

The Sequels of the Intractable Pastoralist Conflict between Samburu and Turkana of Baragoi Northern Kenya

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Abstract

The nature of conflict among the pastoralist community has been created and propelled by the unequal distribution of natural resources. The conflict in Baragoi has been a thorn in the flesh of the stakeholder, especially with its adverse effect on the community's social, and economic political organization. These results of conflict cannot be escaped due to their adverse effects on the community. Despite various intervention measures put in place by the stakeholders protracted social conflict continues to pose a dire effect on the community and the government. Therefore this study sought to analyze the salience sequels of intractable pastoralist conflict. The study research design was a descriptive survey design which allowed the respondent to provide a vivid description of the effects of conflict on their social and economic organizations. Findings of this study indicated that properties were destroyed, lives were lost, social amenities were disrupted and the area remains ungovernable. Therefore the government should continue with the disarmament mission among the two warring communities. However, this should be done cautiously by assuring them security for themselves and their animals. The government should also improve security reforms. Therefore it should be noted that causal effect relationship should be practically applied in the conflict resolution process. It is pertinent for peacebuilders to historicize some of the effects of conflict to unearth some of the silent causes of conflict.

Keywords: *Livelihood, destruction of property, internally displaced persons*

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I. Background of the Study

The rustled animals stay in the pastoral economy thanks to reciprocal raiding. As a result, they can be plundered again at a later time. Commercial raiding involves channeling seized animals into the national or worldwide economy, where they are permanently lost (Hendrickson *et al.*, 1996). Most of the plundered livestock moved to Somalia and Ethiopia in recent Wajir inter-clan conflicts, as one portion joined with clans in Somalia and the other with the Boran (Ibrahim & Jenner, 1996).

Ibrahim and Jenner (1996) noted that aside from the animals that have been raided, recent confrontations have resulted in the loss of a great deal of property. In Wajir, for example, more than 1,500 homesteads were plundered and torched, 500 businesses were looted, some of which were also destroyed, 30 cars were robbed or hijacked, and five were taken during three years of inter-clan conflicts. Leaving land ungrazed leads to immediate loss of productivity and long-term deterioration, since decreasing grazing results in bushy, ungraspable vegetation progressively replacing grass (Bollig, 1990). Underuse of water points also degrades them. Insecurity reduces grazing and water resources, resulting in excessive concentrations of animals in secure regions, causing ecological damage and raising the likelihood of future conflicts (Hassan, 1997). The forgone study has stipulated the effect of conflict in Wajir focusing on how conflict led to the destruction of property this created a lacuna where this study analyzed how conflict has affected the livelihood of the Samburu and Turkana and increased insecurity.

McCabe (1990), postulates that large-scale raids appear to have been a major cause of poverty among pastoralists in the last two decades. Raids inflict more immediate and targeted damage than drought, putting traditional risk distribution, animal loss management, and restocking techniques in jeopardy. Large-scale raids on many homesteads simultaneously devastate one individual's cattle in a matter of hours, leaving the whole network of friends and relatives who may have relied on the said individual for assistance penniless. In the late 1980s, research in three famine camps in Turkana District found that 47% of individuals interviewed identified raiding as the only reason for their poverty, and 75% perceived it as a substantial role. These studies have highlighted the consequences of war in Wajir and Turkana, resulting in a gap in determining the number of experienced repercussions in Baragoi, Northern Kenya, during and after the conflict.

Large-scale attacks, like severe droughts, pique national and worldwide attention in the most severely afflicted areas and may mobilize assistance and relief groups that might otherwise be unresponsive to local raids and banditry. As strange as it may sound, there may also be an opportunity for those families who have become destitute as a result of small incidents that did not garner national attention. With a limited budget and scope, organizations and field operators are faced with the difficult task of distinguishing “peace-time” low-income families from actual “conflict” victims (WPDC, 1998).

Raids on a large scale are a classic covariate risk, as they affect everyone in a certain region at the same time, as opposed to individual risk, which affects people at random. According to the literature on food security, individuals and local organizations should be encouraged to defend themselves against individual risk while governments should protect them against covariate risk. (Dasgupta, 1993).

The growing demand for automatic guns results in a steady flow of cattle, leaving the pastoral economy in exchange for armaments (Hendrickson *et al.*, 1996). In 1997, the Wajir District was believed to have between 1,500 and 2,000 weapons, with another 1,000 handed over to the authorities. According to local gun market estimates, this equates to about 25-30 million Kshs (US\$ 500-600,000) “frozen” in weapons, not including ammo costs (Ibrahim & Jenner, 1996).

Automatic guns might be viewed as a new kind of capital accumulation contributing to the continuous economic divergence trend among pastoralists. Sophisticated raiding involves five stages of capital accumulation, according to (Belshaw&Malinga, 1999): modern weaponry, fighting troops, cattle, range/water supply, and agricultural system technological expertise (for example, via abducted women from agro-pastoral groups). The combination of these mechanisms seems to have replaced conventional livestock raiding with negative feedback (homeostatic influence on animal dispersal over time) with new "positive feedback reactions." In a broader sense, wars enable some organizations and individuals to profit from instability by usurping land or purchasing it at incredibly low rates from victims who have no choice but to flee (Nyukuri, 1997). Some of the impacts of battle have been ascribed to the flow of weaponry in these studies. As a result, this research revealed where small arms and light weapons are obtained and how they have fuelled violence throughout time, particularly among the Samburu and Turkana in Baragoi, Northern Kenya.

According to Gakuria (2013), conflicts obstruct people's access to health care services and facilities. The absence of security has turned off non-governmental organizations, religious institutions, and the commercial sector. At the same time, due to a lack of access to income-generating activities, people do not have enough money to pay for services.

Gakuria (2013) further stipulated that:

Conflicts hamper physical access to schools and other learning institutions. Students and instructors are unable to attend school owing to conflict-related insecurity. Most of the time, schools are closed. When there are disputes, teachers from outside the district prefer to return to their home areas. Older kids drop out of school to join others in fighting the enemy, either at the behest of their parents or due to social, cultural, and familial duties. When families opt to relocate to pursue physical security, children are compelled to drop out of school. Once again, school disruption leads to low levels of education, restricting an increasing number of individuals to pastoralism as their sole source of income. Pastoralism is used by a huge number of humans, which means big herds of animals are kept. Water is essential for cattle, especially during dry seasons. Competition and conflict arise as a result of a lack of access to water.

Thus, conflict and raiding can have both direct and indirect consequences on cattle numbers. Raiding indirectly adds to the loss of cattle by spreading illnesses (Bett *et al.*, 2009; Oloya *et al.*, 2006). Raiding has both good (for the raiding community) and negative (for the raided community) immediate effects (for the raided community). Raiding might appear to be an effective and direct method for the raider to grow their herd at the expense of those who are raided from the raider's perspective. The overall quantity of cattle may remain relatively constant if two or a few groups in a limited region reciprocally raid each other without selling livestock to outside actors. According to Kaimba *et al.* (2011), livestock raiding disrupts mobility, which is an important aspect of pastoralism in the region. Because they were frightened of being killed or raped, women in Lokiriama and the adjacent villages of Lobei, and Urum were reported gathering wild fruit. This demonstrates how insecurity thwarts drought adaptation, as collecting wild berries has been identified as a key technique for coping with water and pasture shortages. These studies have delved more into the effect of raiding among the pastoral communities hence creating a lacuna that was filled by looking at the impact of pastoral conflict between the Samburu and Turkana.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Whenever a conflict is experienced in a community the social economy and political organization ail. Communities in Baragoi have suffered both psychologically and physically. It should be noted that lives have been lost social amenities destroyed and displacement of communities. The area remains underdeveloped and ungovernable due to the conflict. Studies by Shillington have been carried out on the Effects of conflict but little

has been done in pinpointing the core effects that come with conflict. Therefore this study sought to fill a gap in the sequels of intractable pastoralist conflict between Samburu and Turkana communities.

1.3 Research Methodology

The study research design was a descriptive survey which allowed the respondent to provide a vivid description of the effects of conflict on their social and economic organizations. Data were collected through interviews and Focus Group discussions. Content data of analysis proved useful in capturing important aspects of sufferings encountered by the communities in Baragoi.

1.5 Loss of lives during the conflict in 1981

In 1981 Erupe Edung, chief of Marti location was murdered by three recruited Samburu Home Guards in the manyatta. A Catholic priest and two Turkana juveniles were shot dead by Turkana Ngoroko at Tum during the same period. Two other minors were injured, while three Turkana juveniles were taken by Ngoroko (KNA/ACW/27/87).

On Saturday 27th September 1980, four Ngoroko armed with rifles attacked Mbirinimanyatta and made away with one thousand five hundred heads of cattle. During this raid, one unidentified Turkana male adult was shot dead. Erii Kamaisi, a Turkana male adult, was injured by a bullet in the left arm and was admitted to Baragoi Health Centre (KNA/ACW/27/87).

Turkana Ngoroko, armed with firearms and spears, attacked Ngujitanyatta in the Kowop location of Baragoi Division within Samburu District and raided manyattas occupied by Turkana tribesmen. During the attack, three Turkana adults were killed: Ekao Ajioyi, Aule Engolan, and Aowi Aule, and six Turkana female adults were injured and admitted to Baragoi Health Centre (KNA/ACW/27/87).

Samburu El Moran people have caused trouble by killing children and older adults to shed blood with their spears. They murdered people of the Turkana ethnic group and the Gabbra who had fled from Abyssinia for British protection (KNA/DC/TUR/1/2).

Pastoral disputes almost always result in some injuries and frequently end in significant loss of life and property, as well as the maiming of individuals, especially when they are armed or externally directed. The precise number of people who suffer or die as a result of conflict each year is difficult to determine because fatalities are frequently not recorded. However, given the number of incidents, it is clear that there are several fatalities and injuries.

1.6 Effects of Conflict on livelihoods and Destruction of properties

In Kenya's pastoralist north border areas, a large number of people have been displaced. The next district to be affected is Samburu, which has over 20% of its people relocated; however, the majority of those displaced are Turkana from the Baragoi and Nyiro divisions.

Conflict in Baragoi instilled very high tension, especially among the Turkana residing in Baragoi in Samburu District. The Turkana community in Baragoi moved their families and livestock to settle permanently in Isiolo District in Eastern Province. Some lives had been lost during numerous Ngoroko attacks. They alleged that their lives and properties were not protected adequately. Over eight hundred families moved out of Samburu District with more than twenty thousand livestock (KNA/ACW/27/87).

Refugees are often viewed as an abomination because they don't fit in with the natural order of things (Douglas 1966). This concurs with statistics on the number of displaced pastoral communities. The highest numbers of those displaced are from Turkana, with the majority from Kakuma and Lokichogio divisions.

Destruction of welfare services in terms of welfare amenities and services, ASALs are severely disadvantaged. Due to the constant conflict environment, the few welfare institutions that remain have either been destroyed or made non-operational. Children have been denied the opportunity to receive an education. Turkana, for example, has just 182 elementary schools in a 7000 sq. km region, with an average commute distance of 10-12 km. Several of these schools, as well as clinics and churches, have been destroyed or closed as a result of the violence. Even where schools remain, security concerns have caused instructors to leave, people to migrate to safe zones (where schools are not present), and children to be removed from schools. Enrolment rates in schools have dropped far below the national average. As a result, children and young people have little choice but to resort to armed aggression to better their lives. Despite increased injuries, maiming, and starvation, the populace has been left without basic healthcare services. Even immunization of children is inconsistent due to a shortage of health care. Access to reproductive health and maternity care services for women is hampered. Most pastoralists do not have access to water or sanitation (Eriksen and Lind 2009).

Insecurity not only obstructs education but also obstructs growth. Samburu is now Kenya's poorest and most disadvantaged county. The Ngoroko's interruption of education included a raid on the Baragoi elementary school when they stole supplies and raped the matron. As a result, Baragoi Primary School was forced to close. Secondary pupils in Baragoi were so terrified by the occurrence that they refused to attend school.

(KNA/ACW/27/87). Teachers stated that the school in Baragoi was briefly closed due to increased conflict. Bullet holes in classroom structures could still be seen.

In addition to the physical consequences, insecurity has a detrimental impact on inter-communal ties. Pokot and Turkana community members have shown significant hostile sentiments and distrust towards the other tribe. Distrust reduces community motivation and competence to select a peaceful and successful route, necessary for peaceful and effective resource sharing (Eriksen and Lind, 2009). When raids include rape or kidnapping of women, inter-communal relations deteriorate much further. This approach may boost parents' motivation to marry off their daughters early to a man who will be in their "safe hands" (Little *et al.*, 2009). Retaliation is another response to hostile attacks, which exacerbates the conflict (Eaton 2008).

On 6th August 1979, at Marti, about 200 Pokot raided the center, killing the assistant chief of that area. They ransacked Marti primary school, broke the doors, and stole school property (KNA/ACW/27/87).

1.7 Effects of conflict, 2010-2012

In 2010, OCHA Kenya documented 179 deaths in the ASALs of northern Kenya as a result of resource-based conflicts. The killing of police officers in Kapedo was also part of a past precedent where a senior police officer was shot dead by a Pokot juvenile in the same area while in pursuit of Pokot livestock raiders after a raid on the Samburu (Österle 2007:2013). In the case of the October 2014 police attack, the victims were ambushed while traveling in a police truck along the Kapedo-Lokori road (Mabatuk and Koskei 2014:1). The raiders then burned the police truck and the Red Cross personnel who responded to their distress calls were fired upon by the bandits. Although the killing of these police officers was an immediate reminder of the Baragoi massacre of police officers in November 2012, the difference, in this case, was that these officers were ambushed while traveling, overpowered by a group of bandits, and executed. There were no cases or allegations of livestock involved. What was telling however is the quote above attributed to Senator John Lonyangapuo (Mabatuk and Koskei 166 2014:3),

Similarly, the Kainuk division in Turkana was attacked by neighboring Pokots 27 times, resulting in 13 deaths and 17 injuries. Armed conflicts have claimed the lives of over ten men, six women, and three children in shootings by armed bandits in the Laikipia towns of Lekiji and Rumuruti, with over 800 people displaced after their homes were set on fire (Warurii 2015). When there are droughts, the conflicts increase in frequency, scale, and intensity; when there is excellent rainfall, the conflicts decrease in frequency, scale, and severity.

The loss of lives and injuries inflicted by raids is the greatest immediate consequence of raiding on human well-being. Between 2006 and 2009, TUPADO reported 592 raid-related deaths in Turkana alone. CEWARN reported around 640 conflict-related deaths in Turkana and Pokot counties combined in 2009 (CEWARN 2010). The high number of deaths compared to the number of injuries suggests that raiding has become more dangerous as small weapons have become more widely available. In interviews, raiders said that wounded raiding companions, particularly those unable to walk, are left behind and frequently kill themselves to 'escape' punishment by the assaulted gang. Raiders who are injured or killed limit the amount of labor available for livestock herding and community security. Because raiders are almost entirely young males, raiding has a long-term impact on the community, as well as a short-term impact on the town's future wealth. However, the disputes affect more than just raiders. Even government officials are not immune, as the assassination of James Longorid Achuman, the assistant chief of Lokiriama, demonstrates. On the 18th of December 2011, he and his moped driver were shot while traveling from Lokiriama to Moroto, Uganda. Because no money or valuables were taken, and the assailants' footsteps went to Uganda, the chief of Lokiriama, police, and an NGO official all thought it was a vengeance assault by the Pokot or Tepeth, who had just lost many community members in a Turkana raid. Pike *et al.*, (2010) have demonstrated detrimental psychological repercussions of conflicts, such as traumas, in addition to the physical effects on individuals.

The target districts are among Kenya's ten poorest, with poverty levels constantly growing and terrible performance on nearly all development metrics. Conflicts result in large livestock losses, affecting pastoral communities and their livelihoods, as well as agriculturists' farmlands. The results in Turkana County, where animals were destroyed over three months in 2011, include 30,500 shoats (sheep and goats), 5,200 cattle, 4,100 donkeys, and 2,000 camels in the Kainuk division of Turkana, which saw 27 attacks by neighboring Pokot in a single month in 2011. Due to these disputes, herders' livestock numbers have plummeted, with animals being taken by aggressor groups in raids and deaths caused by dwindling pasture and water resources. Due to the Kainuk-Kasei conflict in Turkana, families with over 50 herds of cattle, 100 shoats, 30 camels, and ten donkeys now have none. In 2011, episodes of violence in Laikipia left 4800+ people homeless and displaced 4234 individuals in three sub-divisions in Turkana, affecting 325,000 people and displacing 11,600 people (Schilling *et al.*, 2012).

According to Warurii's report on the inter-ethnic conflict, due to drought and starvation, pastoral groups used to have a large number of animals (about 5000 goats), which has now significantly decreased. Some Turkana (and Samburu) believe that losing animals to drought or disease is a punishment; it might mean that

you acquired the livestock in an immoral way or that you have been too self-satisfied, lazy, and/or inattentive. A popular expression among Samburu is *MeyankeeyaCanadankolongnestle* (disease or drought cannot take away that animal you owe somebody) Sortland (2017). Conflict to restrict the movement of goods. Investors are fleeing dangerous zones for fear of losing their money and lives, while transportation costs are rising in conflict-prone districts and counties. As a result, the ASAL communities' livelihood prospects are restricted, their access to markets is hampered, and their profit margins are compressed.

The study revealed that women are subjected to a variety of abuses, including sexual abuse. Although women and men experience violence differently during and after conflict, sexual violence is disproportionately imposed on women in their roles as victims and offenders.

During military conflicts, women are raped as a type of violence meant to destabilize male dominance. Even though women's experiences as victims of battlefield abuse have been documented, males continue to utilize sex as a tactic to submerge women. Men who commit such acts of violence are frequently referred to as macho heroes (Moser and Clark, 2001).

Women do not discuss sex matters in public in most pastoral communities. The reluctance to recognize women as victims of sexual violence during an armed conflict in the Pokot case was justified based on societal connections. During the research, women expressed their dread of being raped together with their daughters. As a result, families attempted to escape their houses. To make their daughters ugly, mothers put dirt and muck on their faces. The most common worry expressed by the women interviewed was rape.

Conflict also causes women to lose their husbands, kids, and other family members. When a woman loses her husband, she must either leave the pastoral field or be inherited by her husband's brother or close relatives. Because no Turkana woman wants to be inherited, the majority of them will choose to fight for peace rather than risk losing their husbands (O.I Ekirapa 19/7/2021 Suguta Valley).

According to Shilling *et al.*, (2012), even though Kenya is a party to the International Criminal Court's (ICC) Rome Law, which recognizes and prosecutes sexual and gender abuse as war crimes and crimes against humanity, most Pokot women are unaware of the statute. Rape, sexual slavery (including women's trafficking), forced prostitution, forced sterilization, various types of extreme sexual abuse, and persecution based on gender are among the criminal offenses included in the legislation. Women are frequently shunned by family and community after experiencing sexual violence. Despite compassion for the Pokot women's tragedy, society labels them as "damaged goods." As a result of these breaches, Pokot women have unique health care requirements. If they are pregnant or breastfeeding, for example, they will require special dietary and health care. During armed conflict, food scarcity and inequities in food distribution are exacerbated, making women and girls more vulnerable to malnutrition. In addition, the rising prevalence of HIV infection in conflict zones is a concerning trend. Women are more vulnerable than males and require more psychological, health, and social care. United Nations Development Programme United Nations Development Programme Human Development Report 2002 (2002)

According to Chief Wilson Loreluk, Inequity, starvation, sickness, disempowerment, gender-based violence, human rights violations, and psychological trauma have been common experiences for women and girls. They face abduction, SGBV, killing/maiming, post-conflict undesired pregnancies, separation/widowhood, HIV/AIDS (the target area's HIV rate is quite high), prostitution, increased domestic violence, psychological stress, and societal shame, among other things, during conflict occurrences. Women are frequently widowed and have no recourse to the property since they are customarily forbidden ownership.

This is in line with Schilling *et al.*, (2012), As a result, these impoverished women and children are forced to live in IDP camps. Children are subjected to physical abuse/trauma as a result of conflicts, as well as hunger, malnutrition, and illiteracy as a result of insufficient state health/education services. Children and women are frequently forced to engage in physical labor or die of starvation, and childhood malnutrition is rising. Several youngsters have been left orphaned. Due to conflict, political manipulation, and a lack of choices, young people face starvation, illiteracy, sickness, as well as death/disability through maiming. In Turkana, 30 percent of households have been affected by conflict-related catastrophes, such as widowhood for women and orphaned children.

In Turkana now, there are an estimated 20,000 orphans, compared to 18,000 in 2006. Many orphans end up living on the streets. Only 800 children are housed in institutions, with around 1500 being adopted by caretakers who are paid a pittance of Ksh. 2000 per month. The elderly have been gripped by despair and hopelessness. After being abandoned by their relatives, some die of illness or frailty. Older individuals are left behind on homesteads where there is no livestock, and they are unable to obtain enough food to meet their daily needs. Furthermore, their health has worsened since people who looked after them no longer have time as they seek food all day (Schilling *et al.*, 2012).

There is evidence from early ethnographic descriptions of raids to confirm the widespread existence of raiding rules meant to prevent or limit fatalities among women and children. Several early ethnographies, instead, suggest the opposite concerning specific groups. There is evidence that women and small children were

not spared (Gulliver, 1951, on Turkana; Baxter, 1979, on Boran; Almagor, 1979, on Dassanetch). Women were indeed among the potential targets for inter-ethnic homicide. Like the killing of a man, the killing of a woman was honored with ritual scarification and acknowledged with its specific scar, only slightly different from that prescribed when the victim was a man (Fratkin, 1979).

According to Ltipaleiet *al.*, (2019), the commercialization of livestock raiding has changed pastoralists' fighting techniques in three ways. For starters, the emergence of hired soldiers has created an atmosphere where wealthy individuals may employ warriors. These combatants are unlikely to be from the same community. This phenomenon should be connected to fundamental changes within the pastoral economy rather than merely its market exposure. This change is reinforced by examples like the Pokot, who have hired groups of (more feared) Karamoja Morans to fight for them in clan attacks on occasion.

In some situations, when the warriors were engaged elsewhere, women utilized automatic weapons to push back a raiding force (personal communication about Turkana district, IDS Workshop). Direct engagement of women as warriors, on the other hand, appears to be a rather unusual occurrence. According to Belshaw and Malinga (1999), this is because women's productive and reproductive capacity is subject to a higher degree of scarcity than fighting strength in the conventional gender division of labor, and so is sheltered from higher-risk professions. Women sing battle songs in many pastoral communities. These songs usually insult the men and urge them to fight more. As a result, songs reach elders, youngsters, and the corporate elite; they may create or shatter reputations and are an important source of conflict motivation (Ibrahim and Jenner, 1996).

Although women's social status in pastoral communities limits their role in official mediation systems, they may be influential in informal situations. For example, among the Somalis, a woman's connections to her ancestors are not completely broken when she marries (Lewis, 1961). Because women marry outside of their clan, they play an important role in inter-clan relationships and can serve as vital communication routes between competing clans. This is also true for women who became members of their husbands' social circles through kidnapping. Thus, the kidnapping of females during raids may have the dual consequence of inciting revenge once the girls are married while establishing vital links between enemy groups that would not usually intermarry (Lind, 2006).

II. Conclusion

It should be noted that Baragoi has experienced conflict for a very long term some of the effects of conflict include loss of lives this can be pinpointed by the death of the catholic priest who was shot dead. Pastoralist communities have lost properties and disruption of livelihood. Women and children have been displaced finding refugees from their relatives. Women have been subjected to a variety of abuses including sexual abuse. Women have lost their husbands and sons.

III. Recommendation

It is worth noting that there is a direct relationship between the causes and effects of conflict. Therefore the government should continue with the current following cause's disarmament mission among the two warring communities. However, this should be done cautiously by assuring them security for themselves and their animals. The government should also improve security reforms. This is imperative for the prevention of another incident of the Baragoi Massacre where forty-two security officers were killed. The government and the African Union should work together in supporting conflict prevention and reduction activities. This can be done through financial support. In addition, various non-governmental organizations involved in peace-building should be given security and financial assistance for their movement around the Baragoi sub-county.

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