THERESA SCHALLER | RUTH WÜRZLE

Mobile Schools

Pastoralism | Ladders of Learning | Teacher Education

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Preface – Why Do We Ask Questions?

Why do more than 60 million children and youths do not attend school (UN 2019)? The answer is clear. They are exposed to armed conflicts, climatic and environmental challenges, precarious economic conditions, and child labour. Why are there still no sustainable educational solutions for these children and youths on the move? The answer is more complex. When education providers want to treat and organise everything and everyone equally, they are not oriented towards the basic needs and necessities of people in seemingly invincible life situations. When we take a close look at the cultural and social needs within the individual life situations of children and youths, we come across unexpected resources these special life situations entail for a sustainable future.

We like to ask questions. We enjoy asking Daasanach pastoralists out in the remote and dry savannah of Northern Kenya about their families, livestock, their culture, their living conditions, their dreams, and visions. At the same time, we continuously question the approaches of the Illeret Nomadic Education System (INES) and our role and work in it. Likewise, people like to question us. They want to know whether we act in accordance with the Daasanachs' wishes regarding education. They question how Daasanach women, men, and children envision their future and whether the planned mobile schools will support them in their vision. They ask why a non-governmental organisation like the Benedictine Fathers in Illeret has taken over a service, which is actually a governmental task. The primary question behind all the question remains: who has the right, the responsibility, the capacity, and the will to provide basic education to one of the most marginalized children in the world?

We do not claim to have found the answers to all these questions. Most of the solutions, which we present here, were developed in a long process of trial and error and sure enough, there are other innovative approaches to the education provision of mobile pastoralist. Nonetheless, after several requests from Daasanach pastoralists for an alternative educational system INES was started in 2014 by Father Florian OSB, who has been active as a Benedictine missionary in Kenya since 1984. The vision evolved in long talks with the Daasanach themselves. Daasanach pastoralist children live and shift with their mobile families, support the pastoralist production team, and participate in educational activities in so-called mobile schools with ladders of learning. The long term vision is that Daasanach men and women, who are mobile pastoralists themselves, visit the mobile teacher education programme of INES, gradually building up their school offer of various subject ladders of learning and thus support individualized learning in multi-age and multi-level learning groups.

We have had the incredible privilege to be part of the INES project implementation team from the beginning. We are grateful for the diverse group of partners, supporters, and colleagues, with whom we develop questions and seek answers.

In the course of our work within the INES project, as well as in the process of writing this book, we greatly benefitted from the action research done in India and Germany but most importantly from the intense dialogues with our Kenyan partners, German colleagues, and the RIVER team in India. At this point, we would like to particularly thank Father Florian OSB, the founder of the INES project, who invited us into the project as expatriate co-workers and consultants. We thank Edwin K. Changamu, the devoted pedagogical manager of INES and the small project implementation team of INES. Our thanks also go to Dr. Thomas Müller, associate professor from the University of Würzburg, who supported us in the process of writing this book as well as Sara Schuster for her language support.

Dear reader, we hope that this book will challenge you to remain open to questions and innovations regarding education provision and we hope you will enjoy reading about some of our most precious moments in Northern Kenya.

Introduction

Education provision for mobile pastoralists remains a difficult and emotive issue. Because the children of mobile pastoralist are involved in the economic production from an early age to contribute to their livelihood and because the pastoralist families have to stay on the move to find suitable grasslands and water points, there is hardly any time for the children to regularly attend fixed schools in settlements. With the infrastructure in Northern Kenya and the current school system, Daasanach pastoralist are therefore faced with a difficult choice: The first possibility is they give up their livelihood as mobile pastoralists, settle in a town and send their children to fixed schools. This is only possible if the parents generate an alternative income. The second possibility is to send their children to distant boarding schools where the children eventually lose touch with pastoralism and the sustainable lifestyle of millions of people eventually dies out. The third, and most common, choice is not providing their children access to formal education altogether.

For this reason, this book not only deals with the necessity but also the development of a mobile school system for Daasanach pastoralists in Northern Kenya. The publication gives a practical insight into the INES project of the Benedictine Fathers (Illeret Nomadic Education System), which offers Daasanach pastoralists in Northern Kenya access to alternative basic education through mobile schools, taking into account their livelihood of mobile livestock production. In order to implement this extensive pilot project, an innovative mobile school system with its own local learning material development and a teacher education centre for Daasanach pastoralists is being developed.

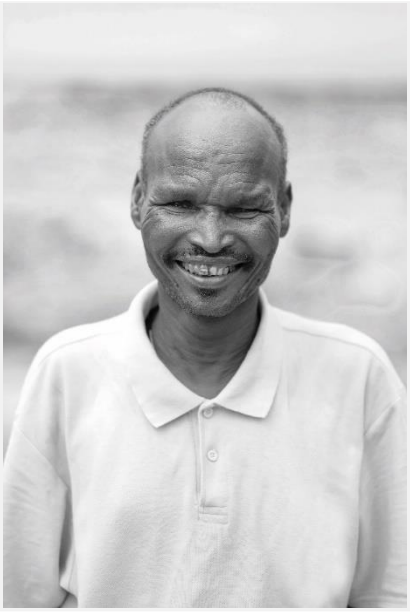
As you move through the three parts of this book, you will notice different writing styles and approaches to the title questions. On the one hand, this shift derives from the specialist fields of cultural, psychological and pedagogical studies. On the other hand, we want to provide a practical example of school development cooperation supported by technical literature. At the end of some chapters, we attached personal notes in which we want to share some of our thoughts and the most precious experiences we were able to make.

We would like to invite our readers to start by understanding the living conditions of the mobile Daasanach pastoralists in Northern Kenya (chapter 1) and why education provision for pastoralist groups is difficult (chapter 2). In chapter 3, we present selected international approaches to pastoralist education and outline which lessons the INES project learned from these school development projects. In chapter 4, we summarize the perspectives and dreams of Daasanach women, men and children regarding learning, teaching and schooling, which, we believe, to be fundamental in partnership-oriented development cooperation. If you may, this first part of the book provides the (problem) analysis of this international cooperation project.

In the second part of the book, we want to give an insight into our understanding of development and conceptual plans of the INES project of the Benedictine Fathers Illeret. We shortly approach the term development from a psychological and pedagogical point of view (chapter 5) and challenge the concept, idea and principles of international (development) cooperation (chapter 6). Chapter 7 provides an overview of the INES project, with forces, actors, partners, vision, mission and strategies.

The third part of this book gives a practical insight into the different working fields of INES – mainly learning material development and teacher education – with cross-references to technical literature and related projects. In chapter 8, we provide the pedagogical concept of the mobile school system with its ladders of learning, its Indian origin of the MultiGradeMulitLevel-Methodology and the Kenyan adaption. Chapter 9 focuses on the importance of the cultural context for the development of learning materials. This is exemplified with the Introduction ladder of learning of INES. Chapter 10 describes how learners move independently in the complex arrangement of the Daasanach ladder of learning. In chapter 11, the focus lies on Mathematics and our readers learn how whole subject ladders of learning with its learning materials for several grades are developed, based on the Kenyan curriculum and with regard to the cultural characteristics of the local Daasanach. How the modularized teacher education system works practically with mobile pastoralists is presented in chapter 12. Finally, we invite the readers to close with a brief description of the excellent pedagogical work we believe to see with Daasanach pastoralists, who offer girls and boys in their mobile stock camps access to alternative basic education.

Part I Daasanach Pastoralists and Education Provision



Daasanach like to keep their traditions.

Paul Gosh Kwanjang‘, Daasanach elder and linguistist

1. How Do Daasanach Pastoralists Live?

The Daasanach belong to one of the smallest and most marginalized language communities in Kenya (Tosco 2001).[1] Until the late 1970s, the Daasanach were unknown from an ethnographic point of view, as well as, linguistically. Only a handful of anthropological and linguistic studies were published in the 1980s and 2000s. The partial information on the Daasanach life, language and social organisation provided in the following chapters are mainly based on personal experiences of the authors and their interviews with local Daasanach in Northern Kenya. Cross references to other authors and scientists who studied the Daasanach people in Ethiopia reveal further interesting facts about the language, social life and economy.[2]

Fig. 1.1: Joshua Esho with his wife in traditional dress with two of their daughters at the *'dimi* celebration (Source: Ruth Würzle).

1 In literature, different spellings can be found for Daasanach, e.g. Dhaasanach, Dassanetch or Dasenech.

2 There are a handful of papers and monographs by Claudia Carr (1977), Uri Almagor (1972, 1978), Mauro Tosco (2001) and Peggy Elfmann (2005) who studied the Daasanach mainly in Ethiopia.

1.1 Homeland Area

Numbers. Mobile pastoralists (nomadic herders) make up several tens of millions of people, mainly in Africa, the Middle East, South, South-West and Central Asia. Official figures for Africa vary but a conservative estimate by the International Institute for Environment and Development is approximately 50 million mobile pastoralists in the drylands across the continent (Car-Hill & Peart 2005). The arid and semi-arid lands of Northern Kenya cover more than half of the country and is home to 2.5 million pastoralists with eight different language groups. As with many mobile pastoralists, the Daasanach are a cross-border language group. Most of the Daasanach live in southwest Ethiopia (38,000 in 2010). In Kenya, they make up one of the smallest pastoralist language groups with an estimated 9,000 (2010) pastoralists in the remote region of Marsabit County at the northeastern shore of Lake Turkana and the area around Illeret (Lewis 2009).[3]

Fig. 1.2: Journey from Nairobi to Illeret (Source: own illustration).

Remoteness. Arid Kenya, with its deserts, savannahs and grasslands, covers 80% of Kenya's land mass and has historically been at the periphery of national development. In these arid lands, the mobile pastoralists find their economic livelihood. The total homeland area of the Daasanach pastoralists is comprised of 2,300 square kilometres and stretches mainly along the West and East banks of the Omo River, the largest river in south-western Ethiopia. Only in the course of the last century with prolonged droughts, the Daasanach had to shift southwards to the north-eastern shores of Lake Turkana in Kenya. It is a four days journey with a car or lorry from Kenya's capital, Nairobi, following the country's tarmac highway towards the North. In Marsabit, the newly constructed tarmac road ends and turns into a dirt road which leads northwestern, along the Chalbe desert to North Horr. After North Horr you hardly see any vehicles and once you have crossed the stony and dry homeland area you reach the Gabra pastoralists. Leaving behind Buluk, a desolate police outpost, a bumpy desert road leads through the Sibiloi National Park and then finally reaches Illeret, 18 kilometres from the Ethiopian-Kenyan border.

3 The last national census in Kenya was carried out and published in 1994. The data showed a net population increase of 1,5% per year. Even the Kenyan government uses data from Lewis M.P. (2009). In August 2019 a national census was conducted and to date, there are no official numbers.

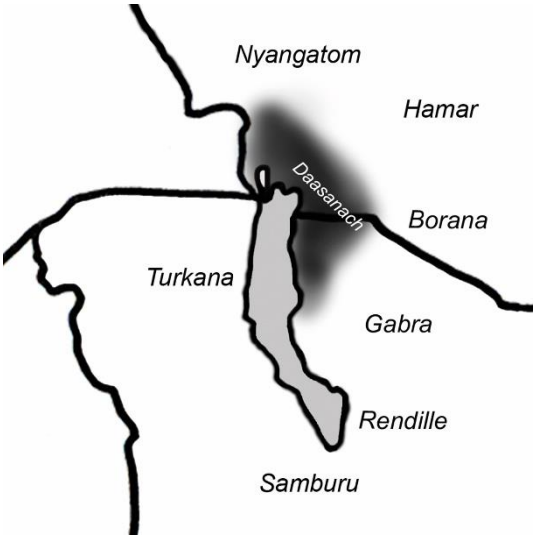


Fig. 1.3: The Daasanach homeland and the neighbouring groups (Source: own illustration).

Neighbouring Groups. The Daasanach territory in Kenya borders the homeland of the Gabra, Borana, Rendille and Samburu, as well as, the Turkana. In Ethiopia, they are neighbours to the Hamar, Borana and Nyangatom. Most of the time the Daasanach have good relationships with their pastoralist neighbours and also maintain trade relations of grain, tobacco, ironwork, clay pots, coffee, textiles, spears, knives, bracelets, toilet soaps and riffles. Time and again, however, tension and conflicts arise over attractive pasture grounds and water sources. Especially the relation between Gabra and Daasanach is tense since the homeland area of the Gabra is very dry, rainfall is scarce and borders are not historically clearly marked. When the Kenyan and Ethiopian border was established during the colonial period of the 20th century, Gabra and Borana were officially recognised as transboundary groups. The Daasanach were defined as Ethiopians although their traditional homeland spreads from the Ethiopian Omo delta to the north-eastern shore of Lake Turkana in Kenya. Efforts were made to stop Daasanach from inhabiting Kenyan territory (Galaty 2005) but the Daasanach insisted on their historical rights to grazing near the lake and therefore resided on the eastern shore of Lake Turkana. In order to secure the frontier, the colonial power decided to move the Gabra and Borana away from the Kenyan and Ethiopian border zone. Later, in 1948, a small group of Daasanach was officially "tolerated" in the British territory of Kenya. The cross-border feeling of togetherness between Kenyan and Ethiopian Daasanach remains very high and is demonstrated, for example, in their collaboration of carrying out raids. The rewards of raiding are cattle, girls and prestige. Almagor (1978) argues that hostilities and raiding are usually reciprocal between the neighbouring groups with no substantial gain. As long as, certain conventions and rules are not violated, the movement of cattle and small stock back and forth is acceptable. Traditionally raiding happens on a small scale and occurs spontaneously among peers in their twenties.

The long and strife-ridden history between Gabra and Daasanach can be perceived differently because of the acquisition of firearms during the last decades. Registered rifles, as well as, illegally obtained rifles are officially permitted for use by the home guards to secure property and land. This easily leads to unfortunate recurring fatal escalations (Galaty 2005).

Water. Lake Turkana is the second largest lake in Kenya and the largest permanent desert lake in the world. It has no outlet and receives more than 90% of its waters from the Omo River, which rises seasonally and irregularly in Ethiopia (Carr 2017). The distribution of rainfall along the 200 kilometre long and 40 kilometre wide east side of the lake is unreliable and its occurrence is irregular.

During the rainy season, numerous natural river beds flood within minutes allowing no crossover for some days. When the water level sinks again the Daasanach girls and women dig out wells along the bank sides and first find groundwater after 2 to 3 metres of sand. The groundwater is traditionally filled into hollow calabashes however, today plastic jerricans and buckets are used and are carried on their heads to the none permanent homes. Lake Turkana is the most saline lake in East Africa and the second most saline lake in Africa and as salinity is already at a critical level for various fauna, the lake is only borderline potable for humans and livestock. However, a study found that herd animals regularly refuse the saline water even though it is technically borderline potable and the villagers' health problems can also be attributed to a high salinity of living at the shore of Lake Turkana (Carr 2017). As long as the grass provides enough feed for the livestock and there is sufficient water in the puddles and wells of the riverbeds the Daasanach families settle in these spots. Since the Daasanach pastoralists live off their livestock, household mobility is a constant requirement to keep the animals safe.

Fig. 1.4: Eastern shore of Lake Turkana with view on Northern Island (Source: Ruth Würzle).

Lake Turkana's volume has significantly decreased over the past 30 years because of higher temperatures, changing weather patterns and the construction of huge dams for hydroelectric power production in Ethiopia. Hydrologists predict that the downstream impact of the dams, which were inaugurated in 2016, will reduce the flow to Lake Turkana up to 70%. The inevitable impact this will have on the Daasanach pastoralists is unclear, however, it will transform the natural habitats to the more than 50 species of fish which have been identified in Lake Turkana so far and kill ecosystems (Carr 2017).[4]

4 In 2018, Lake Turkana was added to the list of endangered World Heritage Sites. The World Heritage

1.2 Livelihood

The Daasanach see themselves as pastoralists, even though their homeland area along the river Omo in Ethiopia also allows agriculture. Mobile pastoralism is a lifestyle based upon animal husbandry which mainly feeds on natural vegetation. In turn, the pastoralists live off the animal products. As most mobile pastoralists, the Daasanach inhabit remote areas because their livestock and production strategies are adjusted to the grasslands and generally harsh ecological conditions which are not suitable for agriculture as an example. Contrary to common misconceptions, mobile pastoralism is not an archaic form of husbandry and pastoral techniques are not antiquated. On the contrary, pastoralism is highly sustainable due to high productivity (Dyer 2016).

I especially like when the weather is good and there is food for the animals. I get food from my animals.
Joshua Esho, elder

Grazing areas vary seasonally according to the rainfall which determines the dry and wet seasons. In each season the herds are shifted to make the best use of the different kinds of grass. Herding involves both daily treks from the more permanent settlement (*manyatta*) and extended periods out to the temporary stock camp (*forich*).[5] A family's stock of goats, sheep, cattle, donkeys and camels is not grazed together. Cattle graze before small stock to protect the pasture and in the dry season goats are given priority and therefore sheep are often separated from the goats. There is no clear pattern of shifting, scouts and herders move rather freely and whoever identifies a specific pasture first grazes it, as long as, there is sufficient water in puddles and wells for drinking. The seasonal movements save the land from overgrazing and deterioration (Carr 1977; Almagor 1978). As long as the livestock is provided with water and grass, the Daasanach pastoralists are able to survive the harsh environmental conditions of Northern Kenya.[6] Strong population growth in recent years has increased the number of small flocks in the region fivefold and overgrazing of the already highly stressed ecosystem has become a problem. Hunger is the result due to loss of livestock and larger families. Since slaughtering animals in large numbers is only justifiable during ceremonial feasts or when food is short, animal husbandry is considered as a mode of subsistence and animals are usually not for sale (Milimo 2004; Elfmann 2005). The close relationship between the Daasanach and their livestock is not only shown in the fact that they live with them side by side but also in their language. There are, for example, more than 30 different names for oxen like *long'ollekóu* (lit. ox with a white head and black body), *loso'guel* (lit. ox with long slim horns) or *ng'elluka* (lit. ox with one horn bent upwards and one downwards) (Tosco 2001).

Committee expressed concern about the disruptive effect of Ethiopia's Gibe III dam on Lake Turkana and the changes affecting the hydrology and the ecosystem (https://whc.unesco.org/en/news/1842/).

5 Almagor (1978) and Carr (1977; 2017) describe in detail the social and ecological conditions, which determine the process of livestock and family shifting, as well as, ecology and economy of the Daasanach.

6 Milimo (2005) describes the mobility of the whole production family as a prerequisite requirement of pastoralists due to the surrounding ecological conditions. She illustrates the organisational skills which are necessary to plan the migration tours in the course of a year, which are all too often affected by numerous uncertain events in Northern Kenya such as floods, droughts, ceremonies, political events and hostilities with neighbouring groups. However, according to the World Initiative for Sustainable Pastoralism, one of the main misconceptions about pastoralism is that mobility is unnecessary, chaotic and disruptive (Dyer 2016).

Fig. 1.5: A Daasanach boy tending goats and sheep (Source: Ruth Würzle).

Moreover, Daasanach do not count their livestock, they simply know them. Counting is considered evidence of incapability and numbering downgrades the animals in their sight.[7] The degree of mobility and sedentarisation varies between groups and individual families. There are 'pure' mobile pastoralists, where all members are on the move, semi-permanent pastoralists, who are settled and perhaps only young men travel with their livestock for several months, to agro-pastoralists, who engage in crop production and animal husbandry depending on the season.

Nutrition. The local diet is mainly based on *bie kulláá* (lit. hot water) prepared by the woman of the house upon an open fire in the round hut. Three stones on the left side of the entrance hold the cooking pot. In the morning and the evening, women and girls milk the livestock and then coffee-hulls or tea leaves are boiled in water together with milk and sugar. Some of the milk is reserved for toddlers and the production of yogurt. The nutritious milk is poured into a calabash together with water and the branch of a certain tree to produce different dairy products. The calabash is shaken and beaten and then allowed to rest for 24 hours before consumption. The yogurt has a smoky taste because the calabashes are cleansed and purified

7 The anthropologist Melville Herskovits (1895-1963) introduced the term "cattle complex" in his PhD thesis "The Cattle Complex in East Africa". With this term, he describes the system of values made up of cattle ownership which governs and directs everyday life in large parts of East Africa. Thereby Herskovits does not refer to sole cattle-keeping in itself. "Cattle complex" according to Herskovits is the fact that cattle more than anything is the focal point in the people's lives. Cattle are the provider of food, however, should only be slaughtered to mark special occasions such as birth and funeral – the great transitional events of life. Moreover, "most enduring social relationships were mediated through the loan, gift or exchange of cattle." (Barnard & Spencer 1996: 91).

with smoke. Traditionally, no food is eaten throughout the day. Toddlers, girls and women who stay near the settlements consume some milk or leftovers from breakfast. The boys and men, who spend the day out grazing the animals only carry some water. If available, the women cook *rubba* (sorghum) either as whole grains or ground as porridge and occasionally add meat. In Kenya, sorghum, as well as, sugar, tea leaves, maize and beans can only be purchased in the shops in Illeret and Silicho. This traditional diet of sorghum is grown and sold by the Ethiopian Daasanach along the river Omo. When food runs out in the stock camps or there is not enough milk for all family members, some boiled, roasted or dried meat is added to the meals. All in all, slaughtering remains a special event, reserved for traditional celebrations. Occasionally, the Daasanach also drink blood from a healthy bull but this happens rather seldomly since the number of cows is rather low. During special occasions, the bull is held by at least three men while the neck of the bull is stabbed with a kind of arrow (*bilte*). The blood is collected in a container, mostly a calabash, and served to men, women and children likewise.

Pastoralism is important because we get all we need from the animals.
Lokolom Long'ada, mother

Agriculture. Pastoral production is the main source of subsistence in Northern Kenya, since the soil, heat, lack of rain, deep groundwater and alkaline water of Lake Turkana prohibit agricultural farming. Reed grass is one of the few plants which grows in alkaline water. Only the Ethiopian Daasanach living near the Omo River can do some subsistence farming. When the Omo rises once a year and inundates the riverbanks and surrounding flats, sorghum crop, maize, beans and calabash can be grown. Depending on the rains there can also be a second and third harvest (Almagor 1978). Empty calabashes are cut in two halves, lavishly decorated with dried shells and colourful beads and used as drinking bowls (*'daate*) for the *bie kulláá*.

Fishery. Even though the Daasanach in Kenya live on the eastern shore of Lake Turkana, which contains many different kinds of fish, such as Nile perch (*lates niloticus*) and different types of mudfish; Daasanach pastoralists traditionally dislike fishing and the sale of fish. Fishing is considered poor people's work. To date, there are many restrictions on social relations with fishermen. Traditionally, fish is only eaten occasionally during dry seasons as a supplement or when a family has lost their livestock and has no other means to survive.

Today, however, it can be observed that more and more businessmen, mainly Kenyan Somalis and Ethiopians, settle along the shore employing young locals as fishermen and then hire ice lorries to carry and sell fresh fish to central Kenya and dried fish, as far as, Uganda. Since the western part of Lake Turkana is heavily overfished and long sections of the lake are now under the protection of the Sibiloi National Park, fishing along the shores between the Omo delta and Illeret seems to be a lucrative business at present. In earlier days, a subgroup of the Daasanach (Elmolo) would also hunt crocodiles which mainly live around the Central Island, but today, deliberate hunting of crocodiles is strictly prohibited.

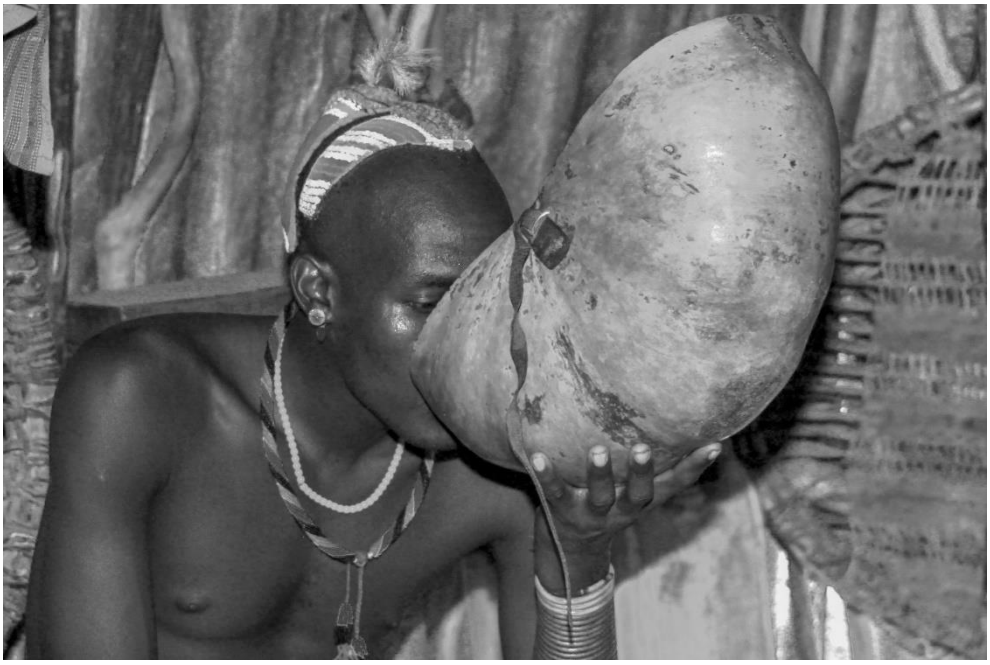


Fig. 1.6: A Daasanach man with traditional hair drinking *bie kullàá* from a *'daate* (Source: Ruth Würzle).

1.3 Social Organisation

Traditional African life is based on the idea of communalism which can be seen in the collective activity and mutual help that extends from the family, over the extended family and the brotherhood derived from it, to the community at large. In a communalist group, the loyalty primarily lies within the community above any other loyalty, as, for example, loyalty to a country (Farrant 1980).[8]

8 The political theory of communalism has its roots in the ethnic and cultural diversity of Africa. Communalism inspires cooperation between individuals within a certain group rather than competition. Features of communalism are also seen in how a certain community claims united actions in major challenges and how in a crisis collective resources are arranged to help those members in trouble. On the other hand, communalism can also lead to clashes between different communities if each group denies the fact that they have more commonalities with other communities than they have differences. This can result in groups becoming hostile to one another, which has given communalism negative connotations (Farrant 1980).

Various aspects of communalism can be seen in the way Daasanach society is organised in segments, clans, moieties, generation sets, bond friendships and families which all carry meaning, restrict certain relationships and distribute rights, chores and ritual duties.[9]

Clans. The most general groups are the clans. Daasanach belong to one of the eight tribal sections, which are each seen as coterminous with a territorial section (Tosco 2001). The clans are described as having certain duties and rights which are of importance in Daasanach life and include everyday rituals and special activities. The eight clans are hierarchically structured. Members of the first clan, *Tuurnyerim*, are the first to get circumcised during a circumcision ceremony and the first to slaughter bulls and goats during a traditional *'dimi* ceremony. Then the remaining seven clans mentioned above follow in turn. The clan system follows a patrilineal inheritance structure: Children belong to the clan of their fathers' and inherit their tasks, duties and talents. When the spouse is from another clan, the wife officially changes to the husband's clan, however, without adopting the gifts of the new clan.

Lydia, for example, belongs to the *Galbur* clan, since her father inherited this tribal section. After she married a man from the *Fargááro* clan, she now officially belongs to this clan of rainmakers and snake healers but does not share the skills with her husband. It is perceived, that Lydia still has the ability to stop crocodiles from hurting livestock and people, the skill of *Galbur* members. Their children will follow the lineage of the father and be part of the *Fargááro* clan with all their rights, duties and skills.

Clan Name	Attribution
Tuurnyerim	Clan of rainmakers and snakes; *Tuurnyerim* are perceived to bring rain, to heal snake bites and to converse with god.
Fargááro	Clan of rainmakers and snakes; *Fargááro* share the same duties and rights with the *Tuurnyerim*. They can pray for rain if no *Tuurnyerim* is nearby.
Tuurat	Clan of fire; *Turaat* are perceived to be able to heal burnings.
Galbur	Clan of crocodiles; *Galbur* are said to prevent crocodiles from hurting livestock and people. *Galbur* are perceived to protect livestock from crocodiles especially during river crossings.
Ílli	Clan of scorpions and spiders; *Ílli* are said to have the power to heal scorpion bites.
Edhe	Clan of wind catchers; *Edhe* are perceived to stop strong winds and they are said to treat eye sickness.
Múrle	Clan of insect controllers; *Múrle* are perceived as being able to stop flies and other insect.
Tieme	Clan of pancreas; *Tieme* are said to have the power to heal a swollen pancreas by blessing the affected person.

Fig. 1.7: Overview of the eight clans (Source: own illustration).

9 According to Claudia Carr, Daasanach society is structured into eight tribal segments (*en*): *Inkabela*, *Inkoria*, *Naritch*, *Eleli*, *Koro*, *Oro*, *Randel*, *Rieli*. Each *en* functions as an autonomous fighting unit during warfare and has its own traditional tales of origin and is subdivided again into clans, moieties and generation sets. There are no marriage boundaries between these eight tribal segments. Out of the eight segments, *Inkabela* is the largest and most dominant one which serves as a reference structure to the others. *Inkabela* are said to be the oldest *en* with other tribal segments originating later (Carr 1977). In the Kenyan Daasanach homeland around Illeret, all informants referred to the *Inkabela* segment when speaking about the social structure of the Daasanach. Therefore, the information on clans, moieties and generation sets stated in this book are based on the *Inkabela* segment.

Moieties. Daasanach are divided into moieties – *baadiyet* (lit. outside people) and *geerge* (lit. stomach people). Everyone belongs to the *dolo* (moiety) of the grandfather on the father's side. Generations alternate in the father-child relationship. Moieties are not externally recognizable. This division cuts across territory, tribal clan and the age system grouping (Almagor, 1978). Marriage in the moieties is regulated in that members of *baadiyet* are not allowed to marry a person from the moiety of *geerge* and vice versa. In the moiety each tribal section celebrates the *'dimi* ceremony separately and depending upon your moiety you execute specific ceremonial functions. The moieties association with fertility – *baadiyet* is derived from the male and the *geerge* of the female and is stressed in the ceremony.

Generation Sets. The central defining principle of Daasanach social organisation is called generation set. Every man belongs to a *hari* (generation set) and to one of the two existing age groups (Almagor 1978). The generation set is determined at birth and a man always joins the alternate set to that of his father. The age differences within a generation set may be forty years or more since the entry into one set depends on when its alternate one starts bearing children. Women's generation sets are much less important than the men's because group affiliation is more entangled in domestic cares. The transition from girl to wife to mother and old woman occurs on an individual basis (Elfmann 2005). Marriage is, without exceptions, only possible within the same generation set. The membership of unmarried girls to a *hari* is shown by the colour-coding of their hair accessories. Men and married women do not show their belonging to a *hari* openly. The generation set *nabus* is shown by red-green colour-coding while *kobier* is depicted by red and yellow beads.

A concrete example illustrates this complex system of generation sets: Samuel is as a member of the red-green generation set *nabus* and thus can only choose a partner from the same set. To find a husband for their daughter, a special celebration called *'gúol* is organised by the family where the appropriate *hari* (generation set) is invited. Additionally, the moieties have to be taken into account. Gosh, being a *kobier* and a *baadiyet*, was only allowed to choose a wife from the same generation set and moiety.

Bond Friendship. Finally, bond partnerships play an important role in Daasanach social organisation. From the standpoint of increasing their array of social and economic relations, they are mainly of importance for men (Carr 1977).

Among men, there are five bond partnerships with each bond characteristic of a particular stage in life: *bond partnerships of lips* are established between teenage boys; the *bond partnership of gifts* is established between men from twenty to forty years of age; the *bond partnership of smearing* is established between a boy reaching physical maturity with a man from his *hari* which is an unbreakable bond. During circumcision, the *bond partnership of holding* is created. The *holder* supports during circumcision and afterwards gives him a *kára* (stool, headrest), beads, necklaces, a *'daate* (drinking calabash) and a skirt. The strongest bond of all according to Almagor is the *bond partnership of name-giving* which is created when a newborn child is named after someone at the name-giving ceremony. Between women, there is only one bond (*friendship of holding*) which is established when a girl gets circumcised and is held by another female who has already undergone the procedure. Because the female bond usually elapses after a while it is considered rather weak and is not referred to as a bond.