

# 2015

MSc thesis  
Wageningen University  
SDC84033

Emmy Dortant  
900724195020



## What happens at a market?

*A study of a pastoralist livestock and commodity market in Samburu, Northern Kenya*

Supervisors:  
Sietze Vellema  
Han van Dijk



## Acknowledgements

This thesis was written as part of the M.Sc. program International Development studies, at Wageningen University.

Writing this thesis has been a challenging project, and here I would like to express my gratitude to everyone and all institutions who supported me in my fieldwork and writings.

Firstly I would like to thank my supervisors at Wageningen University, Han van Dijk and Sietze Vellema for their patience, constructive ideas and feedback throughout the process. When I felt lost in my own chapters, Sietze and Han would get me back on track. I always left advisory meetings with them full of inspiration and new energy. Without their support, this thesis would not be written.

Fieldwork was funded and supported by the International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI), based in Nairobi and SNV Netherlands. I thank Todd Crane, ILRI's supervisor for this research, for his assistance in Kenya, and sharing his expertise on dry lands adaptation and markets. He also commented on the report and supported me in my field work, which greatly improved the outcome.

Also, I would like to thank the people at SIDEP for the practical support in the field, and the people in the Samburu community for their hospitality and who helped me with my research, including my translator and all those who were willing to talk to me and took time for me.

## List of terms and abbreviations

ASALs	Arid- and Semi-Arid Lands
Cess	Tax, mainly paid in livestock trade.
<i>Chai</i>	Tea, usually contains large amounts of milk and sugar and is seen as important source of energy
ILRI	International Livestock Research Institute, part of the CGIAR consortium
KWS	Kenya Wildlife Services
<i>Manyatta</i>	Samburu hut or settlement. Usually for residence, sometimes for business
<i>Moran</i>	Literally: Warrior. Young unmarried men and adolescent boys
Mpesa	Mobile phone based money transfer system
<i>Mzee</i>	Literally: elderly. Married man
Pen	Enclosure for holding livestock
SIDEP	Samburu Integrated Development Program, local partner NGO
SNV	SNV Netherlands Development Organisation: NGO involved in the Lolkuniani market
<i>Ugali</i>	Staple food, based on maize flour

## Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....	3
1.2 Theory.....	5
What is co-management? .....	5
What is a market? .....	6
What is access? .....	6
What are institutions?.....	8
1.3 Research questions.....	10
1.4 Methodology .....	11
2 Co-management. Implementation and functioning.....	13
2.1 Co-management.....	13
2.2 Dividing responsibilities.....	14
2.3 Cess collection .....	17
2.4 Security and peace making.....	22
2.5 Planning and implementation .....	24
2.6 Committee: elections and members .....	25
2.7 How well-appreciated is the co-management model? .....	28
2.8 Summary of findings.....	29
3. Changing access to capital and resources .....	31
3.1 Livestock: trade strategies and institutions .....	31
Gender in livestock market. ....	35
3.2 Commodity market.....	37
Gender in commodity market .....	39
Poultry & hides .....	40
Honey .....	41
3.3 Hotels.....	42
Gender practices in hotels.....	42
Motivation, access and innovation .....	43
3.4 Summary of findings.....	44
4. Social interactions .....	45
4.1 Parental control.....	45
4.2 Information sharing.....	45
4.3 Creating and reconfirming friendships.....	46

4.4	Negotiations .....	46
4.5	Credit giving.....	47
4.6	Increased interaction between tribes .....	47
4.7	Poultry .....	49
4.8	Women’s participation.....	50
4.9	summary of findings.....	50
5.	Discussion and conclusions .....	53
5.2	Co-management .....	53
5.3	Economic access and strategies .....	54
5.4	Other social interactions .....	56
5.5	Conclusions.....	56
5.6	Future research .....	57
	Literature.....	60
	Annex 1: List of interviewees .....	61
	Annex 2: List of Figures and tables.....	63
	List of Figures.....	63
	List of Boxes.....	63
	List of tables .....	63

## 1. Introduction

This MSc thesis is about livestock and commodity market as development intervention in the dry lands of Kenya.

Development interventions are under the influence of trends. Currently, there is a large focus on decreasing traditional aid dependency relations. Instead of aid, performing trade is a new dominant paradigm that would bring prosperity and development: A focus on markets helps people to help themselves.

*‘More frequent and severe climatic shocks in the past two decades have pushed an increasing number of pastoralists deeper into abject poverty, prompting huge flows of international humanitarian aid into the ASAL(Arid- and Semi-Arid Land-ED). Many current strategies for reversing this crisis hinge on getting pastoralists to depend less on aid and more on markets.’ (Barret, 2004)*

However, in order for people to sell their produce and make a living, there needs to be a good trading environment. In many development countries, this is missing. Transaction costs are too high, amongst others due to lacking infrastructure and institutions. This is also the case in the Arid- and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs) of Kenya. These regions are also very vulnerable to climatic changes, as they largely depend on low input, extensive agriculture. To help people living in this area, Dutch NGO SNV has started a large program: ‘Enhanced community resilience to drought through innovative market-based systems approaches’. In different projects, 25 000 livestock keeping households are targeted. (ASAL FORUM, 2015). One project in this program is the development of a livestock market in the Samburu district: the Lolkuniani market. The Samburu district is one of the poorest counties in Kenya. There are high rates of illiteracy and poverty. SNV has helped the market with infrastructure, trainings, and the introduction of the co-management model.

The Lolkuniani market was established around 2004, initiated by elders from around Lolkuniani village with help from local NGO SIDEPE. They started the market because other livestock markets were very far away: People had to walk for days before being able to sell their livestock in the markets of Maralal and Isiolo, both a three day walk. After two years, SNV got involved. Although active in many markets now, Lolkuniani was the first where SNV intervened. The organisation introduced the co-management system, where responsibilities are shared between the community and the county, and contributed financially to the infrastructure around the market, most significantly the livestock pens and the office building for the co-management authority: the LMA.

Right now, the Lolkuniani livestock market is very active and vibrant. I will shortly describe what a market day looks like. From there on I will explain the research (and writing) choices I made based on interesting events or patterns to investigate further.

The Lolkuniani market is placed in the midst of a set of rangelands, home to the Samburu people. The Samburu people are pastoralists: livestock is their main asset in providing food and food security. The herd produces milk, blood and meat which are directly consumed. Most pastoralists live in ASALs, and in these environmentally challenging regions livestock often provides more food security than growing crops. *‘pastoral production systems (..) all have in common the exploitation of ephemeral concentration of resources’ (Kratli et al, 2013).* As pasture doesn’t grow everywhere throughout the year, pastoralists move around the rangelands in search of pasture rich areas and water to keep their livestock well-fed. This migration is also known as transhumance or strategic mobility.

The market is located next to a road: the C79 from Archers Post to Baragoi. This means it can be accessed with larger vehicles: Lorries (trucks), minivans (*matatus* in Swahili) and cars.

It is a weekly market, held every Thursday. In other week days, there is little activity. There is one permanent shop next to the road that is regularly open on other days of the week. There are hardly any other permanent buildings.

A bit further, the livestock market is set up. It exists out of a small office, where the market management meets early mornings on Thursday. Next to the office, there are the livestock pens. This is a set of fences where people can bring in the livestock they want to sell, divided into three separately fenced areas: one for goats and sheep, one for cows, and the third is for camels.

On Thursday mornings, usually between 8.15 and 9.00, people walk into the pens with the animals they want to sell. Then, the negotiations start with the candidate buyers. These buyers can be local people who come by foot, or external buyers from cities such as Nairobi, Meru and Isiolo who come by *matatu* or lorry. Each week, hundreds of goats and sheep are sold. Quantities of cattle and camel are lower, and more variable with the season. Around midday, the selling of livestock finishes.

Next to this, many other activities take place on the market, either with a social or economic background. They start a bit later, From around 9.30 or 10.00 o'clock. The two most notifiable examples of these are the 'hotels' and the commodity market. 'Hotels' are places where you can go to get a drink or a meal and are also social meeting places. These are not places for overnight stay. The hotels are based in '*manyattas*': huts. The structure of these huts are semi-permanent, but the cover of these huts are taken on and off each market day. Each hotel has their own purpose and targeted group of visitors.

The commodity market imports goods into the Samburu community. Most importantly this described by locals as 'food stuff': large quantities of *ugali* (staple food based on maize flour), wheat flour, beans, maize, rice and fresh fruits and vegetables are sold. Some stands combine the selling of food products with other household essentials, or only sell these non-consumable goods: soap, clothing, batteries, torches, mugs, etc.

Most commodity stands and hotels are 'open' till around 4pm. At this time security forces and local peace makers leave too. Sometimes conflicts arise at the market. This can either be in the livestock pens, when a deal goes bad and the buyer and seller need to come to an agreement. Later on the day, more and more alcohol is consumed: then also alcohol related conflicts appear.



## 1.2 Theory

To understand the Lolkuniani market, I first give insight into earlier research and relevant theoretical concepts. I explain the theoretical notions used for analysis and how they can be of use. These are the base for my research questions and the rest of this research.

I will start looking at Lolkuniani market at the immediate outcomes and practices. In this case, that is governance, in the shape of the co-management system. I expect this formal organisation of the market to have a big influence on the management of the market, and possibly influences trade and other activities at the market too.

Secondly I will look at the intermediate level, which is already a bit more abstract. This covers the theoretical ideas on markets and access. I describe different ways a market can be analysed, and what this means for analysing activities and happenings at Lolkuniani.

A market is a place where goods and services are exchanged, but how this happens, and what this means, is not solely decided by an anonymous market structure. This is important to take into account, as the market was set up to improve the exchange of livestock and improve livelihoods. To assess the market, understanding methods and institutions of access is essential.

The last part of the theory relates to institutions. Although institutions play an important role in trade and markets, little is known on how institutions function, how they can change over time or how people make use of them. So I will explain what institutions are, and why they are important.

### What is co-management?

Co-management is an organisational structure where multiple stakeholders are involved in the collaborative and participatory process of regulatory decision-making, implementation and enforcement. In Jentoft's definition, three stakeholder groups are included: user-groups, government agencies and research institutions (Jentoft, 1998).

Co-management was designed to overcome certain obstacles, and was popularly introduced in the 1990's in fishing areas, after disappointing outcomes with top down management. Governmental management was perceived as 'distant, impersonal and bureaucratic' (Jentoft, 1998, p.424). Decentralizing and involving users should overcome these problems. Two other reasons to include users are 1) users have the experience-based knowledge, which may bring 'more enlightened, effective and equitable remedies and solutions to the management challenge' and 2), involving users creates legitimacy in the management system. This is likely to enhance compliance.

Jentoft also explains several societal aspects that need to be taken into account, which can lead to failure or contribute to the success of co-management. So is co-management more likely to be successful in community where solidarity, shared identity and common wishes for the future are present. For this reason, it is important to have a view of who 'the community' is to be involved, and secondly, having a conscious approach on the method of selection of representatives.

Sometimes, other variables in society may enable or disable functioning of co-management.

When co-management is introduced, it will be integrated in normative, regulative and cognitive dimensions. Although co-management is a new management system, made by people, it can create feelings of a new reality or truth, and people might feel changing it is impossible. When accepted, co-

management creates new standards and norms and it becomes the embodiment of cultural and social structures: a new institution.

Carlson and Berkens (2004) researched co-management as management of the commons. This is also how it is used before, in the management of common fishing grounds. Natural resource management faces specific challenges, such as free-riding and a prisoners' dilemma. To overcome the problem of free-riding, Jentoft suggests involving many people in the co-management, and giving them more responsibilities. This transfers responsibilities, reducing opportunistic behaviour.

In this case however, co-management is not used for natural resource management. It is used in a different setting: the organisation of a market. A market is not a usual common resource, there for it is difficult to say if this co-management will work the same and will face the same challenges as earlier described in literature. It is also unclear how and what the influence is co-management on trade and other activities at the market.

### **What is a market?**

At first sight, a market is a structure where goods and services are exchanged. This structure can be a physical place, such as the Lolkuniani market. From a purely economic perspective, buyers and sellers can meet each other, and exchange goods or services for a price. In economic theory, this price is determined by the amount of buyers and sellers available, and how much they on average wish to spend (price variability). Incentives for trade are based on individual needs and preferences.

However, a market is so much more than that. According to some, it is even essentially different: Polanyi (1957) wrote trade is interrelated with social and cultural aspects. Financial and economic transactions are embedded in society, and in some communities, it are the preferences and needs of the group that count and are decisive which transactions take place. These preferences are based on the cultural structures, and thereby institutions of a society.

Those are two radically different approaches to the analysis of a market. In my expectations, some of the transactions will be culturally embedded, or are shaped by societal norms. But of course, we should not neglect the agency of people, and their own willingness and interest to try to change their own social and economic position for the better.

Following this line of thinking, the market is mainly a place where people (try to) get access to other goods and services. They can herein be assisted or hindered by the presence of societal norms and structures: institutions. Why access is so important, and how people create access is described in the next subchapter.

### **What is access?**

Reliable access to assets, resources and capital is essential for people to make a living and provide for their families. The creation of a physical market place likely improves availability of resources and capital. However, availability does not mean accessibility.

Accessibility is defined as the ability to derive benefits from material objects, persons, institutions and symbols. Ribot and Peluso (2003) have theorized access further. They argue it is better to understand access as a 'bundle of power', instead of solely 'a bundle of rights'. This too means access

is even more fluctuant than property rights, and that looking at property rights only does not bring a good enough understanding of how people make a living.

Ribot and Peluso theorize two distinct different mechanisms in which access is obtained and sustained. Within these mechanisms, different kinds of powers are categorized that determine access. Taking the market as a starting point, I will elaborate on those most relevant for this case.

The first mechanism is based on rights: to what someone is entitled to, based on law, custom or convention. This can be based on formal law and formal institutions, but also includes local and customary law.

The second mechanism of access is based on structural and relational mechanisms. These are a set of powers or resources where individuals already have access to and contribute to the acquiring of other resources and assets. These powers are more dependent on individual circumstances. Ribot and Peluso made different categories: technology, capital, markets, labour, knowledge, authority, social identities and social relations.

'Access to capital' means access to financial resources or the wealth of a person. Financial capital improves access directly, as it gives people the ability to purchase access and property rights. Indirectly wealth improves one's access too, as wealth can increase someone's status. With a higher social status, it is easier to access other resources. Access to capital includes access to credit.

'Access to markets' is *'the ability to gain, control or maintain entry into exchange relations'* (Ribot and Peluso 2003, p. 166). Access to markets can lead to commoditization of goods. This means the value of goods can be transformed from intrinsic to an exchange value. How well someone is able to derive benefits from the market depends on broader market factors, such as supply, demand, price and market information. This is closely linked to 'Access to knowledge'. Ribot and Peluso describe that having access to knowledge contribute to how well one may benefit from access to a market. For instance, with better information of market prices, one is in a better position to negotiate.

A person might derive access to resources because of their identity characteristics, such as ethnicity or gender. This is called 'Access through social identity'. This could be relevant at the Lolkuniani market, as the Samburu culture has specific roles for women and men in specific age groups (Spencer, 1965). Also ethnicity can play a role, as Kenya has over 40 different tribes.

'Access to social relations' is the last highlighted asset. It relates to social capital and networks: *'Some people and institutions control resource access while others must maintain their access through those who have control'* (Ribot and Peluso, 2003, p154). They insist it is important to recognize and include the understanding that social relations enable or constrain people to use assets and resources. Almost all of the previous assets or powers are linked to interpersonal relations. These are dynamic and can change, which means access to assets can also change. Social relations are dependent on one's own agency and network, but also on societal structures, such as social identity.

Social relations are expected to be of big importance at this market. This, because the Lolkuniani market is not expected to be anonymous. This has several reasons.

As Polanyi explains, the market will be used to confirm social relations and cultural values. This cannot take place in an anonymous market. But also from an economic viewpoint there is a likely presence of networks. As formal regulations are likely to be weak (this is common in impoverished rural areas as governmental authorities are physically far away) other regulations are likely to be present and take over to create a safe and reliable trading environment. Such informal regulations are institutions too. A network can create a reliable trading environment, and can be based on social ties or previous positive experiences. Networks or extension of networks can also have other ground for trust, for instance ethnicity or social identity. The collection of networks and trust between people is social capital, and those with a strong network are likely to derive benefits from this, for instance in how easy their access to resources and assets is. Those with a strong network have to provide fewer efforts and investments to do business, as they already know who they are buying from or selling to.

### What are institutions?

In the previous subchapters the concept of social structures and institutions is already mentioned several times. Institutions are present and influencing all parts of society and individual actions. It is therefore interesting to know which institutions are present in the market, and how do they influence what happens. Here I will explain more precisely what institutions are and why they exist.

From previous chapters, we already know trade in rural areas is not solely determined by anonymous supply and demand. Ensminger (1992) confirms this for pastoral areas in Kenya: when pastoralists are looking for a herder, they are looking for herders of good quality, whom are intelligent, strong and have good common knowledge. The search for good labour forces are also influenced by networks and social positions.

Formal institutions can overcome some transaction costs, but in many impoverished regions, strong formal institutions are absent. To ensure a safe and reliable trading environment, there still need to be reliable rules of practice: Social rules and structures. These are also called institutions and are present in every society. They are cultural norms, forming the expectancy of what could occur.

Jentoft continues to describe institutions as reliable rules of practice: They are characterised by their robust and durable performance, and survive even when their personnel moves on. They are *'collections of interrelated rules and routines that define appropriate actions in terms of relations between roles and situations'*. (March and Olsen, 1989 in Jentoft 2004, p138)

Later on, he quotes an even wider term, which includes the enabling capacities of institutions:

*'Institutions consist of cognitive, normative and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning to social behavior. Institutions are transported by various carriers-cultures, structures and routines- and they operate at multiple levels of jurisdiction'*. (Scott 1995 in Jentoft 2004, p140)

One of the key characteristics of institutions is thus their stability and durability. This also means institutional changes do not occur overnight and can therefore be hard to observe, especially in a limited timeframe.

The market too consists of a set of structures and institutions. Institutions at the market can smoothen trade, and this can be reason for their existence. In some cases, institutions are more

directed at normative ideas. So not only direct financial gains are a reason for existence at the market. Also cultural values are determined in institutions.

Although institutions are robust and form the expectancy of what could occur, institutions can change over time. Institutional changes are those occurring at the highest level of societies, or 'ultimate level'. Changes happen under the influence of users of institutions or external powers. Users can express their agency in their attempt to change or adapt an institution. Motives for change can be self-interest or the 'common good'. Some people are in better position to change institutions than others. This is depending on their social position in the community, and access to assets and resources to make a change. Also, it depends on the solidness of the targeted institution.

An important institution which needs to be considered in this research is gender. Gender refers to the socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes that any society considers appropriate for men and women. Spencer (1965, p 211) extensively wrote on the topic of gender in the Samburu society, and found immense differences in what is normal for men and what is normal for women amongst the Samburu, for instance related to heritage and ownerships rights. Since then, it seems changes have occurred. There are signs since the mid 1990's it has become more normal for families to also send their daughters to schools, not only their sons. Holtzman (2002) also researched gender in Samburu. He also sees important differences between men and women and in which settings they can express influence: '*Women rarely assert authority beyond their own household and kinship group*', but women have significant influence within the household and food distribution (Holtzman 2002 p. 11). This means the way women can access assets and resources differs from elders and warriors (*moran*). This means the institution of gender and what is appropriate, is likely to affect what happens in households, but also likely influences which activities are performed by whom in the market. For this reason, I will explicitly take this into account.

### 1.3 Research questions

This research is based on the knowledge gap around institutions, (rural) markets and access to resources and assets. Although it is known that institutions are important, little is known on how these are shaped, adjusted and how they function, especially in a pastoralist setting.

Therefore my research question is:

How has the establishment of a co-managed livestock market influenced and shaped institutions and access to resources, assets and capital in the Lolkuniani region of Samburu county?

To answer this question, I will look at several sub-topics:, which are

Co-management: As this co-management system is different from what has been researched before, I am interested in how it is organised, how responsibilities are shared, and how the co-management functions in the market: how is co-management influencing what happens at the market?

Trades and access to assets: It is unknown which trades are performed and how. This will help answering the question how people gain access to resources, and if and how institutions play a role in this.

Social relations: The market is not an anonymous place, and besides performing trade and acquiring access to resources, social relations will likely also be reinforced or established. I hypothesise that some social interactions can confirm or undermine existing institutions, or create new ones. I will research if this is actually true, and how this happens.

These topics bring me to three sub questions:

1. How is this form of co-management organised, and how does it operate and influence the market?
2. How does the market influence and facilitate the way people gain access to resources and capital?
3. How does the market influence social interactions?

## 1.4 Methodology

To answer my research questions, I carried out fieldwork around the Lolkuniani market from January 2015 till the midst of April 2015 (3.5 months). My purpose was to get qualitative data from various stakeholders and market visitors. To do so, I did participatory observations with the pastoralists in the area and semi-structured interviews. Also, I joined workshops organised by ILRI and SNV for committee members, 2 group interviews.

Although English is spoken throughout large parts of Kenya, the primary language in the Samburu district is Samburu. Some people speak Swahili and some English too. To help me with interviews, I hired an interpreter. Because of my requirements regarding availability, flexibility, language skills etc. I chose to hire the 18 year old Roy, living in Wamba. He finished Wamba Boys High School mid-2014, and was waiting for his results. He speaks Samburu, Swahili and English. He accompanied me to every market visit, participatory observations and interviews in the area. Because he was Samburu too, some people were more willing to talk to him. As the Samburu culture is a gerontocracy, we often needed the accompany of a *mzee* to do interview with others, mainly if we wanted to interview other *mzees*. In some cases, it was also an advantage. I was told women were more open to talk to us, because my translator was only a young boy and not an established *mzee*. (Frank, Philip, Roy himself talked vaguely about this).

The local implementing NGO SIDEP helped me with first contacts in and around the market, mainly with the co-management. From there on, I made my own network of informants and acquaintances. Committee members introduced me to most interviewees. Other times I met new people in Wamba town or at the market. So, most of the interviews and other data-collection was done opportunistically: it was based on the options available in my network of acquaintances around Wamba town and the Lolkuniani area.

Every week I visited the market. From there on, I would walk around, make some small talk, and quickly meet up with the people I already knew. Visiting a hotel was a very easy way to start conversations with people. It was impossible to count all these small talk and conversations. With some people I made longer talks, and/ or talked to them multiple times. I counted these as interviews. As far as possible, I made lists of all these interviewees, see annex 1. Of course living in the area 3 months, there were many more moments I learned new things or had confirmations of earlier ideas.

My own characteristics and those helping me in my field work has likely affected the data I collected, and also how I interpreted them. I was visibly an outsider, and my answers to questions of locals made that even more clear (I am not from a farming or herding family, and generally all Samburu women my age are married and have children; I don't). However I felt little limitations based on this. In some cases, being a woman was possibly an advantage: women were usually willing to talk to me, and as I was not a Samburu women, I could also talk to men. I have attempted to interpret the data as well as possible, but of course they are always influenced by the my theoretical frame and own research interests. The limited time frame and limited number of field locations made it difficult to make generalizations and to be sure of institutional changes.

Summary:

In the beginning: Joining SIDEV and other humanitarians in the field.

6 committee members interviewed

3 foreign traders interviewed.

21 other interviews (mainly locals, either at home (household interview, or in town)

2 group interviews

2 participatory events at trainings: Drought cycle management for market management business (3 days, Isiolo, hosted by SNV and ILRI), Business Planning training (hosted by SNV and SIDEV)

11 market visits

9 full days with village visits: Participatory observations in herding and other activities



## **2 Co-management. Implementation and functioning**

The Lolkuniani market is organised under a co-management system. This chapter will answer the question ‘How is this form of co-management organised, and how does it operate and influence the market?’

To answer this question, and explain my findings, this chapter is divided in six subchapters. 2.1 is introductory and will describe how and why this co-management was established. It will also explain the formal structure.

2.2 will go deeper into the organisation of co-management and involvement of the county. It will too describe practicalities and division of tasks. These tasks are illustrated by three continuous subchapters, each describing the practices in and around the market which are performed by the local committee. This illustrates the functioning of the local committee and the co-management, and indicates how co-management influences the running of the market. The three practices are cess collection (2.3), security and peace making (2.4) and planning and implementation (2.5).

2.6 describes in greater detail the representation and selected candidates and their opinions about being involved in the co-management.

The last subchapter (2.7) is an analysis on how well the co-management system is appreciated by the local community.

### **2.1 Co-management**

The Lolkuniani market was initiated by elders from around Lolkuniani village. They were assisted by local NGO SIDEP, whom mainly helped with marketing.

Two years after the first ideas and set up of the market, SNV became involved. Lolkuniani was the first livestock market assisted by SNV. Now, the organisation supports many livestock markets throughout the ASALs of Kenya. SNV designed a co-management system, and negotiated its implementation with the local authorities: responsibilities and benefits were (are) to be shared between these official authorities, and the local community.

The purpose of co-management was to bring the organisation closer to the people whom supposed to have the most benefits of a good market. This co-management was designed to have several advantages. Firstly, official authorities are relatively and physically far away from this rural area. Bringing management closer to the community creates flexibility, and solutions can be implemented faster through less bureaucracy: The county office where the responsible revenue officer works is relatively and physically far away, as it is based in Maralal. This revenue officer is not present every market, and his spending for the market is bound to strict bureaucracy. When the community has access to financial capital to solve issues, for instance to make small repairs or reimburse people whom have lost their capital due to raids or unfair trade, it creates more flexibility and the possibility for quicker action.

Secondly, with involvement of the local community, it is possible an increased feeling of ownership of the market is created. More people may realise it is in their interest to keep the market safe and running smoothly. Also, locals may also have more authority and having them in the management could decrease conflicts on the market and a higher rate of compliance. Also, locals might be better

at finding and implementing justice, as again the official authorities are further away and do not always have insights in local relations and happenings.

Thirdly, there could be positive spill-overs. Training could increase local capacity in the form of human capital. Besides managing a market well, locals could also improve their own business skills. Lastly, giving the responsibility of the market to the local community promotes their feeling of agency and capacity to change their situation for the better.

In SNV's design, two stakeholder groups are included to manage and organise the market: the Samburu county government and the local community. Initially, the 'local authorities' were involved instead of the county. In a national re-organisation (2012/2013) these authorities were nullified and their tasks and responsibilities were transferred to the more centralized county office. Now the county and the local community are the two parties which form the LMA: the Livestock Market Association.

The LMA consists of a general board with a community representative and county officials, and a local committee. Unfortunately, this general board does not seem very effective in this form, although some individual actors are influential. They hold little meetings, and official parties operate more on their own, or interact directly with the local committee. The committee receives most attention, and are most well-known among the population. This committee exists solely out of representatives from Lolkuniani's surrounding villages. SNV provides trainings to improve the market and the management skills of the committee. SNV firstly took a negotiating role towards the local authorities to get the co-management established. Here it was also decided that collected taxes are equally shared between the county and the local community. With this money, the community has sent children to school and paid medical bills for community members in need. SNV has now largely withdrew themselves from interaction with the county, now organising meetings and trainings for the committee.

## **2.2 Dividing responsibilities**

This subchapter gives an introduction to responsibilities and task of the two parties involved in the co-management. I start with the responsibilities of the county and the tasks they perform. Then I will explain some of the interaction between the local committee and the county, and how the county creates new rules. This is done with two examples. Then I will continue to explain how the local committee organizes itself and divides tasks.

The county's responsibilities include provision of diesel, to keep the water pump running. This is mainly a service for people and businesses. However, the county is not always complying with this responsibility. In the first markets of 2015, the county's budget for the coming year was not yet approved. This meant no fuel could be bought. In this case the local committee paid for fuel for some weeks.

The county also stated before they would make some other infrastructural investments, like latrines. Nashami, one of the assistant revenue officers, stated previous investments like these led nowhere, as the local community keeps stealing items such as the doors and corrugated roofs. This would make the county reluctant to make other investments at the market.

The county is earning money from the market, with the collection of cess (taxes). Each market, there are around 4 assistant revenue officers and 2 county clerks doing collections and supervising this. The county collects cess from the commodity stands. These are set up outside of the livestock market, by those whom try to make a living with the selling of sugar, rice, soap, flour, *ugali*, etc. (commodities). For each commodity stand the stand holder has to pay 50 shilling. This money is collected by the (assistant) revenue officers of the county. This money is not shared directly with the community or the LMA; it is just for the county. This is because the commodity market is not included in the co-management agreement. The co-management only involves the livestock section of the market.

Cess is too collected in the livestock pens by the local committee and their clerks. This is supervised by the county's assistant revenue officers and the county clerks. The county solely has a supervising role in collection at the livestock pens. The committee's performance of this is further discussed in 2.3 and 2.5.

The county's chief revenue officer, based in Maralal, visits the market irregularly. Sometimes, together with the head of all the assistant revenue officers, he creates new rules. Through communication with Stephen, one of the county clerks, and Benjamin, the committee's chairman, these rules are implemented. This usually happens unexpectedly, leaving little to no option for the local committee to object this decision.

I found two very indicative examples of this. These are 1) Increase of cess, June 2013, and in my field work: 2) the rotation of clerks for each pen.

1) Around June 2013, the county, now partner in the co-management system, decided on an increase of cess. This happened with no consultation with their local partners, the market committee. This gives the idea the county only sees the committee as implementers and enforcers of rules, not as partners to make rules. And so, without any further delivery of information, cess was increased from 40 shilling to 100 shilling for sheep and goats, and from 100 to 300 shilling for cattle and camels. Of course this led to resistance in all groups, but especially amongst the external traders: they decided not to buy any livestock anymore; they went on a strike. Although many frequent visitors remember this event, nobody clearly recalls who stayed away for what amount of time. Estimations are between one week and two months. During this time, market prices were very low: *'it was bad for the people'* (interview Jonathan). Eventually, the traders returned when county officials had further explained the matter. This event has enhanced the feelings of the Samburu they are dependent on foreign traders. (More on this dependency relation in coming chapters)

2) Earlier, clerks were in the same pen every week becoming friends with the trader. The county's revenue officer had the view this leads to lower incomes: a clerk collects less cess when knowing the trader. To increase the income, he wanted the clerks to rotate. This was implemented a few weeks before my last visit: the revenue officer called in the chair man and supervising county clerk, and explained the new rule. As far as I could see, it was semi-enforced. Some rotated, but there was no strict schedule. Not all clerks, nor committee members, agreed with this new rule. One clerk stated it was unnecessary, as they were already collecting as much as possible. Attempts to collecting more cess would just hinder business. The chairman though, seemed readily convinced by the official parties.

The committee has an internal division of tasks too. Some of these are more formally organised, such as the board tasks and positions. There are three board positions: a chairperson, a secretary and a treasurer. The committee divides these functions internally, based on character, education and experience (Benjamin, Frank, and SNV). I will tell you more on election and profiles of committee members in a later stage.

When I was doing research, Benjamin was the chairman. In this function, he is the contact person for external parties, such as the county and SNV. He was also the main mobiliser, organising the group to be present at internal and external meetings.

Frank, the secretary, takes notes in meetings of the committee. However, because of the informal nature of most meetings and illiteracy of many Samburu, minutes are hardly used after meetings and therefore also not clearly archived. On market days, the secretary is, together with the chairman or treasurer, responsible for the appointment of some labour. Then, he writes down which employees were present. Frank also acts as a peacemaker in the market, resolving conflicts for instance over trade deals.

At the end of each market day, the treasurer, Jonathan, works together with Stephen- the county clerk – to write down all incomes and gives everyone their payment for the day. Secondly, he has the responsibility to bring the community's profit away to the bank in Wamba town. In the best scenario, this happens straight after the market, so the treasurer does not walk around with large quantities of cash money. However, there are some complicating factors. The treasurer does not live in Wamba town, but in one of the villages. He only visits Wamba maybe once a week, whenever it suits him. So he does not or cannot deposit this cash money directly. The county clerk, a Samburu man living in Wamba, is responsible to write down all incomes of cess, and bring the profit made by the county to the bank each week. He has offered the committee to bring the money they make, each week to the bank as well to make a deposit. The treasurer and other committee members declined this offer. According to the county clerk this is because they don't want to share the responsibility: They have been given this task, and don't want to give it away again.

### **Box 1: Research challenges**

Just before I left Wamba, the chairman of the market came to me and told me, there had been a big argument at the market, just after I had left. The treasurer had not deposited money for the community account for six months. Earlier on, other committee members had asked to see receipts, but there was always an excuse. That afternoon, the situation escalated. I heard that the other LMA members did not believe he kept all the money for himself. It is likely that many village members would have come to him to ask for financial assistance, for things like medical bills. Probably he did not see the importance of bringing all the money away every week as it would be well spent anyway.

After this, there was a meeting, where these things were discussed. Unfortunately, I was not allowed to go there. I did not have the possibility anymore to find out exactly what was going on, I could only speak to the secretary of the market, Frank. He did not want to talk about the topic much further. He did not answer any questions, just stated that there is no problem, there was no problem, everything is solved and Okay.

Here I noticed two different incentives to tell each story: Benjamin likes to talk, and I had a feeling he dramatized the situation a bit, because with such a story you can have a good talk with the researcher, me, whom became really interested in the story, encouraging to tell more. Frank on the other hand preferred to keep a good image and not show everyone problems.

I discovered three main responsibilities of the local committee. They are very different in character, and therefore interesting to look at, to better understand how the market is locally managed. The three tasks are cess collection, (business) planning and security and peace making. They are not exclusive of other activities performed, they are often combined. In the following subchapters, I will each look into one of these responsibilities.

### **Box 2: Other activities**

Of course there are many other activities to be done to keep the market running. They are not mentioned by SNV but are taken up by committee members themselves. An example of this is self-mentioned task is staying in contact with the external livestock traders. Several members (Chris, Peter, Frank, Benjamin) indicated they see it as their job to stay in touch with the traders, to make sure they keep on coming. They do this by chatting with them at the market, or call them during the week. Traders are sometimes worried there will not be enough livestock present, especially in the dry season. Committee members call them trying to convince them to still come, when they estimate there will still be enough cattle on the market

## **2.3 Cess collection**

As explained in 2.2, cess is collected over two activities on the market. This chapter precisely describes the performance of cess collection by the local committee in the livestock part of the market.

The collection of these taxes is one of the most important activities and responsibilities of the local committee. In this task, the committee is supervised by four people from the county: the assistant county revenue officers.

Cess is paid per single item of livestock sold. The amount of cess depends on the type of livestock.

Livestock cess from 2013 onwards	
Sheep and goats	100 Ksh total
Camel	300 Ksh total
Cattle	300 Ksh total

**Table 1**

To explain how cess is collected, and how livestock is sold, I made a quick summary of what the market and a market day looks like. (This process of performing trade is discussed in greater length in the next chapter). On Thursdays, sellers bring their livestock in the pens between 8.30 and 9.00 in the morning. Each kind of livestock has their own selling yard. This is a fenced area, and within these enclosures, the pens, they will try to find a buyer. Sellers can be *mzee* (married older men/ elders), women, and *moran*. Some people bring in larger quantities of livestock, as they have purchased some in other, smaller and more interior markets. Other people only bring one goat. Sometimes these people will try to sell together, as external buyers are mainly interested in buying larger quantities: When you need to buy 200-400 goats in 2.5 hours, there is no time for individual negotiations. Another option is to sell to a local broker or middlemen. He will gather multiple goats, and then sell them to an external buyer (observations market, Interview Justin).

The external buyer collects the goat and brings them to a separate pen. Around these pens the LMA and clerks are active. They are all assigned to keep track of a certain pen. When the goats are brought in, it is the task of the committee member to check how many goats are brought in and to make sure with the buyer and seller, that cess is paid. Picture 1 shows the separate pens, where the sold goats are kept.



**Picture 1: goat pens getting full**

For each item of livestock sold, either to a local person, or to an external trader, cess needs to be paid. In reality, cess is only paid when the trade happens with an external buyer.

In the rules, the payment of cess is evenly shared between the buyer and the seller, both paying half of the cess. In reality, it is often taken into account in the price negotiations, where it is often the buyer that ends up selling the cess. This outcome is not only because sellers would be slightly better off. Many Samburu people feel in some way they should not pay for any livestock cess. They are the ones that should benefit from the market, and they don't like to pay money for this to the county. This is why responsibility of cess is often transferred to the buyer.

Because not all members are literate, they hire extra clerks. Requirements of the clerks are that they are in or have finished secondary school. Most of them are boys or young men from the different villages around the market. According to the county's assistant revenue officer of the Lolkuniani market, this is one of the largest benefits of the co-management model: it brings employment to young people, and they have some extra money to spend, either to support their family or to support themselves through school. According to her, the good thing is that the committee, and thereby the community, gets to choose whom gets these jobs. They get to select the best suitable candidates, who would also benefit most of their job. Both committee members and the clerks make 15% commission on the cess they have collected that day.

Until 11.30 no goats are allowed to leave the sale yard, to prevent trade outside where no cess will be paid. Around this time, the goat traders will start loading their lorries with their just purchased livestock.

So far, the firstly visible practices. However, there is much more to it. Records are kept on how much cess is collected of all three kinds of livestock. Also, the amount of goats sold to external traders is counted. This is done when they are loaded into the lorries. I put these data together in one chart/table:

Table of expected and collected cess,						
	Collected cess camel + cattle	Collected Cess shoats – commission (15%)	Total goats+ sheep cess (derived from previous column)	~no. of goats+ sheep collected for (derived from previous column)	no. of sold goats counted.	% of cess collected (derived from previous columns)
1-jan	28200	38050	44764	448	no data	-
8-jan	27480	33730	39682	397	no data	-
15-jan	29310	39640	46635	466	1432	32.6
22-jan	25500	37880	44565	446	1297	34.4
5-feb	25990	40270	47376	474	1507	31.4
12-feb	27630	36180	42565	426	1448	29.4
19-feb	25230	35580	41859	419	1304	32.1
26-feb	15540	29110	34247	342	1359	25.2
5-mrt	16370	37120	43671	437	no data	-
12-mrt	16310	31350	36882	369	no data	-
19-mrt	16080	55660	65482	655	1490	43.9
26-mrt	6110	43300	50941	509	1310	38.9
3-apr	5090	39250	46176	462	no data	-

Table 2 (data collected by the county clerks)

Every market only between 25 and 44% of cess is actually collected in the goat section. This means there is a big gap between expected and actual income.

Although I did not have the exact numbers yet, I was wondering already to which degree the official system holds. In the first weeks of my field work, I kept asking people if there was any fraud or corruption on the market, and in the payment of cess. This was strongly denied, which surprised me. On the one hand, I realised it could be a very sensitive topic to talk about. On the other hand, I formulated my questions very vaguely: *'Have you maybe ever heard, something in the market, where some other people did not pay all the cess they had to pay?'*

After a few weeks, I discovered that talking about corruption and fraud is indeed a big taboo. Although I talked to my Samburu translator about this, he also denied the topic and did not help me much further. But from an interview with an external trader, I heard it happened a lot. Also a visiting girl from Isiolo told me she witnessed it as well.

Later, when talking to committee members, I heard that indeed not all cess is paid. This is not seen as fraud or corruption, but framed as 'discount'. When using this word, people are much more open to talk about it. Everyone (with the exception of two) agreed this is a normal and good practice: Assistant revenue officer Nashami completely denied it ever happening would just not answer the question and would talk about something else. The committee's chairman was okay with it first too, but after a talk to the chief revenue officer of the county in Maralal, he changed his mind and would tell everyone that it makes them lose lots of money and that it is very old fashioned to give out discounts in cess. However, all other committee members, clerks and other people in Samburu I interviewed were okay with giving out discounts. This would just make trade easier and nicer for everyone involved. It would also attract more buyers if discounts are given. The buyers on their turn make threats not to return if cess will increased, as happened before.

When talking to the different people, it seems as if these discounts are only acceptable or happening in the goat and sheep section of the market. This is partially explained by the quantities that are bought by traders. Goat traders buy up to 400 goats, while cattle and camel traders buy much lesser quantities. These also seem keener to get their tickets and have everything on paper, as they are often checked with police forces. However, there are some signs that things happen differently. One camel trader told me that the camel clerk does offer a discount. This man stated to refuse, as he wanted his paperwork to be okay, but stated that other traders do agree on it. Other times, I witnessed something: camel lady- Somali or Borana by tribe, from Isiolo, known as buyer of camels, walks into hotel with *moran*. They sit down, hardly exchange words, and a large sum of money is transferred from the camel trader to the *moran*. Without ordering something to drink or eat, they walk out again (which is very uncommon and strange to see) back to the pens.

When speaking to clerks, committee members, villagers and traders, they all agree on the same rate of discounts that is acceptable, somewhat between 10 and 20%: If someone buys 10 goats, it is okay if you only pay for about 8 goats. This *'smoothens business'* (Interview Michael) and makes it attractive for traders to come to the market. However, as you can see in the chart, rates of 'discount' are a lot higher: Up to 75%.



Besides 'smoothing trade' From my interviews and observations I found several reasons for this:

Firstly, clerks work each week in the same pen. This means they do business with the same traders every week. Some of these clerks keep in touch with these traders outside of the market, and according to one clerk, they become sort of friends. Friendliness between the clerks and traders is mentioned several times as cause of too big discounts. Being friends with a foreign trader can be of use for the clerks, for instance when they want to visit another town. Matthew told me another clerk had stayed in the home of a trader in Nairobi for a week. They had met at the market. Next to this, the clerks are often young men without a neither family nor community responsibilities. It could be they don't see or feel the need to collect as much cess as possible, which would benefit the community at large. One clerk dared to tell me straight, that even if no official cess is paid over a piece of livestock, the clerks and committee members still make sure they receive the share they feel entitled too. This was vaguely admitted by some other committee members and clerks. This is beneficial for both the traders and the clerks. Traders pay less cess, collectors still receive their income. Exact numbers remain unclear, possibly they change continuously, but in the interview the clerk said it was 'the normal price', the amount they would normally receive, which is 15%.

Secondly, external traders threaten not to return to the market when cess needs to be paid. This has happened before, around June 2013. Traders were absent for some time when the county decided to increase the cess. Some were absent for several months, others only refused to buy for one week, but prices remained low for a longer period of time. From interviews it became clear that several LMA members feel responsible for attracting enough external traders to the market. Also, the market in general is very dependent on the external traders. Losing them, for a short or long time, would be dramatic for the market. External traders know this and threaten to (ab) use this position. Although they are wealthier and financially stronger, the traders are also still very dependent on the Lolkuniani market.

Thirdly there is point of critique towards the efficiency of the collecting system. Many people are hanging around the pens, and there is much socializing. Goats are constantly loaded into the pens and these pens are shared with multiple traders. Therefore it is impossible to exactly count how many animals get in, and how many are paid for. A more efficient system of cess collection was earlier refused by LMA members. Other markets have a system where taxes are levied when the traders are finished with buying. Animals get counted as they get loaded into the trucks, (this happens already in Lolkuniani as well), and based on this amount the traders pay cess.

Reasons for not adapting this system were not mentioned explicitly. According to Adan (SNV's project officer) this is most likely because the LMA doesn't want to lose control: they are the managers, they decide what happens. Then therefore they do not like sudden interference of outsiders whom claims to know a better system which they should implement. Secondly, this system would reduce employment at the market, while many people like the fact that the market employs several young people. Lastly, these clerks are mostly young men. It is feared they could cause unrest in the area when they would lose their job, for instance encouraging others to go raiding. This is also the main reason why it is difficult to fire a clerk in the current system.

## 2.4 Security and peace making

Security is an important issue in the area, and also specifically for the market. Cattle raids have been part of pastoralist culture for a long time. At an earlier time, the market was known as a rather insecure place. There have been rumours that it was a hub for illegal trade of wildlife products (leopard skins, ivory). Also ammunition was traded. Next to this, the market and the traders on route to the market have been victim of raids. A traumatic event indicative of this took place a few years ago: Details remain unclear, but after a group of *moran* (translation: warrior; young, unmarried Samburu men and adolescent boys) raided the market and took all goats and cattle, the market was closed for months. Since then, security measures have drastically increased. Kenya Wildlife Services (KWS) had several roadblocks to inspect vehicles leaving the market. The county also hired more security personnel, mostly army and police reserves, to secure the market and the main roads to the market.

However, these official forces don't know local circumstances or the local language. Also, some Samburu prefer to settle conflicts internally, without intervention of external parties. This is why, to prevent future conflict and to find a peacefully resolve existing conflicts, there are now many peacemakers at work in the market. Some of these are LMA members; others are *mzees* (elders) and village chiefs. They keep an eye open at the market and resolve issues. Also, their presence should have a deterrent effect on violent conflict.

There are several causes of conflicts at the market. Most of them have to do with ownership over livestock. As said before, cattle raids have been an important aspect in Samburu culture. This happens especially in the beginning of the rainy season, when *moran* herders want to increase the size of their herd again. With the market present, new opportunities are created. *Moran* sells the raided livestock as quickly as possible. When livestock is sold to an external trader, he takes them away to bigger cities the same day. Then it is close to impossible for original owners to retrieve their capital. Nowadays, when goats or cattle are stolen, the owners come to the market as quickly as possible to find their livestock. The confrontations between the raider and original owner are inevitable. Sometimes it requires the work of a peacemaker to resolve the conflict. Locally goats are marked by cuts in their ear. However, this system is not all fully comprehensive, due to exchange and trade of livestock between families.

Also, negotiations can end in conflict, sometimes caused by language barriers. External traders often use Swahili in the pens, while the selling Samburu *moran* are not always fluent in this language. An external trader then thinks he has bought the goats, while the *moran* feels he hasn't agreed yet. In some cases it requires the work of a peace maker to settle the conflict.

Also brokers and middlemen play an ambiguous role. Sometimes they work as interpreter and smoothen negotiations. However, with their influence they can also play an opposite role. One day, a Samburu broker who works in the camel selling yard, had caused a conflict. Because of the low supply, and therefore high prices in earlier weeks, the group of camel traders that travel together from Isiolo had made a plan together. Usually, everyone tries to buy many camels, and with a low supply, they are keen to start negotiations with camel owners. This particular week, they had decided to wait for some time and thereby not looking so eager to sell. Following up, the broker actively pushed the Samburu herders not to sell their camels to the traders, saying they were bad people whom were not willing to buy anyway.

Eventually the LMA members took the broker out of the situation, leaving it to the potential buyers and sellers themselves to resolve the issue themselves, without a broker making it worse. Later I heard that the agreement to wait with negotiations did not last. The next week everyone was back to their normal behaviour: the first time cause such a big unexpected uproar, which shocked the traders.

Other times, the committee members need to act rather theatrical in their work as peacemaker:

‘Two soldiers walk in with an elderly Muslim man and ask assistance of the LMA chairman and the secretary. The man is a well-known camel trader. He causes a big scene, is making large arm gestures and speaks with a loud voice.

Everyone goes out walking to a gathering place a tree with some benches around. Last week more men hung out here to talk and to sell honey. Now there are a lot of people gathering and more people join, as the camel trader makes his case. Even several army men listen to him and the LMA members. With a lot of theatre the case becomes clear: three *moran* had sold their goats to a trader, but on credit. This has already happened three months ago, and the young boys still had not received their money, as the trader had ‘disappeared’: he had not returned anymore to the market. It has become a big show/spectacle: Many people are gathering to see what is happening, and involve themselves in the discussion. It looks like a big inter-active theatre where everyone passing by wants to be involved. Are there really so many stakeholders in this issue?

Interestingly, the three young *moran* had not said a word in the group meeting. The elderly Muslim man did all the talking for them. It remains unclear why he advocated for them: he is a camel trader, from a different city, from a different tribe. After half an hour of grand gestures, the solution was also found without the Moran: some acquaintances of the external trader have promised to look out for this man. In the meantime, the *moran* will be compensated for their losses with money from the community account.’

(Observations as written in field journal, Emmy, January 2015)

Next to these conflicts related to livestock, alcohol consumption in and around the market causes trouble too. These conflicts usually occur later on the day: alcohol is often consumed from midday on, bought with money earned in the morning with the selling of livestock. Official security forces stay at the market till 4 pm. At this time, the market is already almost over. Many locals, including peace makers, have left by that time as well. Several women with commodity stands I interviewed leave before this time, because they are afraid of the conflicts arising after security forces have left.

Many of these alcohol induced conflicts take place between family members or spouses. Sometimes violence is involved. One time, the chairman of the market interfered in such a fight between two spouses. Despite his status and fame as chairman, he was attacked and stabbed in his leg with a knife by the intoxicated man. The perpetrator was held captive by elders for almost a week, before he was turned in to official authorities. His punishment was also locally arranged: he had to pay a fine of several cows and goats to the chairman. In his turn, the chairman had to redistribute these goats again between the elders whom helped with the ‘prosecution’ of this man.

## 2.5 Planning and implementation

Besides the day-to-day activities, SNV would like to make the market independent, strong and prosperous. In this way, the market can become more flexible, resilient and can deliver more services to the people. To sum up: an even more vibrant market.

To do so, the local committee must also do some planning and investments in the market, and work on their own progress. Direct financial aid from SNV has stopped, which means the committee and the community are supposed to bring up this money themselves, from the profits they make with cess collection. But to support the local community with their planning and investment skills, SNV continues to provide trainings and workshops. They aim to build more local knowledge about entrepreneurship and business.

So far, results in their path towards this are ambiguous. In some settings the local committee seems proud of what they do, and like to stay involved on decision making. However, other times they still seem rather passive and accepting of the current situation. This is indicated by the following example: SNV had hired an external consultant from Nairobi, to create a business plan. This would show opportunities to provide an extra income for the community. To explain the business plan to the committee, 2-day training was held (see Pic 2). It explained from the beginning how investments work, how much money was needed and how they could fund this from the money they are making now. However, after the training, one committee member asked *'And who will pay for this all?'* This comment received some agreeing laughter and agreeing nods. Later, other people asked: *'And who will do these things?'*



**Picture 2: Committee in business plan training**

This conversation is an indicator that the committee is still somewhat passive about planning and the making of investments, and seem to miss some entrepreneurial thinking and vision. It seems they don't feel the need or capability to make improvements. This is also what the consultant told me: *'These people are used to getting logistical and financial help. They now assume SNV will pay for these things, as they have paid for things before. They don't understand why they should pay if SNV can pay too. They need to realise themselves SNV will not pay for everything, and that they should take responsibility now.'* According to him, this dependency is created through the continuous presence of all kind of development projects around the area, where they were just provided with things, while little was expected from them in return.

## 2.6 Committee: elections and members

Now I have explained the activities of the committee, I would like to tell you more about the people in it, and how they were selected. I will describe how and on which criteria committee members are elected, and what this means to the community. I will also include their view on their election and incentives to participate.

Every year, sometimes twice, general meetings are held by and for the community. Here they discuss the functioning of the market committee, and sometimes committee members are changed (most committee members stay in function for a period of around two years). It is also decided how to spend the money from the community account.

Although the meetings are open, the participation of the people is not fully representative of the local community. Patricia, a pre-school teacher in the village of Gogoltim, cannot visit the market on a regular basis. Because of this she feels she knows too little to make judgements, and does not think she can make a large influence. Therefore she does not visit the meetings. Although relatively better educated and seemingly well-informed on affairs around her town, she does not know about the community account. Suzanne, also living in Gogoltim, visits the market every week, to sell items in her small shop. She informed me she would like to attend, but she is often just too busy with other things. Besides the open character of the meetings only elders (men) and some elder women are allowed to vote (interview James, Benjamin).

Matthew, a 21 year old, originally from Lolkuniani village, stated that he plans to attend the coming meeting, but would initially not have a very active role. He would just listen to what the elders would have to say. He is not yet *mzee*, so according to earlier information he wouldn't be allowed to vote. He told me, he would only vote if it was 'necessary' based on the information given to him on that meeting. He wasn't sure if there would be more young people going, but he was interested to go there anyway. A possible reason for this could be his engagement with the market: he works every week as a clerk.

A lot remains unclear on the details of this meeting. People were not very open to talk about it, and possibly, there are no strict agenda and formal rules which are followed up. During my research, no meetings were held, so I could not witness one myself.

The committee exists out of 12 representatives from the area around the Lolkuniani market. There are some rules implied to make sure each sub region is represented. The members did not propose themselves as candidate, but they are called for by others. However, duties and responsibilities, but also benefits are unclear in the community. This indicates that generally, there could be too little knowledge amongst the local population on the activities of the LMA and committee and what knowledge and capacities are needed for this. This could lead to the election of people who are unfit or possibly not the best choice for the position. Selection is now done on other criteria. In earlier times, there were some issues with untrustworthy committee members (interview chairman). Now, the community seems to try to find more reliable representatives. The most mentioned condition to become a committee member is 'a good character'. Sometimes it is the only trait you need to have. What it means to have 'a good character' seemed for many people a strange question, as it seemed very self-evident. But most people struggled with the answer. They usually answered with 'being honest', and would envision someone who is not just in it for his or her own good. Others (2 committee members, 2 other interviewees) mentioned it is someone who takes good care of his or

her family. This can also be seen as a sign of reliability and social success: if you take good care of your family, you do not waste money on for instance alcohol and have a higher feeling of responsibility. There were several other characteristics mentioned by committee and community members, to either the question why are you chosen or how is a person chosen:

-‘Being social’ : Working with your family, someone who likes to talk to neighbours and staying informed about what is going on, just a friendly person.

-Being a good public speaker: It is considered an asset to be able to speak well in public. This is for instance of good use when you need to inform the people in your community about actualities around the market. Also, it can be useful when talking to new people and outsiders. These are for instance the traders at the market or visiting employees of involved NGOs.

-Education: This was only mentioned a few times. Some people (Patricia, Frank) said that it would be good to have more people with an education, but there seem to be very few adults in the villages whom have followed formal education. In the past, there have been market chairs and secretaries who are illiterate. Some people in the village realised this was not really practical, and also the county revenue officers complained that it was difficult to engage with them. They had little understanding of processes outside of their village and were not open for many changes and innovations.

Later, I realized election of new committee members is probably not only based on who would perform the tasks best. This opinion was supported by the fact that Philip, program manager of the local NGO, and Nashami, one of the county’s assistant revenue officers, stated that changing the committee members is also done to better divide the burden, but especially the benefits that come from being in the LMA. The most important benefit they wish to share is the financial compensation they receive: 500 KES for each market’s day attendance and on top of those cess collecting committee members receive 15% commission. When the committee members attend training, they are usually well compensated for their presence and participation. Minor benefits mentioned by LMA members were the increased knowledge from trainings, and more intense contact with external livestock traders. These contacts make it easier to sell livestock for a good price. Although it wasn’t mentioned too much, I think this is an important benefit, especially for those pursuing a business in livestock trade.

Because of these mixed incentives for selection, the committee is a diverse group, with different competences. Currently, less than half of the 12 LMA committee members received formal education up to primary school, 4 of them speak (some) English. At the time of field work there were 3 female committee members.

The committee members had different feelings about their elections, and their time now as part of the group.

For Leah, being a committee member turns out to be her most important source of income. She had a small business before at the Lolkuniani market, and was not happy to being chosen as LMA member: she didn’t know the tasks, and thought it was a big responsibility that would cost a lot of time. She was also worried to get involved in any conflicts, as she had heard that LMA members work as peace makers, and at that time there were many conflicts in the market. Lastly she was afraid to

lose her only source of income: the little shop she used to run at the Lolkuniani market. By now, she is happy to be in the committee, as her daily wage and commission is more than she would earn from her shop. Also, tasks are not as intense as she expected at first. She has followed some formal education. However, she is definitely not an easy talker and shows little business insights: she does not have much contact with the traders at market days, and no contact on other days of the week. She cannot think of anything she would change in the market if she could, and has no future plans for the market. She does not know why she is chosen.

Although she is a relatively well educated committee member, she is not picking all the benefits of trainings offered. In March 2015, there was a training for a selected group of committee members from various markets. Mostly, the people who were able to read and write were chosen, as were the board members. Although her name was on the list, she did not attend: her father attended the training and signed for her. He is an educated and influential man around Gogoltim. Also, he has been involved in the market management in previous years. Although the exact reasons of this change of attendance are unknown, it does show that knowledge gained from the trainings is not evenly spread amongst all the committee members.

From Lolkuniani, no woman was selected, and preference seems to go to elders, instead of to younger generations.

A second interviewed LMA member is Frank. His case is almost the opposite of Leah's. He stated he would make more money if he was not in the market management. Then he would be able to perform his own trade better. Although it limits his own business, he does try to make the best of it and use his situation for the better. As a cess-collecting committee member, he stays regularly in touch with the external traders. This makes it easier to sell livestock; now, but also in the future when he is no longer involved in the management. Secondly, he likes to represent his community, the people living around Loltepes village. A good representation in managements makes live in the village better, for his neighbours, but also eventually for him and his family members. Lastly but not less important, he feels a sense of duty: *'everyone whom is a good leader should take turns in doing this. It is an honour. It is not possible to say no to this position if your community members chose you for this. They wouldn't like it.'*

Others also feel a sense of duty. If declined, it appears that other community members look down on you; social status decreases. Tom stated that 'bad things would happen' if one does refuses to offer help when asked. These bad things are mainly related to beliefs around spells that could cause death or diseases to occur in the family or to the livestock.

The chairman is enthusiastic and enjoys talking about various topics on the market. Although he never finished official schooling, he is literate and speaks English, as he had a job as a driver outside Wamba for some time. However, he has little leadership experience and easily agrees with official parties such as the county. He has little own vision on what the market should look like. As chairman he is the representative of the committee and the contact person for external organisation.

## 2.7 How well-appreciated is the co-management model?

Here I explain how the co-management is perceived by the local community. It is important to know how the community members experience the co-management: they are an important, if not the most important, group of stakeholders at the market, as they derive substantial benefits from a pleasant market and trading environment. Taking their ideas of the current governance system gives deeper insight in the functioning of the co-management at the market.

Most of the formal aspects of the market are well-known across the people from the surrounding communities. All of these Samburu people I interviewed knew there was some sort of local management system, and most people could mention at least one person who was in the committee now. Men whom regularly visited the market could often mention more committee members. This could be a coincidence, but it is probably also linked to the fact that men are more involved in livestock trade than women, and in the co-management system the focus is on livestock component of the market. Men are therefore likely to be more in contact with the committee members than women.

As said before, the exact activities of the committee members are not really well known. The first tasks mentioned is cess collection, but in reality less than half of the twelve members is active in this- being able to read and write is needed for this task, and not everyone has had enough (formal) education to do this. Most people also knew the committee has peacemakers.

Almost everyone I interviewed knew the collected cess was split between the county and the community, as decided in the co-management system. Most people had an idea what the money deposited in the community account was used for: Secondary school fees and medical care. I was positively surprised that so many people knew where the money was used for. One interviewee's family actually received money from the community account to pay for hospital bills. All other interviewees never received anything, but some stated they knew some kids, orphan or from other families, who were sent to high school with this money. According to committee member Peter, benefits for the community will be noticed in the long run, not yet now. It remains unclear how exactly the financial compensations are redistributed.

Several committee members, and Nashami, the assistant revenue officer, mentioned employment as an important positive aspect the co-management has brought directly back to the area, especially for young men, who can sometimes find work as clerk. This is supported by several people in the villages. According to Nashami, this employment is only possible because of the local committee: they have the overview and can make a just and fair selection, based on who needs the job most.

The 12 committee members are present each market, and also receive a stipend for each market day. From my observations half of the committee members are not really busy with their task. Also, they often have some own matters to take care of as well. This means, people receive money while not being very active at the market in their role as committee member. For some committee members, it also reduces their incentive to work hard, as they get paid for their presence: I have not discovered a significant evaluation of contribution or output. Employing more locals at the market also means benefits for the community account are reduced. However, this was mentioned by no one.

Only one person was explicitly unhappy with this co-management system: Stephen, the county clerk whom helps the local treasurer with writing down cess- incomes. According to him, the local



committee keeps failing, despite numerous elections and changes of composition. In his eyes, both the community and the county miss out on a lot of money with this system. In his view, it would be better if the county takes over the cess collection, and also redistributes the money instead of the committee and the community.

## **2.8 Summary of findings**

Most of the day-to-day responsibilities at the market are in hands of the local committee. They are, amongst others, responsible planning and investment, peacekeeping and for cess collection.

The county has decided the rate of cess per item of livestock. Collection is much lower than the official rate, and is usually bargained between traders and the clerk or LMA member. The collected cess is shared between the county and the committee. The committee spends the money in the community on school fees and medical bills, although it is difficult to track allocation of this financial support. Also, some money is saved to reimburse locals for losing money in bad trade, when deals on credit go wrong.

In the view of SNV, the committee should also save some money to make repairs, do maintenance and do investments. So far, this has happened little, possibly because they hope someone else- SNV or the county- will take up this responsibility.

‘Peace-making’ by local elders is common, and seems a necessary task: Earlier the market was regarded as unsafe; this situation has improved with the installation of more recognised peace makers. They settle trading and other conflicts occurring at the market, and are also called in by military or police troops, as these forces have lesser insights and do not always speak the Samburu language.

In general, the committee is well-known amongst the community, although their tasks are not always clear. People have acknowledged this sometimes led to the election of committee members who were not best suitable for the job. Committee members receive some benefits of being member: a small financial compensation and a better network in trade.

In addition to school fees and medical bills, also some expenses are made that are directly related to the market. It happens that the county does not fulfil their responsibilities. Then, the committee needs to pay things from the community’s share of savings/market benefits. This happened in the first weeks of 2015. Because the county had not finalized this year’s budget plans, they did not provide diesel for the water pump in January and part of February in this year. Here, it does show why it is needed to have some money readily available locally to provide for these things, as water in the market is essential to have a good market day for everyone.

In addition to community support, SNV has also intended this money, to have some money available for the committee for maintenance and repairing of facilities around the market. Now, several years later after SNV has supplied them with the initial infrastructure, to my standards, the market indeed could use some maintenance. However, LMA members do not really see it as a necessity or a responsibility for them to do this. At first sight, this might have to do with missing practices on future thinking and knowledge on how to make investments. But it could also be that the committee is still not really feeling any ownership, or think that eventually SNV will step in again if it is really necessary. To conclude: so far no money is spent on maintenance.



### 3. Changing access to capital and resources

The market is a place of social and economic activities. In this chapter, I describe how people create access to resources and other assets through the market. This also shows how institutions and networks are used, and how interactions can alter or create institutions.

It is important to look at how economic progress is made and by whom, to contribute to the understanding of poverty reduction at the market and the Samburu people living around the market. Judging by the size and popularity of the market, it seems that Lolkuniani has brought important changes in how people make a living in this area. It has created new opportunities which were not there before.

There are no exact numbers on livelihood or access to capital by the Samburu people. As the Samburu County is a pastoralist area, most families have some livestock. For many Samburu, livestock is their main asset. Goats, cattle and sometimes camels and sheep are used as savings, but also used for food production. Livestock is used as savings through keeping the herd growing, thereby increasing the amount of capital owned. Food products originating from livestock are mainly milk and meat.

Also, people social status is derived from one's herd. Those without livestock are lacking important capital, but also for them the market has brought economic opportunities.

#### Box 3 : *moran* traditions

**Drinking of blood of cattle was custom for *moran* in the dry season, when they resided in very remote areas. Many *moran* nowadays live in urban centres and towns, where other foods are available. Therefore, blood is no longer an essential nutritional source. It is now only done in ceremonies.**

Philip, program manager at SIDEPE, states the market has a big impact on welfare for the local community:

*'First there was only one meal a day for any families. Now this is two or three. The impact is especially big for those without livestock, as they can now find a job for the day'.*

In this chapter I explain how the economic options have improved for many; by access to a market I have divided the chapter by the three main economic activities at the market: livestock (3.1), commodity (3.2) and hotels (3.3). In each I will explain the institutions found, and how they affect activities, trade and strategies.

#### 3.1 Livestock: trade strategies and institutions

The introduction of the market has changed a lot in how the local Samburu make a living. Before Lolkuniani was established, people depended on the livestock market in Isiolo, Maralal or Marsabit. These market are at least three days away (one direction) when walking with livestock. It was the task of *moran* to walk this route and sell the animals. It is a tiring trip, also for the livestock, worsening their condition, as they have to walk a long distance with often little water and pastures. This negatively affects their selling price. Having the market so far away, it was no real option to return or wait for the next market if prices were low or no seller could be found. It required extensive household planning, and there were little possibilities to collect extra cash in case of unexpected expenses. Money was almost solely made with the growing and herding of the livestock, and would only be sold at the time money was needed to buy other things.

With the Lolkuniani livestock market, it has become much easier to sell livestock. Here I will describe the trade and trade strategies that take place, and show how this has improved household flexibility and opportunities to access (financial) capital.

The market has become such a success because of the constant presence of external buyers. They buy large quantities and take the livestock to larger cities, such as Nairobi (mainly goats), Meru (mainly cattle) and Isiolo (mainly camels). With a large population and a growing middle class, demand for meat increases in most urban areas (Juma, Ngigi et al. 2010)

Most people selling livestock live in the villages surrounding the market: A two to three hour walk is common. However, some people walk way further, and come all the way to Lolkuniani because prices are higher. One man told me he visits the market monthly, to sell a goat and bring food home, carried by his donkey. He told me he had to walk 10 hours back to his village. Also earlier research confirms some people walk very far to reach Lolkuniani: Coming from Baragoi it is a 100 km walk. (Onyanga *et al.*, 2008) sell their livestock in the livestock pens. Some have a special reason to sell, such as school fees or medical bills. This can also be visible in the market: In January 2015, there were a lot of cattle for sale. According to committee members and some sellers, this was because school fees were due 1<sup>st</sup> of February.

Selling livestock can also be part of normal routine: when the family runs out of food (mainly staple foods *ugali* and sugar) and other household items, a goat needs to be sold to acquire some money. Sellers enter the pens in the morning, usually between 8.15 and 9.15 in the morning. This is the time most people reach the market. Picture 3 shows the selling yard where sellers and buyers meet each other.

If you ask: ‘to whom are you going to sell today?’ the general reply is ‘whoever wants to buy’! Even in follow up questions, it often seems like they have no plan. It needs further research to find out that most people do actually have ideas and plans to whom they will sell that day. These plans and connections are important, because it indicates the market is not anonymous, and institutions, social capital and networks play an important role.

Most external traders buy very large quantities (200 to 400 goats) in a short period of time (2.5 hours). They do not have the time to find and negotiate over the price of just one goat. So there are middlemen, whom either buy themselves or in direct assignment of the external traders goats. These middlemen are often Samburu, whom know the local language (Samburu) and also Swahili. Many middlemen work with the same buyers each week. Generally they are well known amongst the community: every seller can point out some middlemen or brokers active that day. Often these middlemen combine strategies too. Sometimes they take up work as an interpreter: they help with negotiations between the external buyer and Samburu seller. This work is also done by the clerks. The interpreter receives a small fee from both the seller and buyer for his help. Other middlemen are commissioned by the traders. They work regularly with the same trader, and get the assignment to buy a certain amount of goats. The trader will then buy the goats from the middlemen for a pre-fixed price. In this way, the negotiations in the pens are largely done by the middlemen, not by the trader. For other middlemen, there is no agreement beforehand with a trader. They just buy at the market, and try to resell them afterwards, or sell them another market day again.



**Picture 3: selling yard**

Although there are many people active as middlemen and many people make use of the services of these brokers, there are also strategies to avoid them, in order to receive a higher price for their animals. Sellers of individual/single goats make agreements with others to sell their livestock together. In this way they are able to negotiate better with the external buyers. These alignments are made on the route to the market: herders look for other people on the way whom have the same size of goats, and make a deal: Do you want to sell together? (Interviews Frank, Chris) Sometimes these agreements are made in the village as well. However, here it is more difficult to find a family with the same selling plans for this week.

In the camel section, middlemen are active too. According to camel trader Kadir, they are needed for translation and overcoming language problems, but mainly to convince the Samburu people to sell their camels. Samburu people are not always informed on reasonable market prices. These middlemen inform or convince Samburu sellers on what a 'normal' price is. As they were not very keen on talking, many specifics remain unclear. It seems they often reside in more urban centres (f.i. Wamba), have created a network, for instance through their schooling in other towns.

Many regular sellers know the external traders. They get to know each other from the market, but sometimes also stay in touch through telephone. So even though they state they will sell to anyone whom wants to buy, they often do have some likely possibilities in mind: *'it is much easier selling if you know a trader'* (Stephen interview). Jonathan, Frank and other market visitors agreed.

Further, some people visit the market regularly, and know the external traders, especially the case for the committee members of the LMA and clerks. When they want to sell, they go to an external trader, and agree that he (or sometimes she) will bring one or more goats or cattle to the market next week, and that the other person will buy them.

I have two stories, which are indicative on how livestock traders and middlemen do their business;

Sam is a young livestock trader from the Rendile tribe. He grew up in Marsabit county and came to live in Wamba in September 2014, to have good access to the Lolkuniani market. It has been an ambition for some time to go in livestock business: he grew up with camels and cattle, and feels it is

in nature to work with them. To acquire the capital to start with camel trade, he had a job in Nairobi where he worked for six months. Unlike the other camel traders, he buys them for milk instead of meat, and brings them further up north, to Marsabit, instead of south to Isiolo. Combined with a different ethnicity he is different from the other camel traders, whom are mostly Somali or half Somali/ Borana. According to him his different ethnicity was a benefit: Samburu herders would give a better price to Rendile, as their tribes are somewhat related.

However, camel business was not going so well in the end of the dry season. Prices of camels were too high. Therefore, he wanted to shift temporarily to honey (a typical dry season product) and goats. For the goat part, he found two business partners. One of them is a Samburu herdsman, which he knows from the Lolkuniani market, as they did business together before: Sam regularly bought camels from him. That is how they get to know each other.

The second person is living in Nairobi, originally from Meru. He got to know him during the time he worked in Nairobi himself. This person has the connections in Nairobi to make sure that selling of goats will go well.

The two business partners of Sam don't know each other very well. They have only met a few times. So he is the important person in between. According to Sam it is an advantage that the three of them are of different ethnicities. In this way everyone has some of the right connections, allowing them to get good prices. Even within the goat trade, Sam and his partners had different buying and selling strategies. One market, they got a pen and bought goats at the Lolkuniani market. They added quantity with goats bought at smaller, interior markets. Then they took them to Nairobi with a rented lorry, to sell the goats there. The next time, he changed his strategy. Prices of goats at an interior market were low, so he and his Samburu business partner went there. The goats they bought from this interior market were brought to Lolkuniani to sell them there again for a higher price.

A second example comes from Justin. His Samburu family is one of the richer ones around Wamba town, and he is also involved in livestock trade. He often works as a broker or middleman. To start his business, he borrowed money from his parents (10 000 Kenyan shilling  $\approx$  95 US dollar, exchange rate Sept. 2015). Generally he buys 4 to 6 goats in the market in the early morning. This is usually in assignment on one of the traders he knows, whom will give him a slightly higher price again. When prices are low, he buys some extra for his own herd. In the dry season, with higher prices, he sells some more goats. He is able to make larger profits because 'Samburu people from the interior don't know how to do business': they sell their goats for a price too low- or he convinces them to do so. He says they remain uninformed about prices and make wrong investments. He seems to look down on them, but at the same time his relative good position –informed, educated and well-connected- allows him to make money off these people.

These examples show it the significant role of networks and trade alignments in the market. Also they show that those involved in livestock trade are often adjusting their strategy. So their strategy is flexible, which is made possible by the market. It is a place where livestock can be sold relatively easily every week. This is the reason they can take some more risks and make some more investments.

These prices of livestock are not structurally researched, but come from occasional observations and interviews. They are shown to give an indication of the amount of money involved in this trade. The

prices are extremely fluctuant. Most common dependents are size and weight, which are also affected by the season. Also, if you sell directly to an external trader, or when you have a good network where you can make supply and price agreements, prices are higher. Normally, goats are sold between 2000 and 8500 KES, although at the end of the dry season goats are sold for only 1200 KES. Prices of cattle and camel are extremely fluctuant, as supply and demand change a lot too. Starting prices for cattle are 16 000 KES, rising up to 45 000. Camel prices start around: 20 000 KES.

For some animals, more is paid in the local market. Samburu traditions have made two pieces of cattle part of the dowry, both need to be completely single coloured: one white, one dark. The prices for these cows can be a lot higher than one would expect based on their size, as they are rare but have a special local demand. This shows purchasing a cow is not only a financial or economic transaction, but can also have a cultural meaning.

This is a first reason why local people are also buying livestock at Lolkuniani. However, there are more reasons for this. Secondly, in some cases, they just see a good opportunity to buy a piece of livestock for a good price, and know they can make some more money if they will resell it again: Everyone is a middlemen or broker when they can, however a good network is essential.

Thirdly, larger quantities of cash money are considered scary for many Samburu. Planning with money is for many more difficult than planning for livestock; they are afraid to use all the money in one go. 'How do you know you will have enough for each week, that it won't be gone, that you haven't spent it all?' Because of this fear, they prefer to set earned cash, for instance from the selling of a cow, camel or large goat back into some smaller livestock as soon as possible. Samburu from the interior places and villages also have little access to financial institutions (banks) to store money safely. There is no telephone reception at the market, so using Mpesa, mobile-phone based money transfer service is usually not an option. Mpesa is also not used by everyone, especially not in the villages. Sometimes financial institutions such as Mpesa or banks are not trusted or understood correctly: One *mzee* (elder): *'Once, I brought money to the bank. Next thing what happened is that a moran comes to the bank to withdraw money. This was the same money as I had just deposited!'* So he thought he had lost his money.

### **Gender in livestock market.**

I discovered several gender patterns in the livestock market. These patterns have become institutions, and affect who is doing business with whom. There are different gender aspects to be found in each section of the livestock market: the cattle, the goats and sheep, and the camels. They may involve external traders too, but I have focused on those from the Samburu, as they are mainly targeted in this development intervention.

These gender patterns may originate to rules on ownership amongst the Samburu tribe: Women in Samburu society have no to little ownership and little responsibility over the livestock. It differs per household situation, but sometimes they take care of the goats. Goats can survive worse conditions and need less green pastures compared to cattle. So in the dry season, when men go far away looking for greener pastures for the cattle, the women take care of the goats while staying at home. In some families, the women stay responsible for the goats throughout the year. (REF!!),

In the livestock pens, it can be seen that there are few Samburu women active. Herding and selling of camels and cattle is a men's business. Often it is argued that livestock trade is physically too heavy

for women, or they just don't like doing it. When a family wants to sell a larger piece of livestock, such as cattle or a camel, this is either done by the herding *moran* of the family, or by the head of the household, which is usually the father (*mzee*).

One elder on this topic: *'It is too heavy for women to chase cattle all the way through the field, and run after them. Even for me, it is too heavy. It is the task of moran. He makes the agreement that a moran of his family brings the cattle to the market. Either he (father of the family-ED) makes a price agreement of which amount the moran is allowed to sell it (the livestock- ED), or he comes over himself to sell the cow. This is normal practice for many families: moran are herding the livestock to the market, and are allowed to sell it, or the elder family member meets them in the market.'*

Joseph, whom works as a clerk in the pens: *'maybe they (women- ED) don't like the chaos in the pens. There are so many people, so much livestock'.*

Stephen, county clerk, agrees: *'Women prefer doing business sitting down. They work in the commodity market, not in the pens. Men prefer doing business standing up'.*

Some women agreed with this view. I talked to them in their hotel. They wondered why they would run in the field, chasing cows if they always had a *moran* or other male family member to do so.

So the perception that women are not suitable for herding, might indeed be the reason for little presence of Samburu women in livestock pens. As explained before, women are traditionally more responsible for the goats and sheep than they are for the camels and cattle. This reflects in their presence in the selling yard for this type of livestock. I have not seen any Samburu women in the other livestock pens, only in the goat (and sheep) section. Although the majority of livestock related activities are done by men, there are also some Samburu women active sellers. When I talked to these women, they told me they are only present at the market, because their family needs the money, and their husbands are far away or otherwise not available to do the selling form them. This was the only reason they mentioned to go to the market and sell.

Later I heard there are actually women pursuing their business in goats. According to James, an active trader and involved in Sidep's fodder projects, these women buy the goats in their village or on a smaller, interior market, and bring them to Lolkuniani when they have gathered enough of them to sell, or when they need the money. This is a relatively new practice for Samburu people, and especially for women to be involved in this. It could be these women did not want to discuss this with an outsider like me, either because it actually is a bit taboo, or because they felt otherwise uncomfortable.

The buyers of livestock are of different origins. Also, most of them are men. In the goat section, every market there are approximately 2 women active, and around 10 men. No women are known as buyers in cattle pens. In the camel section, there is a different pattern. Almost half of the external buyers of camels are women. In some cases, they run a business together with their spouse. This is for instance the case for Floridah. She is a regular visitor of the Lolkuniani market. She lives in Isiolo, and with her husband she has a camel business and butchery. When they plan to buy many camels, for instance when they have an order, or know supply will be high, he joins her to the market. Her story also shows the flexibility they have when doing business.



### 3.2 Commodity market

Although the market started as one where livestock could be sold, the commodity market is now very big and active too. There are many stands where all kinds of household articles and food are sold. Picture 4 shows the main street in the commodity market.



**Picture 4: commodity market**

There are different groups of sellers in the commodity market. Firstly there is a group that travels relatively far, but not as far as some livestock buyers. Based in Maralal or Wamba, they travel by *matatu* or lorry to Lolkuniani. Often they visit different markets throughout the week or have a shop in town. This can be both men and women, from various ethnicities. Their turnover is a bit bigger.

The largest and most well-known seller of is Max. He was the first Samburu to open a shop in Wamba, in the early '90s. Before this, people were dependent on shops owned by other tribes. Samburu were not involved in business before this. Samburu women from the interior places used to walk very long distances with donkeys to buy especially from him. According to him this is because he sells for the cheapest prices. Since there are now more markets in rural areas, the importance of his shop has decreased. Currently he travels almost every day of the week to a different market.

Lolkuniani is his biggest market; he arrives there every week with a full lorry. On normal weeks he sells 350 kg of white maize flour (*ugali*) each week. Four times a year the Samburu community around Lolkuniani receives food aid from the national government. This is also distributed to the community. I asked some women in the market (Ska, Patricia, Suzanne, hotel women etc.) if they buy lower quantities of food when food aid is distributed. They all answered negative, as they stated that the amount of food aid is so low, they still need to buy extra. However, Max does see a huge impact.

Instead of 350 kg, he only sells around 200 kg of white flour in the two weeks after the food aid. Sales stay low the rest of the month.

Max imports his own goods. Every week 3 lorries arrive in Wamba with goods he ordered. In the dry season, he also imports from Uganda, because prices of certain products become too high in Kenya. In the market he mainly sells larger packages. These are then relatively cheaper.

Next to these big players, there are some market stands which have a very small turnover, possibly less than 100 shilling a day. Some of these are owned by women from interior villages. An example of this is Suzanne. Widowed, she now lives with her mother in a *manyatta* around Gogoltim. From there it is a 3 hour walk to Lolkuniani market, where she has a very small stall. She sells soap, salt, some sweets, homemade deep-fried dough-cookies and some other small household articles such as matches. Because she cannot make the investment herself, she lends the products from Max, and sells them in smaller packages for a slightly higher price. Max does this for more women at Lolkuniani market and in Wamba town. He wants to help reduce poverty in Samburu district, and giving out loans is a way of doing so. The main group buying from Suzanne are those who do not have enough cash to buy a large quantity. Picture 5 shows Suzanne and her small shop.

Suzanne has had the business for about three years. Before this, she lived in Wamba where she helped in a shop. She prefers life in a rural area: you know everyone and it is safer. She was able to move away from Wamba when her son had saved enough goats for her to sustain herself in Gogoltim. In addition to this, she decided to make some money in the market too. Since this year she is involved in the village's self-help group, where they started a beehive project for single and widowed women. As it is the first year, there are no returns yet, but in the future she might be able to sell honey as well.



Picture 5: Suzanne and her shop

In her opinion, it is better not to be dependent on livestock only. In the best case, you have a job somewhere else, in the city for instance, for some time. Here you can save money (transferred directly into goats), and return to your village. In her case, her son was able to grow a herd for her.

For her, education is important, and she and her relatives are trying to make most of it: she was able to send most of her children to primary school. Her youngest is now in his last year of high school, and they are looking into the opportunity to send him to college in the future: Suzanne and her other children will be selling goats to pay for the school fees. With a better education the youngest son will hopefully get a better job and will be able to provide for the rest of the family in the future.

At the market, some days are good, and some days are not so good for Suzanne. One day I met her, it was almost midday, and she had not sold anything yet. Many people were passing by to say hello though. She was not really happy with the people visiting to just say hi. They stand in the way and it maybe scares off other people who want to buy something.

It is not always the same people that visit her stand, but she knows practically all of them: They are Samburu and relatives or friends from the area. Other people recognised too it is very important that people know who you are and that you are selling. One lady had her own little shop in the village. She started to come to Lolkuniani to sell in the last weeks of March 2015. Although she brought many different goods and her stand was relatively big, she sold nothing the first market day. The week after, she sold a bit more. Next week, she had told more people that she will be in the market too (in church, village, and when walking around the market and seeing acquaintances), and then she had some customers.

A third retailer, originally from Meru but living in Wamba, also acknowledged the importance of knowing your customers. He has a regular crowd of customers he sees more often: 'I know my customers, of course! Wouldn't you?' Having your own network of regulars is also important as it is custom to sell something on credit if someone is out of cash. You can only do this if you have a certain guarantee that you will actually pay in a future time. He says that people often pay a week later. For larger sums he writes down whom and how much is given out on credit. This can clear out confusion, but as most of his customers live far away, it is no guarantee they will pay eventually.

### **Gender in commodity market**

Here the same quote applies to reflect the general opinion of many Samburu: '*Women do business sitting down. Men do business standing up*'. Around the commodity market, you can see many women with a market stand. In fact, from the Samburu tribe, there are almost solely women active in the commodity market, except for possibly two big players, of which Max is one. A significant share commodity stands are owned by other tribes. Apparently, for these tribes it is more normal to be involved in this trade.

In many households women are responsible for the stock, and are the ones buying most things. Often, members of one household both go to the market on the same day: Men sell their livestock in the morning, and pass some money to a female member who is then in charge of the shopping.

For Samburu women, the market has created a completely new opportunity to make some money. All interviewees thought it was positive women became active in business. They can now take better care of their families, have become less dependent on their husband, which is especially important



when he is away for some time and cannot provide the money for his family. The market in general is a large opportunity to make some money, which is especially important for those without livestock and/or no husband providing for them. Many women become widowed, or have a spouse whom is spending money on other things: alcohol abuse is a problem in the market. Some people, mainly men, start drinking the money away after a livestock is sold, instead of using the money for household goods (interviews, observations)

### Poultry & hides

After some time, I discovered there is a special place in the market where chickens, eggs and skins are bought and sold. A teenage Samburu boy returns to the same spot under the same tree every week (see picture 6). Many market visitors can point the location out, when you ask for the 'chicken tree'. It is not this boy who owns the small business, but a Somali lady living in Wamba. She has hired him to go to the market, because he speaks Samburu and can therefore communicate with the locals more easily.

In this business, a strong gender pattern can also be observed. Only women are bringing the items mentioned above to sell. They are usually from the far interior places, coming to the market by foot. For them, it is an easy and reliable outlet for their home produced products. In many cases, they will use the earned money directly to buy food for their household.

Women from interior places can bring one of these items, and have a practically guaranteed place to sell, as the buyer, a young Samburu boy, is there every week. Here a gender pattern can also be observed: only women whom are bringing these items.

The chickens are produced and grown in manyattas/ rural areas, where they also are the responsibility of the women. Under the tree, they are bought for usually 300 to 400 shilling. Other visitors of the market, usually from the more urban centres buy the chickens for 100 shillings extra. The women probably could earn slightly more if they would sell them themselves, walking around the market looking for a buyer. However, this is much easier and already gives them some cash early in the morning. So they have the time and freedom to purchase their own goods in the market.



Picture 6: skins and chicken tree

The owner of this business, the Somali lady, brings the goat skins to Isiolo where these are sold for 150 shilling each, which gives her a 100-shilling profit per piece.

## Honey

I noticed the Samburu are also selling honey in the market. This is usually done close to the livestock pens. There is a meeting point: some benches around a tree, with many external traders passing by. Honey is a dry season product, and originally, this is only done by male members of the Dorobo-clan. However, it is getting more popular amongst other Samburu people, and also women. It is a welcome way to earn some extra money in the times when less milk and meat is available. Jonathan, an LMA member told me he sold a few cans of honey at the market, to pay for school fees for his younger siblings, which are all over the region due in February. In the village of Suzanne, a self-help group was established, who promote the beekeeping. They aim to help mainly widowed and unmarried women; Suzanne also received a beehive last year. However, she hasn't used it yet. It requires some skills and guts to put a beehive high up in a tree in a good place. For Suzanne, she could feel this is not a physically easy job. This is also the reason why it is generally seen as a men's task. However, some women find themselves capable enough and have started keeping their own hives. This seems to be accepted by the community, they are generally positively surprised their women are strong enough: 'if they can do it, why not?'

### 3.3 Hotels

Around the market you can find many, many 'hotels'- picture 7. These are places where people can get something to eat and drink. They are housed in small *manyattas* (huts). The structures of these huts stand permanently, but are further built up on market day and only used those days. These structures are usually self-built and used, sometimes they are hired out to acquaintances. Almost all of these hotels are run by Samburu people.



Picture 7: several hotels

*Chai* (tea with mainly milk and sugar) is served in practically all hotels. Visitor patterns and location of the hotel in the market are under strong influence of cultural institutions, especially related to gender roles.

#### Gender practices in hotels

Some hotels are only visited by *moran*, mainly those close to the livestock market. These are often larger, and can also sell sodas and meals. Often I was the only woman visiting, and this was noticed by other visitors too: '*Why is she here?*' '*Yes, what is she doing?*'. My translator explained what I was doing at the market, and why I was in the hotel. They could accept my presence now: '*It's okay, because she is a white woman, not Samburu*'. Many conversations are on events of the past week, some on livestock trade as well. More on this can be found in the next chapter.

Many other, smaller, hotels are based near the commodity market. Here are both the owners and visitors women. In many cases, the visitors know each other and the hostess of the hotel: they are friends or part of the extended family. They just come into the hotel to have a break, sit down and chat with their female friends and family. I have witnessed situations where there were several conversations between visitors going on. When an elder man walked in, all the other conversations turned silent and everyone waited for him: he was looking for his wife. Not until he left the conversations continued. Many conversations are on events of the past weeks, sometimes advice on trade is given. More on this can be found in the next chapter.

### Motivation, access and innovation

Motivations for opening up a hotel and keeping it open differ. For some women, it started as way to make some money, but now they especially like it because they can meet their sisters living in other villages on a regular basis. An example of this comes from one hotel, run by 2 sisters whom now live in different villages, in the far interior. They are relatively rich, as they have plenty of livestock. Visitors of their hotel are other sisters and female relatives.

When a Samburu woman marries, she moves to the village of her husband. This means she could be hours away from people she grew up with. Also, Samburu women are generally expected to look after the household, therefore they cannot leave their compound as easily as men. Many of them are not in possession of a mobile phone and it is not easy to stay in touch. The hotel has become their opportunity to meet other women on a regular basis. They don't mind if people walk in just for a chat to say hi, without buying something to drink or eat. Not everyone is paying for the chai consumed. This practice somewhat indicated by themselves, but also can be seen in their selling strategy: the business is little innovative, is only visited by people they know. They are not bothered with people just coming in to say hi and not consuming anything. They state their primary motivation when setting up the business was to make some money. Now, it seems the social aspects and habits have taken over a larger reason to continue business. It is a meeting place, and going to the market has become a pattern in their lives. They make some money, but it is no longer their primary objective. You can read more on this in chapter 4.

At first sight, there are many of these hotels. However, some are different, for instance in their location. This is a risk, but it can also lead to higher turnover. Possibly the hotels that are more innovative, even with little means, are more interested in making some money: these women are more dependent on the market for their income and living. An example is the case of Alexandra. She is not married, has no livestock and has three young children. The only income she makes herself is from the hotel she opens up every Thursday. To make more money, she has set up her hotel in a different location than the other hotels ran by women. It is placed next to LMA office building and close to livestock pens, instead of closer to the commodity market where other women have their hotel. In this way, she attracts more people and has a mixed visitor pattern. She has other women visiting her hotel, mostly friends. But there are also men going to the hotels for some chai. These men are usually doing business in livestock, and are from Samburu and other tribes. However, the Samburu men visiting are all no longer *moran*, but *mzee*, as it is taboo for *moran* to drink or eat together or in sight of women and children. On a good market day, she sells around 8 cups of tea and some *chapatti's* (pancake like). This makes her turnover around 200 shillings a day. This is not enough to make investments or taking the risk to expand the business.

There are more ways to be innovative in the business of catering. Although Saadia has a job at Sidep, she also is in business. Her normal job provides a relative good income, but she is responsible for many young people. Not only does she look after her own children, there are also several nieces and nephews for whom she is providing. Every market day, Saadia travels from Wamba town to the market. She does this together with Ali, one of the nephews whom she took care of. He now has his own job in Wamba town, but still helps out Saadia every week, because she is a family member whom has taken, and still is taking care of him. Saadia business is different: Instead of opening up a hotel like many others, she sells sodas and fresh juices in the livestock pens. She has her place under the tree, and she is there every week. Officially, this is not allowed. However, the local management

lets her – maybe because they are not bothered and also enjoy the service she offers, maybe because she works at Sidep. One time, the county officer was in the market. On that day, she had to leave the pens and hold her business somewhere else.

Not only for women have these hotels brought changes in access to capital. Also for *moran* it is a new opportunity to make some money. They make use of the cultural norm that it women don't eat together with *moran*, and have started special *moran*-hotels. There are few of those, and they are often somewhat bigger and have more products to offer than the ones hosted by women. Possibly the *moran* have more money to spend, as many of them are involved in livestock trade as well.

Lastly, there are several places where alcohol can be consumed. There are two permanent buildings next to the road. This is more a formal bar, where you can buy bottled beer and sodas. However, for many locals this is too expensive: one beer is 200 shilling. Some people have taken this as an opportunity to sell home brewed alcoholics in their hotel. They start up a bit later in the morning. It is difficult to say how many selling points there are, but the consumption of alcohol and alcohol abuse leads to unrest and discussions amongst many market visitors, mainly Samburu women. They see it causes many problems. Alcohol caused or induced fights occur at the end of the day, reason for many to leave when the security forces do too. It also causes problems in the villages: in some households one person spends all the money they just earned the same morning, for instance with the selling of a goat, on alcohol. (This is usually the husband, as he has control over this income). Between 4 and 5 pm, there are around 40 people every week that cannot walk home anymore, because of their alcohol abuse, and just fall asleep at the market. So far, selling of alcohol is not forbidden. However, there are discussions on a higher level: Several committee members are in the council of elders, whom have spoken about the alcohol problems throughout the county. Possibly in the future, they might take some action to change the rules.

### 3.4 Summary of findings

In the market, three main economic activities take place. These are the trade in livestock, commodity trade, and hotel businesses.

In the livestock trade, it can be noted that networks are important. Trade is smoothened a lot when the buyer and seller know each other. This cuts out the many middlemen active in the market. It is clear gender patterns and expectations play an important role in the livestock market. On the external traders or buyers side, there are some women present. They are from mostly from the Burfi or Kikuyu tribe (goats) or Borane or Somali tribes (camels). There are very few Samburu women involved in livestock trade, only some in goats.

Commodity trade is performed by a more diverse group. Some traders come from urban areas and visit different markets throughout the week. Others, mainly Samburu women, live locally and visit only Lolkuniani. Usually they have a much smaller turnover.

Hotels appear to have a very strong gender division. There are separate hotels for women, *moran* and *mzees*. Opening up a hotel requires little financial investment, but often turnovers are very small too. Attracting more customers and creating a higher turnover is done through innovation, sometimes ignoring established boundaries and rules. Interesting to see is that not all business owners want their business to grow. Some only want to sustain themselves, and only perform trade when they feel it is needed.



## 4. Social interactions

In this chapter I want to elaborate on the social interactions in the market. Which interesting patterns can be found in the market, and what do they mean?

Some of these interactions form patterns and networks, through which information is shared. Individuals with a strong network may find personal benefits too. They can depend on their social capital for good trading deals, information on prices and offers, and can call in favours or credit, etc. These networks can also form institutions on the market. These can contribute to a reliable and safe trading environment.

There are also interactions which are not directly related to economic activities, but still take place in the market. They play a different role, for instance to confirm social status and relations.

Some interactions lead to new customs and changing institutions. In this chapter I will firstly discuss some direct interactions observed at the market. Later, I will discuss two more societal changes which have occurred the last decade, according to many these are caused by the market.

### 4.1 Parental control

In earlier times, *moran* were uncontrolled and followed their own rules. They could stay out of in the field for weeks, looking after the livestock. They would get in trouble too, with conflicts over grazing grounds or participation in livestock raids. It was difficult for parents and other family members to track their whereabouts and actions, and some acknowledged they were worried about their the *moran* in their family. The market has brought a big change in this. It has become a hub, where all the *moran* in the region are going; either to do their trade, or just to meet friends. Parents can now find their *moran* sons easily and check up with them, to see what they have been doing. (Interviews Frank, Peter, observations).

### 4.2 Information sharing

Besides parental control, a lot of other information is shared on the market. In earlier times, this was much more difficult, due to the nature of the area. It is remote and rural. Secondly contributing is the nature of pastoralism, where herders can stay out in the field for weeks. Thirdly, traditions made it difficult for some to exchange information. This is especially the case for women, as the society has strict gender patterns. Women are expected to move to her husbands' village after marriage, and because of their tasks they usually can't leave the homestead easily. In this sub chapter I will explain how and which information is shared. This is done through categorizing information exchange: *moran-to-mzee*, *moran-to-moran*, *woman-to-woma(/e)n*. Of course, throughout the market, there are many, many interactions, some of which can be put in these categories and others not. However, I have chosen to show these, as they show a relevant and deeper meaning, affecting the access of someone to capital and resources, networks and possibly even social positions.

*Moran-to-mzee*. Parental control is combined with direct exchange of information and making of plans. Issues discussed are location of the herd and route to follow, pastures, health of herd and requirements of the households: Should the herder stay in the field, or should he bring livestock to the market for selling? Frank, an LMA member meets up with his herder; a *moran*, at the market. Although the introduction of mobile telephones has brought changes in this, reception of network is limited and it is not common practice to talk lengthy on the phone, also taking into account costs. Frank told me he wanted to discuss herding strategies. Under the lead of his herder, a family

member, his herd of cattle has migrated towards the hills, far away from the family's manyattas. But because many herds have gone there, an animal disease was spreading rapidly in the area. Together, he wanted to build an alternative migration pattern. Also, he wanted to instruct the herder which livestock to bring to the market next week.

*Moran-to-moran*: Like many people, *moran* have a circle of friends, acquaintances and relatives. In some of these groups, they have established regular meeting places in the market. This is all unofficial, I have noticed some groups of around 4 to 7 *moran*, meet up every week in the same hotel, or under the same tree in the livestock pens. They exchange information about the state of rangelands and their pastures and market prices- both of Lolkuniani as other markets.

*Woman-to-woma(/e)n*: Women also share household and business advice in the market. This for instance happened in one of the hotels earlier discussed. One eldest sister told the rest she wasn't selling anymore goats, because the prices were just too low, at the end of the dry season. She was advising others to wait a bit more as well, as rain shouldn't be too far away now. They also shared information on market prices: were the prices of livestock and commodities any different last weeks in the different markets around? Suzanne also stated she hears prices about commodities in the market, from other vendors. If they are high enough, she also travels to the Lengusaka market to do her selling.

### 4.3 Creating and reconfirming friendships

In and around the market, friendships are created. This is especially clear for *morans*. They have meet-ups in the same hotel or under the same tree. Some of them meet regularly in the same hotels, sharing drinks and meals, paying for each other's drinks, etc. It is normal that they either walk in a hotel together, or walk in alone. In the last case, they often find other *moran* they know there: just because they are there (almost) every week, it has become custom to them to meet at this specific hotel on Thursday morning. They talk a bit, exchange information, and pay for each other's drinks to show friendship (not that different from what I know from our culture, also giving rounds sometimes in cafés etc.)

Meeting new people doesn't necessarily happen at the market itself. According to some *moran*, they stated it was often too crowded and you are busy with your own things. It can happen, but not so much. They stated it is more usual to make friends the days before the market: Their trekking route with livestock to the market sometimes takes days. In Samburu culture, it is tradition *moran* can make use of the hospitality of other Samburu families very easily: he can sleep in any other manyatta (hut) that is also occupied by *moran*. By doing this, they find new friends. They do meet up at the market with the people they already know.

### 4.4 Negotiations

Sometimes, negotiations take place in the hotels as well. This happens mainly for the largest livestock sold in the market, camels. Here quantities are low, and it takes more time to bargain about the prices. (Goat traders have way too little time to do such bargaining, as they sometimes have to buy 200 goats or more in around 2,5 hours). According to some traders, going to a hotel with a seller is a sign of good will; make a friendly connection, etc. According to another trader, it is a way of buyers to deter the negotiating power of the seller: He gets isolated, and cannot hear from other traders their offer. This seems like an appropriate explanation as well, as supply in camels is on some market

days much lower than demand. Another reason could be to avoid the cess collection. I observed one time where a lady whom buys camels walked into a hotel with a *moran*. They hardly exchanged words, sat down quickly, and the women gave a lot of cash to the *moran*. Immediately after, they walked out. It seems they wanted to keep their transaction out of sight of supervision (the hotel was further filled with other Samburu).

#### 4.5 Credit giving

Buying on credit happens a lot at the Lolkuniani market, but also in other places in Samburu County, such as Wamba and in the villages.

In the livestock pens, some traders and middlemen work on credit too. Some deals happening on credit are shady, as described in first chapter 2.4. To my idea, these occasional external traders benefit on the naivety and need of locals to sell their livestock.

In some cases, reliable trade is done on credit. This particularly happens when there is a good connection, a good business relation, between the seller and the buyer. Those successfully selling on credit are usually the ones more well-off. They have a good network, and have good relations with their buyer. They are usually not in direct need of cash, but don't want to bring their livestock back to their herd again, as this would cost more effort.

With somewhat larger quantities the involved parties may agree the paid amount can be transferred by *Mpesa* too. However, there needs to be a good relation to do this, and it is more likely the seller lives in an urban centre, such as Wamba. At the market, there is no mobile reception, so the seller must trust the buyer he will actually transfer the money when he has left the market. Also, some people from the interior places do not like *Mpesa*: they are still hours away from an *Mpesa*-agent and do not have mobile reception everywhere. A significant part does not have a phone. For this reason they prefer to trade in cash.

As described in chapter 3, it is common too in the commodity sector to deliver on cash. According to the same retailer, 'it is just the way it is'.

One interview showed it was important to follow up on debits. A woman was selling sugar from her *manyatta* as her business. This also happened on credit, especially on days before the market: people run out of both sugar and cash, so then her business is thriving, although on credit. She told me she would visit the market the next day. This had a special reason: she wasn't in need of food or household articles: she wanted to collect money from the people who were still in debt with her. Being at the market allowed her to directly cash: she knew several people who would be selling goats. If she waited at home for them to bring back the money, she was sure they would have spent it again already and would not be able to give it to her. Therefore she had to visit the market the next day and hang around in the livestock pens to meet the people there.

#### 4.6 Increased interaction between tribes

The decades before the Lolkuniani market was established, most Samburu people lived rather isolated. Living in the interior areas, only few had contact with other tribes. People leaving, often for transhumance or herding, were the *moran*. They went looking for green pastures in other areas in the dry season. This often led to (violent) conflicts with the other tribes living in those areas. The *moran* would come home with these negative stories about other people and other tribes. Without

access to the other side of the story, this led to negative sentiments towards outsiders, also increasing the chances of future conflicts. (Interviews Chris, Tom)

The Lolkuniani market has brought dramatic changes in this. It brings together many people from various ethnicities. Examples of these are Borana and Somali (mostly in camel trader), Merians (cattle, goats and commodity traders), Burji (goats) Kikuyu (goats, commodity, and other services in the market) and others. Of course, it also draws many Samburu visitors; *moran*, elders and women. This has led to more interaction with these different tribes: people do their shopping at a Merian stand, and sell their camel to a Somali.

Some people have noticed this has led to more peaceful relations between the tribes. This happens through two mechanisms. Firstly directly through the interaction: the foreigner is no longer a scary outsider, but is someone you interact with every week (interview Chris). This is already changes the perception of 'the other'. Secondly, people are performing trade together. They are working together, according to Jonathan towards one common goal: business. It is general in the traders' interest to avoid conflicts and have a safe, stable and reliable trading environment.

Next to the more peaceful relations, there are other spill-over effects of the increased interaction. The most important one, directly bringing changes, are the increased language skills of the Samburu, mainly the uneducated *moran*. They learn to speak Swahili (better) through practice at the market. They talk and negotiate with traders (interview Stephen, Philip). Especially the negotiations require language skills. Those with an education have often already learned some Swahili and sometimes even some English in school (mentioned in various interviews).

Next to language, the Samburu also get more exposed to business, and are thereby learning how to trade better. Another less obvious new occurrence is the introduction to other lifestyles the people of Kenya have. The Samburu get in touch with people from other areas, which have a more urban lifestyle and are already more exposed to external influences. The Samburu can now hear from fellow Kenyans about the importance of schooling and options of family planning/ birth control. These are or were to a certain degree uncommon for the Samburu people. However, according to several elders, this should change in the future: more people should attend and finish official schooling. Also, some elders realize pressure on resources has grown due to the growth of the population and climatic changes. Some stated that they had many children and sometimes multiple wives, but state that '*if my children are wise, they won't have so much children themselves*' (quote Tom) (interviews Tom and Philip)

These spill-over effects are mentioned by several informants. Logically, they make sense. Also more *moran* have stated they are learning their languages in the market. However, for the other effects it is more difficult to prove if perceptions towards other tribes and other lifestyles are really changing and to proof to which degree has happened or is happening. This requires data-collection over several years.

## 4.7 Poultry

In earlier times, keeping chickens was taboo for Samburu people. I will explain why this was the case, and how this has changed the past decade, and what influence it has on the Samburu culture and how it can contribute economically.

Traditionally, the Samburu do not eat birds, as birds are wildlife, and Samburu are herders. Hunting and eating wildlife is not part of their identity, as Ngai (god) gave them, the Samburu people, cattle, goats and camels to herd. Hunting is destined for other tribes, such as the Dorobo. (As hunting has become more and more difficult for various reasons, the Dorobo have largely become a clan of Samburu). Because chickens are birds and 'white meat', these are traditionally not eaten by Samburu.

**Picture 8: Poultry scavenging around manyatta**



However, all the households I visited had chickens scavenging around (picture 8). Also in the market chickens and eggs are sold.

This is why it took some time before I realised this was not common before! When asking several elders (*mzee*), LMA members and Sidep employees, they all stated that keeping poultry is a relatively new practice for the Samburu people living in the villages. Two people, Sidep's program manager Philip and *mzee* Tom explicitly mentioned this change in this area is caused by the Lolkuniani market. Here external traders started around asking for chickens, either to eat right there in a hotel, or to bring home. Hotel owners in the Lolkuniani market wanted to comply with those wishes and started keeping chickens. This spread out to other households in the area, and within a decade it is now common practice. The lifestyle of the Samburu in the villages has contributed to the success: A flock of chickens is very easy to keep

around the homestead. There is enough space to scavenge and enough to eat with all the livestock around. Interesting here is that poultry is seen as a woman's activity and responsibility. Probably this is because chickens stay close to the *manyattas*.

The introduction of chickens has brought diversification in diet, as both chicken meat and eggs were consumed before. It has created additional options, especially for women, to earn an income. In many places there is potential to expand the chicken business easily, possibly even in a more commercialized form.

*'They (the Samburu) now realise it (keeping poultry) is really good. You can keep it for eggs, they can stay around the homestead where there is often enough to eat. Especially for women it is good, because they take care of the chickens. Not only for themselves, but in a commercialized form: producing, and selling chicken and eggs on the market.'* - Philip, program manager SIDEp.

#### 4.8 Women's participation

Participating in economic activities was not self-evident for many Samburu women in the area. Markets were too far away, and could therefore not be reached by most women, as they had responsibilities at home (interview Stephen).

It is important to look at the economic opportunities for women, and how they gain access to capital, because they are usually responsible for the children and household. Money spent by women is more likely to result in investments for improved schooling and food security.

The Lolkuniani market brought opportunities to gain an income and to gain access to capital and other resources much closer to home. Some women are so successful in their business they can now travel to other markets, further away, too. The main economic activities for women are in hotels and the commodity market. Many believe women are not so suitable for livestock trade, or simply prefer *'doing business sitting down'* (interview Stephen) (see also chapter 3). Commodity trade and hotels are more in line with expectations of the community.

However, there are signs that there are also women starting to participate in livestock trade. So far, this is limited to the trade in goats (interview James). There are several reasons for this. In general, people choose goat trade because it requires less financial capital to start a business, and it also has a smaller financial risk to it. Thirdly, the goats usually stay around the village, instead of cattle, which moves further away in the dry season. This is also the reason why goats have been the responsibility of women already for a much longer time. Fourthly, goats are seen as easier: *'women are not strong enough to walk all day in the field chasing cows'* (interview Tom).

Also economic activities outside the market are now easier to perform. The main example of this is commodity trade in the village. Women buy larger quantities of mainly sugar, and resell them in smaller portions in their village (group interview women). Profits are small, but it is more than before. Interesting though, is that not all women want to make money all the time. It happened that the women I spoke with insisted they are every week in the market to do their business. Then when I would look for them or ask around, I would hear in many cases these women have not visited the market for weeks in a row. In some cases I had the possibility to interview them again. They stated it was not necessary to go to the market, as they still had cash or enough food in stock. They would only go to the market and perform their business if it was necessary, and if they had other things to do as well, like buying food for themselves or selling a goat. This shows not all business owners have the purpose of their businesses to expand. They open their business as a semi-regular activity, based on needs.

#### 4.9 summary of findings

The market facilitates a lot of different social interactions. Parents control their adolescent sons (*moran*) when meeting them at the market. Also, people exchange information and give each other advice on market prices, selling strategies and migration routes. These interactions confirm and strengthen friendships, but are also part of individual trading strategies: Negotiations on prices and methods of payment or buying on credit is also discussed. Lastly, there appear to be cultural changes occurring, possibly caused by interethnic interactions. The increased interaction between different tribes seems to contribute to better and more peaceful relations. Also, poultry is introduced in the

Samburu area through the market. Lastly, since the market is established many more women are involved in businesses.





## 5. Discussion and conclusions

In this chapter I will discuss my results, in the same order as my results. After a discussion I will present the conclusions, which answer my research questions. Lastly I will offer ideas for further research.

### 5.2 Co-management

As explained before, co-management is designed to be a '*participatory approach where multiple stakeholders are involved in decision-making, implementation and enforcement of the norms and rules*'. From my research, not all those elements can be found back in the co-management of the Lolkuniani market. The representatives of the local stakeholders are more active in implementing and enforcing rules. It seems they can be easily overruled, with the county making decisions without consultation or participatory process. Although the locals are not fully involved in the decision-making, they do express some agency, for instance by not collecting 100% of the cess. Also, they have decided to keep the current system of collecting, despite encouragements of SNV to change to a different, possibly more efficient system.

So, co-management as an equal partnership between the two involved parties is not met at Lolkuniani. Although the County seems to be in a more powerful position, the local committee can express agency: this is seen in their two main activities of the committee at the market: cess collection and peace-making.

The committee established a de facto rate of cess, which is much lower than the one established by the County. In 2.3 I already explained three reasons for this. These were confirmed in interviews. However, we should not neglect another option. Possibly the county's rate is too high, and offering a lower level makes it attractive to keep performing trade at Lolkuniani. It seems there is now a functioning consensus, which keeps the market running. This consensus is negotiated between what people are willing to pay, and what the collectors still believe is 'fair'. It is difficult to determine if this is really fair, as traders might have higher bargaining power. Increasing cess collection is difficult, as there are several constraints. Although there is a high rate of 'missed income' by uncollected cess, the actual rate could be 'smoothing business'. As the local committee and clerks are present and involved every market, it could be they are actually in the best position to decide what a fair price is. Although it works out differently than expected, it is possible the co-management model is, through the implementing acting's of the local committee, shaping the market for the better.

Also, the committee is in charge of peace making: they are active themselves, and are assisted by several other peace-making *mzees*. They are assisted by armed security forces, but these are not capable of finding solutions and justice, as they lack context and often don't speak the local language. These locals are better able to understand the finesses and context of conflicts, and can therefore give better solutions which fit into local customs. Also, the local community usually prefers a local settlement to disputes and problems instead of involving official authorities such as the police. So the presence of local peacemakers and the local committee contributes to a safe and just environment, and thereby the success of the market.

As explained in 2.5, there appear some challenges in giving the task of planning, investments and maintenance to the local community. The local committee has so far not financially contributed to

maintenance, but has paid for unexpected expenses. This indeed shows the expected flexibility of co-management, and it contributes positively to the running of the market.

A possible reason for lacking investments and maintenance is the low level of experiences and vision to improve the market further. Most of them have had no to little formal education, and they are already in charge of the most successful livestock market in the County. This could mean they see little reason for change.

Secondly, individual incentives are sometimes low or possibly even negative for bringing changes in the market. This is for instance related to employment. Some stated the market is well run by the local committee, because these people are now employed, and in addition they hire extra locals. It seems this has preference over a higher budget for the community account. There was no clear support for this. As many people mentioned the positive effects of the market are increased employment, reducing the amount of workplaces would be an unpopular measure. Also, the committee members themselves would have to make the decision to give up their own salary.

There is another, third possible explanation why the committee has so far shown little initiative. It could be that the continuing interference of both the County and SNV has affected the local feelings of ownership of the market. The co-management was introduced to keep this to a high level, but I have received mixed signals considering this. So far, there has been no necessity to step up themselves. Other groups keep interfering, and offering more services (trainings). They could expect now there is still no need to put in effort themselves, when they feel a high likelihood some other group will take the responsibility, which so far has already happened.

The co-management system and local committee is well known amongst the local community. This is impressive, considering the local circumstances. Knowledge on activities of the committee members could be improved. Most people also know profits of the market are equally shared between the county and the community. The community has used this money to pay for secondary school fees and medical bills. However, throughout my field work it has remained unclear to me how to receive such financial support. This informal system has advantages and disadvantages. It is flexible, but there is no overview on expenses: it cannot be checked whom is reached by the financial aid, and where it ends up. It could be very well that aid demands from the village and direct surroundings of the secretary are over represented in the spending, as he seems to decide. This would mean social relations are of importance in access to financial benefits.

### **5.3 Economic access and strategies**

It is clear the market is a lively place where many people make money and where many goods and money is exchanged. Without the market, most of these economic activities would not take place, especially not on such scale. The market is there for very important for the Samburu community around Lolkuniani, as it has created access to a market, easier access to cash money, enables the creation of economic networks and thereby introduced many economic opportunities for the local community. The main profit for the community comes from improved flexibility. Instead of having to plan household expenditures weeks in advance, people can now reach a market and gain an income much easier.

The economic activities can be divided in three main categories: livestock, commodities and hotels. Economic strategies within these categories are influenced by institutions, but leave place for the

agency of people. Access is gained through the market, but also incorporates several of the structural and relational mechanisms as described by Ribot and Peluso.

In case of livestock trade, agency and institutions work together: Livestock has always been an important, if not the most important, part of Samburu culture. Selling them to earn some cash for other expenses makes much sense and fits into local customs. Rules of behaviour are in place, and networks play an important role: Trade goes a lot easier when you know the other party. Trade agreements between Samburu sellers and external buyers and trade on credit indicate that social capital and relations plays a significant role in the market. There are also well known and established middlemen and brokers active, connecting those without such a strong network. The middlemen also use their social identity and claimed access to knowledge in their negotiations.

Institutions related to gender are also present in the livestock market: Samburu women are not involved in cattle or camel trade, this only a task for men. It seems likely this originates from other Samburu customs, stating women are not responsible for the larger livestock. Some external buyers are women though. This could also mean Samburu men make use of their social identity to acquire access to the livestock market, and acquire access to certain networks.

Institutions are also newly created at Lolkuniani. A great example of this is the formation of the chicken tree: it is made in the niche, and makes it easy for women to sell chickens and goat skins. It has become a real institution: everyone knows it is there, and activities and trade go through a reliable rule of practice. It is a reliable and easy outlet for the needs of these women to easily acquire some cash.

Institutions can also be limiting: one is not supposed to act outside of these schemes. In hotel and 'catering' businesses, it is observed people are pushing these existing boundaries, related to gender and official rules (the business of Saadia is a good example of that). Not everyone will be successful, but in some cases rules change with the power of people and their efforts to build new rules and institutions.

To really make a change in the way you make a living at the Lolkuniani market, one needs either innovation or large capital. With innovation one can establish a new business in a niche. This requires little financial capital. With more financial capital, it is possible to become a bigger trader in the market: one can pursue an existing business strategy, but with benefit in numbers as higher quantities can be linked to improved prices.

However, not everyone in the market acts like an entrepreneur or has such motivations. Some shop holders and many livestock sellers are filling in a direct need. There is not always a strategy or wish to expand the business and gain more money, sustaining a current level of wealth is sometimes enough. Some women rely on the men they know to perform well in livestock trade. The various motives to start a business for these local people are important to remember.

## 5.4 Other social interactions

Next to facilitating trade, the market has also become a social hub. Various social interactions take place, which help in sustaining social relations.

In earlier times, *moran* could stay away for weeks. Parents admitted they were worried their *moran* sons were up to trouble, for instance mainly participating in raids, but also violating territorial tribal boundaries in their quest to pastures. Nowadays, they parents can find their *moran* son in the market each week, as it has become such a large social hub too. Here they can 'control' their adolescent sons.

Also, people exchange information and advice, for instance on how to do business, or finding out where the best pastures are. Also, people inform each other on events at home or in the field, for instance conflicts and raids. These interactions are an important aspect in the market, and give options for people to expand their social network and social capital.

Another positive side effect of the market is the increased inter tribal interaction. This is usual peaceful, as most parties benefit from a safe trading environment. According to several informants this has already lead more peaceful interethnic and intertribal relations and perceptions. Further research can give a better insight to which degree this is taking place.

Besides these direct observable interactions, we can see that the interactions at the market have also brought other changes, more on a societal level. These are increased participation of women in economic activities, and the introduction of poultry: also strengthening the position of women. This is generally perceived as a positive development in the community. It allows women to take better care of their children by earning money for food and school fees. My research shows the market is very important for the Samburu to maintain their social relations. Also, there are signs institutions are not all decisive, but individuals have the agency to change their activities. Eventually, this can lead and has led to changing institutions.

## 5.5 Conclusions

Answering my first sub question, I want to conclude co-management makes the market different through two practices: cess collection and peace-making. These two practices show the immediate outcomes of a co-managed market. These smoothen trade and create a safe and reliable environment.

On an intermediate level, we see that access has changed. In livestock trade, this gives a direct advantage to those with the best network. In some cases livestock has transformed to something with a higher exchange value. There is an indirect advantage for those dependent on casual labour and those dependent on middlemen: They have acquired easier access to a market, improving their access to financial capital. However, they are less involved in the commoditization of livestock and active business.

Availability of all kinds of household items has improved in the commodity market. This brings and indirect advantage: more people have a business- this brings little, but some cash flow, which contributes to better accessibility of all other goods and services at the market.

The market facilitates social relations, and many people sustain their existing relations in the market. The market also facilitates more intertribal interaction. There are signs this lead to more peaceful relations in the area. It seems inter-tribal relations also led to a cultural change: the introduction of poultry. Next to these, there are some signs gender institutions are changing. This is change on a more ultimate level. More women are now active in trade, which gives them more independent access to resources.

## 5.6 Future research

From my discussion and conclusion, I would like to make some recommendations for future research.

It would be interesting to compare the Lolkuniani co-management to other co-managed markets in the area. Also, the local committee of Lolkuniani is relatively old, compared to those of the Lengusaka market. Lengusaka is a smaller livestock market, held on Tuesdays and is located close to Wamba. This market is set up by SNV. The local committee has several significantly younger members. It is interesting if to know if this leads to different management of the market. There are also differences in how counties are involved: In another market, (possibly Marsabit) co-management of another market has been withdrawn by the County, because of bad performance on cess collection by that local committee.

Also, there is still little knowledge if the committee members are now in a different social position: To which degree have they become brokers between their own community and other authorities, such as NGOs and the county?

These suggestions come directly from answering my own research question. However more interestingly, there are signs things are changing on a much larger institutional level:

Pastoralism can be seen as way of production and to provide an income, but it can be seen and analysed in more ways. The practice is strongly linked to culture and identity, traditions and networks, communities and families. It is a lifestyle, passed on along generations. Social status is also derived from livestock: the larger one's herd, the higher one's social position.

Pastoralists often encounter pressure on local natural resources such as pasture (land) and water. This can be due to population growth leading to population pressure, climatic shocks, or migration flows. This pressure can lead to conflicts, sometimes violent, between groups of pastoralist. The pastoralist lifestyle has been one of competition over resources and it is found raids are sometimes motivated by access to resources in other pastoral areas in Kenya. Raids are described as a traditional coping strategy and cultural practice for these pastoralists. (Hendrickson *et al* 2009, Schilling *et al* 2012). Availability of fire arms has intensified conflicts and made raids more violent in several regions in Northern Kenya and Uganda, causing more violent deaths (Mkutu 2003, Little *et al* 2001).

From my field work, there are some signs things are different in regions around Lolkuniani. They suggest a cultural change, which can be summarized as 'from Raid to Trade'.

Nowadays, more and more have changed in the way the Samburu *moran* live around my research area. Multiple informants claimed this is because of the success of the Lolkuniani and other livestock markets in the ASALs around (Oldenyero, Merile market). Instead of staying in the field, they are more attracted to urban areas. Also, the selling of goats does not only take place under necessity of the family, it has become a business. Moran buy goats in a smaller interior market, and when they

have gathered enough they will sell them in a bigger market which draws more external buyers: mainly Lolkuniani. They also visit urban areas more and sometimes even find a place to live in Wamba (Interviews Stephen, Philip).



**Picture 9 Selling yard**

Although margins in their business are usually small, the way they provide in their sustenance and create access to capital seems to have essentially changed: Before, livestock was only sold in assignment of their parents, and the money was used to buy food. Nowadays, they buy and sell in different markets, as a business, to make profit. This is performed with lesser intervention of their parents, it is their own business. In some situations, this means that the *Moran* has also taken larger responsibility in the household: they are now contributing financially to the household, so food can be bought. This is especially the case where the former head of the household, the father, has died. I interviewed one *moran* where this was the case. He is now performing trade and sustaining his family. Later heard from several people this is getting more and more common. Sometimes the extra money is used for school fees of younger siblings.

These are unintentional changes, but still caused by the market. It could be that the essential activities of a *moran* are changing: From herding and staying in the field, to doing business and providing also financially for the family. It would be interesting to see to which degree these changes occur, and if this really means institutions and cultural practices are changing.

As explained before, there is now a larger control over the *moran*. This, and an increased focus on markets has according to some already lead to significant cultural change amongst *moran*: Earlier, social status was derived through ones' size of their herd and their successes in raids. Some informants have said status is now more and more measured through ones' success in livestock trade and business. This interesting process could be summarized as 'from Raid to Trade'.

This means the essences of pastoralism could be changing: from one where competition and conflicts are essential to sustain access to resources and pastures, towards one where peaceful relations and less violence in the area is more beneficial. Instead of focusing on exclusive assets (access to land, water and pasture), trade is less exclusive and competitive: markets are open for access by everyone. Also, trade is better performed in a safe environment, and likely attracts more external buyers. This means there is a common interest to reduce violent conflicts. Violent raiding directly affects the involved communities with loss of human life and reduces access to water, pasture and other resources. Indirectly violent conflict causes ineffective resource utilization, food insecurity, reduced mobility (Schilling *et al* 2012). Because of this, it is important to keep track of conflicts and raiding, and the associated cultural aspects and dynamics.

It needs further research to see if the perception of success and status for and by *moran* is really changing, and if this indeed has led to a safer environment and lesser raids and conflicts.



## Literature

ASAL Forum, (2015). Available at:

<http://www.asalforum.or.ke/mappingtool/tracker/projectdetails/6.html> (Accessed 19 October 2015)

Carlsson, L., & Berkes, F. (2005). *Co-management: concepts and methodological implications*. Journal of environmental management, 75(1), 65-76.

Ensminger, J. (1996). *Making a market: The institutional transformation of an African society*. Cambridge University Press.

Hendrickson, D., Mearns, R., & Armon, J. (1996). *Livestock raiding among the pastoral Turkana of Kenya: Redistribution, predation and the links to famine*. IDS Bulletin, 27(3), 17-30.

Holtzman, J. (2002). *Politics And Gastropolitics: Gender And The Power Of Food In Two African Pastoralist Societies*. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 8: 259–278. doi: 10.1111/1467-9655.00003

Jentoft, S. (2004). *Institutions in fisheries: what they are, what they do, and how they change*. Marine Policy, 28(2), 137-149.

Juma, G., et al. (2010). "Consumer demand for sheep and goat meat in Kenya." Small Ruminant Research 90(1): 135-138.

Krätli, S., Huelsebusch, C., Brooks, S., & Kaufmann, B. (2013). *Pastoralism: A critical asset for food security under global climate change*. Animal Frontiers, 3(1), 42-50.

Little, M., Leslie, P., & Pike, I. (2003). Cattle Raiding, Cultural Survival, and Adaptability of East African Pastoralists<sup>1</sup>. Current Anthropology, 44(S5), S3-S30.

March, J.G., Olsen, J.P. (1989) *Rediscovering institutions. The organizational basis of politics* The Free Press, New York

Mkutu, K. (2001). *Pastoralism and conflict in the Horn of Africa*. Saferworld. Organisation.

Onyanga, D., Trant, H., Baraza, K., (2008) *Comprehensive study of livestock marketing systems in Samburu District, Kenya* , Quantum Africa Ltd Livestock Markets Study 2008

Ribot, Jesse C., and Nancy Lee Peluso. *A theory of access*. RURAL SOCIOLOGY-BATON ROUGE- 68.2 (2003): 153-181.

Schilling, J., Opiyo, F. E., & Scheffran, J. (2012). *Raiding pastoral livelihoods: motives and effects of violent conflict in north-western Kenya*. Pastoralism, 2(1), 1-16.

Spencer, P. (1965) *The Samburu. A Study of Gerontocracy in a Nomadic Tribe*. London



## Annex 1: List of interviewees

I interviewed several LMA members. I met them at the market, but interviews took place on other days around their homes in the villages. All names are changed to protect the identity of the interviewees.

Frank (m)- secretary market)	Interview and 2 day participatory observations: went herding to water place with goats, donkeys and camels Meetings, interviews at the market
Benjamin (m)- chair market	Multiple interviews, Meetings, talks, at the market
Chris (m)committee member	interview, Meetings, talks, at the market
Jonathan (m)- treasurer market	3 day visit to village, extended interviews, Meetings, talks at the market
Peter (m)- committee member	Interview and 2 day participatory observations: herding cattle into the hills Talks at the market
Leah (f)- committee member	Interview

Interview with officials and employees of government or NGO:

Nashami, assistant revenue officer, based in Wamba	Semi-structured interview
Philip, program manager SIDEP	“
Saadia, project officer Sidep and business-owner at the market	“
Mr Mahir, ministry of livestock, department production	“
Stephen, county clerk	Semi-structured interview, meetings at the market

I interviewed three external traders. Because they are busy at the market, I had to visit them in their home town. Unfortunately, I only had camel traders whom were willing to talk to me and where I could make arrangements for an interview in Isiolo town:

Hassan (m) Camel trader, based in Isiolo,	Semi-structured interview, meetings at the market
Kadir (m)	“
Floridah (f)	“

Other people I met in the market:

Michael, clerk	Semi-structured interview, meetings at the market
Justin, broker	"
Joseph, clerk	"
Ali Youssef, helping hand in family business	"
Sam, business man	"
Max, Samburu commodity trader	"
Matthew, clerk	"
James	"
# 1, commodity trader from meru	Meetings and talk at the market
#3: women with hotel	"

Household interviews:

Tom (m)	Semi-structured interview
Lewis (m)	"
#2 (m)	"
Alexandra (f)	Semi-structured interview, meetings at the market
Ska (f)	"
Patricia (f)	"
Suzanne (f)	"

Group discussion:

Group interview with women in village: topic market activities, accessibility, safety, etc.	
Moran (group conversation on market activities)	
Group- joined, hosted by SNV (conversation on droughts)	

## **Annex 2: List of Figures and tables**

### **List of Figures**

Picture 1:	Goat pens	p. 18
Picture 2:	Committee in training	p. 24
Picture 3:	Selling yard	p. 33
Picture 4 :	Commodity market	p. 37
Picture 5:	Suzanne and her shop	p. 38
Picture 6:	Chicken tree	p. 40
Picture 7:	Several hotels	p. 42
Picture 8:	Poultry around homestead	p. 49
Picture 9:	Selling yard	p. 58

### **List of Boxes**

Box 1:	Research challenges	p. 17
Box 2:	Other activities	p. 17
Box 3:	Moran traditions	p. 31

### **List of tables**

Table 1:	Cess per livestock item	p. 18
Table 2:	Collected cess	p. 19