EFFECT OF TRADITIONAL POKOT WORLDVIEW ON SPREAD OF

CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE POKOT

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DEDICATION

To my late parents, Samson Ngeiywo and Rodah Nabangala, for sacrificing a great deal to help me reach this far and my dear wife Grace, for her passionate care and encouragement to me during my studies. To my mentor and spiritual father Rev Dr Wambua for believing in me.

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ABSTRACT

Christian missionaries established the first mission work among the Pokot of West Pokot County in 1931, when the Churchman's Missionary Society (BCMS) the Anglicans established a mission centre at Kacheliba. However, they encountered resistance and non response from the Pokot. To date, the bulk of the Pokot, especially the elderly are still conservative to their traditional lifestyle and reluctant to open up to Christianity, change and new ideas. This Study endeavoured to find out why the pokot resisted Christianity, change and new ideas. The objectives of the study were: First, to examine the traditional Pokot worldview. Second, evaluate the spread of Christianity among the Pokot, and finally, to assess the effect of the traditional Pokot worldview on the spread of Christianity among the Pokot. This study was guided by the structural functionalism theory of Robert K. Merton (1910-2003). The basic principle of this theory is that society has evolved as an organism and should therefore be studied from the perspective of the social structures and the functions of its constituent elements. This study adopted a descriptive design. The Purposive, snowball and the random sampling methods were used to select the respondents for the study. The study established that the bulk of the Pokot, especially the elderly are very acculturated and conservative to their traditional beleiefs and practices. Due to this, the traditional Pokot worldview has affected the spread of Christianity among the Pokot. There is need therefore, for Christian denominations doing mission work among the Pokot to present the Gospel in light of the Pokot culture and traditional worldview. This can be achieved be achieved by involving the Pokot in decision making and in the establishment of Christian programs that are culturally relevant to them and are geared towards addressing needs perceived by them.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF MAPS

Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACCK   Associated Christian Churches of Kenya

ACK   Anglican Church of Kenya

AC   Acts

AGC   African Gospel church

AIC   African Inland Church

AIM   African Inland Missions

ATS   Africa Theological Seminary

BCMS   Bible Churchman's Missionary Society

CQ   Clergy Questionnaire

COL   Colossians

COR   Corrinthians

DC   District Commissioner

ELCK   Evangelical Lutheran church of Kenya

EPH   Ephesians

EX   Exodus

EZK   Ezakiel

FGCK   Full Gospel Churches of Kenya

GEN   Genesis

HEB   Hebrews

ISA   Isaiah

JHN   John

KBC   Kapenguria Bible College

LEV   Leviticus

LK   Luke

MK   Mark

MATT   Matthew

MKU   Mount Kenya University

MMUST   Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology

NT   New Testament

PCMIG   Pokot Community Members Interview Guide

PCMQ   Pokot Community Members Questionnaire

PEIG   Pokot Elders Interview Guide

PSIG   Pokot Specialists Interview Guide

RE   Revelation

REV   Reverend

RCC   Roman Catholic Church

ROM   Romans

THESS   Thessalonians

TIM   Timothy

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the background of the study; the statement of the problem; the purpose of the study; the objectives of the study; the research questions; the assumption of the study; the scope of the study; the signifigance of the study and the theoretical framework.

1.1 Background

The sources for the period in which the Christian religion developed and triumphed are very few and conflicting. Historians have relied almost exclusively upon the closing chapters of the Gospels and the opening chapters of the book of Acts. But modern scholars, toiling patiently on the most ancient texts available, have established more important general facts about the historical background of the Christian religion (Stark, 1996).

According to Fredricksen (1988), the history of the Christian religion is the story of a religion that emerged from the faith in its founder, and in the belief that God was made manifest in the flesh and dwelt among men. The chief sources bearing the history of this religion are the Gospels and the Epistles of the New Testament. These sources teach that the founder of the Christian religion is Jesus Christ, who was born in Bethlehem, the city of David during the reign of Herod (Matt 1:18-24, Lk 3:1-4, 23, Col 1:15-23).

About the time of John the Baptist's arrest, Jesus crossed the Jordan River and made his way to Galilee, proclaiming the good news from God saying, "The time has come and the

reign of God is near, repent and believe this good news!" His tone was urgent and he produced such conviction about himself and his message, that he was immediately followed by Simon Peter, Andrew, James and John. All these were fishermen who dropped their nets and followed him. Lake Galilee was surrounded by thriving towns of Tiberius, Tracheae, Capernaum, Chorazin and Bethsaida. Jesus began his ministry in these towns, choosing Capernaum as his headquarters because Simon Peter's home was there. At first he spoke in the synagogues and when the crowds grew larger, he began to preach in market places and open fields (Stark, 1996).

According to Eridsjo (2009), the furore of excitement and interest that the teachings of Jesus attracted people in the town and villages of Galilee caught the attention of the Pharisees and Sadducees in Jerusalem because they were the guardians of the Law and the temple. What offended the Pharisees and the Sadducees the most about the teachings of Jesus was the freedom with which he interpreted the Law and the Prophets without respecting the Jewish tradition (Matt 15:1-12). According to the testimony of the Gospels, at the time of the arrest of Jesus at the Garden of Gethsemane, the disciples scattered and fled. None of them except John dared to draw near to the place of crucifixion. Sick with despair and fear, the disciples remained in hiding during the Sabbath day. On the morning of the third day, some of the women went to the tomb and found that it was empty. While still standing at the tomb, Jesus appeared to them. They then reported the extraordinary appearance of Jesus to the disciples. As a result of this, the despair of the disciples gave way to jubilant confidence and enormous faith in Jesus Christ that spread this new religion throughout the Mediterranean world (Matt 28:1-15, Mk 16:1-15, Lk 24: 1-49 & Jhn 20:1-31).

According to Eidsjo (2009), the resurrection appearances of Jesus Christ convinced his disciples that he had been raised from the dead so that he might soon return on the clouds of heaven as the promised Son of Man who would judge the nations at the last day. The disciples of Jesus Christ believed that his mission on earth was to prepare the way for his second coming. At this time the disciples were about one hundred and twenty (120) in number. These disciples constantly met in a large upper room for prayer and counsel. The book of Acts says that Mary the mother of Jesus and his brothers were among them. The Apostles were the official leaders of the group, but James the brother of Jesus became a prominent figure among them (Ac 1:12-14).

The resurrection of Jesus was a proof of the truth of the Gospel to his disciples. While the the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost was the guarantee that the power that was in Jesus Christ their Lord was in them too. From this time onwards, the Apostles took the courage and begun to preach the Gospel boldly and were met with startling success since hundreds of converts joined them. Due to this, the Pharisees and Sadducees arrested Peter and John and brought them before the Sanhedrin, and ordered them to cease speaking as they did in the name of Jesus. But on their release, they continued with their preaching undeterred (Ac 2:1-19, 4:1-19). Sachar states:

> Soon new followers were added to the tiny body, deeply impressed by its enthusiasm and way of life. During the Day of Pentecost, Peter moved by the Spirit expounded the new faith and promised salvation to all those who repented, and the membership of the Church grew to about three thousand people. The apostles gave instructions about the life and the teachings of Jesus Christ and the meaning of the Old Testament in the meetings that they held daily (1965, p. 135).

The spread of the Christian religion in Europe was pioneered by Apostle Paul, who was a non-Palestinian Jew, born, about the same time as Jesus in the town of Tarsus in Cilicia. The city of Tarsus was important because it was the seat of the university where the Stoic and Cynic philosophers were taught. Probably this is the place where Paul learned about the Greek mystery-cults and the desire of their adherents to achieve immortality by identification with the dying and rising saviour-gods. The family of Paul was wealthy, and this is why he was able to purchase the Roman citizenship and the legal status of being a free born Roman (Adrian, 1999).

Some scholars regard the Apostle Paul as as the second founder of Christianity. This is due to the fact that he fought and defeated the Judaizers who were strongly opposed to the Christian religion until they steadily lost the battle against the Christian movement. The Apostle Paul also developed basic theological concepts that outline the spiritual effects of Jesus Christ upon the lives of his followers. These concepts enabled Christianity to win the Gentile world. To the Gentiles, Paul brought the intact religion of Jesus using the vehicle of faith on Jesus Christ the Lord. In this regard, it was Paul's missionary activity that transformed the despised and hunted Christian religion into a world-wide religion. Armed with faith, Paul was daunted by nothing. The success of Paul in mission work was phenomenal considering the health challenges he had. He was said to be small in size, bandy-legged, unattractive, with a great hook nose, meeting eyebrows, and a bald head, intensely nervous, and afflicted with headache. Although it seemed impossible for him to carry out this task single handedly, due to the immense passion and burden he had, he accomplished the task. Paul's weak little body was thoroughly controlled by an immense will and inexhaustible energy (2 Cor 11:24-27). Paul states that

the source of his strength and energy was the divine power energizing mightily in him when he felt weak in himself (Adrian, 1999).

According to Segal (1986), the Apostle Paul's long missionary activities made him to travel throughout the Roman Empire. Although this ultimately brought him martyrdom at the hand of Nero, it also made the beliefs of the Christian religion to be developed and crystallized. This is the reason why some scholars regard Paul as the intellectual founder of Christianity. After several discussions with the early Christian leaders, Paul solved the difficult problem of the Christian relationship to the Jewish Law. A compromise was reached that Jewish Christians be allowed to continue to observe the Jewish practices, while the Gentile Christians be under no obligation to observe Jewish practices (Ac 15:1-29).

In light of the information above, the Christian religion emerged in Levant (now Palestine and Israel) in the mid 1st century AD. However, its spread to other parts of the world was met with mixed reactions. In some places it was well received and successfully adopted, while in other places it was resisted and dominated with rejection, opposition and persecutions. The name "Christian" was first applied to the disciples of Jesus Christ at Antioch (Ac 11:26). This name was coined as a derogatory word meaning "little Christs," and was therefore used as a mockery and as a term of derision for those that followed the teachings of Jesus Christ (Segal, 1986).

From the beginning, Christians were subjected to various oppositions and persecutions from the Roman Empire. This was evidenced by deaths of Stephen (Ac 7:59) and of James the son of Zebedee (Ac 12:2). According to the Church traditions, Peter and Paul

were martyred in Rome during the time of Nero. However, despite intense oppositions and persecutions, the Christian religion grew from a religion that had a small Jewish following in the first century to a religion that existed across the entire Greco-Roman World and the regions beyond (Segal, 1986).

The Christian religion spread into Syria, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Phoenicia, Asia Minor, Jordan and Egypt in the first century. It was successfully adopted as a state religion of Armenia in 301, of Georgia in 319, of the Aksumite Empire in 325, and of the Roman Empire in 380. The historical success of the spread of Christianity in the 1st century was due to the following reasons: First, the inflexible and tolerant zeal the Christians derived from the Jewish Religion. Second, the fact that the Christian Religion improved the lives of its adherent in various ways. Third, the Christian doctrine of the future life. Fourth, the miraculous powers ascribed to the Church. Fifth, the pure austere morals, union and discipline of the Christian governments (Carrington, 1957).

Several notable highlights marked the introduction of Christianity in the African continent. In AD 43, Mark established churches at the city of Alexandria. His first convert was a shoe maker named Ananias, who later became the second Bishop of Alexandria. In 600 AD, Frumentius located Christian merchants in Ethiopia and encouraged them to plant churches. 1460, Cape Verde and Sao Tome experienced the missionary conquest and were made the base for African slaves and mission activities. In 1457, Diogo Comez reached the edges of Mali and sought to convert the Vassal King Nomimansa. In 1482, Christianity was introduced to Ghana by Diogo da Azambuja. In 1498, Vasco da Gama planted the padrao Pillar on the Coast near Malindi. But when Francisco the grandson of Vasco da Gama became the Viceroy of India in 1597, he

ordered the missionaries to establish churches along the East African Coast. In 1738, George Schmidt, a Moravian Missionary settled in South Africa and worked among the Khoikhoi (Shaw, 2006).

When evangelizing the African people, the European Missionaries targeted African Kings, Chiefs and other leaders high in the hierarchy of the African society before targeting the general population. This strategy was however characterised by both hits and misses. One of their shortcomings was that they repressed and demonized African cultures as they imposed the Christian doctrines on them under the guise of salvation. However, the European Missionaries are credited for promoting literacy, education and hope by giving opportunities to the disadvantaged members of the society like the orphans (Shaw, 2006).

The Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society (BCMS) under Lawrence Totty began mission work among the Pokot people of West Pokot County in 1931. They established a mission station at Kacheliba, but soon moved to Nasokol where the climate was tolerable. They started schools and preached the gospel faithfully, but with very little response. The Roman Catholic Church came to West Pokot County in 1945 and established a parish at Tartar. But they too found the Pokot to be resistant to Christianity as well as change (Shingledecker et al, 1982).

The Western Christian Missionaries found out that the Pokot had a comprehensive lifestyle that enabled them to harmoniously exist with nature. In this regard, the Pokot were convinced that there was no need to embrace Christianity and change because it would interfere with their traditional way of life. This was further complicated by the fact

that some Christian denominations refused to baptize Pokot who were polygamists. The act of the Western Christian missionaries rejecting to baptize the Pokot who were polygamists made the majority of the Pokot to equate the Christian religion with colonialism. Therefore, they rejected both the Western Christian Missionaries and the Colonial Administration. To date, despite the increasing pressure for development, the Pokot traditional lifestyle seems not to be breaking down because a very small percentage of the Pokot seem to be opening up to Christianity, change and new ideas. After the opening of Ortum mission hospital in 1956 by the Governor of the Colony, the newly arrived medical doctor had to wait for six months before a patient came to the hospital. This happened despite the fact that the infant mortality rate in West Pokot County at that time was 85%. Despite the establishment of a few schools and churches in the following decade, the Pokot were still reluctant to embrace Christianity, change and new ideas. This was due to their lack of excitement for new things. Some of them had to be beaten in order to accept to plant new crops. They feared to embrace new things because they were afraid of the possible effect of doing that. The Pokot also refused to go to hospital and to vaccinate their livestock because they were afraid that this would make their cows to dry up (Visser, 1999).

The Pokot regarded the Western lifestyle as a threat to their valued stability and order. When the prospectors seeking for minerals dug trenches in the mountains, the Pokot accused them for making scars in the earth. In this regard, the response of the Pokot to Christianity, change and new ideas was very exceptional and therefore a study needs to be carried out to analyze the effect of the traditional Pokot worldview on the spread of Christianity among the Pokot (Viser, 1999).

1.2 Statement of the problem

Despite the introduction of Christianity among the Pokot in 1931, and the persistent effort of the Christian missionaries and various denominations to transform the Pokot community by the provision of alternative belief systems, education, medical services and other development initiatives, the bulk of the Pokot, especially the elderly are still very acculturated and conservative to their traditional lifestyle and are reluctant to open up to Christianity, change and new ideas (Shingledecker et al, 1982). Why did the Pokot resist Christianity, change and new ideas? This study endeavoured to find out the reason why the Pokot resisted Christianity, change and ideas.

1.3 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study was to evaluate the effect of the traditional Pokot worldview on the spread of Christianity among the Pokot of West Pokot County using a descriptive survey design. The traditional Pokot worldview is characterized by their traditional beliefs and practices. This was done with a view of challenging the christian denominations doing mission work among the Pokot to find ways to contextualize the Gospel in order for it to address the needs perceived by them (Pokot).

1.4 Objectives of the study

The objectives of this study were to:

    i) Examine the traditional Pokot worldview.

    ii) Investigate the spread of Christianity in West Pokot County.

    iii) Evaluate the effect of the traditional Pokot worldview on the spread of Christianity among the Pokot.

1.5 Research questions

This study sought to answer the following viable questions:

i) What is the traditional Pokot worldview?

iii) How did Christianity spread in West Pokot County?

iii) How has the traditional Pokot worldview affected the spread of Christianity among the Pokot?

1.6 Assumption of the study

This study assumed that since 1931 to date, various denominations have preached the Gospel in almost every village in West Pokot County. However, the majority of the Pokot, especially the elderly are still very acculturated and conservative to their traditional lifestyle and have resisted Christianity.

1.7 Scope and limitation of the study

The study focused on the Pokot people of West Pokot County. This study encountered four major limitations. The first limitation was the fear of stigmatization by some respondents. Some specialists, especially female circumcisers did not want to be identified because of the fear of reprisals from government. The researcher addressed this by explaining to them the purpose of the study and also assured anonymity to those who demanded it. The second limitation was that naturally the Pokot are very suspicious of strangers and don't easily open up to them for interviews. The researcher addressed this by training five Pokot research assistants who distributed the questionnaires and also contacted the interviews on his behalf. The third limitation was that the majority of the

respondents were illiterate and could not read and write. The researcher with the help of the research assistants addressed this challenge by translating the questionnaires in Pokot. Therefore, the literate respondents were given questionnaires to fill, while the illiterate ones were interviewed in Pokot using the questionnaires that had been translated into Pokot. The last limitation was the difficulty in travelling. This was because of the fact that West Pokot County is very remote and lacks good road network. The researcher addressed this by recruiting five research assistants who were residents of the sampled divisions. These research assistants were not only known by members of the community, but also found it easy to travel within their home areas.

1.8 Significance of the study

The findings of this study are useful reference material for researchers and students of religion for they contribute valuable knowledge on the subject of the Pokot worldview, the spread of Christianity in West Pokot County and how the traditional Pokot worldview affected the spread of Christianity among the Pokot. Also, this study has made a recommendation that will provide guidelines on how to contextualize the Gospel in order to make it culturally relevant.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

This study was guided by the structural functionalism theory developed by Robert King Merton (1910-2003). The other proponents of this theory include Augustine Comte, Hebert Spencer, Emile Durkheim and Talcott Parsons. The basic principle of this theory is that society is a complex system whose parts work together to promote its solidarity

and stability This approach looks at society through a macro-level orientation, which is a broad focus on the social structures that shape society as a whole (Merton, 1957).

The Functionalism theory postulates that society has evolved as an organism and should therefore be studied from the perspective of the social structures and the functions of its constituent elements. The constituent elements of society include the norms, customs, traditions and institutions. This theory was appropriate for this study because it provides guidelines on how to effectively study a society. Therefore, in accordance to this theory, the study examined the traditional pokot worldview from the perspective of its social structures and institutions (Parsons, 1961).

According to this theory, any social structure has "latent" and "manifest" functions. "Manifest" functions are the recognized and intended consequences of any social pattern. "Latent" functions are the unintended consequences of any social pattern. Merton states that not all parts of a modern complex society work for the functional unity of society because some institutions and structures of society can either be dysfunctional or functional. In this regard, there are functional alternatives to the institutions and structures currently fulfilling the functions of society. This means that the institutions that currently exist in society are not indispensable to it ((Davis, 1959).

The structural functionalism theory postulates that every actor in society is faced with five functional alternatives to the institutions and structures of society. The first alternative is conformity. This occurs when an individual has means and a desire to achieve cultural goals socialized in him/her. The second alternative is innovation. This occurs when an individual strives to fill cultural gaps, but chooses to do so in a novel or

unaccepted method. The third alternative is ritualism. This occurs when an individual merely performs what is prescribed by society. The fourth alternative is retreatism. This occurs when an individual stops performing and pursuing both the means and the goals of the society. And the final alternative is rebellion. This occurs when an individual rejects the societal goals. According to this theory, change can only occur internally in society through either innovation or rebellion. Although society can sometimes attempt to control people in order to negate the changes, when innovation or rebellion builds momentum, change will envitably take place (Merton, 1957). In accordance theory, this study sort to establish wether the Pokot received Christianity and change in any of the ways stated above (conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion).

LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 Introduction

This section reviewed literature related to this study. The literature review enables the researcher to identify areas that have been researched in order to establish the gaps to be filled. The term "Literature" means the works the researcher consulted in order to understand and to investigate the research problem. According to Kombo and Tromp (2014), literature review is an account of what has been published by credited scholars on a particular topic of interest to the researcher. The literature review was presented in the following categories: The traditional Pokot worldview (traditional beliefs and practices); the spread of Christianity in West Pokot County and the impact of the traditional Pokot Worldview on the Spread of Christianity among the Pokot.

1.2 Traditional Pokot worldview

Schneider (1956) in his work, *"The Moral System of the Pokot"* examines the traditional life style of the Pokot. He begins this work by giving a description about the geographical location of the Pokot and their dressing mode. He says that the Pokot value livestock because it provides them with a means of livelihood and it is also important for rituals and prestige. He states that in the Pokot cosmology, their god (Tororut) is the creator of the world and men. The sun, stars, rain and thunder are semi-independent aspects of the deity. The Pokot believe that Tororut desires that his people should live a happy life that is free from evil.

Morality in the Pokot community is acquired by means of ritual cleansing and conformity to the laws of the gods. This work is a critical and objective examination of the Pokot worldview and lifestyle. Besides being elaborate and thorough in handling the subject of discussion, the writer presents his arguments in an orderly and organized manner. Despite being an old work, it contains information that is relevant to the first objective of this study (Schneider, 1956).

Peristiany (1975) in his work *"The Ideal and the Actual: the Role Prophets in the Pokot Political System"* states that in order to understand the behaviour of the Pokot, it is important to first seek knowledge about their worldview. He says that the Pokot have three gods. *Tororut* (the god of the sky who listens), *Asis* (the god of the sun who sees when crimes are being committed), and *Ilat* (the god of thunder who fertilize the soil and causes life to sprout from it). *Ilat* is sometimes used by *Tororut* to warn people to turn away from their evil ways.

There are three colours connected to Pokot rituals. These colours are white, red and black. The red and white colours are associated with *Ilat*. The white colour is used for decorating initiates. The white colour is believed to protect the initiates against dark powers. Pokot warriors are also decorated using the white and red colours. In this case, the white colour is believed to protect the wearer from enemies while red one is believed to destroy the enemies (Peristiany, 1975).

The Pokot have numerous intermediaries between humans and other phenomena. These intermediaries include: the local elders (who perform sacrifices), the wizards and the medicine men (have ambivalent powers that they use to do good or evil), the exorcizers

and the purifiers (who perform purification ceremonies on behalf of those who have wilfully or unwilfully committed anti social or unnatural actions). Examples of anti social actions are adultery and giving birth to twins. Despite being an old work, it is organized, detailed, and analytical. Also, the author uses Pokot terms that help the readers to gain full comprehension of the concepts presented in the book. This work has useful information about the traditional beliefs and practices of the Pokot people and is therefore relevant to the first objective of this study (Peristiany, 1975).

Conant (1965) in his work, "*Korok, a variable unit of physical and social space among the Pokot of East Africa,*" states that the physical environment of West Pokot County is not only marked by great contrast of mountains and plains, but also with abrupt transitions between the two. Within a short horizontal distance one can pass from highland moors at more than 10,000 feet to semi- arid plains at less than 3,000 feet above the sea level. This transition involves great and sudden differences in the environmental potentials.

The *Korok* (village) is important in the Pokot community because it enhances interdependence, ethnic unity as well as cultural behaviour. The term *Korok* has two notable meanings. First, the *Korok* is a social unit (physical space or an area of settlement). A person can make reference to the *Korok* when asked about where they come from. They do this by mentioning the name of the *Korok* or the names of well known or wealthy individuals in the *Korok*. They can as well do this by mentioning the name of the stream marking a lateral border of the *Korok*. It is in the *Korok* as social unit that the local councils, communal labour, and inter *Korok* relationships function (Conant, 1965).

The *Korok* vary with respect to the localization of the kin. For example, in the *Korok* where farming predominates, the patrilineage is localized. The local council in such a *Korok* is known as *"Kokwa."* These councils are composed of all heads of independent households, and they are mandated with the responsibility of making decisions. Decisions in the *Kokwa* are reached by common consensus, whereby persuasion is normally done by the "good talkers," who are able to present arguments effectively and with extensive knowledge of the past decisions. Such individuals are known as *Kirwokin* (elders). They are normally few in number and enjoy considerable authority where kin groups are localized. In the farming *Korok*, the *Kirwokin* are many and therefore responsibilities in the *Kokwa* are shared (Conant, 1965).

The periodic organization of communal labour in the *Korok* contributes significantly to the personality of the *Korok* as a social unit. For example among the farmers, the *Kokwa* can call on all the residents to contribute their labour for the maintenance or the construction of irrigation canals, or for the fencing- in of a communal land. While in the herding community, the council can call on all inhabitants to contribute manpower for hunting or cattle raids (Conant, 1965).

The inter *Korok* relationships are complex. For instance, the relationship in the farming *Korok* is normally strained and unfriendly. Also, since there are a few clans in the farming community, those who want to marry are advised to look for marriage partners from different kin groups outside of the *Korok*. However, the relationship in the pastoralist' *Korok* is friendly and not strained. The pastoral *Korok* have many kin groups and therefore marriages among them within the *Korok* are common. The relationship between the farming and pastoralist *Korok* is promoted by economic exchange and joint

participation in major ritual events. The interaction between the farming and the pastoral *Korok* are periodically intensified by joint participation in ceremonies (Conant, 1965).

Second, the *Korok* is a physical unit. Conant states that as a physical unit, the term *Korok* is used to designate an area which on inspection, regularly includes three common features of the Pokot environment: the prominence or elevation of an area above the surrounding (the slope that makes one end of an area to be higher in altitude than the other) and the water way demarcation (especially lateral borders of an area that are by the beds of permanent or intermittent streams). The term *Korok* therefore describes the buttress or spur of a mountain. The *Korok* is either a sleepy sloped buttress of a mountain wall or a gently canted and slightly elevated area on the plains. The boundaries of the *Korok* are normally marked by water ways (Conant, 1965).

According to Conant (1965), the altitude, soil types and the plant cover are the difference between one *Korok* from another. The Pokot community utilizes the changing environmental potentials between one *Korok* to another in different ways. For example, because of altitude and the type of the soil, the Pokot farming community plant millet on the upper side of the *Korok* and sorghum and maize on the lower side of the *Korok*. While the Pokot herders deploy camels and goats in the areas of leaf- bearing trees and shrubs because of the plant cover.

In the Pokot farming community, *Korok* means both a unit of physical space and an area of settlement. While in the herding community that dwell on the plains, *Korok* means a settlement area that overlaps one or more *Korok* physical units. Both the Pokot farming and herding communities locate their homesteads in the middle of a topographical *Korok*,

with subsidiary households deployed to facilitate exploitation of different potentials of the environment. However, due to the search for pasture, the herders regularly move out of their *Korok* as a settlement area. But the farmers rarely move out of their *Korok* since their subsistence is drawn from within their settlement area. The *Korok* as a unit of physical space (settlement area) plays the key role in determining the Pokot cultural behaviour and the ethnic unity displayed by both the farming and the herding Pokot communities. This work gives a detailed description of the social organization of the Pokot community and it is therefore relevant to the first objective of this study (Conant, 1965).

Price (1970) in his book, *"God in the Valley,"* gives the reason why the Pokot are conservative. He says that the Pokot are conservative due to their isolation from other communities. This isolation has enabled Pokot to be bonded together by their tribal customs and therefore they prefer their traditional lifestyle to modern amenities provided by modern development. Price states that the majority of the Pokot live in round sturdy wooden huts with grass thatched roofs built in enclosures of bushes and thorns to protect their cattle from wild beasts.

The Pokot keep cattle for prestige as well as for meat, blood and milk. The Pokot are spirit worshippers who believe in the existence of a supreme god known as *Tororut*. They believe that *Tororut* is all-knowing and is the maker and sustainer of the universe. They perform many rituals that require animal sacrifices to pacify the spirits. These rituals are performed during the time of droughts, sickness and other adversities. This work (book) is elaboarate, organized, and analytical. It is structured in a manner that besides giving

the Pokot beliefs and practices, it also explains their meaning and purposes. Despite being an old work and brief, it is relevant to the first objective of this study (Price, 1970).

Edgerton and Conant (1964) in their work, *"The Shaming Party among the Pokot of East Africa,"* give a description of the Pokot community and their marital relations. They state that the Pokot community is strongly patriacal. The ideal Pokot marriage is polygamous, and bridewealth is paid using livestock. However, the Pokot marital relations are marked by mistrust, antagonism and hostility. Due to this, most married women are usually unhappy because their marital relationships are characteristically antagonizing. The hostilities in the Pokot marital relationships are caused by pre-marital and post-marital factors. The pre-marital and post-marital factors that make the Pokot marital relationship antagonistic include: ideological and attitudinal conflicts between the males and females; the differences in accessing authority and privileges between males and females; and pre-marital gender relations and forced marriages.

The Pokot use two strategies to solve marital conflicts. In the first conflict resolution strategy, the couple appear before the *Kokwa* (council of elders). The punishment for the guilty party in the *Kokwa* depends on the seriousness of the offence committed. The punishments applied on the guilty partner include verbal warnings, beatings and even fines. In the second conflict resolution strategy is performing *Kilapat* (shaming party). This is normally organized in secret by the offended partner when he/she feels the partner has flagrantly and repeatedly misbehaved. During the *Kilapat*, the offended partner is secretly picked by friends and neighbours and taken to the place where Kilapat will be performed. In the *Kilapat* party, the erring partner is ashamed in order to challenge him/her to stop misbehaving in marriage (Edgerton & Conant, 1964).

However, all *Kilapat* parties are not identical because in some, the punishment is only verbal abuse, while in others the punishment can involve both moral and physical torture. In the later case, an aggrieved wife or husband, with the help of neighbours and friends can shame an errant partner by binding their legs and hands and then insult and beat them. In extreme cases, the errant partner can be beaten and then urinated upon. But in some cases, some aggrieved partners refuse to resort to the known conflict resolution methods by either opting to divorce or even to committing suicide. Despite the fact that this is an old work, the contents of this book have been presented in an orderly and organized manner. Its arguments are critical and objective. This work has relevant information to the first objective of this study (Edgerton & Conant, 1964).

Peristiany (1951) in his work, *"The Age-Set System of the Pastoral Pokot,"* describes the *Sapana* (spearing of the bull) initiation rite and its significance to the Pokot. He states that after circumcision, the next initiation rite for Pokot men is *Sapana*. Pokot men have to undergo *Sapana* in order to attain the status of adulthood. *Sapana* initiation rites are held as often as there are candidates for initiation. This rite is held towards the end of the rainy season. Pokot men who have undergone *Sapana* are permitted to participate in activities of manhood.

In the *Sapana* ceremony, initiates are accompanied by a group of elderly and young kinsmen who are graduates of *Sapana* in the previous season. This is unlike the way it is done in the *Mutat* (circumcision) ceremonies where the initiates are only surrounded by a group of elderly kinsmen. The graduates of *Sapana* are referred to as the members of the same *Ma* (fire). In the Sapana ceremony, men who went through it together warm by one

21

fire place. This is normally a big fire that is lit to roast an ox speared by the initiate for the ceremony (Peristiany, 1951).

After undergoing the *Sapana* initiation, the initiates are expected to court, dance, hunt, and to travel widely to attend other *Sapana* rites in order to extend their range of social contacts. The initiate is supposed to recruit companions from among the *Sapana* initiates wherever he goes. The *Sapana* initiation ceremony is an exciting moment in the life of the initiated young man because it exposes him to his first experience of social solidarity, protection and loyality from a group which extends beyond the narrow range of his kinship ties and the confines of his region (Peristiany, 1951).

The men who were initiated together in the *Sapana* initiation rite form a *Sapana* sub-set. The *Sapana* sub-set is normally given a special nickname, which is usually that of an animal, or a wild berry associated with some recent memorable event. The nicknaming of the *Sapana* sub-set by the Pokot elders is not usually done in the ceremony itself. Most of the *Sapana* sub-set nicknames originate from the Turkana or the Karamojong communities (the northern neighbours of the Pokot). Different nicknames are used to refer to Sapana sub-sets (Peristiany, 1951).

When a *Sapana* sub-set nickname has been used for several years, a new *Sapana* sub-set name is introduced to mark the beginning of a new sub-set. A *Sapana* sub-set incorporates all those initiated during a period of two to five years. The most junior *Sapana* sub-set can easily be identified the sitting arrangement during the *Sapana* initiation ceremony. The sitting arrangement in the *Sapana* initiation ceremony is symbolic of the social function of each *Sapana* sub-set. For instance, during a raid, the

junior *Sapana* sub-set is positioned at the same auxiliary, and is charged with the responsibility of bearing luggage, cocking and of being the messengers. The *Sapana* sub-set also sleep in the same fire and receive a common reward after the raid (Peristiany, 1951).

The ceremony that comes after the *Sapana* is the *Munian* (colour) ceremony. *Munian*, which means colour, is a mad ceremony performed jointly by the members of several *Sapana* sub-sets. The Pokot community perform the *Munian* ceremony to integrate all the *Sapana* sub-sets into a larger age-grouping and to promote young men to senior age-ranks. This ceremony is not performed yearly but only whenever there are sufficient numbers of *Sapana* initiates seeking to be promoted into seniour age-ranks (Peristiany, 1951).

During the *Sapana* initiation rite, an ox is usually speared during the day and then roasted un-skinned by the initiates. Before roasting the bull, the initiates are expected first to present gifts to their seniors. These gifts include tobacco, ostrich feathers and beer. In this *Sapana* ceremony, men who performed *Munian* ceremony together (*Munian* group) form their own *Kerket* (half-circle). These half circles are organized according to the order of seniority of the age-sets. During this ceremony, the members of the most senior *Munian* group impart teachings to the members of the immediate *Munian* group, who also do the same to the group below them. These ceremonial exaltations are repeated down the line until they reach the lowest Munian group (Peristiany, 1951).

The teachings that are imparted to the initiates during the *Sapana* initiation ceremony include the duties the junior members of the *Sapana* sub-set should render to the

members of the the senior sub-set; the benefits of obeying orders from the elders and the seers; the part of meat to be reserved for the senior *Sapana* sub-set; the sizes of the calabashes of beer to be used to serve the seniour *Sapana* sub-sets and the warning to junior *Sapana* sub-sets members not to commit adultery with the wives of members of the senior *Sapana* sub-sets or to cohabit with their wives during menstrual period (Peristiany, 1951). Despite being an old book, this is a carefully thought out and researched work that deals elaborately with the Pokot traditional beliefs and practices. It has indispensable reference for anyone seeking information about the Pokot traditional beliefs and practices, and is therefore relevant to the first objective of this study (Peristiany, 1951).

1.1.3 Spread of Christianity in West Pokot County

Totty et al (1981) in their book *"Sounding the Call: 50 years of Sharing the Gospel of Christ in Pokot,"* give a historical analysis of the mission of the Bible Churchman's Missionary Society (BCMS) in the "Horn of Africa" and West Pokot County from 1928 to 1937. They analyse the strategies the BCMS used to evangelize West Pokot County. They state that BCMS used four major strategies to evangelize the Pokot. The first strategy was the provision of medical services. They visited the people in the villages and provided medical services to those who were sick.

The second strategy was the establishment of mission schools and colleges. The third strategy was the establishment of churches. The fourth strategy was the using of the converted and trained Pokot lay leaders to do the work of evangelism. Totty et al adopt a historical approach as they outline the historical development of Christianity in West

Pokot County. The language they use is simple, plain and straight forward. Despite being an old work that does not have many references, it has information that is relevant to the second objective of this study (Totty et al, 1981).

Shingledecker et al (1982) in their project *"The unreached Peoples of Kenya Project Pokot Report,"* give an analytical development of Christianity in West Pokot from 1931 to 1982. They begin by outlining the historical development of the first denominations that endeavoured to evangelize the Pokot of West Pokot County. They state that these denominations included Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK), Roman Catholic Church (RCC), Full Gospel Churches of Kenya (FGCK), Africa Gospel Church (AGC), Africa Inland Church (AIC), Associated Christian Churches of Kenya (ACCK) and Evangelical Luthren Churches of Kenya (ELCK). They also mention the development projects that these denominations initiated. They state that the first denomination to introduce Christianity in West Pokot County was the Anglican Church of Kenya under the Bible Churchman's Missionary Society (BCMS) in 1931. However, they encountered the challenge of non response from the Pokot. It was until 1962, during the time of the East African Revival that they experienced a breakthrough mission work.

There was no immediate breakthrough in the evangelization of the Pokot people because they resited innovation and change. By 1982, the ACK had more churches in West Pokot County than any other denomination. This work is wide, organized and analytical. The authors also provide the map of West Pokot County and many references in it. It has therefore relevant information for the second objective of this study (Shingledecker et al, 1982).

1.1.4 The effect of the Traditional Pokot Worldview on the Spread of Christianity

Visser (1999) in his book, *"Pokot Religion,"* presents the historical progress of the Christian religion since its introduction in West Pokot County by the BCMS in 1930 to date. He does this by outlining the strategies the Western missionaries used to evangelize the Pokot and the challenges they encountered when doing mission work among the pokot. According to Visser, BCMS established the first mission station in West Pokot County in 1930. They established a mission centre at Kacheliba, but later relocated to Nasokol due to climatical reasons.

ACK under BCMS established schools and colleges in the following years as a method of opening up the Pokot community to and Christianity and change. But, they found out that the Pokot were resistant to Christianity and change. Visser says that the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) established their first mission station in West Pokot County in 1945. This mission station was established at Tartar, and their language of communication was Latin. However, despite a lot of efforts by the RCC to evangelize the Pokot, they were resistant to Christianity and change. Visser exhibits a wide knowledge of the Pokot traditional beliefs and practices and the history of the Christian religion in West Pokot County in this work. This work is organized and analytical. However, the author tends to have a negative attitude toward the Pokot traditional beliefs and practices. This work is relevant to the third objective of this study, which seeks to evaluate the effect of the traditional Pokot worldview on the spread of Christianity among the Pokot in West Pokot County (Visser, 1999).

Schneider (1959) in his book, *"Resistant to Change,"* states that the Pokot resisted change and Christianity due to their isolation and conservatism. He says that the the

economic reforms that were introduced by the Colonial Government in 1930 to improve the standard of living of the Pokot and to help them to contribute to the economy of Kenya was met with a lot of resistance from the Pokot. This was largely due to the failure of the Colonial Government to understand the cultural values and pastoral lifestyle of the Pokot.

The effort by G.H. Chaundy, the Principal of the Government School at Kapenguria to persuade the Pokot to adopt new crops and farming skills between 1930 and 1943 failed because of the fact that the Pokot' economic lifestyle is majorly centred on herding. The effort of both the Colonial Government and the Christian Missionary Agencies to transform the Pokot community from 1918 to 1930 did not succeed. This work is organized and detailed. It has relevant information for the third objective of this study (Schneider, 1959).

Edgerton (1965) in his work, *"The Disillusionment in Culture Contact,"* says that after doing a research among the Menomini of Indian in 1959 and four East African tribes in the year 1961 and 1962, he discovered that the process of disillusionment in culture was remarkably similar in every place the Europeans did mission work. This was due to the fact that European populations always sought to dominate native populations politically, economically and culturally. Disillusionment in acculturation occured when the Europeans presented themselves to the native populations as good people and yet they had sinister motives.

The request for friendship between the natives and the Europeans encountered the following four challenges: The first challenge was the prestige and power differentials.

This was brought about by the fact that the prestige gap between the Europeans and the natives was enormous, making the Europeans hold themselves as enviably more superior and therefore demanded respect from the natives. Consequently, this made the natives to become exquisitely sensitive to their status degradation and therefore rescented the Europeans (Edgerton, 1965).

The second challenge was the stereotype misconceptions. Due to this, the Europeans described the natives as lazy, drunken, immoral, stupid, primitive, magical, irresponsible, ungrateful and sexually promiscuous. While the natives on their part regarded the Europeans as aloof, greedy, wealthy but stingy, exploitative and excessively vain. The third challenge was the ignorance of each other's culture. This was the greatest danger in acculturation since it was indicative of indifference, insincerity, disrespect, bad faith and the verification of some stereotype (Edgerton, 1965).

The fourth challenge was mistrust. This made the natives view the history of the Europeans as filled with constant exploitation. According to the natives, the history of the Europeans was marked by military aggression, land alienation, repression of the traditional and sacred practices of the natives and the economic enslavement of the natives. Instead of the Europeans admitting that they committed these atrocities against the natives, they argued that they brought many positive benefits to the natives. These benefits include: medical care, education and new technology. The Europeans were therefore puzzled that the natives refused to acknowledge these benefits and therefore they too decided not to trust the natives (Edgerton, 1965).

There are three tests that the natives needed to do before trusting the Europeans. The first test is the "Traditional Test." They would have done this by asking the European some favours and complying with this would have been a demonstration sincerity, friendship and good faith on the part of the Europeans. However, despite the positive response, the natives still needed to be reluctant to embrace the Europeans until they establish the basis for their friendship. The second test is the "Hinting test." This test is basic to the natives but relatively foreign to the Europeans. Hinting is the aspect not openly making a request but simply leaving it to be upon the one it is directed to, to figure it out. The natives used hinting because they believed that Europeans do not know how to politely say "No." They also used it because they feared the implications of making forthright requests to the Europeans. However, when hinting was not understood and interpreted, the natives became disappointed and angry. But Europeans did not know hinting because their way of communication was direct and honest (Edgerton, 1965).

The third test is the "Outrage test." Due to the excessive anxiety on the part of the natives because of not trusting the Europeans and not knowing what should be the limit of friendship with the Europeans, this test needs to be done. The natives believe that the Europeans cannot be trusted to fulfil their obligations of friendship because they often refuse to consent to their demands. Therefore, this makes the natives to respond to the Europeans with accumulated anger, abuses and eventually withdrawal. Withdrawal takes place when the natives become convinced that the Europeans cannot be trusted and therefore treat them suspiciously, deviously and antagonistically. Disillusionment normally results into a hostile withdrawal on the part of the natives because of the feeling of not being appreciated by the Europeans. Despite being an old work, the author is

elaborate, analytical and organized in the presentation of his arguments. This work has relevant information for the third objective of this study (Edgerton, 1965).

1.1.5 Summary of Literature Review

Evolving from the literature reviewed is the fact that the Pokot are very conservative to their traditional beliefs and practices (worldview). The members of the Pokot community are tightly bonded together by their traditional customs and values and therefore prefer their traditional lifestyle to morden amenities provided by the Western lifestyle. The components of the Pokot worldview include the belief in the existence of three gods (*Tororut, Asis and Ilat*), spirits, rituals, intermediaries, and initiation rites (the most notable being *Mutat and Sapana*). Evolving also from the literature reviewed is the fact that the first mission work was established in West Pokot County by the Angalicans (BCMS) in 1931 at Kacheliba, but later relocated to Nasokol due to climatical challenges. The strategies ACK and other denominations used to evangelize the Pokot included provision of medical services, establishment of schools and colleges, establishment of churches and the use of native lay leaders. However, their efforts were met with resistance and non response from the Pokot.

METHODOLOGY

1.1.6 Introduction

This section presents the following steps which the study used to realize its objectives: research design, study area, study population, sampling techniques, sample size, research

instruments, validity and reliability of the instruments, data collection procedure, data analysis and ethical considerations.

1.1.7 Research design

The intention of this study was to describe the variables as they are, and therefore the appropriate design for it was the descriptive design. The situation was studied as it was (Oso & Onen, 2011) and then it was reported as it was (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003).

1.1.8 Study area

This study was carried out in West Pokot County, in North- Western Kenya. West Pokot County is administratively divided into four Sub Counties and twenty one Divisions. It is bordered by Turkana County to the North, Trans Nzoia County to the South, the Republic of Uganda to the West, Baringo County to the East and Elgeyo Markwet County to the South-East. West Pokot County was selected for the study because it is where the majority of the Pokot live. The respondents for the study were selected from eight Divisions of West Pokot County. These Divisions were selected using the purposive sampling method. These Divisions were Alale and Kacheliba Divisions (in Pokot North Sub County), Chesogon and Sigor Divisions (in Pokot Central Sub County), Kapenguria and Sook Divisions (in West Pokot Sub County) and Chepareria and Lelan Divisions (in Pokot South Sub County).

1.1.9 Study population

According to the Kenya Population and Housing Census (2009), West Pokot County had an estimated population of 512,690 people. The respondents for this study were drawn from this population. To ensure that the findings of the study are representative, the respondents were selected from all the four Sub Counties of West Pokot County (West Pokot, North Pokot, South Pokot and Central Pokot).

MAP OF THE DIVISIONS OF WEST POKOT COUNTY

KEY NOTE

THE SHADED AREAS ARE THE DIVISIONS WHERE THE INTERVIEWS WERE CONDUCTED

1.2.0 Sampling Technique

A sample is part of the target (or accessible) population that has procedurally been selected to represent it. Sampling is normally utilized in research because it is exceptionally expensive and simply unnecessary or impossible to study every individual or family in a population (Oso & Onen, 2011). Therefore, sampling is a definite strategy of obtaining data from a given population (Kodhari, 2013). The three main advantages of sampling are that data can be collected at a fraction of the cost of interviewing everybody; time to collect data can be drastically reduced; and the burden for interviewing the respondents can be placed on a few people (Maltz & Zawitz, 1998).

The researcher used the purposive, snowball and random sampling methods to select respondents for this study. Purposive and the snowball sampling methods are non-probability sampling methods whereby the selection of the sample items depend on the subjective judgement of the researcher (Kothari, 2013). The purposive sampling method was used to select the clergy from the sampled denominations, while the snowball sampling method was used to select the Pokot elders and specialist. In using the snowball sampling method, the researcher first identified the respondents who had the desired characteristics, and who in turn assisted him to identify others who had similar characteristics (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). The random sampling method is a chance sampling method that gives each member of the population an equal probability of being picked (Kothari, 2013). The researcher used this method to select members of the Pokot community. The Purposive sampling method was also used to select two divisisons from each of the four Sub Counties of West Pokot County in order for the findings of the research to be representative of West Pokot County.

1.2.1 Sample Size

A sample provides estimates of the true occurrence of the behaviour being studied (Maltz & Zawitz, 1998)). It is determined by the type and the purpose of the study being carried (Oso & Onen, 2011). A sample must be manageable enough to enable the researcher to obtain from it relevant and detailed data at an affordable cost in terms of time and other resources. The researcher used the Research advisors (2006) Sample Size Table with 95% confidence and a margin error of $\pm 5\%$ to select a sample size for this study. Since the Pokot population is about 512,690 people (according to the census of 2009), the researcher selected three hundred and eigty eight (388) respondents for this study. These included: fourty eight (36) clergy from the selected denominations (ACK, AIC, ACCK, FGCK, AGC, and ELCK), fourty eight (48) Pokot elders, fourty eight (48) Pokot specialists (circumcisers, medicinemen and seers), and three hundred and eighty four (256) Pokot community members. In total, three hundred and eighty eight (388) respondents were interviewed.

Table 1: Sample Size

Population Size	Confidence = 95% Margin of Error				Confidence = 99% Margin of Error			
	5.0%	3.5%	2.5%	1.0%	5.0%	3.5%	2.5%	1.0%
10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
20	19	20	20	20	19	20	20	20
30	28	29	29	30	29	29	30	30
50	44	47	48	50	47	48	49	50
75	63	69	72	74	67	71	73	75
100	80	89	94	99	87	93	96	99
150	108	126	137	148	122	135	142	149
200	132	160	177	196	154	174	186	198
250	152	190	215	244	182	211	229	246
300	169	217	251	291	207	246	270	295
400	196	265	318	384	250	309	348	391
500	217	306	377	475	285	365	421	485
600	234	340	432	565	315	416	490	579
700	248	370	481	653	341	462	554	672
800	260	396	526	739	363	503	615	763
1,000	278	440	606	906	399	575	727	943
1,200	291	474	674	1067	427	636	827	1119
1,500	306	515	759	1297	460	712	959	1376
2,000	322	563	869	1655	498	808	1141	1785
2,500	333	597	952	1984	524	879	1288	2173
3,500	346	641	1068	2565	558	977	1510	2890
5,000	357	678	1174	3288	586	1066	1734	3842
7,500	365	710	1275	4211	610	1147	1960	5165
10,000	370	727	1332	4899	622	1193	2098	6239
25,000	378	760	1448	6939	646	1285	2399	9972
50,000	381	772	1491	8056	655	1318	2520	12455
75,000	382	776	1506	8514	658	1330	2563	13583
100,000	383	778	1513	8762	659	1336	2585	14227
250,000	384	782	1527	9248	662	1347	2626	15555
500,000	384	783	1532	9423	663	1350	2640	16055
1,000,000	384	783	1534	9512	663	1352	2647	16317
2,500,000	384	784	1536	9567	663	1353	2651	16478
10,000,000	384	784	1536	9594	663	1354	2653	16560
100,000,000	384	784	1537	9603	663	1354	2654	16584
300,000,000	384	784	1537	9603	663	1354	2654	16586

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1.2.2 Research Instruments

Data collection refers to the process of gathering information to serve or prove facts (Kombo & Tromp, 2014). This study used questionnaires and oral interviews to collect primary data from the selected respondents. The items in the questionnaires and the interview guides were designed to obtain information about specific research objectives and research questions. The questionnaires and interview guides contained both open and closed ended questions. Some questions were closed in order to keep the respondents on the subject of the study, while others were open ended to enable the respondents to give explanations for their responses.

Different questionnaires and interview guides were designed for different groups of the respondents. Questionnaires that were used to collect information from the clergy were labelled *"CQ"* while the ones that were used to collect information from the literate Pokot community members were labelled *"PCMQ."* The interview guides that were used to collect information from the Pokot elders were labelled *"PEIG,"* the ones for Pokot specialists were labelled *"PSIG"* and the ones for the illiterate Pokot community members was labelled *"PCMIG."*

Structured interviews were used to collect primary data from the illiterate respondents (Pokot elders, Pokot specialists and some Pokot community members). Due to the high level of illiteracy among the elderly people in West Pokot County, the interview questions were translated into the Pokot language by the researcher and research assistants. The interviews provided the researcher and research assistants an opportunity to clarify questions (Oso & Onen, 2011). Interviews were conducted by the researcher and five research assistants. The respondents who were given questionnaires were

expected to respond to the items in them in writing (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). The questionnaires were distributed to three hundred and sixty six (366) literate respondents (the clergy and some Pokot community members), while one hundred and sixty two respondents (the Pokot elders, Pokot specialists and some Pokot community members were interviewed).

In addition to these, the researcher also gathered secondary data by reviewing several library books. The libraries that were visited included those of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology (MMUST), Mount Kenya University (MKU), Moi University, Africa Theological Seminary (ATS) and Kapenguria Bible College (KBC). The information collected from the reviewed books were analyzed and properly edited. The researcher tackled the challenge of non-response in data collection by writing a follow up letter to the respondents did not respond and also called back once or even twice on absentee respondents. However, the respondents who could not completely respond were randomly replaced (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). Tape recording, note taking and the written questionnaires were used to store information collected from the respondents.

1.2.3 Validity of the Instruments

Validity refers to whether an indicator or set of indicators that are derived to gauge a concept really measure that concept. It is the degree to which results obtained from the analysis of the data actually represents the phenomenon under study (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). Since the validity of the research instruments cannot depend only on the

subjective judgement of one specialist, the researcher sought for the advice and input from the supervisors.

1.2.4 Reliability of the Instruments

Reliability is the measure or the degree to which the research instruments yield results that are consistent after repeated trials (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). To test the reliability of the research instruments, the researcher and the research assistants pre-tested the research instruments (questionnaires and interview guides) using a small but representative sample of thirty nine respondents in Kotoyo, Asar and Kamichich villages in Sigor Division (Central Pokot Sub County). The purposive sampling method was used to select thirteen respondents from each of the three villages. The questionnaires were then given to the literate respondents to fill, while the illiterate respondents were interviewed. After analyzing the collected data using descriptive methods, it was proved that the instruments of this study were reliable since they measured all the three objectives of this study. However, the data collected in the pre-test were not used in the study

1.2.5 Data collection procedure

Before embarking on data collection, the researcher trained Pokot five research assistants drawn from the eight selected Divisions of West Pokot County. These research assistants assisted the researcher to translate the interview guides into Pokot language. After doing these, the researcher and the five research assistants, embarked on data collection using the questionnaires and interview guides. The literate respondents (clergy and some Pokot

community members) were given questionnaires to fill, while the illiterate respondents (Pokot elders, Pokot specialists and some Pokot community members) were interviewed.

1.2.6 Data analysis

Data is the raw information and knowledge collected from the respondents (Kombo & Tromp, 2014). Data analysis is basically about the organization, interpretation and presentation of data (Oso & Onen, 2011). First and foremost, the researcher undertook this by editing. This was done by carefully scrutinizing the questionnaires and interview guides to detect any errors or omissions. Necessary corrections were made where errors and omissions were detected. This was done to ensure that the data was accurate and consistent. Secondly, the edited data were assigned codes. Thirdly, the data were arranged in groups or classes on the basis of common characteristics. And lastly, the data were summarized in a manner that they provide answers to the questions the researcher had initially asked when articulating the research problem (Vyhmeister, 2001).

1.2.7 Ethical Considerations

Adherence to ethical values is a key requirement in research (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). The major ethical issues of concern in research include the informed consent, privacy and confidentiality and the issue anonymity of the respondents (Oso & Onen, 2011). First and foremost, the researcher obtained informed consent from all the respondents who participated in the study, after explaining to them the purpose of the study and the procedure that would be used to undertake it. Secondly, the researcher observed confidentiality in the study by using the data collected only for the intended

purpose. Lastly, the researcher ensured that only the identities of the respondents who did

not ask for anonymity were disclosed.

CHAPTER TWO

TRADITIONAL POKOT WORLDVIEW

This chapter explores the Traditional Pokot worldview. The first part of the chapter gives

the historical background of the Pokot people, the second part of the chapter gives gives

the definition of culture and worldview, the third part of the chapter explores the various

aspects of the traditional Pokot worldview, and the last part of the chapter gives the

demographics of the respondents who provided data for this objective.

2. 1 Historical Background of Pokot

The Pokot are Nilo-Hamatic people and a sub tribe of the Kalenjin community. Although

they belong to the Kalenjin community, their language is very different from that of other

Kalenjin sub tribes. Shingledecker et al say:

> The Pokot language is one of the Para-Nilotic languages. The Para-Nilotic
> speaking peoples of Kenya include the Turkana, the Kalenjin and the Maasai
> groups. The Pokot language is included within the Kalenjin group though Pokot is
> the most different of all Kalenjin languages. The Pokot can communicate with
> other Kalenjin speakers but with great difficult as many of their words are
> different. The Pokot language is distinct enough that they have their own New
> Testament Bible and the Bible Society of Kenya has agreed to work on a Pokot
> translation of the whole Bible. The present Kalenjin Bible is found to be difficult
> to understand by Pokot speakers (1982, pp. 3-4).

The Pokot are basically divided into two sub-groups based on their livelihoods. About

50% of the Pokot are herders who live in North Pokot Sub County and some parts of

Central and South Pokot Sub Counties. The herders are plain dwellers who herd cattle,

sheep, and goats and live on the products from their stock. These plain dwellers (herders)

frequently move from place to place in search of water and better pasture. Their nomadic

lifestyle depends on the number of livestock they posses and the fertility of the land. The other 50% of the Pokot are agriculturalists who dwell on hills where there is sufficient rainfall for farming. They live in Kapenguria Division in West Pokot Sub County, Chepareria Division in Pokot South Sub County and Sigor Divisions in Central Pokot Sub County (Visser, 1999).

The two Pokot sub-groups have structures with many formal differences and similarities. For instance, unlike in the farming community, the modes of subsistence for the members of the herding community are rarely outside their small homesteads due to the constant individual and family movements. Therefore, they have no localization of lineages and hence have few kinship bonds that link together the members of the different villages. But the core of the lineages in the farming community is strongly localized. This provides them with a permanent framework of action that lacks in the herding community. The herding community therefore lacks strong cohesion and continuity. However, the two communities co-exist by meeting each other's lack by trading what they have with what the other doesn't have. Pokot farmers were forced to adopt farming because of losing their livestock. They can therefore easily turn back to herding if they acquire sufficient cattle. Also, there are some Pokot households that engage in both herding and farming because the two systems are interconnected (Schneider, 1959).

According to Mr Pkanan from Tilak village (interviewed on 5th November 2015), the social status in the farming and herding communities are also different. In the herding community, a person's social status is based upon personal wealth and achievements. In contrast, a person's social status in the farming community is based upon the social and

political hierarchy of his/her lineage in the society. Therefore, unlike in the farming community, all the community members in the herding community are permitted to participate in all of the common political and economic activities in the society despite the status of their lineages.

Price (1970) states that the Pokot are among the most acculturated tribes in East Africa. This is due to the fact that they have up to date remained aloof from the pressure of change and development. Their isolation from the outside world has made them to be strongly bonded together by their tribal customs. This is the reason why they prefer their traditional lifestyle to modern amenities afforded by modern development.

There are two main theories that are advanced concerning the origin of the Pokot. The first theory is that all the clans that constitute the Pokot community originated from the neighbouring tribes. According to Mr Kedesia from Lounon village (interviewed on 10th November 2015), the "*Talai*" clan originated from the Karamojong of Uganda; the *Kasait* clan originated from the Saboat; while the *Tul*, *Lokenu*, *Kosom*, *Toruk* and *Sotot* clans originated from the Marakwet; the *Oro* clan originated from the Turkana; the *Silokot* and *Chombus* clans originated from the Turgen and the *Ptungo* clan originated from the Keiyo. Visser agrees with this theory:

> The Pokot seem to have various areas of origin. They form a conglomerate of peoples, who have developed an ethnic identity in the course of history, rather than unity which unilaterally descends from common ancestors. These are not traceable at all. The wonderings, dispersions and regroupings so often referred to in oral history, renders a singular origin highly improbable. These dynamic pattern stems from the recurring droughts and continuous warfare with a harsh environment (1999, p.8).

The second and the most probable theory is that the Pokot originated from the Nile Valley in North Africa. According to Mr Chepellion, a resident of Simat village (interviewed on 11th November 2015), the Pokot originated from North Africa and then moved to Mount Elgon from where they moved to their current ancestral homes. Those who hold this view say that the Pokot dispersed from Mount Elgon due to the hostilities of the Maasai and the Luhya communities that occupied that region at that time. Shingledecker et al support this theory:

> The Pokot are considered part of the Kalenjin grouping of peoples. These Highland Nilotic peoples originated in Southern Ethiopia and migrated south-ward into Kenya 2000 years ago. They intermarried with the resident South Cushitic people and over the next 1000 years evolved their own identity as a cultural group known today as Kalenjin. Originally occupying a large section of Kenya, the Kalenjin today reside mainly in the western highlands of the country (1982, p. 1).

2.2 Definition of Culture

The term culture includes the totality of a people's way of life. The incredients of culture include the people's language, art, architecture, music, dance, literature (oral and written), social customs, culinary tastes (cooking), fashion; sporting interests, thinking, feeling and beliefs. Culture can be learned, shared and even changed by the the means of innovations, internal pressure and cross-cultural borrowing. Language is one of the most important aspects of a people's identity because it is the most common medium of communication. The term culture is therefore an inclusive term that takes into account the linguistic, political, economic, social, psychological, religious, national, racial and many other different aspects of the society (Hesselgrave, 1989).

Kraft (1979) defines culture as "the integrated systems of products, ideas, patterns of thought, and patterns of behaviour, which characterize a particular society, which are learned by the members of that society, and which are not as a result of biological inheritance" (p. 52). Kluckhohn (1949) defines culture as "the total way of life of people, the social legacy the individual acquires from his Group" (p. 4). Luzbetak (1988) states that "culture is the way a particular society designs its life. Culture is the way a people cope with life or their response to their surroundings" (p.157).

Culture is an integrated whole since all the parts of it are linked to each other. Therefore, any change in one part of culture affects all the others. In that sense, culture is a closed system (Forster, 1973). According to Kraft (1979), worldview is the control box of culture since it organizes and holds it together. Culture is a people's way of thinking, feeling and believing. Culture can be learned, shared, and even changed due to innovations, internal pressures, and cross-cultural borrowing (Hesselgrave, 1989).

Culture is transmitted by the means of practices that are modelled on a day to day basis. Culture can be classified as national, religious (denominational) or ethnic. Culture is an artificial secondary environment that superimposes on the natural. Culture comprises of language, habits, ideals, beliefs, customs, social organization, inherited artefacts, technical processes, and values. Culture is the social heritage which the New Testament writers frequently referred to as the "world," to which Christians, like other people, are inevitably subject to (Jonsson, 1991).

In view of the above stated definitions, first and foremost, culture is social because it is inevitably bound up with man in the society. Culture is the organization of human beings into permanent groups. Individuals may use culture in their own ways and even change the elements in their culture. Therefore, culture is a social heritage that people receive and transmit. Equally, social life is cultural since culture and social existence go hand in hand.

Secondly, culture can be referred to as human achievement. Culture is different from nature because it is a product of human purposiveness and effort. In contrast, nature is received as communicated without human intent or conscious effort. However, the gift of culture cannot be achieved without striving on the part of the recipient. Therefore, culture is the work of men's minds and hands. It is a heritage that is given to people designedly and laboriously by other men. In this regard, culture includes speech, education, tradition, myth, science, art, philosophy, government, law, rites, beliefs, inventions, and technologies. Culture is the result of past human achievements. The world is a world of culture because it is man-made and man- intended (Foster, 1973).

Thirdly, culture has values because human achievements are designed for an end or ends. What man has made is intended for a purpose since it is designed for the good of man. Primitive art, for example, indicates human interests in form, rhythm, colour, in meanings and symbols. Further, the values with which human achievements are concerned are dominantly those that are good for man. In defining the ends that activities are to realize in culture, man begins with self as the chief value and the source of all other values. What is good is what is good for man (Jonsson, 1991).

Culture is concerned with what is good for all people. What is good to men, women, adults, child, rulers, ruled and with what is good for the special vocations and groups. Culture always seeks to combine peace with prosperity, justice with order, freedom with welfare, truth with beauty, scientific truth with moral good, technical proficiency with practical wisdom and holiness with life (Hesselgrave, 1991).

Therefore, culture in all its forms and varieties is concerned with the temporal and material realization of values. This does not mean that the goods that human efforts seek to realize through culture are necessarily temporal or material, because cultural activities are very much concerned with the conservation of values. Each society has a responsibility of conserving what they have inherited and made (Culture). This is the reason why all communities seek painfully to conserve these social traditions against revolutionary and critical powers in human life and reason. However, culture can only be preserved when people devote large part of their efforts to the work of its conservation. In light of the above definitions, this study sought to explore the the social structure of the Pokot community, with a view of establishing how its constituent elements affected the spread of Christianity among them (Hesselgrave, 1989).

2. 3 Definition of Worldview

The worldview of a people is usually the most difficult aspect to understand about them. It is that part of culture that people have a difficulty to explain. Whenever people are asked a question about their worldview, their response will always be: "This is how our people have always done it" (Jonsson, 1991). Ward (2006) defines worldview as a set of concepts for interpreting experience. He says that there are three kinds of worldviews that

are very widely held in the world. The first type is the common sense worldview. This kind of worldview makes a person to say that things are as they appear to be. The second type is the materialistic worldview. This kind of worldview makes a person to think that reality is what science, especially what Physics says it is. The third type is the idealism worldview. This kind of worldview makes a person to think that the fundamental character of reality is that of consciousness or the mind. According to this worldview, the whole material world is an appearance of what is fundamentally a complex mental reality.

Kraft (1995) defines worldview as the basic assumptions, values, and allegiances of a group of people. These assumptions affect how people perceive themselves, the group to which they belong, outsiders, nature around them, and the non human world. Worldview is formed unconsciously when people learn their own culture. The possession of worldview makes a people to feel comfortable in their environment. Every society in every culture has its own worldview, the central governing set of values and basic assumptions. These sets of governing values are the cultural lens through which they view human experience and perceive reality. Therefore, worldview shapes the way human beings perceive reality.

Since life is composed of a variety of experiences that are processed differently, each person's worldview is different. However, the differences in worldview normally present great difficulty in communication. Although customs and behavioural differences are more obvious such that they can be easily dealt with, it is difficult to deal with worldview because it is usually unexamined and largely implicit. Therefore, when dealing with

people from other cultures, one needs to avoid the temptation of merely judging behaviour without first considering the worldview that is behind the action (Kraft, 1995).

Worldview is important to a community because it provides them with the time and space framework for evaluating all that is observed and experienced in life. It involves priorities, concepts of where loyalties should be placed, as well as what is worth risking and even dying for. Worldview conserves the old ways and is resistant to change. However, worldview can only change slowly by the means of forced behavioural change from outside, exposure to new information, or by an experience that enables a person to re-evaluate previous concepts and values. Since worldview can be learned unconsciously, it does create unconscious blinders on the way a people operate (Hesselgrave, 1989).

According to Kraft (1995), worldview has the following functions: The first function is to explain issues. Questions such as "who?" and "how?" are coloured by worldview. The second function is to validate issues. This role of worldview is seen in aesthetical, judgemental and ethical point of view. Worldview helps a group of people to determine what should be valued as good or important to them.

The third function is to assign and prioritize commitments. Worldview enables members of the community to make commitments, allegiances and loyalties during the time of challenges. Therefore, the commitments, allegiances and loyalties that people make are affected by their worldview. The fourth function is to interpret issues. Worldview enables members of the community to interpret the world around them and to assign meaning to

various phenomena. It includes all the defined concepts in the peoples' minds that give meaning to their lives and also help them to interprete the world around them.

The fifth function is to integrate issues. Worldview organizes and systematizes perceptions of reality into an overall design, and conceptualizes how the world should be. And the sixth function is to adapt issues. Worldview does not provide concepts that adequately interpret every new idea or occurrence. This is the reason why sometimes people discard new things and experiences or refuse to believe. However, worldview normally adjusts itself to new knowledge and perceptions and expands itself, provided the innovations are not too many over a short time. Kraft (1995) states:

> Worldview provides an approved structuring of emotives or effective dimensions of human life. We evaluate on the basis of how we understand that picture or REALITY 'ought to appear.' Such evaluations result both in the feeling that what we are doing is valid or invalid, right or wrong, good or bad. People commit themselves to what they highly value (p. 186).

In light of the definitions above, worldview is part of culture. It is a set of governing values and concepts that people use to perceive and interpret experience. It enables people to understand themselves, their community, strangers and their environment. In this regard, this study sought to establish whether the Pokot worldview (thinking patterns, feelings, assumptions, values, allegiances and ideals) affected the spread of Christianity among them.

2.4 Traditional Dressing Mode of the Pokot

Traditionally, Pokot men wear *Kaniki* (a simple cotton cloth), often knotted at the shoulder or wrapped around their waist, or goat skin which may be loosely worn over the

shoulder. Women wear goat's skin capes over their shoulders and skirts of leather wrapped around their waists carefully covering them all times. Their ears are pierced and weighed down with multitude of metal earrings while around their necks they wear large metal rings and bead necklaces for ornamentation. Although they leave their breasts bare, they decorate their ankles, wrists, arms, and neck with coils of wire and quantities of beads. Mr Lomwai(a medicineman) from Tilak village (interviewed on 7th January 2016), says that a distinctive feature for an adult Pokot man is a fine painted skullcap-like clay headdress which marks the wearer as an adult and a warrior who was circumcised at puberty and initiated into adulthood in his late teens.

2. 4.1 Pokot Concept of Governance

Pokot community is a stateless society without an executive functionary leader with well defined central authority over the community. Instead, morality and order is instilled in this community by imposing sanctions against wrong doers. This system is also enforced by the functions delegated upon specific institutions in the community to uphold law and order. However, authority (in this community) is delegated upon heads of lineages, adult males, "*Poi*" (older men) and "*Kokwa*" (Pokot council of elders). Mr Shakin from Sisak village (interviewed on 19th November 2015), says that the Pokot community is a patriarchal society where men are the bearers of authority and societal leadership. Leadership in this community is therefore a preserve of the *Poi (*old men*)* and *Kiruokin* (community elders). Men have the responsibility in the Pokot community to communicate the tribal lore (wisdom, traditions, teachings, knowledge and experience). *Werkoi* (Prophets) hold the highest position in the Pokot leadership structure. The responsibility of *Werkoi* is to foresee the future using dreams. Those who come after

Werkoi in this hierarchy of leadership are the *Kiruokin* (community elders). The *Kiruokin* are old men who have wisdom and skill, and have the responsibility of making decisions on behalf of the community, solving marital conflicts, addressing the needs of those who are in difficulty and punishing those who commit serious crimes. *Kiruokin* are selected by other elders.

Mrs Ywapaa from Tilak village (interviewed on 22nd January 2016), says that the Pokot have a lot of respect for the authority of the *Kiruokin.* They believe that the words spoken by them contain power to either bring curses or blessings upon the community. According to Mr Kanasero of Kotoyo village (interviewed on 14th November 2015), the Pokot Community is a stateless society that does not have one executive functionary (leader) who possesses the central authority over the community. When commenting about the Pokot people's concept of governance, Schneider (1959) states:

> Like most other Nilotic people, the Pokot have never had leaders with well-defined authority. Their political organization is segmentary and acephalous and their sense of unity rests on bonds of commonly accepted customs and laws and on various economic and socialites. What delegated authority exists is vested, not in the heads of lineages or clans as is so often true of African peoples, but in adult males in general, and particularly in older men (Poi), who are greatly respected – especially those who show ability in leadership and are of high moral and ritual status (p. 144).

Culturally, the Pokot belong to small units (clans) where every member of a family tree (clan) is valued and respected. Members of the same clan are not allowed to intermarry because they are closely related to each other by blood. Besides this, the Pokot community is made up of *Keston* (villages). *Keston* are headed by the *Kokwa*. The *Kokwa* are responsible for: ensuring that there is peace and order in the community, disciplining

errant members of the community as well instructing young people on morality and cultural values. These instructions can be carried out in the *Kokwa* and when the elders and the youth sleep at the *Aperit* (an open place). But the girls are taught by the mothers when performing domestic chores (Schneider, 1959). Shingledecker et al argue as follows:

> Political structure among the Pokot is different for semi-pastoral and the agricultural Pokot. The Karapokot (pastoral) have an elder system similar to that of the Turkana. The men of the oldest age-set are the elders of the Karapokot area. When they die, the next age-set takes over. Elders are scattered and travel with their herds so that people have to go and find them when they have a problem. Sometimes the elders will meet together to discuss a difficult case. In both settings, the elders are primarily responsible for security, planning, and solving disputes. These elders consult diviners who warn of the future attacks by Karamojong and Turkana and other crises (1982, p. 14).

However, Mr Aker a diviner (*Chepokopo*) from Karon village (interviewed on 16th November 2015) disagrees with the notion that the Pokot community is stateless. He says that the Pokot community has a very solid leadership structure. The topmost leaders in this leadership structure are the *Werkoyon* (prophets), assisted by the *Kokwa* (council of elders). The members of the *Kokwa* come from every clan in the Pokot community. The *Weroyon* and the *Kokwa* form the political wing of the Pokot community.

The Pokot community practices the principle of democracy in the sense that during the *Kokwa* (elders council meeting), the members of the community are allowed to ask questions and to participate in its deliberation by making contributions. In the *Kokwa* (the council of elders), the Pokot community practices the principle of justice by not punishing anybody without giving them an opportunity to be heard (Mr Aker,

interviewed on 16th November 2015). Schneider explains how the Pokot community operates:

> An elaborate system of age sets, which stratifies all males, partly compensates for the lack of both political centralization and organized kinship groups by creating groups in the society to which various roles can be assigned. Crosscutting the clans and the neighbourhoods, the age sets constitute convenient units to which men can rally for defence, raiding, or ceremonies, but their function is less clearly evident than among the Nandi and Maasai, where age sets act as actual divisions in a standing army (1959, p. 147).

Conant (1965) states that the village (*Korok*) is the basic foundation of the Pokot community. Both the farming and the herding Pokot communities regard the *Korok as* the basic foundation of the community. The *Korok* in the farming community are in most cases situated on the hills and they are relatively densely populated. In contrast, the *Korok* in the herding community are in most cases situated on plains and are less physically prominent and lightly populated. These social differences are meaningfully attributable to the major subsistence systems involved in both of these communities. The Pokot farming community prefers to locate their villages on the slopes, which could sometimes be on a terrifying steep of the mountains that is nearly unnoticeable from the plains but identified by waterway divides such as precipitous gorges or ravines.

The *Korok* is the basic social unit in both the farming and herding communities, where community members share communal responsibilities and labour. It is within the *Korok* that communal labour is organized sporadically to cater for the needs of the village. For instance, in the farming community, the *Kokwa* can call on all the inhabitants of the community to contribute their labour toward either the maintenance or the construction of irrigation canals or to the fencing of a communal land. In the herding community, the

Kokwa can call on all the inhabitants of the *Korok* to dig up wells during the dry season, to contribute man power during hunting, scouting, and sometimes during cattle raids (Conant, 1965).

In this regard, the *Korok* in the herding communities lacks permanency of both location and personnel from one season to the next because of the community's nomadic lifestyle. However, they have landmarks they use as regular gathering places for emergency village meetings. These points of assembly include the step-wells sites, dug into river courses and dance grounds site. It is in these gathering places that the heads of households meet to deliberate on issues about the community. These village meetings can as well be held on the edges of the river course, under the shade of trees or grove of trees. Therefore, the village meetings in the herding community are less permanent than those in the farming communities. In this regard, both of the two contrasting positions given above explain the Pokot concept of governance (Conant, 1965).

2. 4.2 Pokot Concept of Economics

The main economic activity of the Pokot is pastoralism, supplemented by subsistence farming, bee keeping and hunting. During the dry season, the main food of the Pokot people is blood mixed with milk. Blood is normally taken from an animal that is alive. Blood, meat and skins are the other subsistence elements obtained from livestock. Blood taken from the main artery and sometimes mixed with milk is important in the diet of the Pokot people (Visser, 1999). According to Schneider:

> The Pokot economic life centres on herding and farming, which varies in importance depending on the nature of the land. Farming takes the second place in esteem if not always in fact. Livestock consists of zebu cattle, fat tailed sheep,

goats, and a few donkeys. All male stock, except for a few kept for breeding purposes, are castrated, and the resulting three types of cattle have different functions. Cows are all – important as providers of calves and milk, essential to the diet; because of the expected yield of calves, cows are looked on as particularly valuable capital goods. Bulls are kept for breeding but, like cows, are eaten when their usefulness is ended. Steers are prized above all for their beauty but are actually less valuable than the cows from an economic point of view. Steers are slaughtered for various rituals, for which they are exclusively used, and also serve as a media of exchange to secure grain (1959, p. 151).

Mr Meriakol from Kalotwari village (interviwed on 1st January 2016) says that Pokot value cattle because they believe that this is the most precious inheritance they were given by *Tororut* (god the creator). This is the reason why they revere and even idolize their cattle because it is fundamental to their survival and is also the source of all their economic and social life. It is because of this that every important transaction among the Pokot people is sealed using cattle. This explains the reason why the Pokot improvise songs to extol the size, colour, shape and even the horns of their prized oxen. Visser gives a myth that shows why the Pokot value cattle:

> Long ago all animals were together. One day people were rubbing fire sticks. Fire came out and grass was put on it. People were blowing and flames appeared. All animals got shocked, but cattle, goats, sheep, donkeys and camels remained with the people. People took them and milked them. All others disappeared into the forest. The dog ran away, but came back. The hyena ran forever. That is why people have animals. The message of the myth is evident: animals suit people and give them milk. In the list of animals, cattle are mentioned first. Indeed they are valued most as evidenced by the title of this section- a saying – which reflects the attitude of the Pokot toward these animals. Goats are a good second and serve as a substitute for real animals (1999, p. 15).

The Pokot believe that possessing a large number of cattle is a sign of success and prestige. The person who has a big number of cattle is respected in the Pokot community and is referred to as *Apa*. The value for cattle makes the Pokot people to view marriage not only as the means of procreation but also as an economic booster because dowry in

this community is transacted in terms of Livestock. In this regard, the parents of the girl getting married can demand even up to thirty cows as dowry payment. However, this depends on where the girl comes from (Mr Meriakol, interviewed on 1st January 2016).

The high value the Pokot have for cattle makes them to be willing to pay any price to acquire it. The belief in cattle has made the Pokot to make the accumulation of a large number of cattle to become their chief pursuit. The Pokot are always ready to endanger their lives to raid the neighbouring communities to acquire livestock. Livestock is traditionally the centre of the Pokot economy. This is the reason why even the Pokot who do farming seek also to keep a few cows. It is said among the Pokot that, "a Pokot without cattle is a dead one." The Pokot are convinced that it better to have a big herd of cattle because it has an important role in their economic and social lifestyle (Shingledecker et al, 1982).

The Pokot always seek to acquire a large number of cattle due to their subsistence, ritual and prestige value. Livestock is significant to the Pokot because it is used in the social and religious rites. Rites are performed in the Pokot community to maintain life and a high status in the society. A good example of this is the use of cattle in the payment of dowry. Pokot men are obliged to seek for a big number of cattle in order to address their individual demands and and those of their kinsmen and age mates. This is the reason why the Pokot demand a big number of cattle as dowry for their daughters (Mr Meriakol, interviewed on 1st January 2016).

Dowry negotiations in the pastoral and farming communities vary considerably. For example, in the farming community, dowry is normally transacted into two parts. The

58

first part is contacted just prior the marriage ceremony, and the second part is contacted just after the couple have got a child or sometimes even after the second born child has grown up and is even able to walk and talk. Dowry in the farming community includes livestock, blankets, money and consumable goods (beer, honey and grain) (Mr Meriakol, interviewed on 1st January 2016).

In contrast, dowry transactions in the pastoral community involve livestock only. This is due to the fact that the main desire of the Pokot in the pastoral community is to acquire additional productive livestock. Due to this, they only accept cattle, goats and sheep as dowry payment. However, camels are received with great reluctance. In both the pastoral and farming communities, the children inherit the rights and obligations of their parents' dowry commitments (debts). Dowry transactions in the Pokot community can be initiated and completed without the knowledge or the permission of those who are getting married. However, it is always the females than the males who may completely be without any knowledge (Mr Meriakol, interviewed on 1st January 2016).

The Pokot view marriage not as an individual affair based on personal liking or love, but rather as an alliance between clans, negotiated and contracted by the means of dowry transactions. Due to this most of the marriages in the Pokot community experience a high level of aggression, frustration and trouble because some marrieds did not marry partners of their choice. This has made many Pokot youths who want to marry partners of their choice to resort to elopping (Mr Meriakol, interviewed on 1st January 2016).

2.4.3 Pokot Concept of Initiation

Pokot boys and girls are said to be mature only after undergoing *Mutat* and *Sapana* initiation rites. The *Mutat* initiation rite is the circumcision for boys and clictoridectomy for girs. The *Sapana* initiation rite is the spearing of the bull for men the circumcised men. These are the two main initiation rites in the Pokot community. Before undergoing *Mutat*, a person is said to be a child regardless of their age. The Pokot believe that after undergoing *Mutat* rite, the child in a person dies as the adult in him/her is created. Female *Mutat* (clictoridectomy) is the only initiation rite for the Pokot girls (Conant, 1965).

According to Mr Lempong from Murpus village (interviewed on 13th November 2015), there is a special bond of solidarity between initiated men and women, and the spirits of the village. The spirits of the village are the spirits of the departed ancestors. These spirits are said to be primarily concerned with their lineages and that is why they are actively interested in the affairs of their village. The main desire of these spirits is to seek reincarnation as humans in the children of the initiated members of their lineages who are yet to be born. In this regard, the Pokot believe that the most successful and powerful lineage is the one that has had several reincarnations of the spirits of the village. It is believed that when the spirits of the departed have not been reincarnated for two or three generations, they are forgotten and their names are no longer given to the children of their lineages because the long period of waiting might have given these spirits evil thoughts.

Jonsson (1991) says that two of the most recognized initiation rites in the Pokot community are circumcision (Mutat) and *Sapana* (spearing of the bull). *Mutat* is for both males and females. *Mutat* is the most important initiation rite in the Pokot community,

especially among the agriculturalists. A person is regarded as mature after undergoing this rite. The Pokot believe that apart from giving the initiates several rights and obligations, *Mutat* cuts the childhood ties between children and parents. They believe that after *Mutat*, the child in a person dies, and adulthood is created. However, *Mutat* for girls is the only key initiation rite in the Pokot community.

Accoring to a female circumciser (name withheld*)* from Tilak village (interviewed on 2nd January 2016), although there are similarities in the timing and the contents of the rituals of the initiation rites for both Pokot boys and girls, they differ in sequence. For instance, when Pokot girls reach puberty, they seek to undergo *Mutat* even without the permission of their parent. *Mutat* for girls involves the excision of the *labia minora* of their genitals. The similarity is that there is a two or three month's procedure that begins with *Mutat* for both boys and girls. This is followed by a three months seclusion, after which all the initiates are presented to the community as new adults.

Mutat ceremony for girls is performed in public and is eargerly watched by both men and women of all ages. Despite the ordeal, Pokot girls desire to undergo *Mutat* in order to graduate to aduthood. *Mutat* rites for girls are controlled and performed by older women. These rites normally take place every year in different neighbourhoods throughout the Pokot region. According to this respondent, *Mutat* is a quick operation that is performed publicly by experienced old women.

Pokot girls are required to undergo *Mutat* before marriage. Sometimes even pregnant girls are forced to undergo it because the Pokot believe that children who are born by uncircumcised girls are unclean. Pokot girls are expected to endure *Mutat*'' without

flinching. Girls who endure the ordeal of *Mutat* become the pride of their families and the neighbourhoods. During the pass-out celebrations, Pokot women sing songs celebrating the honour the girls who endured the ordeal of *Mutat* have brought to their families (a female circumcisor whose name is witheld, interviewed on 2nd January 2016).

The family huts to which the initiated girls stay during the period of seclusion following circumcision are normally taken over by the community women at the time when the period for the seclusion of the initiated girls begin. The Pokot call the initiated girls *Chemerion.* The fathers of the *Chemerion* are expected to vacate their compounds during the time of seclusion in order not to be seen by their daughters during this period. Those who are permitted to see them during this period are the female relatives. The *Chemerion* are secluded until they undergo a rite known as *Kipuno* (a female circumcisor whose name is withheld, interviewed on 2nd January 2016).

According to Mrs Lotok from Karapogh village (interviwed on 3rd January 2016), during seclusion, *Chemerion* cover their faces with ashes and are expected to become very attentive to special songs sung by the community women in the evenings. Two weeks after *Mutat*, the *Chemerion* are smeared with white chalk on their faces each morning. After the pass out ceremony, the initiated girls are recognized as mature women and are therefore authorized to marry and bear children. However, most initiated boys sometimes remain unmarried for several years after *Mutat* because of the need to accumulate sufficient livestock to pay dowry.

A male circumciser (name witheld) from Tilak village (interviewed on 4th January 2016) says that the Pokot boys undergo *Mutat* after every two years in groups that form the

Pokot age sets. The Pokot circumcision age sets comprise of eight circumcision sets. The ideal duration for each circumcision age set is ten years. The circumcision age set are called *Pen*. Each circumcision age set is divided into two, the senior and the junior sections. Mr Doywa from Pkantil village in Lelan Division in Pokot South Sub County says that after *Mutat*, Pokot boys are expected to undergo the *Sapana* initiation rite. *Sapana* is conducted to admit the circumcised boys into adulthood and to make them eligible for integration into larger age-sets. This is the first step on the ladder of ceremonies that determines a man's age status.

Mr Limanyang from Lain village (interviwed on 5th January 2016) states that after *Sapana,* the initates are regarded as Pokot warriors who deserve to enjoy institutionalized relationship with the community elders. After *Sapana*, the initiates are permitted to marry and to extend their social ties. Also, after undergoing *Sapana*, the initiates are expected to undergo *Kerket* (the ceremony spearing an ox for age mates and the elders). The initiates do this in order to acquire friendship in their constantly widening social circle in the community. The *Kerket* ceremony is held as often as there are candidates for it.

Each candidate for *Kerket* is usually initiated separately in order to permit them to participate in all Pokot activities of manhood. This is due to the fact that after the *Sapana*, the graduates are no longer expected to be solitary youth figures surrounded by a group of elderly kinsmen, as during the childhood ceremonies, but rather mature adults surrounded by a group of fellow *Sapana* graduates of similar physical and identical social age. The Pokot refer to such a group as members of the same *Ma* (fire). This is due to the

fact that during *Sapana*, a big fire is lit, to roast an ox speared by the candidates of the *Sapana* (Mr Limanyang, interviwed on 5th January 2016).

After undergoing *Sapana*, the graduates are expected to extend their range of social contacts by attending dances, hunting expeditions and by travelling widely to attend *Kerket*. Whenever a Sapana graduate goes, he recruits companions from among the recent Sapana initiates. This is an exciting moment in the life of the *Sapana* graduates for it exposes them to the first experience of social solidarity that gives them a sense of protection and loyality that comes as a result of belonging to a group that extends beyond the narrow range of kinship ties. The graduates of *Sapana* form a sub-set that is given a nickname name. This nickname is usually of an animal, or a wild berry associated with some recent memorable event such as famine. From the interviews this study contacted, there is no official place the Pokot elders meet to decide about the naming of the *Sapana* sub-set. The study also found out also that almost all the nicknames of the Sapana sub-sets originated from the Karamojong or Turkana. These nicknames are also used by the Turkana and the Karamojong (Mr Limanyang, interviwed on 5th January 2016).

Mr Lopima from Endugh village (interviewed on 6th January 2016) says that when a *Sapana* sub-set nickname has been used for a number of years, a new one is introduced to mark the beginning of a new sub-set. A sub-set incorporates all those initiated within a period of two to five years. A sub-set shares the same *Ma.* The most junior sub-set is distinguished by the sitting arrangement during the *Sapana* ceremony. The sitting arrangement is symbolic of every sub-set's social function and status. For example during cattle raids, junior sub-sets are given the assignment of carrying luggage. A sub-set also sleeps in the same *Ma* and and receives a common reward after cattle raids.

Jonsson (1991) states that a Pokot male who has been circumcised and gone through *Sapana* becomes a member of an age-set and remains part of it the rest of his life. Each age-set recruits members for a period of ten years. The age-sets are ranked according to ages of the members and the time they underwent the *Mutat* and *Sapana* ceremonies. Men who belong to the same age-set are not allowed to marry daughters of those who belong to the same age-set with them.

According to Mr Kedesia from Lounon village (interviewed on 10th 2015), after undergoing *Sapana*, Pokot men are supposed to undergo the *Munian* ceremony. All the sub-sets participate in this ceremony. The main purpose of *Munian* is to integrate all the sub-sets into a larger age-grouping and to promote initiated men into senior age ranks. The *Munian* ceremony is not performed yearly but only when there is a sufficient number of *Sapana* graduates seeking to be promoted to the higher rank of leadership in the Pokot community. An ox is speared during the day and roasted unskinned by the initiates during the *Munian* ceremony. Before the *Munian* ceremony is performed, the initiates must present to the elders tobacco, ostrich feathers and beer. During the *Munian* ceremony, each *Sapana* sub-set is required to form their own *Kerket (*a half-circle). The sub-sets are arranged according to their age-sets. Also, during the *Munian* ceremony, the *Poi* (community elders) teach the younger generation the traditional values of the community. These teachings include respect to the elders, why the orders given by the elders need to be obeyed, why seers need to be consulted before raids are undertaken and about the part and size of meat and the size of calabash to be used when serving *Poi* during ceremonies. They are also warned not to commit adultery with the wives of their seniors. This is considered the most important single element of these instructions.

2. 4.4 Pokot Concept of Marriage

Marriage in the Pokot community is potentially polygamous and is an institution initiated by the alliance between the kin groups of the girl and the boy, and is sealed by the payment of dowry. Those who participate in the dowry negotiations are the older kin of the boy and the girl. These negotiations can sometimes take several years, even without the conscent of the boy and the girl. Sexual conduct of the Pokot boys and girls begins to diverge markedly at an early age. When the girls attain eight or nine years, they begin to be highly conscious of their looks and therefore adopt provocative stances and mannerism of walking. They then begin the process of scarification of their bellies, chest, and even the lower parts of their backs (Conant, 1965).

The Pokot regard the girls who have the marks of scarification as beautiful. These marks are said to increase pleasure during sexual intercourse. Pokot girls begin sexual activities after or before initiation by getting involved in a series of pre-marital relationships with older boys. At this stage, the favourite subject of gossip among the girls is about boys' sexual performance. Due to this, sexual satisfaction in marriage is the background of marriage among Pokot girls and boys. In light of this, marital partners in the Pokot community always expect full sexual pleasure from their partners. However, if the partner is unable to do this, the community is always ready to apply sanctions on them or even allow the marriage to be dissolved. But besides sexual satisfaction, is the desire to get children (Conant, 1965).

However, Mr Walkoi from Kosulol village (interviewed on 13th November 2015) disagrees with the assertion that the sexual conduct of Pokot boys and girls begins at an early age. He says that the Pokot community values sexual purity and they advice their

boys and girls to maintain sexual purity till marriage. He says that Pokot girls mostly desire to get married to boys who give them gifts regularly and exhibit gallant behaviour. If a boy pleases the girl and she is convinced that he is able to satisfy her, this relationship can result into marriage. However, this kind of relationship between boys and girls can sometimes fail because of the teachings boys and the girls receive in the seclusion following circumcision.

Mr Walkoi, (interviewed on 13th November 2015), says that marriage i the Pokot is an institution initiated by the alliance between kin groups of the boys and the girls and is negotiated and contracted by the payment of dowry. It is therefore not an individual affair based on an individual's liking or love but rather a community affair. In light of this, it is possible therefore that despite the many years of courtship, the girls and boys can end up not marrying their preferred choice unless they get the approval of their parents. In most cases, the Pokot fathers only allow their daughters to be married to men who are able to pay the highest dowry. However, if the ability of all the suitors to pay dowry is the same, the father of the girl can then allow his daughter to choose whoever she wants to be married to. But if a boy or a man impregnates a girl and the parents of the girl refuse to give their daughter to him for marriage, the family performs *Achula* (fine of cows).

According to a female diviner (name witheld) from Karapogh village (interviewed on 1st December 2015), dowry negotiations can sometimes take several years. Those who are involved in the dowry negotiations are normally the older kins of the boys and the girls. The older kin of the boy and the girl can sometimes undertake marital arrangements without the consent of the boy and girl who want to get married. Due to this, sometimes girls find themselves getting married to strangers, oldmen or men who have several

wives. However, marriages like these are characteristically antagonistic and are hence marked by mistrust, hostility and occasionally by open conflicts. Most Pokot girls and boys opt for *Ripin* (elopping) in order to avoid the frustration of forced marriages organized by the parents. They do this in order to marry the wives or husbands of their choice.

In this regard, *Ripin* is an alternative marriage among most Pokot boys and girls who want to marry their preferred partners. This alternative marriage arrangement is only valid during the Pokot ceremonial cycle of *Sintagh*. The *Sintagh* ceremonial cycle lasts only for one month each year. Therefore, if anybody marries by *Ripin* out of the *Sintagh* season, they attract dire consequences from the community. The consequences among others can include ferocious negative sanctions that can make the couple to opt for permanent exile from Pokot-land. But within the *Sintagh* ceremonial cycle, the rules governing *Ripin* are widely recognized and accepted as an alternative system of marriage. The rules governing *Sintagh* are such that both the parties must be Pokot, unmarried and have undergone *Mutat* (a female diviner whose name is witheld, interviewed on 1st December 2015).

Another rule for *Ripi* is that no physical injury should be caused on the girl. But if the girls who are captured against their wills manage to escape or to be rescued, they are permitted to bring a claim against her kidnappers in the *Kokwa*. However, if the elopement is successful, the boy is required to only deliver dowry to the girl's parents. *Ripin* are more rampant in the farming community than in the herding community. This is due to the fact that people in the farming community don't have adequate livestock to pay dowry. Therefore, lack of livestock to pay dowry is the reason why the members of

the farming community get so much involved in the *Ripin* type of marriage. The forced marriages are the reason why some Pokot marital relationships experience conflict (a female divine whose name is witheld, interviewed on 1st December 2015).

Mrs Cheyech from Tilak village (interviwed on 5th January 2016) says that dowry negotiations in the Pokot herding community are sometimes postponed several times to enable the boy to solicit the required number of livestock from friends and relatives. In this regard, the aspect of postponing dowry negotiations to enable the boy to solicit for it from relatives and friends locks everyone in the Pokot community in the situation of owing and being owed. Most members of the Pokot community owe each other livestock, the productive resource of the community. This is what makes the Pokot community to regard women as a source of wealth to the family. Therefore, when instalments of dowry are made in form of livestock, the livestock is expected to produce in order pay off what a person owes the relatives and friends in form of the outstanding debts of livestock. Part of the livestock can be used for the purposes of the fulfilment of ritual obligations as well as for an exchange for grain.

Livestock paid as dowry in the Pokot farming community is normally consumed almost immediately after the transaction. Also, the beer, the grain and the blankets are immediately traded away. In this regard, the contents of the dowry transactions in Pokot farming community are not utilized in a productive manner as it is the Pokot herding community. This is due to the fact that livestock paid as dowry in the herding community is productively utilized to reproduce and hence boost a person's wealth and status. This is the reason why the herding community is completely against *Ripin* and marriage by

capture. According to them, the alternative marriage subverts their interlocked systems of subsistence and personal relationships (Mrs Cheyech, interviwed on 5th January 2016).

However, Mrs Kapkai from Asar village (interviewed on 7th December 2015) says that hostilities in Pokot marriages are caused by some pre- marital factors originating from the upbringing of the Pokot children right from birth and infancy. She says that right from birth, the Pokot favour the boy child than the girl child. This discrimination in the reception and treatment of the Pokot children by gender right from birth and infancy is the cause of most marital conflicts in the Pokot community. Despite the fact that the female children are valued because they represent a potential source of livestock and income when they get married, the male children are more valued than them because they are regarded as the community's potential herders, labourers and the transmitters of familial heritage.

Discrimination between boys and girls in the Pokot community is practiced in the allocation of domestic chores. The girls are given more work than the boys. When the girls have attained age eight and ten, they can be assigned with the responsibility of gathering of firewood, weeding, milking, grinding grain or can even be given the responsibility over the entire household when the mother is away. This responsibility over the entire household include supervision of the young children, preparation of food, milking cattle, and labour in the fields. However, the girls in the neighbourhood can cooperate to milk large herds, weed fields or even to harvest farms (Mrs Kapkai, interviewed on 7th December 2015).

Pokot boys are assigned with some little work between ages ten and twenty than in any other time of their lives. In this regard, the boys use most of their time with other boys within the neighbourhood fighting mock battles, attending dances, or sometimes sharing the duties of herding. In light of this, the study established that male children are more treasured and valued than female children in the Pokot community. The boys are praised and even given more rewards than the female children. The rewards the boys are given include food stuffs, simple toys and even praises. This is the reason why some men in the Pokot community mistreat their wives because they think women are inferior to men. The study found out that most marriages in the Pokot community experience conflicts because some men view women as mere property, and hence they expect them to do only what they are told. This is the reason why, while women are busy working, men are resting, conversing and drinking beer (Mrs Kapkai, interviewed on 7th December 2015).

According to Mrs Loyoro from Tilak village (interviwed on 5th January 2016), most women who are convinced that their husbands have flagrantly and repeatedly misbehaved can secretly plan with a number of friends and neighbours to perform *Kilapat* (shaming party) to punish their unfaithful husbands. *Kilapat* is performed to shame marital partners who misbehave. However, not all *Kilapat* are identical since some may only involve verbal abuse, while others may include both moral and physical torture. In some cases, *Kilapat* can involve a wife with the help of some other women binding up and stripping naked a misbehaved husband to ashame them and to also ridicule and mock them for erring. Sometimes these women can go as far as stripping the man naked and beating him.

In the worst scenario during *Kilapat*, women can go as far as pulling the genitals of the errand husband and even urinate on him. Sometimes the behaviour of the women who participate in the *Kilapat* can grossly violate reason and even proper conduct. Furthermore, after shaming the erring husband, the women who participate in the *Kilapat* can demand for compensation from their victim. In most case, they can either demand a goat or even ox from the victim. However, the punishment can only be stopped following the intercession from the friends and the relatives of the culprit (Mrs Loyoro, interviwed on 5th January 2016).

Edgerton and Conant (1964) state that the Pokot community uses *Kilapat* to handle marital problems. *Kilapat* is used to punish erring marital partners. Although men sometimes use *Kilapat* to shame their erring wives, it is more often used by women than men. Sometimes, a woman can cooperate with other women in the neighbourhood to administer *Kilapat* on the co-wife if she monopolizes their husband's sexual attention. In contrast, men can organize *Kilapat* with the help of other men to shame adulterous wives. They can administer this punishment by beating or even defiling and raping their culprits. As a corrective technique for marital misbehaviour, *Kilapat* conveys the following message: "Break such one rule, and we shall break all the rules to punish you!" This study established that *Kilapat* is a corrective tool used by Pokot to impart into the married what they ought to have internalized when they where children.

2.4.5 Pokot Concept of Supreme Beings

According to Peristiany (1975), in order to understand who the Pokot are, and why they act the way they do, there is need to examine what they believe about supreme beings and

the environment. The Pokot believe in the existence of three gods and several spiritual beings. All of these gods are the gods of *Yim (*the above). They are the gods of the sky, the sun god and the god of lightening. The Sky god is known as *Tororut* and he is believed to be a paternal god and the creator and father of both the Sun god and of Lightening god. They believe that *Tororut* is not only the greatest god, but also the most unknowable, remote and distant of the deities. They identify the heavens with *Tororut* and they say that no person can contemplate his likeness.

According to Pastor Rong of FGCK (interviewed on 14th November 2015), the Pokot believe in the existence of three gods (*Tororut, Asis and Ilat*) and several spiritual beings. The gods and spirits are revered and feared. They believe that these spirits inhabit rocks, trees, mountains, shrines, geographical areas, persons (both alive and dead), rivers, uninhabited areas, the wind and animals. They believe that for there to be peace and harmony in the community, these spirits have to be appeased by offering to them sacrifices. Mr Lomwai, a Prophet (*Werkoi*) from Tilak village (interviewed on 7th January 2016) states that the Pokot offer sacrifices along river banks, shrines and homesteads. For example, sacrifices are offered before and after cattle raids to invoke the blessings of the gods and the spirits during the raids and to thank them for success after the raids.

Visser (1999) says that the Pokot equate their god *Tororut* with the sky (*Yim)*. They believe that *Tororut* performs the following functions:

1. *Tororut* hears and listens.

They believe this quality enables him to know and to notice requests and demands of people such as the need for rain, grass, children, property as well as the curses of the enemies and diseases.

2. *Tororut* answers the prayers of people.

3. *Tororut* is a ruler.

   The Pokot ascribe this function only to *Tororut*. They believe that there is no limit to his rule. He is the ultimate cause of everything that concerns man. They believe that he gives one person honey and to another grain. He is therefore the explanation why there exist both the rich and the poor people.

4. *Tororut* is the shepherd.

   The Pokot believe that *Tororut* as a shepherd, guides people and shields them from dangers.

5. *Tororut* is the Keeper.

   The Pokot attribute their survival from calamities to *Tororut*. They cry to him when faced with challenges.

6. *Tororut* is the supporter of the whole universe.

   The Pokot believe that *Tororut* holds the pillars of the world. They believe that earthquakes occur when *Tororut* replaces these pillars.

7. *Tororut* is the moulder.

   The Pokot believe that *Tororut* moulded man from the red soil of the anthill, by blowing breath into it.

8. *Tororut* snatches and destroys.

   The Pokot use this expression at the death of an infant, especially at birth.

9. *Tororut* is the final cause.

   The Pokot use this expression when there is no positive result concerning an issue even after all the rituals have been performed.

Mr Aker, a diviner (*Chepokopo*) from Kaaron village (interviewed on 16th November 2015) says that Pokot associate Tororut with the heavens as well as the notion of the above. He further states that the Pokot believe that Mount M'telo in Pokot North Sub County is the earthly abode of *Tororut*. In this regard, the Pokot venerate this mountain and they neither climb nor light a fire within its vicinity. They believe that people are not supposed to lit fire on this mountain since no human being can extinguish it. In light of this, when they perform big festivals affecting the whole community that the *Poi* (community elders) who are about to die that are allowed to sit facing the direction of this sacred mountain.

Mr Limakol from Chesarom village in Lelan Division in Pokot South Sub County (interviewed on 8th January 2016) says that the descriptions the Pokot give about Tororut are indicative of his functions. They state that *Tororut* listens (*Pture)* and understands (*Lumei)*. They believe that after creating the world, *Tororut* observes its affairs but rarely intervenes unless invoked to act in defence of the righteous people. The Pokot believe that *Tororut* listens and understands and therefore knows what is in the heart of man. They also believe that *Tororut* can sometimes be incesed by the doings of his people and therefore visit calamities on them as a warning of the impending punishments. The form and the extent of these warnings vary according to type of offences. These warnings may include curses, famine, drought and sicknesses among others.

Peristiany (1975) states that the Pokot believe that *Asis* (the Sun god) is equally the most remote deity like *Tororut*. They describe him as the child of whiteness, purity and purification. They always associate him with the white colour and is depicted as the "torch" and the "firebrand" of the earth (*Piwun po Nyung)*. The Pokot believe also that *Asis* is the "eye" of the heavens above (*Konng po Yim*) and an "all-seeing witness." It is in light of this that the Pokot invoke *Asis* as an "eye" witness when crimes are committed and the truth is not known. The Pokot also believe that *Asis* unlike *Tororut* is like a father and therefore visits humans to do them good.

Mr Lotiama from Kapsepai village (interviwed on 9th January 2016) states that *Ilat* (the lightening god), just like *Tororut* and *Asis* is the god of above. *Ilat* is given a variety of descriptions that reflect on the actions ascribed to him and the forms in which he manifests. For example, he is described as Lightening (*Kerial*) and thunder (*Ketil Ilat*). *Ketil* (thunder) denotes an abrupt explosive sound, a clap or thunderbolt (*Ketil Ilat*) a description that is ascribed to this god. The Pokot believe that the tangible signs of the existence of *Ilat* include the rain, rivers, lakes and mud. They believe that *Ilat* is intimately connected with the earth, and his work forms part of the earthly cycle of activities. They also believe that *Ilat* fertilizes the soil and causes life to sprout from it. *Ilat* is said to be present in the rain, water-sources, and in the rain soaked soil.

Another specific function of *Ilat* is that he is the messenger of *Tororut*. When people sin and are wicked (*Ya)*, *Tororut* uses *Ilat* to warn them to change their ways. These warnings often take the forms of droughts or other calamities. The Pokot believe that *Ilat* speaks only to adults (men and women) in the dark. When there is drought, the Pokot take a girl who is a virgin answering to the name *Ilat (Ngussurin or Terchon)* to a clear

pool, which is believed to be the home of *Ilat (ka po Ilat)* and have one of her hands is grasped by an equally clean man and immersed in the water. On emerging, while water is still dripping from her body, the girl would pour milk, beer, and dung in the water to invoke *Ilat's* help on behalf of the community. The Pokot perform this ritual to appease and invoke *Ilat* to release rain (Mr Lotiama, interviwed on 9th January 2016).

According to Mr Komolkat, a Pokot elder who abitrates disputes (*Karokokion*) from Kasongwor village (interviwed on 14th Novemnber 2015), there are three colours mainly associated with *Ilat* and Pokot rituals. These are white, red, and black colours. The white and red colours are associated with *Ilat*. The Pokot believe that these three colours represent the qualities of *Yim (*heaven above). In light of this, they use the white colour to decorate the initiates so that they can be singled out as protégés of *Ilat*. The Pokot believe also that the white colour provides the initiates with protection against *Nyikis* (the powers of darkness). Also, the Pokot warriors are decorated using the white and the red colours of *Ilat* so that they can get protection against the enemy who seeks to destroy them. These colours are normally applied on the initiates and the warriors by charismatic specialists *(P'kwanian, Kabulokion and Werkyon)*.

2.4.6 Pokot Concept of Morality

According to Rev Ngo'riareng of AIC (interviewed on 19th January 2016), the Pokot do not have the concept of sin but of the permitted and forbidden. That which is permitted is regarded as "good" and that which is forbidden is "evil." A person is considered as wicked in the Pokot community when he/she commits that which offends their customs and therefore a sacrifice has to be offered to restore order.

The Pokot believe that there can only be peace in the community when their traditional beliefs and practices are observed. These traditional beliefs and practices are protected by taboos. Taboos are instruments of control between spiritual beings and mankind in the Pokot community. They are used to instill fear in the members of the community against doing things that are forbidden. Every situation and activity in this community from life to death have their set of taboos. The observance of taboos is conditional in that those who observe them get blessed and those who don't get cursed. The worst penalty of disobeying a taboo is a curse or death.

According to Mrs Limanyang from Lain village (interviwed on 5th January 2016), morality in the Pokot community is attained in three ways. First, by observing the laws of the society and of the gods. Second, by ritual cleansing. And finally, by acquiring a big number of livestock. The Pokot believe that possessing a big number of livestock is a sign of success and prestige, and also cleaness and makes a person morally upright. Mr Lokudia from Morpus village (interviewed on 15th January 2016) says that the Pokot believe that morality is acquired by the means of ritual cleansing and conformity to the laws of the society and the gods. Morality can also be attained by the means of possessing a big number of livestock. Therefore, possessing a large herd of livestock is not only a sign of prestige and success but also of cleanness and morality. This is the reason why, after initiation and marriage, all the Pokot men give all their attention to building a big number of livestock in order to become *Paghin* (a successful herder).

 Mr Kitelongar, a Pokot elder who examines interstines to detect omens (*P'kwanian)* from Ywalaateke village (interviwed on 15th January 2016) says that immorality can

occur in the the Pokot community in two ways: First, when a person commits an act that is against the laws and customs of the Pokot. Those who do this are punished. The simplest punishment that is applied on such offenders is either a beating or a stock fine. Stock fines may vary from a few heads of cattle to a large number of cattle for serious crimes. Second, when people commit acts that make them ritually unclean. In this case, a ritual has to be performed to make them clean. These acts include crimes such as murder, adultery, physically injuring another person, or practicing magic to hurt other people. The Pokot believe that such crimes render a person unclean and therefore a ritual has to be performed to cleanse the criminal. Often, in a case like this, the unclean person is quarantined until he or she is cleansed.

The Pokot have many types rituals for cleansing unclean people. These include cleansing rituals for less serious conditions such as menstrual blood, and for more serious crimes like murder. From the foregoing premises this study established that the Pokot don't condone immoral behaviour. The study further found out that to the Pokot, death is the greatest evil that can befall a person and therefore they scrupulously refrain from talking about it or discussing it. The most common punishments the Pokot apply against immoral people are severe beatings from age-mates, neighbours or family members. Sometimes, the criminal can be compelled to spear or give away his favourite ox to the offended party. This is done so that the criminal can feel the pain of the offence. Another common sanction that is used to punish offenders is the use of the office of the sorcerer. According to the Pokot, a sorcerer is a person who controls wild animals and can use them to hurt people. There are two kinds of sorcerers in the Pokot community. The first type of sorcerers, are the evil ones. These type of sorcerers use their power to cause harm to other

people. However, the Pokot do not condone evil sorcerers as well as the people who consult them. The second type are the good sorcerers. These are those who place their art at the disposal of the *Kokwa* (council of elders) to help them to uphold social order in the community. The Pokot believe the animals of the good sorcerers pursue evil doers wherever they seek refuge (Mr Kitelongar, interviwed on 15th January 2016).

According to Mr Pkanan from Tilak village (interviwed on 6th January 2016), the Pokot live by cultural rules and values that have evolved over several generations to make them secure. *Poi (*Pokot elders) and *Werkoyon (*the prophets) are the custodians of these cultural rules and values. They are also the ones who perform purification rituals to cleanse community members from impurity. This study established also that *Werkoyon* (prophets) are revered more than *Poi* (the elders) in the Pokot community. Due to this, the members of the Pokot community bring gifts to *Werkoyon* when seeking for blessings and confirmation from them about rain, good harvests or successful cattle raids.

2. 4.7 Pokot Concept of Intermediaries

According to Mr Lomwai a medicine man (*Chepsogeyon)* from Tilak village (interviwed on 7th January 2016), the Pokot have several intermediaries between humans and the spiritual beings. The first group of intermediaries are the *P'kwanian (*respected local elders) who examines the intestines of a sacrificed animal to interpret the message being communicated from the spiritual world. The second group of the intermediaries are the *Kabulokion (*wizards and the medicine- men). The *Kabulokion* have ambivalent powers that can be used either for good or evil. The good *Kabulokion* acts as executants for the *kokwa (*council of elders). But the bad *kabulokion* use their powers to hurt people. The

third group are the *Kiruokin* (community leaders or arbitrators). When commending on the role of elders in the Pokot community, Schneider states:

> Besides the elders and diviners, there are community leaders or arbitrators (Kiruokin), men chosen for their wisdom and skill in making decisions and in arbitrating disputes. They are selected by the elders of a neighbourhood to preside at discussions. Because they have no clear cut authority, their role is difficult to define; the only excuse for their existence seems to be the occasional need for some focus for discussion and arbitration. They are said to organize such community projects as irrigation fields and community defence; but they cannot command, and their word is never law (1959, p. 146).

Jonsson (1991) says that several intermediaries exist in the Pokot community between human beings and the spiritual world. He says that the following are the several categories of the ritual and the magical specialists:

1. The *P'kwanian.*

   These are respected elders who examine the entrails of a sacrificed animal to detect impending calamities.

2. The *Kakorokion.*

   These are Pokot elders that are chosen because of their wisdom and skills to arbitrate disputes and to make decisions on behalf of the community.

3. The *Amoross.*

   These are elders who examine the intestines of goats to detect impending calamities.

4. The *Istoindokwe.*

   These are elders who examine the position of the sandals after they have been thrown in the air to detect impending calamities. All *Istoindokwe* are males.

5. The *Chepokopo.*

   These diviners who use water mixed with milk as a means of divination. They can either be female or male.

6. The *Kabulokion*.

   This word is from the Karamojong language. These are either witch doctors or sorcerers. A good *kabulokion* executes only the verdict of the *Kokwa*. They use white clay (the colour of purity), green, yellow and blue (colours of *Ilat)* in their rituals. The wicked *Kabulokion* use their rituals to hurt people. The *Kabulokion* can be either male or female.

7. The *Kaworokion.*

   These are sorcerers. They use their knowledge and skills mostly to extort, inflict harm and to threaten people. However, they can serve the community by using their powers to neutralize the harm inflicted by another *Kaworokion*. They use red clay, the colour of blood and anger. The Pokot believe that this colour threatens *Ilat*. These are only males.

8. The *Mutin*.

   These are circumcisors, who are both female and male.

9. The *Ponin*.

   These are sorcerers who harm people because of envy. They sell their services in most cases. They can either be male or female.

10. The *Chepsogeyon*.

   These are traditional medicinemen and women. The bad female *Chepsogeyon* tell women with marital problems to mix concoctions given by them with their urine, faeces, or menstrual blood to win their husband's love.

11. The *parparin*.

   These are elders who perform cleansing ceremonies on behalf of those who have committed anti social sins like adultery or unnatural things like giving birth to twins. This office is inherited.

12. The *Werkoyon*.

   These are prophets or the chief diviners. They are the most important religious people in the Pokot community. The Pokot believe that it is only *Werkoyon* who can have visions. They get them when they sleep, because this is the time that their spirits go to a journey by travelling to distant places. They also travel through time and can see both the past and the future. There are two ways of becoming a prophet. A person can become a *Werkoyon* by inherting the office from the father or by possessing the spirit of *Werkoyon*. One of the most important functions of the *Werkoyon* is to help the community to prepare for cattle raids.

13. The *Ancestors*.

   The Pokot believe that the ancestors are the guardians of the community. They are responsible for rewarding good conduct and for punishing the wicked. The

ancestors have a parental responsibility and are therefore consulted for advice. They often communicate with the living by means of dreams, visions and through mediums. The Pokot belief that after death, the spirit of the deceased stays around the family household to pester and admonish the living members until rituals are performed to please it to move to the resting place of the ancestors. The number of animals that are slaughtered in this ritual is determined by the status of the deceased in the community and the the wealth of the family of the deceased.

Mr Kodoo from Sisak village (interviwed on 18th November 2015), states that *Kokwa* are held almost daily in special places that are designated for them. *Kokwa* serves also as an open court for settling disputes among the members of the Pokot community. During *Kokwa*, men sit on stones, or on beautifully crafted mini stools which Pokot men use them also as pillows and seats. Pokot women are only allowed to attend *Kokwa* when serious issues like sorcery are being discussed. The women who attend *Kokwa* sit separately from men and are expected to listen silently. However, women can still exert powerful influence on such formal assemblies by persuading their husbands at home.

According an elder who performs cleansing ceremonies (name witheld*)* from Tilak village (interviewed on 9th January 2016), Pokot women hold their meetings at *Ghat* (the communal grinding stone). However, *Ghat* in in West Pokot County are now being replaced with the grinding machines. *Ghat* is big and therefore five to six women can grind grain at the same time. When women do the grinding, they sing, laugh and talk for hours. Pokot women only use the small individual grinding stones at home when they are busy. The above mentioned respondent further states that closely resembling the

kabulokion are the elders who counteract the harm inflicted by the bad *Kabulokion*. They are known as *Kaworokion*. The *Kaworokion* paint themselves using the red-tinted clay, which is the colour of blood, anger, and of the threatening *Ilat*.

Mrs Katimu a medicine woman (Chepsogeyon) from Tilak village (interviewed on 10th January 2016) says that the third group of intermediaries comprise of Parparin (the exorcizers and purifiers). The word Parpara comes from the Pokot word 'stir' or 'mix.' It exemplifies the depth of responsibility and independence that the Pokot people feel toward one another. The Parparin are said to destroy what harms the people. They have power to clear up evil in the community just like the way a field is cleared of rubbish. The Parparin normally performs purificatory ceremonies on those who have wilfully or unwittingly committed antisocial or unnatural actions. Antisocial acts may include adultery and giving birth to twin. The Pokot believe that when people have committed such acts, they defile the land and therefore need to be cleansed. The Pokot also believe that the power of the Parparin is inherited and is transmitted only from one deserving male ancestor to another. Another rituals performed by the Parparin is the cleansing of the first born children. This ceremony is only attended by elderly Pokot men and women. The Pokot believe that first borns must be cleansed so that the community and the extended family can have healthy children free from evil spirits. They believe that ceremonies like this not only bring blessings but also healing and protection upon the entire community.

2.4.8 The Pokot Concept of Education and Communication

Mr Aker, a diviner (*Chepokopo*) of Karon village (interviewed on 16th November 2015), states that the Pokot educational system is family centered, whereby adults (both male and female) and *Kiruokin* (community elders) formally and informally pass to the young people skills that are relevant to all the aspects of their daily lives and also teach them the moral values of their community.

According to Mr Chepellion of Simat village (interviewed on 11th November 2015), the Pokot educational system is oral because they do not have a written language. The time frame for teachings is continuous and the subjects that are taught are determined by the season of the year and the happenings in the community at a particular time. The subjects that are taught include lessons on climatic seasons, annual rites, market days, emergency events, and daily life experiences. In this regard, the day to day activities are curriculums for learning in the Pokot Community.

The instruction mode in the Pokot educational system includes the "on-site hands on" instruction and the indirect learning. On-site hands on instruction involve the passing on of skills such as how to herd, make sacrifices and how to identify both human and animal footprints. Indirect learning takes place in the Pokot community during the time when the children sit around the fire in the evenings to listen to discussions of the adults. During such forums, adults and elders pass on to the young people information through songs, riddles and proverbs. In this regard, learning in the Pokot community is conducted publicly and therefore there is no secrecy and privacy (Mr Aker, interviewed on 16th November 2015).

2.5 Demographics

This section provides the analysis of the respondents who were interviewed to provide data for this study, with regard to their age, gender, level of education, clan, totem and age set. These included fourty (48) Clergy, Fourty eight (48) Pokot elders, forty eight (48) Pokot specialists and three hundred and eighty four (384) Pokot community members.

Table 2.5.1 Distribution of respondents by age and gender.

Age	Female	%	Male	%
19 – 30	**30**	**7.8**	**41**	**10.7**
31 – 42	**37**	**9.6**	**67**	**17.4**
43 – 54	**36**	**9.4**	**65**	**16.9**
55 and above	**21**	**5.5**	**87**	**22.7**
Total	**124**	**32.3%**	**260**	**67.7%**

The table above shows the distribution of the respondents in relation to their ages and gender. Their ages were categorized according to age brackets. Out of the three hundred and eighty four (384) respondents, that were interviewed to collect data for this study, by coincidence, one hundred and thirty seven (124) of them were women and two hundred and thirty six (260) of them were men. There were more men than women because the majority of the women were unwilling to be interviewed. Also, 18.5% of the respondents were between ages 19-30years, 27% between ages 31-42, 26.3% between ages 43-54 and

34.5% between ages 55 and above. Therefore, by coincidence the majority of the respondents who were interviewed to provide data for this objective were above fifty five (55) years. The table also shows that the views of all the members of the Pokot community of different ages were considered in this study.

Table 2.5.2 Education Level of the respondents

Education	Female	%	Male	%
Degree	6	1.6	15	3.9
Diploma	12	3.1	26	6.8
Certificate	15	3.9	22	5.7
Secondary School	26	6.8	30	7.8
Primary School	36	9.4	62	16.1
None	29	7.6	105	27.3
Total	124	32.4	260	67.6

The table above shows the educational level of the respondents who were interviewed to collect data for this study. Their level of education was categorized into the following levels: Degree, Diploma, Certificate, Secondary School, Primary School and no education at all (none). As indicated in the table, by coincidence, 5.5% of the respondents had degrees, 9.9% diplomas, 9.6% college certificates, 14.6 % secondary school certificates, 25.5% primary school certificates and 34.9 % were illiterate. Also, as shown in the table above, 32.4% of the female respondents were literate, while 7.6% of of them were illiterate. 40.3% of the male respondents were literate, while 27.3% of them were

illiterate. Some respondents were illiterate because the illiteracy level in the Pokot community is high. The table above also shows that the views of all the members of the members of the Pokot community of different educational levels were considered in this study.

Table 2.5.3 Distribution of the main occupation of the Respondents according to their Age brackets

Age bracket	Farmer/Herder	Business	Formal employment	Frequency
19 – 30	28	20	25	73
31 – 42	13	46	28	87
43 – 54	29	56	28	113
55 and above	80	20	11	111
Total	150	142	92	384

The table above shows the occupation of the respondents who were interviewed to collect data for this this study according to the ages and occupation. As indicated in the table, by coincidence, one hundred and fifty (150) 0f the respondents were farmers/herders, one hundred and forty two (142) of them business men/women and ninty two (92) of them had formal employment. Therefore, the majority of the respondents who were were farmers/herders. The business that the respondents comprised of petty commercial trade between neighbouring villages and markets. While formal employment included those working in church, government and private sectors. However, none of the Pokot elders

and Pokot specialists had formal employment because they were all illiterate. The table above also shows that the views of all the members of the Pokot community of different occupations were considered in this study.

Table 2.5.4 Distribution of the Respondents by Clans and Totems

Clan	Totem	Frequency	%
Chepochepkai	Thunder	41	15.8
Chepochongil	Snake	20	7.7
Cheptilak	Buffalo	12	4.6
Chemuket	Lion	10	3.8
Chepochikok	Eagle	11	4.2
Chemingeny	Baboon	42	16.1
Chepochepos	Hyena	37	14.2

Cheptona	Elephant	**34**	**13.0**
Chepochemurkwu	Monkey	**10**	**3.8**
Chepindent	Sun	**10**	**3.8**
Chepolaman	Frog	**14**	**5.4**
Chepasait	Raven	**10**	**3.8**
Cheplegei	Gamel	**9**	**3.5**
13 Clans	**13 Totems**	**260**	**100**

Source: Field Data

The table above shows the clans and the totems of the respondents who were interviewed to collect data for this study. As indicated in the table, by coincidence 15.8% of the respondents were from *Chepochepkai* clan whose totem is Thunder, 7.7% from *Chepochongil* clan whose totem is snake, 4.6% from *Cheptilak* clan whose totem is a Buffalo, 3.8% from *Chemuket* clan whose totem is a Lion, 4.2% from *Chepochikok* clan whose totem is an eagle, 16.1% from *Chemingeny* clan whose totem is a a baboon, 14.2% from *Chepochepos* clan whose totem is an Hyena, 13% from *Cheptona* clan whose totem is an elephant, 3.8% from the *Chepochemurkwu* clan whose totem is a monkey, 3.8% from *Chepindent* clan whose totem is the Sun, 5.4% from *Chepolaman* clan whose totem is a Frog, 3.8% from *Chepasait* clan whose totem is a raven and 3.5% from *Cheplegei* clan whose totem is a gamel. Therefore, by coincidence the clans with the highest number of respondents was the *Chemingeny* (baboon) followed by the *Chepochepkai* (thunder). The table above also shows that the views of several clans in the Pokot community were considered in the study.

Table 2.5.5 Distribution of Respondents according to Age sets

Age Set	No	%
Tukwoi	50	19.2
Mainain	22	8.5
Chumwo	10	3.8
Kapsakis	21	8.1
Korongoro	30	11.5
Kaplelach	31	11.9
Murkutwo	52	20
Sowa	44	16.9
8 Age Sets	**260**	**100**

The table above shows the age sets of the male respondents who were interviewed to collect data for this study. As indicated in table, the respondents were selected from all the eight age sets of the Pokot community. However, it is only men who belong to age sets in the Pokot community. As indicated in the table, by coincidence 19.2% of the male respondents were from the *Tukwoi* age set, 8.5% from *Mainain* age set, 3.8% from *Chumwo* age set, 8.1% from *Kapsakis* age set, 11.5% from *Korongoro* age set, 11.9% from *Kaplelach* age set, 20% from *Murkutwo* age set and 16.9% from *Sowa* age set. Therefore, by coincidence the age set with the highest number of respondents was *Murkutwo*, followed by *Tukwoi*. The table also shows that the views of all the age sets in the Pokot community were considered in the study.

2.6 Summary

Worldview is the totality of the people's way of life. It includes the belief systems, socio-economic and political aspects of people. The Pokot are Nilo-Hamatic people and a sub tribe of the Kalenjin community. It is a patriarchal society where men are the bearers of authority and societal leadership. Education in this community is family centered whereby adults (both male and female) and *Kiruokin* (community elders) formally and informally pass unto the young people skills that are relevant to all aspects of life. The highest position of leadership in this community is held by *Werkoi* (Prophets) followed by *Kiruokin* (community elders). The main economic activity of the Pokot is herding supplemented by subsistence farming, bee keeping and hunting. The Pokot value cattle because they believe that this is the most precious inheritance they were given by *Tororu* (god the creator). This is the reason why they revere and extol their cattle. The Pokot believe in the existence of three gods (*Tororut, Asis and Ilat)* and several spiritual beings. Adulthood is achieved in this community by undergoing initiation rites (the most important important ones being *Mutat* and *Sapana)*. The Pokot do not have the concept of sin but of the permitted and the forbidden. A person is considered to be wicked in this community when they commit that which offends their customs and the spiritual world. Marriage in the Pokot community is an institution initiated by the alliance between the kin groups of the boy and the girl, and is sealed by the payment of dowry. The Pokot have several intermediaries between humans and spiritual beings. The Pokot are very conservative to their traditional beliefs and practices (worldview). The members of this community are tightly bonded together by their traditional customs and values and

therefore prefer their traditional lifestyle to modern amenities provided by the Western lifestyle.

CHAPTER THREE

SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN WEST POKOT COUNTY

This chapter evaluates the spread of Christianity in West Pokot County. The first part of the chapter gives the concept of the Christian mission. The second part of the chapter outlines the objectives and the strategies the Christian missionaries used to evangelize the African people. The third part of the chapter examines the strategies the sampled denominations in this study (ACK, AIC, ACCK, FGCK, AGC and ELCK) used to

evangelize the Pokot. The fourth part of this chapter gives the demographics of the clergy who provided data for second objective of the study.

3.1 Christian Mission

The New Testament mission is basically about "going out" to proclaim the Gospel to the whole world. The Church's missionary endeavour derives motivation from the "great commission of Jesus Christ to all his followers to go out and proclaim the Gospel to the whole world. The Gospel message is that the Kingdom (reign) of God is within the reach of every person who would accept to live in accordance with the new insights taught and exemplified by Jesus Christ in His ministry, death and resurrection. The new life in the Kingdom of God comes through faith and repentance on the part of the believer, and forgiving on the part of God (Mk 16:15). Although the "Great Commission" was the main agenda of all the modern missionary movements, each missionary society developed its own policies, objectives and strategies on how to accomplish this task. Also, each denomination had its own doctrinal emphasis. Mugambi states:

> Although the "Great Commission" was a basic scriptural motivation of the missionary outreach of the Church during the first three centuries, Christianity did not reach the interior of East Africa till the nineteenth century. There was a "mission lag" from the beginning of the fourth to the end of the eighteenth centuries. During that period the Church became established and integrated in the life of the continent of Europe, but its expansion in the other continents waited until the rise of modern missionary movement(2002, p. 36).

According to Livingstone (1857), the Christian missionaries had three major objectives when doing mission. The first objective was to proclaim the Gospel. Both the Protestant and Catholic missionaries were convinced that the only way to rescue the targeted people from everlasting damnation to eternal life in the next world was by converting them from

"heathenism" to Christianity. They were persuaded that the primary tool for achieving this was by proclaiming the Gospel to them. They challenged the professionals working in the mission fields to use their skills as an aid to the main task of proclaiming the Gospel for the salvation of the targeted people. Since the Western missionary agencies were persuaded that all non Western cultures lacked sufficient knowledge about the existence of only one benovelent God, and that it was only Christianity that was capable of enlightening people about this, they taught the prospective converts the doctrine of God.

The second objective was to civilize the targeted people. The Christian missionaries were persuaded that Christianity and the Western world represented the highest form of civilization and therefore, they had a responsibility to extend this high civilization to the people of low culture. To them, evangelism and civilization were inseparable and hence conversion to Christianity involved accepting the Gospel and the Western culture. In this regard, the prospective converts to Christianity were expected to abandon their traditional lifestyles and to pattern their new Christian existence in accordance with the norms taught by the Christian missionaries.

The third objective was to improve the economic lives of the targeted people. The Christian missionaries were convinced that Christianity would only take root among the people of low culture if their economic lives are improved. In this regard, they taught the targeted people new methods of trade, agriculture and industrial skills. For example, David Livingstone strongly advocated that both commerce and Christianity be introduced to the African people as an integrated endeavour. He recommended that they be taught better principles of life such as modern farming to enable them to produce more food for

consumption and for sale. He held the view that although conversion was important, the indirect result of salvation should be to civilize and to empower the targeted people economically.

The presupposition underlying Livingstone's view was that training the targeted people new methods of trade and agriculture would make it easy for them to accept the Gospel because of the experience of being alleviated from major material handicaps. Therefore, the success of the evangelization of the targeted people would depend on the successful introduction of the new way of life to improve the material welfare of the prospective converts. In this regard, the Christian missionaries sought to convert the targeted people by the means of proclaiming the Gospel to them, civilizing them (replacing their cultures with the Western cultures) and by improving their economic lives. They did these because they were persuaded that all the targeted people were suffering because they were living in pitiable conditions due to poverty. It was because of this view that the Christian missionaries requested philanthropists to contribute to missionary societies for both evangelism and material needs. Mugambi states:

> Towards the end of the nineteen century there developed in Europe a great interest in the study of African religions and cultures. The previous view that African peoples did not have any religion or culture was modified in that development so that early in the twentieth century there developed a popular view that African peoples had their own religion and knew something about God. However, these religions were considered to be in primitive stages of evolution, and the objective of the Christian missionary activity would be to erase the religious understanding of those peoples and replace it with highest religion which was thought to have been attained in Christianity (2002, p. 42).

3.2 The Objectives and Strategies Christian Missionaries Used to Uvangelize the African People

The Christian missionaries used different strategies to evangelize the African people. The first strategy they used was the proclamation of the Gospel. This strategy was used by the missionaries who primarily interpreted missions as the proclamation of the word of God. One of the prerequisites of this approach was the competent mastery of the language of the targeted people. However, this was not an easy endeavour because many Western Christian concepts and beliefs were new to African religious thought and life. To address this challenge, the Western Christian missionaries trained the first group of native converts and then send them out to preach the Gospel to their fellow community members. In this regard, the local evangelists had the responsibility of ensuring that prospective converts understand the Gospel (Livinstone, 1857).

According to Mugambi (2002), the proponents of this view were convinced that intensive and long theological training was not as important as the full acceptance of the Gospel and the willingness to respond to the "great commission." In this mission strategy, the preaching of the Gospel was first conducted by itinerant evangelists, but later on, as the congregation of converts grew in number, a church building would be constructed where regular services would be carried out. The proponents of this view also regarded the Bible as the basic tool for the evangelists, and therefore endeavoured to avail scriptures in the language of the targeted people.

However, the work of translating the scriptures in the languages of the targeted people was very challenging to the Christian missionaries. This was because of the fact that in order to do it effectively, they had first to have a thorough understanding of the background information of the the targeted people, their language structure and their philosophical thought patterns. The translation of the Bible was facilitated greatly by the

formation and development of Bible societies. These societies worked in collaboration with the missionary societies. Their objective was to provide Bibles in the language the targeted people could understand, and at the prices which they could afford. Therefore, the Bible societies complimented the work of the missionary societies by translating and printing Bibles (Mugambi, 2002).

The second strategy the Western Christian missionaries used was the instruction of the new converts. This was done to help the new converts to understand the basic doctrines of the Church. However, catechetical instructions were denominational in a sense that each missionary society developed instructions for the converts according to the doctrines of their sponsoring denomination. Catechetical instructional courses were developed into handbooks that were used by the local evangelist and catechists. The catechism was the frame of reference for preparing the converts for baptism and confirmation. The new converts were also taught new hymns and the order of liturgy of the respective denominations. The African catechists contributed much in this missionary approach. Having received initial instructions from the mission stations, the catechists went back to their home areas to begin instructional classes for the new converts (Mugambi, 2002).

The third strategy the Western Christian missionaries used was the establishment of schools where literacy was taught. The missionary agencies were convinced that the converts needed to be taught how to read and write in order to be able to read the Bible and catechism. The basic activities in these schools included reading, writing, arithmetic and Christian instruction. The basis for this approach was the view that since Christianity was a scriptural religion, literacy would help the converts to read the scriptures for themselves. The Christian missionaries were also persuaded that the knowledge and skills

the new converts would acquire from these schools would not only help them to advance the missionary agenda but would also enable them to secure employment in secular organizations. The teachings in these schools were carried out mostly by African teachers who had received initial instructions in the mission stations. However, due to the increased demand for literacy from the African communities, the Western Christian missionaries started also to provide training facilities for possible future teachers. This is the reason why most schools before the independence of most African countries were under the management of various missionary societies (Mugambi, 2002).

The fourth strategy the Western Christian missionaries used was industrial training. The missionaries who used this strategy linked missions to the civilization objective. This strategy was based upon the preposition that in addition to the Gospel message, the African converts needed to be equipped with new skill that would enable them to begin a new life inspired by Christian principles. The phrase "industrial training" in the context of the early missionary activity included all the basic skills that the converts acquired at the mission stations. These skills included carpentry, masonry and agriculture. In this regard, some mission stations developed farms where agricultural skills were taught and tried. The new converts were taught new methods of farming and new crops were also introduced to them. In light of this, mission stations became centres for the diffusion of the Western culture. Literacy was the basic necessity for learning new skills in the mission stations. Also, aspects of mission work were taught in these mission stations. During the process of training in the mission stations, the trainees were expected to contribute their labour in order to keep the mission stations running. Due to this, some of converts lived in the mission stations (Shingledecker et al, 1982).

The fifth strategy was the provision of medical services. This became possible because of the fact that some of the missionaries who came to do mission work in Africa were medical doctors who came to apply their knowledge and skills in Africa in the context of the missionary societies. The importance of medical care as a strategy in mission work can be seen from both the missionary and Africa points of views. From the missionary perspective, missionary societies in their pioneer stages had lost several missionaries whose deaths were caused by tropical diseases such as malaria. It was therefore necessary for medical precaution to be taken to reduce these losses. Therefore, medical research in tropical diseases became useful not only for missionaries coming to Africa but also for the Africans in the mission field. From the Africans perspective, the new methods of treatment and the drugs the missionaries used to treat them was a new experience. The effectiveness of the new treatment at the missionary dispensaries and hospitals became the means of attracting possible converts. In this regard, the provision of medical care was a wonderful opportunity for furthering Christian witness in the areas where Christian doctors worked. Therefore, the Western Christian missionaries used medical services as a an effective tool to persuade the African people to embrace civilization in the sense that the new methods of treatment they offered were more superior to the traditional method of healing (Mugambi 2002).

The sixth strategy the Western Christian missionaries used was to address special needs. Some missionary organizations did this by identifying special needs within the African society and then developed projects that addressed these needs. For example, they developed projects that took care of the physically handicapped people. The Christian missionaries who used this strategy understood Christian mission as a service for caring

and providing for the needs of the destitutes. Despite the fact that this strategy did not bring many converts in terms of evangelism, the dedication of the missionaries who devoted themselves to provide these services in mission fields highlighted one dimension of Christianity that could not be made clear in any other ways. The implication was that the Christian religion was concerned with both the spiritual and the physical welfare of all people in the society (Shingledecker et al, 1982).

The last strategy the Western Christian missionaries used was the presence of the resident missionaries in the mission stations in the community. The purpose for this strategy was to use the Christian missionaries as role models to impact the prospective converts. Besides teaching the converts the principles of Christianity, the presence of the Christian missionaries provided an opportunity for the new converts to observe daily how the Christian missionaries applied the Gospel in their lives. In this regard, the way the missionaries, evangelists, catechists or pastors lived their lives would determine how the Gospel would be received. In this regard, the presence of the missionaries at the mission stations provided cultural guidance to the new converts. Therefore, mission stations were centres for teaching the Africans the Western culture and the Christian religion. The presence of the resident missionaries was used as a strategy to bring change in the social and religious lives of the African people (Mugambi, 2002).

3.3 The Strategies the Sampled Denominations Used to Evangelize the Pokot

Fourty eight (48) respondents (Clergy) were interviewed to provide information about the spread of Christianity among the Pokot. They were selected from the Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK), African Inland Church (AIC), Associated Christian Churches of Kenya

(ACCK), African Gospel Church (AGC), Full Gospel Churches of Kenya (FGCK) and Evangelical Lutheran Churches of Kenya (ELCK).

3.3.1 The Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK)

According to Totty et al (1981), the Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK) was the first denomination to establish mission work in West Pokot County. This mission work was the brain child of Alfred Buxton. Buxton was the son-in-law to the great missionary and former English cricketer, C.T. Studd. In 1928, Buxton was convinced that his missionary work in the Congo was finished and he therefore purposed to evangelize the unreached cattle tribes of the "Horn of Africa." These tribes had not been evangelized because the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and other missionary societies that would have evangelized them were busy working among the larger tribes of East Africa. In this regard, Buxton visualized a chain of Christian Mission Stations in Ethiopia, Sudan, Uganda and Kenya. To impliment this, he approached the Bible Churchman's Missionary Society (B.C.M.S), who were seeking for new areas to establish Mission Stations. Consequently, with the help of the BCMS, they established two mission stations, one at Lotome in Uganda and another one at Marsabit in Kenya.

When Buxton came to Kenya, he requested the British Colonial Government for a site to establish a Mission Station in West Pokot County (which was then called West Suk District). In 1931, the Colonial Government sold to them their former headquarters at Kacheliba which they had abandoned due to the prevalence of malaria. They sold it to them at the price of $400. Therefore, the Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK) in collaboration with BCMS established a mission station at Kacheliba in December 1931.

After establishing a mission station at Kacheliba, Buxton requested Lawrence Totty and Cyril Punt, who were missionaries at Lotome mission station among the Karamojong in Uganda to come to Kacheliba mission station to assist in the evangelism of the Pokot (Totty et al, 1981).

The first strategy that BCMS under Buxton and Totty used to evangelize the Pokot was the proclamation of the Gospel. In order to effectively do this, they sought to learn the Pokot language. They implemented this by developing friendship with the natives. The second strategy they used was the provision of medical services. They went to the villages to treat the natives that were sick. This was made possible by the fact that Totty and Punt had undergone training on dentistry ((Totty et al, 1981).

The third strategy they used was the establishment of schools. They established their first school at Kacheliba in 1932. This was a boarding school for boys. This school had to be a boarding school because it was hard for boys to consistently attend school because of the nomadic lifestyle of the Pokot. A few months later, with the help of the District Commissioner, the Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK) initiated also a campaign to persuade Pokot elders about the importance of educating the girl child. Fortunately, this idea was embraced by the elders and therefore the Pokot community began to allow girls to go to school. Due to this breakthrough, BCMS requested Bryden, a missionary at Lotome mission station in Uganda to come Kacheliba mission station to assist in the girl child's work (Shingledecker et al, 1982).

After serving for a long time at the Kacheliba mission station, Totty gained favour before the Pokot of Kacheliba, and they nick-named him "*Lomortom,*" which means the chief

bull in the herd. According to Totty et al, the most memorable day to the mission team at the Kacheliba mission station happened in 1933 when five young Pokot men confessed their faith in Jesus Christ as their saviour. This happened following the preaching of Buxton in one of the weekends. These men were later trained and then given the assignment to preach the Gospel throughout West Pokot County (Totty et al 1981).

Totty et al (1981) say that due to the prevalence of malaria, in 1934 the BCMS moved their mission headquarters from Kacheliba (in North Pokot Sub County) to Nasokol (in West Pokot Sub County). They also established a Bible Training Centre at the Nasokol Mission Centre in this year. This Bible Training Centre taught Bible courses, baptism classes and confirmation classes to the new converts. In 1936, the Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK) established schools and churches at Sigor, Tamkal, Cheptulel, Seker, Kokwatenda, Kamorow and Murkwijit. In spite of all these efforts, the Anglican Church of Kenya did not experience an immediate breakthrough in getting new converts among the Pokot people. The only big breakthrough they experienced took place around the Chepareria area following the outgrowth of the East African Revival in 1962.

According to Shingledecker et al (1982), by 1982, ACK had only three Parishes in West Pokot County. These were Karapokot, Kapenguria and Sigor Parishes. The Karapokot Parish had twenty Lay Leaders and no ordained priest. These Lay Leaders had received in-service training from the Vicarage in Makutano. They had the responsibility of carrying out evangelism and to preside over worship services on Sunday.Only four of these Lay Leaders were from the Pokot community. At this time also, ACK had only three ordained priests, three pastors and three evangelists in the whole of West Pokot County. The three pastors stayed at Makutano, Sigor, and Kapenguria, while the three

105

evangelists stayed at Chesogon, Chesupet, and Kabichbich. Out of all the church workers who served with the Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK) at this time, only two evangelists were from the Pokot community.

In early 1980s, the Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK) used various strategies to evangelize, civilize and to empower the Pokot economically. They did this by establishing industrial training centres, special need schools and several community projects in West Pokot County. They established Polytechnics at Kodich, Chepareria and Sigor. They also established a school for the visually handicapped at Kapenguria. The school for the visually handicapped provided the students with skills on farming, sewing and weaving. The Anglican Church of Kenya also initiated a project known as the "Christian Integrated Rural Development," which was focused on empowering the Pokot on the issues to do with water, farming, livestock, education, and health care. They also administered a "Family-to-Family" child sponsorship program at Sigor, an "Adult Literacy training Program" and a "Famine Relief Program" in Kacheliba (Totty et al, 1981).

According to Rev Ng'aritany of ACK (interviewed on 11th January 2016), by 2016, ACK had established several churches all over West Pokot County. They had one hundred and forty seven (147) churches, four (4) Arch-deaconries and twenty six (26) Parishes. The archdeaconries included Kapenguria, St Peter's Kacheliba, St John's Chepareria and Emanuel in Sigor. The Arch- Deaconries are presided over by Archdeacons. It also had twenty three (23) permanent church buildings and one hundred and twenty four (124) temporal church buildings. They had fifty five (55) trained clergy and one hundred (100) untrained lay leaders. They were sponsoring thirty five (35) Primary Schools, twelve (12)

Secondary Schools, four (4) Polytechnics and one (1) Special School for the blind (Primary and Secondary).

3.3.2 The African Inland Church (AIC)

According to Shingledecker et al (1982), the African Inland Church (AIC) began mission work in West Pokot County in 1954 by establishing a church at Kapenguria under Rev George Kandegor. By 1982, they had two churches in North Pokot Sub County, fifteen churches in West Pokot Sub County and thirteen churches in East Pokot (now in Baringo County). In this year (1982), AIC had only two trained Pokot pastors in North Pokot Sub County, one missionary from the African Inland Church Mission Board (AICMB) and an expatriate couple doing agricultural development work in Alale Division. They had five trained pastors and four female church workers in West Pokot Sub County. AIC was also sponsoring four schools in the whole of West Pokot County. Many of these schools were established in places where there were no churches, and were therefore used as centres for evangelism. They were also administering one feeding program for children and one water project.

The African Inland Church (AIC) used several strategies to evangelize the Pokot. One, they used the strategy of the proclamation of the Gospel. Their objective for using this strategy was to convert the Pokot to Christianity and also to give them instructions on the Church doctrine. Two, they used the strategy of establishing schools. Their objective for using this strategy was to use these schools as centres for evangelism and also to provide the new converts with knowledge and skills that would enable them to read the scriptures for themselves (Shingledecker, 1982).

According to Pastor Kaprich of AIC (interviewed on 12th January 2016), by 2016, AIC was sponsoring several primary and secondary schools in West Pokot County. These schools included: Alale Primary School, Kauriong Primary School, Mbaru Primary School, Ngotut Primary School, Kodich Primary School, Cherangani Primary School, Asilong Primary School, Kakoruson Primary School, Kreswo Primary School, Nakwangamoru Primary School, Namoru Primary School, Chelokotetwo Primary School, Kanyarkwat Primary School, Chepesom Primary School, Kadokony Primary School, Kaibos Primary School, Kamariny Primary School, Kamelei Primary School, Kapsangar Primary School, Sarammu Primary School, Kapsait Primary School, Chesupet Primary School, Kapsangar Secondary School, Kapsait Secondary School, Karas Secondary School, Karenger Secondary School, Kanyarkwat Secondary School and Alale Secondary School.

Three, they used the strategy of establishing industrial training centres. The objective for using this strategy was to civilize and to improve the economic lives of the Pokot by providing them with skills that would enable them to begin new lives inspired by the Christian principles. By 2016, they had one goat project at Chesawach. Four, they used the strategy of addressing special needs in the society. Their objective for using this strategy was to market the Christian religion as a religion that does not only address people's spiritual needs but also their physical needs. By 2016, AIC had two orphanages, one at Kauriong and another one at Kodich. Five, they used the strategy of providing medical services. Their objective for using this strategy was both to provide medical care to the Pokot, as well as to portray medical treatment as superior to the Pokot traditional

healing methods. By 2016, AIC had seven medical clinics in West Pokot County. They were at Alale, Cherangan, Asilong, Mbaru, Makutano, Kadokong and Kapsangar (Shingledecker, 1982).

By 2016, AIC had 204 churches in the whole of West Pokot County. They had twenty four (24) trained pastors (of whom 8 were ladies), 72 trained elders and evangelists (five were ladies) and one hundred and four (104) untrained elders and evangelists. They had twenty one (21) permanent church buildings, one hundred and fourty seven (147) semi permanent church buildings and thirty six (36) local congregations that worship in schools and under trees (Pastor Kaprich, interviewed on 12th January 2016).

3.3.3 The Associated Christian Churches of Kenya (ACCK)

According to Shingledecker (1982) the Associated Christian Churches of Kenya (ACCK) began mission work in West Pokot County in 1977. They used several strategies to evangelize the Pokot. The first strategy they used was the proclamation of the Gospel. They established their mission centre at Kiwawa and concentrated their mission endeavours in North Pokot Sub County, specifically in Alale Division, north of Konyao River. By 1982, ACCK had established five churches in North Pokot Sub County. They were at Kiwawa, Kamugeto, Kasei, Chelopei, Kamila and Kases. Due to the remoteness of North Pokot Sub County, particularly the mountainous terrain, mission work was very difficult. Despite the challenges, ACCK was determined to reach the Pokot of North Pokot Sub County with Gospel. The total number of baptized Pokot converts ACCK had by 1982 was one hundred and fifty (150) people.

The second strategy they used was the establishment of schools. In 1982, they established a boarding Primary school at Kiwawa and were able to enrol two hundred and fifty children. They provided food and clothing to these children. At this time, ACCK had one expatriate missionary doctor, two expatriate nurses, four none-Pokot pastors and three Pokot evangelists. The pastors and evangelists were trained on leadership weekly and monthly by the expatriate missionary doctor who was stationed at Kiwawa. The third strategy they used was the provision of medical services. They had one expatriate missionary doctor and two expatriate nurses, who operated a dispensary at Kiwawa and a mobile clinic (Shingledecker et al, 1982).

According to Rev Kitale of ACCK (interviewed on 13th November 2015), by 2016, ACCK had seventy churches (70) churches and four regions (Parishes) in North Pokot Sub County. These regions were: Alale, Kasei, Kiwawa and Kacheliba. They had twenty (20) permanent church buildings, 40 temporal church buildings and 10 local churches that worship in schools and under trees. They also had thirty (30) trained Pastors and seventy (70) untrained Pastors. They were as well sponsoring fifty (50) Primary Schools and one Secondary School, all in North Pokot Sub County. ACCK had also two dispensaries, at Kiwawa and Kamila in North Pokot Sub County.

3.3.4 The Full Gospel Churches of Kenya (FGCK)

Full Gospel Churches of Kenya (FGCK) under the Finland Free Foreign Mission began mission work in West Pokot County in 1971. By 1982, FGCK had twelve churches in both West Pokot County and East Pokot (now Baringo County). They had established one church, one dispensary and one mobile clinic at Kacheliba in North Pokot Sub

County. They had also, one pastor, two church workers, and two foreign missionaries from the Finland Free Foreign Mission doing mission work at Kacheliba in North Pokot Sub County. However, these two missionaries lived at Kapenguria and only visited Kacheliba and the entire North Pokot Sub County (Karapokot) for special evangelistic missions. In total, FGCK had five foreign missionaries from the Finland Free Foreign Mission doing mission work in West Pokot County and the East Pokot (now Baringo County). Three of these missionaries were in charge of mission work in West Pokot Sub County and were based at Kapenguria, while the remaining two were incharge of mission work in Central Pokot Sub County and were based at   Chesegon. FGCK had five evangelists and one pastor who served in the West, Central and South Pokot Sub Counties. Three of these evangelists were from the Pokot community, while two were from the Kikuyu community. The evangelists did evangelistic work, while the missionaries were in charge of the medical, developmental, and administrative departments of FGCK. The missionaries had also the responsibility of training the evangelists, church workers and the entire community on matters to do with health and development (Shingledecker et al, 1982).

According to Rev Kapelo of FGCK (interviewed on 14th January 2016), in the 1970s and 1980s, FGCK used four strategies to evangelize the Pokot. The first strategy was the proclamation of the Gospel. They established several churches throughout West Pokot County using this strategy. The second strategy they used was the establishment of industrial training centres. FGCK established a training centre at Kapenguria known as "Kapenguria Home Craft Centre." This training centre provided the students with training on pottery, carpentry, spinning and tailoring.

The third strategy they used was the provision of medical services. They established dispensaries and mobile clinics at Kapenguria, Kacheliba and Sondany. Their objective was to provide health care to the Pokot as well as to persuade the Pokot discard the traditional healing methods for medical treatment. The fourth strategy they used was the presence of the resident missionaries in the society to model Christianity before the Pokot. The objective of this strategy was to use the resident missionaries as role models as they applied the principles of Christianity in their daily lives. FGCK had seven foreign missionaries in West Pokot County at this time. These missionaries were from the Finland Free Foreign Missions. Two of the missionaries were in charge of Kacheliba (North Pokot Sub County), three other missionaries were in charge of West and South Pokot Sub Counties, and two other missionaries were in charge of Central Pokot Sub County.

According to Rev Mali of FGCK (interviewed on 15th January 2016), by 2016, FGCK had one hundred and thirteen (113) churches and seven (7) main (local) churches in West Pokot County. The main churches (local) were presided over by Reverends. These local churches included: Keringet (which had fifeen churches under it), Kapenguria (sixteen churches), Chepareria (fourteen churches), Ortum (twelve churches), Kererwa (eight churches), Kacheliba (twenty churches) and Alale (twenty eight churches). FGCK had also twenty three (23) trained pastors and ninenty (90) untrained elders and evangelists. It had fifteen (15) permanent church buildings, seventy (70) temporal church buildings and twenty (28) churches that worship in schools and under trees. Most of the churches that worship in schools and under trees were in Alale Division in Pokot North Sub County.

Rev Maili further stated that, after the departure of the Finland Free Foreign Missionaries in the late 1990s and the early 2000, most of the projects that they had initiated and established in West Pokot County under the FGCK collapsed. The projects that collapsed included the medical dispensaries and mobile clinics at Kapenguria and Sondany, and the Homecraft training centre at Kapenguria.

3.3.5 The Africa Gospel Church (AGC)

The Africa Gospel Church (AGC) began a mission work in West Pokot County in 1970, by establishing a mission station at Chepnyal in Sook Division in West Pokot Sub County. The area AGC targeted for missions was the Sook Division in West Pokot Sub County. After establishing a church at Chepnyal, they established another one at Ptoyo in Sook Division. By 1982, AGC had twelve churches in Sook Division of West Pokot County, two trained non Pokot pastors, three Pokot evangelists and thirty Sunday school teachers. AGC used several strategies to evangelize the Pokot. The strategies they used included the proclamation of the Gospel, the provision of health care and the establishment of schools. They established several churches, schools and a dispensary at Chepnyal. The wife of the pastor of AGC Chepnyal served as the nurse of Chepnyal dispensary in the 1980s (Shingledecker et al, 1982).

According to Rev Tudo of AGC (interviewed on 16th December 2015), by 2016, AGC had seventy six (76) churches in West Pokot County. However, all of these churches were in Sook Division of West Pokot County. They had four (4) permanent church buildings and seventy two (72) temporal church buildings. They also had twenty (20)

trained pastors and one hundred and thirty two (132) untrained pastors. They were sponsoring seventeen (17) schools and one (1) medical centre at Chepnyal.

3. 3. 6 The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Kenya (ELCK)

The Evangelical Lutheran Church (ELCK) under Norwegian Lutheran Mission established a mission centre at Chepareria in West Pokot County in 1977. By 1982, ELCK had established two other mission centres at Chesta and the Seker Hills. They had five Pokot Evangelists and several untrained Pokot elders who presided over worship services. ELCK used several strategies to evangelize the Pokot. One, the proclamation of the Gospel. They established preaching points at Kongelai, Kaketonying, Sirol, Cheratak, Ksauwoy, Sukuk, Kokworitit and Poito. Two, they established schools. They established a boarding primary school for boys at Sekerr and a boarding primary school for girls at Chesta.   Three, the provision of medical care. They established a dispensary and mobile clinics at Chesta and Sekerr. Four, the presence of resident missionaries. They had six foreign missionaries from the Norwegian Lutheran Mission that were based at Sekerr and Chesta. These missionaries had a responsibility of training the elders, evangelists and the pastors, as well as modelling Christianity to the Pokot. Five, the establishment of industrial training centres. They established an agricultural development work at Chesta that provided training to the students and the community on agriculture (Shingledecker et al, 1982).

According to Pastor Micha of ELCK (interviewed on 17th January 2016), by 2016, ELCK had two hundred and fifty six (256) churches and thirty eight (38) Parishes in West Pokot County. They had sixty two (62) permanent church buldings and one hundred and twenty (120) temporal church buildings. They had thirty (30) trained pastors, ninenty eight (98)

trained evangelists and twenty one (21) trained deaconesses. They also had three (3) dispensaries, at Chesta, Korokough and Sekerr. They had a Bible school at Kapenguria, and were sponsoring sixteen (16) Secondary Schools and one hundred (100) Primary Schools in West Pokot County. ELCK was also operating a Pokot Rural Development Project in conjunction with AMREF.

3.4 Demographics

This section provides the analysis of the clergy who were interviewed to provide data for the third objective of this study, with regard to their denominations, age, gender and levels of education. Although four categories of respondents were interviewed in the whole study, only the clergy were interviewed to provide data for this objective.

Table 3.4.1 Distribution of respondents by denomination

Denomination	No	%
ACK	6	18.75%
AIC	6	18.75%
ACCK	5	15.62%
FGCK	5	15.62%
AGC	5	15.62%
ELCK	5	15.62%
TOTAL	30	100%

The table above shows the distribution of the respondents according to their denominations. All of the respondents interviewed to collect data for this objective were the clergy from the six denominations that were sampled for the study. These denominations included the Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK), Africa Inland Church (AIC), Associated Christian Churches of Kenya (ACCK), Full Gospel Churches of Kenya (FGCK), Africa Gospel Church (AGC) and Evangelical Lutheran Church of Kenya (ELCK). Five clergy were interviewed from each of the sampled denominations, a part from ACK and AIC where six clergy were interviwed because they have the largest following in West Pokot County. The table above shows that all of the thirty (32) clergy that were selected for interviews responded, indicating a 100% response. The table also shows that the views of all the clergy from the sampled denominations were considered in this study.

Table 3.4.2 Distribution of respondents by age and gender.

Age	Female	%	Male	%
19 – 30	**0**	**0%**	**2**	**6.25%**
31 – 42	**3**	**9.38%**	**4**	**12.5%**
43 – 54	**2**	**6.25%**	**10**	**31.25%**
55 and above	**3**	**9.38%**	**8**	**25%**
Total	**8**	**25.1%**	**24**	**75%**

The table above shows the distribution of the selected clergy according to their ages and gender. The table shows that by coincidence, out of the thirty two (32) clergy that were interviewed, eight (8) of them were females and twenty four (24) were males. This indicates that 25% of the respondents were females and 75% were males. The table also shows that 6.25% of the selected clergy were ages 19-30years, 21.88% were ages 31-42, 37.5% were between ages 43-54 and 34.38% were ages 55 and above. In this regard, by coincidence the majority of the clergy who were interviewed were between ages 43-54 years. The table also shows that the views of the selected clergy of difference ages were considered in this study.

Table 3.4.3 Education Level of the respondents

Education	Female	%	Male	%
Degree	4	12.5%	11	34.3%
Diploma	3	9.3%	7	22%
College Certificate	1	3.1%	4	12.5%
Secondary School	0	0%	2	6.3%
Primary School	0	0%	0	0%
None	0	0%	0	0%
Total	8	24.9%	32	75.1%

The table above shows the educational level of the selected clergy. Their level of education was categorized into the following categories: Degree, Diploma, College Certificate, Secondary School, Primary School and no education at all (none). The table show that out of the thirty two (32) selected clergy, fifteen (15) had degrees, ten (10) had diplomas, five (5) had certificates and two (2) had secondary school certificates. In this regard, none of them was bellow the secondary school certificate level. This indicates that 46.8% of the selected clergy had degrees, 31.3% had diplomas, 15.6% had college certificates and 6.3% had secondary school certificates. In light of this, by coincidence the majority of the selected clergy had degrees. The table also shows that the views of the selected clergy from the sampled denominations of different levels of educational were considered in this study.

3.5 Summary

The first mission work in West Pokot County was established by the Anglicans (BCMS) in 1931 at Kacheliba, but later relocated to Nasokol due to climatic challenges. In the following years, other denominations joined the Anglicans in evangelization of the Pokot. The strategies these denominations used included the proclamation of the Gospel; instruction of the new converts; establishment of schools and colleges; industrial training; provision of medical services; addressing special needs and the placement of resident missionaries in mission stations throughout West Pokot County. However, despite the persistant effort by these denominations to evangelize the Pokot community using all these strategies, they did not experience an immediate breakthrough because they met resistance and non- response from the Pokot.

CHAPTER FOUR

EFFECT OF TRADITIONAL POKOT WORLDVIEW ON SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE POKOT

This chapter evaluates the effect of the traditional Pokot worldview on the spread of Christianity among the Pokot of West Pokot County. In the following pages, a few basic Pokot traditional beliefs and practices will be outlined in order to show how they have affected the spread of Christianity among the Pokot of West Pokot County.

4.0 Effect of the traditional Pokot Worldview

Worldview is a system of beliefs, feelings and behaviour of a people. The Pokot have a traditional worldview that enables them to handle life experiences that are beyond human control. This worldview not only gives meaning to their existence but also enables them to gain control and security over their lives. The basic components of the Pokot worldview include: One, they believe in the existence of three gods (*Tororut, Asis and Ilat*) and several spiritual beings. The Pokot believe that life is controlled by spiritual forces that are more powerful than humans. It is because of this that they perform rituals to get success, happiness, security and ability to handle daily dilemmas which they believe are controlled by spiritual forces that are more powerful than humans (Shingledecker et al, 1982).

Two, they believe that the universe is in two sections (twofold). According to Pastor Kaprech of AIC (interviewed on 12th January 2016), the Pokot worldview is twofold. They believe that the world consists of the earth on which humanity live and the sky which is the abode of the sun, moon and the stars. The Pokot believe that the earth is inhabited by the inanimate objects, the visible and invisible beings. Inanimate objects

include the mountains, rocks, caves and rivers. The visible beings include human beings, animals (both domestic and wild) and plants. Invisible beings include the deities, ancestors and the children that are about to be born. Thirdly, they believe that at death, people merely change the mode from the physical to the spiritual (ghostly). The Pokot believe that as long as people have fulfilled all the social obligations, they don't have to fear death because it is merely a rite of passage. They don't believe in the existence of heaven and hell, or in the concept that the world will one day come to an end.

In contrast, the basic principles which form the Christian worldview are: One, they believe that there is only one absolute God, who is the creator of the universe and everything in it. Two, they believe that man was created in the image and likeness of God and is therefore worthy of respect and honour. Three, they believe that God gave man dominion and authority over all the creation. Four, they believe that man was born a sinner because of the sin of Adam. Five, they believe that Jesus is mankind's only hope for redemption. Six, they believe that the Bible is the Word of God. Lastly, they believe that it is only God that provides and sustains the creation (Noebel & Edwards, 2002).

In light of the discussions above, there is a big disparity between the pokot and the Christian worldviews. For instance, the pokot believe in polytheism, that man is subject to spirits and that the universe is twofold. In contrast, Christians believe in monotheism, that the universe is threefold and that man has dominion and authority over all the creation because he was created in the image and likeness of God. This Christian doctrine was alien to the Pokot, consequently it affected their receptivity of Christianity.

4.1 Effect of the Pokot Concepts of God, Man, Sin, Sacrifice, and Salvation

According to Pastor Rong of FGCK (interviewed on 14th November 2015), the Pokot believe that sin is that which violates their customs and the requirements of the spiritual world. A person is therefore considered to be wicked in the Pokot community when they commit that which offends their customs and the requirements of the spiritual world. In this regard, the Pokot only have the concept of the permitted and the prohibited. The offences that have been committed consciously or unconsciously are only regarded as disorders and not sin.

Sacrifices in the Pokot community are performed by specialists, for specific purposes and during special occasions. They are offered to appease the gods, spirits and to seek solutions for challenges such as sickness, attacks from evil spirits, witchcraft, livestock diseases and crop failures. Sacrifices are offered along river banks, rocks, shrines and homesteads. The Pokot understand salvation as deliverance from the wicked spiritual powers that seek to dominate their lives.

In contrast, according to the teachings of Christianity: One, there is only one absolute and eternal God. God is self-sufficient and therefore lacks nothing. Two, God created the universe and everything in it. Three, man was created in the image and likeness of God. Four, man was given dominion and authority by God over all the creation. This means that all aspects of the created order on earth are to be governed by man. Five, man has a fallen nature due to Adam's sins. Six, Jesus Christ is mankind's only hope for redemption. Lastly, God provides and sustains his creation (Noebel & Edwards, 2002).

In light of the discussions above, there is a big disparity between the the Pokot and Christian concepts about God, man, sin, sacrifices, and salvation. For example, the Pokot besides believing in polytheism, the Pokot also believe that sin is a violation of customs and the requirements of the spiritual world, that sacrifices need to be performed to the gods and the spirits to get favour from them and that salvation is delieverance from wicked spiritual powers that seek to dominate people's lives. In contrast, Christians believe in the existence of one absolute and eternal God, that man is born a sinner and that the death of Jesus Christ was the attonment of the sins of man. These disparities affected the Pokot's receptivity of Christianity. Blaschke (2004) states:

> Expressing the process here in simple Western theological terms; one would say that Western evangelism presents the Gospel of the forgiveness of sins, emphasizing first, the saviourhood of Jesus. Then follows discipleship on submission to Jesus Christ. In the animistic context, having recognized the strength of the animist's belief and practice requiring submission to the authority and power of spiritual beings, evangelism amongst them should first emphasize submission to the Lordship of Jesus ; the Gospel of power and authority to deliver and protect them from evil spiritual beings (2004,pp. 29- 30)

4. 2 Effect of the Pokot Education and Communication System

The Pokot educational system is oral and family centered, whereby adults (both male and female) and *Kiruokin* (community elders) formally and informally pass knowledge, moral values and relevant skills to the young people (Mr Aker, interviewed on 16th November 2015). The time frame for lessons in this system of education is continuous and the subjects that are taught are determined by the season of the year and the happenings in the community at a particular time. The subjects that are taught include lessons on climatic seasons, annual rites, market days, emergency events, and daily life experiences.

In this regard, the day to day activities are curriculums for learning in the Pokot system of education (Mr Chepellion, interviewed on 11th November 2015).

The instruction mode in the Pokot educational system includes the "on-site hands on" instruction and indirect learning. The "on-site hands on" instruction involves the passing on of skills such as how to herd, make sacrifices and how to identify both human and animal footprints. The "indirect learning" takes place in the Pokot community during the time when children sit around the fire in the evenings to listen to discussions of the adults. During such forums, *Poi (*adults) and *Kiruokin* (community elders) pass on to the young people information through songs, riddles and proverbs. In this regard, learning in the Pokot community is conducted publicly and therefore there is no secrecy and privacy (Mr Aker, interviewed on 16th November 2015).

According to Pastor Rong of FGCK (interviewed on 14th November 2015), the key features in the Pokot educational system were: One, its aim was to make the recipients functional members of the community by the means of integration. Two, it did not offer the recipients with certificates. Three, the main language of instruction was Pokot. Four, the adults (both male and female) and the *Kiruokin* (community elders) were the instructors. Five, the mode of instruction were "on-site hands on instruction", songs, riddles, proverbs, imitation, direct observation, role learning and use of stories. Six, it sought to integrate the recipients in the community by socializing and including them in community development projects. Lastly, its curriculum provided lessons in all the aspects of the day to day life.

Iin contrast, the Western education system had the following notable features: One, its purpose was to train the Pokot in order to advance the missionary agenda and to civilize them. Two, it involved writing and formalized (written) examinations at various stages/level and certificates issued at the completion of the courses. Three, its main language of instruction was English. Four, its method of instruction involved the use of writing, reading and at times memorization. Five, it was formalized and handled by formal institutions such as schools and colleges. Six, it alienated the recipients from their community by enrolling them in boarding schools and colleges. Seven, it involved direct teaching by designated teachers. Lastly, its curriculum consisted of reading, Writing, Arithmetic, religious education and industrial training (Pastor Micha of ELCK, interviewed on 17th January 2016).

In light of the discussions above, there was an enormous disparity between the traditional Pokot and Western educational systems. For example, while the purpose of Western education was to civilize and train the reciepients in order to advance the missionary agenda by using formal institutions like boarding schools and colleges that alienated them from their communities, the purpose of the traditional Pokot educational system was to make the recepients functional members of the Pokot community by intergrating them in the community. These disparities affected the Pokot's receptivity of Christianity.

4.3 Effect of the Pokot Concept of Spiritual Beings

According to Rev Kitale of ACCK (interviewed on 13th November 2015), the Pokot believe in the existence of an array of good and wicked spiritual beings which are revered and feared. They believe that humans operate under the influence and authority of

spiritual beings and are in constant battle with the wicked spirits. This is why they live a lifestyle of fear. The Pokot believe that these spirits inhabit rocks, trees, mountains, shrines, geographical areas, persons (both alive and deceased), rivers, inhabited areas, the wind and animals.   They believe that since they are subject to unseen spiritual forces, they need to manipulate and invoke these spirits in special ways in order to have their needs addressed. They believe too that the spirits are stronger than humans and therefore, they must seek for empowerment from them. The Pokot believe that if the spirits are appeased and manipulated, they will in return acquire protection, fertility, health, wealth, authority, respect and a good name. They believe too that the spirits must be manipulated so that they can assist women to get the ability to become pregnant (Mr Komolkat, interviewed on 15th January 2016).

Mr Kiara, *Chepsogeyon* (a medicine man) from Tilak village (interviewed on 19th January 2016) says that the Pokot believe that after humans have gained enough favour from the spirits, they can even persuade them to curse their enemies. The emissaries the Pokot use to carry out this include the witchdoctors, *Werkoyon* (prophets), *Cheposegoyon* (medicine men/medicine women) and *Chepokobo* (diviners). Any of these can be consulted to interpret the source of any problem, and can prescribe the kind offering that needs to be offered to the spirits to address problem. Blaschke (2004) says:

> Or consider the Western response to the cause of a high way automobile accident. Either carelessness on the part of the chauffer or the mechanical failure of the vehicle would usually be judged to be the cause. The response of the non Western (the animist) would be that a curse had been put on the passengers. A diviner therefore, would have to be consulted to determine who did this and why. Then the appropriate ritual performed to restore the relationship with the offended spiritual being that instigated the accident. The key restoration of balance and

harmony in the animist's world is always performance of the correctly and meticulously prescribed ritual (p. 73)

According to the teachings of Christianity, the triune God manifests himself as God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit. They believe that the Holy Spirit is the third person of the Trinity and is responsible for: One, bringing people to Christ. Two, enabling believers to live righteous and faithful lives by indwelling them. Three, comforting, interceding and acting as an advocate of believers in times of trials. Four, inspiring the interpretation of scripture. Lastly, empowering believers to act on behalf of Jesus in signs, wonders and miracles (Jhn 14:12) (Erickson, 1992).

The Bible teaches that evil spirits exist and can influence people's lives. The evil spirits are part of the angels that were cast out of heaven together with Satan (Re 12:9). Like Satan, they were perfect when created but became wicked after the fall (Ezek 28:15-17 & Isa 14: 12-14). The Apostle Paul refers to them as "Principalities", "powers", "rulers of darkness of this age" and "spiritual host of wickedness in heavenly places" (Phil 6:10-18). Jesus taught that these unclean spirits can posses people (Matt 12:43-45 & Mk 5:1-19). Christians believe that a person can be possessed by evil spirits when they get involved in sin (1 Jhn 3:8), unbelief (2 Cor 4:3-4), reject the truth (2 Thess 2:10) and participate in satanic rituals. However, Christianity teaches that that Jesus has power over evil spirits (Mk 1:23-27) and also a believer who has been endwelled by the Holy Spirit of God (Erickson, 1992).

In light of the discussions above, although there is one similarity between the Pokot and Christian concepts about the spiritual beings, there are also some disparities. The similarity is that both believe in the existence of good and evil spirits. In contrast, while

the Pokot believe that humans operate under the influence and authority of spiritual beings and have to offer sacrifices to them; Christianity teaches that a believer who has been indwelled by the Holy Spirit has authority and power over all the evil spirits. In this regard, it was not easy for the Pokot to comprehend this and therefore it affected their receptivity of Christianity. Blaschke states that:

> To put the Gospel presentation in context we would first do well to recall the animist's dilemma. Animists are in daily struggle with spirit beings. By the use of rites, rituals and liturgies, animists cajole, appease, placate and manipulate these spirit forces for empowerment to try to gain control of all aspects of their daily lives (2004, p. 77).

4.4 Effect of the Pokot Concepts of Death and Eternity

According to Mr Kerker from Tilak village (interviewed on 20th January 2016), the idea of life after death is central in the traditional Pokot worldview. The Pokot see death as an experience of transcending into the realm of the ancestors, which they regard as a higher realm than the physical realm. The Pokot believe that although death is frightening and inevitable, it does not terminate human existence for it is merely a moment of passage to the hereafter. They believe that death is not an end of life but the beginning of a continuation of it in the hereafter. This is the reason why the Pokot celebrate it with rites of passage. The Pokot believe that at death, the spirit of the deceased stays around the family household to pester and admonish the living members of the family until rituals are performed to please it to move to the resting place of the ancestors.

Mrs Ywapaa from Tilak village (interviewed on 22nd January 2016), says that burial rites are very important in the Pokot community because they are a preparation for the life

hereafter, and therefore the spirits of the deceased that are not accorded descent burial and rites of passage en up becoming evil wondering spirits because they were not admitted in the resting place of the ancestors. They believe that such spirits wonder in the physical realm aimlessly and wreck havoc on members of their family.

The Pokot believe in the re-incarnation of the good people after death. They believe that this takes place by naming a new born baby after the deceased. They believe that in this way, the deceased is reborn in the new born baby. However, the wicked are not re-incarnated by not being named after. The Pokot believe that doing will make the wicked person's cycle of life to be interrupted and hence not re-incarnated. The Pokot do not believe too in punishment or reward after death (Mr Shakin, interviewed on 19th November 2015).

According to the teachings of Christianity, death is the separation of the soul from the body. Christians believe in judgement and reward after death. This will take place after the resurrection, both the righteous and the wicked and their appearance in the presence of God in the day of judgement (justice) to give an account for their decisions and actions while on earth. This will be a day when all people (the righteous and the wicked) will be rewarded for what they did while in the body. The judgement day will come after the second coming of Christ and the resurrection of dead (both the wicked and righteous).

The Christians also believe that after judgement, the wicked will be cast to hell (a literal lake of fire) to experience the horror of everlasting torment for their wickedness. However, the righteous will inherit the new earth and will reign in it with God (Wright, 2006).

In light of the discussions above, despite the fact that the similarity between the Pokot and Christian concepts of death and eternity is that they both believe in life after death, the disparity is that they disagree in the concept of rewards and Judgement after death. This disparity affected the Pokot's receptivity of Christianity.

4.5 Effect of the Pokot Concept of Leadership and Authority

According to Mr Shakin from Sisak village (interviewed on 19th November 2015), the Pokot community is a patriarchal society where *Poi (*men) are the bearers of authority and societal leadership. Men have in this community the responsibility of communicating the tribal lore (wisdom, tradition, teachings, knowledge and experience). Women and the youth don't hold any position of leadership in the Pokot community because this is a preserve the men.

The highest position of leadership in the leadership structure in the Pokot community is held by *Werkoi* (prophets). However, the prophets are not many in the Pokot community at any one given time. *Werkoi* foresee the future by the means of dreams. Those who come second after *Werkoi* in the hierarchy of leadership in the Pokot community are the *Kiruokin* (community elders). These are old men who are selected by other elders and are known for their wisdom and skills. *Kiruokin* have the responsibility of making decisions for the community, arbitrating conflicts and punishing the members of the community who commit crimes. This social organization enables the members of the Pokot community to co-exist peacefully.

According to Tittemore (2003) Christianity teaches that leadership is servanthood (Mk 10:42-45). Legitimate leaders are given the right to lead and direct others by God.

Authority comes from God and is delegated to the leaders for the good of the people and the church. Christians believe that real authority has its origin in God. This means that God gives and also removes authority. They believe that since leadership is a delegated authority, it demands accountability. This applies to leaders both in the secular and spiritual environments (Rom 13:1-5). Christianity teaches that leaders who operate within their legitimate sphere should be respected (1 Cor 16:15-18 & 1 Thess 5:12-13).

Christians believe too that leadership flows from the anointing of the Holy Spirit as God brings forth his gifts through various people (both men and women). This means that although leadership is primarily assumed to be man's responsibility, women too can receive the anointing of leadership and authority from the Holy Spirit to conduct powerful and effective ministries in the church (Acts 21:8-9, Titus 2:3-5, & Rom 16:1-2) (Tittemore, 2003).

In light of the discussions above, there is a big disparity between the Pokot and the Christian concepts of leadership and authority. For instance, since the Pokot community is a patriarchal society, leadership and authority is a preserve of men. In contrast, leadership and authority in Christianity is servant hood and is a responsibility delegated to leaders by God through the Holy Spirit. Therefore, according to Christianity, both men and women can become leaders because it is a delegation from God. This disparity in the concepts of leadership and authority affected the Pokot's receptivity of Christianity.

4.6 Effect of the Pokot Concept of Economics

Mr Kapkai of Asar village (interviewed on 13th November 2015), says that the Pokot revere and even idolize their cattle because it is fundamental to their survival and is a source of all their economic and social life. This is the reason why they improvise songs to extol the size, colour, shape and even the horns of their prized oxen. The Pokot believe that livestock is the most precious inheritance that they were given by *Tororut* (god the creator).

Pastor Micha (interviewed on 17th January 2016) says that the Pokot believe that possessing a large number of cattle is not only a sign of success and prestige but also makes a person morally pure. This is the reason why the main economic activity of the Pokot is pastoralism, supplemented by subsistence farming, bee keeping and hunting. Livestock is very important to them because their economic life is based upon herding. In this regard, anybody who attempts to diminish the importance of cattle is strongly resisted and is regarded as a threat to their survival and self image. Schneider (1959) says:

> In 1930, the British colonial government undertook economic reforms in West Pokot County because of a desire to raise the standard of living of the people and to increase the Pokot contribution to the economy of Kenya. But because of the conflict of cultural values and lack of understanding of pastoralism, this endeavour met a lot of resistance since the British government criticised the Pokot economic practices throughout their early years of contact with the Pokot. For example, Barton (the DC) commented in 1920 that the Pokot were not much interested in adding maize in their crops. In 1926, another DC described Pokot as a very lazy tribe that cannot attempt to increase their cultivation by growing better crops. These two didn't understand that this resistance stemmed from the fact that the Pokot had a different concept about economy from theirs. Even the economic reform began by G. H. Chaundy, the principal of the government school at kapenguria from 1930-1943 was resisted because of this. In his attempt to transform the Pokot economically, G.H. Chaundy instituted a curriculum at this

school that was heavily based toward good farming techniques in the hope that the pupils will disseminate the knowledge they gained, but he did not succeed. He hoped to induce the Pokot to leave their pastoral life, as he established demonstration plots throughout the reserve in order to show them the advantage of diversifying their crops and to give them the experience in handling new crops, including cassava, cashews, tomatoes, potatoes, bananas, pawpaw, beans, oranges, lemons, sugar cane and peppers but he failed (p. 155).

The value the Pokot attach to cattle has made the accumulation of it to be their chief pursuit in life. They are ready to even endanger their lives by raiding the neighboring communities in order to accumulate it. They seek to acquire a large number of cattle because of its subsistence, ritual and prestige value. This overdependence on cattle has made the Pokot to not only view marriage as a means of procreation, but also as an economic booster since dowry is transacted in terms of livestock (Mr Kapkai, interviewed on 13th November 2015).

In light of the discussion above, the Pokot concept of economics, and more especially their overdependence on cattle affected the spread of Christianity among them in the following two ways: One, it has made the Pokot to extol, revere and idolize (worship) cattle, a practice which Christianity regards as idolatry. Two, it has led to violent cattle raids and bloody confrontations between the Pokot and her neighbours due competition over resources like water and pasture. These conflicts have undermined peace in the region and hence affected not only the spread of Christianity but also development in the region.

4.7 Effect of the Pokot Concept of Marriage

Marriage in the Pokot community is potentially polygamous and is an institution initiated by the alliance between the kin groups of the girl and the boy and is sealed by the payment of dowry. Those who participate in the dowry negotiations are the older kin of the boy and the girl. The negotiations can sometimes take several years, even without the consent of the boy and the girl. Sexual satisfaction in marriage is the background of marriage in the Pokot community. Thus, marital partners have a right to expect full sexual pleasure from their partners. But if the partner is unable to fulfill this, the community is always ready to apply sanctions on them or even allow the marriage to be dissolved. But besides sexual satisfaction, is the desire to get children (Conant, 1965).

Mr Walkoi from Kosulol village (interviewed on 13th November 2015) says marriage to the Pokot is an institution initiated by the alliance between kin groups and is negotiated and contracted by the payment of dowry. It is therefore not an individual affair based on an individual's liking or love but rather a community affair. In light of this, it is possible that despite the many years of courtship, a girls and a boys can end up not marrying his/her preferred choice unless he/she gets the approval of the parents. In most cases, the Pokot fathers only allow their daughters to be married to men who are able to pay the highest dowry. However, if the ability of all the suitors to pay dowry is the same, the father of the girl will allow the daughter to choose whoever she wants to be married to. But if a boy or a man impregnates a girl and the parents of the girl refuse to give their daughter to him for marriage, the family performs *Achula* (fine of cows).

According to a female diviner (name withheld) from Karapogh village (interviewed on 1st December 2015), dowry negotiations can sometimes take several years. Those who are

involved in the dowry negotiations are normally the older kins of the boy and the girl. They can sometimes undertake marital arrangements without the consent of the boy or the girl. Due to this, sometimes girls find themselves getting married to strangers, old men or even men who have several wives.

Edgerton and Conant (1964) state that the Pokot community uses *Kilapat* to handle marital problems. *Kilapat* is used to punish erring marital partners. Although men sometimes use *Kilapat* to shame their erring wives, this institution is used mostly by women than men. Sometimes, a woman can cooperate with other women in the neighbourhood to administer *Kilapat* on the co- wife if she monopolizes their husband's sexual attention. But men on the other hand can organize *Kilapat* with the help of other men to shame adulterous wives. They can administer this punishment by beating or even defiling the culprits. As a corrective technique for marital misbehavior, *Kilapat* conveys the following message: "Break such one rule, and we shall break all the rules to punish you!"

According to Rubio (2003), Christianity teaches that marriage is God's idea and is a state instituted by God for the life long relationship between one man as a husband, and one woman as a wife. Christians believe that marriage is the most intimate of all human relationships, and is a gift from God and a sacred institution. They believe that marriage is sacred and central to the community of faith. The primary purpose of marriage is ultimate companionship, rearing of children and mutual support for both the husband and the wife to fulfill their life calling.

Steil (1997) states that Christians believe that marriage was established to provide the husband and the wife partnership, spiritual intimacy and the ability to pursue God together. It is the firmest foundation for building a family since it mirrors God's covenant relationship with his people. This is the reason why Jesus refers to himself as the bridegroom and the Kingdom of God as a wedding banquet. The scriptures also state that marriage was ordained by God and is part of his original design for man and woman because it foreshadows their eternal relationship with him. The basic requirements for marriage include mutual consent before getting married and faithfulness to each other after marriage till death. Although Christians honour marriage, they do not regard it as for everyone.

In light of the discussions above, there is a big disparity between the Pokot and the Christian concepts of marriage. For instance, while marriage in the Pokot community is a community affair and is polygamous, in contrast, it is monogamous and a personal affair in Christianity. This disparity affected the Pokot's receptivity of Christianity.

4.8 Turning Point in the Evangelization of the Pokot

The turning point in the evangelization of the Pokot was brought about by the Pokot graduates of the missionary schools and colleges. After acquiring Western education and and converting to Christianity, they experienced a change of worldview and began to propagate Christianity in their community (Pastor Micha, interviewed on 17th January 2016).

According to Kraft (1995), although worldview conserves the old ways and is resistant to change, it can be changed gradually by the means of forced behavioural change from

136

outside and exposure to new information. This is exactly what happened to the Pokot youths who had graduated from missionary schools and colleges. The constant exposure to new information that they had been exposed to made them to re-evaluate their traditional concepts and values, and they eventually embraced change.

This was made possible because in the mission schools and colleges, the Pokot youths were not only taught reading, writing, arithmetic and life skills, but also Christian education. Consequently, they acquired not only new skills, but also converted to Christianity. The knowledge and the skills they acquired in these missionary schools and colleges enabled them to secure employment in secular organizations as teachers, doctors, nurses, agricultural officers and some became priests. The Western Chistian missionaries used them wherever they were posted to advance the missionary agenda in West Pokot County. This is the reason why most of the schools and colleges in West Pokot County before and after independence of Kenya are under the management of Christian denominations (Pastor Micha, interviewed on 17th January 2016).

According to Rev Ng'aritany of ACK (interviewed on 19th jaury 2016), the turning point in the evangelization of the Pokot of West Pokot County happened in 1970 during the time of the East African Revival movement. It was from this year that the denominations that were doing mission work in West Pokot County began to experience some breakthrough. Shingledecker et al (1982) agrees with this fact:

> Some significant response to Christianity began in the early 1960's through the effect of the East African Revival Movement, but the Church among the Pokot has only really begun to establish itself since 1970. Many new denominations have begun to work among the Pokot within the last decade. With increasing pressure for development and modernization, the traditional Pokot way of life is

breaking down and the people are becoming open to new ideas, including Christianity (p. 18).

In light of the information above, the turning point in the evangelization of the Pokot was initiated by the Pokot youths who were the graduates of the missionary schools and colleges and the East African revival of the 1970s. From 1970, the Pokot began to open up to new ideas including Christianity. However, this transformation is minimal as compared to what is happening in other communities in the the Republic of Kenya.

4.9 Summary

The traditional Pokot worldview has affected the spread of Christianity among the Pokot people of West Pokot County. The disparities in the Pokot and Christian concepts about God, spirits, man, marriage, sin, salvation, sacrifices, leadership and authority, death and eternity, among others made the bulk of the Pokot, especially the elderly to resist Christianity.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENEDATIONS

This chapter contains the summary of the study findings in relation to the data collected. The conclusions and the recommendations are drawn from the study findings in order to address the study objectives. The purpose of the study was to establish the effect of the traditional Pokot worldview on the spread of Christianity among the Pokot of West Pokot County. A descriptive survey design was used in the study. The study used self-administered questionnaires and oral interviews to collect primary data from the selected respondents, and several library books were reviewed to collect secondary data. The purposive, snowball and simple random sampling methods were used to select five hundred and twenty eight respondents that provided data for this study. The respondents who did not respond were randomly replaced, indicating a response turn up of 100%. The selected respondents were of different educational levels, and therefore oral interviews were conducted in Pokot language for the illiterate respondents with the help of the five Pokot research assistants, while the literate respondents were given questionnaires to fill. The ages of the respondents were classified according to the following age brackets: 19-30, 31-42, 43-54 and above 55 years. By coincidence, the majority of the respondents in this study were above 54 years. Both male and female respondents were involved, with more males (57.9%) than females (42.9%). This was due to the fact that during the sampling stage, more men were willing to respond than women.

5. 1 Summary of Findings

The findings of this study were derived from the data collected. First and foremost, this study established that the Pokot community is a patriarchal society where men are the bearers of authority and societal leadership. The Pokot educational system is family centered whereby adults (both male and female) and *Kiruokin* (community elders) formally and informally pass unto the young people skills and knowledge that are relevant to all aspects of life. The highest position of leadership in the Pokot community is held by *Werkoi* (prophets), followed by *Kiruokin* (community elders). The main economic activity of the Pokot is herding supplemented with farming, bee keeping and hunting. The Pokot value cattle so much because they believe that it's the most precious heritage they were given by *Tororut* (god the creator). This is the reason why they revere and extol their cattle.

The Pokot believe in the existence of three gods (*Tororut, Asis and Ilat)* and several spiritual beings. Adulthood is achieved in this community by undergoing initiation rites, the most notable ones being *Mutat* (circumcision for boys and clictoridectomy for girls) and *Sapana* (spearing of the bull by circumcised men). The Pokot don't have the concept of sin but of the permitted and the forbidden. A person is considered to be wicked in this community when they commit that which against their customs and the requirements of the spiritual world. Marriage in the Pokot community is an institution initiated by the alliance between kin groups of the boy and the girl, and is sealed by the payment of dowry. The Pokot have several intermediaries between the humans and spiritual beings. This study established that the Pokot are very acculturated and conservative to their

traditional beliefs and practices (traditional worldview) and are tightly bonded together by their traditional customs and values. In this regard, they prefer their traditional lifestyle to modern amenities provided by the Western lifestyle.

Secondly, this study found out that the first mission work was established in West Pokot County by the Anglicans (BCMS) in 1931 at Kacheliba but later relocated to Nasokol due to climatic challenges. In the following years, other denominations joined the Anglicans in the evangelization of the Pokot. The strategies these denominations used to evangelize the Pokot included the proclamation of the Gospel, instruction of new converts, establishment of schools and colleges, industrial training, addressing special needs and the placement of resident missionaries in the mission stations. Despite the persistent efforts by these denominations to transform the Pokot using the strategies mentioned above, they met resistance and non response from the Pokot. However, the turning point in the evangelization of the Pokot was brought about by the Pokot youths who were graduates of missionary schools and colleges. After acquiring Western education and converting to Christianity, they had a change of worldview and began to propagate Christianity in their community.

Thirdly, this study established that the disparities between the traditional Pokot and Christian worldviews affected the Pokot's receptivity of Christianity. The traditional Pokot and Christian worldviews differ in the following ways: One, The Pokot believe in polytheism (in three gods), that man is subject to the influence and authority of spirits and that the universe is twofold (earth and sky). In contrast, Christians believe in monotheism

(in one absolute and eternal God), that a believer who is indwelled by the Holy Spirit has authority and power over spirits and that the universe is threefold (earth, heaven and hell). Two, the Pokot believe that people are morally upright as long as they don't commit that which offends their customs and the requirements of the spiritual world, that sacrifices have to be performed to the gods and spirits to invoke them to favour people and to deliver them from wicked spiritual powers. In contrast, Christians believe that man was born a sinner and that Jesus Christ's death was the propiation for man's sins. Three, the purpose for the traditional Pokot educational system was to make the recipients to become functional members of the community by integrating them in the society. In contrast, the purpose for the Western system of education was to civilize and train the recipients in order for them order to advance the missionary agenda. They used formal institutions like boarding schools and colleges which alienated the recipients from their communities.

Four, the Pokot believe in the re-incarnation after death, and that there will be no judgement and rewards after death. In contrast, the Christians believe in the resurrection (of both the righteous and wicked) and that there will be judgement and rewards after death. Five, Leadership and authority in the Pokot Community is the preserve of only men. In contrast, Christians believe that leadership is servanthood and is a responsibility delegated to the leaders (men and women) by God through the Holy Spirit. Lastly, the overdependence of the Pokot on cattle as their main economic activity has made them to extol, revere and idolize cattle, a practice Christianity regards as idolatry. Also, this has resulted into violent cattle raids and bloody confrontations between them and their

neighbours due to competition over resources such as water and pasture. This has consequently undermined peace, development and the spread of Christianity in the region.

5.2 Conclusions

Despite the persistent efforts by several Christian denominations to transform the Pokot community using the provision of alternative belief systems (evangelism), education, medical services and other development initiatives since 1931 to date, the disparities between the traditional Pokot and Christian worldviews affected the Pokot's receptivity of the Gospel.

5.3 Recommendations

In light of the study conclusions, the following recommendation is made: There is need for the Christian denominations doing mission work among the Pokot in West Pokot County to contextualize the Gospel by presenting it in light of the Pokot culture and traditional worldview (way of life). This can be achieved by involving the Pokot in decision making and in the establishment of Christian programs that are culturally relevant to them and which are geared towards addressing the needs perceived them (Pokot).

5.4 Suggestions for further Research

This study recommends that:

 i) A study should be carried out to establish the influence of Christianity on the lives of the Pokot. It is important to do this in order to establish whether the Christian

missionaries achieved their objective in the evangelization of the Pokot. This could not be covered in this study due to the enormity of the work and the constraints of time and resources.

ii) A similar study should be carried out about the ways to contextualize the Gospel. It is important to do this in order to make the Gospel culturally relevant to the targeted people and to address the needs perceived by them. This could not be covered in this study due to the enormity of the work and the constraints of time and resources.

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APPENDICES

APENDIX 1: LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

Dear friends,

I am doing a research on the *"The Effect of the Traditional Pokot worldview on the spread of Christianity among the Pokot."* I therefore kindly request you to respond faithfully and truthfully to the questions contained in the attached questionnaire, so that I might be able to get your honest responses concerning the subject of the study. Note that the information you shall provide will strictly be treated confidentially and will only be used for the purpose of this study.

Yours faithfully

Tom Keiyo Ngeiywo

APPENDIX II: RESEARCH QUESTIONNARE FOR POKOT ELDERS (PEQ).

Personal Data

Please tick ( ) where applicable.

Where an explanation is required, use the space provided.

1) Gender:

Male   ( )

Female ( )

2) Age:

19-30 yrs   ( )

31-42 yrs   ( )

43-54 yrs   ( )

55 yrs and above   ( )

3) Clan and totem..

4) Age set..

5) Occupation..

6) Academic qualifications:

Degree   ( )

 Diploma   ( )

Certificate   ( )

KCSE   ( )

KCPE   ( )

None   ( )

7) Are you married?

      Yes   ( )

       No   ( )

      If yes, for how long have you been in marriage?

      1-5 yrs   (   )

       6-10 yrs (   )

      Over 10 yrs (   )

8) Do you understand the history and the social, economic and political organization of the Pokot people?

      Yes   ( )

      No   ( )

      If yes, explain.

      ....

      ....

9) Do you understand the Pokot traditional beliefs and practices?

      Yes ( )

      No ( )

      If yes, explain.

      ……………………………………………………………………………………………

      ……………………………………………………………………………………………

      ……………………………………………………………………………………………

10) Have the Pokot traditional beliefs and practices affected the spread of Christianity among the Pokot of West Pokot County?

      Yes ( )

      No ( )

      If yes, explain.

      ……………………………………………………………………………………………

      ……………………………………………………………………………………………

      ……………………………………………………………………………………………

      ……………………………………………………………………………………………

      Thank you for answering the questions.

APPENDIX III: RESEARCH QUESTIONNARE FOR POKOT SPECIALISTS (PSQ).

Personal Data

Please tick ( ) where applicable.

Where an explanation is required, use the space provided.

1) Gender:

Male   ( )

Female ( )

2) Age:

19-30 yrs ( )

31-42 yrs ( )

43-54 yrs ( )

55 yrs and above ( )

3) Clan and totem..

4) Age set..

5) Traditional office held..

6) Occupation..

7) Academic qualifications:

Degree ( )

Diploma ( )

Certificate ( )

KCSE ( )

KCPE ( )

None ( )

8) Are you married?

Yes ( )

No ( )

If yes, for how long have you been in marriage?

1-5 yrs ( )

6-10 yrs ( )

Over 10 yrs ( )

9) Do you understand the history and the social, economic and political organization of the Pokot?

Yes ( )

No ( )

If yes, explain.

....

....

....

10) Do you understand the Pokot traditional beliefs and practices?

Yes ( )

No ( )

If yes, explain.

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

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………………………………………………………………………………………………………

11) Have the Pokot traditional beliefs and practices affected the spread of Christianity among the Pokot of West Pokot County?

    Yes ( )

    No ( )

    If yes, explain.

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………

Thank you for answering the questions.

APPENDIX IV: RESEARCH QUESTIONNARE FOR THE POKOT COMMUNITY MEMBERS (PCMQ)

Personal Data

Please tick ( ) where applicable.

Where an explanation is required, use the space provided.

1) Gender:

   Male ( )

   Female ( )

2) Age:

   19-30 yrs ( )

   31-42 yrs ( )

   43-54 yrs ( )

   55 yrs and above ( )

3) Clan and totem...

4) Age set..

5) Occupation..

6) Academic qualifications:

Degree ( )

Diploma ( )

Certificate ( )

KCSE ( )

KCPE ( )

None ( )

7) Are you married?

Yes ( )

No ( )

If yes, for how long have you been in marriage?

1-5 yrs ( )

6-10 yrs ( )

Over 10 yrs ( )

8) Do you understand the history and the social, economic and political organization of the Pokot?

Yes ( )

No ( )

If yes, explain

....

....

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....

....

9) Do you understand the Pokot traditional beliefs and practices?

Yes ( )

No ( )

If yes, explain.

……………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………

10) Have the Pokot traditional beliefs and practices affected the spread of Christianity among the Pokot of West Pokot County?

Yes ( )

No ( )

If yes, explain.

………

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………

Thank you for answering the questions.

APPENDIX V: RESEARCH QUESTIONNARE FOR THE CLERGY (CQ)

Personal Data

Please tick ( ) where applicable.

Where an explanation is required, use the space provided.

1. Gender:

    Male ( )

    Female ( )

2. Age:

    19-30 yrs ( )

    31-42 yrs ( )

    43-54 yrs ( )

    55 yrs and above ( )

3. Academic qualifications:

    Degree ( )

    Diploma ( )

    Certificate ( )

    KCSE ( )

KCPE ( )

None ( )

4. Are you married?

Yes ( )

No ( )

If yes, for how long have you been in marriage?

1-5 yrs ( )

6-10 yrs ( )

Over 10 yrs ( )

5. For how long have you been a clergy?

1 – 5yrs ( )

6 – 10yrs ( )

Over 10yrs ( )

6. For how long have you lived in West Pokot County?

1– 5yrs ( )

6 – 10yrs ( )

10 yrs and above ( )

7. Do you understand the history and the social, economic and political organization of the Pokot?

       Yes ( )

       No ( )

If yes, explain

....

....

....

....

8. Do you understand the Pokot traditional beliefs and practices?

       Yes ( )

       No ( )

If yes, explain.

……………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………

9. Did your denomination use any strategies to evangelize the Pokot?

       Yes ( )

       No ( )

If yes, explain.

....

....

....

....

10) Have the Pokot traditional beliefs and practices affected the spread of Christianity among the Pokot in West Pokot County?

Yes ( )

No ( )

Please explain.

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………

Thank you very much for taking time to respond to this questionnaire

APPENDIX VI: LIST OF KEY RESPONDENTS WHO DID NOT ASK FOR ANONYMITY

NAME	AGE	TOTEM	VILLAGE	DIVISION	DATE
Pkanan Alfred	30	Eagle	Tilak	Kapenguria	05/11/2015
Kedesia Pkiech	70	Frog	Lounon	Chepareria	11/11/2015
Chepellion Pius	45	Baboon	Simat	Sook	11/11/2015
Lempong Kokwo	59	Elephant	Murpus	Chepareria	13/11/2015
Walkoi Kotoroi	92	Raven	Kosulol	Chepareria	13/11/2015
Kapkai Pkopus	55	Lion	Asar	Sigor	13/11/2015
Reverend Kitale Samwel	40	Monkey	Karon	Kacheliba	13/11/2015
Komolkat Lokwow	70	Monkey	Kasongwor	Chepareria	14/11/2015
Reverend Rong Clement	52	Buffalo	Ortum	Sigor	14/11/2015
Kitelongar Pelpan	66	Baboon	Ywalaateke	Chepareria	15/11/2015
Shakin Lopetapok	73	Hyena	Sisak	Alale	16/11/2015
Naset Chepkite	80	Eagle	Sisak	Alale	18/11/2015
Kodoo Pkumun	65	Sun	Sisak	Alale	18/11/2015
Reverend Tudo Francis	52	Eagle	Simat	Sook	16/12/2015
Loyoro Chepkorir	49	Snake	Tilak	Kapenguria	05/01/2016
Limakol Lomuket	93	Thunder	Chesarom	Lelan	08/01/2016
Lotiama Alfanzi	54	Buffalo	Kapsepai	Lelan	09/01/2016

Lomwai Loitasiwa	88	Sun	Tilak	Kapenguria	06/01/2016
Meriakol Ptiyos	42	Baboon	Kalotwari	Lelan	01/01/2016
Cheyech Monicah	40	Buffalo	Tilak	Kapenguria	04/01/2016
Limanyang Loporna	89	Hyena	Lain	Lelan	05/01/2016
Lopima Ken	39	Monkey	Endugh	Lelan	06/01/2016
Lomwai Loitasiwa	88	Eagle	Tilak	Kapenguria	06/01/2016
Reverend Ngaritany Jackson	45	Eagle	Murkwijit	Kapenguria	11/01/2016
Pastor Kaprich Julius	44	Eagle	Makutano	Kapenguria	12/01/2016
Reverend Kapelo Paul	65	Thunder	Siyoi	Kapenguria	14/01/2016
Reverend Mali John	56	Eagle	Keringet	Kapenguria	15/01/2016
Lokudia John	52	Thunder	Murpus	Chepareria	15/01/2016
Aker Pterit	51	Sun	Karon	Kacheliba	16/11/2015
Pastor Micha Samwel	48	Snake	Bendera	Kapenguria	17/01/2016
Ngoriareng Philip	63	Sun	Karas	Kapenguria	19/01/2016
Kiara Lokwapus	79	Monkey	Tilak	Kapenguria	19/01/2016
Kerker Lokukai	90	Elephant	Tilak	Kapenguria	20/01/2016