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

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November 1985
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0. INTRODUCTION AND SOURCES

0.1 Introduction

This Locational Development Profile is part of a group of profiles about locations in West Pokot and Elgeyo Marakwet Districts. They give a summary of the history and situation of the administration, physical geography, population, economy and social services. The profiles are written for people working in the locations and for the government employees at divisional and district levels.

The information presented in this profile will not be complete nor 100% reliable. The reader is asked to send any addition and/or correction to the ASAL- Programme coordinator (P.O.Box 287, Kapenguria), so that the knowledge about the location can be updated.

We would like to thank all the people who gave us so much of their time, energy and friendship. Our special thanks go to Rachel Andiema who helped us in almost every possible way, Hubert Hendrix for his support in West Pokot and Ton Dietz, who assisted us by word and deed.

Ingrid van Tienhoven
Fred Zaal

0.2 Sources

Various sources were used to write this profile.

1. We visited the area in the months of February and March 1985 and talked to a number of people working and living in the locations and made some hikes in the mountains.

2. 79 questionnaires were done in April 1985. In Lomut 19 Lomut people from the lower areas were interviewed by Leonard Molo, and 10 Lomut people from the higher areas were interviewed by Arumonyang P. Franco. In Cheptulel 50 people were interviewed by Samuel Chelekuta, 15 in the sublocation of Lepei, 15 in the sublocation of Nyorpotwo, and 20 in the sublocation of Chepkokogh in the highest areas. In all these cases heads of households were interviewed.
The groups of households were chosen in such a way that a variety of environmental conditions and living conditions of the people from the various zones is represented. These zones differ in altitude and, subsequently, in ecological potential for agricultural and pastoral activities.


4. We also used files at the Divisional Office in Sigor and files on schools of the Divisional Educational Office and of the schools themselves.

5. Household listings in Toghamo and Lepei in 1980 and 1982 by the Kenyan Central Bureau of Statistics were sources of information too.

6. We also used secondary sources to write this Profile of Lomut and Cheptulel Locations:
   - Dubel I. and M. de Kwaasteniet: Irrigated Agriculture as a base of Subsistence, the Cases of the Pokot and the Marakwet with reference to the labour of women. University of Amsterdam/ Provincial Irrigation Unit Nakuru, 1983


7. The following maps were used:

- Chesegon, Scale 1: 50,000. East Africa (Kenya), Sheet 76/1

- Kapenguria, Scale 1: 250,000 East Africa, Sheet Na-36-12

1. **THE AREA OF LOMUT AND CHEPTULEL LOCATIONS.**

1.1 **SITUATION**

Lomut and Cheptulel are two locations in the south-east of West Pokot District. Lomut Location covers three times the area of Cheptulel Location (map 1).

In this area extreme differences in altitude can be found. Most of Lomut and Cheptulel are plains, at about 900-1000 meters above sea-level, apart from the south-west where the escarpment marks the beginning of the Cherangani-hills with altitudes up to 3000 meters. The hills are important for agricultural production. The plains are grazing areas for pastoralists, mainly from Masol and Baringo. Masol is the location north of Lomut. Baringo is the district east of Lomut and Cheptulel. South of Cheptulel is Elgeyo Marakwet District and in the west are Lelan, Mwino and Weiwei locations.

There are two motorable roads in Lomut and Cheptulel. There is one secondary road coming from Elgeyo Marakwet District, connecting Chesegon and Lomut (trading centre) with Sigor, the divisional headquarters, and with the tarmac road from Kitale to Lodwar. From the secondary road a minor road branches to Masol. There is no direct road connection with Baringo District.
1.2 A MAP OF LOMUT AND CHEPTULEL.

---

road

boundary

river

1. Marus
2. Kokworitit
3. Chesta
4. Parkino
5. Sororo
6. Ptwulungwo

scale: 1:250,000

7. Chemutloktyo
8. Otiot
9. Arpollo
10. Annet
11. Ptwirap
12. Kokwomeses

L = Lomut
1.3 ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

Government attention to Lomut and Cheptulel was very meagre in colonial times. It was always hard for officials to reach the area because of its isolated position. Transport was on horseback or with carriers until after the second World War.

The first chief in Lomut, Nakulu, was appointed in 1917. He was followed by eight other chiefs, the present one is Peter Leo Lokodawy. In Cheptulel the first chief, Romio, was appointed about 1920, the present one, Simeon Litole, is number eight.

In the early years of Colonial Government taxation was the most important government activity. From 1912 to 1915 it was organized from Marakwet Station, then from Marich and from Kacheliba government centres. In the 1930's Kapenguria became the District Headquarters and in the 1950's a divisional Headquarters was started in Sigor ("Lower Division", later "Sigor Division") Taxation gradually increased from 6 Shs. in the 1920's to 40 Shs. in the 1960's. After 1970 poor people only had to pay tax to the County Council (25 Shs.). Until 1967 West Pokot was a closed district. The purpose of this measure, imposed by the British, was to prohibit the Pokot to cross the boundary to evade taxes, and to prevent spreading of cattle diseases. However, the Pokot crossed the boundaries with their cattle as they had been used to for a long time.

When the area of Lomut and Cheptulel was integrated in the Colonial Administration, the British mostly found an agricultural population there. An official report of the 1920's states that the "hill-Pokot" had few cattle, sheep and goats, and were experts in irrigation. Among their agricultural products were fingermillet and tobacco. The report says that the "hill-Pokot" had a long standing feud with the people of Elgeyo Marakwet, but although it suggests that this feud would die down, there still have been troubles with the people of Elgeyo Marakwet. On the other hand Chesegon has always been a market place between Pokot and Marakwet.

Sorghum and fingermillet are the traditional crops in Lomut and Cheptulel. In 1927 the DC, introduced maize in Lomut and
later in Cheptulel. Other crops were introduced in the 1930's and 1940's: cassava, bananas, beans, groundnuts, simsim, sweet potatoes, sugar-cane, pawpaw, mangoes and oranges. Although the new crops were not accepted easily, they now are grown extensively in Lomut and Cheptulel.

Sublocation boundaries according to Lomut and Cheptulel people.

Map 2: Local boundaries of sublocations in Lomut and Cheptulel.

Sublocation boundaries are based on the position of clan lands. In Lomut a number of clans only have land in one sublocation. Sublocations could thus be subdivided but the boundaries never can change.

The people realize that officially Mogogh does not exist as a sublocation but the population grows, and requests for an assistant chief for this area have been sent to the DC.

Important clans in different sublocations in Lomut.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ptisias</th>
<th>Toghomo</th>
<th>Mogogh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oroini</td>
<td>Koot</td>
<td>Chapin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toruk</td>
<td>Talai</td>
<td>Ptuya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kopil</td>
<td>Sotot</td>
<td>Siyon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngusurin</td>
<td>Silotot</td>
<td>Kapliogh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaseroi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Cheptulel the clans have land in every sublocation so that a division of sublocations according to clans can not be made. The main clans here are Tugo, Kasuko, Mayoi, Kasumui, Kitany, Siwatai, Ngusurin, Oroyn, Tulin and Monges.
Sublocations determined by the authorities


As far as Seito is concerned the map of 1969 is to be questioned. We see that in 1985 the sublocations of Lomut and Cheptulel based on clan land and those determined by the authorities are almost the same. The only difference is that the west side of Cheptulel is called Chepkokogh by the people and Lepei by the authorities.

The subdivision of both locations used in the censuses of 1969 and 1979 is different. Because of this the comparison of the census figures is very difficult.

Between 1969 and 1979 the boundaries between Lomut and Cheptulel changed a bit. A part of Cheptulel was added to Lomut Location. The same applies for a part of Masol. This is not according to what the people of Lomut and Cheptulel think: they have fixed opinions about the position of boundaries and sometimes disregard those determined by the government.
2. **NATURAL RESOURCES**

2.1 **GEOLOGY**

The area is mainly 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 pressure, high temperatures and chemically active fluids. This may occur during tectonical movements within the earth's crust. These metamorphic rocks (gneisses in this area) are characterised by flowing layers. The geological map only gives a very rough picture: hornblende gneisses with only a small area in the north of the research area that is occupied by sedimentary rocks (mainly sandstone). At this moment nothing is known about mineral deposits of significant economic interest.

2.2 **RELIEF**

A large part of the locations consists of a vast peneplain at an altitude between 900-1200 meters above sea-level. The plain is the result of a long lasting erosion/denudation proces and is the old stage of such an "erosion cycle". The relief is very faint, and scattered over this plain are relict mountains. In the south-west of Lomut and Cheptulel a minor part is the extremely steep Elgeyo escarpment which rises to an elevation of almost 3000 meters above sea-level.

2.3 **HYDROLOGY**

In the eastern part a rather narrow zone of the area drains into the Kerio river (with many more or less parallel tributaries). The central and western part drains into the Weiwei river. The entire area belongs to the Turkwell catchment area and all the water finally is collected in Lake Turkana (if it has not infiltrated or evaporated before that).

The only perennial rivers in Lomut are the Siya in the West and the Kerio river in the East. In Cheptulel there are the Chesegon river in the South and the Kerio river in the East.
At the moment there are no discharge data available, but it is obvious that the discharge in the dry season will be much less than in the wet season. In the latter period the rivers may flood locally in years with a high amount of rainfall. Especially in the dry season (when the chemical concentration of the water is relatively high) the water of the Kerio river may be rather polluted due to industrial waste of the Fluorspar mine in the South of Elgeyo Marakwet (near Kimwarer).

2.4 VEGETATION AND EROSION

Map 6 shows the actual erosion status in the area. It is a satellite image interpretation and consequently only gives a schematic picture. In general it can be stated that the heavily eroded areas have a very poor vegetation cover. When vegetation is present, it consists mainly of Acacia spec. bush.

2.5 SOILS

Map 5 gives the combined Agro-Climatic and Soil map. The first symbol in the code stands for a certain agro-climatic zone. In one symbol it gives the ratio between the rainfall and the potential evaporation. (table 1). The second symbol gives the soil group number of which a descriptive characterization is given below. The official classification (name of the soil group) as used by the Kenya Soil survey is added.

According to the "Exploratory Soil Map of Kenya", scale 1: 1,000,000 (Kenya Soil Survey 1980), seven soil group units can be distinguished. The soils are presented according to their agricultural potential.

24 (A8) The soils of this code are alluvial soils. This means that the material of this soil is deposited by the larger rivers forming floodplains. These soils are well to imperfectly drained, very deep dark brown to yellow brown. They show stratification, layers of finer loam and coarser sand on top of each other, deposited
by the flooding river. They are calcareous, have a lot of mica and are moderately to very fertile. Only in arid condition can this soil become saline and useless to cultivation. Otherwise almost all of it (± 80%) can be used for agriculture though flooding may cause damage to crops. The fallow period can be short (one year of every five, 20% of the time). Possible arable land use is 64% of the total area of this unit.

8 (FULc) Soils developed on the footslopes. The soils are well drained which means that water is removed from the soil readily but not rapidly. These soils commonly retain optimum amounts of moisture for plant growth after rains or addition of irrigation water. The soils are very deep (more than 120 cm.). They are yellowish red to dark reddish brown and consist of coarse sand to sandy clay loam. Natural fertility is moderate but erosion can be a problem so that the possible arable land that can be used is 60% and 80% of it must lay fallow every year. 12% of the land can be used every year. These soils are important for agriculture in Lomut and Cheptulel and can be found in a limited area.

2 (MUbe) Soils developed in the mountain areas. These soils are somewhat excessively drained, which means that the water is removed rapidly. The amount of water available for plant growth can be a problem. The soils are shallow (less than 50 cm. deep, which causes problems for plant roots) and rocky and stony (which results in a poor workability with the simple tools). The natural fertility is moderate. Only 50% of the area can be regarded as suitable for cultivation with a fallow requirement of 60%. So 60% of the total area can be used every year. Soil conservation practices such as contour ploughing, mulching, strip cropping, bench terracing etc. are necessary to prevent severe erosion.

12 Soils developed on sloping areas at a high altitude. It is a complex of two main soil groups:
- well drained, black to very dark brown soils that are rocky in places. These soils have an acid humid topsoil (UuUu)
- well drained, moderately deep, dark brown soils with a very thick acid humic topsoil (UuUbh).
The acidity can become a problem for plant growth and has to be neutralized then. Because of the sloping character of the area the erosion hazard is rather high and conservation measures are recommended if cultivation is executed. 15% of the area can be arable land with a fallow requirement of 60%. So that theoretically 6% of the area can be used every year. The people must be careful with this area because it is a water catchment area.

10 (YUbk) Soils developed on almost flat to flat areas. These soils are well drained, deep (80-120 cm.) and have a sodic deeper subsoil. This sodium is toxic for plants and the soil structure can decrease dramatically (hard and massive) when the soil is used. It is the soil material that contains relatively much sodium. By applying special fertilizers the sodium can be replaced. Non saline irrigation water has to be added then to wash out the sodium containing soil water. At the moment the farmers do not use fertilizer (apart from the National Youth Service Farm). The possible arable land use is estimated at only 20% and the fallow requirement is very high: 90%. Only 2% of the area can be used every year. Gully erosion and the sodic soils are problems here.

22 (Ux10 or UxUrc) Soils developed on gently sloping, old plains. These soils are well drained, shallow, very calcareous and moderately to strongly sodic. The sodium is toxic for plants and the soil structure decreases dramatically when the soil is used, and becomes hard and massive. Special fertilizers have to be used to replace the sodium. These soils are also moderately to strongly saline which is also toxic for plants and binds water to the soil so that not enough water is left for the plants. These soils are of no agricultural value.

25 (BUsO) Soils developed on flat areas, (such as bottom lands and depressions, low lying areas). They are imperfectly drained which means that (rain) water is not very rapidly removed from the soil so that it stays wet for long periods. This can lead to a shortage of oxygen in the soil (which is, just like water, of vital importance to plant growth). In parts of the area the soils are even poorly drained, and remain wet for a large part of the year. Groundwater is commonly at or near the surface for a considerable time of the year and again oxygen shortages occur. These soils are also of no practical use to agriculture.
2.6 CLIMATE

The ecological potential depends, apart from soil and relief characteristics and erosion situation, largely on the climatic conditions in the area; particularly on the annual and seasonal balance between rainfall and evaporation. The latter is mainly determined by temperature and turbulence. This is the way that air moves at ground level.

We only have rainfall data for two stations, in Lomut and Sigor respectively, as illustrated in graphs 1 to 4. They show: long rains around April and July, short rains around November, and a long term mean of 880 mm. (Lomut) and 885 mm. per year (Sigor).

The annual rainfall reliability is low. In some years, like 1982, the rainfall can be more than 1400 mm. In other years, like 1984 -- our reference year for the farmers interviews! -- rainfall was only 600 mm. Also the distribution within one year can vary considerably: the peaks can easily fall in May and August/September or in March/April and July.

In the higher areas southwest of the escarpment rainfall will be higher. In the lower areas (the major part of the locations) it will probably be somewhat lower.

According to the Agro-Climatic Zone Map of Kenya (1980, scale 1:1 million, Kenya Soil Survey) the mean annual temperatures vary enormously: less than 10 to 12°C in zone I at the top of the escarpment to 22 to 30°C in zone VI in the eastern plains.

See also map 4 and table 1.
Graphs 1 and 2 show dispersion figures for the monthly rainfall. Every dot corresponds with the rainfall figure in a particular year for that month. The figures in brackets indicate the number of years in which no rain fell in that month.

Graphs 3 and 4 show the variation from the long-term mean, using the available annual figures.
Map 4: Altitude in M.A.S.L.

from survey of Kenya topographical maps.

Map 5: Combined soil and agro-climatic zone map

For explanation of the codes see text.
From: Kenya Soil Survey Material 1980

Map 6: actual erosion

Satellite Image Interpretation (Landsat 1982)
The high temperatures cause high evaporation rates: reason why large parts of the area are semi-arid (zone V) to arid (zone VI), despite the fact that they receive 700 to 900 mm. rain per year. The table below shows the characteristics of the agro-climatic zones.

Table 2.1: Agro-Climatic Zone Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>r/L ratio</th>
<th>Climatic designation</th>
<th>Mean annual temperature in °C</th>
<th>Climatic designation</th>
<th>Average number of growing days</th>
<th>Major limitations to maximum production in approximate order of importance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>more than 80</td>
<td>humid</td>
<td>Less than 10 to 12</td>
<td>very cold to very cool</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>soil fertility, farm management, drainage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>65 to 80</td>
<td>sub-humid</td>
<td>12 to 16</td>
<td>cool to fairly cool</td>
<td>290 to 365</td>
<td>soil fertility, farm management, drainage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>50 to 65</td>
<td>semi-humid</td>
<td>14 to 20</td>
<td>fairly cool to warm temperate</td>
<td>235 to 290</td>
<td>soil fertility, farm management, rainfall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>40 to 50</td>
<td>semi-humid to semi-arid</td>
<td>18 to 22</td>
<td>warm temperate to fairly warm</td>
<td>180 to 235</td>
<td>farm management, rainfall, soil fertility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>25 to 40</td>
<td>semi-arid</td>
<td>20 to 24</td>
<td>fairly warm to warm</td>
<td>110 to 180</td>
<td>rainfall, farm management, soil fertility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>15 to 25</td>
<td>arid</td>
<td>22 to 30</td>
<td>warm to very hot</td>
<td>25 to 110</td>
<td>rainfall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: KES 1982

2.7 SUITABILITY OF THE SOIL AND AGRO CLIMATIC ZONE UNITS FOR AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES.

We described which part of a special soil unit can be used for agriculture every year. It is important in which zone the soil is found. There is quite a difference between zone II and zone VI. In zone II the biggest amount of water is available for the plants and in zone VI less water is available and irrigation is necessary. The amount of water differs every year of course.

Zone I is a water catchment area in Lomut. Agricultural use of this area is risky for the water supply for the whole area downstream. In zone VI there is not enough water for the crops. If there is enough water in the rivers irrigation is possible. Many years there is not enough water in the rivers.
3. POPULATION

3.1 HISTORY OF POPULATION DEVELOPMENT

The first systematic data collection on population took place in 1914. In 1923 an official counted 637 huts, 61 "polls", 598 men, 637 women and 801 children in Lomut and Cheptulel combined, a total of 2079 people, spread over ten "villages". In the Lomut and Cheptulel area the number of people increased in the period 1914-1979: in 1979 11,000 people were counted.

Concerning the censuses of 1962, 1969 and 1979 we must realize that there is still an underestimate of children between 0 and 4 years old, because Pokot do not like to show these to strangers. Also the reliability of the Census results is questionable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Lomut</th>
<th>Cheptulel</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>1669</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>2481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>2139</td>
<td>1144</td>
<td>3283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>2265</td>
<td>1205</td>
<td>3470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>2581</td>
<td>1589</td>
<td>4170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>4354</td>
<td>2517</td>
<td>6871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>5108</td>
<td>3559</td>
<td>8667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>6687</td>
<td>4238</td>
<td>10925</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1985 approximately 7800 people lived in Lomut and approximately 5000 in Cheptulel. In 1985 there were about 2000 Masol people in Lomut who fled from Masol out of fear for the Ngoroko's. Most of them live in a miserable situation with no or a few animals and with a little piece of land or no land at all. They wish to go back to Masol when it is safe there. So in 1985 there were about 9800 people in Lomut. There were almost no Masol people in Cheptulel. There are pastoralists who trade on the market in Chesegon, many of them live near the Kerio River in different locations.
The growth percentage of the population between 1969 and 1979 is about 2.5% a year in Lomut and Cheptulel, which leads to a doubling of the population in twenty-eight years and to a young population. In 1979 48% of the population in Lomut was younger than 15 years, and in Cheptulel 47%.

The following graphs give the population pyramids of Lomut and Cheptulel in 1979.

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**Figure 1: Population pyramid of Lomut and Cheptulel in 1979.**

---

In 1979 there were 1343 households in Lomut with an average of five persons per household. In Cheptulel there were 968 households, which means an average of 4.7 persons per household (census 1979).

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**Table 3.2: Population Details of Lomut and Cheptulel, 1979**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Density/km.²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>LOMUT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toghomo</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>42 (incl. Lomut centre)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seito</td>
<td>1436</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptuasis</td>
<td>3322</td>
<td>10 (mainly plains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHEPTULEL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chepkokogho</td>
<td>4238</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyorpotwo</td>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lepei</td>
<td></td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(these are the 1985 sublocations)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following information is from the questionnaires done in Lomut and Cheptulel, 1985 (see sources).
An important phenomenon is that some men are polygamous.
The definition for "family" is: a man, his wife or wives and their children. A household consists of a man and a wife or wives with the children they take care of. It does not matter whether the wives live on different compounds, as in Lomut and Cheptulel almost all the wives of one man live in the same place or "village".
In lower Lomut there were also some "visitors" in 1985. We did not include them because there is a lot of difference in length of stay. In other areas visitors were not large in number. In lower Lomut the average household has five members. In the higher zone it is eight. In Cheptulel in the lower areas the average household number is five to seven, in the higher zones it is eight. The average number of women per man is 1.4 in Cheptulel. In the lower areas in Lomut it is slightly lower and in the higher areas it is slightly higher.
A man is always older than his wife or wives. In Lomut the average difference in age between a man and his wife is eight years and in Cheptulel ten.

The total number of households in Lomut is approximately between 1000-1050, on top of which there are 200 Masol households. In Cheptulel there are approximately 700-750 households. It is not possible to compare those numbers of households with the number of households in the 1979 census, because the definition is different. In the census the definition of household is used for persons living on the same compound. If, however, the man and his wife or wives live on two compounds, then they are counted as two households. Consequently, according to the census there are more households which have fewer members.

In both locations the density in the highest or "Masop" zone became higher throughout the years. Since there is not enough land in the lower zones and the people expected a high maize harvest in the higher areas, they cleared the land and made new shambas, and built new homes in the higher areas of the Masop.
3.2 SOME SOCIO-CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POKOT

The Pokot, meaning "those who survived", arrived about two to three centuries ago in Lomut and Cheptulel. In Lomut the first and most important clans, Sitot, Koot and Kalein, are said to have come from Baringo District, where a severe drought caused them to leave their home area. The abundance of wild fruits and wild animals made them decide to stay. These few families were the first so they could occupy the best and biggest part of the land. They divided this land by making fires and where the fire went it was theirs. This was the beginning of clans and their clanland in Lomut. (interview chief of Lomut, February, 1985).

The people of the Koot had beehives and they killed wild animals. The Lomut people started sowing sorghum and fingermillet. They bartered the meat of buffaloes and impalas for seeds with the Elgeyo Marakwet people. The Lomut people put the seeds in a little calabash with ash against weevils so that they could sow them next year.

Other people in Lomut came later and they had a second choice of land. In Cheptulel the same happened but the people came from Sekerr, Baringo and Mwino. More families came about the same time and they divided the land more equally between the clans with the result that most of the clans have clan land in almost every part of the location. Innovations such as seeds and irrigation furrows came from Elgeyo Marakwet people. The people in Cheptulel were the first to use these techniques and the people in Lomut followed suit. The culture in the area they came from was based on cattle. Lomut and Cheptulel people kept this culture although their new livelihood was farming. The people who gathered enough animals went to the plains mostly in Masol to live as pastoralists, which was considered to be the more desirable way of living. This specialisation caused the groups to depend on each others products. The system of barter that developed between the pastoralists and the agriculturalists still exists. The pastoralists who herd their cattle on the plains of Lomut and Cheptulel are mostly Masol and Baringo people.
The way of living in this area is very hard, so the people try to spread their risks. One of the ways of doing this is "Tilia". Tilia is a system in which one man lends a cow to another in exchange for a steer while keeping rights on some of the calves. In hard times, the man who has lent the cow can get the cow back. This system creates many economic and social ties. One man may have more tilias. Agricultural people have the system of tiliantan too.

Traditionally the Pokot have no central power. The basis of their organisation is their age-set system in which ritual, judicial and political authority rests with the oldest man. After initiation a Pokot male has to abide by clearly defined rules designed to regulate his behaviour in relation to his seniors and juniors. The initiation rite for women is also important because after that rite they are able to marry. The moment they marry is the only moment in their lives that women can get cattle or land. Many Pokot men are polygamous. The Pokot never had much communication with the outside world. There are few influences from outside. This is caused by the isolated position of Lomut and Cheptulel. Now there is a new tarmac road from Kapenguria to Lodwar and a secondary road branches off to Lomut and Cheptulel. Now it is a three to four hours drive from Kapenguria to Chesegon. This puts an end to the isolated position of West Pokot and of Lomut and Cheptulel.
4. Economic Development

4.1 Agricultural Profile

Two to three centuries ago the people of Lomut and Cheptulel killed wild animals and started sowing sorghum and fingermillet. Later they also used irrigation and had some cattle and goats. Almost all the Lomut and Cheptulel people are agriculturalists. They live at the foot of the escarpment and on the escarpment itself. The Pokot divide their land largely on the basis of altitude, rainfall and agricultural potential into four zones.

Figure 2: Transsection along Lomut-Cheptulel boundary

These zones will be described one by one, from the lowest zone to the highest.

A. The KeW Zone

The lowest zone is called KeW. This zone is characterized by plains and low rainfall. The agricultural potential is not very high. These plains are covered with bush and grasses except for places near the big rivers where big trees grow. The pastoral Pokot herd their cattle on those plains. The pastoral Pokot come from Masol, and in Cheptulel they also come from Baringo. Because of the raids between the Pokot and Turkana not many pastoralists have big herds. They herd their cattle near the rivers and near the escarpment because it is safer there. In the past there were more pastoralists and they had larger herds, but they were spread more equally over the plains.
The second group is formed by the agriculturalists from Lomut and Cheptulel. In the dry season they take their animals to the big rivers of the plains, because there is not enough food and water near the foot of the escarpment and on the escarpment itself.

In Lomut the people go to the Siya river and in Cheptulel to the Kerio river. Only those who live in the Masop zone do not take their animals to the plains but keep them near their homes. In the other zones some shots and milk cows remain at home to provide the basic milk requirements for the family. Unmarried men and boys herd the cattle, and women milk the cows whereas children look after the goats and sheep.

During the wet season, when the riverine bush is infested with tsetse fly, the Pokot graze their animals near and on the Cherangani hills where they live, reserving the grazing along the river, which is their only permanent source of water, for the dry season. At the onset of the rains when they return to the hills they set fire to the area to clear it of ticks, to reduce the risk of tsetse infestation by preventing the fly from breeding and to produce better grazing for their return the following dry season (Brown, Turkwell Gorge multipurpose project 1979). Fifteen years ago the elders of the "Kokwa" decided (by a majority vote based on a consensus of opinion) when the seasonal movement would take place. At the moment every man decides by himself which is a result of the slow disintegration of the traditional society and individualisation, that takes place. Grazing and water are communal but livestock are privately owned.

### NUMBER OF ANIMALS ON THE PLAINS IN THE DRY SEASON IN 1984.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>LOMUT</th>
<th>CHEPTULEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>6250-9400</td>
<td>2500-3700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goats</td>
<td>21800-32700</td>
<td>10600-15900 (questionnaires)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is overgrazing in those places where too many animals are kept, (see Map 6, Chapter 2), especially near the foot of the escarpment and near the big rivers.

Animals are an investment and a source of cash income. Without animals it is impossible to be initiated by "Sapana", to be circumcised, advance in the age system, marry, prepare birth of the first child, perform essential ceremonies, bury the dead or establish the wide range of social relations necessary for survival.
B. THE TOW ZONE

This zone is at the foot of the escarpment. Irrigation is very important. There is also irrigation in the transition zone Kew-Tow. The Lomut and Cheptulel farmers have been irrigating their shambas for more than two hundred years in the traditional way. In Lomut there is also a modern irrigation scheme set up by the government and used by the National Youth Service. In the Kew-Tow zone in Lomut there are approximately 400-500 households with an average of five or six members and 200 Masol families with an average of ten members per household. In the Kew-Tow zone in Cheptulel there are approximately 340-440 households with an average of five to seven members. Most of them have land in different zones (questionnaires).

A major feature of this zone is the irrigation system. The intake of an irrigation canal is in the river. The water flows through this canal and the small furrows to the shambas during the dry season, and the dry spells. During the rains the canal intake is closed to prevent flooding, but it is frequently breached so that the canals and furrows silt up and have to be cleared before being reopened in the dry season. This work is done by all the farmers who have an irrigation plot near the canal. Every farmer is responsible for the maintenance of the furrow from the intake unto the point of his shamba. The clan elders decide on the distribution of water: they decide at what time every farmer is allowed to open and close his furrow. The work on an irrigation canal is only work for a man, the work on the irrigation shambas is for men and women.

In Lomut every irrigation canal is used by about four clans. Those clans work together to arrange everything about irrigation.

Clans and their furrows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clans</th>
<th>Furrow</th>
<th>Clans</th>
<th>Furrow</th>
<th>Clans</th>
<th>Furrow</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orioni</td>
<td>Koot</td>
<td>Sitat</td>
<td>Chapin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toruk</td>
<td>Talai</td>
<td>Chonomoi</td>
<td>Ptuya</td>
<td>Kasura</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kopil</td>
<td>Sotot</td>
<td>Katain</td>
<td>Siyon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngusuim</td>
<td>Silotot</td>
<td>Chemoses</td>
<td>Kapliog</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaseroi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Cheptulel all the clans have land near every irrigation furrow. So they all have to work together. Two important irrigation furrows are kamachinga and Chepterwa. The difference in distribution of clan land near furrows between the two locations came into existence at the time the clans arrived in Lomut and Cheptulel. In Lomut some clans arrived first and took the best pieces of land and made irrigation canals. Other clans came later so they took the land left and made their own furrow or kept to rainfed farming. In Cheptulel all the clans came at the same time. They had to distribute the best pieces of land among different clans and made the irrigation furrows together. The organisation in Lomut is easier because there are less clans for every furrow so maintenance is faster organized.

The traditional irrigation crop is sorghum. At the end of the 1920's maize was introduced. It was not accepted easily, but around 1940 it was cultivated on many shambas. The advantages of maize are:

1. high yields, 2. tolerance of moist conditions, 3. ease of cultivation and harvest. Sorghum and maize need irrigation in June. For maize clearing and burning is in March, planting in April after the first rains, weeding in June and July and harvest in August and September. Many farmers plant sorghum, if they expect a bad maize harvest.

Other irrigation crops which are mostly cultivated near the river, are sugarcane, bananas, pawpaw and mangoes. Vegetables and cassava are also irrigated and cultivated on little pieces of land. Those crops need irrigation from September till March and in June. Cassava is used as food when the harvest is bad. It can be kept in the ground.

The results of questionnaires done about irrigation in Lomut and Cheptulel (see sources) are as follows.
Table 4.1: Households with land in the Kew-Tow zone (1984)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>LOMUT</th>
<th>CHEPTULEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>used</td>
<td>irr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land claimed*</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>ha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>land used**</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>ha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>land irrigated</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>ha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% used / claimed</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% irr / claimed</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% irr. / used</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Not all those hectares were claimed in the Kew-Tow zone.
** 1984 is a dry year.

The farmers of Cheptulel claimed, used and irrigated about twice as much land as the farmers of Lomut. Also the Cheptulel farmers cultivated a larger part of the land which they claimed, compared to Lomut farmers. In both locations farmers who irrigated their plots claimed a bit less land than the farmers who did not use irrigation, but they cultivated a bit more land.

People who used irrigation in the Kew zone in Lomut did not cultivate rainfed crops in 1984. In Cheptulel they did. Most of them cultivated some crops in the Masop zone.

In 1984 farmers used at average not less than one third and not more than two thirds of their land. The reason for this can be the fallow period they thought their land needs, it was too dry in 1984 to cultivate more or they did not have enough labour in their family to cultivate more.

52% of the households living in the Kew-Tow zone used irrigation in the Kew-Tow zone in Lomut in 1984 and 20% of the households living in the Kamas zone used irrigation in the Kew-Tow zone. A total of approximately 284 households used irrigation (with an average of 0.36 ha.) The total irrigation area used in Lomut in 1984 was approximately 100 ha.
In Cheptulel approximately 390 households live in the Kew-Tow and Kamas zone. 60% of the farmers who live in the Kew-Tow zone used irrigation in 1984. We suppose that 20% of the farmers living in the Kamas zone used irrigation in the Kew-Tow. In total 133 ha. were irrigated in 1984, but this might be a high estimation.

In 1984 the farmers harvested 0-20 bags of maize per ha. on an irrigated plot, 2-15 bags of sorghum per ha., and 20 or more bags of cassava per ha. Most of the farmers cultivated cassava on less than 0.4 ha. Also vegetables and beans were cultivated on little pieces. In Cheptulel no one harvested maize on the irrigated plots in 1984 but most of them harvested maize in the Masop zone.

**Irrigation furrows in Lomut and Cheptulel locations.**

*Map 7.*
The Tow zone is not only used by local people. In Lomut centre the National Youth Service has a farm too.

The National Youth Service farm.
This is an irrigation scheme set up by the government and implemented by the National Youth Service, just half a kilometer East of Lomut centre. The offices of the scheme opened in October 1979. The area is 29 ha. Its performance was not so good throughout the year 1983 because of the lack of technical knowledge on agriculture. A technical assistant was withdrawn in April 1983 and his services remained unavailable throughout the subsequent months of the year. The general cropping situation was indicated as below.
Table 4.2: N.Y.S.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crop enterprise 1983</th>
<th>ha.</th>
<th>Crop enterprise</th>
<th>ha.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>citrus</td>
<td>1 ha.</td>
<td>pawpaw, beans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(455 trees)</td>
<td></td>
<td>greengrams</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bananas</td>
<td>0.8 ha.</td>
<td>tomatoes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(470 stocks)</td>
<td></td>
<td>onions</td>
<td>1.2 ha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>groundnuts</td>
<td>2 ha.</td>
<td>cotton</td>
<td>10 ha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cassava</td>
<td>2 ha.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maize</td>
<td>12 ha.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development, 15 Jan. 1985.)

In 1983 the N.Y.S. farm harvested 324 bags of cotton, 200 oranges and 65 grapes. In 1984 there were many problems due to the drought.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crop</th>
<th>Target</th>
<th>Crop production</th>
<th>Achievement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sorghum</td>
<td>20 ha.</td>
<td>matured</td>
<td>11.2 ha. harvested, planted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bananas</td>
<td>3.2 ha.</td>
<td>yielding</td>
<td>negligible output, too dry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brassica</td>
<td>2.8 ha.</td>
<td>in nursery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassava</td>
<td>2 ha.</td>
<td>maturing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Monthly Report January 1985 Lomut)

The N.Y.S. uses tractors, pesticides and fertilizers. They cultivate a lot of commercial crops, whereas most of the Lomut farmers grow subsistence crops. One purpose of the N.Y.S. is to inform the farmers about commercial production but the cooperation with them is not very good. Until 1984 there were also problems with the distribution of water from the irrigation canals. From 1984 onwards the water is divided equally between the N.Y.S. and the Lomut farmers.

C. THE KAMAS ZONE

These are the steep mountain slopes. In this zone traditional irrigation takes place too. But Kamas people mainly irrigate fields in the Kew-Tow zone.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>People who use irrigation in Kew-Tow in Lomut.</th>
<th>People who use irrigation in Kamas in Lomut.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land claimed 0.83 ha.</td>
<td>1 ha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>land used 0.36 ha.</td>
<td>0.44 ha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>land irrigated 0.36 ha.</td>
<td>0.08 ha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% used / claimed 40%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% irr. / claimed 40%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% irr. / Used 100%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pieces of land used for irrigation are small in the Kamas zone. Beans, vegetables and/or bananas were cultivated on it. The irrigation crops are a source of additional proteins and/or vitamins and a large part of the harvest is sold. Traditionally the Kamas zone is the finger millet zone. The farmers harvested 2.5-13 bags of finger millet per hectare in 1984. People always have lived in that zone. In the Kamas zone and lower Masop zone there are 200-300 households. We do not have information about the Kamas zone of Cheptulel.

D. THE MASOP ZONE

The Masop zone is the zone with the high mountain tops with heavy rains. This zone was heavily forested in the past but nowadays there is not much forest anymore, because the people cut the trees, made their shambas and built their homes. In the higher areas of the Masop there are 290-390 households with an average of 8 members in Lomut and there are 320-420 households, also with an average of 8 members in the higher areas of the Masop of Cheptulel. In this zone the maximum harvest is 25 bags of maize per ha. After some years of cultivation the farmers harvest fewer bags of maize per ha.

Results of the questionnaires done in the higher Masop zone in Cheptulel in 1985.
The households who live in the higher Masop zone only have land in the higher Masop zone. In 1984 there were 2.9 ha. per household of which 1.9 ha. or 66% was cultivated. The farmers harvested 10-15 bags of maize per ha. in 1984. Those farmers also grew some vegetables and tobacco on very little pieces. The farmers said they did not cultivate more in 1984 because there was not enough rain.
They declared that even the land in the highest Masop just cleared was their clan land and that they got the land by inheritance. People who live in the lower areas of the Masop or who have land in the lower areas of the Masop have also land in other zones. They claimed less land than those who have land in the higher Masop only and the part they used of what they have, in the lower Masop, is also smaller. If they cultivated land in other areas too then they had less time for their land in the lower Masop zone.

The migration of Pokot farmers to the highest zone of the Masop is rather dangerous. They cut the forest and clear the land to make their shambas. On some places there is no virginwood on the top of the mountains. This is dangerous because:

1. the rain will not infiltrate in the forest soil, but streams downwards from the shambas.

2. In the rainy season: short big floods
   In the dry season: dryness.
   So the perennial rivers will become seasonal rivers and there will not be enough water in the rivers in the dry season. For example in Cheptulel where many people live in the high zone of the Masop and where many shambas are located, there is not enough water in the rivers in the valley since six years.

3. There is more erosion because the earth is not being kept by big trees but taken by the water and in the valley there is also much erosion because there are floods; formerly the rivers discharged the water more slowly.

4. There is a concentration of the people near the rivers who still have water. Then there is overgrazing and not enough land for everyone.

5. When you cut down the trees, you lose a lot of firewood because the farmers burn the wood immediately. You can not hang beehives in the trees anymore and there are no wild animals anymore.

6. The first years the shambas give a harvest of 20-25 bags in a good year; after some years the harvest is 10-15 bags per ha. The soil is exhausted very fast.

7. When there is no forest there is less rain.
A SUMMARY OF LAND USE

In maps 9 and 10 we have combined our information on the type of crops cultivated in the various areas. When a specific crop is cultivated somewhere, it is represented by a special square or by a special symbol on the map. This does not mean that the whole area of these squares is cultivated. It means that the crop can be found there.

Map 9
SOME OTHER SOCIO-ECONOMIC INFORMATION

Some households who live in the Kew-Tow zone have only land in this zone. Most households have land in other zones too. In Lomut those households had in 1984 an average of four cows and sixteen goats. Households who live in the Kamas zone and lower Masop zone had land in the Kamas and lower Masop and in the Kew-Tow zone. In Lomut those households had on average nine cows and thirty goats. In Cheptulel people who live in the Kew-Tow, Kamas or lower Masop had in Lepe in 1984 on average 5 cows and 20 goats and in Nyorpotwo 8 cows and 35 goats. In the higher Masop zone in Cheptulel the households have only land in this zone and they had on average 3 cows and 13 goats. (questionnaires)

Agriculture involves a considerable division of labour. Men clear the land and only men work on the irrigation furrows, while only women sow maize, weed and harvest the crops (although men may plant other crops). By reciprocal work parties (Kiyech) men and women work together and work on plots of those most in need of
Participants are remunerated with parties and beer by each plot holder. Women work parties which are also organized, are remunerated with beer. (Hogg R.: Pokot traditional irrigation and its future development.)

The land is the possession of the man. A woman can get some land when she marries. She cultivates the land for herself and her children. When she dies her sons inherit the land. We think that the total acreage of land given in our questionnaires includes the acres a woman has. A woman can also get cattle when she marries. A woman normally cultivates her own shamba and the shamba of her husband for her household. In Cheptulel there are many Pokot who marry a woman from Elgeyo Marakwet. Many of those women beg a shamba in Elgeyo Marakwet to cultivate sorghum or maize. This land is not included in the total acreage of our survey.

4.2 HOUSEHOLD LISTINGS

In 1980 the Kenyan Bureau of Statistics started systematic household surveys based upon enumeration areas. At the end of 1982 a listing procedure was done again for the same area. One of the enumeration areas is Toghomo in Lomut. We have both listings of this area so we can compare the situation for 1980 and 1982 and compare the results with the questionnaires done in 1985 in Lomut. We also compare the two household surveys of Lepei, in Cheptulel.

Table 4.3 CBS Household Listings in Lomut and Cheptulel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>LOMUT - TOGHOMO</th>
<th></th>
<th>CHEP. - LEPEI</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of households</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of persons per household</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of adults per household</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of farmers</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average hectares per farmer</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers producing finger millet</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers producing sorghum</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers producing maize</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers having cattle</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers having goats</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers without animals</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The number of persons per household is slightly higher in 1982 than in 1980 in Lepei. In Tog homo there is not much difference. It is not possible to compare those numbers with the results of the questionnaires because in the CBS household listings the people must live on the same compound if they are to be a household. We do not consider the compounds so there are more persons per family in a household at average. In the CBS household listings adults are persons older than 15 years. In our questionnaires the definition of adult is: man and his wife or wives.

Between 1980 and 1982 the average number of acres of land per farmer increased. That is only possible if they cleared new land, but the differences are big for two years.

If we compare our 1984 results with the CBS figures, in Tog homo the average number of acres per farmer is about the same in 1982 and 1984. In Lepei the average number of acres per farmer is higher in 1984 than in 1982. In Lomut and Cheptulel there is a big change in agriculture. In 1982 almost all the farmers produced maize, while in 1980 only half of the farmers produced maize. The explanation for this is that in 1980 the farmers expected a bad maize harvest so they sowed sorghum. In 1982 they expected a good maize harvest so they did not sow sorghum. 1984 was a dry year so many farmers cultivated sorghum again. In 1982 almost all the farmers had animals in Tog homo. This is the same in 1984. In Cheptulel still some farmers do not have animals just as in 1982.

4.3 MARKET AT LOMUT AND CHEPTULEL

LOMUT MARKET

Every saturday there is market in Lomut centre. Traditionally Lomut people barter their grain for milk and animals with the pastoral Pokot. Later on people sold their surplus of beans, maize and vegetables and on a small scale they cultivated fruits to earn extra money. Now there are also farmers who cultivate beans, maize and vegetables as a commercial good. People need money to send their children to school, to wear clothes and they want to buy things in the shops.

The market became more important since 1980 because of the road builders from Marich road camp who bought their food on the Lomut
market. Those road builders finished the tarmac road Kapenguria-Lodwar via Marich in 1982. They left but they laid the foundation for 'commercial farming'. Since 1982 "matutus" have been able to travel from Kapenguria to Marich, Sigor and Lomut. They came with traders who buy agricultural products on the market in Lomut to sell it for higher prices in Makutano and Kitale on the market. Many of the traders are Kikuyu women and they come every week except when the Weiwei river is too high to cross in the rainy season. They keep the demand on a high level.

Marketable goods are green and yellow bananas, sugarcane, sukuma wiki, cabbages, cassava, beans, onions, tomatoes, sorghum, maize, fruits like lemons, oranges, mangoes and pawpaw, tobacco, tea, milk, chicken, goats, clothes, household needs, jembes, shoes.

People sell food without paying money to the County Council. People trading clothes pay 500 Shs., when they only sell clothes on the Lomut market. When they also sell them in other market centres, they pay 820 Shs. a year. They pay 1000 Shs. when they also sell household goods and 1120 Shs. when they also trade in jembes. They pay it to the County Council. The price of food changes through the year. At the end of the dry season the prices are high and it is also high when there are not many people on the market who offer the same type of food. Most of the time demand exceeds supply.

Table 4.4 : Crops sold on Lomut market in different months.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bananas</th>
<th>vegetables</th>
<th>sugarcane</th>
<th>oranges</th>
<th>mangoes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>450 kg.</td>
<td>400 kg.</td>
<td>12 tons</td>
<td>160 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>900 kg.</td>
<td>250 kg.</td>
<td>1 ton</td>
<td>500 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Febr</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>7800 kg.</td>
<td>250 kg.</td>
<td>4 tons</td>
<td>610 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>6000 kg.</td>
<td>800 kg.</td>
<td>12 tons</td>
<td>200 kg.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>tobacco</th>
<th>cassava</th>
<th>beans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dec</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>350 kg.</td>
<td>600 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>560 kg.</td>
<td>360 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Febr</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>720 kg.</td>
<td>300 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>500 kg.</td>
<td>200 kg.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Monthly reports Lomut.
Prices of different crops: 1 bunch of bananas 15-20 Shs. and a big one 25 Shs., 1 kg. of beans 3-4 Shs., 1 sugarcane 1 Sh., 1 kg. vegetables 0,80 Shs., orange 0,50 Shs., mango 0,50 Shs., 1 kg. of tobacco 100 Shs. and 1 kg. cassava 1-1,50 Shs.

Table 4.5: The size of the market in February 1985.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Products</th>
<th>men</th>
<th>women</th>
<th>quantity</th>
<th>origin of traders</th>
<th>crops</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clothes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>24 pairs</td>
<td>Lomut</td>
<td>Lomut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>52 Kimbo tins</td>
<td>Lomut</td>
<td>Lomut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green bananas</td>
<td>all</td>
<td></td>
<td>63 bunches</td>
<td>Lomut</td>
<td>Lomut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugarcane</td>
<td>all</td>
<td></td>
<td>336</td>
<td>Lomut</td>
<td>Lomut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabbages</td>
<td>all</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Lomut</td>
<td>Chesegon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lomut</td>
<td>Lomut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>25 tins</td>
<td>Lomut</td>
<td>Lomut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooked cassava</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>24 pans</td>
<td>Lomut</td>
<td>Lomut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lomut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yellow bananas</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 tins</td>
<td>Masol</td>
<td>E.Marakwet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemons</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>50 lemons</td>
<td>Masol</td>
<td>E.Marakwet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangoes</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>75 mangoes</td>
<td>Masol</td>
<td>E.Marakwet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oranges</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>16 oranges</td>
<td>Masol</td>
<td>E.Marakwet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td>150 litres</td>
<td>Masol</td>
<td>Lomut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goats</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lomut</td>
<td>Lomut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional medecine</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Own survey February 1985 Lomut)

There are people who carry bunches of bananas for farmers who sell those bunches on the market. Carriers get 5 Shs. for a bunch of bananas and 2 Shs. if they carry sugarcane. Masol women buy the fruits on the Chesegon market and sell them for higher prices on the Lomut market. Sometimes they buy the fruits in Elgoyo Marakwet. The fruits on the Chesegon market also come from Elgoyo Marakwet.

The total turnover of Lomut market is approximately 120,000 Shs. a year.
The people who earn money on the market buy a lot of industrial goods in the shops, such as cooking fat, soap, Omo, salt, sugar, etc. In Lomut there is one butcher and one slaughter slab. There are six general stores and two "hotels", selling tea, mandazis, chapatis, cooked beans and maize, and sodas.

CHESEGON MARKET

Chesegon is situated at the border of West Pokot and Elgeyo Marakwet District, and it is very close to Baringo District. It is precisely this fact that made it an important market place. The people of these three districts have a somewhat specialized way of living, they can market their surplus and thereby supply products that are needed by others. Agricultural Pokot mostly market maize, beans and tobacco, the Marakwet supply fruits, cassava and some maize, and the Baringo Pokot offer milk, meat and other animal products for barter or sale. These people traded with each other for a long time. The road from Baringo (1946) and the first shop (1941, built by a Somali trader) in the location and division, reflect the importance of Chepèlelel as a market place, despite the fact that it was difficult to reach from Kapenguria.

With the years more products were sold instead of bartered and with the money industrial goods were bought. Today a large part of the trade still goes on between the people of the three districts, but part of it is traded at Lomut market. Baringo and Masol women buy fruit in Elgeyo marakwet and sell it at higher prices in Lomut and Marich. Since the tarmac road Kapenguria-Lodwar is ready (1982), traders, Kikuyu women from Kapenguria, buy fruits on the Chesegon market and sell them again in Kapenguria. The "reach" of the market place has been extended. Many commodities on the Chesegon market come from Elgeyo Marakwet.
Table 4.6: Ratio of agricultural Pokot sellers at the Chesegon market, compared to pastoral Pokot and to Marakwet.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>(Pokot)</th>
<th>(Pastoral Pokot)</th>
<th>(Marakwet)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cassava</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td></td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorghum</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td></td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bananas</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td></td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugarcane</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td></td>
<td>91%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Kurita, K. Market Chesegon Village, Nairobi 1981)

Table 4.7: Quantities sold every month in 1984 in Cheptulel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Maize</th>
<th>Sorghum</th>
<th>Cassava</th>
<th>Mangoes</th>
<th>Vegetables</th>
<th>Vegetables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>200 kg.</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>1200 kg.</td>
<td>10 bags</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>200 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>100 kg.</td>
<td>50 kg.</td>
<td>200 kg.</td>
<td>2 bags</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>50 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>50 kg.</td>
<td>20 kg.</td>
<td>250 kg.</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>40 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>10 kg.</td>
<td>300 kg.</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>20 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>10 kg.</td>
<td>0,5 bag</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>20 kg.</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>45 kg.</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>60 kg.</td>
<td>2 bags</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>300 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>120 kg.</td>
<td>3 bags</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>600 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>10 bags</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>750 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>630 kg.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* green bananas, number of bunches.
** Lemons and oranges, number of bags.


Most of the maize, sorghum and cassava were sold at the end of the dry season, when many granaries were empty. Maize was harvested at that time in the Masop zone and came from people with a full store. Sorghum came from the irrigation plots (second harvest). Cassava can be kept in the ground for two years and farmers harvested it at the moment people want to buy it.
Maize is 2 Shs. a kilo, sorghum 5 Shs. a kilo and cassava 1 Shs. a kilo from February till July, in August and September people have to pay 5 Shs. a kilo. Traders start selling mangoes in September and sell most of it in December till February. Bananas are sold the whole year. They are the most expensive in August to December, 30-35 Shs. for a big bunch.

In Chesegon (Cheptulel side) there are three shops, two butchers and two hotels and one posho mill. People from the market buy sugar, salt, cooking oil, soap and tea leaves. Maize meal was sold much before the time famine relief food was distributed. The shops sell seeds too. One important shop sold 300 bags of 6.13 and 6.14 maize and 30 bags of 5.11 maize in 1984. The 6.13 and 6.14 maize were bought by highland farmers and seeds 5.11 by the lowland farmers. There were farmers who used seeds from their last harvest but then the harvest was lower than with new seeds. One of the butchers sold approximately 15 goats per month, he earned 200 Shs. a goat, 3000 Shs. a month. Once a year he paid the County Council 120 Shs. and he paid the owner of the butchery 200 Shs. a month. He started in January 1985. One of the hotel keepers started in April 1982. He sold beans, tea, mandazis, chapatis, ugalis, meat, cooked vegetables, cooked cassava. He got 600 Shs. a month and he paid the owner 200 Shs. a month. The income of the hotel owner is at least 800 Shs. a month.

4.4 INCOME AND EXPENDITURE IN LOMUT AND CHEPTULEL

There are some people who have a paid job but most of the people from Lomut and Cheptulel are subsistence farmers. Some farmers sell their surplus on the market and a few cultivate crops for the market. Other sources of income for those farmers are payments for casual labour on contracts, money from panning gold, brewing beer, burning charcoal, selling animals and getting money from relatives. Many people have beehives for honey and gather wild vegetables.

It is very general for women to brew beer. When they use 20 kg. of maize they can earn 100 Shs.

In almost all the families there is one person or more who pans gold. For one point (0.1 gram) they get 10-20 Shs. Lomut people are searching
in Endow, Chepkogahun and Nasolot, all outside the location. The minimum they earned in 1984 was 20 Shs., the maximum 3000 Shs. and at average 400 Shs. Of the 28 informants, 8 did not say anything about gold panning and 18 persons found less than 400 Shs. The informants of Cheptulel did not say much about how much gold they found in 1984. The persons who said something spoke of high amounts. The maximum was 110,000 Shs. and the minimum 3552 Shs. But there were many persons who found less gold. The Cheptulel people searched in Endow, quite far away.

In Lomut 58% of the people had beehives and the mean number of beehives was eight per household. They get 3 litres of honey per beehive. In Cheptulel (without the Masop) 50% of the households had beehives, 13 beehives per household. Here they got 1.7 litres per beehive. In the Masop zone in Cheptulel 80% of the households had a beehive. Eight beehives per household and 0.8 litres per beehive. Those who have beehives do not sell the honey, but use it for brewing beer for ceremonies or to give it to relatives who need it for their ceremonies. It is very important to keep good social ties.

Another source of income in Lomut and Cheptulel is selling charcoal. People make it themselves by burning wood in a special way. Special kinds of trees are needed which grow in specific areas. Charcoal burners earned 25-35 Shs. per bag in 1984.

Farmers can get a lot of money by selling animals. Pokot do not like to sell cattle because the number of cattle is very important for their social status and animals provide milk and meat. Cattle are a security for the future. People sell goats to get some cash.

Most people gather wild vegetables to get some extra food. They eat twice a day, not in the morning, ugali, sometimes with wild vegetables or beans.

In the location there are people with paid jobs. We give an overview of those jobs.
Chief (1L, 1 Ch), assistant chief (3L, 3 Ch), councillor (1L, 1 Ch) technical agricultural assistant (2L, 1 Ch), veterinary technical assistant (1 Ch), health officer (1L, 1 Ch), County Council collector (1 L, 1 Ch), evangelists, teachers (41 L, 27 Ch), doctor (1 L), nurses
(2L), hotelkeepers (2L, 2Ch), shopkeepers (8L, 5Ch), *and people working for the Chesta mission. Their income is approximately between 600 Shs. and 1200 Shs. a month. If we take an average of 900 Shs./month a rough estimate is that total annual job income is above 1.2 m. Shs. We may compare this with rough estimates of income from agricultural surplus (0.2 m. Shs.). It was impossible for us to estimate the values of other sources of income and the value of production for home consumption. To give at least some idea: a household of 5 people which produces enough grains for its food requirements (1000-1250 kg.) has a value of at least 2000 Shs., if maize is produced and a value of at least 5000 Shs. if sorghum and finger millet are produced. We can pay more attention to the expenditure of households. (* L=Lomut, Ch=Cheptulel)

Average total expenditure per household in Lomut and Cheptulel in 1984. Included are the expenditure for: schooling, seeds, grain, milk and meat, household needs, harambee, clothing, energy, transport, money given to relatives and other expenditure. We consider three groups of households. The first group consists of the households in Kew-Tow, Kamas and lower Masop zone in Lomut, the second group are the households in the Kew-Tow, Kamas and lower Masop in Cheptulel and the third group are the households in the higher Masop in Cheptulel. The expenditures are the highest for all the categories, except for grain, in Lomut and lowest for the higher Masop zone in Cheptulel. The average expenditure per household in Lomut is 1650 Shs. a year, in Cheptulel in the lower areas 1150 Shs. a year and in the highest areas only 200 Shs. a year. Households in Lomut spend much money on clothes, grain, household needs and harambee (16%, 15%, 12%, 12% of the total expenditure). In the lower zone of Cheptulel they spend much on grain, clothes, and harambee (26%, 17%, 15% of the total expenditure). In the Masop in Cheptulel they spend 85% of their total expenditure on clothes. Other expenditure went to harambee, households needs, and to relatives. (Questionnaires).

4.5 HISTORY OF OUTSIDE INTERVENTION IN THE ECONOMY

In colonial times there was not much intervention in the affairs of the Lomut and Cheptulel people. The British collected taxes and closed the district boundaries to prevent tax evasion. In 1927 there was a cattle census in Lomut location: 2205 cattle, 25,428 shoats,
and 31 donkeys were counted (Annual Report 1927).

During the years some remarks were made in the district annual reports about crops and irrigation in Cheptulel and Lomut. In 1919-1920 it was mentioned that irrigation took place in "Cheptulel-Suk". In 1931 we can read that on nearly all the shambas sorghum was grown, with a second harvest in January. The first one was in August and destroyed by a locust plague. In Lomut near Chepkono 50 acres were irrigated and the crop was finger millet. From 1936 until 1938 the British introduced new crops such as maize, potatoes, bananas and beans. In the reports we can read that in 1940 on the demonstration plot in Lomut groundnuts, simsim, maize, beans, and in 1942 also sugarcane and pawpaw were produced. In the Siya valley there was a large increase in the area under sweet potatoes, groundnuts, maize, cassava, and there were some banana plantations too. In 1940 on the demonstration plots in Cheptulel maize, beans, green grams, cowpeas, groundnuts, sweet potatoes, simsim, tobacco and cassava was grown. In 1942 sugarcane and cotton were also mentioned.

In 1942 there was already a severe gully erosion in almost the whole area at the foot of the escarpment. The advice was that a strip of a mile from Chesegon to Kibas should be closed and no goats allowed in harvested shambas.

Between 1945 and 1968 there seems to have been very little government attention for the agricultural problems of the Lomut and Cheptulel people. Only in 1960 a plan for Cheptulel-Nyangaita grazing scheme was formulated, but not executed. In 1969 there was a self help project to help flood stricken families. Other projects were the Lomut soil conservation projects from 1975 till 1978. In October 1979 the National Youth Service started a farm and in 1979-1980 Lomut tree nursery and Lomut tree planting were started too: 25 ha. of drought resistant species were planted. (Expenditure 1982-84 168,000 Shs.), but termites had destroyed most of the plantation. Until 1985 there had never been any government interference with traditional irrigation. Only in 1985-86 the Arid and Semi-arid Lands Programme planned to rehabilitate some furrows (e.g. the Arpollo and Chesegon furrows).
## 5. THE DEVELOPMENT OF INFRASTRUCTURE AND SOCIAL SERVICES

### 5.1 SUMMARY OF THE SERVICES

#### LOMUT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Admin.</th>
<th>Commerce</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Health</th>
<th>Church</th>
<th>women</th>
<th>group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lomut</td>
<td>chief</td>
<td>6 shops</td>
<td>primary</td>
<td>dispensary</td>
<td>RCM</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ass. ch.</td>
<td>market</td>
<td>school (RCM)</td>
<td>adult educ.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>councill.</td>
<td>1 butcher</td>
<td>t.a. agr. 2 hotels</td>
<td>1 posho mill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Marus

- primary school (RCM)
- adult educ. (part time)

#### Kokworitit

- primary school (RCM) (ELCK)
- vaccin PEFA
- adult educ. (part time)

#### Chesta

- 1 canteen
- primary school (boarding, girls) (Luth.)
- dispensary ELCK

#### Parkino

- primary school (RCM) (ELCK)
- Mob.cl.

#### Sororo

- primary school (RCM) (ELCK)
- Mob.cl.
- adult educ. (part time)

#### Ptuulungwo

- primary school (RCM)
- adult educ. (part time)

#### Chemutlokoityo

- primary school (Luth.) (Luth.)
- adult educ. (part time)

#### Otiot

- primary school (RCM)
- adult educ. (part time)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Admin.</th>
<th>Commerce</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Health</th>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Women group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chesegon Chief</td>
<td>ass. ch.</td>
<td>3 shops</td>
<td>primary school</td>
<td>mob.cl.</td>
<td>RCM</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>market (RCM)</td>
<td>(RCM)</td>
<td>(RCM)</td>
<td>CPK</td>
<td>PGC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>council. 2 butchers</td>
<td>adult educ.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t.a.agr. 1 poshm</td>
<td>full time</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t.a. livest. 2 hotels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arpollo</td>
<td>ass. ch.</td>
<td></td>
<td>primary school</td>
<td>mob.cl.</td>
<td>RCM</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(RCM)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>adult educ. (RCM)</td>
<td>part time</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>primary school</td>
<td>mob.cl.</td>
<td>RCM</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(RCM)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>adult educ. (RCM)</td>
<td>part time</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptirap</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>primary school</td>
<td>RCM</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(RCM)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>adult educ. (RCM)</td>
<td>part time</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kokwomeses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>primary school</td>
<td>mob.cl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(RCM)</td>
<td>adult educ. (RCM)</td>
<td>RCM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ass.ch. = assistant chief</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>council. = councillor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t.a.agr. = technical assistant agriculture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poshm = posho mill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cant. = canteen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCM = Roman Catholic Mission</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELCK = Evangelistic Lutheran Church</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPK = Church Province of Kenya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEFA = Pentecostal Evangelistic Fellowship of Africa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t.a. livest. = technical assistant livestock</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mob.cl. = mobile clinic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2 WATER DEVELOPMENT

In Lomut and Chepulele not many people are provided with "project" drinking water. A few boreholes were constructed in the plan period 1979-1984, and there is a gravity water supply system, that never worked. It is to be rehabilitated and repaired in the plan period 1984-1988, so that Lomut dispensary is provided. This means that the furrow from which the water is taken should be kept in good condition. The other project mentioned is the construction of a water supply for Arpollo dispensary so that it can be opened. (Expected costs 300,000 Shs.)

The position of wells, dams and water projects is indicated on the map. Dams silted up are not given on the map.

Map 11: Water project sites in Lomut and Chepulele

(ASAL Water Survey Sigor Division, Provisional Results 1985)

It is the task of women to get water from the rivers or furrows. North of Arpollo some women must walk more than one hour to reach the river. The women use the water for drinking, cooking and cleaning.
5.3 HISTORY OF THE ROADS

There is a secondary road from Chesegon via Lomut to Sigor. Beyond Sigor the road connects with the tarmac road. The road also runs southwards from Chesegon to Tambach and to Eldoret. Part of the road between Lomut and Chesegon is very bad in the rainy season and it is difficult or not possible to reach Chesegon. There is a minor road as well. It is a branch of the secondary road and runs to the north through Masol to Lokichar.

The first time road construction took place in Cheptulel was in 1946. Road construction in Lomut and Cheptulel was mentioned in official reports in 1956. At the end of that year new roads were started with communal labour in Lomut and Cheptulel and 22 kms. were completed. (West Pokot Area Council 1956). In 1967 a grant of 10,000 Shs. was given for keeping the Chesegon road in repair. (West Pokot DAR 1967 Road Services). In 1968 the Chesegon-Sigor and the Sigor-Kapenguria road were maintained. Although the last road is outside the location, it is important because it is a connection to Kapenguria. During the month September 1969 the Area Council Funds were exhausted and Pokot roadgangs, including those with long services, were laid off (West Pokot DAR, Road Services).

There are many problems with keeping the roads in repair. Often the roads are washed away during floods. The roads are not hardened. In general they are in a bad condition, there is a shortage of money and there are organisational problems. In the plan period 1979-1984 no road has been maintained in Lomut and Cheptulel. In DDP 84-88 it is mentioned that the road Chesegon-Lomut-Sigor needs a bridge over the Weiwei river (outside the location) and needs culverts, regraveling and better drainage. This was also mentioned in DDP 79-84. Some details:

Lomut-Chesegon road B4
Improve the existing drainage by building drifts, installing culverts, catch water drains, bridges, reinstate cross section, install road furniture, earthworks, regraveling, drifts
160,000 Shs., 24 culverts 200,000 Shs., 36 culverts 350,000 Shs.,
catch water drains 1,000,000 bridges 15,000,000, earthworks
500,000, reshaping 1,500,000, regraveling 2,500, furniture
10,000, total 7,810,000. 1986-1987 2,210,000 (DDP 84-88).

Siya Bridge, B4 road, near Lomut
Status at July 1985: materials worth 125,000 Shs., bought from
200,000 Shs. allocated and from this also 75,000 Shs. used to
complete WeiWei bridge. Expenditure 84-85 125,000 Shs.
Targets for 85-86 very discouraging as there are no funds to
construct this bridge although materials have been bought.
Funds should be made available to construct this bridge (DDP 84-88)
Regravelling road B4 Lomut-Chesegon
Status at July 1985: 2.54 km. road regravelled. Expenditure in 83-84 517,000 Shs. Targets 85-86: regravelling contract a portion of remaining 20.3 km. which requires 2,047,172 Shs. but only 760,000 Shs. is available in 85-86. For 86-87 continuation of implementation of the project, estimated costs 1,287,172 Shs. (DDP 84-88).

5.4 CHURCH ACTIVITIES

The first denomination in the area was the RCM (Roman Catholic Mission). They sponsored the schools in Lomut (started in 1953). The RCM dispensary in Lomut was taken over by the government and the RCM dispensary built in Arpollo never opened due to lack of water. The RCM mobile clinic from Sigor is important in the area.

Sunday services are held in the schools and in Lomut in the church but apart from the children from RCM schools the attendance is not very high. In 1982 the RCM took over the primary school in Cheptulel from the CPK (Church Province of Kenya) (Liter). The CPK has started this school in 1952. At the moment they have no schools or churches in Lomut or Cheptulel location.

Another denomination in the locations is the Evangelistic Lutheran Church of Kenya, ELCK. Work of the ELCK began in W. Pokot in 1977. Now there are stations in Chesia and the Sekerr hills, in Kapenguria and Chepareria. They sponsor three schools in Lomut. They have a dispensary in Chesia since 1983. Their healthwork in the mountains is very important. Sunday services are held in the schools but attendance is low apart from the pupils.

Table 5.2: The average attendance of Pokot in Lomut and Cheptulel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RCM</th>
<th>CPK</th>
<th>ELCK</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>% of POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOMUT</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td>750</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHEPTULEL</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td>420</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Daystar Communication "Pokot Report", Nairobi 1983, and interviews by Ton Dietz in 1982.)

The third denomination, the Pentecostal Evangelistic Fellow Ship of Africa (PEFA), has recently come to the area. They have a church building in Lomut but very few converts.
The denominations are very important for first starting schools and now sponsoring schools. They also do a lot of work on health care. The average attendance is low because Pokot must change important things if they want to be a member of a church, like circumcision, ceremonies, polygamy and drinking.

Table 5.3: Schoolchildren in church sponsored schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RCM</th>
<th>BLCK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOMUT</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHEPTULEL</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5 DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION

Until 1980 all schools in these locations were started and sponsored by churches. In 1980 all schools were taken over by the government, but building and maintenance is still church sponsored.

In 1954 there was a Bible Church Missionary Outschool, standard I and II, in Chesegon and a Roman Catholic Mission Outschool in Lomut. The latter had 12 pupils and all the teachers were Pokot. (W.Pokot Area Council 1954).

In Cheptulel schools sponsored by the RCM Sigor started in 1968 in Annet, in Arpollo in 1973 as a nursery and in 1974 as a primary school, in 1975 in Ptitrap and in 1980 in Kokwomeses. The primary school in Chesegon was taken over by the RCM from the CPK in 1984.

In Lomut location a school sponsored by the Reformed Church of East Africa started in 1979 in Sekerot but is now closed. The schools sponsored by the Lutherans are in Chesta (started in 1981), in Sororo (1980), and in Chemotlokoctyo (1979 nursery, 1980 primary school) All in Lomut.

Chesta is a primary boarding school for girls only. There are many children from outside the location. The Lutherans got 2 million Shs. from NORAD to extend the classrooms and dormitories. They started building in the beginning of 1985.

Boys and girls can follow lessons in Lomut primary school but boarding is only for boys. Boarding fees were 180 Shs. a year and 60 Shs. a term. For day schools there are no fees but school uniforms have to be bought if it is possible.
The primary school includes standard eight since 1984. In 1985 the ASAL Programme donated 150,000 Shs. for the Lomut primary school.

Table 5.4: Lomut: schools, pupils and teachers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>schools</th>
<th>boys</th>
<th>girls</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>teachers</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>p/t</th>
<th>% of children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>884</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>633</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>567</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>882</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>805</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>932</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Until 1982: District Basic Education Office Kapenguria, Archives 82-85 Educational Office Sigor)

Table 5.5: Cheptulel, schools, pupils and teachers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>schools</th>
<th>boys</th>
<th>girls</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>teachers</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>p/t</th>
<th>% of children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>567</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>691</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Until 1982: District Basic Education Office Kapenguria, Archives 82-85 Educational Office Sigor).

For a long time Pokot did not like to send their children to school. The children have their activities at home. Other reasons were that they learn things at school which are not regarded as relevant and children who went to school were said to show less respect for their parents and for traditions. But things seemed to have changed in and after 1980.
Table 5.6: The growth percentage in the number of pupils

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lomut</td>
<td>188%</td>
<td>-2.8%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>-2.7%</td>
<td>-8.8%</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheptulel</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
<td>-3.3%</td>
<td>-28.5%</td>
<td>-1.3%</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An explanation for the high growth percentage in 1980 is the strong pressure on the chiefs and assistant chiefs to force parents to send their children to school after a presidential order in 1979 and there were schoolmilk programmes and free lunch food programmes. Those food programmes had a strong effect during the droughts.

In Elgeyo Marakwet they did not have such a food programme. Some children of that area went to school in Chesegon to get food. In 1981 there still is a growth percentage of 24.6% in Cheptulel but in Lomut the growth percentage is negative. In 1985 there is growth but the reason for this is that standard eight is included in the primary school since 1985. Pupils stay one year longer in school. In 1985 35% of the children in Lomut schools are girls and in Cheptulel 23% of the children are girls. Many girls do not finish standard eight, because they must marry and sometimes they become pregnant, while still at school.

There is adult education in Lomut and Cheptulel. The number of adults who follow the lessons fluctuates a lot. It depends on the tasks they have to do at home. There is adult education in Lomut, Parkino, Sororo, Ptulungwo, Chemutloktyo, Otiot, Chesegon, Arpollo, Annet, Ptitap, Kokwomeses. In most of the places there were more men, who got educated than women.
5.6 HEALTH DEVELOPMENT

In 1980 the Lutherans started a dispensary in Chesta sponsored by the Lutherans (20%) and NORAD (80%). The first three years it was only a tent. In 1983 they had a building. Many people from the wide area visit this dispensary. Approximately 200 newcomers a month. An adult pays 12 Shs. and a child 8 Shs. per case. There is one nurse at this dispensary. She also provides vaccinations in the mountains, at Annet, Sorroro, Kokworitit, Chemulokotyo and the schools in Parkino and Chesta.

The dispensary at Lomut centre is government sponsored. At the end of the seventies the RCM closed the dispensary sponsored by them. This dispensary was first on the NYS area. But the problem was that sick patients could not come to the dispensary at night. The RCM placed the dispensary outside the NYS area. There were new problems, one of them was that patients were afraid of Ngorokos. So the dispensary closed. In the new dispensary there are problems with the provision of medicines and drinking water availability. There is one doctor and two nurses. Every month they have 100-150 revisits and 700-800 newcomers.

The patients are Lomut people, Masol people and people from the NYS. In Cheptulel the dispensary is in Arpollo and is sponsored by the RCM but due to drinking water problems and unwilling people living in the neighbourhood, (they do not want dead people in their area) it is not opened yet. Health services are now provided by the RCM mobile clinic, which also goes to Arpollo. Many people from Chesegon go to the dispensary in Liter on the other side of the river in Elgyeo Marakwet, but they do not like to go to a dispensary in another district.