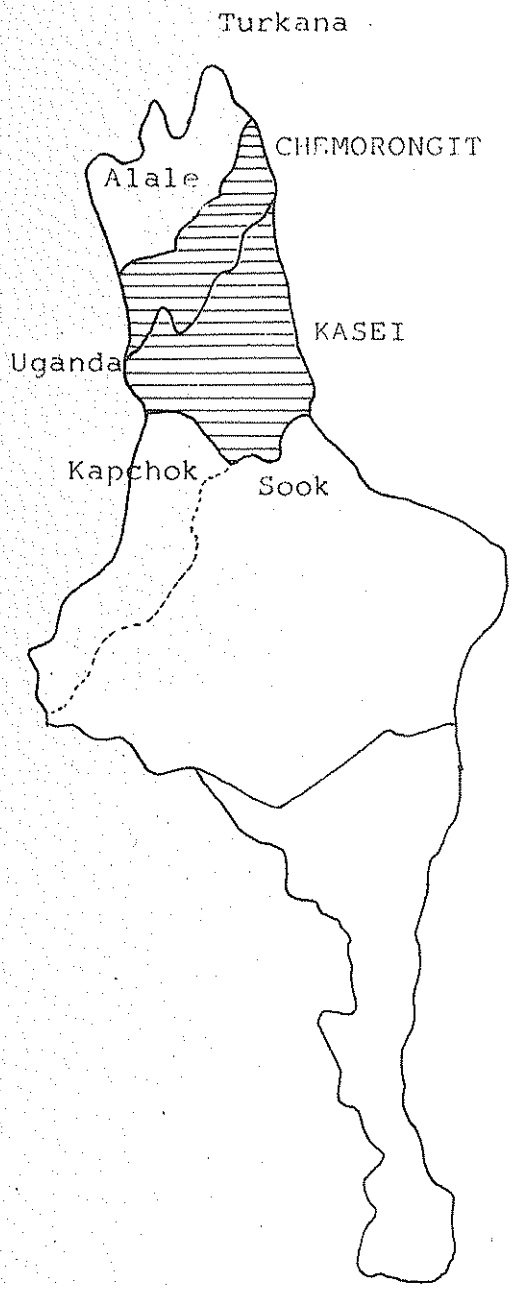
LOCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROFILE



KASEI and CHEMORONGIT LOCATIONS WEST POKOT DISTRICT KENYA

Regional Development Research
West Pokot Elgeyo Marakwet
P.O.Box 287 Kapenguria

TON DIETZ and
ANNEMIEKE van HAASTRECHT

University of Amsterdam,
department of Human Geography and
University of Nairobi, Institute for
Development Studies

MIRJAM SCHOMAKER

University of Amsterdam,
department of Physical Geography and
Kerio Valley Development Authority

Assisted by
SIMON LOPEYOK

in cooperation with
HUBERT HENDRIX

Programme Coordinator Arid and
Semi - Arid Lands,
West Pokot Elgeyo Marakwet

with permission from the office of
the President and the Ministry for
Regional Development, Science and
Technology and from West Pokot
District Commissioner

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0. INTRODUCTION AND SOURCES

This combined Development Profile for two Locations of West Pokot District is part of a group of Locational Development Profiles of West Pokot and Elgeyo Marakwet Districts. They give a summary of the history and situation of administration, population, physical geography, economy and social geography. The various profiles are written for people working in the Location and Government employees at the Divisional and District levels.

For the two locations of Kasei and Chemorongit we do not have much information, a reason to combine them. We did not do a survey as we did for instance in Alale Location. In the Alale Profile you can find much more detail, which probably partly is useful to understand Kasei and Chemorongit too. Instead of repeting all the information given there, we would like to refer the reader to this Alale Profile.

Our information mainly comes from Development Plans (1), Annual Reports and other Archival sources. We did not use any academic report on the area, with the exception of parts of physical geographical studies which also covered this area (2). In the socio-economic sphere we do not know any research. We ourselves only did some interviews, a.o. with people from the ACCK Mission of Kiwawa.

For this profile we must specifically stress that the information presented is far from complete and will not be 100% reliable. Readers are asked to use the text as a work edition and to make as many additions and corrections as they like. It will be useful if you present your comments to the ASAL Programme Coordinator, P.O. Box 287, Kapenguria.

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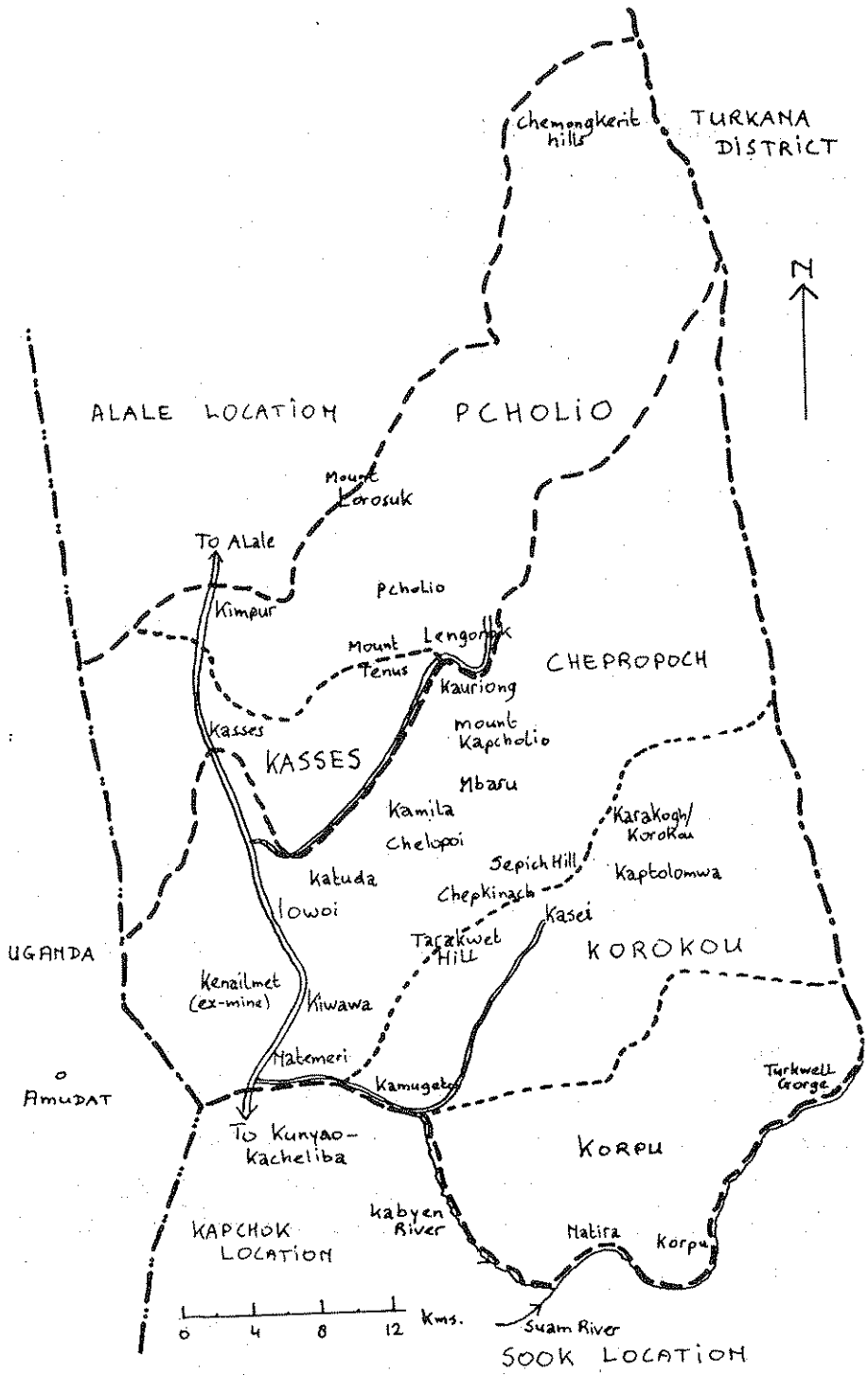
(1) Especially the Karapokot Proposed Development Plan, published around 1978 (KPDP) and the District Development Plans: DDP 1 1974-1978 and DDP 2, 1979-1983.

(2) Walsh J.: "Geology of the Karasuk Area", Geological Survey of Kenya, Report Nr. 72, Nairobi 1966.
Kenya Soil Survey: "Exploratory Soil Map of Kenya, 1:1,000,000", Nairobi, 1982.

Map 1: Kasei and Chemorongit Locations



1. THE AREA OF KASEI AND CHEMORONGIT LOCATIONS

1.1. SITUATION

Kasei and Chemorongit belong to Kacheliba Division, the former "Karapokot" and in Colonial Times "Karasuk" area. The backbone of the area is formed by a string of hills, from Lorosuk in the north (the boundary with Alale Location) via Tenus and Kapcholio Hills to Tarakwet, Kasei and Tingiri Hills in the South. The hills are above 2000 m., Lorosuk being the highest, 2700 m. In the East the area is part of the Turkana Plain, less than 900 m. high. In the West the foothills are extending into the plains in Uganda; at the border the altitude is below 1500 m. The Southern border of Kasei is formed by Kabyen River with Kapchok and by Suam River sith Sook Location. The boundary between Kasei and Chemorongit is the road to Kauriong. See map 1.

1.2. ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

The two locations were administered by Kenya Colony until 1930, by Uganda Colony from 1930 until 1962, by the Republic of Uganda from 1962 to 1970 and by the Republic of Kenya from the end of 1970 onwards. In the Uganda time formally the area belonged to Turkana District of Kenya. In 1931 a boundary agreement was reached between the Turkana and the Ugandan Karamoja administration, a boundary which also was a tribal boundary between the Pokot and the Turkana.

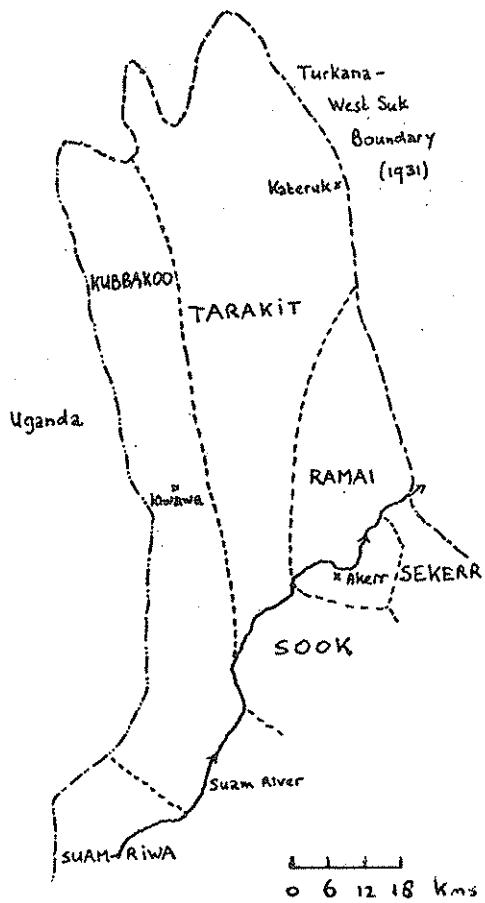
The early administrative divisions are rather confusing. Around 1923 Chiefs were appointed in three Locations, Kubbakoo in the West, Tarakit in the centre and Ramai in the East. Ramai probably also included part of Sook Location and was resolved in 1933. The approximate boundaries are given in Map 2. In the beginning of Ugandan administration the whole of "Karasuk" together with Upe County was administered from Amudat as part of Karamoja (with its headquarters in Moroto). Somewhere during Ugandan rule three 'Parishes' were formed in the area: Pocholio, Kasei and Chepropoch and this was the administrative situation when Kenya took over again.

Kenya appointed a Chief at Kasei with two Assistant Chiefs at Korrokou and Chepropogh. The area of Pcholio got its own Assistant Chief under the Chief of Alale Location. See map 3.

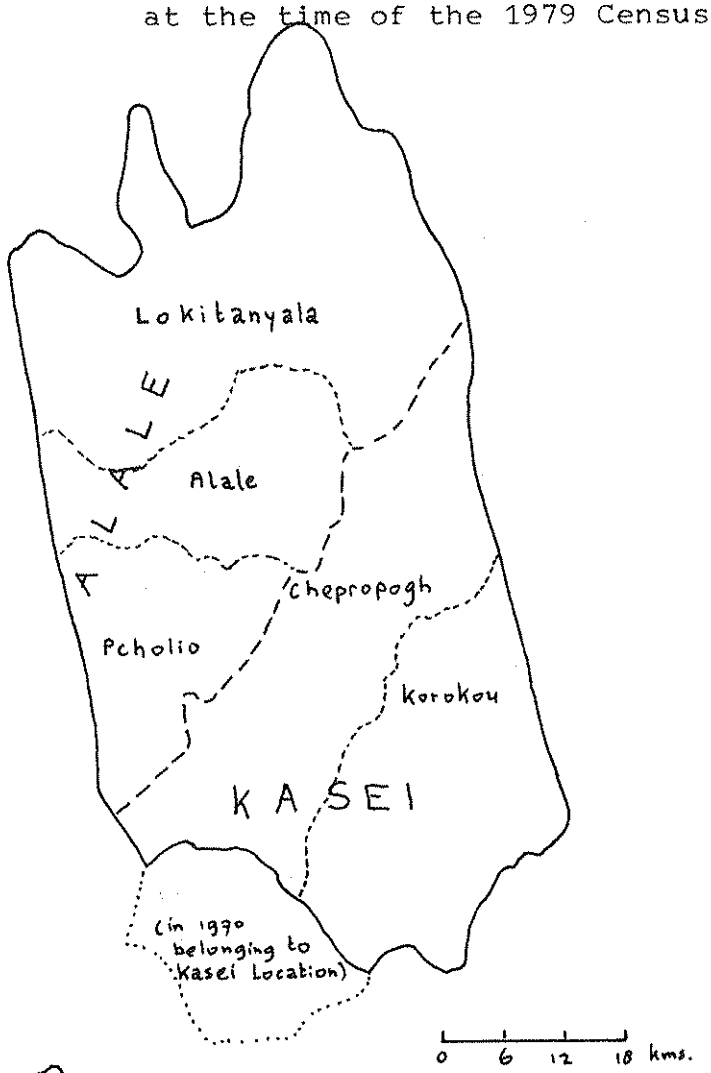
In 1979, but after the August Census, the situation was changed completely. A new Location was formed, called Chemorongit, including most of 'old' Pcholio, parts of Alale and Lokitanyala Sublocations of Alale Location, most of 'old' Chepropoch and part of 'old' Korokou Sublocations of the 'old' Kasei Location. Kauriong was the new Chief's centre and was regarded as a 'Development Centre', with its own Police Post, Dispensary, School etc. There are two Sublocations now: Pcholio and Kasses. The rest of the 'old' Kasei Location became the new Kasei Location, with three Sublocations: Korokou, Chepropoch and Korpu. See map 4. Kasei was planned to be the Chief's centre (and a Development Centre) but in 1982 the Chief had moved to the fast growing missionary centre of Kiwawa on the main Kacheliba-Alale road.

In the South, Kasei Location first included the Lossam area south of the Kabyen River. Somewhere between the 1969 and 1979 Censuses this area was given to Kapchok Location.

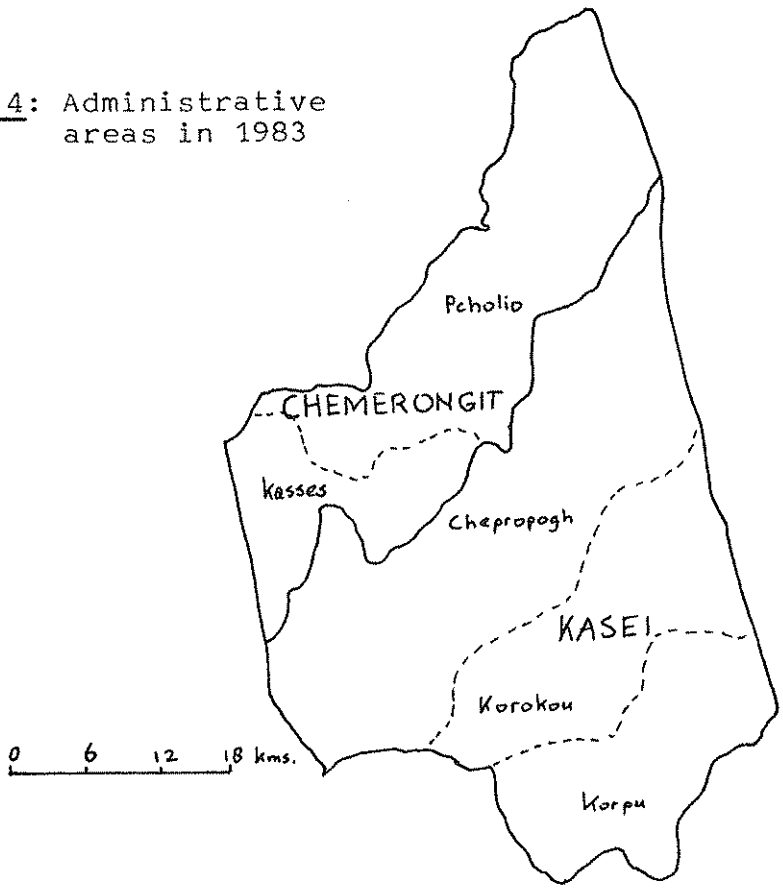
Map 2: The 'Karasuk' area around 1925



Map 3: Administrative areas in northern Karapokot Division at the time of the 1979 Census



Map 4: Administrative areas in 1983



1.3. NATURAL RESOURCES

Geology

The area is occupied by the oldest rocks found at the Earth's surface all over the world: The Precambrium Basement System Rocks. The rocks are metamorphic: formed during a situation in which existing rocks are changed, because of high temperatures, high pressures and chemically active fluids. This occurs during tectonical movements within the Earth's crust. Metamorphic rocks have a relatively high resistance to erosion/denudation (more than their originating rocks) and are characterized by flowing layers. The geological map does not give more detailed information on differentiation in mineral composition. At several places the rocks contain minor amounts of gold. The gold is released from the rocks during weathering (desintegration) and transported by the rivers. Because gold is a very heavy mineral, it will soon be deposited in the river beds. The closer you are to the source the larger the grains you find (the running water doesn't have enough energy to transport these heavy grains).

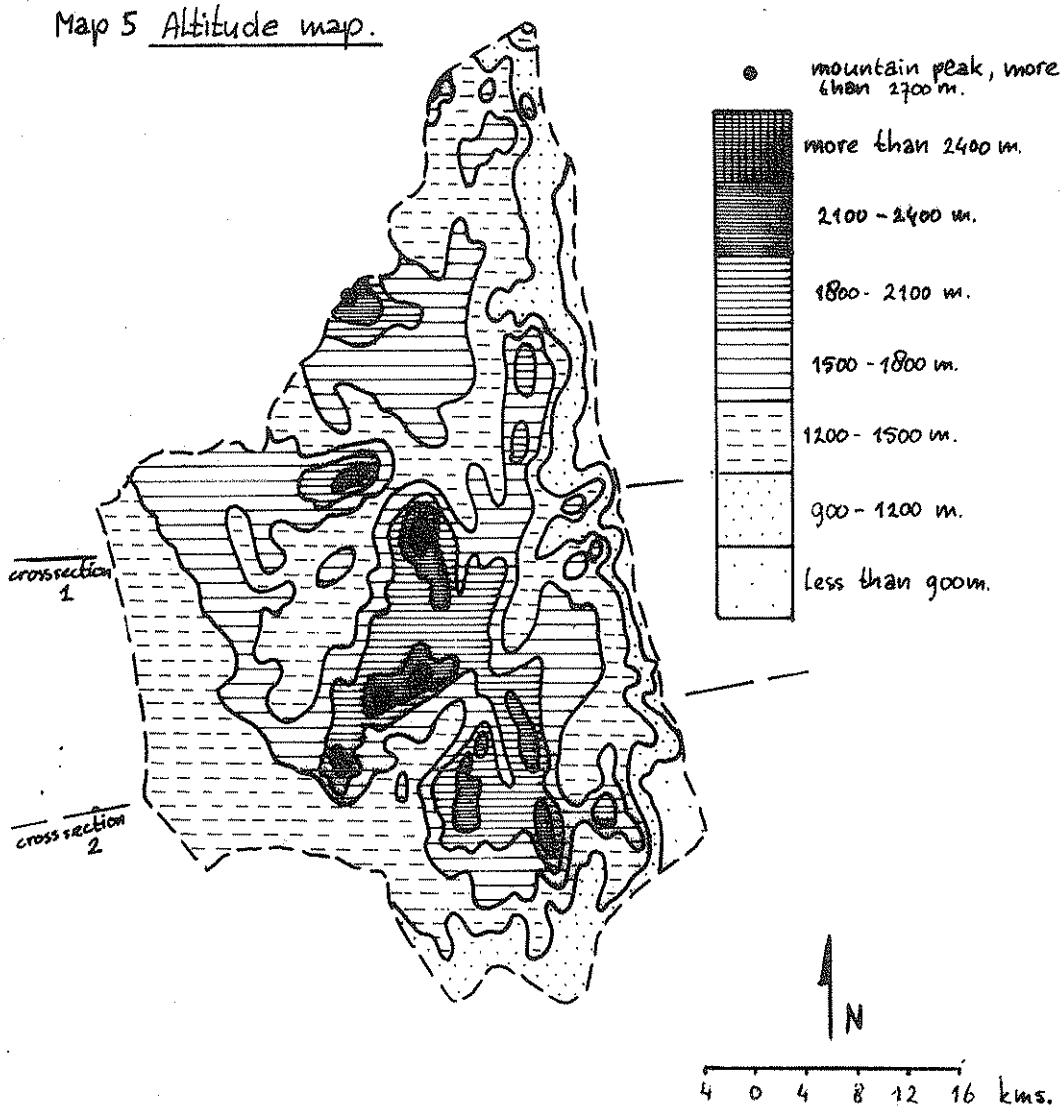
Relief

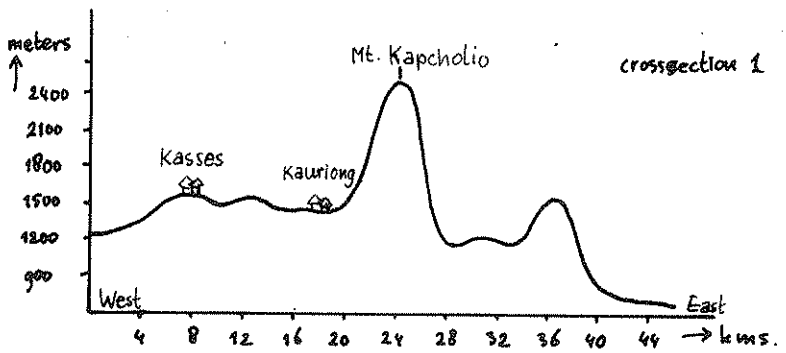
In the centre of the area a mountain range runs from North to South. Large plateau-like basins and broad valleys at a relatively high altitude are included in this mountainous area. The mountains are surrounded by old peneplains while in the East a narrow band of a piedmont plain is included in the locations. A peneplain is a landscape with faint relief and is a result of long lasting erosion/denudation (the old stage of an erosion cycle). A piedmont plain is an almost flat erosion surface that has been formed at the foot of mountains/hills/higher areas in general. Both peneplains and piedmont plains are situated at a relatively low altitude.

Hydrology

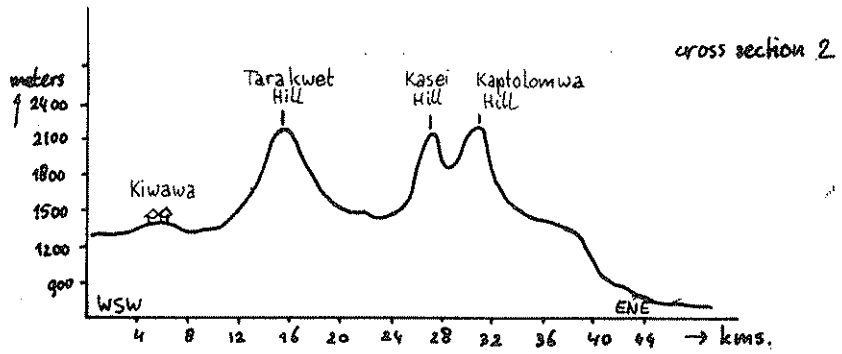
The Eastern part of the locations drains into Kabyen river, the South Western part into Suam river, while the major (North Western) part of the Locations drains directly into Turkwell river. Kabyen river joins Suam river in the South and Suam river becomes Turkwell river from Turkwell Gorge onwards. Finally all the water is drained into Lake Turkana.

Map 5 Altitude map.





cross section 1



cross section 2

All the rivers are seasonal. Especially the larger ones are broad, dry sand "streams" in the dry periods. One huge shower can change the dry river beds into wild streams in a very short time (a few hours). It can take several hours before the rivers are passable again for cars.

Erosion:

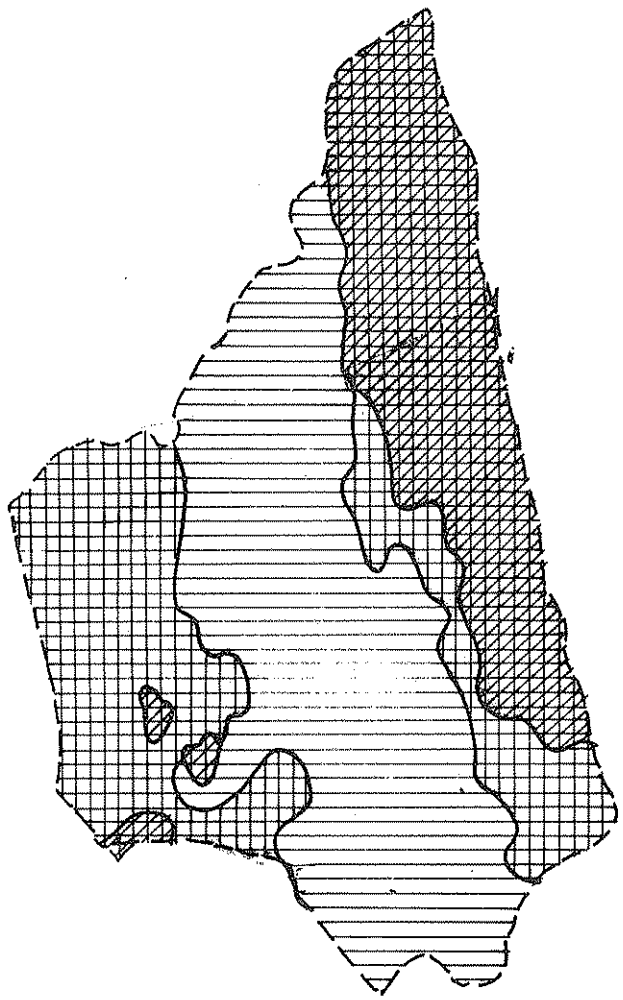
From a Landsat (satellite) image (1979) we made an interpretation for the actual erosion status in these areas. Apparently erosion is low in the mountainous area, moderate at the peneplains, while it is severe in the Eastern part of the locations; there erosion probably also is a natural phenomenum (apart from overgrazing); because of the arid conditions the vegetation cover is sparse and consequently sheetwash and runoff through gullies can be severe after a heavy shower: processes during which the water takes a lot of loose material with it.

Soils:

According to the "Exploratory Soil Map of Kenya, 1980", scale 1 : 1.000.000 (Kenya Soil Survey) nine soil group units can be distinguished. See map 7, p. 9 . The first symbol in the code stands for a certain agro-climatic zone (see climate), the second symbol gives the soil group number (see below). A descriptive characterization is given, for which also general literature applicable to Kenya as a whole, is used. It should be stated explicitly that this information is not based on a local survey and should be interpreted with care. The official classification (soil group name) also used by the Kenya Soil Survey is added, in case one wants more information.

Soils no. 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 14, 16, 17 and 18 occur in this area, the other numbers are found elsewhere in West Pokot.

2. Soils developed on the mountainous areas. The soils are somewhat excessively drained, which means that water is removed from the soil (deeper into the Earth's surface) rapidly. The amount of water available for plant growth can be a problem. For certain crops these soils might be too dry. The soils are shallow (less

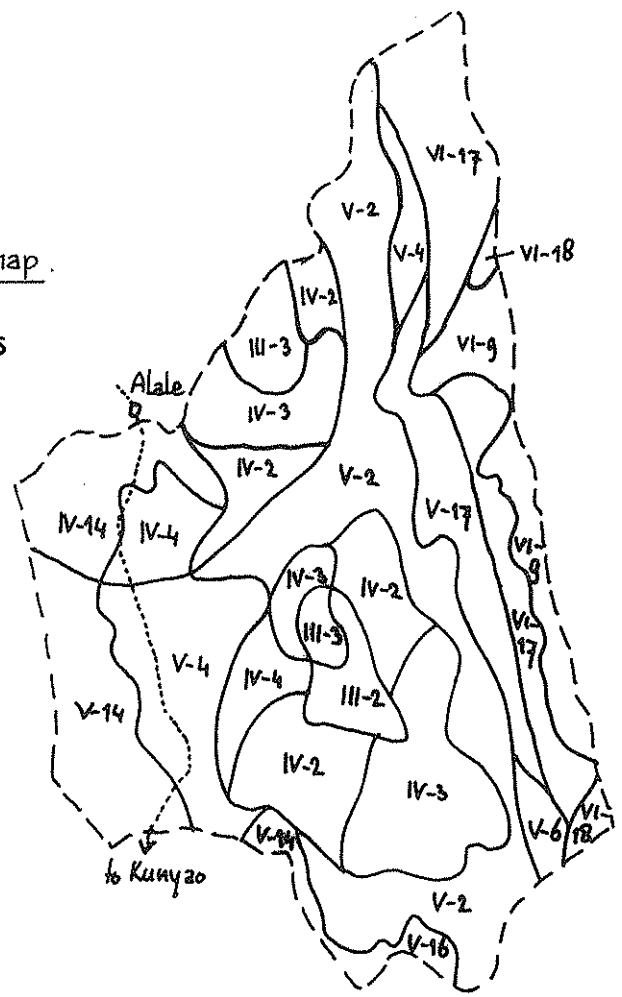


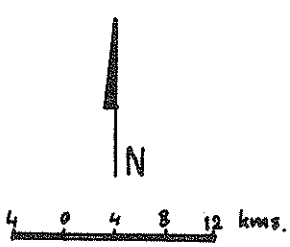
Map 6 Actual erosion map.

Low erosion
moderate erosion
severe erosion

Map 7 : Combined soil- and agro-climatic zone map.

locational boundaries
unit boundary
VI-17 unit code (see text)
road
centre





than 50 cm deep, which can cause problems for deep rooting plants) and rocky and stony (which can be difficult while working on them). The soils are young, little developed. Natural fertility is moderately good, but if the land is cultivated regularly additional fertilizers are recommended. The soils are not very susceptible to erosion, though on steeper slopes (more than 7°) conservation practices are advised. Classification: MUbe, eutric Cambisols-partly with lithic phase; with Lithosols, eutric Regosols and Rock Outcrops.

3. Soils developed on the mountainous areas. The soils are well drained which means that water is removed form the soil readily but not rapidly. These soils commonly retain optimum amounts of water for plant growth after rains. The soils are moderately deep (no problems for deep rooting plants) and have an acid, humid top soil. Acidity has a negative influence on plant growth The humic topsoil increases acidity. Lime has to be added to neutralize the acid conditions. Natural fertility is not very good (also due to the acid situation), fertilizers and lime are necessary for cultivation. On the steeper slopes (7° and more) erosion can become a serious problem in which case conservation practices are necessary. Classification: MUbh, humic Cambisols; with dystric Regosols and Rock Outcrops.

4. Soils developed on the hilly areas. The soils are somewhat excessively drained, shallow, rocky and stony. Natural fertility is moderately good, though fertilizers are necessary if the soils are used regularly. On the steeper slopes (7° and more) erosion often is severe.
Classification: HUre, eutric Regosols-with lithic phase; with Rock Outcrops and calcic Cambisols.

6. Soils developed on the footslopes. These soils are very deep, well drained and the structure is rather loose. Natural fertility is not very good; application of fertilizers is necessary for cultivation use. Erosion usually is no problem for they are situated on very gentle slopes and they have a good infiltration capacity.
Classification: FUlc, chromic Luvisols; with rhodic Ferralsols and luvic/ferralic Arenosols.

9. Soils developed on almost flat areas. The soils are moderately well drained, which means that water is removed from the soil somewhat slowly, so that the soil is wet for a small but significant time of the year. For certain plants these soils might be too wet (too little oxygen in the soil, while oxygen is of vital importance for plant growth). The soils are very deep, slightly to moderately calcareous and slightly sodic. the soil-material contains relatively much sodium, which makes plant growth almost impossible. By using special fertilizers, this sodium can be replaced by less toxic minerals. Non-saline irrigation water will be necessary then, to wash away the sodiumcontaining soil-water. Because water is removed from the soil somewhat slowly, special drainage systems have to be developed. These soils occur under aridic moisture regimes. Erosion can occur, though small slope angles usually restrict the damage.
Classification: YUxh, haplic Xerosols -with sodic phase; with calcaro-cambic Arenosols.

14. Soils developed on the gently sloping areas (old peneplains). The soils are well drained and vary from shallow to deep. Natural fertility is moderately good, though again fertilizers should be added if regularly used for arable farming. Erosion can be severe on steeper slopes (7° and more).
Classification: UmUlc+li, chromic and ferralo-chromic Luvisols; with chromic Cambisols-with lithic phase and Rock Outcrops.

16. Soils developed on gently sloping areas (old peneplains). The soils are well drained to imperfectly drained. Imperfectly drained means that water is removed from the soils slowly enough to keep it wet for significant periods. This can result in a shortage of oxygen, while oxygen is of vital importance for plant life. The soils are shallow to moderately deep, non-rocky to rocky and non-stony to stony. Stones and rocks can give problems while working on them with simple tools. In some cases a hardened layer of iron-stone or a layer with iron concretions within the first 100 cm of the surface can cause problems for cultivation as well. Natural fertility is moderately good, though again additional fertilizers are recommended if the soils are cultivated regularly. Erosion can be severe on steeper slopes (7° and more). Classification: UmNlo, orthic Luvisols.

17. Soils developed on gently sloping areas at undifferentiated altitudes (old peneplains). It are well drained, shallow, strongly calcareous, moderately to strongly sodic and saline soils. Calcareous means that these soils contain a lot of lime, which is a favourable condition. On many other soils lime has to be added. In saline soils soil moisture contains relatively much soluable salts, which makes them unsuitable for arable farming. Non-saline irrigation water will wash out the salt water (very expensive improvements). In sodic soils the soil material contains relatively much sodium, which makes plant growth impossible. By using special fertilizers this sodium can be replaced. Non-saline irrigation water will be necessary to wash away the sodium containing soil water.
The soils have a gravel mantle, which means that an excessive amount of gravel at the surface makes arable use almost impossible and extensive ranching very difficult.
Classification: UxUrc, calcaric Regosols-with gravel mantle and sodic-saline phase; with gleyic Solonetz.

18. Soils are developed on flat areas along the larger rivers. They are well drained to imperfectly drained, very deep soils. They show stratification due to sedimentation processes (finer and coarser material is deposited on top of each other by the flooding river). The soils are calcareous and have a moderately good natural fertility, though extra fertilizers are necessary if intensively used. In the arid regions the soils can be too saline to be cultivated. There is no erosion in these flat areas. Flooding and consequently accumulation of new material can cause problems: good soil is covered and/or young plants can be damaged.
Classification: AAjc, calcaric Fluvisols.

Climate:

There are no climatological data available for these locations. Some information though can be obtained from the Agro-Climatic Zone Map of Kenya, 1980 (scale 1 : 1,000,000). According to this map the locations are covered by four agro-climatic zones: III, IV, V and VI. The schematical boundaries of the Agro-climatic Zone Map are adjusted to the more detailed boundaries of the Soil Map (both Kenya Soil Survey products). See map 7 , page 9 .
Zone III occupies only a minor part of the mountainous area in the

centre. The rest of the mountains and plateau-like basins are situated in zone IV. The lower areas (a large part of the locations) bordering the mountains are situated in the semi-arid zone V and in the East even in the real arid zone VI. From table 1 (below) one can read that cultivation practices are only possible in zones III and IV, assuming that expensive irrigation is not applied.
Soils in the mountainous area are not very good however (somewhat excessively drained dry or acid). Consequently one can say that the ecological potential of the area is not very high. Crops that can be grown are: sorghum on the dryer soils and in the dryer areas (Zone IV), maize, sunflower, beans and finger millet on the somewhat acid soils but in fact (after addition of lime) in zone III.

table 1: AGRO-CLIMATIC-ZONE CHARACTERISTICS:

zone	r/E_0^*-ratio in %	climatic designation	mean annual temperature in C	climatical designation	average number of growing days	major limitations to maximum production in approximate order of importance
III	50 to 65	semi-humid	14 to 20	fairly cool to warm temporate	235 to 290	soil fertility, farm management, rainfall
IV	40 to 50	semi-humid to semi-arid	18 to 22	warm temperate to fairly warm	180 to 235	farm management, rainfall, soil fertility
V	25 to 40	semi-arid	20 to 24	fairly warm to warm	110 to 180	rainfall, farm management, soil fertility
VI	15 to 25	arid	22 to 30	warm to very hot	75 to 110	rainfall

* r = rainfall, E_0= potential evaporation

2. POPULATION

Between 1930 and 1970 this whole area was administered by Uganda. The first data on population we have are the 1969 figures from the Uganda Census. These figures only give total number of males and females and the total population on "parish" level. In the four parishes Kasei, Chepropoch, Pocholio and "Loktanyara" together 3334 males and 3541 females were counted, a total population of 6875. A comparison between 1969 and 1979 figures is not possible as extensive boundary changes took place. Also in August 1979 after the population census had taken place the boundaries changed (see 1.2 Administrative history).
Here we present the 1979 Census figures of Kasei Location and of the Alale and Pcholio sublocations of Alale Location.

Table 2: Population, 1979

Sublocation	Number of Households	Male	Female	Total	Average Household Size
KASEI					
Korokou	332	684	666	1350	4.1
Chepropogh	427	1700	1827	3527	8.3
ALALE					
Pcholio	401	1880	2004	3884	9.7
Alale	429	2323	2505	4828	11.3

The very high average household sizes in the area (with the exception of Korokou) are striking. There must have been a very high number of 'visitors' (refugees).

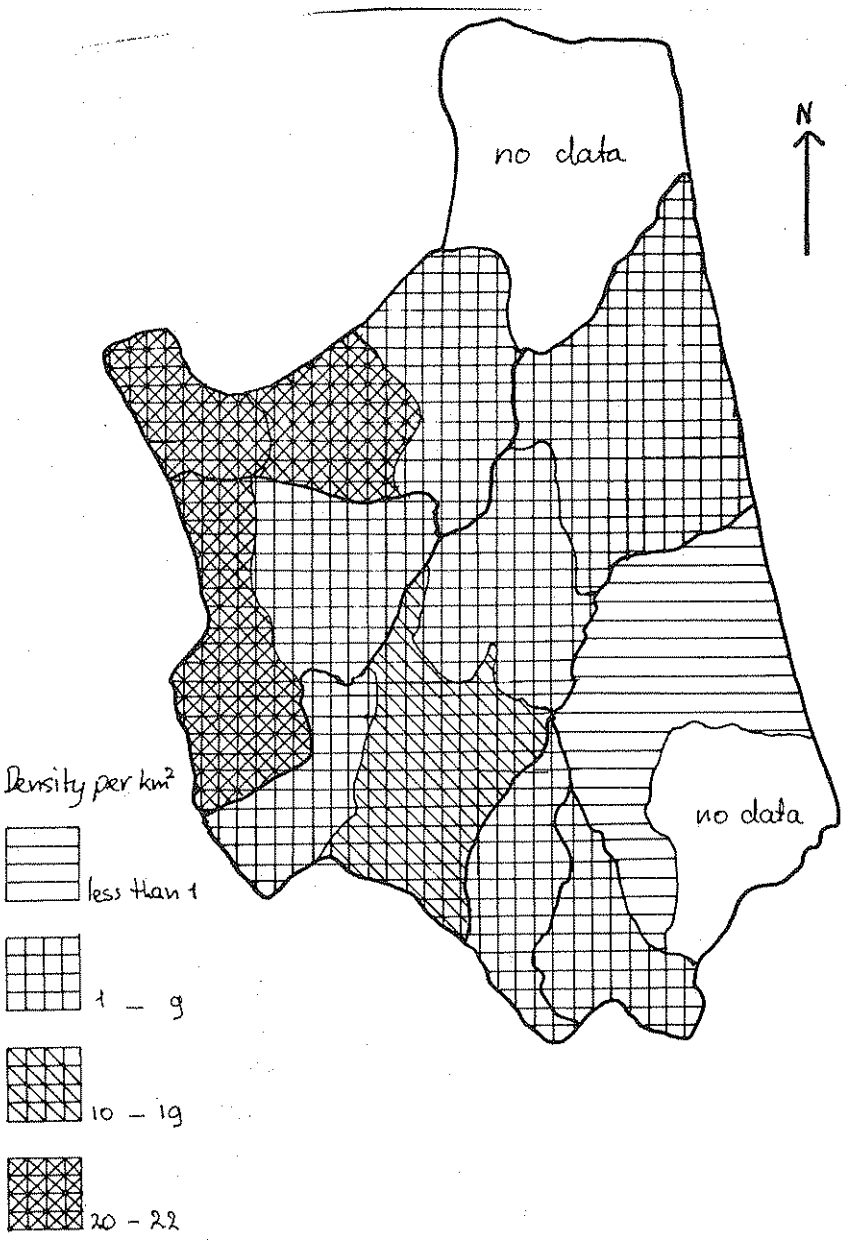
Both population pyramids (see graph. 1 and 2, p.17) show a low percentage of the age-group 0-4 years (15.5% for Pcholio and Alale and 16% for Kasei as compared to 19% for West Pokot as a whole) and in Pcholio and Alale sublocations even 1% lower than the age-group 5-9 and 0.1% lower than the age-group 10-14. We do not assume a very drastic population decrease in this area. Probably this phenomenon can be explained by a taboo on talking about very young children. It is believed that talking about them can cause illness or death. The age-groups 5-9 and 10-14 show an over-representation of males. This is also the case in the West Pokot pyramid but less outspoken. We can not offer an explanation. In both areas we find

a surplus of women in the age-group 15-49. Maybe Ngoroko activities are the cause of this. Only men are killed in the fights and many men were probably spying in Uganda at that time and therefore not counted.
There is a surplus of men in age-groups 50 and over as in the whole of West Pokot and Rift Valley Province. The life of women with a lot of household and often agricultural tasks and childbearing is heavier than that of men resulting in a lower life expectancy for women than for men.

Map 8 (p.16) gives the population density of the area[1] in August 1979. At that time people were concentrated in the Northwestern corner of the area and in the middle South. People who had fled from the Turkana raiding were living in the hills running from North to South in the middle of the area. Nowadays the Northwestern corner is more or less empty like most of the lower parts of the area as a result of the very insecure situation there. During 1980-81 as a combined result of Ngoroko activity, drought and animal diseases the population was concentrated around the relief centres Kiwawa, Kauriong and Kasses. Now the population centres are also around Kiwawa and Kauriong but more spread out than in 1980-81 mainly in the mountainous areas where agriculture is practised. Besides there is a population concentration in Korpu where golddigging is taking place and at Kasei Pass.

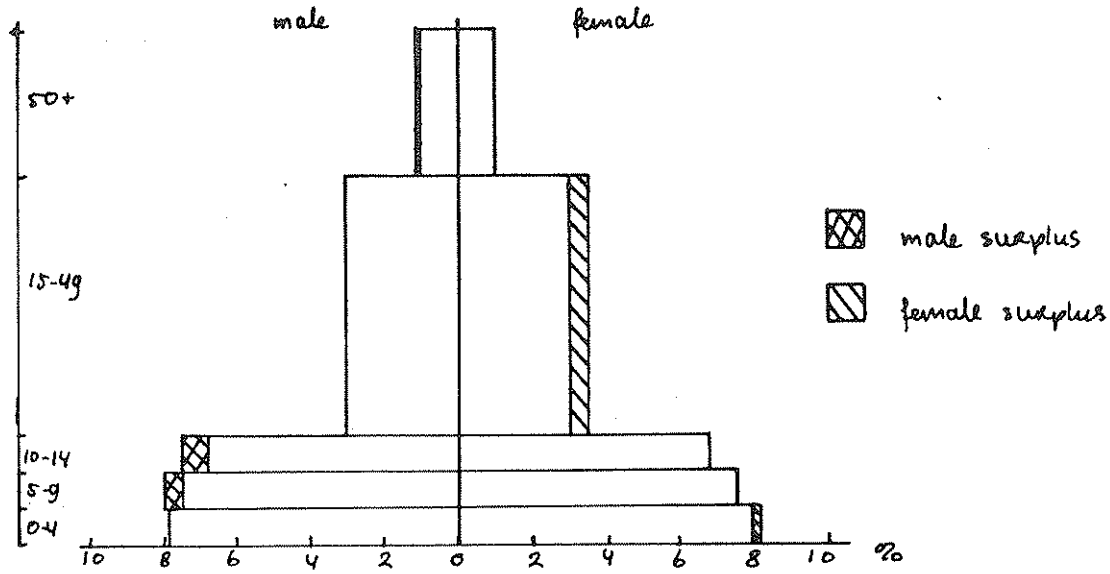
(1) The Census-enumeration areas do not correspond with the actual boundaries of Kasei and Chemorongit locations and their sublocations. In the North also parts of the actual Alale location are included in the map.

Map 8 : Population Density, 1979

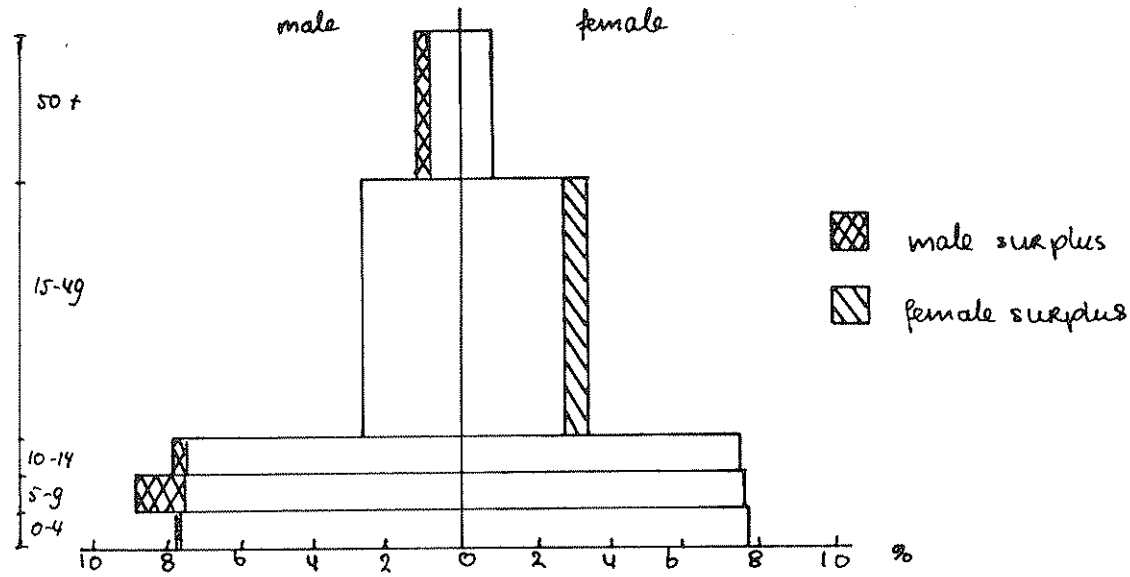


Source: Enumeration Area Figures 1979 Census

Graph 1: Population Pyramid Kasei Location, 1979.



Graph 2: Population Pyramid Pcholio and Alale sublocations together, 1979.



3. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

3.1 UNTIL 1970

The area predominantly was a livestock area, with some fingermillet cultivation in the Kasei Hills. An average man had between 30 and 60 head of cattle, 40-50 'shoats' and some donkeys (figures from 1920s). In the rainy season men and cattle used to move to the Eastern and Western plains, in the dry season the cattle grazed in the hills. In particularly dry years men went as far as Mount Kadam in Uganda. In the first part of this century the Pokot gradually pushed westward and became far more livestock oriented, at the expense of the Karamojong. On the other hand the Archives are full of accounts of Turkana-Pokot strife in the East, which the Colonial Government tried to curb, from about 1930 successfully. Since that time many Pokot families had their manyatta's east of the Hills in the plains area of Chepropogh and Kamunono.

In the 1950s two outside interventions are worth mentioning. First: a White Gold prospector, Mr. van Wijk, settled near the Turkwell Gorge and one of the areas where his (Turkana) labourers successfully panned gold was Korpu.

Second: UNICEF funds were used to drill a large number of boreholes in the area. Table 3 gives the details.

Table 3: UNICEF Boreholes drilled in Kasei-Chemorongit, 1952-1959

Place	Nr.	Depth in meters	Water Production liter/hour	Year Drilled
Kiwawa	CD 834	61	4545	1952
	CD 827	54	1215	1952
Nyanga	CD 961	62	653	1953
Kakatimon/Lowoi	CD 914	58	3645	1952
Kamila	CD 889	48	6750	1952
	CD 894	39	6750	1952
Kasei	CD 2341	120	1296	1959
	CD 2357	76	608	1959
Kamuketo	CD 3547	150	6210	?
Kauriong	CD 902	55	5085	1952
	CD 922	80	450	1952
Nayapelel	CD 935	125	329	1954

In the North-East no boreholes could be drilled.

Source: KPDP p.24, and an old map made in the 1950s.

3.2 AFTER 1970

When the Kenyan administration took over they found a situation of serious raiding and counter raiding between Pokot and Turkana. We found the first accounts of this renewed strife in 1967; after 1970 and especially in the period 1974-1977 the situation only seemed to get worse. At the end of the 1970s the Eastern plains were virtually empty and the people had either moved to the Hills or more westward. From 1976 onwards raiding and counter raiding from the other side became very dangerous. In 1976 the Uganda-Kenya border area was very insecure, in 1977 at Kauriong there was a dramatic drop in the number of school children due to Ngoroko, in 1978 Kasei Centre no longer existed due to the security problem and in 1979 Kamuketo and Kasei areas were impoverished.
The Turkana Ngorokos had been armed with guns and there are accounts of Turkana gangs killing men, women and children, but the main objective of the raiders was cattle some of it even transported to the North in lorries. The Karamojong raids in 1979-1981 also had territorial objectives: to force the Pokot out of Upe and - if possible - out of Karapokot too. And the raiders used heavy weapons acquired during and after the turmoil of the final days of Amin. We refer to the Alale and Suam Profiles for more details. In Kasei and Chemorongit the insecurity and the loss of animals made many people flee to the Hills around Kauriong and Kasei Pass, where they started to practice crop cultivation.

One of the first things the Kenya administration did was planning and constructing a new road from Kunyao to Alale-Nauyapong over Kenyan territory to avoid the old road which partly was in Uganda. In 1972 building the new road started and in 1977 it was through with the exception of a number of culverts. Also the road to Kauriong was improved and in 1980 the Rural Access Roads Programme started to construct the Lossam-Kamuketo-Kasei road (31 km, costing 1.2 million Shs half of which went to local labour. In addition to this a maintenance team of 21 local labourers was going to be recruited.) Road building had a high priority for security reasons. The road construction had the effect to give quite a large income opportunity, one of the few possibilities to get a paid job.

Other roads were proposed too. A road from Kasei to Kamunono (DDP-1) and roads from Alale to Pcholio, from Kamugeto to Kamila,

from Kasei to Korpu and from Kunyao to Korpu Gorge (all DDP-2). Until now these are only tracks.
When the Kenyan government took over they were not only confronted with large scale insecurity and with the necessity to at least strengthen the communications infrastructure; they almost immediately were confronted with famine too. In 1971 drought and hunger was severe in Kasei and Alale and to legitimize itself as a new and better government, famine relief had to be organized. Traditionally in this situation food was bartered from the highland people of Sook and when this was not sufficient many people died. Now famine relief was not only a means to show the goodwill of the new power, it was also a means to influence the people. A number of 'border baraza's were organized (most men were herding cattle on the Uganda side of the boundary) to convince the people to settle themselves in sedentary villages and to send their children to school. Also people were asked to sell cattle and goats and to become part of the Kenyan money economy. We will shortly deal with this idea of the area as a supplier of cattle for the Kenyan meat market.

During the preparation of the Special Rural Development Programme for Kapenguria Division planners saw the Lower Areas (including the newly acquired Kacheliba/Karapokot Division or 'Kenya Mpya') as suppliers of cattle to the Kenyan meat market. Stock routes were planned from Alale via a Kiwawa Holding Ground (of 80 ha) to Kacheliba and Mwisho Farm and from Kamunono (with a holding ground for cattle coming from Turkana of 1200 ha) via Kasei (200 ha) to Kacheliba and further. In Kauriong also a sale yard was planned. These plans were still mentioned in the DDP I but they were shelved afterwards, because of the outright refusal of the people to even think about selling their cattle to the government. They much more preferred to use their own networks of barter, sale, marriage contracts and 'tilian-tan' shared ownership.

In the Karapokot Proposed Development Plan, written in 1978, the government tries to formulate other means to get a grip on the livestock. In the area of Kasei two group ranches are proposed, Kamu-keto (20,000 ha for about 2,000 cattle) and Kiwawa (30,000 ha for about 4,500 cattle). In the area of Chemorongit Napayalel Group Ranch was proposed (25,000 ha for about 3,500 cattle). The group ranches were to be demarcated and served by a borehole, waterdams, a

cattle dip and a cattle trough. At Kauriong a Range Assistant and a storage tank was planned together with an Animal Health Assistant, the last one for Old-Kasei and Old-Alale together. The only thing realized was a water dam at Lowoi. Another idea was to start experimental plots for cattle feed (napier grass, 0.4 ha each in Kasei, Korokou, Chepropogh and Pcholio).

In the KPDP also the first serious attempt was made to think about the crop potential of the area. In Kasei the highest areas were thought to have a good potential for hybrid and local maize cultivation and for sunflower as a cash crop. The other areas above 1600 m partly had a potential for maize, beans and fingermillet. Demonstration and trial plots were proposed here. In addition to this, measures were proposed to counter soil erosion, especially by a rural afforestation plan for the Kasei Hill slopes, where local cultivators were thought to be able to maintain an area of 200 ha of new trees.

3.3. FAMINE AND GOLD, 1979-1981

Crop expansion very soon materialized. Famine and famine relief (Food for Work) programmes were the major tools. The famine started in 1979 after some years of heavy Ngoroko-insecurity and the loss of cattle and after a disastrous goats' disease which killed the majority of the goats. In 1979 the government started to give food around Kasei; they estimated that some 2,000 people in the area were affected by hunger. In April 1979 the people were urged to plant sorghum in addition to the fingermillet they usually planted. In 1980 more than 2,600 people were estimated to be affected by hunger, people were moving to the major famine relief centres Kauriong, Kasses and Kiwawa and to Kunyao more to the South. In Kauriong the food came from the government and was given without return of service. In Kasses and surroundings the Red Cross organized a huge relief and health programme, feeding some 4,000 people. The Red Cross spent a total of 5 million Shs on relief activity in West Pokot. Probably half of it was spent in Chemorongit and Kasei. They had moved in when cholera was discovered in Korokou and together with the Ministry of Health they also tried to improve the water situation by providing a number of shallow wells (many of them only giving water for a short time, the one in Natemeri the only one still working in 1982). In 1981 the Red Cross no longer fed the thousands of people of 1980 (only 1,000 out of an

estimated 4,800 hungry people in Chemorongit were fed by the Red Cross). Food was completely insufficient now, especially in the area around Kauriong.

More to the South, the newly established ACCK Mission - in Kiwawa since 1978 - organized the food supply. Here a Food for Work Programme was started, using a.o. a 80,000 Shs grant from World Vision. First the Programme was used for the construction of the missionary buildings and the dispensary. Later people had to prepare maize and sorghum fields in exchange for food. ACCK supplied seeds and tools (received from Freedom from Hunger and World Vision, a total grant of 100,000 Shs). Also ACCK had fixed the existing boreholes of Kiwawa and Kauriong and together with the Roman Catholic Mission of Kacheliba money was acquired from NORAD to start a programme for borehole rehabilitation and drilling, which was well underway in 1982.

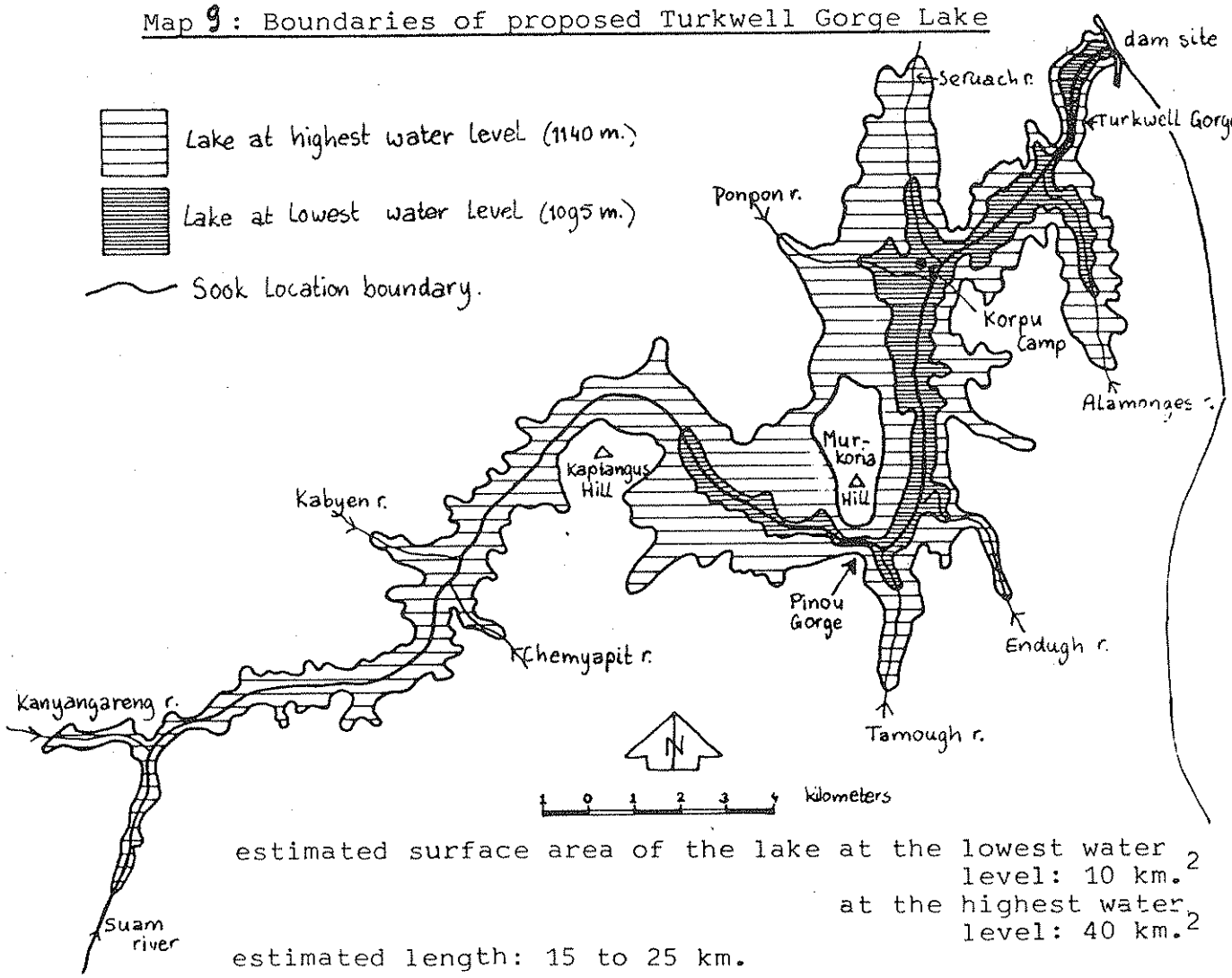
Crop cultivation however was less successful. Although a lot of Katumani maize and sorghum seeds were distributed in 1981 the rains stopped too early and only half of the sorghum crop succeeded. In 1982 double the acreage was planted: from figures given by ACCK we estimate that in the foothills (Kiwawa, Chelopoi) some 50 ha of maize and some 250 ha of sorghum were planted by more than 600 women. In the higher areas, Kasei and Korokou, 200 women planted Katumani and Coast Composite Maize, on about 100 ha. But again the harvest was disappointing. This time there was a lot of rain during 1982, but not in the important month of May. Also a lot of seed was destroyed by heavy rains in April and by the army worm. Crop cultivation appeared to be a very risky undertaking.
When things looked desperate for the people and outside dependence very real, mineral wealth came as a useful ally. We have seen that in the 1950s gold was already panned at Korpu, but Pokot hardly interfered with it. This was already different in 1974-78 when ruby was mined in the neighbourhood of Kasses by an African with some 30 labourers. When a new gold boom started it was very much a Pokot affair. In 1980 some Pokot started to look for gold again in Korpu. Their success attracted government attention and a Mining Cooperative was proposed to avoid"unlicensed exploiters or dealers, who are exploiting the famine situation by dishing out petty goods such as packets of maize flour in exchange for the available alluvial gold deposits" (District Annual Report, 1981, p.87). Many people from the

famine ridden surroundings were attracted by the Korpu success stories too and the food situation at Korpu was very bad. The organizations supplying famine relief and health care to most of Karapokot in 1980-1981 avoided to go to Korpu, fearing the insecurity which was not only a Ngoroko insecurity, but also warlike strife between gold dealers and a kind of outlaw culture which had developed. Hungry people in rags suddenly became rich and soon lost or spoilt all the money they had made.

On paper the government took a firm stand to get part of the "bonanza" too. In the same 1981 Annual Report the District Commissioner congratulated the Korpu people who were "literally sitting on a gold mine" and he continued "it was anticipated that, if all went as planned, the Korpu Society could earn some 115 million Shs every year out of which 43 million Shs could go to the Government as revenue". The Korpu Mines Cooperative Society was registered in 1981 and got a prospecting and a mining licence for a large area (which had cost them 170,000 Shs...). Before this was arranged the D.C. ruled that only one firm had a licence to buy gold (the Orbi Minerals Exploration Comp.). However, the area is too isolated and too far away for rules to be effective. According to Cooperative figures over 1982 less than 1 kg of gold was handled by the Korpu Cooperative. According to information gathered by one of us in April 1983, the gold production for the area of Korpu alone was 8-10 kgs in 1982 and probably even more in 1981.
For the individual panners it means an income of 800,000 to 1 million Shs in 1982, for the gold traders at least half a million and for the traders selling maize, beer, miraa, etc. probably a few hundred thousands of Shs. In 1981 especially the (illegal) traders must have made a fortune at Korpu.
In 1983 Korpu was no longer the major gold panning area; many people had shifted to Kriich in Sook and to Alale. But in April 1983 there still were 185 panners, 5-10 buyers and at least 45 people doing some kind of business like selling mandazi, chapati, meat, ugali, maize and beans, miraa, beer and changaa, soda's, cigarettes, sweets, clothes, etc. The panners still received 100 Shs per gram of gold and the average gold panned per working day was between 0.1 and 1 gram of gold. Only some panners sometimes got more than 1 gram per day. Panning is done by men, women and children, most of them coming from within

Kacheliba Division and some from as far as Amudat in Uganda and from Mnagei. Men alone cluster in groups of 5-10 and they share a hut and food. If men bring their wife and children usually they build a temporary hut and form a consumption unit by themselves. Unlike other gold places Turkana are hardly there and the panners fear Turkana gangs robbing their property.
When the Turkwell Gorge Dam plans will materialize this will definitely mean the end of Korpu gold mining. The area will be inundated by the new lake. Map 9 shows the area which will probably be inundated. There will be other consequences too (fishing and grazing opportunities, tourism, etc.). We refer to the Sook Locational Development Profile for a summary of the expected consequences.

Map 9 : Boundaries of proposed Turkwell Gorge Lake



estimated surface area of the lake at the lowest water level: 10 km.^{2}

at the highest water level: 40 km.^{2}

estimated length: 15 to 25 km.

4. SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

4.1. SUMMARY OF THE SERVICES EXISTING IN 1983

ps, xt = primary school, x teachers
mc= mobile clinic visits
ae, ftt = adult education, full time teacher
ae, ptt = adult education, part time teacher
ACCK = Associated Christian Churches of Kenya
RC = Roman Catholic Church; AIC = Africa Inland Church
BCFC = Bible Christian Faith Churches

Place	Administration	Education (1982)	Health	Church	Other
KASEI					
Kiwawa	Chief Police-base	ps, 4t ACCK ae, ftt	Health Centre (ACCK)	ACCK-mission	borehole women group, children nursery shop
Kasei	Ass.Ch.	ps, 2t ACCK	mc(RC)	BCFC/ ACCK	borehole
Natemeri		ps, 3 t RC	mc(RC)	RC	borehole
Kamuketo (Kamugeto)		ps, 3 t ACCK ae ptt 2x	mc(ACCK)	BCFC/ACCK	borehole
Chelopoi		ps, 1 t AIC	mc(ACCK)	ACCK,AIC RC	
Kamila			mc(ACCK)	ACCK	borehole
Kaptolomwo		ps, 1t AIC			
Korokou	Ass.Ch.	ps, 1t RC		RC	
Kilaya		ps, 1t AIC			
Korpu	Ass.Ch.	ae, sht	mc(RC)		daymarket open air gold market
Lowoi (Nakatimon)					waterdam borehole
Katuda		ps, 1t AIC			
Chepkinach		ps, 1t ACCK	mc(ACCK)	BCFC AIC	
CHEMORONGIT					
Kauriong	Chief	ps, 3t AIC ae, ptt	mc(Gov)	RC AIC	borehole
Kasses	Ass.Ch.	ps, 1t RC	mc(ACCK)	ACCK,AIC RC	
Kimpur	Ass.Ch.	ps, 1t RC			shop
Pcholio				AIC	borehole?

4.2 EDUCATION

In Chemorongit Location there were 5 schools in 1982. The oldest school - in Kauriong - started in 1963. One school started in 1980, one in 1981 and two in 1982.
In Kasei Location there were 8 schools in 1982. The oldest one started in 1978, so education in this location has a very short history though spectacular. The next school began in 1979, two others in 1980 and 4 in 1982.
In Chemorongit 2 schools are sponsored by the African Inland Church, 2 by the Roman Catholics and 1 by the ACCK.
In Kasei 3 schools are sponsored by the African Inland Church, 3 by the ACCK and 2 by the Roman Catholics.

Table 4 Education

Chemorongit	year	no. of schools	no. of boys	no. of girls	no. of pupils	teachers trained	teachers untrained	total	pupils/ teachers
	1982	3	134	25	159	3	2	5	32
	1981	2	152	29	181	2	2	4	45
	1980	1	57	25	102	no data			
	1979	1	13	1	14	1	-	1	14
	1976	1	17	2	19	1	1	2	10
	1972	1	13	-	13	1	1	2	7
Kasei	1982	8	498	150	648	5	13	18	36
	1981	5	198	932	290	2	6	8	36
	1980	4	166	53	219	no data			
	1979	2	35	6	41	1	1	2	21
	1978	1	17	0	17	-	1	1	17

The percentage of trained teachers is about average for Chemorongit (60%) and very low (28%) for Kasei Location compared to the rest of West Pokot (56%).

The development of education in both locations has gone very fast since 1980. During the distastrous years 1980-81 the schools were one of the few places where food was available and so children (especially girls) often went to school without the consent of their parents. After the food situation had improved the children

stayed at school and between 1981 and 1982 an important growth took place. So it seems that education becomes more and more accepted in the area although the level and the quality of education is still low and attendance very irregular. Household and agricultural tasks compete with education in this area.

Payment of teachers is often delayed for many months.
In 1969 the percentages of boys and girls schooling was less than 1 in both areas. In 1979 in Chemorongit 1% of the eligible boys and 0% of the eligible girls were schooling. For 1982 we estimate the percentages 9 and 2 for boys and girls respectively.
In Kasei the percentages are higher in both years. In 1979 5 for the boys and 1 for the girls and in 1982 66 for the boys and 21 for the girls. The figures for 1982 are estimates as there are no population data for that year.
In all years the percentages of eligible boys and girls schooling are low compared to West Pokot as a whole.

4.3 HEALTH

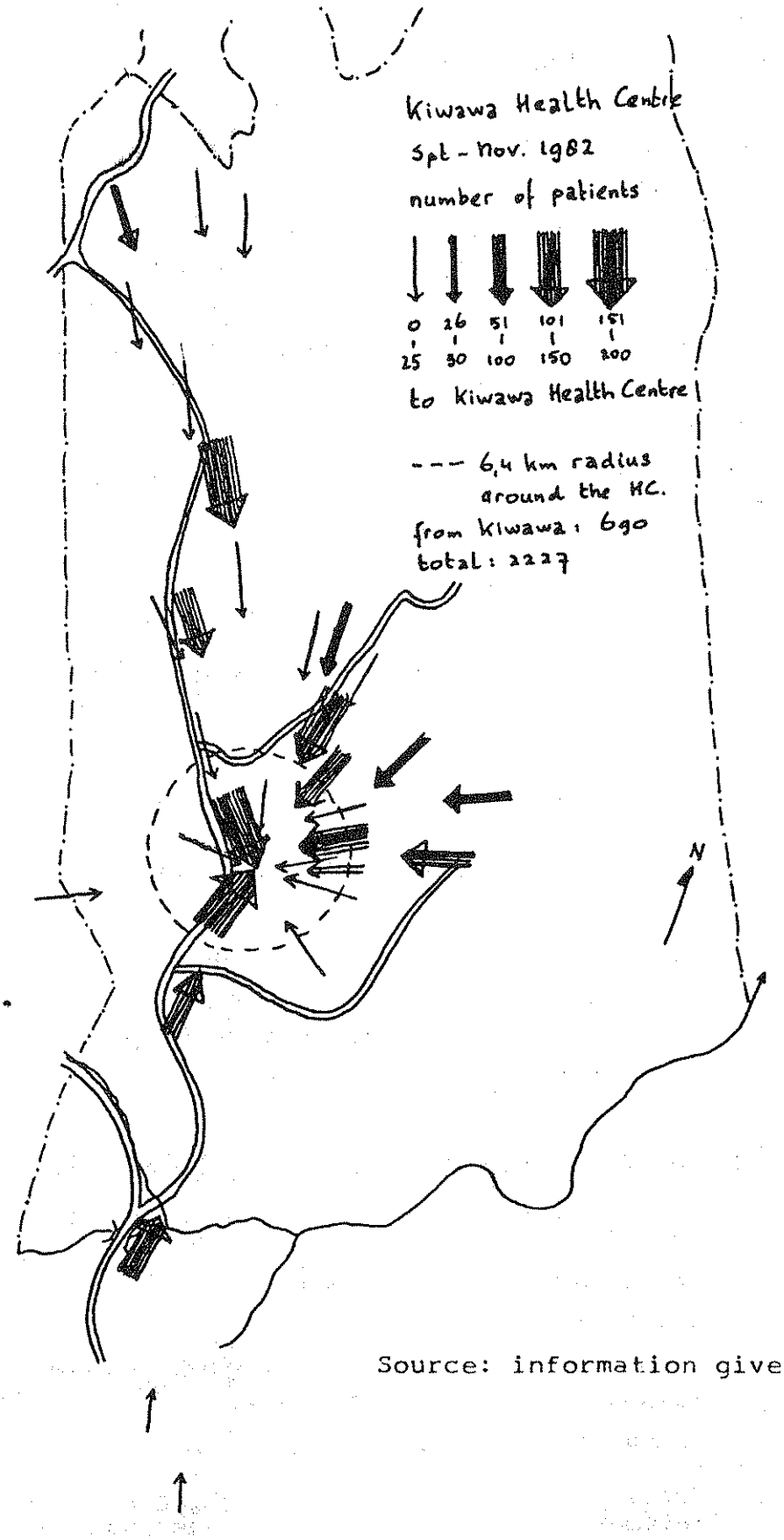
Already in 1974 a subhealth centre was planned in Kauriong; the building started in 1980 but was not yet ready in 1982. Also in 1974 a dispensary was proposed for Kasei. In 1982 it was still in the planning but nothing was done yet.
In 1982 there was one operating static health facility in the area: Kiwawa dispensary. It is sponsored by the ACCK and has a rather top-heavy staff. The first patients were seen in 1978. By 1980 2344 cases were dealt with and 15000 in 1981. In 1982 10.000 patients were attended to. More than half of the patients are coming from outside the 6,4 km radius (stated by the government as the maximum distance to a static health facility, see map 10, p 30).
In Chemorongit there was no operational static health facility in 1982. So 0% was served within a radius of 6,4 km. When the subhealth centre in Kauriong opens 14% will be served.
In Kasei Location 50% was served in 1982 and when the dispensary in Kasei opens 75% will be served.

In the beginning of the seventies Kapenguria Hospital visited several places in the area with a mobile clinic. Later on Kacheliba Catholic Mission and Kacheliba (government) Health Centre and Kiwawa took over.
In September 1982 a number of places in the two locations were visited by the mobiles (see Table 5, p 29). The situation of the mobiles is very variable, places visited change frequently. In November 1982 the situation had already changed.

Table 5: Mobiles in Kasei and Chemorongit in September and Nov.1982

Mobile from where	Going where Sept.1982	Location	Going where Nov.1982 (only new places
Kiwawa (ACCK)	Chepkinach	Chemorongit	
"	Chelopoi	"	
"	Kamila	"	Kasei (Kasei)
"	Kasses	"	
"	Kamugeto	Kasei	
Kacheliba Catholic Mission	Kasei	"	Kimpur (Chem.)
"	Natemeri	"	Chelopoi
"	Korpu	"	
Kacheliba Health Centre	Kauriong	Chemorongit	

Map 10: Origin of the patients coming to Kiwawa Health Centre, Sept.-Nov. 1982.



Source: information given by the ACCK Mission

4.4 CHURCHES

Chemorongit

In the 1950s some Dini ya Msambwa activity took place in Karapokot. Churches started to be active only recently. In Chemorongit only 4% of the persons of 5 years and older attend Sunday services, a low percentage compared to the rest of West Pokot. We present our figures on the churches in a scheme.

Church	Place of congregation	Average attendance	Type of activity
BCFC both ACCK claim	Chepkinach	40	- primary school with 34 pupils and 1 teacher in 1982
ACCK	Kasses	15	
AIC	Kauriong	30	- p.s. with 30 pupils + 3 teachers in 1982
	Pcholio	60	
	Kasses	40	
	Katunda		- p.s. with 30 pupils + 1 teacher in 1982
RC	Kasses	20	- p.s. with 10 pupils in 1982 with 1 teacher-evangelist
	Kimpur		- p.s. with 38 pupils and 1 teacher in 1982

Kasei

The ACCK has a very big mission with a church building in Kiwawa from where they organize many activities. There is a health centre with a mobile clinic, a primary boarding school with more than 200 pupils and a children's nursery. Besides the ACCK in Kiwawa sponsors two other primary schools in the location with together 145 pupils and 10 teachers. They also have a shop.
From 1981 to 1983 they organized famine relief in Kiwawa.
They started their work in the area in 1975 from Kitale, later they tried to settle in Kauriong, which did not succeed. In 1978 they started to work from Kiwawa. An extensive borehole renovation programme was set up. In 1978 20 old ones were repaired and three new ones drilled. By 1982 10 new ones had been drilled and 20 new ones were planned.
The ACCK organizes a women's group and distributes seeds mainly among women. They have 5 congregations in the area with together an average attendance of 315 people.

The Roman Catholics have 4 congregations in the area with together an average attendance of 85 people. They have 2 schools with together 139 pupils and 4 teachers in 1982.

The AIC has one congregation with 20 regular attendants. They sponsor three primary schools with together 93 pupils and 3 teachers.

In Kasei 17% of the people of 5 years and above attend Sunday services, a very high percentage for this type of area and even compared to the rest of West Pokot.

5. MAIN DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS

The large part of the area is only suitable for livestock rearing. Also the people regard themselves mainly as pastoralists who are forced now to become agriculturalists because of the recent loss of livestock and the ongoing insecurity in the lower parts of the area.

In the mountainous area where most people live now, ecological potential is not very high, although in general the climate and the soils are good enough for the more drought resistant crops, especially for sorghum. But rainfall seems to be very erratic. Consequently yield reliability is very low. Even in years with ample rainfall, as in 1981 and 1982, crop failure was widespread, while in the rest of West Pokot agricultural areas the harvests were good or very good. Probably the problems here are due to the fact that the relief is rather specific here, highland basins, which results in more extreme local variation in rainfall and in higher average temperatures.

Recently the new Kiwawa Mission started to introduce a variety of seeds. It is important to find the most suitable varieties for this area and to use adapted crop husbandry practices. They have to reckon with a high overall risk factor and with a high local variability in the ecology of the area. Experimenting could well take many years and before the people can really rely on sedentary agriculture for their living, they will most probably have to be supplemented with famine relief or commercially bought food from elsewhere. Besides the close recording of the agricultural results it might be very useful to record climatic data in various places and to carry out detailed soil research.

Recent health facilities and famine relief can easily result in a strong population growth in the area and in a population pressure which will be much higher compared to the recent times when the people were mainly herding their cattle. Going back to the traditional livestock economy will not be possible then, even if the security problems are completely gone. But for the majority of the people building up a large herd still is a very important priority in life. Instead of putting all the economic emphasis on

crop development, it might be better to recognize the livestock possibilities of the area. Higher population and animal pressure however will require new forms of rangeland management to avoid overgrazing.

With the exception of the 'gold boom' in Korpu, which also brought quite a lot of money to the people of Kasei and Chemorongit, commercial economic activities do not seem to be viable for a long time to come. In contrast to the very low level of commercial integration the level of service integration is relatively high in part of the area, the area around the Kiwawa Mission. In that part of Kasei suddenly many people are attracted to the schools, the health centre and the religious activities of the Mission and other churches.

On the other hand Chemorongit and the eastern part of Kasei still are the least integrated parts of West Pokot District in all respects.