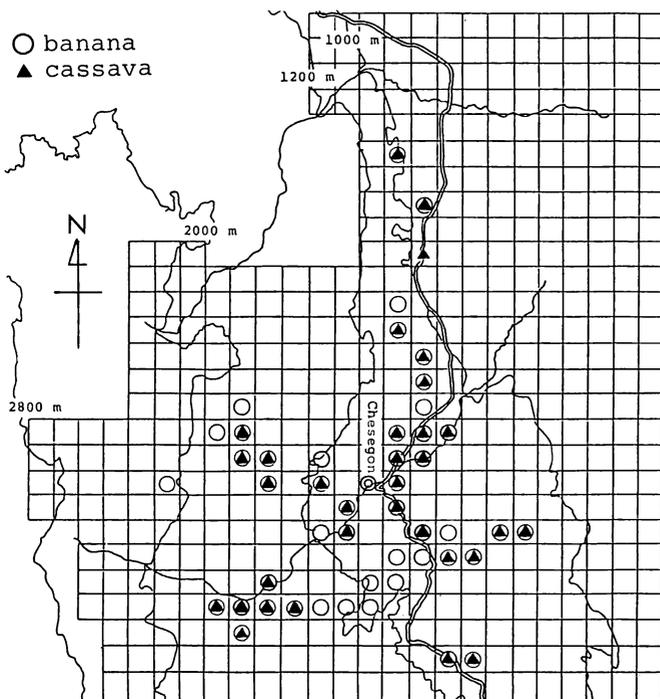


Fig. 6. Cultivated field distribution (Banana and cassava). Each square grid is 500 m X 500 m.

favorable for maize field, and second, because the presence of small but widely scattered finger millet fields in the kamas cause each grid to be scored as cultivated by my method of grid representation. The plains are not used for farming except for the irrigated areas near the base of the Hills.

Fields of maize, finger millet, and sorghum are distributed according to altitude. Figures 5 & 6 show the distribution of cultivated area for each crop, using the same grid representation. Currently, maize is a dominant crop at higher altitudes, even though it was only brought into this area in the late 1930's (Tanno, 1980b). The introduction of a hybrid variety, which is easily grown at high altitudes, was even more recent. Maize is the dominant crop, because it has higher potential yield, it is disease and pest resistant, and it requires less labor (Acland, 1971). Sorghum, one of the traditional crops of the Kalenjin people (Kipkorir, 1978), is mainly grown by the Marakwet in the irrigated kegh. Finger millet, also a traditional crop, is cultivated in the musop and even in the poorer kamas. In the musop, finger millet is grown in a crop rotation cycle; after the fields lie fallow and before the maize crop. In the kamas, only finger millet is grown after the field lie fallow for a few years. It is important not only as a part of their diet but also as an ingredient for brewing beer.

The timing of the planting and the harvesting of these crops varies. Some farmers vary the planting time intentionally from one field to another, however the first planting occurs at the time of the first rain that ends the dry season. The annual cultivation schedule of these crops is as follows. Maize is planted from April to August, and harvested from February to June of the next year in the musop. Finger millet is planted from April to June, and harvested from August to October. Sorghum is planted from April to August, and harvested from August to December.

Banana and cassava production is concentrated in the well-irrigated kegh close to the base of the Hills. There is no widespread production of these crops at relatively high elevations even though Figure 7 indicates the existence of several fields. By this grid presentation method, each grid is regarded as a complete banana field grid even if there is only one banana tree near a house. The seasonality of bananas and cassava is unclear.

Other agricultural products grown in the musop are tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum), kidney bean, and cabbage and kale (Brassica oleracea). Tobacco is grown around Pokot houses, while kidney beans are mixed in with the maize crops. Cabbage and kale were recently introduced and have been sold at Chesegeon market only since 1978. In the kegh close to the base of the Hills, especially on the well-irrigated Marakwet side, there are fields of sugar cane (Saccharum spp.), mangoes (Mangifera indica), papaya (Carica papaya), lemon (Citrus limon), gauva (Psidium guajava), leek (Allium porrum), and spinach (Spinacia oleracea).

Some Agricultural Pokot have fields both in the musop and in the kegh, and cultivate different crops. For example, a husband may raise livestock and cassava in a lower field, while his wife may tend a higher field of maize and live separately from her husband. Sometimes parents and sons will tend several fields at different altitudes.

4. Raising Livestock

The Pastoral Pokot depend entirely on raising livestock for a living. Tanaka (1980) documented a Pastoral Pokot patrilineal extended family of 37 persons, which tended 184 cattle, 160 goats, 35 sheep, 14 camels, and 20 donkeys.

In addition to farming, the Agricultural Pokot and the Marakwet also raise livestock. The Agricultural Pokot raise more stock than the

Marakwet, and some Agricultural Pokot had herds of more than 100 goats. Some sedentary Agricultural Pokot are as dependant on livestock as they are on agriculture; they cultivate only small rented fields. The number of each types of livestock per married man of all the sampled families, excluding those of widows, is shown in Table 2. Both the Agricultural Pokot and the Marakwet practically live by nuclear family, although a few polygamous cases were noted (Table 3). The three sampling states are located on the escarpment of the Hills close to Chesegeon. Both the number of livestock and the number of family members of the Agricultural Pokot are higher than the figures presented by Tanno (1980a). At an altitude of 2000 m, Tanno documented the average number of people per family as 5.1 (n=38 families). In this study, an average Agricultural Pokot family consists of 6.43 people (n=105 families, 1050-1800 m alt.), while Marakwet family 4.93 people (n=30 families, 1200 m alt.).

In the kegh and the base, salt spots for animals are available. Livestock raised in the kegh and the lower kamas use these salt spots, while stock raised in the musop seldom go down for salt. Once every two or three months, people herd livestock down to the salt spots or buy unrefined rock salt at shops and take it back to the musop herding area. Two to four Pokot farmers often comprise cooperative cattle herding groups, which are stable units formed on the basis of locality and not necessarily on clan membership. The cattle are herded by the owners and their sons in turn. Near Chesegeon, goats and sheep graze without herdsmen during the day and are herded by the owners in the evening. Sheep are raised primarily for meat. Since this type of sheep is vulnerable to the cold climate, there are few sheep at higher altitudes, they say.

Table 2. Average number of livestock possessed by a married man

People	Altitude (m)	Cattle	Goat	Sheep	Fowl	Number of samples
Agricultural Pokot-A*	1300	6.9	33	8.6	2.0	50
Agricultural Pokot-B*	1800	6.1	34	4.5	9.4	33
Agricultural Pokot-C**	2000	4.1 (8.7)	13.1 (13.5)	3.5 (8.9)		38
Marakwet	1200	2.0	14	0.7	6.0	30

*A and B correspond to A and B in Table 3. **Tanno (1980a). Numbers in parentheses are averages per owner family, not per sampled family.

Table 3. Ratio of intertribal marriage

People	Number of husbands	Number of wives	Wives from the other tribe*
Agricultural Pokot-A**	50	59	15 (25%)
Agricultural Pokot-B**	33	34	8 (24%)
Marakwet	30	36	7 (19%)

*The other tribe is the Marakwet for the Agricultural Pokot, and the Agricultural Pokot for the Marakwet. **A and B correspond to A and B in Table 2.



Fig. 7. Cheseгон marketplace.

5. Intertribal Relations

The Pokot and the Marakwet living around Cheseгон can easily understand each other's language, because they belong to the same linguistic group (Kalenjin), and they live together from childhood. They hold active markets together at Cheseгон, and sometimes hold joint meetings. At these cases, each people speaks their own language and is perfectly understood by the other.

Intertribal marriage is common in this area. The Agricultural Pokot and the Marakwet frequently exchange marriage partners (Table 3). Spencer (1973) studied the intertribal marriage between the Samburu and the Rendille, two pastoralist peoples living in northern Kenya who maintain a close relationship, and found that although 5 to 17% of the wives of Samburu men came from the Rendille, the opposite case were rare. Compared to these figures, intertribal marriage between the Agricultural Pokot and the Marakwet is frequent. Nearly every Agricultural Pokot who lives around Cheseгон has many relatives on the Marakwet side. On the other hand, some Agricultural Pokot men are married to Pastoral Pokot women. Other cases of intertribal marriage among the Pokot farmers, the Pokot pastoralists, and the Marakwet are rare, although Conant (1965) reported that nearly 20% of the wives of Pastoral Pokot men came from the Agricultural Pokot.

The Pokot and the Marakwet also attend each other's initiation ceremonies. The first cut of circumcision, a round slice cut from the foreskin or clitoridectomy, is performed in public at least on Marakwet boys and Agricultural Pokot girls, although the remaining cuts are performed in private. On the night before the first cut, people gather, dance, sing, and drink to encourage those who will be circumcised. Many people from the other tribe also gather on this night and at the first cut.

Because the Cheseгон River rises in the Elgeyo-Marakwet District, the Marakwet claimed the water rights of the Cheseгон and constructed an irrigation canal intake just before the river reaches the District boundary. The lack of water resources on the Pokot side around Cheseгон is a

serious problem. The Pokot and the Marakwet have held several meetings to discuss this, without coming to a solution.

The Marakwet have been attacked by Pastoral Pokot raiding parties many times. In the vicinity of Cheseгон, the last raid was in 1978, by the Pastoral Pokot coming from the northeast.

THE MARKET

1. The Cheseгон Marketplace and People

The Cheseгон market is a periodic, daytime market, and the only marketplace in the Cheptulel Location (pop. 4,200), in the Sigor Division of the West Pokot District. It is held three times a week, on Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday, on the open site with some standing trees, on the Pokot side (Fig.7). These trees of Ficus, Acacia and Balanites provide comfortable spots of shade for exchanges and for rest. The main area of the market is only about 50 m in diameter (Fig.8). The spatial border of the market is elastic, and expands or contracts according to number of the attendants. There is no fence physically limiting the marketplace. No fence is also common at neighboring market centers. Some sell their goods on their way to the market.

People generally begin to gather at the marketplace around 10:00. From 12:00 to 13:00, the market is most active, and from 15:00 to 17:00, most people return home. At the market, people greet acquaintances, gossip and talk, walk around, and buy and sell. Pastoral Pokot men often bathe in the Cheseгон River. Marakwet men sometimes make bets, called shinbin, by tossing cowries several hundred meters from the market. At Lomut market, people play a popular board game of stones and several rows of holes, called bao in Swahili.

Many sellers spend the day at the market, selling a small quantity of goods. Sellers simply place their goods on the ground. Some set up hearths on the outskirts of the market and sell cooked kidney beans, ugali (a stiff porridge of maize flour or cassava, in Swahili), and meat soup. Other people sell cattle or other animals they have slaughtered in the open air. The distribution of sellers in the marketplace is roughly fixed according to their kinds of goods (Fig.8); for example, people selling tobacco, bananas, cabbages, or salt sit in certain places around a big tree (Ficus sycomorus), about 20 m in height. The Pastoral Pokot concentrate in the area marked P in Figure 4, and the open-air butchers and lunchrooms are situated in the Marakwet side beyond the Cheseгон River, about 100 m south of the Ficus tree.

Sellers were sampled, followed, and recorded from the time of their entry into the marketplace to the time of their exit. Three cases are presented below.

- 1) An Agricultural Pokot woman in her 40's, living in Arpollo, 4 km north of Cheseгон, came into the marketplace on the morning of 3 Sep. 1980. She sat under the big Ficus tree where the tobacco sellers were concentrated, set out her can full of snuff tobacco, and waited for customers. Buyers always taste tobacco before making a purchase. When a customer demanded to taste some tobacco, she put a small amount of snuff tobacco on his palm with a hand-made tea spoon. She charged 0.1 Sh for a spoonful of snuff tobacco, the common price of all tobacco sellers in Cheseгон. On that day, she sold 3 Sh of tobacco to 10 persons, while 35 tasted her tobacco without purchasing. She said the amount sold was small compared to other days. According to my observation, the average amount of tobacco sold by one person on one market day was 17.5 Sh (n=31 person-days). The woman bought raw

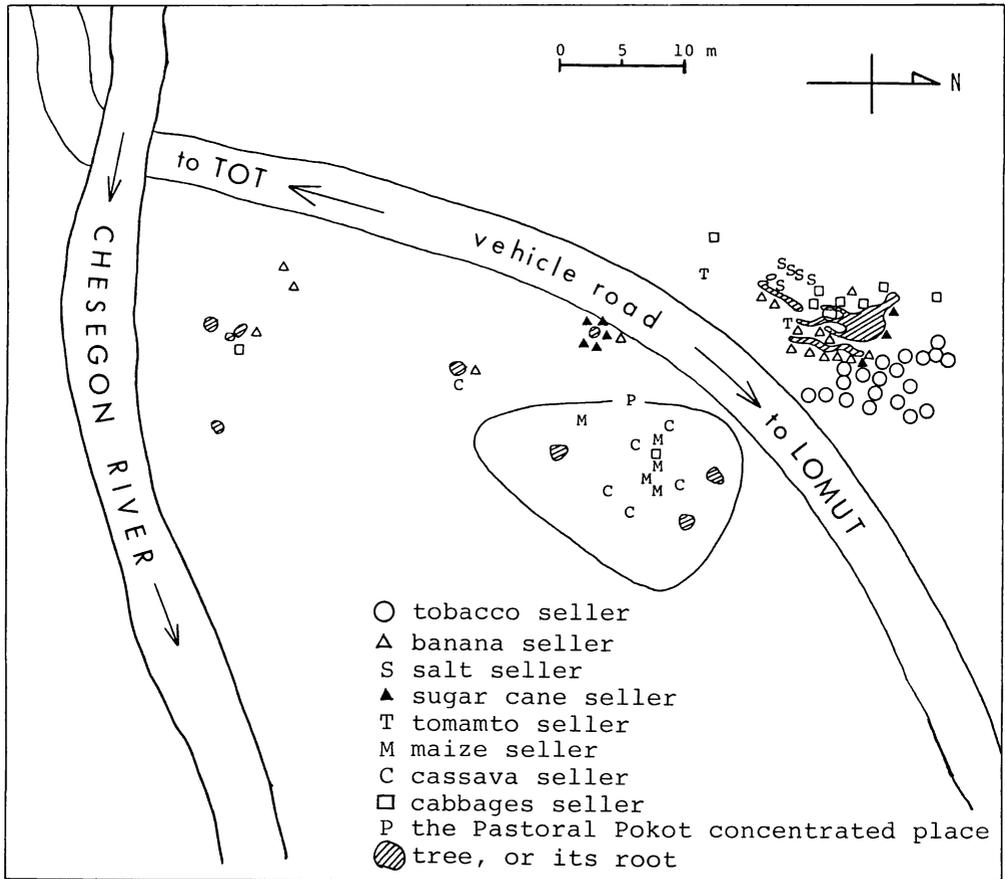


Fig. 8. Seller distribution in the center of Cheseгон marketplace on Friday, December 21, 1980.

cassava twice (1 Sh and 0.5 Sh), five fruits of mango (1 Sh), and one section of sugar cane (0.1 Sh). She ate one third of the cassava and all of the sugar cane at the marketplace. She seldom walked around in the marketplace, and even when she bought goods, she sent her son or bought from the sellers within her reach. She was one of the last persons at the marketplace in the evening, and left at 17:17.

- 2) A Pastoral Pokot woman in her 20's came into the marketplace with two calabashes filled with milk at 11:00 on 24 Aug. Before noon, she had sold the milk for 8 Sh. In the afternoon, she walked around in the marketplace and sometimes stopped to look at the goods, leaving her skin bags and calabashes in the Pastoral Pokot area. She bought bananas (0.2 Sh), one section of sugar cane (0.1 Sh), maize (?), and snuff tobacco (0.3 Sh). The tobacco was purchased after tasting at three sellers with her friends. She consumed the bananas and the sugar cane at the marketplace. She took the maize grains off the corncobs and carried them in the bags on her back. She left Cheseгон at 14:35.
- 3) A Marakwet man in his 30's, living close to Tot, came into the marketplace at 11:15 on 12 Oct. He sold two knives (3 Sh) and bananas

(2.5 Sh). He bought a mango (0.2 Sh), smoking tobacco (0.5 Sh), and a cabbage (1.5 Sh) at the marketplace; a piece of inner tube for bicycle tire (1.5 Sh) at a shop on the Marakwet side; a matchbox (0.25 Sh) at a Pokot side shop; and 0.5 kg of meat (5 Sh) at a Marakwet side butcher shop. His son and mother were also present at the market. The son sold bananas carried in a 4 gallons tin can (*debe* in Swahili), while the mother bought tobacco. At 14:00 the man returned home, leaving the cabbage with his mother, and the remaining bananas with his son.

The average number of Chesegon market attendants at 12:00, the busiest time, on Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday in August 1980 was 509, 247, and 393 respectively (n=3 market days of each day of the week). This fluctuation in the number of attendants according to the day of the week was observed throughout the study period. More people attend the Wednesday market, partly because it occurs two days after the previous market rather than just one like the other market days. Fewer people attend the Friday market, because another market is held on the same day at Tot, the next market center 12 km away.

Almost all of the Chesegon market attendants are local farmers and pastoralists who come on foot. Their composition is shown in Table 4. There are more women than men, and the ratio of Pastoral Pokot men is low. There are no full-time traders, no brokers, and few hawkers, although some housewives work as traders.

The average percentage of market attendance of 49 persons in seven Agricultural Pokot families (including infants and the old) was as high as 38.8% during the study period; the average person is expected to attend the market on one of the three market days, or once a week. The sampled Agricultural Pokot's houses are located on the Escarpment beside Chesegon at an altitude of 1400 m to 1800 m, and it is a 20 to 60 minute climb from the Chesegon center to the seven families' houses. No seasonal fluctuation in attendance was found. A high percentage of attendance is also estimated for the Marakwet farmers.

Many Pastoral Pokot go to the Chesegon market once or twice a year. Some may attend frequently for one or two months, and then don't go at all for the rest of the year. However, several dozens of Pastoral Pokot regular visitors were found at the market throughout the study period. Twenty-two frequent attendants of the Pokot pastoralists were identified and their attendance was recorded on 41 to 56 market days. Two of them attended on over 60% of the market days, two on 50's%, three on 40's%, and four on 30's%. In total, eleven women attended on more than 30% of the market days. For example, one Pastoral Pokot woman, living 10 km away from both Chesegon and Lomut, often came to sell milk at Chesegon market. She attended the Chesegon market on 66% of the market days (n=44 market days). She sometimes went to the Lomut market as well. Another Pastoral woman living beside the Kerio River, about 10 km away, cooked

Table 4. Ratio (%) of people attending Chesegon market (n=4702 persons, Oct. 1980)

	Agricultural Pokot	Pastoral Pokot	Marakwet	Total
Male	16.5	4.3	16.3	37.1
Female	25.1	16.8	21.0	62.9
Total	41.6	21.1	37.3	100.0

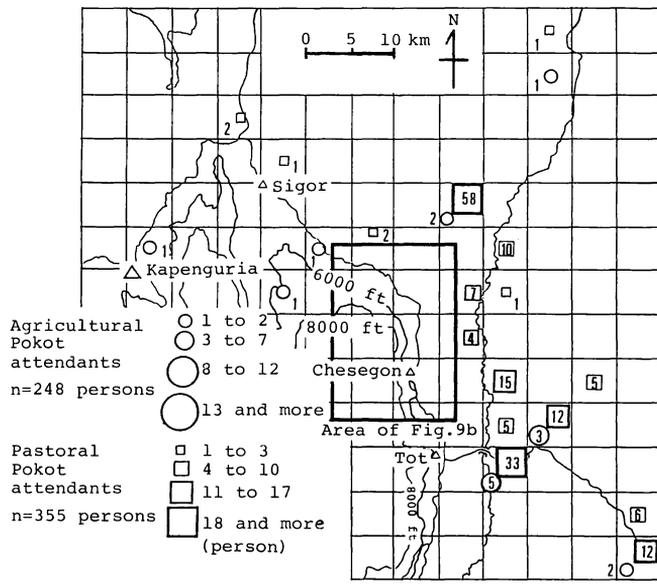


Fig. 9a. Location of market attendants' homes (the Agricultural Pokot and the Marakwet). Each number in circle or square shows the number of people coming from each grid.

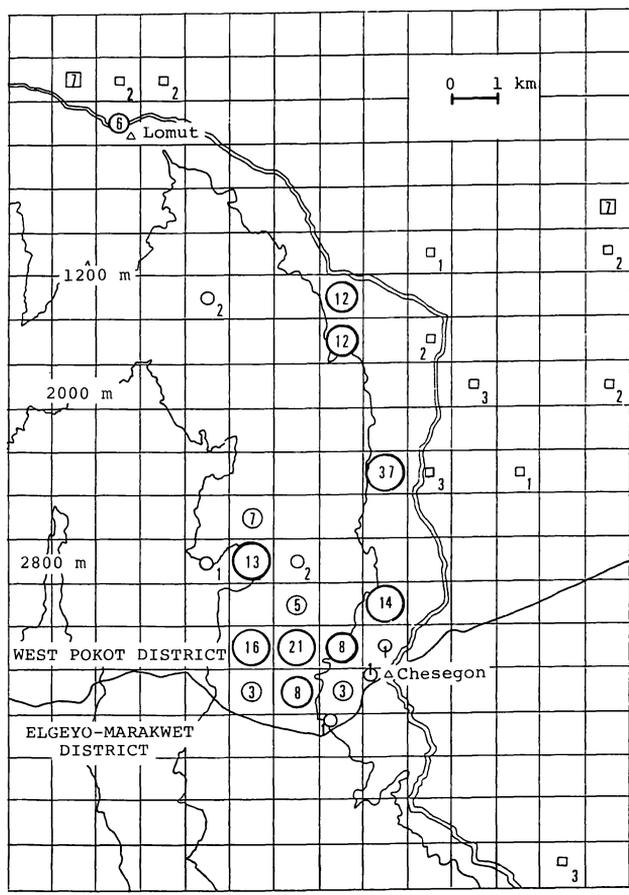


Fig. 9b. Location of market attendants' homes (the Agricultural Pokot and the Marakwet). Each number in circle or square shows the number of people coming from each grid.

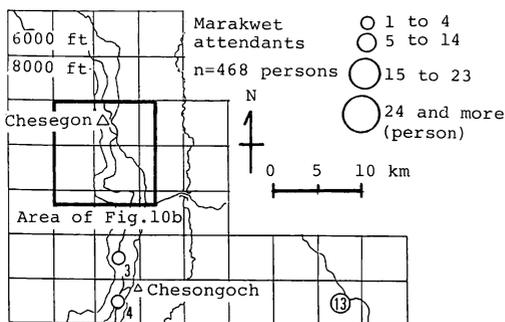


Fig. 10a. Location of the Cheseгон market attendants' homes (the Marakwet). Each number in circle shows the number of people coming from each grid.

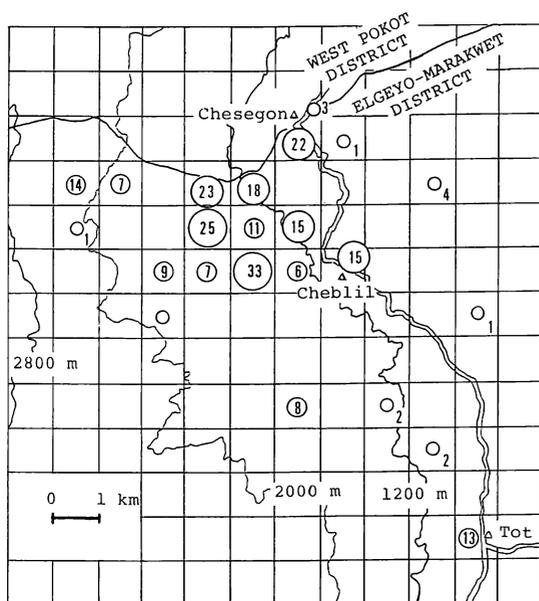


Fig. 10b. Location of the Cheseгон market attendants' homes (the Marakwet). Each number in circle shows the number of people coming from each grid.

and sold ugali at the Cheseгон market, and attended on 54% of the days (n=56 market days).

The location of the market attendants' homes was also investigated (Fig.9 & 10). There are three natural entrances to the marketplace beside the Cheseгон River and the vehicle road, from which all persons entering or leaving the market can be observed. My local assistants and I observed people passing the entrances, and the assistants told me the location of each person's home. Of the 248 Agricultural Pokot, 355 Pastoral Pokot, and 468 Marakwet people observed, the assistants identified the homes of 189 Agricultural Pokot (76.2%), 150 Pastoral Pokot (42.3%), and 263 Marakwet (56.2%). Because the assistants were not acquainted with the residents of far away, it is possible that many of the unidentified Pastoral Pokot and Marakwet lived in the farther places than where illustrated in Figures 9 & 10.

Most of the Agricultural Pokot and many Marakwet came a short distance, usually within 5 km. On the other hand, the Pastoral Pokot came from as far away as the area along the Kerio River, where they have

Table 5. Appearance frequencies (%) of goods at Chesegon market from Sep. 1980 to Jan. 1981 (n=57 market days)

Foodstuff		Others	
tobacco	100	clay pot	60
milk	100	hoe	56
bananas	100	traditional medicine	49
sugar cane	100	knife	47
salt	100	stick	39
maize	96	timber	39
cassava	96	ugali cooking spatula ⁷	35
leek	96	wooden spoon	32
cabbage & kale	93	wooden vessel	32
mangoes	93	wooden bowl	30
papaya	93	milk receiver ⁸	28
liquor	89	spear	25
cooked beans*	(89)	shallow bamboo basket	18
lemon	86	deep bamboo basket	16
sorghum	82	arrow	14
goat meat**	81	feather of arrow	14
ugali*	(81)	bow	12
meat soup*	(78)	calabash liquor carrier	12
dried meat*	(78)	charcoal	7
tomato	77	ox-bell	5
kidney bean	72	inner tube of bicycle tire ⁹	H 5
egg	61	small basket	5
guava	58	clothes	H 4
beef**	53	industrially made rope	H 4
chili pepper	53	empty can	H 4
baking soda	47	calabash milk container	2
honey	47	traditional hatchet	2
potatoes	40	stool	2
mutton**	37	calabash cleaner ¹⁰	2
spinach	32	mortar	2
mandazi ¹	23	ugali cooking stick ¹¹	2
ground nuts	23	red-brown soil for magic use	2
kunde ²	21	empty bottle	H 2
dried fish ³	7	aluminium cooking-pot	H 2
finger millet	7	scarf	H 2
camel meat	5	needle	H 2
aron ⁴	4	tire sandals	H 2
vegetable ⁵	4	nail	H 2
sweet potatoes	4	medicine for malaria	H 2
pumpkin	4	cloth bag	H 2
orange	4	letter paper	H 2
boiled maize	2	metal spoon***	H 0
boiled cassava ⁶	2	beads***	H 0
milk tea***	0	safety pin***	H 0
biscuit***	0	medicine for cough***	H 0
wild animal meat***	0	sheet***	H 0
		stirer*** ¹²	0
		traditional axe***	0
		printed sheet***	H 0
Livestock			
goat	56		
fowl	25		
sheep	5		

*Prohibited after the epidemic in Oct. 1980. Percentage in parentheses is calculated for appearance frequency before the prohibition (n=37 market days).

many camps. Some Pokot pastoralists walk over 40 km to the Cheseгон market. The Pastoral Pokot from far away arrive in Cheseгон the evening before market day, and spend the night behind the shops or inside the fence at the Chief's house.

2. Market Regulation

There is little market regulation at Cheseгон. For example, sellers are not required to pay tax to the local authorities, which is rare among African markets (Hill, 1966). Liquor (liquor shall refer to distilled alcohol, and beer is referred to as non-distilled alcohol) is illegally sold several hundred meters away from the market center. There is no organized group of sellers at Cheseгон market, although guilds are often formed in many other markets to reduce the competition among sellers and guarantee profits (Hill, 1966). At Cheseгон market, no explicit conflict was observed among the sellers.

The market was once closed by the Chiefs for two weeks in October 1980, because some people died of an epidemic around Cheseгон. Since the epidemic, the open-air butcher shops and lunchrooms have been closed, and the sale of dried meat has been prohibited. Now, the majority of the fresh meat is sold at the covered butcher shops, and meals are served in roofed lunchrooms. The dried meat and liquor are still sold illegally. Since the epidemic, sellers and buyers of dried meat have tried to keep their dealings secret.

3. Market Goods

All of the goods (98 items) observed at Cheseгон market are listed in Table 5. The market was held on 66 days during the study period. Frequency of goods' appearance is shown as percentage to 57 market days; complete lists of all market items are available only for these days.

As for the appearance frequency, foodstuffs comprise the main goods at Cheseгон market, while there are equal numbers of kinds of foodstuff and non-foodstuff items; 49 different foodstuff items (including 3 kinds of livestock) and 49 different non-foodstuff items were observed. Twenty-one kinds of foodstuffs appeared at more than 70% of the 57 market days, with 11 kinds present more than 90% of the time. In contrast, 31 kinds of non-foodstuffs, nearly two thirds of all the non-foodstuffs, appeared less than 10% of the market days.

Many kinds of food are consumed instantly at the marketplace. These are meals of cooked beans, ugali, and meat soup. The sugar cane, ground nuts, and fruits like bananas, mangoes, papayas, lemons, guavas, and oranges are eaten at the marketplace. Some of the cassava are also consumed as between-meal snacks.

Hawkers from cities (for example, Kitale, pop. 11,600 in 1969, or

**After the epidemic, mainly sold at roofed butcher shops. The appearance frequency percentage is the total of roofed and open-air butcher shops.

***Observed at Cheseгон market during the study period (n=66 market days) but not recorded in the 57 sampled market days. H, Sold by the hawkers; 1) Wheat cake; 2) Leaves of legume eaten as a vegetable; 3) Caught by the Pastoral Pokot at the River Kerio; 4) Half-dried fruits of Tamarindus indica; 5) Unidentified; 6) Cooked at sellers' house; 7) Wooden spatula stick to cook ugali in a flat bottom aluminium cooking-pot; 8) Wooden cylindrical milk receiver. People hang this on their left thumb with a skin loop and milk a cow with the right hand; 9) Used to repair sandals made of worn-out tires; 10) A leafstalk, one of which terminals is crashed into a brush like shape; 11) A stick with a broad, round end used to cook ugali in clay pots; 12) A stick with a propeller-shaped end used to stir maize flour in boiling water to be a porridge.

Kapenguria, much smaller, Fig.1; Central Bureau of Statistics, 1979) occasionally visit and bring industrially made non-foodstuffs into the market. One hawker's visit can bring many kinds of man-made items such as pieces of inner tube for bicycle tire, rope, empty cans, aluminium cooking-pots (*sufuria* in Swahili), empty bottles, scarves, needles, etc. The hawker's visit to Chesegon market was once every two to three months, either coming on foot or riding on the Pokot merchant's truck.

Sour milk, timber, baking soda, and industrial products come from farther away than the ordinary agricultural products. These items are not sold in large quantities, except for sour milk which is sold by the Pastoral Pokot. The timber is cut in the montane forest of the Cherangani Hills and brought to Chesegon by the Agricultural Pokot. It takes over a day to carry timber to Chesegon. Baking soda, impure sodium bicarbonate used to soften vegetables or intensify the taste of snuff tobacco, is collected near Kapedo located about 50 km east of Chesegon.

The price of each item per kilogram varies, but the minimum sale price of most goods is no more than one Kenya Shilling (Table 6). The minimum sale price of livestock, liquor, milk, and some industrial products is higher, while that of fruit is the cost of one piece of fruit. Grains are measured in an empty can (usually 500 g edible oil can, 667 cc), and sold. Liquor is sold by the bottle, or by the cup, and a cup of liquor costs one Sh. The price of sour milk depends on the size of the container (calabash made), varying from 0.5 Sh to 6 Sh. Milk is sold by the calabash because the Pastoral Pokot do not have a standard cup measure.

There is little seasonal price fluctuation. The price of milk each month, as shown in Table 7, is rather stable. The prices of other

Table 6. Price of main goods at Chesegon market, Oct. & Nov. 1980

Item	Price (Sh/kg)	Minimum sale price (Sh)
tobacco (snuff)	41	0.1
tobacco (smoking)	22	0.1
liquor	11	1.0
goat meat	10	1.0
beef	9.4	1.0
egg	6.6	0.2
salt*	3.1	0.1
sorghum	2.3	1.0
finger millet	2.1	1.0
kidney bean	2.1	1.0
maize flour**	2.0	1.0
milk	1.8	0.5
leek	1.4	0.5
maize***	1.2	1.0
banana-A****	0.95	0.1
cabbage & kale	0.91	0.5
cassava	0.90	0.5
lemon	0.90	0.2
mangoes	0.88	0.2
tomato	0.72	0.1
papaya	0.47	0.3
banana-B****	0.43	0.1
sugar cane	0.26	0.1

*At shops, a 500 g package of salt costs 1.05 Sh (2.1 Sh/kg). **Price at the shop. ***Dried grains excluding corncobs. ****Both banana-A and -B are eaten raw, while banana-B is smaller and sometimes cooked.

agricultural and industrial products are also stable, partly because the farmers have several subsistence crops which are harvested at various times, from crop to crop and field to field, and partly because there comes no city broker to Chesegeon who invests in the finger millet; there are some at Lomut market, the next market center of Chesegeon (Tanno, personal communication).

Maize flour, sold at the shops rather than at the market, attracts people to Chesegeon Village. It is sold at the Chesegeon shops of the rich Agricultural Pokot man on and off the market day. Since maize flour is scarce, the shop does not always provide people with it. Maize flour was sold at the shop on 75% of the 57 market days. The Pastoral Pokot sometimes sell goat or cattle skins to shops. In the study period, goat skin brought were seen on 74% of the market days, while cattle skins on 51%.

4. Flow of Goods

There are no sales on credit, and barter is rare (see p.98); money is the medium of exchange in the Chesegeon market.

Certain goods flow from steady dealers to customers. Clay pots are sold only by an old potter living in the musop. She was born Marakwet, married an Agricultural Pokot man, and now lives in the Pokot District. Certain wooden goods—stick, ugali cooking spatula, and spoon—are usually sold by an old Agricultural Pokot man living in the kamas near Chesegeon. There are no steady dealers of other wooden goods. Young girls, 8 to 13 years old, buy mass-produced 500 g packages of salt from shops in Chesegeon, and sell them by small quantity in the market. Biscuits are also retailed piece by piece by young girls. Red-brown soil used in magic is available at certain areas in the musop zone. Although everyone can freely collect it, only those living nearby sell it at the market. Certain goods are bought by steady buyers. Unripe bananas are sold, by the bunch, to road construction laborers from Marich. These laborers usually go to villages near the Marich—Sigor shops or the Lomut market—but they sometimes come to Chesegeon market by one truck to buy foodstuffs. They buy green bananas (not plantain bananas) to cook and eat as a staple food. Other market attendants never buy the unripe bananas.

The flow of goods is shown for each tribe in Table 8. The quantity of flow of the main goods was intensively studied during September, 1980. Since most market transactions involve money, the quantity of goods exchanged can be represented by the amount of money. Sellers and buyers were counted, and classified by tribe on each kind of goods. The sellers' income from each good was estimated by all day observation, and by referring to the family budget records (see p.96). Table 8 presents the quantity of the flow of goods per week (three market days). Since the number of market attendants fluctuates according to the day of the week, one week of three market days is considered the unit of analysis here. Several goods are excluded from this table, because the flow of these goods is estimated at less than 400 Sh per week, a negligible amount compared to the total flow (about 10,000 Sh/week). The excluded goods are foodstuffs (honey, sorghum, guava, potatoes, etc.), livestock (fowl), and various other things (clay pot, hoe, traditional medicine, stick, etc.).

The main goods exchanged by each tribe can be defined. The Agricul-

Table 7. Price of milk (Sh/kg)

Month	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Price	1.47	1.43	1.80	1.88	1.64

tural Pokot mainly sell tobacco, meat, and stock (goat and sheep); and buy meat, tobacco, and milk. The Marakwet usually sell meat, liquor, and bananas; and buy meat, milk, and tobacco. The Pastoral Pokot sell milk and dried meat; and buy tobacco, bananas, and sugar cane.

There is relatively little flow of staple foods of the farmers. Maize, finger millet, sorghum, and cassava comprise the staple food of both the Agricultural Pokot and the Marakwet, while milk is the Pastoral Pokot's staple food. The flow of maize is 205 Sh/week, and cassava 194 Sh/week. The flows of sorghum and finger millet are estimated at less than 100 Sh/week, and 10 Sh/week respectively.

At the shops, the Pastoral Pokot buy maize flour at an estimated cost of 500-600 Sh/week. This expenditure puts the Pastoral Pokot in a deficit at Chesegeon, for which they compensate by selling their livestock to traders who visit their camps and take the animals to city butcher shops. Livestock appeared at the market are transacted only among Agricultural Pokot and Marakwet people.

The dealers of minor goods out of Table 8 are also recognizable. The Agricultural Pokot sell timber, the Pastoral Pokot sell honey, dried fish, wild animal meat, wooden vessels, and wooden bowls, and the Marakwet sell charcoal, and metal products (hoe, knife, spear, arrow, ox-bell, traditional hatchet, and traditional axe). Hawkers sell 19 different items (Table 5).

Figure 11 shows the intertribal balance of the flow of main goods. Since the Marakwet supply many kinds of goods, the flow of goods appeared from the Marakwet to the Agricultural and the Pastoral Pokot. However, in terms of the monetary value of goods, the Agricultural and

Table 8. The flow of goods at Chesegeon market, Sep. 1980 (Sh/week)

	Total	Sell			Buy		
		Agri. Pokot	Pastoral Pokot	Marakwet	Agri. Pokot	Pastoral Pokot	Marakwet
meat	2900	1305	0	1595	1247	58	1595
tobacco	2285	2079	0	206	731	960	594
milk	1293	0	1293	0	491	78	724
liquor	697	139	0	558	277	70	350
bananas	640	128	0	512	205	186	249
goat & sheep	400	320	0	80	200	0	200
sugar cane	354	99	0	255	103	145	106
tomato	308	62	0	246	246	0	62
cabbages	254	173	0	81	109	43	102
maize	205	94	0	111	123	82	0
cassava	194	2	0	192	54	136	4
dried meat	150	0	150	0	0	0	150
spinach	125	75	0	50	54	21	50
kidney bean	124	83	0	41	47	57	20
meal	100	40	10	50	30	40	30
mangoes	88	28	0	60	40	8	40
salt	58	38	0	20	18	23	17
leek	43	13	0	30	33	0	10
lemon	29	0	0	29	7	7	15
papaya	17	5	0	12	7	9	1
Total	10264 (100.0%)	4638 (45.6%)	1453 (14.2%)	4128 (40.2%)	4022 (39.2%)	1923 (18.7%)	4319 (42.1%)

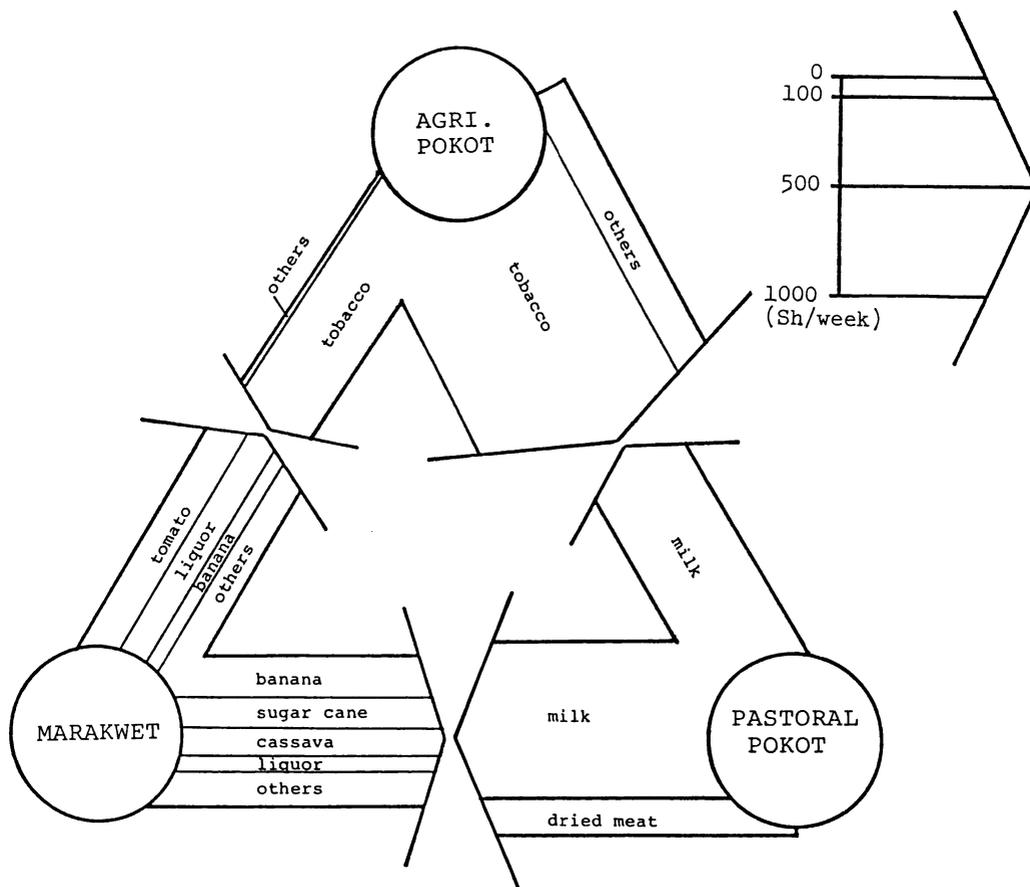


Fig. 11. Intertribal balance of the flow of goods at the market. The width of the arrows illustrates the relative amount of flow.

the Pastoral Pokot also supply much amount of goods, actually. The Marakwet intertribally get profit on, tomatoes, bananas, sugar canes, and cassava. These are grown in the irrigated kegh area. The Agricultural Pokot sell tobacco to the other tribes, especially to the Pastoral Pokot, while the Pastoral Pokot sell only two kinds of goods: milk and dried meat.

While there is a lot of fresh meat sold at the market, its intertribal balance is scantily appeared. This is because the Agricultural Pokot and the Marakwet buy almost as much meat as they sell. The Pastoral Pokot rarely sell fresh meat or livestock at the market. On the 66 market days, the Pastoral Pokot sold fresh meat only twice. Dried meat is sold by the Pastoral Pokot to the Marakwet. The Agricultural Pokot do not buy this meat; they say the pastoralists sometimes use diseased animals and dry the meat in unsanitary conditions.

The number of sellers per week varies from 4 to 160 depending on the types of goods sold (Fig.12). On the other hand, the amount of money earned by each seller per market day has a much narrower range. Except for butchers, each seller earns from 5 to 15 Sh per market day. When a

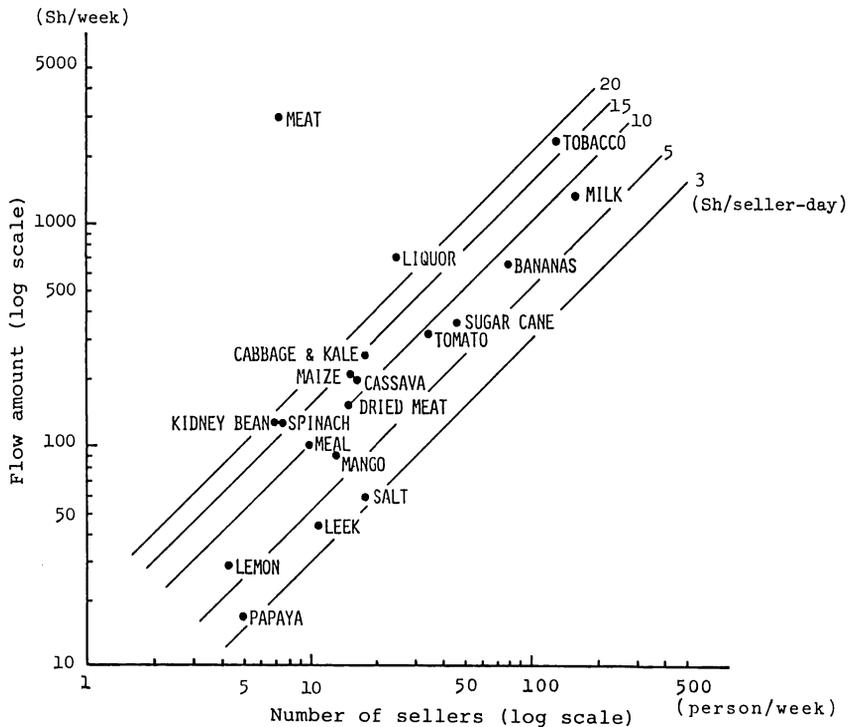


Fig. 12. The number of sellers and the relative flow of goods.

butcher slaughters an animal, he sells all the meat within a day, even if the animal is a head of cattle. For this reason, a butcher earns a lot of money in one market day.

5. Neighboring Markets and External Trade

Near Chesegon, there is a market center every ten to twenty kilometers. A brief description of the six market centers--Marich, Sigor, Lomut, Chesegon, Tot, and Chesongoch--is given in Table 9.

Chesegon is the most typical rural market center of the six for three reasons. First, there is no brokers or traders from the cities, bars, whores, or government office which brings salaried persons. Second, the prices of agricultural products are lower and the prices of industrial products are higher than the prices at the other market centers (Table 10). Third, before the epidemic, out-door meat sellers and lunchrooms were frequently found here, while most of the meat is sold at roofed butcher shops and there is no out-door lunchrooms at the other five markets.

From Marich to Lodwar, the capital of the Turkana District located 120 km north of Marich, a paved road is being constructed, under the joint sponsorship of Kenya and Norway. There is a camp with several hundred construction workers at Marich. Many laborers come from the southwestern part of Kenya. They live solely on their salaries, and buy all their necessary food at Marich, Sigor (7 km away from Marich), or Lomut (22 km away). They go to Lomut in 3 to 5 trucks on each market day, but go to Chesegon market, using only one truck, two to four times a

Table 9. Market centers near Cheseгон

Village	Distance* (km)	Market day (People**)	Hawker	Shop	Lunch- room	Bar	Primary school	Church	Hos- pital	Others
Marich	40	every Fri. but one	+	+	+	+	+			road construction camp Ministry of Works
Sigor	33	Thur. (150)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	District Officer's office Post Office Army
Lomut	18	Sat. (700)	(+)	+		***	+		+	Administrative Police National Youth Service Ministry of Natural Re- sources
Cheseгон	0	Wed. (509) Fri. (247) Sun. (393)	+	+	+		+			
Tot	12	Tue. (200) Fri. (350)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	General Service Unit Quarantine Station
Chesongoch	20	Wed. (fewer than Sat.) Sat. (200-300)	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	wholesale store

+, Present; (+), Presence is estimated. *Distance from Cheseгон along the vehicle road. **Number of market attendants at the most active time. ***Kiosk for officials.

month. The Sigor shops and Lomut market have been greatly influenced by these visiting consumers. At Sigor, there are some shops, one of which is owned by an Indian merchant, and the market is inactive. At Lomut, there is only one shop and no lunchroom. The Lomut market is active, and strictly regulated. For example, the Location Chief and the National Youth Service's officers do not allow people to wear traditional skin skirt and apron at this market. Pastoral Pokot women who wore traditional clothing in the market were beaten and their skin clothes were torn by the officials. Thus, the pastoral women, who usually wear traditional clothes at Chesegeon, dress in old cotton one-pieces. Since Lomut is located in the West Pokot District, few Marakwet attend.

There is no full-time trader who works at all six market centers, while a few part-time traders transport goods. At Lomut, ten to fifteen Pastoral Pokot women were observed selling fruits they bought at Chesegeon. These part-time traders only transport two kinds of fruit: mangoes and bananas. Some Marakwet women buy liquor at Chesegeon and sell it at Tot. At Tot, it is difficult to obtain liquor, because there are many officials. Only these few women are able to sell liquor without being punished.

Those who live close to Chesegeon sometimes go to the closest market, Lomut or Tot market, to sell goods, but seldom go past there. In addition, they rarely go to both markets; some only go to Lomut and others only go to Tot. At Lomut, ten to thirty Agricultural Pokot women living in Arpollo sell fruits they grow themselves. At Tot, there are scores of Marakwet sellers who come from near Chesegeon. Since some Agricultural Pokot tobacco sellers who live close to Chesegeon want to sell all their tobacco, they go to Tot where there are fewer tobacco dealers. Tobacco is the same price at Chesegeon and Tot. At Sigor and Chesongoch, it is difficult to find sellers who come from the Chesegeon area.

MARKET AND SHOPS IN LIVELIHOOD

1. Source of Material Culture

The material culture of two Agricultural Pokot families, the Lokortetes and the Tuktuks, was investigated (Kurita, in prep.). Their houses are located near Chesegeon on the escarpment of the Cherangani Hills. Both families lead traditional and standard agricultural lives with some livestock among the Agricultural Pokot. There are seven people in the Lokortete family and nine in the Tuktuk family.

The Lokortete family owned 78 different items, and the Tuktuk family owned 103 items. The two families owned a total of 105 different items.

Table 10. Prices of goods at several market centers (Sh)

Item	Unit	Marich	Sigor	Lomut	Chesegeon
banana-A*	fruit	0.33	0.1		0.1
banana-B*	fruit		0.1	0.17	0.05
sugar cane	section (20-30 cm)	0.25	0.2	0.25	0.1
mangoes	fruit	0.5	0.5	0.25	0.2
finger millet	500 g edible oil can (667 cc)	3			1
egg	egg			5	2
cup		5			10
flash light		8			12

*Both banana-A and -B are eaten raw, while banana-B is smaller and sometimes cooked.

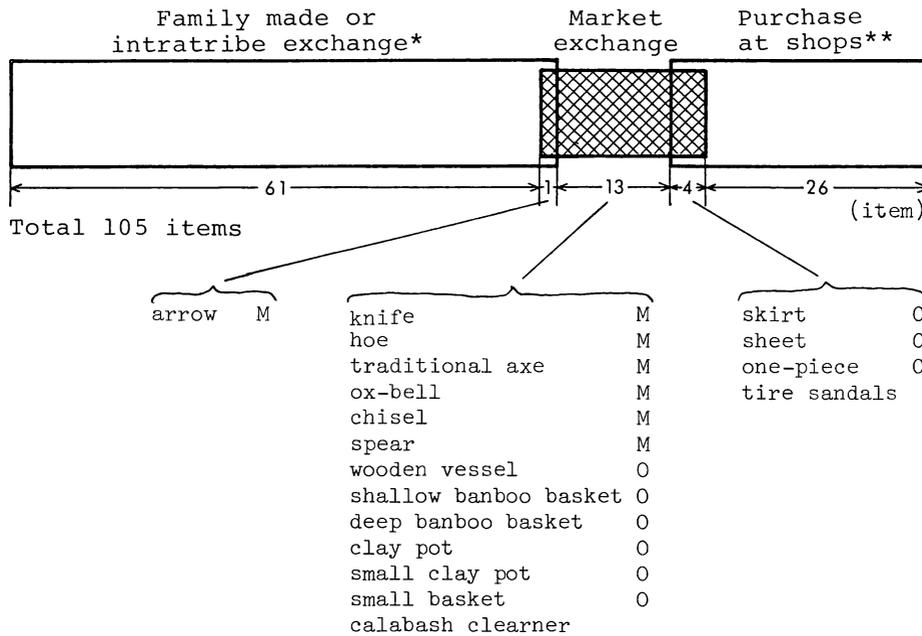


Fig. 13. Source of material culture of two Agricultural Pokot families.
 *Excluding items obtained by intratribal exchange at the marketplace; these are counted as market exchange. **Shops in Chesegeon and other cities. M, Metal products; O, Handicrafts except for metal products; C, Made of cloth.

When the results of a study on other families are added, the total number of different items owned is 202, including many products owned by salaried persons, such as radios, record players, wristwatches, etc.

Figure 13 indicates the sources of the two families' material culture. Many items (61 out of 105) were made by each family, or obtained intratribally without passing through market exchange.

Even though the items obtained only at the market are a small percentage of their material culture (13 out of 105), the market is important as the place where the Pokot obtain metal and handicraft products. Six of thirteen items obtained only at the market were made of metal. Since there is no Pokot blacksmith around Chesegeon, the Agricultural Pokot buy these metal products from the Markawet blacksmiths. Six of the remaining seven items are made by craftsmen.

Industrial metal or cloth goods are usually purchased at Chesegeon shops or in cities. Of the four items bought at both the market and the shops, three (skirt, sheet, and one-piece) are made of cloth. Of the 26 items purchased at shops or in the cities, 10 items (for example, gym shirt, slip, and blanket) are made of cloth, and 7 (for example, aluminium cooking-pot, metal spoon, and metal dish) are made of metal. Most of these metal goods are cooking and eating utensils.

2. Family Budget

Household budgets were examined by using the house keeping books of the seven Agricultural Pokot families whose market attendance was

recorded. In each family, an upper grade primary school student recorded the daily cash flow. The seven families included 36 persons, counting each child aged 10 or less than 10 as 0.5 persons. The study was performed for a total of 3981 person-days.

The monetary flow of the Renganang family's case is shown in Table 11. This family consists of a father in his 50's, and a mother in her 30's, and three children (14- and 10-year-old girls, and a 7-year-old boy). They spent their money on vegetables or fruits, rather than staple foods. A large percentage of the budget was spent on clothes. The sugar bought at shops was mainly used to brew beer. Most of their cash came from sales they made at the market. They pay no taxes but do make occasional donations to local administrations, while primary education only requires participation in school construction or maintenance.

The seven families had a total income of 3742 Sh (0.94 Sh/person-day), and total expenditures of 3314 Sh (0.83 Sh/person-day). The only way ordinary farmers can obtain cash is to sell agricultural products at the market. Cash earned at the market is 89.5% of their cash income. The remainder was obtained by selling goats and alcoholic drinks, which were sold both on and off the market days.

In this small sample, each Agricultural Pokot family bought very little milk at the market. The total expenditures by the seven families for milk were 45.75 Sh (0.0115 Sh/person-day). Therefore, an average family is expected to buy only 0.23 kg of milk per week.

$$0.0115 \text{ [Sh/person-day]} \times \frac{36 \text{ [persons]}}{7 \text{ [families]}} \times 7 \text{ [days]} \div 1.8 \text{ [Sh/kg]}$$

The Agricultural Pokot babies are fed with cow's milk, but milk is not an essential part of an adult diet.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OUT OF MONETARY SYSTEM

1. Communal Labor

The Agricultural Pokot's communal labor is called sikon. It is classified into men's work, women's work, and work for both sexes. Men's sikon is the cutting and carrying of timber used in construction houses and in fencing cultivated fields. In the musop, where slash and burn agriculture was formerly practiced, burning the fields was men's sikon. Women's sikon is cutting and carrying grasses for the roofs of houses, and planting and harvesting finger millet and sorghum. Sikon for both sexes is planting bananas, maize, sugar cane, and mango, harvesting maize, and carrying water which will be made into ceremonial beer.

After a day's work, a host or hostess will reward laborers with beer made from finger millet or maize. Communal laborers are not paid by reciprocal labor. Sikon memberships are roughly determined; laborers usually gather based on clan membership.

In the Pokot area of Chesegon, salaried workers and carpenters are the only people paid wages. Some Pokot carpenters have their own fields as well as earn money by assisting in house construction. During the study period, three Baluhya carpenters stayed in Chesegon for about three months. They did not cultivate their own fields here, but went wherever there was work. In the Marakwet area of Chesegon, only Chiefs, teachers, and the tailor are paid wages.

2. Land Tenure

Traditionally, Pokot and Marakwet land is owned by each clan. Land is neither bought nor sold, but some farmers may cultivate another clan's or even another tribe's land and pay rent to the previous farmer. A Pokot

farmer who rents Marakwet fields for maize cultivation pays 25% of his harvest as farm rent. According to my inquiries, the Pokot may claim as rent, but not receive, as high as 50% of the harvest. Because there are few Pokot fields, the Pokot do not rent land to the Marakwet. Finger millet fields can be rented more cheaply than maize fields. Tenants sometimes pay their rent in goat rather than in crops. These land rent accounts have long histories and are sometimes inherited by the next generation.

3. Bride Price, Dispute Settlement, and Barter

A bride price is paid in livestock. The Agricultural Pokot, usually request 3 cows and 10 goats. They say one cow is equivalent to between

Table 11. Monetary flow (Sh) of the Renganang family from 10 Oct. 1980 to 18 Jan. 1981

Place	Food		Non-food	Total	
--INCOME--					
Market	maize	100.5			
	bananas	68			
	egg	40			
	fowl	35			
	papaya	27.5			
	kidney bean	20			
	salt	3			
	(subtotal	294.0)		0	294
Shops & Butchers'		0	0	0	
Others	alcoholic				
	drink	100	0	100	
Total		394	0	394	
--EXPENDITURE--					
Market	cabbages	40.9			
	bananas	18.8			
	sugar cane	9			
	mangoes	8.9			
	orange	8.7			
	lemon	5			
	kidney bean	1'			
	tomato	0.55			
	ground nuts	0.5			
	(subtotal	93.35)		0	93.35
	Shops	sugar	28.8	clothes	125.0
salt		8.3	soap	29.5	
edible oil		7.3	cleanser	10.95	
cola		1.2	medicine	3.25	
			pencil	3.0	
			metal spoon	2.0	
(subtotal		45.6)	(subtotal	173.7)	219.3
Butchers'		meat	14.5	0	14.5
Total		153.45	173.7	327.15*	

*A total of 1.35 Sh was spent on an unknown item, besides this amount.

10 and 12 goats. In addition, 200 to 400 liters of beer is needed for the marriage ceremony. The Marakwet bride price is cheaper. They demand only one cow and/or a few goats and they sometimes accept crop payments.

Disputes are sometimes settled by the payment of domestic animals or beer. For example, a young single Pokot man had sexual relations with the drunken wife of an elder member of his clan. After being accused at a meeting held by the husband, the single man was ordered to pay him 4 male goats and 100 Sh as a settlement. In another case, an Agricultural Pokot man demanded a rearing fee for his stepdaughter after her paternal Marakwet grandfather took her by force when she was almost ten. The mother of the girl was Marakwet. The grandfather said that he would pay one goat and beer full of a big calabash, but the stepfather did not agree; this case is still in dispute.

Barter is uncommon but sometimes pastoral products (milk or dried meat) and agricultural products (maize, sorghum or cassava) were exchanged. When milk was scarce, the Pastoral Pokot preferred to exchange their milk directly for agricultural products. They sometimes climbed up the Hills to Agricultural Pokot houses to get the crops by barter.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

1. Economic Activities of the Farmers around Chesegon

The economic activities of the Agricultural Pokot and the Marakwet around Chesegon Village are characterized by 1) a poorly integrated market principle, 2) a low monetary flow, and 3) self-sufficiency of daily necessities in their lives. All these things are inter-connected.

1) The strength of the market principle in a society is determined by investigating the market for land and labor, which are the last spheres to be involved in the market principle (Dalton, 1967). Around Chesegon, land and labor are still outside of the market principle.

2) They do not earn enough money to live on their earnings alone. For the Agricultural Pokot, the monetary flow was estimated at less than one Kenya Shilling per person-day. The Marakwet and the Pastoral Pokot monetary flows are also small. If the income of 0.94 Sh per person-day is used to buy maize at the market, the calorie intake will be 2666 Cal (764 g); for finger millet, the calorie intake will be 1457 Cal (439 g); and for sorghum, 1423 Cal (416 g), (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1972). The calorie intake is considered adequate only when maize is eaten. However, people do not spend all their money on starchy agricultural products, but also use cash to buy cloth and metal products, sugar, and salt. Since their income is obtained primarily by selling agricultural products, it would be ridiculous to spend their money on more agricultural staple products.

3) Many items of the Agricultural Pokot material culture are obtained from family or tribe members, and do not pass through the market exchange. The flow of staple crops is small both at and outside the market.

External trade exists even in societies with a subsistence economy (Firth, 1939). Around Chesegon, a few housewife part-time traders circulate goods externally. Shop goods, officers' salaries, and traders who buy the Pastoral Pokot's animals come from the cities beyond the range of the six rural market centers.

However, there is comparatively little external trade at Chesegon market. No broker, no full-time trader, or few hawkers attend at the market. Although the distances between each two market centers are not significantly great compared to many other cases in the world (4 to

20 km; Ishihara, 1968), the six marketplaces are not distributed widely over the study area, but located in a line along the foot of the Cherangani Hills. There is no short cut to the other markets; it is difficult to attend several markets and work as a trader. In fact, the part-time traders seldom attend more than three marketplaces. These traders transport their goods only from one market center to the next. At the next market center, goods are sold only to consumers; there are no sales from trader to trader.

Hodder (1962) presented an example of a market network in Nigeria. It consists of 11 rural markets within 10 miles in diameter, locations and market days of the markets are arranged as a unit. Housewives living within this range attend most of the markets, rotating in the market network. Since housewives are busy attending markets, the men do most of the farm work (Hodder, 1962). Wood (1975a) also reported on market networks formed by rotation of housewives in the Kishii District in southwestern Kenya. The sampled housewives attended 3 to 4 different markets within two weeks (Wood, 1975a). Many housewives in these market networks worked as traders. In contrast, near Chesegeon, there are few rotating housewives and their activities are restricted. Although there are many men picnickers walking around Chesegeon, they do not work as traders.

2. The Function of Market and Shops in the People's Livelihood

First, the market activities of the Agricultural Pokot and the Marakwet differ, although both are farmers. The Agricultural Pokot sell crops grown at higher altitudes (tobacco and cabbages), and livestock (goat and sheep). The Marakwet sell liquor and crops grown at lower altitudes (bananas, tomato, and cassava). The Agricultural Pokot have more livestock than the Marakwet, while the Marakwet have a more advanced irrigation technology. Consequently, the Agricultural Pokot sell livestock, and the Marakwet sell bananas, tomatoes, and cassava. The Marakwet have fields at higher altitudes suitable for growing tobacco and cabbages, but, for unknown reasons, they do not plant these crops.

Second, contrasting the Pastoral Pokot with the farmers, this study shows that they exchange products to get supplementary foods (eaten as snacks or foods that add variety to diet; in contrast, requisite foods are necessary to live, although quantity of them is not so much as staple foods, for example, salt and meat for the farmers). The Pastoral Pokot mainly buy tobacco, bananas, sugar cane, and cassava from the farmers. Of these, only cassava is sometimes eaten as staple food by a few pastoralists, tobacco is not staple food, and bananas and sugar cane are consumed as snacks in the marketplace. The farmers buy milk and dried meat from the pastoralists. Their amount is too small to be a main item in the farmers' diet, and most animal protein is obtained from the meat sold by the farmers.

Although the Pastoral Pokot need some crops, they purchase maize flour at the shops and not at the market. They obtain their money from traders outside the market; their livestock are transported to cities, and urban dwellers buy their meat. From the viewpoint of external trade, the Pastoral Pokot, not the farmers, are involved in a broader circulation of goods.

The market's economic function is to supply 1) each tribe's particular food products as supplementary food, 2) meat as requisite food for the farmers, and 3) handicrafts. The shops supply industrial products, and maize flour.

1) A large percentage of the market flow is each tribe's particular foods, most of which serve as supplementary food. Table 8 shows the total flow of 3400 Sh/week for the items produced by all three tribes (meat,

goat and sheep, and meals). The 5832 Sh/week flow of the items mainly produced by only one of the tribes (tobacco, milk, liquor, bananas, sugar cane, tomato, and cabbages) is greater than the flow of the products common to each tribe. Each farming family produces a self-sufficient supply of staple crops rather than purchasing them at the market.

2) Both the Agricultural Pokot and the Marakwet market a great deal of meat, and this balances out the intertribal flow. While meat is not a staple food, its protein is necessary to live (requisite food). At Chesegeon, the farmers sell meat to each other, seldom sell livestock to traders, or rarely buy livestock or meat from the Pastoral Pokot.

3) The market flow of handicrafts, such as clay pots, metal products, and milk receiver is important, though small in percentage. Since there is an uneven distribution of blacksmiths, it is significant that people can easily obtain handicrafts and metal products at the market. Metal products are sold by Marakwet blacksmiths, clay pots by an Agricultural Pokot, and wooden products by part-time craftsmen from all three tribes.

Furthermore, the market is almost the only place where ordinary farmers get cash from the sale of agricultural products, although there are some salaried persons, and those who receive money from their sons working in big cities.

The shops provide people with industrial products such as sugar, sheets, and soap. For example, the five shops at Chesegeon sell 18 brands of medicines and 7 brands of soap (Kurita, in prep.). The pastoralists sell skins and buy maize flour at these shops.

Aside from the economic spheres, the market performs other social functions (Miracle, 1962). The market was usually well attended. While farmers frequently attend, they do relatively little shopping and even the shopping they do is not always necessary. The market is a place to exchange information and have fun, betting, bathing, drinking and relaxing. The young people often meet their future spouses at the market.

3. Market Location on Boundary

Within a short distance of Chesegeon, the natural environment changes rapidly from montane forest to bush land, to semi-desert. The farmers live in the Hills and at their base. The pastoralists live in the Plain. Thus people with different modes of livelihood can meet at the village. The type of the farm crops changes according to the elevation.

Both the Pokot and the Marakwet recognize a set of some different types of natural environment, from the hill summits to the Plain (the musop, kamas, and kegh), as composing a unit of space. The Agricultural Pokot frequently refer to the name of each zone to indicate direction or location. Conant (1965) explained several meanings of korok in the Pokot language. One meaning is a piece of land, which is divided by water lines, and extends vertically from the Plain to the hill summits. The shape of this land is recognized as a spatial unit by the Pokot. Soper (in press) described the shape of each Marakwet clan's land as a long vertical strip.

Porter (1965) pointed out two advantages the Escarpment provides to this area's inhabitants: 1) Agriculturalists decrease subsistence risk by utilizing several different types of natural environment. 2) Pastoralists and agriculturalists easily exchange products, because they live within short distances. These two points are supported by this study.

Chesegeon is located on the territorial boundary of the tribes, where several conspicuous differences are found, in technology (irrigation, and iron work), and in the traditional food preferences of the people (tobacco, and dried meat).

How does the location on the boundary of different natural environment zones and of different tribes affect the flow of the goods at the market?

There are two different standpoints to explain the origin of the market. Some authors assert that the market originated in long-distance trade (Hodder, 1965), while others believe it came from local exchange (Berry, 1967). According to these researchers, the markets of the two different origins have characteristics as follows: In long-distance trade, goods are transported by professional traders between distant points. Most of the goods are luxuries (precious metals, cola nuts, myrrh, etc.) or requisite foods or goods (salt, cloth, iron, etc.). Markets originating from long-distance trade tend to be located along caravan routes even if they are apart from the population centers. The junction of two different types of natural environment, savanna and forest, for example, may also be used for the market location. In the case of local exchange, goods circulate from producers to buyers within a small area. The goods are mainly the surplus of subsistence products. Markets originating from local exchange tend to be located in the population center.

The contrast of these two types of exchange can be used to describe Chesegon market. Chesegon market has some characteristics of long-distance trade origin markets: the market is located on the boundary of different types of natural environment, and most of the flow of goods is supplementary and not staple food. Chesegon market also has characteristics of local exchange origin markets: there are no professional trader, and almost all the goods are brought from a short distance only. In many cases, particular goods are made among distant places, because differences in natural environment, technology, and the traditional food preferences of the people are found over long distances. In the case of Chesegon market, particular goods are made within a short distance, and they are sold by producers not transacted by traders. These characteristics stem from the unique location of Chesegon market, on the boundary of the tribes' territories and of different types of natural environment.

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