

Africa Inland Church (AIC) Arguments On Cattle Rustling Wars and Insecurity among The Pokot and Tugen of Kenya

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Keywords

Africa Inland Church (AIC)

(A church which was established by Africa Inland Mission in 1895 led by Cameroon Scott; an American missionary)

Dynamics

(Word used in the paper to denote issues related to a system, processes, and change)

Moran

(A term that refers to a traditional warrior among the Pokot and Tugen communities)

Barazas

(A kishwahili word too mean community or local meetings)

Cattle rustling

(Wars of raiding for cattle)

I. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

In Clemens Greiner's article on "Guns, land and voters: Cattle rustling and the politics of boundary(re)making in Northern Kenya", it is evident that competition for natural resources in Baringo Plains (Anderson, 2002) is one of the main factors for the protracted conflicts between the Tugen and Pokot communities (Greiner, 2013). Consequently, Emma Elfversson in her conference paper underscores the role of religion in conflicts by saying, "The importance of religion and prayers in building support for, and sustaining, peace should not be underestimated... (Elfversson, September,2014.p23).

The role of Religion, therefore, in resolving conflicts in society can be discussed both positively and negatively respectively. This is true because religion is often depicted as a trigger factor in many conflicts due to the fact that people relate to it as part of their identities (Kellas, 1998:33). Accordingly, in some parts of the world, people from different religions live in peace and coexist without any conflict. Therefore, the relationship between religion and conflict is a complex one, and scholars need to take into consideration many factors before one can argue that religion is the main cause of conflict and vice versa (Goldstein, 1994:159). Religion in this context is the glue that can bind and unify a

nation or group of people or it can lead to the destruction of nations as well as lead to intra-state conflicts.

In areas where protracted ethnic conflicts thrive, churches in general and Africa Inland Church, in particular, have had to play a central role in peacebuilding and reconciliation as part of Christian ministry and mission (Wells, 1997:14). This is in conformity with the teachings of Jesus Christ who advocated for peaceful co-existence among believers and the rest of the world (Mathew5:9; 18:15-17; Hebrews 12:14)

In addition to the role of the church as the antidote to conflicts, the phenomenon of ethnicity becomes an intrinsic component of the social-political realities of multi-ethnic states in the world in general and Africa in particular (Goldstein, 1994). Today, ethnicisation of politics and politicians of the ethnic communities have become very common and have diffused mutual intolerance and have thus sharpened ethnic consciousness among various communities in Kenya in particular (Njogu, Ngeta, and Wanjau(ed), 2010). At this juncture, the process of socio-economic change, the ethnic dimensions of the power structure, and the policies, strategies as well as tactics adopted by various governments in response to the urges and aspirations of different ethnic groups provided a ground for clear understanding of ethnicity, ethnic and their dimensions as it relates to resources among other factors.

Achoka, (2009) reiterated that the twenty-first century presents several formidable challenges to mankind's development. The challenges are experienced at the global national and regional scales. Common among these are pangs of hunger, poverty, conflict, war, and terrorist. Consequently, mankind yearns for change for better because mankind's development cannot take place in the absence of peace. The dramatic and often detrimental occurrence of inter – ethnics conflicts among communities, globally remains one of the intriguing issues among nations. Ethnic violence evokes profound emotions, debates, and controversies as well as raising some fundamentals concerns. Conflicts are part and parcel of human societies because societies have variations.

Ethnic conflicts in Kenya occur frequently, although most are minor skirmishes. A significant increase in the severity of such conflicts between the various population

groups inhabiting the country was witnessed after the introduction of multi-party policies in the early nineties, especially during the 2007-08 Kenyan crises. Major conflicts have also led to exoduses of the ethnic minority communities with roots in other geographical areas. The factors identified as the sources of outbreak of communal violence among populations living in close proximity to each other include: colonial policies, political instigation, availability of land, access to water and pasture, loss of traditional grazing land, cattle raiding in Kenya, lack of alternative source of livelihood, fears of terrorism, harassment and theft and extortion (Ominde, 1981).

Conflicts can be dealt with in a constructive and peaceful manner (Paffenholz, 2003). However, managing ethnic conflict is inclusive because interested groups want to benefit from the same conflict they want to manage (Wirmark 2009). In the recent past churches have been among the peace actors, because conflict resolution and reconciliation constitute a very important mission. Moreover, the church is mobilizing forces that bind different people together (Wirmark 2009). The church can only actualize the potentials of peacebuilding and reconciliation because this is Divine call prerogative. Reconciliation, therefore, becomes part of the church's mission and of the ministry of every Christian (Wells 1997). Indeed the bible is the core point of reference for the church (Romans 12:18). It highlights several principles of peacebuilding and reconciliation including love, justice, forgiveness, and peace (Ecclesiastes 3:17). This exalts the values of human life and the rule of law. The church is called the body of Christ to maintain integrity; churches must advocate for peace and love among the adherents. Ethnic conflicts are threats to the harmony of society and the integrity and the body of Christ. (Pope John Paul II) in his faith proclaims that violence is evil, unacceptable as a solution to problems and that violence is unworthy to man.

The church has been involved in peacebuilding processes in areas affected by ethnic conflicts in Africa (Akerlund, 2001:111). The church has also been involved in peacebuilding and reconciliation of Kenya, the Catholic Church has been strengthened by a commission i.e. Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC) which maintains support on social justice networks across all Tanzania. The Roman Catholic has been offering food and shelter to the victims of ethnic resource conflict with the aim of restoring peace.

Therefore, the conflict between the Tugen and the Pokot communities of Baringo plains in Baringo County has been protracted for a very long time and hence an investigation of sorts should be carried to ascertain the reasons as well as establishing strategies aimed at jettisoning the impasse within the visioning of the AIC church. However, most conflicts in Baringo plains are caused by the scarcity of natural resources, persistent droughts as a result of climatic changes. Coupled with climate changes issues, socio-economic and political marginalization, and active resistance

by pastoral communities to adapt to modernity and availability of light weapons are the major factors causing confusion and protracted conflicts among the Tugen and Pokot communities. This study, therefore, set out to examine the role of Africa Inland church in conflict resolution among the Tugen and Pokot communities of Baringo plains, Kenya.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The use of natural resources is susceptible to conflict for a number of reasons. For, example, when communities are affected by a process of environmental degradation leads to environmental conflicts on the misused natural resources (Ascerlad 1992- P35). The natural resource is also embedded in a shared social space where complex and equal relations are established among a wide range of social actors agro-export producers, small scale farmers, ethnic minorities and government agencies. As in other fields with political dimensions, these actors with greater access to power are also best able to control and influence natural resource decisions in their favor (Peer and watts 1996).

The natural resource is subject is increasing scarcity due it rapid environmental change increasing demand and an equal distribution (Homer- Dixon and Blitt 1998). Environmental change may involve land and water degradation, overexploitation, wildlife and aquatic resource extensive land clearing or drainage of climate change. Increasing demands have multiple social and economic dimensions, including population, growth, change consumption patterns, trade liberalization and land use and change in technology. Natural resource scarcity may also result from the unequal distribution of resources among individuals and social groups or ambiguities in the definitions' of rights to common property resources. As noted by Homer – Dixon and Blitt (1998 – p8) the effects of environmental scarcity such as constrained agricultural output, constrained economic production, migration, social segmentation and disrupt institution can either singly or in combination produce or exacerbate conflict among groups.

Dynamics of ethnicity

Conflicts are part and parcel of human societies because societies have variations. Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) in his moral and political philosophy held that human beings are essentially egoistic, that is, they toil and struggle to quench their ends. When consensus and mutuality lack, human beings and other animals tend to fight over the available chances and resources, this eventually could lead to conflict which usually turns violent as the case in Kenya in 1992, 1997 and 2007.

The observable fact of violent ethnic conflicts in Kenya has attracted enormous interest from scholars since the outbreak of ethnic clashes and the underlying causes of their outbreak. On this, Gecaga (2002), Kahumbi (2004), Maina, (2000) and Rutto, (2000) and Kahumbi (2004) contends that preventing conflict from re-igniting is important as preventive action before conflict arises or become a full-fledged war.

Kahumbi added that the goal of post-conflict building is to consolidate peace. But he fails to give out possible ways of preventing conflict from re-igniting.

Gecaga (2002) traced the various causes of ethnic clashes in Kenya. Causes include colonialism, which compressed communities into tribal cocoons through their ethnic barriers and isolation. Some ethnic groups were disposed of their land. That created economic disparities in different regions and uneven distributions of social amenities such as schools and hospitals. In addition, she argued, colonialism promoted ethnic consciousness at the expense of nationalism and patriotism. The other causes of ethnic clashes are opportunism, unfair distribution of economic resources and political power along ethnic lines. Gecaga (2002) shares the views of Adedeji (1981) and Haugerud (1995) who blame colonialism as the main cause of ethnic awareness. The colonial settlement led to landlessness, creation of tribal reserves and divided society into ethnic entities as earlier indicated. However, Adedeji, Haugerud, and Gecaga seem to generalize the effect of colonialism in Africa without considering countries such as Tanzania which have had no serious ethnic clashes.

Rutto (2000) in his study on community relations and democratization processes among the Kalenjin communities of the Rift Valley Province, perceives the outbreak of ethnic clashes in parts of the Rift Valley in 1992 as a demonstration of the bitter ethnic relations due to the perception that Agikuyu grabbed land in Rift Valley. He argues that the absence of a strong constructive inter-ethnic social structure was a source of ethnic conflicts with ethnic biases, myths, stereotypes, and misinformation aggravating ethnic differences. Rutto's argument of the absence of a strong constructive inter-ethnic social structure as the cause of ethnic conflicts underestimates the potentialities of some realities that connect humanity such as religion, belief in rites and rituals.

Rupesinghe (1996) in his argument on ethnicity and power in the contemporary world defined ethnic conflict as cleavages between groups based on differentiation in ethnic identities. He argued that ethnic groups have prejudices and stereotypes about others. But for him, these attitudes have not normally turned to conflicts unless manipulated and organized by political leaders and elites who use stereotypes as fertile ground to cultivate support for their political and economic aspirations. Rupesinghe brings out the issue of manipulation, in which institutions such as churches can use their mobilizing force to cultivate a culture of peace and harmony among people. In Kenya, for example, political leaders have been accused of manipulating their ethnic communities to demonstrate against the government when one of their own is connected with corruption or sacked from a government position.

Cattle rustling dynamics

Kaimba *etal* (2011) and Mkutu (2010) contend that cattle rustling is a traditional activity among all plain pastoralists generally in the Horn of Africa and East Africa in particular. Further, those stronger pastoral communities engaged in cattle rustling culture of raiding the weaker communities and taking away their animals as a means of expanding grazing land, restocking livestock and obtaining cattle to pride price. As a result, the weaker community builds up her capacity in terms of arms and other related matters in preparation for a retaliatory attack on the stronger community. When that happens, a cycle of violence among the cattle rustlers becomes a protracted process where a repeated attack among communities with livestock is continued. This happened very often among the communities represented in this study who are the Tugen and the Pokot of Baringo plains.

Dynamics of Small Arms and Light Weapons

To date, there have been few attempts by the state to adequately address the issue of small arms (Caleb Ayuba *etal*, 2014). Pastoral communities provide the largest small market for small arms from local circulation and from areas in the region undergoing civil war. Many pastoralists who live near the borders of Kenya – Ethiopia, Kenya – Somalia, Kenya-Sudan, Uganda-Sudan, have found themselves victims of cattle rustling.

Traditionally, pastoralist practiced cattle rustling using spears and bows but now the weapons of choice used is the AK-47 (Caleb Ayuba *etal* 2014). The relative ease of acquisition and low cost of these illegal guns enable the pastoral communities to guarantee a sustained market. The East Africa weekly newspaper estimated that there are between 150,000 and 200,000 firearms in Karamoja region of Uganda alone while the exact number of small firearms in the hands of pastoral communities is difficult to access. It is clear that the threat posed by them is enormous. In 1998 three to six cows could buy a gun in Samburu, while in Karamoja a bullet could be used as bus fare or to buy a glass of beer. The porous borders without clear security procedures make it easy for arms to move to and from one county to another. The arms issue is a cross-border problem and arms acquisition is now both a cause and a consequence of insecurity and conflict in a pastoral community in Kenya (Caleb Ayuba *etal* 2014). The problem of small arms is made more complex by a new dimension, the commercialization of cattle rustling, whereby the rich urban merchants' final raids in the pastoral communities. The economic implications of obtaining a gun are more attractive now than in the past

Dynamics of Wild Life

Access by pastoralists to water and pasture, especially during the dry season has been greatly hindered by the excision of game reserves and national parks from pastoral areas (Knapp, GC *et al* 2007). This excision policy, which started in the 1950s, has taken up large tracks of land and crucial sources of water and dry grazing land. The pastoralists

are perceived as a major threat to the ecosystem and their activities are seen as leading to overgrazing. As a result, pastoralists have been evicted from land. These results to natural resource conflicts for cost-sharing (Knapp, GC et al 2007)

Dynamics of Socio-Economic Change

When society and the economy undergo change, it is not surprising if the interests and needs of natural resource users also change ((Warner, 2000). Economic development often increases pressures on natural resources and this can trigger conflict worse. i.e. introduction of new technologies can have positive and negative effects on the sustainability of resources use. Managed well, technologies such as synthetic fertilizers, agricultural mechanization or permanent irrigation can improve people's lives. Managed poorly, however, they can reduce the capacity of a renewable natural resource to generate, increase resource scarcity, and threaten the livelihoods of resources –dependent users in the longer term. (Halder, H, 2014).

Perverse incentives: people respond predictably when they are given economic encouragement to act (Ostrom, 1990). A subsidy or guaranteed price for coffee makes more people grow coffee. High taxes on one crop make people grow another crop. These incentives sometimes work to help manage resources well. When they do not they are called “perverse” (wrong-headed or unreasonable) incentives. Some perverse incentives can lead to corruption, rent-seeking and other sources of conflict (Ostrom, 1990), for example between rural communities and officials.

Local Participation dynamics

Stakeholders are people or groups who possess an interest in, or influence over a resource within a local government and the community (D. Jeusen and S.Lonergan, 2012). However, such groups are often highly varied and contain many subgroups. So, counting the community as one stakeholder group may be meaningless; some people may have very different interests from others according to gender, status, age, wealth and ethnicity conflict can occur repeatedly because planners and managers identify stakeholders inadequately, or fail to acknowledge a group's interest in a resource (D. Jeusen and S.Lonergan, 2012).

Dynamics of Marginalization

Economic inequalities, regional or ethnic disparities and marginalization in society depend on a number of factors. Brian Cooksey, David court and Ben Makau, attribute problems of inequalities to the economic model of colonial development; uneven spread of missionary activity and the variable intensity of local self-activity. Cooksey *et al*, however point out that the seriousness of these disparities as threats to nationhood and social cohesion derived from the fact that they tended to coincide with ethnic, linguistic, religious and economic cleavages, which in turn found

expression in particularistic loyalties and demand for a greater share of national resource (Cooksey et al 1994: 201).

On the other, Jane Karingai attributes inequalities in Kenya to such factors as historical natural resource endowment, political patronage, policy choices and cultural norms, exogenous factors such as trade and technology, and even bureaucratic excesses. These factors become more pronounced in an environment where taxation and public expenditure policies, budgeting and governance institutions are weak and not impervious to political and bureaucratic manipulations. In countries where oversight institution are weak distortion in public spending are not uncommon- the budget is not immune to bureaucratic manipulations; senior civil servants misdirect public spending in favor of certain regions or projects, factors which contribute to misallocation of resources and inequalities (Karingai, 2006; 15).

The second is a class-based explanation, marginalization, inequalities and other aspects of disparities have a class dimension as well. For example the distribution of the 1.2 million acres of land taken from the departing settlers with financing from the British government, the World Bank and the colonial Development fund and meant to settle families in the 1960s ended up being transferred to wealthy African organized in partnership or limited liability companies, giving rise to new land policy in Kenya that was based on class rather than race (Ogot, 1995: 64).

III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research design is a plan and a structure of examination used to answer research questions in a given study (Kerlinger, 1986). It is the blueprint of the study that guides the researcher to achieve the set-out objectives (Kerlinger, 1986). Similarly, research design can be defined as a strategy of investigation aimed at controlling the variance (Ogula, 2005). Further, a research design can be used to collect both qualitative and quantitative data using tools such as interview schedules among others (Orodho, (2003). This study, therefore, utilized a descriptive research design to describe the dynamics of the conflict between the Tugen and Pokot communities in relation to the role of Africa Inland Church's approach to resolving the protracted conflict in Baringo plains using both qualitative and quantitative data.

Location of the Study

This study took place within Baringo plains at the border between Tiaty and Baringo North Sub-counties of Baringo County. The researcher targeted the following specific AIC churches branches which were of concern, namely: Chesoesi, Cheptumo, Kipnai, Kagir, Loiwat , Churo, Komolion, Chemolingot, Nginyany Chemintany, Tilingwo, Kalabata, Kapturo, Chemoe, Chepkesin, Tuluk, Kisumet, Sibilo, Kinyach and Yatya. Baringo plains was selected because there have been persistent conflicts occurring frequently regardless of Kenya Government interventions.

Target Population

The total target population was 593 respondents (baptized and registered members including 20 pastors and 130 elders from the 20 local churches mentioned below) drawn from the following local churches Chesesoi (27),

Cheptumo (28), Kipnai (28), Kagir (21), Loiwat (38), Churo (33), Komolion (26), Chemolingot (28), Nginyany (33), Chemintany (28), Tilingwo 54, Kalabata (43), Kapturo (28), Chemoe (31), Chepkesin (21), Tuluk (16), Kisumet (31), Sibilo (16) and Yatya (39), Kinyach (28).

Table 3.1 Target population distribution table

S/No	Name of the local church	Numbers of ordinary church members	Numbers of church elders	Number of pastors	Totals
1	Chesesoi	20	7	1	28
2	Cheptumo	15	7	1	23
3	Kipnai	20	7	1	28
4	Kagir	15	5	1	21
5	Loiwat	30	7	1	38
6	Churo	25	7	1	33
7	Komolion	20	5	1	26
8	Chemolingot	20	7	1	28
9	Nginyany	25	7	1	33
10	Chemintany	20	7	1	28
11	Tilingwo	40	13	1	54
12	Kalabata	35	7	1	43
13	Kapturo	20	7	1	28
14	Chemoe	25	5	1	31
15	Chepkesin	15	5	1	21
16	Tuluk	10	5	1	16
17	Kisumet	25	5	1	31
18	Sibilo	10	5	1	16
19	Yatya	33	5	1	39
20	Kinyach	20	7	1	28
Totals		443	130	20	593

Sample Size and Sample Procedures

Purposive sampling was employed to determine the sample size using Mugenda and Mugenda's 30% formula (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). The researcher, therefore, computed the 593 respondents based on the ordinary church members, church elders, and pastors to arrive at the sample size as shown in the table below. Therefore, the researcher interviewed a total of 178 respondents among which 133 were ordinary church members, 39 church elders, and 6 pastors. This study, using purposive sampling, selected the 3 pastors from among the Pokot local churches and the 3 pastors from among the Tugen local churches. Further, the researcher interviewed 2 elders from each local church. Consequently, the researcher purposely distributed the 133 church members equally among the 20 local churches and since we could not interview 6.5 persons, the researcher rounded it to 7 people.

This meant that 7 baptized and registered ordinary members were interviewed from the 20 local churches across the targeted study area.

Table 3.2 Sample size distribution Table

Pastors	20	6
Church Elders	120	39
Church Members	443	133
Total	593	178

Data Collection Procedures

The researcher prepared questionnaires and interview schedules and asked for permission from the National Commission for Science and technology and innovation (NACOSTI) and a pre-visited the targeted Africa Inland

churches bordering Tiaty and Baringo North Sub-Counties for familiarization. During the visit, the researcher informed the church management about the purpose of the intended study and made an appointment for data collection. The researcher in person collected the data from the respondents using the questionnaires and interview schedule instruments. The instruments were administered by the researcher and collected later

Instruments

This study utilized questionnaires and interview schedules to gather appropriate information and research data. The questionnaires were both close-ended and open-ended items. The close-ended questions being those that the respondents who would give “yes” or “no” for an answer while the open-ended would require more thoughtful answers with details included.

Questionnaires

Gathoni (2008) defined a questionnaire as a number of questions printed or typed in a definite order on a form or set of forms. In the case of this study, the researcher constructed closed-ended and open-ended questionnaires that were administered to 6 church pastors, 39 (but rounded to 40) church elders, and 133 (but rounded to 140) ordinary and registered church members. The use of questionnaires was advantageous because it gave the respondents adequate time to give well-thought answers and poised to allow dependable and reliable information.

Interview Schedule

A structured interview schedule (sample questions that guided the researcher) was used to obtain information from the respondents. This technique was significant because it enabled the researcher to gain an understanding of people’s attitudes, preferences, and behaviors as explained by Ogula (Ogula, 2005). The technique was, however, used flexibly to enable the interviewer to probe the interviewed for additional details. It also gave chances to illiterate respondents to participate in the process.

Validity

Validity is the degree to which results are obtained from the data analysis represented by the phenomena under study (Michael Bloor *et al*, 2006). In other words, validity ensures that the instrument measures exactly what it intends to measure adequately. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999), validity is the accuracy and meaningfulness of inferences that are based on the research results. The content-related technique measured the degree to which the questions reflected the specific area covered.

Reliability

According to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999), reliability refers to the consistency of the research instruments when it is applied to different respondents at one time or to

the same respondents over a period of time or to the same respondents over a period of time. Reliability is concerned with the consistency, dependability, or stability of a test (Nachmias and Nachmias 1996). The researcher measured the reliability of the questionnaires to determine its consistency in testing what it is intended to measure. The piloting technique was used to estimate the reliability of the instruments; this involved administering the questionnaires in another selected group outside my study area. The outside study areas included Chesongo and Kapkwon branches of Africa Inland Church within Baringo Central Sub-county of Baringo County. This pilot survey was meant to ensure the reliability of the research instruments.

Data Analysis

After collection from the field, the data were coded and cleaned to remove outliers or missing values and were categorized manually according to the questionnaires and interview schedule themes items using frequency distribution tables and percentages. The coded data were then transferred to a computer sheet and processed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) Program Version 22. Data were then presented by the use of tables, pie charts, and graphs.

Ethical Consideration

The researcher entirely depended on primary data collected from the respondents using reliable and valid data instruments hence the enhanced quality of the research collected. The respondent’s consent and voluntary participation were sought before administering research tools. Further, the information collected was kept confidential and used only for research academic purposes. Moreover, data collected was analyzed, interpreted and reported as a reflection of facts on the findings.

IV. FINDINGS

Data on the study population

Data were collected from the respondents using questionnaires and interview schedules; pastors, church elders, and church members. Each category of respondents was given a questionnaire to fill and was collected later. Interviews were conducted on pastors, church elders and church members to obtain information which later on corroborated with the data from the questionnaires. The rate of responses per group is presented in figure 1.

Coding of data

The information obtained from the study were coded and analyzed before being presented. Data obtained were coded “P” signified pastors, “CE” signified church elders and “CM” signified church members. Pastors are those who have been ordained and licensed by the Africa Inland Church to oversee the church, church elders are those who have served in the church for a longer period of time, ordained, committed to the word of God and who hold a position as a clergy or

leader of a particular church while a church member are those who are born again, baptized and faithful to the word of God. Information obtained from each group was analyzed thematically based on the responses obtained from the questions asked in the tools.

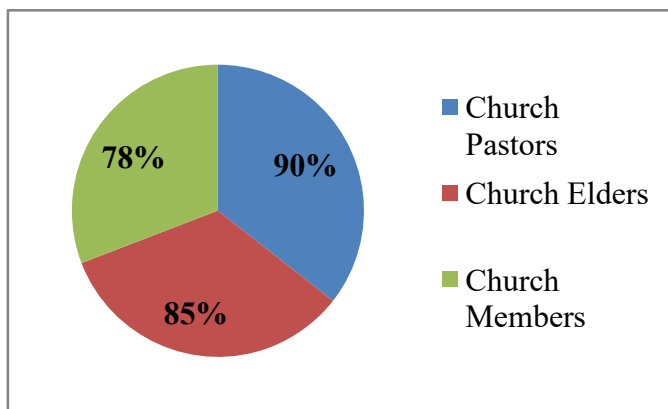
Thematic data analysis of questionnaires and interview schedule

The themes that the study focused on were: the presence of conflict among the Tugen and Pokot communities in Baringo County, the duration of the conflict, resource under conflict, causes of the conflict, impact of the conflict on the livelihood of the people, steps taken by Africa Inland Church to curb the conflict and the possible solutions to the conflict. The data obtained from those themes were fathered using questionnaires and interview schedules. These themes were analyzed systematically and presented below.

Response rate

The respondents who were approached for data gathering were the pastors who had been served with questionnaires. Ninety percent of the church (90%) returned filled questionnaires. Eighty percent (85%) of church elders returned filled questionnaires and seventy-eight percent (78%) of the church members filled and returned the questionnaires. The returned questionnaires is presented in figure below.

Figure4.1 Rate of responses per group



The information obtained, therefore, represents 83% of data obtained from the sample population.

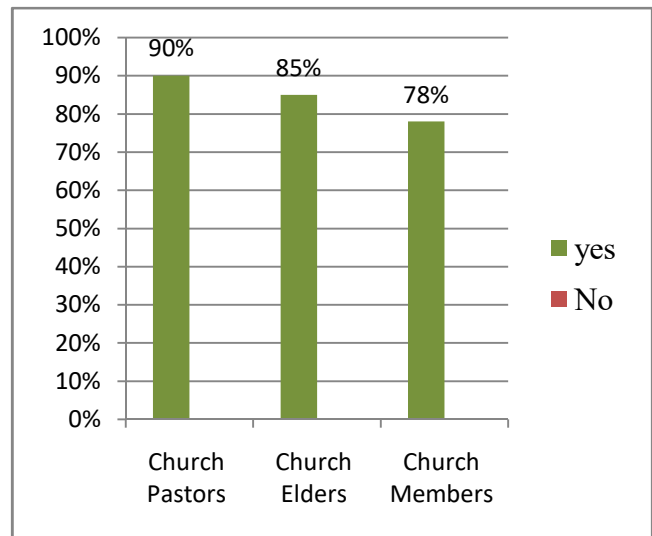
Analysis of the presence of conflict among the Tugen and Pokot Community

Ninety percent (90%) of pastors responded that natural resource conflict has been there among the Tugen and the Pokot Communities, eighty five percent (85%) of the church elders responded that natural resource conflict among the Tugen and the Pokot existed amongst them while seventy-eight percent (78%) of the ordinary church members

concurred with the pastors and church elders that resource conflict has been there since time or immemorial.

The summary of the responses is presented in figure 4.2 below.

Figure 4.2: Presence of the conflict



The respondents seem to suggest that resource conflict has been in existence among the Pokot and Tugen communities for as long as a decade. According to Kanyika (2006) article, “Governance institutions and inequalities in Kenya”. Further, Kanyika pointed to the existence of the relationship between ethnicity and resource distribution in Kenya are imbalanced developed. He noted the disparity in terms of development between and amongst the eight former provinces of Kenya (County’s today). Some ethnics seems to be collectively poorer than others. This seems to have some common components with the marginalization of some ethnics in some parts which has more natural resources than others. Natural resource conflicts over resources were there amongst the Tugen and Pokot communities.

Duration of the conflict

Ninety percent of the (90%) of the pastors responded that the natural resource conflict has been there for over ten years amongst the two communities while eighty-five percent (85%) of the church elders who filled the questionnaires reported the same as the pastors as seventy-eight percent (78%) of the church members reported that the conflict existed between 5 years to 10 years. During the interview schedule, among the pastors, they reported that natural resource conflict has been there for over 10 years which concurred with the church elders who were interviewed. The church members who were interviewed majority of them responded that natural resource conflict has been there for a period of 10 years.

Table 4.3 Duration of the conflict

Respondents	Sample size	Duration in years of the conflict	Responses	Responses rate
Pastors	18	2 years	0	0%
		5 years	0	0%
		10 years	2	11.11%
		Over 10 years	16	88.89%
			18	100%
Church elders	34	2 years	0	0%
		5 years	0	0%
		10 years	5	15%
		Over 10 years	29	85%
			34	100%
Church members	48	2 years	0	0%
		5 years	1	2.08%
		10 years	36	75%
		Over 10 years	11	22.92%
			48	100%

The findings from the church members responded that the conflict has been there for 5-10 years. This suggests that most respondents in this category are young and may not have had any information on conflict previously. This is in line with Morgan (2009) which states that Democratic Republic of Congo which had \$24 billion worth and untapped deposits of raw material ores and world's largest reserve of cobalt which has had numerous battle conflicts between the government forces and the rebel groups over gaining control of mineral resources. This is also done by clan militias which are common to the conflict between the Pokot communities which have fought over same resources since time of immemorial.

Resources under conflict

Ninety percent (90%) of the pastors reported that the natural resources under conflict were minerals, livestock, pasture, and water. Eighty-five percent of the church elders responded the same as the pastors' responses while the church members reported that resources were mineral which are crystal stones, diatomite, oil, geothermal power, and brick stones. Other resources are pasture, water, honey, livestock and land territorial expansion (boundary).

During the interviews, the pastors and the church elders concurred with their responses which the church members interviewed also gave livestock, water, pastures, and land to be major resources under conflict among the Tugen and Pokot communities. The table below represents the resources under conflict.

Table 4.4 Resources under conflict

Respondents	Resources under conflict	No. of responses	Percentage responses
Pastors (18)	Water	1	5.56%
	Pasture and land	2	11.11%
		3	16.67%
	Livestock	1	5.56%
	Minerals	10	55.56%
	All the above	1	5.56%
	Others	18	100%
Church elders (34)	Water	2	5.88%
	Pasture and land	4	11.76%
		4	11.76%

	Livestock	2	5.88%
	Minerals	20	58.82%
	All the above	2	11.11%
	Others	34	100%
Church members (48)	Water	10	20.83%
	Pasture and land	25	52.08%
		10	20.83%
	Livestock	5	10.42%
	Minerals	3	6.25%
	All the above	0	0%
	Others	48	100%

The findings show a new trend of conflict—that of land and pasture as shown by church members 52%. This trend seems to suggest an expansionist ideology and struggle for territorial rights. This could also have a political implication. According to Berman et al (2014) he found that extracted industries especially mining in Africa have a large impact on the livelihood of conflicts in the region which influenced the diffusion over time with low enforcement of extractive and mining in Africa. This suggests agreeing that resources under conflict are also experienced at a high level of oil-related conflicts in South Sudan at Abyei region which contains a quarter of Sudan's total crude oil output as per enough project 2013 and BBC October 31st 2013. These regions are compatible to natural regions under conflict between the border of Tiaty sub-county and Baringo North sub-county at regions named Kabartamas hills, Tekechaw, Kabargut, Chepkesin, Chemoe and Kabiryong where diatomite, oil deposits, crystal stones are fought over by the two communities for control (own source).

Causes of the conflict among the Tugen and the Pokot communities

The findings indicate that ninety percent (90%) of the pastors who filled the questionnaires that political influence, acquisition of small firearms, cultural teachings and beliefs, and sharing of scarce resources which include pasture and water sources during the dry season led the communities to scramble for the scarce resources as well as raiding for the cattle from their counterpart in Baringo plains. Similarly,

eighty-five percent (85%) of the church elders responded that the above factors contributed to the insecurity menace in Baringo Plains. Further, seventy-eight percent (78%) of the ordinary church members reported that cultural practices and religious beliefs, acquisition of small firearms have motivated the *Moran*¹, tribal warriors to venture into cattle rustling to enrich themselves and for prestigious purposes. Cultural vows such as Isapania and Adongo has ignited the spirit of being rich and famous within a short period. During the interview with the church pastors, they responded that political incitement, cultural teachings and beliefs, and acquisition of small firearms are the core pillars for the re-occurrences of the conflicts amongst the Tugen and the Pokot communities.

The church elders who were also interviewed responded that amongst other causes are the political utterances (incitement) in public *barazas*², community meetings expansion of boundary territories has sparked the affected community to retaliate as a sign of claiming back their ancestral boundary. The church members who were interviewed responded that the major factors to which cause the resource conflict was as a result of drought and famine seasons, wanting to pose their water points which was named under their names which include river Lokwatemoi in Bartabwa was initially a Pokot named spring which was later changed by the residents of Bartabwa after several herdsmen clashed in the river and was changed to a Tugen name called river Kiptuisaror meaning the river named after the tail of the cow and “Kongin” meaning a source of a spring where water doesn’t dry in Bartabwa Ngorara location in Baringo North sub-county located within the boundary and “Makutani town” the Pokot claim to be in their territory and under their name. Other key natural resource areas of conflict include Teren which borders Marakwet, Tugen and the Pokot. This area has a large number of pastures where the three pastoral communities clash during drought periods. Stess hill along the border of Ngorora location, Bartabwa division, and Tiaty Sub County has plenty of grass where when the livestock of the two communities crosses over to any of the land the livestock are claimed not to be returned. Finally, along Cheberion where diatomites, crystal stones, oil deposits are available there has been conflict between the Tugen community and the Pokot community over the same resource.

It was reported by the church elders of Baringo North that by the 18th to 19th century, there was no Pokot community but those who were living between the border of Turkana county and Baringo County were a small group of people called Metya who is claimed to have migrated from Uganda. Later, the Pokot came from West Pokot and spied the land and saw the land was good for livestock keeping and they fought the Metya people, dispersed them, took their animals and married their wives. The Pokot then lived between the border of Baringo County and Turkana County. After some time, they fought the Turkana community due to

pasture and they moved to Chepkesin early 19th century because the place had plenty of water and pasture. After some time interacting with the Tugen, they collaborated to make a covenant of living together with the Tugen and requested the Tugen to bring a cow for slaughter and shed the blood on the river bank (River Chepkesin). The name Chepkesin means a river of blood. At this river, the Pokot offer sacrifices and prayed to the ancestors. During the covenant moment, the Pokot community requested the Tugen to come with bows without arrows and spears without a sharp end. This acts as a peace ceremony. When the Tugen men arrived at the scene, the Pokot elders made them to make a circle in preparation for the ceremony and were told to kneel down as a ceremony procession but while the Tugen warriors knelt down, the Pokots warriors who were hiding behind the scene ambushed and killed all the warriors and their blood flow to the river giving River Chepkesin (the river of blood). The blood of the Tugen/elders replaced the cow and they became the covenant animal. This is the greatest cause of conflict amongst the Tugen and the Pokot to date.

Later during the 1940s the Turkanas fought the Pokot and the Pokot were dispersed to Tugen land for safety. Later, during the payment of tax by the whites the Pokots refused to comply and the whites forced them with the support of the Tugen to chase them to their homeland. Later, the whites demarcated the boundary of the Tugen and the Pokot from Tot in Marakwet through Gido, then to Nginyang. The second demarcation started from Kipnai at the lower end of river Kerio through Kechir at the upper Kipnai to Cheborcholom hill near Nginyang. The third demarcation was from Teren near Kinyach in Ngorora location bordering the two communities to Silan, Cheptumo, Chesawilmet, Kichurum, Pendera (Sitek) where the beacon was installed, Chebirmok, Koimoron, Katbo Chelimo, Barsuswa, Loyamorok to Loruk.

The fourth and the current one that the Pokots are advocating for starts from Loruk from the upper region, Barbarchun, Kampi Nyasi in Barwessa division to river Kerio. This is the region where the Pokot elders claim to possess as part of their territorial expansion which is approximately 300kms away from the first demarcated boundary (own source).

From 1977 to 1978, concurrently wars between the Tugen, Pokots and the Turkanas began. The Pokot claimed that all the plains and all livestock (cows, sheep, goats and camels) belong to them. When the retired President Moi took over leadership as the president of Kenya, the Pokots cautioned themselves not to fight the Tugen until Moi’s era is over. Early 2007 to date, the Pokots have been fighting the Tugen, stealing their animals, beehives, harvesting their honey, torching houses, stores, schools and killing the old people and settle on their areas as a sign of territorial expansion.

According to Knapp, G.C et al (2007) elaborated that pastoralists were evicted from grazing within game reserves as threat to the ecosystem and their animals were seen as finishing the grass vegetation for the wild animals which

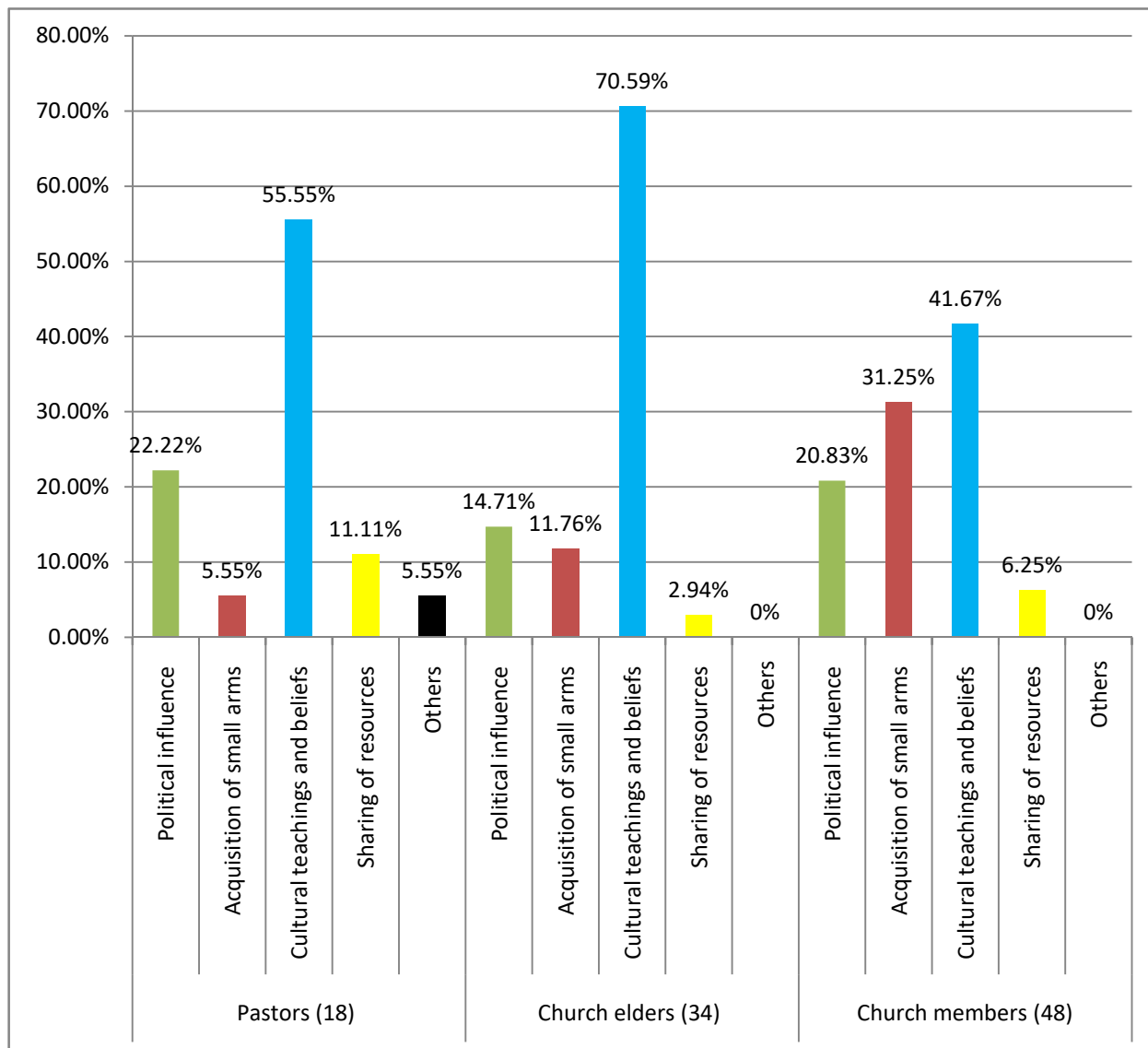
¹ Pokot and Tugen word for warriors

² Kiswahili word for community meetings

resulted in conflict. This concurs with Gecaga (2002) which traces various causes of ethnical clashes in Kenya which include colonialism which compressed communities into tribal cocoons through their ethnic barriers and isolation. This

relates to the Pokot and the Tugen who now cannot penetrate their communities because of war initiated by the whites. The summary of causes are presented below

Figure 4.4 Responses on the causes of the conflict



The respondents strongly feel that cultural teachings and beliefs heavily contributed to conflict among the Tugen and Pokots. These findings seem to support Mkuto (2010) who said that cultural rites, praise songs and small arms enhance conflicts among the Tugen and the Pokots.

V. CONCLUSION

From the findings, the major causes of the protracted wars between the Pokot and Tugen of Kenya, were competition over the natural resources and accumulation of livestock through cattle rustling. Secondly, the territorial land expansion by the Pokot community led to the numerous

attacks on the Tugen. These led to the destruction of property, torching of granaries, dispersion of the inhabitants, theft of beehives of the Tugen and dispossession of the Tugen of their livestock. All these led to acute poverty on the side of the Tugen community. Thirdly, the scarcity of pasture and water during the dry seasons forced the Pokot and the Tugen to travel across vast regions of Baringo Plains in search of water and pasture. Undoubtedly, this led deadly clashes around Teren Pasture region along the Kerio Valley where the Pokot, Marakwet, and Tugen. As a result, the more aggressive Pokot take advantage as they are better armed than the Tugen and run away with a great number off livestock. Similarly, it

is clear that the war between the Tugen and the Pokot has existed for as long as more than one decade. According to Africa Inland Church, resources under conflict can be summarized as follows: minerals, pasture, water, grasses, oil deposits and livestock.

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