

**INTER-ETHNIC CO-EXISTENCE OF THE ABAGUSI-MAASAI OF
TRANSMARA BORDER FROM 1850 TO 1963**

BY

JACKSON ONDONG'A MARANGA

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY IN THE SCHOOL
OF EDUCATION, HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES OF
JARAMOGI OGINGA ODINGA UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND
TECHNOLOGY**

© 2024

DECLARATION

Declaration by Candidate

This thesis is my original work and has not been submitted for a degree or diploma in any other university

Signature..... Date.....

Jackson Ondong'a Maranga

Z162/4096/2018

Supervisors

This thesis has been submitted with our knowledge as University Supervisors

Signature..... Date.....

Dr. Fredrick Odede

School of Education, Humanities, and Social Sciences

Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology

Signature..... Date.....

Dr. George Odhiambo

School of Education, Humanities, and Social Sciences

Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I acknowledge all who supported me during the process of writing this thesis, especially my supervisors Dr. Fredrick Odede and Dr. George Odhiambo. Thanks for the invaluable aid and efforts in guiding me this far. Great appreciation for the time, patience and resilience for the necessary scholarship input during the critical stages of the entire process. To my family, kind regards for the moral, spiritual, emotional and financial support. May God bless you all.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my beloved dad, the late Joseph Maranga and my dear wife Asenath Momanyi, whose moral and financial support and encouragement was without measure.

ABSTRACT

There is a long history of intermittent conflict between the Maasai and the Abagusii at the Trans- Mara frontier in Kenya. However, in modern times, communities rarely fight with one another and often work together to responsibly use their shared natural resources. The two entities appear to be engaged in some type of mutually beneficial restructuring and symbiosis. In most cases, people appear to have tactical means of resolving conflicts amicably. Although this trend seems to be dominant today, research on inter-ethnic relations has largely ignored shifting patterns of coexistence, especially the interface between conflict and coexistence. The purpose of this research is to analyze the evolution of the Maasai and Abagusii's peaceful coexistence in the Trans- Mara boundary from 1850 to 1963. The study's objectives are, to establish the nature of co-existence between the Abagusii and Maasai in the Pre- colonial period, interrogate the impact of the establishment of colonial rule on inter-ethnic co- existence between the Maasai and Abagusii before the outbreak of the Second World War (1895-1939) and establish the transformation process of co-existence between the Maasai and Abagusii during Second World War & Decolonization period (1939-1963). The study used Conflict transformation theory, a multi-dimensional analysis which holds that disagreement is an inevitable byproduct of any attempt to reach a unified opinion and is therefore present in any culture. Since the multi-cultural nature of society generates all sorts of conflicts, a reductionist solution may be elicited by political power and economic competitiveness owing to differential distribution of resources. The theory provided a broader lens through which to examine shifts in the degree to which the two communities were able to co-exist. To get to the bottom of this, the study used a historical research design to collect data and analyse the findings. The study used both probability and non-probability sampling methods to recruit a subset of respondents for in-depth interviews. Subsequent to data collection, thematic analysis was applied to generate and organize information based on the objectives of the study. The study established that the Maasai and Abagusii communities have suffered in a number of ways due to the intermittent conflicts. Property have been destroyed, cattle stolen and the crime rate increased because of ethnic strife. Findings also showed local mechanisms have been adopted for survival and to deal with these situations across the different historical periods.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
DEDICATION	iv
ABSTRACT	v
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	x
OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS	xi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	xii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background to the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	8
1.3 Objectives of the study	8
1.4 Research Questions	8
1.5 Assumptions of the Study	9
1.6 Significance of the Study	9
1.7 Justification of the Study	11
1.8 Scope and delimitation of the Study	11
1.9 Limitations of the Study	13
1.10 Literature Review	14
1.10.1 The Nature of Inter-Ethnic Co-existence in the Pre-colonial Period	14
1.10.2 The Impact of the Establishment of Colonial Rule on Inter-Ethnic Co-existence on the Eve of the Second World War (1895-1939)	20
1.10.3 Establishment and Transformation Process of Inter-Ethnic Co-existence during the Second World War and Decolonization Period (1939-1963)	26
1.10.4 The Socio- Economic and Political Consequences of Ethnic Conflicts	29
1.10.5 Theoretical Framework	32
1.11 Research Methodology	40
1.11.1 Research Design	40
1.11.2 Study Area	41
1.11.3 Target Population	47
1.11.4 Sampling Techniques	47

1.11.5 Research Instruments	49
1.11.6 Interview Schedule.....	50
1.11.7 Focus Group Discussion Guide	50
1.11.8 Archival Records	50
1.11.9 Validity and Reliability of Research Instruments	51
1.12 Data Collection Procedure	51
1.13 Data Analysis	52
1.14 Ethical Considerations	53
CHAPTER TWO: GUSII-MAASAI ETHNIC CO-EXISTENCE IN THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD	55
2.1 Introduction.....	55
2.2 Pre-colonial Gusii-Maasai relations.....	55
2.3 Political consequences of Gusii-Maasai conflictual relations in the pre-colonial period	72
2.4 Socio-Economic Consequences of Maasai- Gusii Conflictual Relations in the pre-colonial period.....	76
2.5 Conclusion	80
CHAPTER THREE: GUSII-MAASAI CO-EXISTENCE DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD (1895-1939).	82
3.1 Introduction.....	82
3.2 The Establishment of Colonial Rule in Kenya.....	82
3.3. The Nature of Gusii-Maasai relations upon Establishment of Colonial rule in Kenya	87
3.4 Establishment of colonial rule among the Gusii and the Maasai.....	91
3.5 Impact of Early Colonial Institution of Governance on Gusii-Maasai Relations	94
3.6 Other Colonial Measures to Control the Problem of Inter-Ethnic Cattle Thefts between the Maasai and the Gusii.....	97
3.6.1 Banning of ebisarate (cattle camps) among the Gusii	99
3.6.2 Taxation laws and their Impact on Gusii-Maasai Relations.....	101
3.6.3 The Introduction of the Modern Police and its Impact on Gusii-Maasai relations.....	104
3.7 Socio-Economic Consequences of Conflictual Relations between the Maasai and Gusii in the colonial period	108

3.8 Political Consequences of conflictual relations between the Maasai and the Gusii in the colonial period	113
3.9 Conclusion	117

CHAPTER FOUR: TRANSFORMATION OF MAASAI- ABAGUSII CO-EXISTENCE DURING SECOND WORLD WAR & DECOLONIZATION PERIOD (1939-1963).....120

4.1 Introduction.....	120
4.2 The Outbreak of the Second World War and Gusii-Maasai Co-existence	121
4.3 Gusii-Maasai Co-existence during the Second World War	122
4.4 Peace building measures by the colonial government and their impact on Maasai-Gusii relations during the Second World War	127
4.5 The Kenya Police and peacebuilding among the Gusii and the Maasai during the Second World War	131
4.6 Gusii-Maasai relations during the Mau Mau uprising	136
4.7. Gusii-Maasai relations during the Decolonization Period (Mau Mau uprising).....	138
4.8 Conclusion	144

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS147

5.1 Summary of the study	147
5.2 Conclusion From the study findings	150
5.3 Recommendations Based on the findings of the study	151

REFERENCES.....153

APPENDICES.....169

APPENDIX 1: ARCHIVAL SOURCES	169
APPENDIX 2: REFERENCES FROM PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY	171
APPENDIX 3: ORAL INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED.....	173
APPENDIX 4: INFORMATION ON FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS.....	186
APPENDIX 5: LIST OF PARTICIPANTS IN KEY INTERVIEWS	189
APPENDIX 6: RESPONDENTS INTERVIEWED PER WARD	190
APPENDIX 7: TOOLS USED FOR DATA COLLECTION	191
APPENDIX 8: LETTERFROM THE UNIVERSITY.....	194
APPENDIX 9: RESEARCH PERMIT	195

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Codes of Targeted Respondents	41
Table 1.2: Targeted Population	48
Table 1.3: Population and Sample Size.....	48
Table 4.1: Number of livestock stolen in Kitutu location by month.	141

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Map Showing Settlement areas of Maasai and the Abagusi	42
--	----

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

- Community** The term is used to denote a form of the Maasai and the Abagusii socio-cultural, economic, and political unit. These communities share certain values in common.
- Conflict** - For this study, it is a disagreement, opposing groups or individuals or an argument between the Maasai and the Abagusii about something important. It was somewhat latent or manifest.
- Cross-border** -This involves occurrences, political boundaries which geographically artificial lines are separated between the Maasai and the Abagusii of the Transmara border.
- Co-existence** -Is the relations between the Maasai and the Abagusii of Transmara border who exhibit distinct identities within the borders in which the identities may or may not be in contact with each other. It refers to the very recognition in the right of the Maasai and the Abagusii to exist peacefully with their differences and to the acceptance of each other as legitimate and equal partner with whom disagreements have to be resolved in non-violent ways. It is the relationship between the Maasai and the Abagusii, in which none of them is trying to destroy the other. Rather, it involves living together side by side in the same place.
- Ethnicity** - This is a cultural collectivity that emphasizes the role of myths of descent and historical memories that recognize either the Maasai or the Abagusii by one or more cultural differences like religion, customs, language, or institutions. An ethnic group is distinguishable by a collective proper name, a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, some elements of a common culture, and the association with a specific homeland.
- Inter-ethnic** - In this research, inter-ethnic refers to the relations between the Maasai and the Abagusii of Transmara border, they were primarily based on their ethnicity and make collective claims to resources.
- Age group** - Refers to a group of people who have approximately the same age. The Maasai and the Abagusii had their own distinct arrangements.
- Age set** - The Maasai and the Abagusii were organized into different age-set systems with a common identity and maintained close ties over a prolonged period, and together passed through a series of age-related statuses.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

DC:	District Commissioner
KNA:	Kenya National Archives
NACOSTI:	National Council for Science and Technology
PC:	Provincial Commissioner
WWI:	The First World War (World War I)
WWII:	The Second World War (World War II)
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organization

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Throughout the history of human civilization, the phenomenon of intercultural interaction has been seen, wherein individuals hailing from diverse geographical regions have engaged with one another within various societies. Individuals in ancient civilizations engaged in various forms of interaction, encompassing both harmonious and aggressive encounters. Confrontations have consistently been the prevailing kind of armed conflict on a global scale for an extended period of time (Bates, 2003). In recent years, a number of armed conflicts and insurrections have taken place, including the Kurdish struggle for self-determination in Iraq, Iran, and Turkey, the guerilla warfare observed in El Salvador and Nicaragua, and the uprising in Chechnya. These instances provide as evidence of the declining or antagonistic ties between nations.

Communities engage in the acquisition and assimilation of cultural attributes and practices from one another through processes of exchange and interaction, which can yield both positive and negative outcomes. Political arguments in numerous western cultures often revolve around matters pertaining to cultural diversity. The influx of migrants in many European countries has led to escalating political tensions, hence prompting extensive debates and discussions within the region. European societies are likely to encounter considerable challenges when it comes to managing the ethnic and cultural diversity associated with these changes. The advantages and disadvantages of cultural diversity are subject to intense debate. A notable illustration of this phenomenon can be observed in the ongoing public discourse about French national identity, which has been instigated by deliberations on the Islamic veil and the burqa within the country. In contemporary European politics, there has been a notable emergence of fervent and emotionally charged discussions surrounding matters of ethnic and religious identity. This is exemplified by the recent enactment of a ban on the construction of Muslim mosques in Switzerland (Branch, 2011).

Prior to the advent of colonization, African societies engaged in diverse modes of communication with each other. The presence of both positive and negative interactions across societies is shown through the occurrence of battles and intermarriage among diverse communities (Branch, Daniel, 2011). Throughout the course of history, numerous

generations have transpired since the inception of interethnic relations. These relations have exhibited a wide spectrum of dynamics, encompassing harmonious cohabitation as well as instances characterized by apprehension, strained interactions, and even outright conflicts. The entities in question have been shaped through historical processes associated with colonialism and its subsequent manifestation, neo-colonialism (Kakai, 1997) (Kakai, 1997). The utilization of iron tools by the Bantu people marked a significant milestone in the trajectory of African history. The advent of iron tools resulted in the enhancement of armament, which in turn compelled Africans to engage in activities such as the clearance and management of dense forests, the cultivation of fields through ploughing, and the adoption of various modifications to their traditional way of life. Due to the enhanced productivity and heightened safety facilitated by the utilization of iron tools, African societies experienced the opportunity to establish more extensive settlements. Consequently, this development served as a catalyst for the emergence of organized states and kingdoms within the region.

In essence, the development of contemporary civilizations can be attributed to the establishment of various common features, including written communication, ethical principles, artistic expressions, ceremonial activities, and patterns of daily living. According to Collier (1986), the interactions between communities and states were facilitated by various means such as trade, conquest, invasion, or the coercive dispersal of weaker communities. The interaction between the populations of present-day Zambia and Zimbabwe in Southern Africa is believed to have been significantly influenced by the mining of the region's natural resources, leading to a heightened level of engagement and enrichment. Consequently, an elaborate communication network was established across the entire region. Interactions among individuals during the pre-colonial era often exhibited a higher degree of flexibility and adaptability. Societies that transitioned to inhabiting fertile terrain and residing in closer proximity to water sources adopted a sedentary lifestyle.

This phenomenon was particularly evident in the Sahel and arid regions of West Africa, as well as in the eastern and southern areas of the African continent. In their pursuit of pasture and water, the migratory groups occasionally resorted to employing coercive or compelling tactics to displace the preexisting settlements. Research has demonstrated that

Pre-colonial African societies did not experience complete isolation from one another. Communities engaged in regular interactions, encompassing both local and wider geographical spheres, and sporadically extended their connections beyond the African continent. Commerce, marriage, migration, diplomacy, and violence constituted the various means through which civilizations interacted with each other. Interaction was essential between villages in order to take benefit of their rich agriculture, trade routes, or animals.

In the past, East African traders often engaged in commercial exchanges with their counterparts in China, the Middle East, and India. In 1482, Portugal founded a trading post at Elmina Fort in what is now modern-day Ghana (Branch, Daniel, 2011). The ever-expanding body of literature on race and ethnicity attests to the fact that academics from a wide range of disciplines have contributed to the continuous discourse about Africa and its people. Soja (1968) maintains that, in traditional African cultures, there existed a permanent state of change. Cohesive communities were developing and fading, joining and splitting up as a result of an almost omnipresent competition for land and animals. Soja adds that internecine fighting happened not simply between culturally diverse groups like pastoralists and farmers, but also between closely related ethnic groupings.

Laremont (2002) observes that, in Africa today, how colonial rulers drew up local and national territorial boundaries was based on a rudimentary knowledge of the structure of ethnic groupings. In Nigeria, for instance, people who understood themselves using wholly diverse notions were brought together and classified as “tribes” based on similarities in language. Inter-group conflict has been identified as a significant contributing factor to social unrest in various African nations (Okoth, 2010). According to Mazrui (2008), the relationship between Sudan and Somalia has been characterized by violent conflicts arising from disputes over the access, utilization, and governance of valuable natural resources. These resources are allocated in an uneven manner, resulting in pockets of discontent among the affected parties.

The origins of conflict and disagreement can be traced back to inherent human characteristics, as supported by Mulu's (2008) assertion that avarice and complaints arising from the unequal allocation of land and natural resources are responsible.

Furthermore, the study conducted by Ryan (1971) examines the influence of exogenous variables on the decline of ethnic relations in the Horn of Africa. The individuals from the southern region of Sudan assert that the Arab population residing in Sudan cannot be classified as Africans, since they are perceived as imperialists and individuals who hold racist ideologies. These individuals are believed to have a vested interest in perpetuating the lasting consequences of their historical enslavement of Africans. It is argued that this particular dynamic has been a significant catalyst for the outbreak of the civil war in Sudan. The residents of the southern region exhibit a strong resistance towards any endeavors aimed at Arabization or Islamization of the area.

The colonial administration in Africa implemented a policy characterized by a nuanced approach towards various African ethnic groups, exhibiting both favorable and unfavorable dispositions. Upon conducting an analysis of the historical context surrounding various prominent civil wars and conflicts in Africa, it has become evident that the presence of non-democratic governance had a substantial part in each of these instances. According to Nzomo (2002), it is argued that in the context of societal interactions with varied competing social identities and ideologies, tensions are inevitable. However, it is contended that these tensions are incapable of escalating into actual conflicts. This assertion holds validity in cases where a nation's current governance institutions, legal framework, and ideological orientation fail to adequately address the diverse social identities within the society, hence promoting social division rather than fostering social unity.

In such instances, it is probable that the absence of a tolerant democratic culture, characterized by mutual tolerance for divergent beliefs, is also evident. The aforementioned sociological circumstance thus presents an opportune environment that may be manipulated and instigated by the current political administration into a conflict that only serves the interests of the dominant class. According to Nzomo, the root causes of civil wars and violent conflicts in Africa during the latter half of the twentieth century and beyond are undemocratic governance structures and processes, as well as disparities in power and resources that are politicized and manifested in socio-cultural terms. Within this particular framework, political leaders strategically leverage the racial, religious, and ethnic disparities among citizens as a means to garner backing for their own objectives

and encourage greater participation in their initiatives.

The individuals in question exhibit motivation stemming from both a pursuit of power and an intense preoccupation with monetary acquisition, which can readily manifest as avarice. This research will focus on the country of Kenya, with a particular emphasis on the Abagusii and Maasai communities residing along the Transmara border. Of comparison, Jama's study explored the intricate and contentious ethnic dynamics of Somalia, a nation comprised of numerous distinct clans, as well as Sierra Leone. The significance of Jama and Nzomo's contributions to this study lies in their potential to enhance the researcher's comprehension of the impact of government policies and beliefs on promoting harmonious cohabitation within the communities under investigation.

Wamwere (2008) posits that the occurrence of disputes can be attributed to the presence of ineffective governance and the subsequent politics of exclusion that it fosters. The trajectory of development in Kenya has been influenced by the individuals holding positions of power within the political sphere, as well as their affiliations with specific political parties. Neglected were regions inhabited by individuals perceived as sympathizers of the opposition or those who secured parliamentary seats through affiliation with opposing political parties. Based on Kisiero's (1996) findings, as cited by Kakai (2000), it is evident that the Bukusu and Sabaot communities in Kenya through a significant period of hostility and discontent towards each other from 1971 to 1991.

Kenya, being a multiethnic state, takes pride in its status as one of the most peaceful and prosperous nations within a continent that is often afflicted by armed conflicts. Despite the prevailing volatility in its neighboring countries, Kenya has managed to sustain a state of relative tranquility. Several neighboring countries of Kenya, such as Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia, and Somalia, have experienced ethnic strife, political instability, civil war, and authoritarian rule (Abdullahi, 1998; Schlee, 2001, 2002). The reduction of ethnic conflict in Africa cannot be adequately captured by oversimplified notions such as "sameness and peaceful coexistence" or "ethnic diversity and conflict." This is evident when considering the presence of both mono-ethnic states, such as Rwanda and Burundi, where individuals from diverse ethnic backgrounds coexist harmoniously due to shared language and a history of peaceful interaction, and multi-

ethnic nations like Ethiopia (Triulzi, 1996).

Serious scholarly inquiry is required to delve into the underlying mechanisms that elucidate the reasons why certain states have managed to avoid ethnic conflict, genocide, and political instability. The primary objective of this study is to provide an explanation for the absence of violent conflicts in Kenya, with a specific focus on the interaction between the Maasai and the Abagusii communities. The two distinct groups, characterized by their distinct languages and cultures, inhabit geographically separate regions divided by a dynamic and fluctuating boundary. They depend on disparate resources for sustenance and are persistently engaged in conflicts pertaining to territorial and national control. Individuals engage in political coalitions, social and economic trades, and actively pursue or align themselves with comparable identities. Additionally, they often resort to acts of violence, but in a controlled manner.

Hellen (2016) conducted a study which suggests that Kenyans have consistently maintained harmonious relationships with each other, spanning from the pre-colonial era to the colonial period and continuing into the post-independence era. Interethnic conflicts, whether latent or explicit, have the potential to disturb otherwise harmonious social interactions. The primary instigators of conflicts in Kenya are small-scale militia factions, who exhibit heightened levels of activity during the transition from the final quarter of the year to the first quarter, and see another surge as the rainy season draws near. A number of conflicts tend to arise throughout the period of election campaigns. Nevertheless, certain factions experienced longstanding conflicts that may be traced back to the pre-colonial era, and these tensions resurfaced during the post-independence era.

The inter-ethnic conflicts exhibit a multitude of dimensions, encompassing economic, political, social, and cultural factors. This study aims to examine the various factors that contribute to cross-border inter-ethnic conflicts in Kenya and its consequences. This study aims to investigate the historical and cultural connections between the Maasai and Abagusii communities residing along the Transmara border. According to Esese's (1994) study, the formation of economic enterprises has been observed as a result of ethnic conglomerations. The Gikuyu, Embu, and Meru communities in Kenya have established a business association called the Gikuyu, Embu,

and Meru Association (GEMA).

These relationships serve as adaptive solutions that enhance the welfare and well-being of the ethnic communities involved. However, when these groupings are employed to marginalize other ethnicities in terms of equitable allocation of national resources or wealth, they provide a significant challenge to the process of constructing a cohesive nation. The historical relationship between the Kipsigis and the Luo has been characterized by a notable degree of tension in social interactions. Despite occasional instances of racial friction, the two groups coexist in remarkable concord (Odongo, 2011). In a similar vein, it can be observed that during the colonial era in Kenya, land served as a recurring setting for a diverse array of disputes (Wamwere, 2008). It is worth mentioning that infrequent conflicts have been incited by individuals' interpretations of economic and political disparities among distinct cultural factions. Conflicts can also arise because of fundamental scarcity and competition for grazing land and water resources. The absence of consistent interaction and correspondence among the factions merely amplifies the existing tensions (Government of Kenya, 2006).

Aseka (1994, 1997a, and 1997b) conducted three distinct studies with the aim of providing recommendations for mitigating ethnic violence in Kenya. Aseka promoted the widespread distribution of a democratic ideology that transcends ethnic boundaries and caters to the collective interests, needs, aspirations, goals, and values of the entire nation. According to Manundu (1994), there is concurrence with Aseka's study, asserting that individuals from many ethnic backgrounds in Kenya ought to establish communal relationships to cultivate economic, political, and cultural interdependence. Moreover, Manundu posits that the augmentation of power parity across ethnic factions fosters a more cohesive national collective, as opposed to engendering conflict, provided that individuals possess a robust communal bond and shared objectives. In order to enhance understanding of the historical dynamics between the Abagusii and Maasai communities during the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial eras, this research examines the evolution of inter-ethnic coexistence along the Trans-Mara boundary from 1895 to 2002. The study aims to shed light on the complex interplay of coexistence, suspicion, tension, and occasional confrontations that characterized the relationship between these two populations.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The issue of territorial boundaries between neighboring ethnic communities in Kenya has garnered significant attention in the media. Through scholarly discourse, it has been ascertained that ethnic or geographical boundaries possess a certain degree of permeability, hence contributing to the ongoing nature of border disputes within these particular locations. In recent times, there has been a significant amount of media coverage regarding border conflicts between the Gusii and the Maasai communities. This has raised serious concerns about the ability of these two ethnic groups to peacefully coexist and has resulted in a lack of stability, social cohesion, and overall well-being for the affected individuals. Consequently, these issues have had detrimental effects on their socio-economic livelihoods. In light of the aforementioned context, the study aims to examine and document the historical development of the interrelationships between the Abagusii and Maasai communities along the Trans Mara boundary, spanning the time period from 1895 to 1963.

1.3 Objectives of the study

This study examined the historical inter-ethnic co-existence between the Maasai and the Abagusii of the Trans-Mara border from 1850 to 1963.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

The study was guided by the following specific objectives:

- (i) To establish the nature of co-existence between the Abagusii and Maasai in the Pre- colonial period.
- (ii) To interrogate the impact of the establishment of colonial rule on inter-ethnic co- existence between the Maasai and Abagusii before the outbreak of the Second World War (1895-1939).
- (iii) To establish the transformation process of co-existence between the Maasai and Abagusii during Second World War & Decolonization period (1939-1963).

1.4 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following research questions:

- i) What was the nature of co-existence between the Abagusii and Maasai in the Pre- colonial periods up to 1895?

- ii) How did the impact of the establishment of colonial rule on inter-ethnic co-existence between the Maasai and Abagusii before the outbreak of the Second World War (1895-1939)?
- iii) What was the state of the transformation process of co-existence between the Maasai and Abagusii during Second World War & decolonization activities (1939-1963)?

1.5 Assumptions of the Study

Pre-colonial relations between the Maasai and the Gusii were both hostile and peaceful.

The colonial establishment in Kenya had an immense impact on ethnic co-existence between the Maasai and the Gusii in terms of peace due to enhanced security by colonial police force before the outbreak of WWII.

The Second World War and the decolonization process transformed Gusii-Maasai ethnic co-existence as African nationalism propagated the unity of Africans.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study provides valuable insights into the dynamics of multiethnic communities, examining the evolution of these relationships over time, the underlying factors that have influenced their development, and the adaptive strategies that have arisen in response. This can result in an enhanced appreciation for cultural variety and a more sophisticated understanding of strategies to address issues pertaining to ethnic cohesion within our community. Given the possibility of future interethnic enmity and the imperative to develop efficient conflict resolution mechanisms, this study has examined the potential factors contributing to such animosity, the resulting consequences, and the emerging approaches for addressing it.

The acquisition of new information can enable various stakeholders, including the government, future researchers, policymakers focusing on cross-border inter-ethnic relations, donor agencies, churches, local and international civic institutions, traditional community institutions, peace missions, negotiators, and other interested parties, to identify a range of barriers to peace and coexistence. These barriers encompass structural, legal, social, political, economic, cultural, and relational aspects. The developing mitigation approaches have the potential to significantly promote the dissemination of

effective communication, equity, and peace throughout society.

The study's findings can contribute to the advancement of scholarly knowledge and open up new lines of research on the subject of race and ethnicity within intergroup relations, so benefiting future scholars. There exists a necessity to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the historical dynamics of ethnic contacts between the Maasai and the Gusii communities. The present study aims to address this research gap and contribute to the existing body of knowledge in this area. The findings of this study are of value to policymakers operating at both the national and county levels of government. These policymakers can utilize these findings to enhance their understanding of the intricacies involved in inter-ethnic coexistence.

Furthermore, they can use this knowledge to effectively address potential inter-ethnic conflicts in the future and develop strategies aimed at cultivating a more mutually beneficial and harmonious inter-ethnic coexisting society. The study's conclusions can be utilized by the Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) and the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NIC) to enhance their endeavors in promoting peace and unity under comparable circumstances. This study holds significant policy implications in light of the prevailing ethnic tensions and animosity in Kenya, which have been exacerbated by election-related activities. This research aims to elucidate the factors or processes that contribute to positive inter-ethnic interactions, providing valuable insights for policymakers involved in fostering harmonious relationships and promoting peaceful coexistence among diverse ethnic communities.

This research is significant in providing insight into the underlying causes, contributing factors, characteristics, and dynamics of cross-border inter-ethnic interactions. Specifically, it focuses on the relationship between the Maasai and the Abagusii communities along the Transmara border in Kenya. These interactions have been particularly prevalent during periods of political campaigns and elections. Additionally, the study aims to identify and explore potential strategies for mitigating these conflicts as they arise. The implications of these findings extend to enhancing interethnic interactions beyond the geographical boundaries of Kenya.

1.7 Justification of the Study

The authors acknowledge the contributions of experts in the domains of ethnic studies and inter- and intra-ethnic relations. This research must be conducted because it is critical to comprehending the dynamics of interethnic coexistence between the Maasai and the Abagusii before, during, and after colonial rule. The Maasai and Abagusii have a common past due to their long history of contact, which includes both war and peaceful cohabitation.

Contemporary scholars have taken an interest in inter-ethnic relations because of the apparent paradox of the long peaceful coexistence of the Maasai and the Abagusii ethnic groups, both of which have stayed embroiled in serious ethnic battles. A historical perspective is essential for bridging the gap between facts and mere beliefs regarding inter-ethnic relationships between the two affected cultural groups, as is an appreciation for the nature of inter-ethnic co-existence and the emergence of mitigation strategies for scaling peace and harmony and ethnic cohesion. The findings of this study will be a valuable addition to the many ongoing efforts to investigate the seemingly inexplicable causes and effects of conflict.

The fact that the Gusii and Maasai have been able to survive for so long despite their clear social, cultural, and political organizational differences and their ongoing disagreements is adequate grounds for their selection. The length of their peaceful cohabitation has been influenced by the fact that the Maasai are pastoral nomads and the Gusii are farmers who desire a more permanent settlement.

1.8 Scope and delimitation of the Study

This study analyzed the historical dynamics of the Trans-Mara border region across many temporal contexts, encompassing the pre-colonial era, the colonial period, World War II, the decolonization process, and the post-independence era. The primary objective is to gain a comprehensive understanding of the intricate interaction between the Maasai and Abagusii communities in this region. In order to ensure the preservation of the current state of peace and prosperity among the Gusii and Maasai communities for future generations, this study can also be used to evaluate the preventive measures

implemented by these two groups. This research endeavored to elucidate the factors and mechanisms that have facilitated the enduring coexistence between the Maasai and the Bagusii communities, by investigating the "how" and "why" aspects of this phenomenon.

The present study investigated the various factors that contribute to the establishment of harmonious cohabitation between the Gusii and the Maasai communities. This study underscored the significance of interdependence in the progression from isolated occurrences of distrust, tension, and overt confrontation towards the achievement of interethnic peace. Due to spatial constraints, this study exclusively focused on two specific counties, namely Narok and Kisii. The study encompasses the time frame spanning from 1895 to 2002, during which an analysis was conducted on the underlying factors and outcomes of the conflicts between the Gusii and the Maasai communities. Additionally, the study explored the various initiatives undertaken to address and mitigate the root causes of these conflicts.

The year 1895 was selected due to its significance as the period when colonial authority was first established over the Gusii and the Maasai communities. The core hypothesis of the study will be further reinforced through the researcher's examination of pre-colonial circumstances. From 1895 to 1963, there existed a substantial population that coexisted with individuals from diverse racial or ethnic backgrounds, enabling the formulation of dependable conclusions regarding their lived experiences. Prior to the advent of colonial control, indigenous African communities exhibited a continuous process of development.

Their survival was sustained through engaging in conflicts with each other over the acquisition of land, water resources, grazing areas, and cattle. Conflict between different communities was a prevalent occurrence, and it was not uncommon for internal strife to arise within the Maasai tribe as well. The year 1895 assumes significance in the field of study due to its potential to provide insights into the impact of colonialism on individuals' perspectives and its role in facilitating peaceful cohabitation among individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds. This study centers on examining the effects of colonial governance on the social connections between the Maasai and the Abagusii communities.

1.9 Limitations of the Study

According to Best and Kahn (2006), limitations refer to external factors that are beyond the researcher's control and have the potential to constrain the study's conclusions and their generalizability to other contexts. The researcher encountered challenges in controlling or manipulating prejudiced attitudes and subjective impressions of the respondents. However, efforts were made to establish a warm and friendly rapport with the respondents. The research study encountered significant funding constraints. This was attributed to the elevated costs associated with transportation in order to access the participants residing inside the designated study region. However, the researcher demonstrated a strong commitment to financial preparedness for the study and successfully secured external funding. The accessibility of certain targeted respondents, particularly those residing in distant places, posed a significant issue. However, the available modes of transportation were employed to their fullest extent.

Certain participants expressed apprehensions over the preservation of confidentiality pertaining to the historical data they disclosed, which encompassed personal or sensitive material, during the course of the interviews with the researcher. In instances of this nature, the confidentiality of the informants was ensured in order to foster an environment conducive to the provision of comprehensive information. Pen names were commonly used in situations where the collection of sensitive data was involved.

The collecting of data posed a significant barrier in terms of language. Participants with limited literacy skills indicated challenges in comprehending lengthy questions or the phrasing of interview inquiries, prompting them to seek clarification regarding certain terms. Consequently, those with poor literacy levels were granted the freedom to utilize a language of their preference. The vernacular data was subsequently translated into an official language that was adopted for the study.

1.10 Literature Review

Several reasons that contributed to conflicts throughout pre-colonial eras, including as marital issues, inheritance disputes, religion disparities, land ownership disputes, and territorial delineation among people, communities, and states, continue to persist in contemporary society. As an example, Soja (1968) asserted without ambiguity that traditional African cultures were constantly experiencing ongoing alterations. The individuals demonstrated their ability to sustain themselves and withdraw from the situation by engaging in competitive endeavors to obtain dominion over territory and animals. The Maasai community was involved in various conflicts with neighboring communities, and it was also observed that internal conflicts within the Maasai community itself were quite common. Given the intense competition for limited resources such as pasture and water, it became imperative to take action.

The objective of this research is to examine the impact of colonial governance on the relationship between the Maasai and the Abagusii communities, specifically focusing on their ability to coexist harmoniously. The study aims to analyze the dynamics of their coexistence during the pre-colonial era until the year 1895, as well as investigate any changes that occurred leading up to the outbreak of the Second World War. This study will also seek to ascertain the dynamics of coexistence between the Maasai and the Abagusii communities throughout the period of 1895-1939. This study aims to analyze the coexistence strategies employed by the Maasai and the Abagusii communities throughout the period spanning from 1939 to 1963. Furthermore, this study aims to assess the cohabitation of the Gusii and Maasai communities throughout the era of independence and examine the progressive preventive measures (policies) implemented to foster and sustain ethnic peace between the Gusii and Maasai ethnic groups from 1963 to 2002.

1.10.1 The Nature of Inter-Ethnic Co-existence in the Pre-colonial Period

During the pre-colonial era, individuals commonly adopted a more nomadic way of life. The aforementioned phenomenon has been observed among the inhabitants of present-day Zimbabwe and Zambia in Southern Africa, as well as in the Sahel region and desert areas of West Africa. The individuals in question engaged in a multifaceted contact with their neighboring individuals by constructing an extensive network that permeated the surrounding region. This network facilitated communication not only among

themselves, but also with other individuals residing in the vicinity. As they engaged in migratory patterns to locate suitable grazing lands and water sources, they encountered instances where displacing other populations became necessary to establish habitation in unoccupied regions (Bisin & Verdier, 2010).

Based on the research conducted by Humphreys (2005), there exists a relationship between the availability of natural resources and the dynamics of ethnic relations, particularly in the context of conflicts. The author argues that during the pre-colonial period, when a nation-state heavily depended on its primary resources, there was a higher probability of encountering internal strife and acts of aggression. In situations when feelings of racial or political marginalization arise due to an unequal distribution of natural resources, it is probable that the underlying causes of the conflict can be attributed to a combination of greed and grievances.

Conversely, a study conducted by Besancon (2005) indicates that ethnic conflict is not necessarily caused by resources and economic inequality. Nagel (1974) argues that the relationship between inequality and discontent, particularly when examined in the context of different nations, lacks compelling evidence. The aforementioned perspectives align with Nagel's assertion. This research will examine the historical evolution of inter-ethnic coexistence between the Maasai and the Abagusii, an area of study that has received less attention in scholarly literature but will be the central focus of this investigation. Previous researchers have directed their scholarly investigations towards the examination of dissatisfactions stemming from disparities.

In the pre-colonial period, the presence of disagreements was an inherent aspect of human existence and social interaction within a particular community. Ultimately, these confrontations resulted in the emergence of division and hostility among the parties implicated. The introduction of weapons by Europeans in the nineteenth century led to the emergence of several communal disputes and crises within Igbo land. The introduction of firearms served as a catalyst for the emergence of these wars and crises. During this period, there was a notable disparity in the representation of Sabaots and Bukusu individuals in the staffing of educational institutions, such as Teacher Training Colleges, Medical Training Colleges, and the Police College at Kiganjo.

The researcher will utilize Wamwere's contributions to ascertain the potential influence or hindrance of the politics of neglect on the relationships between the Abagusii and Maasai communities in Kisii and Narok Counties. While Wamwere's writings did not explicitly address the issue of ethnic neglect, this study aims to examine and analyze this phenomenon within the framework of political, economic, and social advancements. Although Kakai's research focuses exclusively on the Babukusu and Sabaot villages from 1979 to 1991, his findings hold significant potential for enhancing our comprehension of the harmonious coexistence between the Maasai and the Abagusii communities residing in the Transmara frontier.

However, limited knowledge exists regarding these conflicts, except from the understanding that they were instigated by various factors such as homicide, territorial disagreements, abductions, and disputes pertaining to women, dowries, or child custody. The sole information available regarding the origins of these wars is that they were instigated by the factors mentioned (Isichei, 1981). The aforementioned types of conflict had a profound impact on various aspects of pre-colonial African societies. Conversely, because of the escalation in levels of training, collaboration, and leadership, the offensive tools underwent advancements, resulting in a heightened level of militarization (Keith, 1968).

While it cannot be definitively concluded that the introduction of firearms directly led to conflict and the disruption of peaceful coexistence between the Abagusii and the Maasai, the examination of the production and accessibility of lighter weaponry, such as bows, arrows, and spears, will contribute to the scholarly investigation of the fundamental factors and observable outcomes of inter-ethnic dynamics during the pre-colonial era. This phenomenon can be attributed to the greater accessibility of these weapons among the Abagusii community.

Prior to European colonialism, Africa served as a focal point for wars of conquest, which were waged to expand territorial boundaries, solidify acquired territories, assert and establish sovereignty and independence, and safeguard and reinforce accomplishments. The occurrence of conquest wars has had a significant impact on the establishment of new states, afterwards serving as influential catalysts for sociopolitical

transition, particularly during the initial stages following the nations' founding. Initially, these battles exhibited expansionist characteristics, then transitioning into wars of consolidation, and ultimately assuming a defensive orientation (Ogot, 1972).

The underlying factors contributing to conflicts were ethnic chauvinism and a sense of superiority, which prompted one society to assert its power and dominance over others, hence seeking national pride and status. It is vital to bear in mind that this issue holds significant importance. Although the nature of interactions between the Maasai and the Abagusii may not solely revolve around conquests and territorial expansion, the inclusion of these perspectives will greatly contribute to the overall depth and rigor of this research. According to the research conducted by Were (1967), the migration and subsequent settlement of diverse Nilo-Saharan ethnic groups in certain regions of Western Kenya, previously part of Uganda, can be attributed to a confluence of factors including starvation, epidemics, internal conflicts, a desire for exploration, and armed conflicts throughout the period spanning the 17th to the 19th centuries.

The process of migration and settlement occurred from Uganda to several regions in Western Kenya. The ensuing conflicts arising from the migration of the Teso and Luo groups, along with the resulting wars with the pre-existing Luhya populations, played a vital role in shaping the ethnic residential patterns in the region. However, the research conducted by Were lacks conclusiveness and comprehensiveness as it solely focuses on the aspects of migration and settlement. The author's analysis did not sufficiently address the impact of war cessation on the cohabitation of surrounding populations. As a result, there exists a scholarly void that this research endeavor aims to address. The author's analysis did not sufficiently address the impact of conflict cessation on fostering peaceful cohabitation among surrounding communities.

Livestock holds significant economic and social value within the majority of nations. Hence, engaging in the act of raiding adjacent communities with the intention of acquiring livestock is a well acknowledged custom within the majority of tribes involved in cow husbandry. In their study, Pkyla and Adan (2005) made the observation that livestock raiding was subject to regulation through various mechanisms. One such mechanism involved the necessity for the elders to grant approval before a raid could take

place. Additionally, raiders were expected to adhere to specific universal rules during their raids. Furthermore, according to the findings of Pkyla and Adan (2005), it was shown that livestock raiders were obligated to adhere to specific universally recognized norms. Similarly, the cultural and economic significance attributed to cattle can be identified as the underlying factor for cattle raiding, potentially resulting in conflicts across diverse African societies. The occurrence of these raids could potentially be attributed to competition over livestock resources (USAID, 2005). This study focuses on the Maasai and the Abagusii of Transmara, examining their historical coexistence. The objective is to ascertain the dynamics of their relationship throughout time.

The subsequent significant inquiries will be thoroughly examined in order to furnish a suitable resolution to this matter. The inquiries around the occurrence and mechanics of raiding, as well as its impact on the dynamics between the Maasai and the Abagusii, stand out as significant focal points. What impact did the act of raiding have on the social cohesion and harmony within the communities under investigation? The present inquiry examines the impact of defensive measures taken to protect cattle from perceived or potential raiders on the dynamics of community relationships. Specifically, this study aims to explore the changes that occurred within these relationships as a direct consequence of these activities, as well as the nature and extent of the influence exerted by these defensive measures. The implication of the presence of these questions, which allude to the existence of gaps or deficiencies, underscores the need of doing this research.

Abuso (1980) posited that the utilization of age categories within the Abakuria community engendered conflicts in their interactions with the Maasai population. Age-sets had a crucial role in serving as both military and historical chronological records, facilitating the organization of efficient military training within the society. The utilization of age-sets facilitated the achievement of this outcome. The Embu community residing in Central Kenya attributed considerable significance to their age-based social structure. Upon reaching a specific age, individuals were granted the legitimate entitlement to partake in raids on the local populace.

According to Saberwal (1970), raids were executed with a high level of coordination, and those who achieved their objectives were commended, whilst those that failed led to disciplinary actions against the responsible warriors. This suggests that upon joining a new age-set, an individual would assume the role of a warrior and assume the duty of raiding neighboring villages for resources. The potential causative factor for the conflicts that emerged between the Embu community and its neighboring groups could be attributed to raiding activities. Despite the primary focus of these studies being on the Abakuria and Embu communities in Kenya, they remain pertinent to the ongoing investigation. This will enable the researcher to assess the influence that a specific age-set has exerted on the intergroup dynamics between the Maasai and the Abagusii.

Nyamwaka (2011) conducted a study on the music and dance practices of the Abagusii community in Kenya, focusing on the historical development of these cultural expressions from 1904 to 2002. The purpose of this endeavor was to enhance comprehension of the Abagusii culture. The present research effort employed the notion of music change, commonly referred to as syncretism, to examine the interrelationships between musical instruments utilized by the Gusii community and those employed in other African regions as well as non-African countries. The investigation revealed that music and dance have a significant role in the comprehension of the cultural heritage of the Abagusii, as well as the cultural heritages of other African communities.

It is evident that the traditional music and dance of the Abagusii people saw significant transformations due to the interactions between the Abagusii tribe and other African civilizations as well as Europeans. During Nyamwaka's research on music and dance among the Abagusii, she held the view that discussing the role of music and dance in fostering peaceful cohabitation among neighboring people was not essential. This underscores a gap in the existing information that is expected to be addressed by the aforementioned study.

Prior to the entrance of European invaders, there is evidence to suggest that the Maasai and the Kamba tribes were involved in a recurring pattern of animal stealing, albeit on a very small scale. The act of shoplifting necessitated the contemplation of not only the well-being of individuals, but also the welfare of minors, females, and even non-

human creatures. The connection between colonial powers and pre-colonial countries resulted in a novel form of global engagement, as it prompted pre-colonial cultures to become heavily reliant on the production and distribution of food (Lonsdale, 1996).

The acquisition of insights derived from the interactions between the Kamba and the Maasai will significantly enhance the value of this study. The potential influence of the Maasai's objectives in their interactions with the Kamba on the outcomes of this research should be considered. Inter-ethnic disputes, which can be either latent or overt, occasionally interrupt the harmonious relationships between different groups. These conflicts, which may also be relevant to our subject matter, are commonly referred to as "racial conflicts." During the period of colonial rule's establishment in Kenya, it is acknowledged by multiple authors that the diverse communities inside Kenya engaged in amicable interactions with one another.

1.10.2 The Impact of the Establishment of Colonial Rule on Inter-Ethnic Co-existence on the Eve of the Second World War (1895-1939)

During the pre-colonial era, individuals commonly adopted a more nomadic way of life. The aforementioned phenomenon has been observed among the inhabitants of present-day Zimbabwe and Zambia in Southern Africa, as well as in the Sahel region and desert areas of West Africa. The individuals in question engaged in a multifaceted contact with their neighboring individuals by constructing an extensive network that permeated the surrounding region. This network facilitated communication not only among themselves, but also with other individuals residing in the vicinity. As they engaged in migratory patterns to locate suitable grazing lands and water sources, they encountered instances where displacing other populations became necessary to establish habitation in unoccupied regions (Bisin & Verdier, 2010).

Based on the research conducted by Humphreys (2005), there exists a relationship between the availability of natural resources and the dynamics of ethnic relations, particularly in the context of conflicts. The author argues that during the pre-colonial period, when a nation-state heavily depended on its primary resources, there was a higher probability of encountering internal strife and acts of aggression. In situations when feelings of racial or political marginalization arise due to an unequal distribution of

natural resources, it is probable that the underlying causes of the conflict can be attributed to a combination of greed and grievances.

Conversely, a study conducted by Besancon (2005) indicates that ethnic conflict is not necessarily caused by resources and economic inequality. Nagel (1974) argues that the relationship between inequality and discontent, particularly when examined in the context of different nations, lacks compelling evidence. The aforementioned perspectives align with Nagel's assertion. This research will examine the historical evolution of inter-ethnic coexistence between the Maasai and the Abagusii, an area of study that has received less attention in scholarly literature but will be the central focus of this investigation. Previous researchers have directed their scholarly investigations towards the examination of dissatisfactions stemming from disparities.

In the pre-colonial period, the presence of disagreements was an inherent aspect of human existence and social interaction within a particular community. Ultimately, these confrontations resulted in the emergence of division and hostility among the parties implicated. The introduction of weapons by Europeans in the nineteenth century led to the emergence of several communal disputes and crises within Igbo land. The introduction of firearms served as a catalyst for the emergence of these wars and crises. During this period, there was a notable disparity in the representation of Sabaots and Bukusu individuals in the staffing of educational institutions, such as Teacher Training Colleges, Medical Training Colleges, and the Police College at Kiganjo.

The researcher will utilize Wamwere's contributions to ascertain the potential influence or hindrance of the politics of neglect on the relationships between the Abagusii and Maasai communities in Kisii and Narok Counties. While Wamwere's writings did not explicitly address the issue of ethnic neglect, this study aims to examine and analyze this phenomenon within the framework of political, economic, and social advancements. Although Kakai's research focuses exclusively on the Babukusu and Sabaot villages from 1979 to 1991, his findings hold significant potential for enhancing our comprehension of the harmonious coexistence between the Maasai and the Abagusii communities residing in the Transmara frontier.

However, limited knowledge exists regarding these conflicts, except from the understanding that they were instigated by various factors such as homicide, territorial disagreements, abductions, and disputes pertaining to women, dowries, or child custody. The sole information available regarding the origins of these wars is that they were instigated by the factors mentioned (Isichei, 1981). The aforementioned types of conflict had a profound impact on various aspects of pre-colonial African societies. Because of improvement in levels of training, collaboration, and leadership, there was increased militarization (Keith, 1968).

While it cannot be definitively concluded that the introduction of firearms directly led to conflict and the disruption of peaceful coexistence between the Abagusii and the Maasai, the examination of the production and accessibility of lighter weaponry, such as bows, arrows, and spears, will contribute to the scholarly investigation of the fundamental factors and observable outcomes of inter-ethnic dynamics during the pre-colonial era. This phenomenon can be attributed to the greater accessibility of these weapons among the Abagusii community.

Prior to European colonialism, Africa served as a focal point for wars of conquest, which were waged to expand territorial boundaries, solidify acquired territories, assert and establish sovereignty and independence, and safeguard and reinforce accomplishments. The occurrence of conquest wars has had a significant impact on the establishment of new states, afterwards serving as influential catalysts for sociopolitical transition, particularly during the initial stages following the nations' founding. Initially, these battles exhibited expansionist characteristics, then transitioning into wars of consolidation, and ultimately assuming a defensive orientation (Ogot, 1972).

The underlying factors contributing to conflicts were ethnic chauvinism and a sense of superiority, which prompted one society to assert its power and dominance over others, hence seeking national pride and status. It is vital to bear in mind that this issue holds significant importance. Although the nature of interactions between the Maasai and the Abagusii may not solely revolve around conquests and territorial expansion, the inclusion of these perspectives will greatly contribute to the overall depth and rigor of this research.

According to the research conducted by Were (1967), the migration and subsequent settlement of diverse Nilo-Saharan ethnic groups in certain regions of Western Kenya, previously part of Uganda, can be attributed to a confluence of factors including starvation, epidemics, internal conflicts, a desire for exploration, and armed conflicts throughout the period spanning the 17th to the 19th centuries. The process of migration and settlement occurred from Uganda to several regions in Western Kenya. The ensuing conflicts arising from the migration of the Teso and Luo groups, along with the resulting wars with the pre-existing Luhya populations, played a vital role in shaping the ethnic residential patterns in the region.

However, the research conducted by Were (1967) lacks conclusiveness and comprehensiveness as it solely focuses on the aspects of migration and settlement. The author's analysis did not sufficiently address the impact of war cessation on the cohabitation of surrounding populations. As a result, there exists a scholarly void that this research endeavor aims to address. The author's analysis did not sufficiently address the impact of conflict cessation on fostering peaceful cohabitation among surrounding communities.

Livestock holds significant economic and social value within the majority of nations. Hence, engaging in the act of raiding adjacent communities with the intention of acquiring livestock is a well acknowledged custom within the majority of tribes involved in cow husbandry. In their study, Pkyla and Adan (2005) made the observation that livestock raiding was subject to regulation through various mechanisms. One such mechanism involved the necessity for the elders to grant approval before a raid could take place. Additionally, raiders were expected to adhere to specific universal rules during their raids. Furthermore, according to the findings of Pkyla and Adan (2005), it was shown that livestock raiders were obligated to adhere to specific universally recognized norms. Similarly, the cultural and economic significance attributed to cattle can be identified as the underlying factor for cattle raiding, potentially resulting in conflicts across diverse African societies. The occurrence of these raids could potentially be attributed to competition over livestock resources (USAID, 2005). This study focuses on the Maasai and the Abagusii of Transmara, examining their historical coexistence. The objective is to ascertain the dynamics of their relationship throughout time.

The subsequent significant inquiries will be thoroughly examined in order to furnish a suitable resolution to this matter. The inquiries around the occurrence and mechanics of raiding, as well as its impact on the dynamics between the Maasai and the Abagusii, stand out as significant focal points. What impact did the act of raiding have on the social cohesion and harmony within the communities under investigation? The present inquiry examines the impact of defensive measures taken to protect cattle from perceived or potential raiders on the dynamics of community relationships. Specifically, this study aims to explore the changes that occurred within these relationships as a direct consequence of these activities, as well as the nature and extent of the influence exerted by these defensive measures. The implication of the presence of these questions, which allude to the existence of gaps or deficiencies, underscores the need of doing this research.

Abuso (1980) posited that the utilization of age categories within the Abakuria community engendered conflicts in their interactions with the Maasai population. Age-sets had a crucial role in serving as both military and historical chronological records, facilitating the organization of efficient military training within the society. The utilization of age-sets facilitated the achievement of this outcome. The Embu community residing in Central Kenya attributed considerable significance to their age-based social structure. Upon reaching a specific age, individuals were granted the legitimate entitlement to partake in raids on the local populace.

According to Saberwal (1970), raids were executed with a high level of coordination, and those who achieved their objectives were commended, whilst those that failed led to disciplinary actions against the responsible warriors. This suggests that upon joining a new age-set, an individual would assume the role of a warrior and assume the duty of raiding neighboring villages for resources. The potential causative factor for the conflicts that emerged between the Embu community and its neighboring groups could be attributed to raiding activities. Despite the primary focus of these studies being on the Abakuria and Embu communities in Kenya, they remain pertinent to the ongoing investigation. This will enable the researcher to assess the influence that a specific age-set has exerted on the intergroup dynamics between the Maasai and the Abagusii.

Nyamwaka (2011) conducted a study on the music and dance practices of the

Abagusii community in Kenya, focusing on the historical development of these cultural expressions from 1904 to 2002. The purpose of this endeavor was to enhance comprehension of the Abagusii culture. The present research effort employed the notion of music change, commonly referred to as syncretism, to examine the interrelationships between musical instruments utilized by the Gusii community and those employed in other African regions as well as non-African countries. The investigation revealed that music and dance have a significant role in the comprehension of the cultural heritage of the Abagusii, as well as the cultural heritages of other African communities.

It is evident that the traditional music and dance of the Abagusii people saw significant transformations due to the interactions between the Abagusii tribe and other African civilizations as well as Europeans. During Nyamwaka's research on music and dance among the Abagusii, she held the view that discussing the role of music and dance in fostering peaceful cohabitation among neighboring people was not essential. This underscores a gap in the existing information that is expected to be addressed by the aforementioned study.

Prior to the entrance of European invaders, there is evidence to suggest that the Maasai and the Kamba tribes were involved in a recurring pattern of animal stealing, albeit on a very small scale. The act of shoplifting necessitated the contemplation of not only the well-being of individuals, but also the welfare of minors, females, and even non-human creatures. The connection between colonial powers and pre-colonial countries resulted in a novel form of global engagement, as it prompted pre-colonial cultures to become heavily reliant on the production and distribution of food (Lonsdale, 1996).

The acquisition of insights derived from the interactions between the Kamba and the Maasai will significantly enhance the value of this study. The potential influence of the Maasai's objectives in their interactions with the Kamba on the outcomes of this research should be considered. Inter-ethnic disputes, which can be either latent or overt, occasionally interrupt the harmonious relationships between different groups. These conflicts, which may also be relevant to our subject matter, are commonly referred to as "racial conflicts." During the period of colonial rule's establishment in Kenya, it is acknowledged by multiple authors that the diverse communities inside Kenya engaged in

amicable interactions with one another.

1.10.3 Establishment and Transformation Process of Inter-Ethnic Co-existence during the Second World War and Decolonization Period (1939-1963)

The scholarly discourse surrounding the effects of the Second World War on African communities and their intergroup dynamics has garnered attention from scholars representing diverse academic disciplines. The Second World War had profound and enduring consequences that extended over a significant span of time. As a result, numerous tribes in Kenya underwent transformations to align themselves with their respective natural niches (Sheriff, 1985). Consequently, other communities, such as the Agikuyu and the Mijikenda, experienced the emergence of agricultural-based economies. Other ethnic groups, such as the Maai and the Samburu, opted for pastoralist modes of production instead.

A significant portion of the population, encompassing both the Luo and the Abagusii communities, made adjustments to their way of life by adopting a mixed livelihood strategy that involved engaging in both crop cultivation and animal husbandry. Moreover, the Ogiek community sustained themselves by a combination of hunting and gathering activities. The kinship system had a pivotal role in establishing the basis for ownership of key resources of production, including land, animals, and human labor. The research was primarily conducted through a collaborative approach including individuals inside the familial unit and the broader network of relatives (Smith, 1975). The creation of large-scale states lacked a significant impetus. However, the primary determinant of political organization in pre-colonial Kenya was the dynamic ethnic divide that delineated several settlements.

This particular line functioned as the primary political entity. Interethnic interactions were marked by commercial exchanges, intermarriages, and sporadic instances of warfare. The predominant mode of interaction between the tribes was trade. Colonialism engendered a transformation in the fundamental essence of civilizations, endowing them with novel structures, significance, and objectives. The existing body of research indicates a notable absence of investigation into the potential connections between significant global occurrences, such as the decolonization process and the

Second World War, and their impact on inter-communal relations. Consequently, there is an urgent necessity for additional scholarly inquiry in this particular domain.

The formation of a state centered on the Kikuyu ethnic group by Jomo Kenyatta was motivated by the social divisions and instability that affected the nascent Kenyan nation due to the presence of anti-colonial movements. The reason for this can be attributed to Jomo Kenyatta's affiliation with the Kikuyu ethnic group (Illife, 1979). However, the manifestation of the Mau Mau insurrection and its subsequent defeat may be observed through several means, such as the implementation of forced resettlement, imprisonment in concentration camps, utilization of torture methods, and the death of a large number of Kenyan individuals labeled as "rebels" under the state of emergency that commenced in 1952. These events ultimately contributed to the emergence of a war of independence in Kenya. The inclusion of a citation is necessary to support the information provided. According to Berman and Lonsdale (1997).

According to Lonsdale (1997), the conflict between settlers and squatters, capital and labor, as well as class and tribe, ultimately resulted in the breakdown of the initially cohesive pan-ethnic anti-colonial identification. In relation to the other unsolved matters in Kenya, the border conflicts under consideration were notably the most controversial and intricate. The British authorities rationalized their actions by aiming to portray the freedom warriors of the Kikuyu people as terrorists, so justifying the implementation of harsh and extreme counterinsurgency strategies. According to Curtis (2007), individuals associated with the Kikuyu freedom fighters were purportedly engaged in practices such as cannibalism, witchcraft, devil worship, and sexual orgies. These activities were reported to have instilled fear among European settlers and resulted in the brutal killing of women and children.

According to Ogot (2003), prior to the inaugural elections in Kenya, the British effectively employed strategies to politicize ethnicity and fostered a sense of distrust among different ethnic factions by manipulating the outcome of recent events that occurred under their governance, particularly emphasizing the "Luo-Kikuyu alliance" as a divisive factor. The aforementioned coalition was engaged in conflict with the British. Nonetheless, the aforementioned coalition proved to be of short duration (Truth, Justice,

and Reconciliation Commission, TJRC, 2001).

The Kikuyu and Luo communities were engaged in a power struggle, with the Kikuyu seeking control over the Luo. It is noteworthy that the British played a deliberate role in fueling this conflict. The dissolution of the partnership can be attributed to the divergent ideological perspectives held by the two factions (Gachanga, 2012). The demand for independence in Kenya was marked by significant social disparities and disruptions that profoundly impacted the emerging nation. These developments were primarily fueled by anti-colonial movements. It is imperative to underscore the significance of this matter. The objective of this study is to examine the coexistence dynamics between the Abagusii and the Maasai communities.

The issue of land conflicts occupied a central position in the concerns of all ethnic groups actively involved in the struggle for freedom during the era of nationalism and colonialism. The Mau Mau revolt in Kenya from 1952 to 1956 was primarily motivated by the contentious subject of land, ultimately prompting the British colonial authorities to declare a state of emergency. After Africans engaged in a significant act of resistance against the colonial authority's efforts to dispossess them of their land, the British colonial authorities began to recognize the need to approach the land issue more attentively.

The colonialists harbored concerns that the mishandling of the land matter could potentially result in civil strife, as various ethnic groups vigorously pursued the recovery of their previously lost land parcels. The issue at hand was of significant importance to the colonialists, as indicated by the Kenya Human Rights Commission in 1996. As a result of this, the British administration in Kenya, prior to the nation's independence, formulated a strategy to allocate land to the numerous indigenous ethnic groups who had historically resided in Kenya's white highlands. Nevertheless, the dissatisfaction of the African population persisted about the redistribution of land in the Kenyan highlands, resulting in heightened tensions among different ethnic groups.

The transfer of land previously occupied by European settlers to individuals belonging to the Kikuyu ethnic group was widely perceived as inequitable by other ethnic groups. This perception prompted parliamentary discussions advocating for a more

equitable allocation, as documented by Kanyinga (2000). The aforementioned point marks a significant juncture in history, during which the subsequent establishment of property ownership became intertwined with race, resulting in an escalation of racial animosity (Ogendo, 1999). According to Young (1986), the underlying cause of ethnic conflict can be attributed to unequal growth and the subsequent establishment of societal hierarchies. This dynamic creates a breeding ground for bitterness and hostility, as individuals are forcibly driven from their ancestral lands.

Regrettably, the aforementioned debates failed to adequately acknowledge the matter of racial disparity, which subsequently gave rise to enmity and eventually escalated into ethnic hostilities between the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin communities within the Rift Valley region during the 1960s and 1970s. The occurrence of these clashes was instigated by longstanding ethnic animosity between the two groups. However, the aforementioned statement will provide valuable assistance to this research in examining the complex land issue and its effects on the coexistence between the Maasai and Abagusii communities. Previous scholars have often overlooked the involvement of these communities in colonial resistance, considering it to be of lesser importance.

1.10.4 The Socio- Economic and Political Consequences of Ethnic Conflicts

Conflict has the potential to initiate a detrimental cycle of human vulnerability and environmental degradation, which in turn hampers individuals' capacity to sustain their livelihoods as a result of restricted land and natural resource availability. This vulnerability has the potential to cause the deterioration of social cohesion and the disruption of local governance systems, hence giving rise to heightened tensions and conflicts surrounding crucial resources such as water or food.

The potential for an increase in poverty rates exists as a consequence of job losses and the subsequent inability of individuals to effectively adjust to evolving circumstances. The decline in resilience can be attributed to reduced availability of public services, heightened prevalence of poor health, decreased availability of formal employment possibilities, disruption of subsistence livelihoods, and other instances of entitlement shortcomings. The deployment of landmines, compounded by the presence of conflict, has resulted in significant limitations on land accessibility.

Research has indicated that cities and counties in the United States characterized by significant levels of racial and cultural diversity tend to exhibit lower graduation rates, less expenditure on education, and limited support for higher education. The phenomenon of ethnic dispersion has the potential to exacerbate issues related to governmental instability and corruption, hence impeding the pace of intellectual and technological advancements inside a nation. The presence of diverse religious and ethnic groups contributes significantly to underdevelopment, as it leads to ethnic fragmentation. Societies characterized by significant divisions frequently encounter instances of civil wars and genocide, hence impeding the establishment of a cohesive and integrated economic framework.

The presence of interethnic conflicts poses a significant obstacle to the establishment of social networks essential for fostering economic growth, resulting in reduced allocation of resources towards public goods that facilitate economic expansion. Ethnic conflicts exert both direct and indirect effects on development, while also influencing the formulation of policies that shape the broader economy. The negative consequences of expansion are evident in the form of conflict management expenses, diminished cooperation and engagement, disputes, and even instances of genocide. The manner in which African residents are treated by their respective states has the potential to exacerbate corruption and racial tensions by fostering social segregation among different groups of individuals. Following the attainment of independence, the majority of African states placed emphasis on the objectives of economic development and fostering a sense of national unity, which subsequently resulted in the establishment of one-party systems, autocratic governance, and military dictatorships. Consequently, these circumstances have given rise to oppressive, autocratic, and alarming governments that prioritize the interests of a select few privileged individuals. Group polarization and ethnic fragmentation have been identified as factors that contribute to rent-seeking behavior, excessive expenditure, the erosion of public goods provision, and the promotion of policies that hinder economic progress.

From the 1960s through the 1990s, Africa witnessed a significant prevalence of infrequent occurrences of ethnic conflict, resulting in extensive armed confrontations that resulted in a substantial loss of human life. The aforementioned conflicts exert adverse

effects on both the economy and civil society, as seen by a negative relationship between the mortality rate and variables such as investment, human capital, fertility, and economic growth. Certain scholars contend that religious and ethnic conflicts might be perceived as manifestations of inadequate development, rather than being the fundamental catalysts for civil wars. The authors contend that political and economic deficiencies serve as the underlying causes of all conflicts, while positing that ethnic variety could potentially yield a mitigating effect. The occurrence of ethnic conflict leads to the emergence of ethnic mobilization, hence presenting a potential threat to the established political structure in several nations.

The clashes occurring in impacted areas have significant economic ramifications, resulting in a substantial depletion of both human and economic resources. The presence of insecurity resulting from the conflicts created opportunities for certain parties to exploit the detrimental consequences of the conflict, thereby gaining control over land or obtaining it from victims at significantly reduced prices. The violence in Kenya has resulted in enduring changes to land ownership patterns, which have had a lasting impact on the economy. Agricultural operations had hindrances, resulting in prolonged suspensions of activity on agricultural land, primarily due to apprehensions of potential assault.

The conflict that occurred in Kenya resulted in a multitude of economic challenges, encompassing issues such as food insecurity, disruptions in labor, destruction of property, encroachment upon land, disturbances in commercial activities, breakdowns in transportation and communication systems, diversion and misallocation of resources, unanticipated expenditures, disruptions in infrastructure, inflation, fluctuations in prices, and environmental degradation. The insufficiency of food led to a significant decline in the production and availability of food, as well as the scarcity of raw materials for agro-based sectors such as sugar, tea, coffee, maize, and pyrethrum. Numerous individuals experienced severe malnutrition, resulting in a demand for both domestic and foreign assistance in the form of food aid and relief efforts.

The wars have also resulted in a decline in milk output, namely in the Rift Valley, a region known for its high milk productivity in Kenya. Consequently, a notable decline

in the overall demand for manufactured goods ensued, resulting in elevated levels of unemployment within the impacted towns. The decline in food supply and access to raw materials for agriculturally dependent industries resulted in the costly importation of essential items like sugar, maize, and wheat, hence exacerbating the costs of crucial commodities in conflict-prone regions. The decrease in animal prices additionally played a role in the prevailing economic circumstances.

The transportation infrastructure in conflict-affected regions faced significant challenges due to concerns regarding the safety and security of both vehicles and individuals. A significant proportion of enterprises could not operate, leading to a disruption in the supply of essential commodities, hence exacerbating challenges faced by end-users. Political analysts regarded political thuggery, instances of police brutality, and violent conflicts as significant factors that could potentially lead to a severe national crisis. The embodiment of President Moi's skepticism about the viability of multi-party democracy in Kenya is seen in the intensification of hostilities, which sprang from the Kalenjin enclaves of Trans Nzoia borders with Nyanza and Western Provinces, and then spread to the hinterlands of Kisii, Molo, and Njoro in the central region of the country.

1.10.5 Theoretical Framework

The Conflict Transformation Theory is considered to be among the various theoretical frameworks that examine the phenomenon of violent conflict. The concept of multi-dimensional tasks was introduced by Laderach, Miall, and Galtung in 1996. According to conflict transformation theory, it is argued that people, being social beings but also prone to conflict, engage in active participation and modification of connections and interests that contribute to the predominance of violent conflicts. This is achieved by addressing the underlying factors that sustain such conflicts (Laderach, 1995).

According to this perspective, conflicts undergo many transformative processes that have the potential to either validate existence or bring about its demise in line with social perspectives and behavior (Galtung, 1996). Galtung's paradigm offers a means to enhance unequal social connections through the implementation of educational initiatives, fostering discourse, and promoting personal development (Curle, 1971). According to the research conducted by Henri Vayrnyen, the process of conflict resolution encompasses a

range of steps. These steps include the initial determination to seek peace within public groups, as well as the lasting impacts of these decisions on individuals' viewpoints, recollections, and behaviors. Additionally, interventions are implemented at appropriate junctures to facilitate the resolution process (Curle, 1987; Mitchell, 2000).

Lederach (1997) (1997) The author's conceptual framework, based on Galtung's Simple Triangular Formulation, provides valuable insights on the interplay between the Maasai and the Gusii communities residing in the Transmara frontier. The author asserts that the inequitable allocation of valuable resources and authority, together individuals' interpretations of one another's historical affiliations and conduct stemming from these recollections and anticipations, might collectively foster the intensification of hostilities. To foster enduring peace, it is imperative for the Maasai and the Abagusii communities to cultivate a mutual understanding of each other's perspectives, demonstrate genuine appreciation for one another, and synergistically collaborate to generate novel modes of thought and forge stronger relationships of camaraderie.

Consequently, the economic and political elements that influence historical events are not confined to a singular aspect, but rather pervade the entirety of the process. Lederach (1995) posits that in order to manifest our envisioned future, it is imperative to prioritize the pursuit of peacebuilding over addressing imminent problems. The capacity to effectively address conflicts through peaceful means has significant implications for society at large, impacting not just the dynamics of current relationships but also shaping the dynamics of new partnerships that emerge and thrive in response to changing conditions (Curle, 1971; Azar & Burham, 1986).

The promotion of peace, fairness, truth, and restraint by communal leaders plays a significant role in facilitating the long-term transition towards a peaceful system (Miall, Ramsbotham & Woodhouse, 1999). Furthermore, Glasl (1982) observes that distinct mechanisms and activities are engaged at different stages during the progression of disputes. However, when the degree of polarization is substantial, power-based mediation, sometimes known as coercion, is employed in order to establish a lasting state of peace (Fishers & Keashly, 1991).

Advocates of conflict management systems employ power resources in order to establish settlements that value the cultivation of long-term relationships over the pursuit of immediate political advantages (Bercovitch, 1996).

Azar (1986) argues that the responsibility of conflict resolution should not solely rest on national and international entities. Instead, emphasis should be placed on societies that have demonstrated a track record of effectively and peacefully adapting to societal transformations through established institutions that operate within the confines of established rules and norms. Azar's thesis is further enhanced by the concept of constructive conflicts, which serve to strengthen a society's confidence in its civic institutions, cultural values, and overall capacity to resolve conflicts in a non-violent manner. On the contrary, disruptive disagreements have the potential to undermine not only the functioning of the state, but also the established social order, the economy, and the various social interactions that occur within the societal framework. Prolonged conflicts have a significant impact on society by exacerbating land pressure and facilitating frequent raids, hence intensifying tensions between pastoralists and farmers (Azar, 1986). In the given context, the Maasai community is involved in the practice of pastoralism, while the Abagusii community primarily emphasizes agriculture. This comparison holds particular relevance.

Nevertheless, conflict revolution theorists claim that contemporary wars are instigated by societal disparities, such as inequitable allocations of resources and authority. Inequality engenders social stratification, wherein individuals with varying levels of income contend for a greater share of resources and exhibit tendencies to accumulate limited assets. Individuals with greater material resources would employ various strategies, perhaps resorting to coercive means, in order to uphold their dominance within the system and safeguard the prioritization of their own interests (Bloomfield & Reily, 1998). In accordance with the comprehensive perspective on conflict transformation advocated by non-violent theorists, the presence of non-militarized political and economic frameworks that incorporate coordinated endeavors for resolving conflicts is of utmost importance (International Alert, 1996).

This achievement has been facilitated by means of dialogue, conferences, the

establishment of common markets and farming initiatives, workshops, the identification of development projects, the empowerment of key actors, and diplomatic interventions. These efforts have culminated in the formation of peace alliances, which have effectively contributed to significant societal transformations as a consequence of duly accepted and legitimate decisions (Lederach, 1995).

The present study postulates that the interactions between the Gusii and Maasai communities have exhibited a cyclical pattern, characterized by alternating periods of tension and peaceful coexistence. In this literary work, Kaufman presents a comprehensive examination of the significance of mass interaction among ethnic groups, both within and across them, in instigating ethnic conflicts. According to Kaufman (2001), conflict emerges when individuals interact with each other, as their actions are influenced by emotions rather than rational cost-benefit calculations. According to Kaufman's thesis on the roots of ethnic conflicts, it is essential to establish a collective mythology that rationalizes hostility towards at least one specific group.

The second criterion pertains to the perception of the group that their physical well-being is under threat. Point three under consideration pertains to the necessity of providing opportunities for mobilization within ethnic communities. These conditions may manifest within the domain of politics, encompassing elements such as political liberty, the breakdown of state institutions or regime, external backing from third parties, and the concentration of a particular demographic group within a state or across a neighboring country. According to Cordell and Wolf (2009), in order for violence to escalate, three more factors are required: widespread hatred, chauvinist political mobilization, and a security issue. This escalation can be either led by elites or by the masses.

Advocates of nonviolent conflict resolution aptly observe that the task of defining peace in a manner that holds sociological significance is more complex than defining violence. Numerous endeavors have been made in this regard (Galtung, 1967; 1969; Robarchek & Robarchek, 1998). According to Galtung's seminal work in 1969, peace can be defined as the state characterized by the absence of interpersonal and systemic manifestations of violence. The authors Bonta (1996, 1997), Dentan (2001), Fabbro

(1978), Fernea (2004), and Robarchek and Robarchek (1998) have provided evidence of the utilization of cultural strategies in order to restrict instances of violent conduct. Within this particular framework, peace is not solely defined as the absence of animosity, but rather encompasses the inclination and capacity to collaboratively address urgent challenges in a peaceful manner (Colson, 1953; Gluckman, 1956).

The establishment of intercommunity connections inherently gives rise to conflicting loyalties among the many factions aiming to suppress intercommunal conflicts. In a seminal study, Kang (1976) undertook an international investigation wherein the operationalization of cross-cutting links was achieved through an examination of the significance of exogamy and inter-communal marriages as indicators of the presence of said communities (Kang, 1976). The cross-cutting linkages concept was somewhat supported by the findings of Göhlen (1990) and Kang (1976), although the evidence presented was limited in strength. The presence of cross-cutting elements might intensify conflicts (Schlee, 1997). The presence of cross-cutting relationships may perhaps account for the increased likelihood of peaceful coexistence between the Maasai and the Abagusii communities, as observed in the context of this particular case study. This phenomenon serves as a catalyst for reassessing the multifaceted characteristics of interconnecting relationships that deter or hinder acts of violence.

Prior to the advent of colonial influence, cultures exhibited a consistent pattern of mobility across history. Migratory patterns commonly led to heightened prospects for cross-cultural engagement with individuals from diverse origins. According to Mazrui (1969a), interactions between different groups give rise to a diverse array of behaviors, which encompass conflict as well. The Maasai and the Gusii may have experienced a notable degree of cultural variation, which, in conjunction with culturally influenced behaviors such as cow thefts, could have contributed significantly to the emergence of adversarial relations between these two ethnic groups. This assertion is substantiated by the reasons put forth by Lowilla (1998), who posits that conflicts can manifest in several forms, encompassing both structural and violent conflicts. The presence of discord originated from well entrenched societal institutions. In this study, the research team aims to examine the presence of conflicts inside each of the two groups and explore the potential implications of these disagreements on their intergroup interactions.

Scholars like as Kaufman have conducted analyses of power relations in order to comprehend conflict (Kakai, 2000). Challenges arise as a result of the battle for authority. According to Kakai (2000), in order to foster cooperation among individuals from diverse backgrounds, it is essential to cultivate a collective understanding of ethnicity. The utilization of this tool may be employed by individuals within a given community to establish and maintain their authority. The political elites residing in the Trans Mara boundary region instigated conflict between the indigenous Maasai and Abagusii communities by using their preexisting assumptions and biases towards one another. This manipulation of emotions aligns with Kaufman's theory on the role of emotions in inciting and perpetuating conflicts. Both individuals perceived each other as opponents (Kaufman, 2001).

Hence, the researcher will be capable of assessing the importance of political factors, resource valuations (such as land and livestock), and other contributing components that had a role in the conflicts spanning from 1895 to 2002. When examining the phenomenon of warfare, certain scholars direct their attention towards the analysis of economic transformations. According to Kakai (2000), these theories claim that the major catalyst for conflict is the competition for resources. The contemporary sociological conflict theory, however, represents a fusion of these two theoretical perspectives. The primary contention stated by the author is that individuals receive varied levels of commendation for comparable endeavors. The principal proponent of this ideology was Karl Marx (Kakai, 2000). Sociologists who engage in the examination of conflict tend to direct their attention towards topics such as racial discord, socioeconomic conflict, religious tension, societal instability, political upheaval, student activism, revolutionary movements, and agrarian revolts (Kakai, 2000).

Abraham (1982) presents a theoretical framework for understanding society through the exposition of the fundamental principles of conflict theory. These principles include the notion that society is not a static equilibrium system, but rather a complex structure composed of interconnected elements that are held together through the exertion of coercion on some elements and the subjugation of others. Additionally, Abraham posits that society and its constituent elements are subject to an inherent and inexorable process of change, albeit to varying extents. Furthermore, society is conceptualized as a

dynamic arena in which individuals coexist, engage in struggles, and compete for various resources. The multifaceted motivations for advocating change across diverse domains are rooted in a multitude of factors. Individuals vary in their visual preferences, with some exhibiting pronounced inclinations, while others demonstrate more nuanced or gradual inclinations.

Abraham's thoughts underscore the observation that over time, social organizations tend to give rise to interest groups that perpetually find themselves in conflict with one another. The individuals within a given civilization are divided into several roles characterized by dominance and submission. According to Kakai (2000), certain individuals are granted the power to govern those who are within their legal jurisdiction. Even within the most modest workplace setting consisting of a supervisor and an administrative assistant, a dichotomy arises between two distinct social groups: those who possess authority and those who occupy a subordinate position lacking authority. This study aims to discover potential sources of friction.

The theory posits that the presence of disagreement in human contact is intrinsic and needed for the formation of consensus, hence endowing it with vitality. The theory additionally elucidates the fundamental factors that may trigger phenomena such as political conflicts and economic strife. Given the prevalence of conflicts stemming from the multi-cultural component, which often assume an ethnic overtone, it may be argued that adopting a reductionist approach could potentially lead to a reductionist solution (Abraham, 1982). The utilization of this methodology will facilitate the elucidation of the intricacies involved in the Transmara borders, specifically pertaining to the interactions between the Maasai and the Abagusii communities. Hence, the theory holds significance in this inquiry as it provides further perspectives for analyzing the evolution of comprehension between the two communities over time.

Communities that were formerly engulfed in internal conflict have now achieved the ability to coexist harmoniously. The prevention of violent conflict has always been attributed to the significant and essential components of coexistence (Kona, 1999). The accommodation of differences has been made possible via the endeavors aimed at preserving and promoting the cultural heritage and ecology of both groups, along with

fostering a collaborative attitude (Ackermann, 2000). This development has been attributed to the efforts of church leaders, non-governmental organizations dedicated to peace, and other local officials. The stakeholders had a significant role in resolving the significant and deep-rooted ethnic conflicts that took place in 1992 and 1997, both of which coincided with electoral campaigns.

Through the strict adherence to codes of honor and vigilant surveillance of the populace, they have effectively averted and managed a multitude of regional conflicts. Hence, it can be argued that all phenomena exert an influence on one another. It has been observed that human beings possess the capacity to generate thoughts, which, when entering our consciousness, are nurtured and subsequently grow in magnitude. In certain situations, individuals have a tendency to nurture their feelings of anger, allowing them to take root within their consciousness. Over time, these emotions become deeply ingrained, exerting a significant influence over their cognitive processes and behavioral responses (Nhat Hanh, 1987).

The theory indicated above holds significant importance in our inquiry, albeit its focus is primarily on issues pertaining to competition for finite resources. The literature study underscores the presence of interethnic conflicts and disagreements. The aforementioned concept marks the point at which the conflict begins to manifest, as the persons concerned express their interests, perspectives, emotions, and external influences. The contention stated in this context is that those having a vested interest in the matter would get advantages from being exposed to multiple perspectives on the subject matter.

This study heavily depends on the theoretical framework's adaptability in order to accommodate various potential interpretations of the historical development of relationships between the ethnogroups of the two communities across time. To facilitate a sustainable and harmonious cohabitation between the Maasai and Gusii communities residing along the Transmara border, it is imperative to undertake a comprehensive examination of the fundamental factors contributing to the conflict, the inherent characteristics and extent of the underlying concerns, the involved parties, as well as their individual obligations and vested interests.

1.11 Research Methodology

1.11.1 Research Design

The study employed a historical research design to facilitate the collection, analysis, and interpretation of primary data. Additionally, secondary data sources were reviewed to corroborate findings and draw conclusions on the subject matter. This approach allowed for the identification of categories, patterns, and themes related to past events, ultimately leading to concrete study findings. The primary materials encompassed oral interviews, focus group talks, and historical documents.

In order to gather relevant information, this study relied on the utilization of archival records encompassing a range of sources. These sources included political records, annual reports originating from both provincial and district levels, reports issued by the Local Native Council, documents pertaining to native affairs, publications released by the colonial government, reports concerning missionaries, the colonial land report, as well as reports focusing on labor and taxation. In order to complement the main data obtained, secondary sources of data were employed, including journals, books, magazines, newspapers, book chapters, published reports, and published policy briefs. Kerlinger (1969) and Borg (1996) posit that the utilization of a historical research design facilitates the examination of past events through the analysis of presently available evidence.

This approach enables the reporting of findings, the formulation of significant principles of knowledge, and the provision of solutions to pertinent problems within the research domain. The targeted individuals included the County Commissioners, Sub-County Commissioners, Chiefs, Sub-Chiefs, Village Elders, members of the sub-county committee, non-governmental organizations engaged in peace building, religious leaders, informed members of the public, members of the county assembly, head teachers, and households.

Table 1.1: Codes of Targeted Respondents

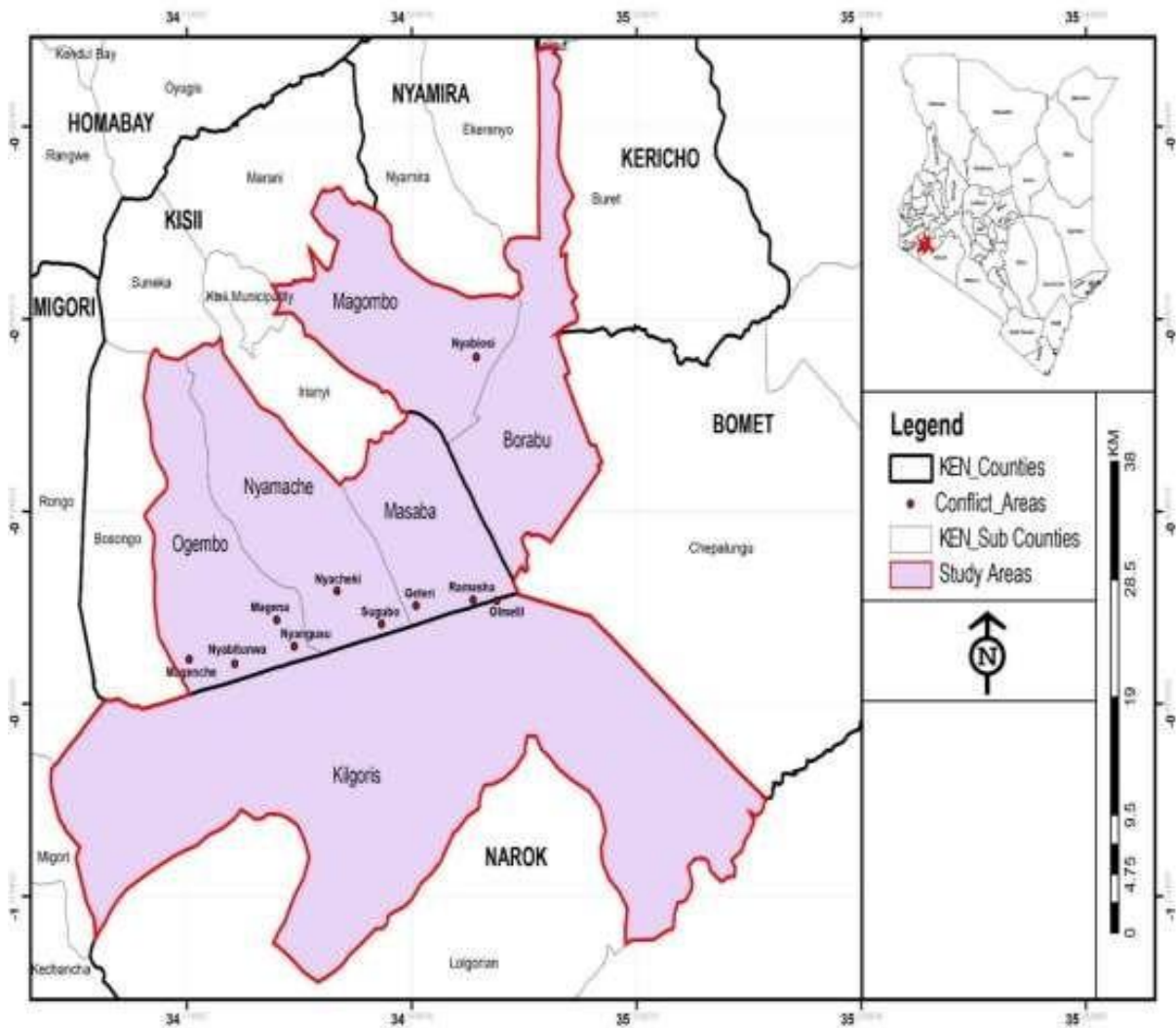
TARGETED RESPONDENTS	CODES
County Commissioners	CC
Sub-County Commissioners	SCC
Chiefs	C
Sub Chiefs	SC
Village Elders	VE
Non Governmental Officials	NGO
Member of County Assemblies	MCA s
Head Teachers	H/T
Principals	P
Households	H
Community Policing Officials	CPO

1.11.2 Study Area

The study covered the Abagusii and Maasai wards along the contested Trans Mara border along the Narok and Kisii counties. From the Abagusii: the study areas included Magenche, Bokimonge, Basi-Bogetaorio, Nyachekei, Gesusu, Masimba and Nyamasibi. It was conducted along the borders of the Bomachoge Borabu, Bobasi and Nyaribari Masaba constituencies located in Kisii County and Kilgoris constituency in Shankoe and Kilgoris Central wards from the Trans-Mara west (Maasai) in Narok County. The two community's co-existed in the centers namely; Olmelil, Ramasha, Geteri, Sugubo, Nyachekei, Magena, Keango and Magenche. This is illustrated in the map below:

Figure 1: Map Showing Settlement areas of Maasai and the Abagusi

Communities along the Common boundary



Kisii County is bounded to the south by Narok County, to the north by Kisumu County, to the south east by Bomet County, and to the east by Nyamira County (Akama, 2009; Maranga, 2018). It has a population of 1,152,282 people according to the census completed in 2009 and covers an area of 1,302 square kilometers. This makes it a place with a high population density (Maranga, 2018). The county is characterized by its difficult topography, which is comprised of a mixture of mountains and valleys. Hills, including Sameta (1970m), Nyamasibi (2,170m), Kiong'anyo (1,710m), Kiamwasi (1,785m), Kiongongi, Kiombeta, Sombogo, Nyanchwa, and Kegochi hills, are among the most significant features in the County (Kisii County Government Official Website, 2013-2019).

Permanent rivers cut through the county and empty into Lake Victoria to the west. These rivers run westward. Kuja, Mogusii, Riana, and Maybe are some of the rivers that are particularly noteworthy. The topography is highly varied, consisting of features such as flat-bottomed valleys and depressions, which are the origins of a great number of streams and rivers, as well as various hills and escarpments, which are characteristic of the region. The Gucha River eventually empties into Lake Victoria (Maranga, 2018). The county of Kisii is going through certain climatic shifts, which is making the local weather more unpredictable. Before the Kisii people began to settle in this area at the beginning of the 19th century, the majority of the region's natural vegetation consisted of wet montane upland forest (Maranga, 2018).

The vast majority of Gusiiland was, however, converted into open savannah woods as a result of extensive forest clearance for the sake of human habitation and agricultural development (Maranga, 2018). The lower-lying regions in the west are composed primarily of a mixture of light-colored and damp clay soil, whereas the higher-lying regions in the east have soil that is dark in color and contains a lot of aluminum. These soils are suitable for subsistence agriculture, which mostly consists of the cultivation of vegetables, tea, coffee, bananas, tomatoes, maize, and sugar cane.

Small-scale commerce and soapstone carving are two examples of the other types of economic activities in Kisii County (Maranga, 2018). Because of its pleasant environment and abundant land, Kisii County has the potential to become a significant agricultural center. On the other hand, the region's population is growing at an alarming rate, and there is a shortage of land. This poses a threat to the area's agricultural potential (Kisii District Annual Report, 1978). The research region is the most appropriate place because of its central location, which is where people of the two different ethnic communities meet in a variety of ways, including through church and commerce.

The location was selected because it is in the middle of four constituencies that are adjacent to each other: Bomachoge Chache and Borabu to the west and Kilgoris to the east. This makes it a convenient and central location. Because it is a region in which three different ethnic groups have historically coexisted together from very early times, this particular region will serve as the focus of the investigation and will be purposefully

chosen as the study location.

In spite of the fact that there are ongoing inter-ethnic conflicts in the area, they continue to live in ethnic harmony with one another, despite the fact that their ties have been marred by ad hoc conflicts, which need to be explored. The area under investigation is a fertile location that supports a variety of agricultural endeavors, including subsistence food crop cultivation on a modest scale (maize, beans, and other legumes), small-scale tea cultivation, and small-scale dairy farming. Magenche, Keango, Magena, Nyacheki, Nyangusu, Ramasha, Ol-Melil, and Masimba are the two primary commercial hubs that supply the surrounding area with goods and services (Kisii County Government Official Website, 2013-2019).

Another study area is located in Narok County. It is a county in Kenya, one of the country's 47 total. The former Narok district has been reorganized into the Trans Mara West sub-county. Rift valley is home to a number of districts, and this particular one is one of them (Narok District Annual Report, 1981). The Narok County Government can be found between the latitudes of 0 degrees 50' and 1 degrees 50' South, and between the longitudes of 35 degrees 28' and 36 degrees 25' East. In the south, Narok County is bordered by the Republic of Tanzania; in the west, it is adjacent to the counties of Kisii, Migori, Nyamira, and Bomet; in the north, it is adjacent to Nakuru County; and in the east, it is adjacent to Kajiado County.

The administrative center of Narok County can be found in Narok Town, which can be found in the Rift valley region's southernmost section (Narok District Annual Report, 1984). The county has an area of 17,933.1 square kilometers, making it the eleventh largest county in Kenya. This represents 3.1 percent of Kenya's total land area, making it the eleventh largest county in Kenya (Annual Development Plan 2017-2018, Narok County). The interior of Narok County is characterized by expansive plains, whereas the southern portion of the county is located at an elevation that ranges from 1,500 to 1,200 meters above sea level (Narok District Annual Report, 1981).

The Great Rift Valley, which is home to several major rivers, landscapes that are dry and rocky, volcanic landforms with places that have strong geothermal activities, and

arid and mountainous landscapes are the primary physical features. Farming is possible on the highland sections of the Mau escarpments, which rise to an altitude of 3,100 meters above sea level. These places provide rich farmland. The Mau complex is also the source of significant rivers such as the Mara and the Ewaso Nyiro. The Mara River is the only major river that flows through the Maasai Mara Game Reserve and eventually empties into Lake Victoria. The famous Maasai Game Reserve, which is one of the most popular tourist destinations in Kenya, is located in the lowland region of the county. This region features a breathtaking view of the annual wildebeest migration, which has attracted researchers, tourists, and filmmakers working on wildlife documentaries. In addition, Geothermal Development Company has been conducting geological study in Suswa with the intention of harvesting and tapping into a potential geothermal energy supply of 300 MW (Annual Development Plan 2017-2018, Narok County).

Residents of the county are dependent on the rich ecological system that the county possesses for a variety of reasons, including agriculture, tourism, water, and many others. The ecological conditions of the county are affected by factors such as the soil type, altitude, vegetation, rainfall pattern, and activities carried out by humans. The forest land that can be found in the Mau area, as well as the grasslands and shrubs that can be found in the lowland portions of Suswa, Narok North and Loita Divisions in Narok South, and Mara sections in Trans Mara, are the most prevalent types of vegetation in the county.

These regions are good for the cultivation of animals as well as the watering of crops. The destruction of the vegetation cover that is caused by human activities such as grazing, the production of charcoal, the extraction of wood fuel, and the cutting down of trees without replacement that results in negative ecological effects is a serious threat to the vegetation cover. The Mara, Mogor, and Narok Enkare rivers form the primary drainage system for the county. These rivers travel through the county from the Mau region all the way to the Kenyan border and then into Tanzania.

On the other hand, because of the ongoing destruction of forests over the past few years, the rivers' total water storage capacity has been steadily declining (Annual Development Plan 2017-2018, Narok County). Maasai people, who belong to an ethnic group and practice nomadic pastoralism, make up the majority of the population of Narok

County. Because of the Maasai Mara Game Reserve, tourism is another significant contributor to the county's economy. This contribution is made possible by the presence of the reserve. Elephants, hyenas, giraffes, and other animals are just some of the attractions that draw visitors to this wildlife reserve. Agriculture, particularly the cultivation of cereal grains like barley and wheat, has a tremendously promising future in Narok County. In addition to the Maasai, who constitute the majority of the population in Narok County, people of other ethnic groups, including the Kisii, Kikuyu, Luhya, Somali, and Luo, have also made their homes there. Farming is done by ethnic tribes that are not Maasai, and they rent land from the Maasai people in order to do so (Narok District Annual report, 1983).

The location and topography of Narok County combine to create unfavorable weather patterns that, depending on the altitude of the region, can be considered to be among the most severe in the world. Temperatures are consistently chilly on the Mau escarpment throughout the entire year. The months of April through June see the heaviest rainfall in the county (Narok District Annual report, 1983). Between the months of July and October, the region near the Mau escarpment and the Trans Mara receives rain. The southern portions of the island receive an annual rainfall of between 300 and 800 millimeters, and the northern parts receive an average rainfall of between 1,000 and 1,750 millimeters (Narok District Annual Report, 1983).

The movement of intertropical convergence zones can have an effect on the total amount of rainfall, which can then give rise to bi-modal patterns of precipitation. The months of February through June are characterized by prolonged rainfall, but the months of August through November are characterized by less frequent rainfall. The dry season receives an average of 500 millimeters of precipitation, while the wet season receives 2,500 millimeters. The months of March through June are characterized by heavy rainfall, which encourages the development of new flora, which in turn supplies wild animals with food. This climatic feature has been affecting the migration of wildebeest into Kenya from the Serengeti in June looking for food that comes from vegetation and the migration back to the Serengeti in November when the vegetation has died back. Planting and harvesting are both crucial activities for farmers, and the seasons play a role in each of them (Annual Development Plan 2017-2018, Narok County).

The county was divided into five distinct agroclimatic zones, including humid, sub-humid, semi-humid, and semi-arid regions. There is about two thirds of the county that is considered to be semi-arid (Narok DEAP 2009-2013). The temperature ranges from 10 degrees Celsius in the summer to 20 degrees Celsius in the winter, with an average of 18 degrees Celsius (Annual Development Plan 2017-2018, Narok County). In the West Mau escarpment, the county of Narok is covered in a dense forest. Clearing has been done on the slope that is to the east of the escarpment in order to make way for human settlement (ibid). On the other hand, the majority of the county is made up of grassland, woods, and bushes, the most of which can be found in the Trans Mara and Osupuko area (Narok District Annual Report, 1983). Figure 1.4 provides an illustration of the map of the Assembly wards that make up the Kilgoris constituency.

1.11.3 Target Population

The Maasai people from the Trans-Mara west sub-county and the Abagusii people from the Kenyenyia, Bobasi, and Masaba South sub-counties participated in the study. The Maasai and the Abagusii of the Trans-Mara frontier were the primary subjects of this study, which covered the period of time from 1895 to 2002. The county commissioners, the sub-county commissioners, the chiefs, the sub-chiefs, the village elders, the members of the sub-county committee, the non-governmental organizations dealing with peace building, the religious leaders, the public with information, the members of the county assembly, the headteachers, the principals, the community policing officials, and the household members were targeted.

1.11.4 Sampling Techniques

Both probability and non-probability sampling methods were used in the investigation. Units of analysis, such as the sub-locations and locations in the Trans-Mara and Masaba South, Nyamache, and Kenyenyia sub-counties, were selected by cluster/stratified sampling. Then, purposive sampling strategy was designed to maximize the likelihood of getting useful information from long-time residents of the area. The sample size was determined by a combination of procedures, including stratified sampling, purposive sampling, and snowball sampling. The Maasai and Abagusii living along the contested boundary were identified as the main study groups. Within each grouping, nine wards were classified as strata based on their geographic position and sub-location. At

each stratum, a distinct sample of the population was selected for in-depth interviews. Purposive sampling was utilized to choose cases that met the criteria for the study's aims in every unit of the population and in every stratum, as described by Mugenda and Mugenda (2003). The data in table 1.3 below demonstrates this.

Table 1.2: Targeted Population

TARGETED POPULATION	NUMBER
County Commissioners	2
Sub-County Commissioners	4
Member of County Assemblies	9
Chiefs	10
Sub-Chiefs	10
Non-Governmental Organizations	2
Religious leaders	60
Households	398
Principals	21
Headteachers	29
Community Policing Officials	9

Table 1.3: Population and Sample Size

No.	Wards	Registered voters	Sample Size	Respondents Interviewed
1.	Bokimonge	15,618	51	34
2.	Basi-Bogetaorio	14,860	49	30
3.	Nyacheki	14, 297	47	42
4.	Gesusu	12,242	40	35
5.	Masimba	12,057	40	29
6.	Nyamasibi	10,111	33	28
7.	Kilgoris Central	15,894	52	22
8.	Shankoe	11,004	36	13
9.	Magenche	15,105	50	44
	TOTAL	121,118	398	277

Based on the target population in Table 1.2, the sample size to be used for this study was determined by using Cochran (1963).

$$n = \frac{Z^2 N p q}{N e^2 F Z^2 p q}$$

$$\text{Thus } n = \frac{121,1181 + 121,118(0.05)^2}{}$$

$$n = 398$$

In order to give a fair representation to the designated units of the population, stratified sampling was adopted using the proportionality formula hence:

$$Q = A/N \times n/1$$

Where, Q = the number of interview schedules to be allocated to each segment. A = The proportion of each segment and N = the total population of all segments.

Each ward's proportional-cluster sample size was as follows: 50 for Magenche, 51 for Bokimonge, 49 for Basi Bogetaorio, 47 for Nyachekei, 40 for Gesusu, 40 for Masimba, 33 for Nyamasibi, 52 for Kilgoris Central, and 36 for Shankoe. With the help of purposive and snowball sampling, the researcher was able to locate more affected Maasai and Abagusii family units from both clusters. Household were interviewed.

Three hundred and ninety-eight people were listed as the respondents for interviewed. Members of County Assemblies, County Commissioners, principals and heads of secondary and primary schools, Sub-County Commissioners, chiefs, assistant chiefs, elders, religious leaders from the Catholic Church, the Anglican Church, the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, the Seventh-Day Adventist Church, and other local churches, as well as heads of households in the study areas, Sub-County peace committee members and community policing members, market and trading center leaders, morans.

During data collection, the researcher employed the snowball sampling method to contact each respondent. A later time will utilize this information to locate further sources of information. As long as new information is still being acquired, this process will continue until the necessary sample size is met, even if informants keep repeating themselves.

1.11.5 Research Instruments

The research instruments used in the study were structured and semi-structured interview guides as well as Focus Group Discussion Guides (FGDs). Focus Group Discussion guides targeted specific questions based on research questions and objectives.

1.11.6 Interview Schedule

The researcher utilized an interview schedule, which is a predetermined list of questions, to guide in-depth interviews with respondents, during which time the researcher explained concepts as needed and took notes. A semi-structured interview schedule was used in conjunction with a structured interview guide during an in-person meeting. For this reason, the researcher employed a semi-structured interview schedule for in-person interviews so that the informants were not pressed for time and could freely discuss the topics of discussion.

In certain situations where interviewees did not speak English, the researcher used the translated version of the interview guide. The interview schedule written in English was translated into the Gusii and Maasai languages for this purpose. As a result, the researcher used research assistants from inside the communities being studied to improve coordination and open lines of contact. The interviews were recorded with a voice recorder, then transcribed, and, translated into English. The researcher was able to focus on conducting the interviews rather than taking notes if they use a voice recorder. Even yet, the researcher took notes to capture details that the recorder didn't pick up, such as the participant's body language, through attentive observation.

1.11.7 Focus Group Discussion Guide

The history of Gusii-Maasai inter-ethnic relations, causes of inter-ethnic relations, and new mitigation techniques for reducing ethnic disputes for peaceful coexistence were gathered through in-depth discussions with various groups such as the elderly, women, and young. Eight to twelve persons participated in each FDG because they all shared some commonalities. Nine sessions of Focus Group Discussions, one in each of the nine wards, were used for the research. The data collected from FDGs was utilized to verify the results of the interviews and provide more contexts for the analysis that follows.

1.11.8 Archival Records

This was obtained from the National Archives, institutional records, government records, library records, manuscripts, and previous reports in personal archives. These sources of information provided primary data for triangulation purposes with other primary and secondary data sources.

1.11.9 Validity and Reliability of Research Instruments

According to Robson (2011), a research instrument's validity is determined by its capacity to accurately measure the concepts being researched and evaluate the reliability of its results (Pallant, 2011). To determine whether or not the questions on the instruments elicit reliable replies that are consistent with the study's aims, we utilized a technique called "content validity" (Crewswell, 2005; Shekaran & Bougle, 2010).

The reliability of a research instrument is defined as its "capacity to produce repeatable outcomes or data" (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999). The Test-Retest Procedure was utilized here. Selected groups of responders from each community were given the same instruments again. In January 2021, we administered the instruments for the first time, and then, two months later, we administered them again to see if the subjects could recall their initial responses. Thus, the dependability determined whether or not the two devices produced similarly correlated results and found out if there was any regularity in the selected people's responses using the data.

1.12 Data Collection Procedure

The feasibility of the research instruments, including their questions, was tested in a preliminary study. The researcher conducted the piloting in person, and they made any changes to the questions that were needed to ensure that the data collected is useful. As of the logged date, data gathering was officially began. First, the researcher applied for a research permit from the National Commission of Science, Technology, and Innovation (NACOSTI) before beginning data collection.

A research license and authorization letter copy was requested. Some current and former chiefs, as well as assistant chiefs, religious leaders, non-governmental organization (NGO) representatives, and educators, were be interviewed with the help of interview guides. Interviews were conducted in English, Kiswahili, and the local languages using interpreters. This research relied heavily on secondary sources such as published books, scholarly journals, book chapters, the World Wide Web, and existing records.

Subsequently, the researcher submitted a report to the County Commissioners of Narok and Kisii counties to secure approval to conduct data gathering among the Maasai

and the Abagusii. In order to guarantee that all field study participants gave their informed consent, we picked our respondents with great care. When this was completed, two research assistants were trained to help with data gathering.

During a pilot study, the researcher put to the test not only the research questions prepared for data collecting, but also the research assistants. In a similar vein, the researcher conducted a pilot study to check the validity and reliability of the data collection instruments before using them in the main study. After a week had passed, the researcher and research assistants went out into the field to collect data after providing respondents with an outline of the study premise. To begin, the researcher conducted interviews with primary sources, such as industry experts. The local authorities then assisted the researcher in locating further interviewees. Information provided by respondents were recorded by the researcher and research assistants.

1.13 Data Analysis

Analysis of data encompasses everything from its initial stages right after data collection to its last stages of interpretation and processing (Kothari, 2004). All of the data in this study were transcribed and typed by hand. After collecting the information, it was organized into larger categories and subcategories according to the commonalities and distinctions among the responses. This data was analyzed using a thematic approach. The examination of data involved grouping similar subjects into overarching themes (themes). When it comes to determining whether or not the data gathered from secondary and primary sources meets the study's aims, a synthesis of the two sets of data was performed.

The information was then subjected to a theme analysis, a form of qualitative data analysis. There are three stages to the analysis of qualitative data. First, the researcher did some theoretical reflections, comparing the findings to the theories used. Second, archival and secondary data was used to verify the in-depth field notes taken during oral interviews. As a result, the results were free of bias and completely trustworthy. Since the analysis looked for overarching themes and trends in relation to the goals, any data that appeared to be redundant was scrutinized closely.

Significant trends were uncovered through a thorough investigation of colonial and post-colonial records, field records, and other secondary data. The interviewees'

responses to each question were categorized by theme in order to reveal changing dynamics between the Maasai and the Gusii through time. More weight was given to facts, ideas, and concepts that appear to mesh well with one another and provide support for one another. Finally, the researcher went through the sources used to pull out any pertinent quotes or data that may be used to back up the emerging facts and issues. Research often used direct quotations from respondents to bolster their arguments or claims.

Data was compiled from a variety of sources, including transcripts of interviews, field notes, and archival materials. It was planned to synthesize and organize the primary and secondary data thematically in accordance with the study's aims. All the data was categorized according to their content and the precise historical time range in which events and changes occurred in order to produce a legitimate, dependable, and accurate historical work. Secondary data was checked against the sources of data to ensure the accuracy of the interpretation and to ensure that the secondary data is appropriate and sufficient. The documents were summarized, with occasional direct citations. Data was analyzed to either confirm or disprove the study's hypotheses.

1.14 Ethical Considerations

The researcher approached Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology for a formal letter of approval. In order to obtain a Research Authority Letter and Research clearance permission from the National Council for Science and Technology, the researcher provided this letter (NACOSTI). By receiving this document, the researcher was given permission to conduct research in the counties of Narok and Kisii. Additional approval was sought from the Narok and Kisii County Deputy County Commissioners' offices. In the field, the researcher tried to recruit respondents on a voluntary basis. All data collected was utilized for academic research.

To further reassure respondents of privacy, only voice recordings were made of any data collection activities. The respondents' self-assurance in responding to the questions increased as a result. The study cited the contributions of other authors when appropriate. This organization respects the freedom to share scientific results with whoever may benefit from them. The basis for this investigation is provided by this study. It was the responsibility of later chapters to fill in the gaps that were discovered and

provide more specifics on the topics to be tackled in this one.

There was emphasis on teaching research assistants about ethical considerations when working with human subjects. In order to conduct their research, scientists need to get permission from their interviewees. No informant was forced to take part in the study, and participation will be entirely voluntary. Confidentiality was ensured by only using the informants' honest answers. In order to protect the anonymity of each source, a unique identification code was assigned to each person providing information; only those who requested to be identified by their real names had their identities revealed.

Any participant who provided information was asked to sign a permission form. Authorization documents were made available in both English and the languages spoken in the area. Participants were given a thorough explanation of the study and given time to ask questions before signing a permission form. If participants changed their minds about taking part in the study, they were given the option to do so. When interacting with other researchers or respondents, the researcher was always forthright and truthful. There was no taking advantage of responses by unilaterally altering terms of any agreements. The participants in the pilot project were instructed on the study's rationale and methodology and gave an overview of the data collection process. The informants were shielded from emotional and physical harm in every way possible.

CHAPTER TWO: GUSII-MAASAI ETHNIC CO-EXISTENCE IN THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD

2.1 Introduction

This section provides an overview of the historical interactions between the Gusii and Maasai communities prior to the colonial period, specifically focusing on the period leading up to 1895. The aim is to establish the foundational processes that will serve as a framework for understanding subsequent dynamics and challenges related to their coexistence. This section mostly centers on the colonial era, namely encompassing the time period leading up until 1895. The historical processes that influence the relations between the Maasai and Gusii communities have evolved over an extended duration and are deeply rooted in their cultural values, political structures, and economic institutions. These factors have consistently influenced their goals, desires, and perspectives on the world. The reason for this phenomenon can be attributed to the historical dynamics that have undergone gradual changes over the course of time, as well as their deep integration into the cultural values of the populace. Consequently, it is indisputable that the nature of these interactions has consistently been delineated, reevaluated, and adjusted in accordance with the changing circumstances. Within this particular framework, the phrase "historical relations" encompasses, in its broadest sense, the complete array of connections and interactions that have involved the social, economic, political, and cultural domains of the two societies (Watch, 1993).

2.2 Pre-colonial Gusii-Maasai relations

The term "co-existence" refers to the conditions that serve as the key fundamentals for the development of more sophisticated and harmonious intergroup interactions (Bar *et al.* 2004). It refers to the recognition of the right of the other group to coexist peacefully with its differences and to the acceptance of the other group as a legitimate and equal partner with whom disagreements must be resolved in ways that do not involve violence. It also refers to the acceptance of the other group as a legitimate and equal partner with whom disagreements must be resolved in ways that do not involve violence. According to Weiner (1998), the term "coexistence" refers to the state of existing in conjunction with, concurrently with, at the same time as, and in the same location as another.

According to Kriesberg (1998), the relationship and the resolution of community disputes refer to the association between persons or groups in which none of the parties is attempting to destroy the other. Kriesberg makes this assertion in the context of the settlement of communal conflicts. In his opinion, he centered his discussion on coexistence on the positive role it plays in bringing people together. He was of the opinion that the likelihood of interethnic coexistence contributing to processes of reconciliation increases when there is equity in the distribution of resources, power, economic conditions, and social standing. According to his theory, it is essential to take into account the degree to which the parties are integrated or isolated from one another, as well as the imbalance that exists between them on a structural level. In addition to this, it is essential to have an understanding of how individuals or groups perceive the subjective lives of one another. He named popular feelings, ideologies, and vested interests as the factors that stood in the way of attaining equal cohabitation.

On the other hand, Davies (1987) proposed that connection is a social practice that groups need to acquire in order to function effectively. According to Zelniker and Lazarowitz (2005), the term "coexistence" is used in Israel to refer to the harmonious existence of the two people, Jews and Arabs living side by side. According to the writers, the concept of relationship has been defined and understood in a variety of different ways by each culture at various times throughout history. For instance, Jews describe coexistence in terms of social and interpersonal interactions, but the majority of Arabs define it in terms of political and civic life as well as relations between different groups.

The historical dynamics that inform the Maasai and Gusii relations have not only developed over a long period of time, but are also ingrained in the people's cultural values, political and economic institutions, which have continually shaped their aspirations, needs, and worldviews.. As a result, there is little room for debate regarding the fact that the character of these relationships has continuously been defined, reinterpreted, and modified in response to the shifting context. In this context, the term "historical relations" refers, in the largest meaning possible, to the entirety of the relationships and linkages that have engaged the social, economic, political, and cultural spheres of the two societies (Watch, 1993).

Before the beginning of colonial rule in the middle of the 1890s, the two

communities had a long history of origin, migration, and settlement. This section specifically demonstrates that there is unmistakable evidence of close relations that were deeply rooted between the two communities before the beginning of colonial rule. These historical relations, as shown in the encounter and social interaction, acted as membranes for the exchange of goods, information, and cultural ideas that were significant in the understanding of the later emergence of the colonial border and its transformation over time. This was the case because they were significant in the understanding of the later emergence of the colonial border. According to the findings of historical research, the boundary between the two ethnic groups was neither set nor static but rather constantly constricted and expanded in response to the political, economic, and social requirements of the communities.

These requirements have, over the course of time, continued to be met by referring to their shared history and being maintained within the interlocking geographical vicinity in which they are located (Watch, 1993). This is consistent with the subjective approach, which views boundaries as being "fluid" and transactional, as a product of social and historical conditions, and as being dependent on chosen rather than given traits (Ozgen, 2015). In addition, informal intergenerational mobility, neighborhood mixing, and inter-ethnic sexual relations can all result in boundary crossing or blurring (Lee and Bean, 2004), as seen in the case of Gusii and Maasai boundary exchange patterns. This phenomenon is reflected in the case of Gusii and Maasai boundary exchange patterns.

Migration, growing globalization, and technological improvement are three factors that have been shown to erode cultural differences. These three factors have had a significant impact on the inter-ethnic coexistence of the Gusii and the Maasai. The pastoral Maasai inhabited the whole of Nyanza and Rift Valley regions prior to other later migrants' groups such as the Gusii who encountered them during their entry into western Kenya, which is when the Gusii and Maasai began living together in the area. This can be traced back to a time before colonialism, when the Maasai were the only people living there. Migration of different ethnic groups to water and pasture sites like Sondu has been influenced by economic imperatives, which are driving these groups to work together and minimize their differences and sensitivities. As a result of these economic imperatives, migration of these groups has been influenced by economic imperatives.

For example, the maize and pulses that are grown in the area have maintained food security for a Maasai population that is expanding at such a rapid rate that it is an engagement between the two ethnic groups, which explains why the barter market at the numerous points around the foothills where the highlands and plains meet has been thriving on the sale of agricultural produce as well as livestock (O.I, 20th September, 2021). These findings tend to support a previous position that was held by Odak (1995). Odak asserts that no matter what the situation, the relation within the common border of two tribes (Abatirichi and Terik) was not different from what the situation was between the Luo and Abaluyia border, where political, cultural, and economic factors characterized the interaction between the groups.

The political border that separated the Gusii and Maasai communities, known as the Transmara-Kisii boundary, also served as a barrier to the flow of social, cultural, economic, and political exchanges between the two peoples. In light of this, it is really fascinating to think that these villages have managed to preserve their peace for the most part. The way of life is the same as it is in other communities that only consist of members of one ethnic group. In addition to maintaining their own cultural traditions, the people who live in this area have embraced the traditions of neighboring ethnic groups. For example, a larger proportion of citizens are fluent in the native languages, which makes communication simpler, particularly in the market places where people engage in cross-ethnic commerce (O.I, 23rd December, 2021). "In the border areas between the Maasai and the Gusii, the Abagusii tend to know Maasai language, whereas the reverse situation is rare," says the author (FGD 1, September, 2021). To put it another way, both in principle and in practice, outside influences, such as in the case of the Maasai, make their way into Gusii culture from the peripheries (Odak 1990: 14-37).

It should be made clear that several people from Kisii and Transmara counties traveled to Nyanguso and Ramasha markets in order to conduct business. Each of the relationships called for a unique set of interpersonal and communicative abilities. She asserted that the general fragmentation of the population into villages and neighborhoods, clans and families, and the resulting closed-mindedness and families offered social and mental conditions that were probably conducive to interethnic coexistence. This assertion was made in the context of their search for the socio-cultural knowledge that enabled

people to cope with diversity (O.I, 23rd December, 2021). These two neighboring tribes share important aspects of their ideological cultures, and such similarities exist between them. According to Abuso (1980:42-43), the Gusii adopted the Maasai's age-grade system, their passion for cattle, and their primary physical traits, which include having their earlobes pierced and wearing them long and hanging down.

Education has played an important role in fostering interethnic harmony in this region. The populations that make up the schools are made up of individuals from two distinct ethnic groups: teachers and students, as well as pupils. The level of coexistence amongst people of diverse ethnic backgrounds has been helped along by the social interactions that take place during school activities such as athletics and festivals. During the multicultural events such as sports, drama, and music festivals, the members of the community participate and interact with one another. The two communities have been brought closer together through the peaceful medium of these activities (O.I, 6th October, 2021). The study conducted by Gordon (1964) on integration, which ultimately results in the indistinguishability of ethnic groupings from one another, is supported by the intercultural activities.

During religious gatherings, members of the Gusii and Maasai communities engaged with one another. This was the situation with the Seventh Day Adventist Church (SDA), which was a denomination that was dominated by the Gusii people. It did this by establishing several Sabbath schools on land owned by the Maasai and by receiving land donations from a church located close to the boundary between Transmara and Kisii. The two different ethnic groups get together at a camp every week to participate in religious gatherings that last for a whole week. In addition to religious activities, both of these communities participated in table banking, particularly among the women who ran small-scale businesses. In addition to the financial donations they make, these enable the women of the two villages to interact with one another through the practice of visiting one another (O.I, October, 2021).

According to the findings of an article written by Kenan Miruka and published in The Standard on June 15, 2011, the Kiswahili language has been used to encourage coexistence. Miruka added that the Kiswahili symposium was conceived in the region

after the post poll instability in 2008 in order to bring together students from communities that clashed in Rift Valley and Nyanza provinces. She stated that the symposium was held in Nyanza province. At the same time, an increasing number of individuals who are better educated and informed are becoming aware of the repercussions of ethnic disputes, which has contributed to the amicable coexistence that can be seen in communities such as Nyanguso and Ramasha. On the same line, Miruka pointed out that schools function as social places that children of any ethnic group are able to attend, and that this has resulted in respect and encirclement of one another's cultural traditions. Teachers also work at any school located in any sub-county, regardless of the ethnic group that the students belong to (O.I, Miruka December, 2017).

Although the network of relationships was not as dense as it was on the Maasai/Kikuyu frontier, the situation on the western Kenya edges of Maasai displayed a similar mixture of local entrepreneurship and engagement in trade, as well as in the production and exploitation of political resources. The significance of this western Kenya connection was emphasized during the colonial era by the establishment of communication and trade networks that led west rather than east, by the extreme administrative isolation of Trans-Mara within Narok District, and, more recently, by a pattern of immigration and development, which has tended to promote still closer links with Luo, Gusii, and Kipsikis. All of these factors combined to highlight the significance of this western Kenya connection (Waller, 1984).

In the same vein, Putnam (2000) contends that a child's growth is influenced by social capital. [Citation needed] His argument was that trust, networks, and norms of reciprocity within a kid's family, school, peer group, and greater community have far-reaching effects on the possibilities and choices available to that child, and that this, in turn, affects one's behavior and development. Vogt and Stephan (2004) came to the conclusion that students' inter-group relationships can be improved through education. The authors suggested that today, growing socioeconomic and cultural variety, together with improvements in communication, bring together people from different backgrounds to a degree that has never been witnessed before in the history of humanity. Intergroup relations are essential to reaping the benefits of variety while simultaneously avoiding the pitfalls that come along with it.

Since the beginning of time that can be remembered, members of both the Gusii and the Maasai tribes have been marrying members of the other tribe. Because of this, there is now a strong connection between the two different ethnic groups. The two communities have been able to improve their relations through activities such as intermarrying and educating their children together. It is necessary for a person to have a closer relationship with his or her spouse's family because of the norms and traditions of both groups (O.I, 10th October, 2021). The above is connected to Gordon's (1964) theory of the process of marital integration, in which he claims that when people from different communities dwell in the same area, there would be a gradual merging of the subordinate and dominant communities.

Prior to the year 1900, communities on the periphery were able to draw on resources from both sides of an ethnic boundary and exploited their position to function as mediators or brokers in economic and social exchanges. This allowed them to draw on resources from both sides of the boundary (Hay, 1975). Another significant activity that both the Gusii and the Maasai populations participate in together is business participation. This requires going to market places like Nyanguso and Ramasha and buying and selling various goods there. The elements related to the environment and the climate have either contributed to or been necessary for the occurrence of this type of interaction. The two regions are responsible for the production of distinct types of commodities. In either the Nyanguso or the Ramasha market, it is highly improbable that you will come across a person who is selling their goods exclusively to people of their own ethnic heritage.

The transaction results in the formation of a connection between the buyer and the seller, which helps to sustain the amicable relationship. The relationship between members of the group has been somewhat volatile. At first, the many ethnic groups were forced to cooperate with one another in order to ensure their own survival and access to lucrative economic possibilities. Due to the fact that the Gusii and the Maasai occupy different ecological niches, they have developed symbiotic relationships with one another. This is because there is a shortage of certain food items that are necessary for maintaining human nutritional balance. The previously linked local economies gradually began to differentiate into discrete specialities along the lines of ethnic cleavage as a result of the transition to a white farming enclave during the colonial period. Again, those who did not fit in were the

ones who suffered the most, whether they were stock-owning squatters on mixed farms and ranches or lonely pastoralists living in the midst of a sea of African maize farmers.

Activities related to farming have helped to foster positive relationships. In the same vein, the Gusii are well-known for their expertise in iron work and farming; hence, the Kipsigis are reliant on the agricultural goods produced by the Gusii. Because the Maasai were pastoralists, they subsisted primarily on fruits, maize, millet, and sorghum (O.I, October, 2021). As a result, the ties between the Maasai and the Gusii are consistent with the findings that Odak (1971) drew from his research on the ethnic contacts that take place in Western Kenya. As a result, the fact that there have been significant shifts in housing, the instruments used in domestic life, agricultural practices, clothes, and other areas is not a coincidence.

Even though they did not interact much their relationship was somewhat cordial (KII 12th October, 2021). They not interact much because the Maasai stayed far inside from the border but they had good relationship (KII 12th October, 2021).

Interethnic trade and other forms of interaction have always been the primary means through which individuals of different ethnic backgrounds in Western Kenya have been able to trade cultural artifacts with one another. Regarding, for instance, the connection that exists between the Abaluyia and the Luo, a variety of technological concepts have been traded back and forth (Odak, 1971:16-26)

Interactions between members of the Gusii and Maasai communities during agricultural endeavors were friendly and without incident. Due to the fact that rearing livestock is the primary focus of the Maasai economy, the majority of their land has been left uncultivated for the purpose of providing grazing for animals. As a result of the declining number of animals, some of the Maasai began cultivating the land for the production of food crops, while others rented it out to their Gusii neighbors. In the highly productive Gusii hills, there was a shortage of land due to overpopulation; therefore the Maasai were approached by the Gusii to see if they might lease some property from them.

As was previously demonstrated, the Maasai had the ability to acquire these grains through the exchange of goods from their animals for fruits and grains (O.I, October, 2021). Relations between the two groups' respective clans were influenced by economic forces which were based on the existence of certain common cultural features, such as

similarities in exogamic laws at the family, lineage, and clan levels; similarities in the norms regarding the choice of marriage partner; identities in marriage types; and commonalities in the systems of bride-wealth transaction. This was due to the imbalance in economic resources possessed by the two groups (Abuso, 1980; Odak, 1995).

It is hypothesized that, in the pre-colonial period, diverse traditional organizational structures and mechanisms were able to apply a variety of well-established local modalities in order to maintain peace in the event that a dispute occurred in the region. In addition, the research demonstrates that even though there were stateless civilizations in the region, these communities were in no way cut off from one another. On the other hand, there was an evolution toward peaceful living as a result of various types and levels of peacekeeping that were practiced during times of conflict, which led to unity and collaboration.

In addition, even though wars were rare, those that did break out were often on a little size and were not difficult to handle thanks to the numerous mechanisms for maintaining peace that were built into their cosmology. The conclusion is that there is a need to look inward and breathe new life into traditional techniques of conflict resolution in order to rein in the deteriorating conflicts that are plaguing the modern world. During the time before European colonization, the Maasai and the Gusii both participated in peacekeeping activities in order to reduce levels of conflict, preserve a state of stability, and enhance levels of cooperation within their own groups. Both the relationships that exist within an ethnic group and those that exist between different ethnic groups are referred to correspondingly as intra-group and inter-group relations.

There have been occurrences of cross-border warfare between the Maasai and the Gusii, despite the fact that they appear to have a mutually beneficial relationship with one another. It was not uncommon for there to be armed clashes and subsequent deaths between them.

The Maasai believed that cattle belonged to them and this encouraged them to continue to steal cattle from the Gusii. Also, the Gusii stole from the Maasai in revenge and sometimes they wanted to scare the Maasai so that they could take their lands (FGDs 2. 16th October, 2021).

When an individual is no longer a true participant in society, when he no longer feels a sense of responsibility to his society, when the content of fairness has been emptied, when culture has been degraded and vulgarity has been enthroned, and when the social system does not build safety but inevitably induces threat, then alienation occurs. Alienation is the most pervasive and treacherous phenomenon that can occur in a society. These values indicated when a person was likely to participate in contentious behavior or withdraw from the growth process (King, 1967).

One of the Gusii respondents stated unequivocally that constant interaction between the inhabitants of the two groups could not always be harmonious. The ideological, political, social, and economic disparities that existed between the two sides almost invariably led to rivalry and competitiveness, which in turn led to the occurrence of conflicts. During the time before European colonization, the Gusii and the Maasai participated in a variety of forms of engagement with one other on a regular basis, which created a situation that occasionally resulted in armed confrontation. These wars were caused by a variety of factors, including murder, commerce, theft of animals, and witchcraft, amongst others. There were a variety of mechanisms available, which were used, in order to settle these disputes.

The village councils, the councils of the clan elders, and the religious institutions that administered oaths were all examples of such machinery. These individuals or institutions typically based their decisions on tradition when making their selections. In all of their judgements and choices, they maintained complete objectivity, fairness, and impartiality. Access to justice was not dependent on a person's social standing in the community; wealthy or poor, powerful or weak, all were afforded the same opportunities. The Maasai and the Gusii were able to work through their differences and overcome their conflicts in a spirit of brotherhood (O.I, 6th November, 2021). The findings are generally consistent with the findings of Sambanis and Shayo (2013), which demonstrate that ethnic conflicts are protracted, lethal, and can have disastrous economic implications.

During the pre-colonial period, fighting was the primary means by which the Maasai and the Gusii resolved their differences with one another. This action was made in retaliation for an insult or in response to anything that provoked us. The majority of incidents were precipitated by transgressions committed by domestic animals, which

included the destruction and consumption of crops on farms, or by youngsters who fought with one another while playing. The essential qualities of the parties involved in a quarrel are that they have accepted the responsibility or obligation to bring an end to the conflicts through peaceful ways. Due to the fact that the feuds were easier to govern and control, there were less people killed in them (O.I,10th, November, 2021).

The war was distinguished by the absence of any obligation or mechanism to end the fighting between the two sides. The combatants would go at it until one of them emerged victorious and the other fell short of their goals. The fighting between the Maasai and the Gusii, on the otherhand, was more regulated to the season after the harvest. It was more or less like a sport, with clear guidelines regarding the methods and tools of offense, as well as the procedure for conducting the conflict. This occurred during the season after the harvest. The theory proposed by Gould (1999) that "collective violence emerges when group activity fails to convince an adversary to back down" is consistent with this point of view (Gould, 1999: 35).

The Maasai and the Gusii men could be at war with each other as their women were busy trading and exchanging items, often in either territory without any harm. The norm between these two communities was firmly entrenched: never to attack women and children under any circumstances (O.I, 17th November, 2021).

People who identify more strongly with their own ethnic group than with the members of other groups have a tendency to dedicate a greater amount of resources to competing with members of other ethnic groupings. They are therefore capable of being categorized as either radicals or extremists. If these radicals have adequate fighting resources or capabilities, this fact alone may lead to wars between groups (Sambanis and Shayo, 2013). One example of this is the case of the Maasai and the Gusii on various instances. This viewpoint, which is evocative of the Gusii-Maasai ethnic conflicts, might be summarized as follows: "Intergroup fighting is implicitly seen as a sufficient requirement for group participation in violent conflict" (Gould, 1999: 356).

The differences in social and economic organization that existed between the Gusii and the Maasai led to conflict between the two groups. The Maasai would rally all of the able-bodied adult males in their group to fight the Gusii at the first sign of even the

slightest aggression from the Gusii. For the purpose of self-defense, they would arm themselves with spears and shields. This kind of warfare could only remain for as long as the threat continued to be there, which was typically for very brief periods of time, typically only a few days or weeks and very rarely months. As a direct result of the cessation of hostilities, the armed forces were subsequently disbanded (O.I, 20th November, 2021).

This indicates that there were no warriors who made a living out of fighting for extended periods of time. Therefore, wars or conflicts were brief incidents that interrupted longer periods of time during which differences of opinion were amicably resolved. The older members of both groups' communities comprised the warrior class; nevertheless, this class was only loosely connected and did not have substantial training or professional officers. "Cattle raids were an integral component of the young Maasai's way of life in order to safeguard their livestock in the event that it was threatened by an outside force" (FGD, September, 2021).

The Maasai and the Gusii were engaged in a violent conflict, and age-sets within the Maasai were a significant factor in the battle. Both as military stratagems and as historical chronological chronicles, age-sets were extremely essential. They contributed, in their capacity as military units, to the community's efforts to organize effective military training. Because of this, the Maasai were required to maintain a state of readiness at all times in the event that their adversaries launched an attack. When a person reached a certain age, it gave him the right to legitimately participate in raids on the inhabitants in the surrounding area. The raids were very carefully coordinated, and the warriors who participated in successful raids were rewarded, while those who participated in unsuccessful raids were punished. This indicates that when a person entered a new age-set, he automatically became a warrior and was tasked with the responsibility of plundering communities in the surrounding area. Conflict between the Maasai and the Gusii was triggered by raiding between the two groups (O.I, 26th November, 2021). A moran emerged from an age-set, which legitimized his role in partaking in cattle raids. Beginning at this point in history, the responsibility of leadership was placed squarely on the shoulders of an individual (Grandin, 1991).

The Maasai had a very important age-set system since it determined who would belong to the warrior class. Because of this, the warrior class was able to supply the community with the consistent military support it required. When a person joined an age-set, it legitimized his position in participating in raids on their neighbors. This gave him more confidence to carry out these activities. Initiation among the Maasai, which eventually led to age-sets, encouraged some of the Maasai to participate in raiding activities against their Gusii neighbors. These raids were made easier by the institutionalization of raiding within the Maasai community, a factor that legalized the vice. Initiation eventually led to age-sets.

They had a bad relationship due to cattle theft (KII,C. 13th October, 2021). They were enemies and they did not associate much (KII, 10th, October, 2021).

In addition, the prestige that came along with completing successful raids motivated them to continue raiding even after they had been initiated. This provided an explanation for why the majority of the raids took place during the beginning phase, which lasted from November until December (O.I, 4th December, 2021).

There were occasions when warfare was caused by reasons for seeking retribution or by animal raids. The Maasai would typically conduct their raids on the animals during the night, at which time they would drive them away extremely quickly to locations that the Gusii would have a difficult time reaching. The low level of militarization in both of these communities allowed them to battle for a day under these conditions with only a few people getting hurt on either side.

The relationship was unfriendly, conflictual in nature due to frequent infightings (O.I, 24th November, 2021).

The quality and sophistication of a community's military organization was a much more important factor in defining the intensity and magnitude of a conflict than the factors that led to the conflicts in the first place. The vast majority of the time, military forces went into battle not organized into squads or platoons but rather as masses of men. However, as a result of rising levels of training, teamwork, and leadership, the offensive tools became increasingly sophisticated, which led to an increase in the degree of militarization (O.I, 26th November, 2021).

As a result of the importance that the Maasai placed on cattle, raiding the Gusii settlement in search of more animals was an integral component of their way of life culturally. However, Cattle's raiding was regulated by some checks, including as the necessity that every given raid was to be sanctioned by the elders and that raiders respect certain universal rules. These checks were in place to ensure that the raiding was carried out in an orderly manner. The act of raiding was more of a game than it was a form of battle. Cattle raids were kept under close watch by the elders, who made sure nothing illegal was done. The Maasai would sometimes go on raids in an effort to increase the number of their livestock herds.

The two communities associated well along the border. They lived well but the major problem they had was that there were cases of cattle theft (O.I. 12th oct. 2021 p.87).

This was done to ensure that the entire community would continue to exist, particularly after suffering significant losses as a result of a prolonged drought or disease among the animals (O.I, 28th November, 2021). This scenario is consistent with the beliefs of Ochieng (1974), who states that the Siria were isolated from their non-Maasai neighbors to the west and north by a no-land man's consisting of scattered bush and seasonal grazing. This no-land man's was rapidly disappearing in the nineteenth century as mixed agricultural and pastoral groups expanded into the hinterland and began to establish cattle posts and fortified settlements close to the Maasai.

This scenario is consistent with the beliefs in general, the Maasai were retreating, and their ability to protect pastures that were located a significant distance from the main centres of settlement was being undermined by the effects of competition and fighting that were taking place within Maasai territory itself. The pressure exerted by Bantu-speaking (Gusii) migrants coming from the Musoma region and Luo colonists moving inland after crossing the Kavirondo Gulf caused the frontier of Trans-Mara to advance eastward. Additionally, the Luo colonists were responsible for the expansion of Trans-Mara. As the Maasai moved back into their homelands, the places left behind by them were slowly colonized by Luo and "Luo-ized" lineages.

The Maasai and the Gusii were always at odds with one another because of the cultural and economic importance that was placed on livestock. Cattle raids were the root

cause of these wars. In terms of the amount of cattle a household held, wealth and economic strength were the most important factors to consider. It was common practice to rear cattle for their milk, meat, and hides. The production of manure and cow dung was an important byproduct of cattle. On the farms, manure was utilized as fertilizer, and cow dung was put to use in the construction of homes and the lighting of fires for the purpose of cooking. Cattle were acquired through breeding, raiding, receiving animals as dowry when a daughter of a specific family was married, or trade.

The two communities stole cattle from one another and it was a norm between the two communities when community stole cattle from the other, the other community did the same in revenge (FGDs 5. 3rd November, 2021).

As a result of the significance of cattle, a number of precautions have been taken to safeguard this significant resource (O.I, 29th November, 2021). The amount of livestock an individual owned was used as a measure of that person's social rank within the Maasai community. Those who had more than 500 cattle were considered wealthy in that time period (Anderson, 1995). Since pre-colonial times until the present day, both the Maasai and the Gusii groups regularly engaged in the practice of marriage, which typically included the payment of a bride price.

One of the reasons why Maasai were encouraged to engage in cattle rustling, which in turn fostered violence between the two communities, was the payment of bride prices. After undergoing initiation, a Maasai was regarded as a mature adult who was capable of providing for a family, and hence was eligible for marriage within the culture. The bride price was typically denominated in the form of livestock and was expected to be paid by the prospective husband to the daughter's or son's parents. Historically, it was the responsibility of the man's father to pay the dowry for his son; but, as time passed, the practice shifted due to the increasing commercialization of the bride price. It did not matter how one obtained the livestock; one could take it from any field, even if it was forbidden to steal from other Maasai. The only thing that mattered was that they did not steal from their neighbors (O.I, 21st November, 2021).

Instead of relying on their parents to cover the cost of the bride price, the young men who expressed interest in getting married were urged to find the money on their own.

If a person was unable to raise the required animals, their only option was to either raid their neighbors or raise sheep and goats, which they could then trade for cattle. This was a common practice. Those who were able to effectively pay the bride price with animals that had been successfully stolen won respect from their contemporaries. This was further aided by the legalization of raiding in the 19th century, when it was not unlawful to raid adjacent settlements. This allowed for the expansion of raiding (O.I, 27th November, 2021).

These findings concur with those of USAID (2005), which indicated that among the pastoralist communities in Northern Kenya, the pressure put on young men of marriageable age to pay dowry for their brides encouraged them to engage in raids in order to raise the required livestock. Specifically, USAID (2005) found that the pressure put on young men of marriageable age to pay dowry for their brides encouraged them to engage in raids. Since then, the Maasai have commercialized the process of paying for a bride, resulting in a price that was too tough for the fathers to be able to pay for their sons.

Development projects done by British, interfered in their economic social and political system, Land conflict, Cattle grazing fields, Cultural difference (O.I 23rd November, 2021). Cattle rustling and border issues concerning boundaries (O.I 23rd November, 2021); they fought for land and pasture and water points (O.I. 24th November, 2021).

Before European colonialism, there was not a single hamlet in Kenya that existed in isolation from the rest of the country. Even the communities that were more regularly at odds with one another were nonetheless dependent on one another in some way or another. On the other hand, there were some groups that relied on one another more than others did. These communities were more interdependent. As we have demonstrated in the preceding sections of this chapter, the Maasai did not engage in agriculture for the most part, despite the fact that women and children ingested a greater quantity of grains than did males, who drank a greater quantity of milk and meat. Despite this, men consumed a significantly higher amount of grains compared to women and children. The Maasai were not an agricultural people, yet despite this, they consumed a significant amount of grain. As a result, they developed a system of barter trade with their neighbors, in which they would trade their animals in exchange for grain. This system was quite successful for them.

The Maasai lived a pastoral lifestyle and traded their animals to their Gusii neighbors, who practiced agriculture, in exchange for the fruit and grain that the Gusii produced. The Maasai were Gusii neighbors. The colonial rulers were critical of the Maasai people because they kept "large amounts of useless livestock that deprived wildlife of water and grazing" (Rutten, 2002:4). The Maasai people were reviled by the colonial administration as well as the wildlife conservationists for their cruel treatment of animals. The economic activity of crop production was seen favorably by the colonial authorities of the Kenya Colony. This was due to the fact that crops were the principal commodity that was exported from the Kenya Colony. They were unpopular with those who worked to preserve wildlife because the wild creatures were put in danger by their livestock, which competed with them for limited resources like grass and water.

In addition to grains, which the Maasai obtained from farming communities such as the Gusii, the Maasai, particularly the men, relied substantially and to a large extent on a diet that consisted of milk and blood as their primary sources of nutrition. The Maasai were nomadic hunters and gatherers who lived in the grasslands of East Africa. Maasai warriors consume vast quantities of these meals, and the meat is provided at festivals that are specifically dedicated to the consumption of flesh and are hosted in certain camps (ilpuli). On the other hand, the elderly, the ladies, and the young people consume considerable quantities of agricultural crops, such as cereals, beans, bananas, and other foods (Kivasis, 1953; Hollis, 1905). Because of this, the Maasai and the Gusii, who were their agricultural neighbors, were able to form connections with one another that were friendly and respectful.

This does not mean that soldiers do not use grains and cereals in their diet; it simply does not suggest that they do. They feel that food that is not obtained from livestock is of a poorer quality than food that is taken from animals, thus when they do consume, they do it in secret. This is because they think that food that is not obtained from livestock is of a worse quality. The Maasai were able to purchase these products from the people who lived in the hills by traveling to the numerous barter marketplaces that are located in the foothills. The foothills are situated at the point where the highlands and plains meet (Kivasis, 1953; Hollis, 1905).

Nevertheless, it would not be proper to call an end to this chapter without first discussing the problematic facets of the interactions between the Gusii and the Maasai. After moving to their current location, the Gusii found that they were surrounded by three main ethnic communities, namely the Luo, the Maasai, and the Kalenjin. Each of these groups had a different language and culture than the Gusii. According to the findings of Ochieng's research from 1974, the Maasai, the Kipsigis, and the Luo were the primary groups that posed a threat to the ability of the Abagusii people to continue existing in their current homeland from the time of settlement until the arrival of the British. This threat persisted from the time of settlement until the arrival of the British. These outside foes not only attacked the Abagusii in the central portion of their country, but they also built a lucrative profession out of stealing livestock from the Gusii. The Abagusii were targeted since the Gusii are known for their large herds of cattle. One of the most well-known fights was the one that took place in 1892 between the Kipsigis and the vast majority of the Abagusii. It was between these two groups that the bulk of Kipsigis were killed.

2.3 Political consequences of Gusii-Maasai conflictual relations in the pre-colonial period

Conflicts between the Maasai and the Gusii were a common factor in the precolonial times. Ethnic conflicts accruing from cattle raids have existed in Kenya since the pre-colonial times. The Maasai and Gusii conflictual relations mainly stem from cattle thefts. But some inter-ethnic conflicts have a short history and therefore relatively unpronounced consequences. Politically instigated ethnic conflicts would fall under this category because, as for the case of Kenya, they are related to election cycles. In Kenya, ethnic conflicts are mainly experienced during electioneering periods (general elections, referenda and by-elections) (Amisi and Duffy, 2007). And it is during such times that people are exposed to emergencies (Njiru, 2012).

Polarization of politics was reported as the most common political effects of the inter-ethnic conflict between the two communities. Other effects included ethnic rivalry and loss of interest to participate in elections. Many people lost trust in political leaders who incited the locals but were victims of the attacks. The cross-border conflict between the two communities not only increased ethnic animosity and prejudice but also made ethnic politics a reality. Indeed, the common ideology, especially, among leaders of

different political parties, was national democracy, but the practice or reality was ethnic democracy for their supporters. There was common talk that the Kikuyu 'ate' during the Kenyatta era, the Kalenjin had also 'eaten' during the Moi era and it was the turn of other ethnic groups like the Luhya, the Maasai and the Kisii to eat (Were,1974).

When conflict strikes it ends up affecting government structures along with the people in the government. In many occasions, one regime would be removed as new forms of government were put into place. Conflicts between the two communities led to a rise in fear and insecurity in the affected areas. However, it was a blessing in disguise as security was enhanced by the government. Security in the area would be reinforced when conflict erupted. The government established more Anti-Stock Theft Units along the border with the deployment of more police officers to the area. The development translated into increased police patrols and quick response to distress calls from the residents. The government enhanced security in the affected areas by promoting community policing. The police officers encouraged the locals to work closely with them in order to curb crime (O.I, October, 2021).

The police used vigilante groups to collect information on future crimes. The two communities faced scarcity of security personnel and mistrusted the effectiveness of security forces. The cattle raids led to conflicts between the two communities. More police were deployed to work hard to restore public confidence in them through community policing. The vigilante groups turned out to be useful in maintaining security rather than crime. However, this did not negate the fact that, raiding as an activity and the raiding cartels between the two communities continued, even with such efforts being made.

Since the re-introduction of multiparty democracy in Kenya in 1992, political parties have been used as vehicles for achieving ethnic political power which was also the case among the two communities under study. From 1992, political parties among the two ethnic groups were based on ethnicity rather than ideologies. Political parties were used by politicians to air their ethnic sentiments. They used political parties to entrench ethnic hostility and impartialities instead of encouraging national unity. In most instances, the two communities were in support of different political parties as most Gusii always supported

the ruling party such as KANU while most Maasai supported Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD) and other political parties. When the two communities were not in political alignment, there had to be war between them in the electioneering period as was the case in 1992 and 1997 (O.I. October, 2021).

However, when there was a political alignment between the two, there was peace. The political non-alignment in some cases led to tension and threats between the two communities during political campaigns which spilled over to the polls. This made some people to abandon their ancestral homes for fear of an outbreak of war between the two communities which marginalized the electorates, hence denied them their political right of voting. This was a deliberate measure taken to make the two communities to vote for their favourite presidential candidates who in most cases were not the preferred candidate (Kuria, 1994).

However, with the re-introduction of multiparty politics in 1992, there emerged patronage politics in Kenya. Political parties were formed based on ethnicity and they were utilized by some politicians to ascend to power; a position which translated into accumulation of wealth. It encouraged many to seek political offices more especially, that of presidency. As a result, ethnicity was entrenched in the political parties which became ethnic vehicles to power. People believed that, once a member of their ethnic group ascended to power, the whole community was in power which led to the need to use every means possible to acquire the position. To get a better chance, some members of the two communities resorted to intimidation of their opponents (Kuria, 1994).

The two communities in most cases supported different factions of political parties as well as different leaders. Some members of the two ethnic groups used threats of violence on those who supported the opposition, which discouraged some people from registering as voters. Some of those who had registered feared voting as they were being intimidated. It made some to migrate to other areas before elections; thus, denied them the opportunity to exercise their democratic right. The pressure was aimed at attaining the required number of votes by the opponents. The finding is in line with the assertion that those with a greater share try to consolidate their position, maximize their interests and dominate the structural arrangements by various means, especially coercion (Kuria,

1994).

The Maasai are known to have been good fighters and were feared by other ethnic communities, as a result. Many Gusii lives and property (mostly livestock) was lost to the Maasai from such conflicts. The result of this is that the Gusii had to train their own warriors to protect the community from Maasai attacks. In the event, the Gusii would retaliate each time they are attacked by the Maasai. The result was an unending conflictual relation between the two communities. It is no wonder that the Gusii encouraged masculinity in the boys and, as a result, men had unchallenged control of political and legal relations and institutions (Silberschmidt 1999; Levine 1966).

Among the Gusii, just like the Maasai, warriors were respected. Maasai warriors (morans) were relied upon to steal and guard cattle against theft. Conflictual relations between the Gusii and the Maasai, resulting from cattle thefts, led the Gusii to establish cattle villages (called ebisarate) which were heavily guarded by young men (Ayuka, 2018). Stolen cattle were also hidden in these villages. Owing to the conflictual relations between the two communities, manliness was also strongly related to men's 'role' as warrior. Abagusii men, as men elsewhere, were defined by their violent deeds (Ortner and Whitehead 1981). This violence was exhibited in the manner in which the warriors protected Gusii cattle from being stolen, and when it was stolen, they had to retaliate. The warriors in charge of the cattle camps (ebisarate) were subjected to rigorous training and to a number of very strict rules- an education towards manhood- which was to ensure that each warrior was capable, strong, quick-acting, courageous and disciplined (Were and Nyamweya, 1986).

After a boy had passed through all the educational stages up to and including egesarate, he was regarded as almost fully educated as to the potentialities and weaknesses of the economy of his society and on the social, moral and political fibres that bound his society together and made it work smoothly. The young men who had lived together in ebisarate became mystically and ritually in effect one body, one community, one people and made up the Gusii warriors. They were taught the virtue of resilience and were not expected to give up in war and, if they did, they were ridiculed by their age mates and the entire society in which they were born, raised, and initiated.

The Maasai male were also taken through the same process. Their circumcision meant that they were ready to marry and to marry required large herds of livestock. As a result, they had to acquire livestock for dowry through such activities as cattle rustling. Throughout the Maasai and Gusii relations, cattle rustling shot up after the circumcision ceremony (eunoto). Thus, the manner in which the boys were socialized in both among the Maasai and the Gusii was a cause as well as a consequence of conflictual relations between the two communities. Boys and girls were socialized differently. Boys were socialized to participate more in the public sphere and girls were socialized to engage in private/domestic spheres. Women relied on men for protection against adversaries. Boys were socialized to engage in violence and the women were to be protected by men from such violence, especially violence emanating from external causes. Due to the conflictual relations between the Maasai and the Gusii, both communities treated each other with mistrust and suspicion and this was a hindrance to promoting peaceful cross-border coexistence during the pre-colonial period. Equally important, there were incidences of socio-economic consequences as a result of conflictual relations during the pre-colonial period.

2.4 Socio-Economic Consequences of Maasai- Gusii Conflictual Relations in the pre-colonial period

Originally, the Kisii reared large herds of cattle, goat and sheep in the pre-colonial period (KNA, DC/KSI/3/2). But owing to conflictual relations with the Maasai and other neighboring communities such as the Kipsigis and the Luo, they resorted to farming and the rearing of small herds of livestock (Ochieng', 1974). So feared were the Maasai that early Swahili and Arab slave traders avoided going through their occupied territory (Onduru, 2009). It is doubtful that the Maasai communities lost any one member of their community to slave traders (Murunga, 1998). Matson observes that caravans would have been vulnerable to attacks by Maasai, Nandi and Kipsigis warriors" (KNA, MSS/10/5 papers of A.T. Matson). As alluded to earlier in the preceding chapter, the Maasai and the Gusii had been in the habit of attacking each other. However, it is the Maasai who attacked the Gusii the most (Ochieng', 1974).

Also, their settlement in their present locality (Kisii Highlands) was as a consequence of their conflictual relations not just with the Maasai but also with their

neighbors (the Luo and the Kispigis). Having been originally cattle-keepers, the Gusii had preferred settlements in the plains before migrating and settling in the highlands. The plains were suitable areas for grazing but due to incessant attacks from the Maasai, they resorted to settle in the highlands (Ochieng, 1974). The highlands provided them with ample spaces from where they hid from the Maasai.

It is no wonder that, after unstable and hostile relations with the Maasai which was characterized by cattle raids on both sides, the Gusii were scattered during the battle of River Migori. They moved into the highlands, while some took refuge among the Kuria, and others among the Luo of Kabwoch near Nyagoe forest. Throughout the rest of the century, when the majority of them were already in the highlands, they started gradually spreading out within the whole territory to be joined by the Group that had taken refuge among the Luo in Kabwoch (Omwoyo, 1992).

Thus, the change of livelihoods and the choice of the area for settlement was informed by consequences of conflictual relationship with the Maasai. Generally, Maasai attacks on the Gusii led to loss of life and livestock. This impacted negatively on their economic status. To minimize the consequences of these attacks, the Gusii resorted to crop farming and settlement in the highlands. They kept livestock but not to the same scale that they had done hitherto. Silberschmidt (1999) has observed that the Gusii kept cattle for the males to marry with and the settling of disputes and lawsuits but not as their main economic mainstay. Having resorted to crop farming, the Gusii valued polygamy because it helped them to acquire and till large areas of land. This is bearing in mind the fact that each woman had to have her own piece of land on which she cultivated.

But their change of livelihood systems was also a source of bonding between the two communities. As the Gusii took to crop farming, trade relations were built between the two communities, especially during drought periods. The Maasai and the Gusii engaged in some form of barter trade whereby they exchanged food crops and livestock. We can therefore say that conflictual relations between the two communities led to economic specialization whereby the Gusii specialized in food production while the Maasai engaged in livestock economy. The two economies complemented each other during trade. Conflictual relationships between the Maasai and the Gusii were reflected in

their social life. Intermarriages between the two communities was very rare yet they were neighbors. It was difficult for members of one community to reside in the territory of the other. Thus, trade did take place but not marriage.

Change of livelihood systems from that of livestock-keeping to crop farming increased the economic burden on women. Labour required for livestock rearing comes mostly from men and only men could herd livestock as there was fear of the Maasai attacking and stealing the cattle (Levine, 1966). But crop farming draws a lot of labour from women. But the same women were traditionally responsible for undertaking other domestic-related chores. Silberschmidt (1999) has observed that the Abagusii women were responsible for the food producing cycle, for general domestic services (the procuring of firewood and water, preparation of food), for tending and training young children and nursing the sick, for helping to keep good relations with neighbours and kin. While women undertook all these chores, mostly on a cooperative basis, men would go out hunting, cattle keeping and to war in groups.

Thus, conflictual relations between the Maasai and the Gusii generated a particular type of division of labour that was suited to conflicts. Men took over the entire security terrain and women were expected to be protected from external violence by men. Another source of burden on women resulted from the fact that more men died in the battle field defending their livestock from being stolen by the Maasai. The death of men arising out of conflictual relations between the Maasai and the Gusii put pressure on social and economic institutions of the Gusii. The Gusii, unlike the Maasai used to bury their dead (Ayuka, 2018). Gusii funeral and burial practices took much time away from pursuing economic ventures (farm work in particular). Gusii women were expected to refrain from work of all kinds during the funeral of a man (KNA, DP/18/11). Thus, apart from losing men to war with the Maasai, the Gusii spent more days (worth of work) on funeral and burial practices. Much more time was taken up after burial. Mourning of a man took four days after burial while that of women took three days.

Apart from taking up time which would be put to better economic sense, funeral and burial practices also took away important household assets such as livestock. Ayuka (2018:11) has observed that “after the burial of a man in precolonial times, a male goat

from the deceased man's stock was slaughtered and eaten by the people who buried the deceased." The goat was called embori egokendia nyomba. In addition to the goat was a bull which was killed. Small stripes of skin were made from the bull and "each member of the deceased man's family tied one strip, in the form of a ring, upon the middle finger of the right hand and wore it in memory of the deceased" (Ayuka, 2018). Thus, conflictual relations between the Maasai and the Gusii occasioned many deaths and, accompanying these deaths was time-consuming and asset-consuming funeral ceremonies that negatively impacted on the socio-economic landscape of the Gusii.

Conflictual relations between the Maasai and the Gusii also heightened the demand for male children over that of women. This was bearing in mind that the community needed warriors to defend it against Maasai attacks and to replenish those who died in war. As a result, the value placed on male children was higher than that placed on female children. But more importantly, women who did not give birth to male children had a hard time surviving in marriages with the result that women gave birth to a lot of children expecting to get a male child.

The proliferation of wives, children, herds and crops was a common occurrence and a mutually reinforcing phenomenon. Polygamy, then, was not only a cardinal feature of the Gusii household but an important economic institution. The head of the household had at least two, ideally four and occasionally more wives (Silberschmidt (1999). The Gusii names which distinguished women's grades are as follows: Mobucha ibu- the first wife, Nyamesanchu- second wife, Nyabweri rogoro- third wife and Nyageita- the fourth wife (KNA, DP/18/13). With the demand of children, especially male children being higher, the status of barren women/wives in society was much lower than that of fertile women/wives. It is for this reason that Silberschmidt (1999) has observed that Gusii women were valued, to the lineage process, as instruments of procreation. If a woman's husband died, she had no basic rights to the house, land or household properties, other than certain material possessions clearly defined as her own.

Having resorted to crop farming, instead of livestock keeping, Gusii men expected to put as much land as possible to farming. Thus, the marriage of more than one wife served the role of acquiring more land and putting it under cultivation. The more wives a

man married, the more land could be cultivated, the more daughters he would get whose marriages would give him cattle as bride wealth, and the more sons he would get to herd the cattle and to defend the homestead from outside attack (Silberschmidt, 1999).

On the other hand, the Maasai sharpened institutions that reinforced the cattle economy (livestock keeping and livestock stealing). They placed a lot of emphasis on cultural practices that reinforced livestock keeping practices. For example, the circumcision of male children was tied together to cattle raids. Cattle were needed during circumcision and thereafter. After circumcision, the boys were ready to marry and they needed livestock to pay dowry. Most of the livestock was obtained through cattle thefts. Successful cattle theft demonstrated the much-needed masculinity in Maasai male children/youths.

2.5 Conclusion

The chapter has set the stage by introducing the two cultural groups that will be the focus of the research. Having this context is crucial to grasping the nature of the relationships that exist at the heart of the two societies. From a biological standpoint, the Maasai and the Gusii resided in distinct natural zones that supported various economic activities. Because of Narok's favorable conditions for nomadic pastoralism, the Maasai were able to establish permanent settlements there and amass enormous herds of sheep. The Gusii, on the other hand, chose to make their home in the Highlands because of the region's favorable climate for cultivating food crops. As a result, the Maasai and Gusii developed separate industries. It was common knowledge that the Maasai had animals and the Gusii had cereals to eat. From an economic standpoint, this chapter has proven that the Maasai and the Gusii had economic relations based on what the two communities produced or failed to provide for consumption. The Gusii, since they lived in a more agriculturally-favorable ecological zone, were able to cultivate cereals that the Maasai ate but did not cultivate. The Gusii were able to barter with the Maasai for animals after the Maasai received these grains.

Basic integrative forces and ingredients, as well as the people's ability to invent additional methods for community living and peaceful cohabitation, guaranteed the Maasai and Gusii a harmonious way of life. There was no sense of isolation between the

various ethnic groups since there were no elaborate and costly political mechanisms to separate them. Economic reasons and social relationships served to strengthen this. The institutions were well- established to address the needs of their respective communities, but tensions and resentment still existed amongst them. Again, it's instructive that ethnic groups developed good procedures for conflict avoidance and peace management, so that tensions between communities were low. It has been shown that the Gusii and the Maasai have made attempts at living together at periods of lower enmity or fewer threats. With this context, we can see how the Gusii and Maasai have interacted with one another from before colonialism until after independence. The modern state can take cues from this model in the ways that it places a greater emphasis on peacekeeping at all levels of society and especially at the grassroots level by using traditional agencies to minimize criminality and conflicts; cultivating good inter-ethnic and inter-community co- operations through visits by traditional rulers who were the royal ambassadors of their communities; exchanging visits in order to promote mutual understanding; inter-ethnic or inter-group cooperation.

CHAPTER THREE: GUSII-MAASAI CO-EXISTENCE DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD (1895-1939).

3.1 Introduction

This section looks at how colonial rule in Kenya affected relations between the Gusii and the Maasai, how colonial rule affected relations between the Gusii and the Maasai, how early colonial institutions of governance affected relations between the Gusii and the Maasai, and how colonial measures were taken to curb inter-ethnic thefts of cattle between the Maasai and the Gusii. New colonial governance structures and institutions gradually replaced the traditional ones among the Maasai and the Gusii, with the ultimate goal of promoting peace and harmony among and between different ethnic groups so that white settler plantation agriculture and other public works could support themselves. Conflict between and within Kenyan communities existed long before colonial power arrived, and this did not automatically disappear after the British took over. Rather, the colonial administration often made things worse by amplifying and reinforcing preexisting disputes, even as it introduced new kinds of security control to limit interethnic conflicts and new viewpoints on conflicts and the way they were addressed.

3.2 The Establishment of Colonial Rule in Kenya

Before the establishment of colonial rule ethnic groups that lived in Kenya existed as political entities. Written accounts suggest that the idea of Luo, Kalenjin, Abaluhya or Gusii identities came into currency in the colonial period. Professor Bethwel Ogot aptly puts it:

At the close of the nineteenth century, Kenyan villages formed a closed, interdependent human world. It was difficult to classify people based on their ethnicity with any certainty. Many families and subgroups within families grew and shrank as members joined and left. Much complication was the result of the movement of parts or the incorporation of other ethnic groups. It often resulted in the formation of new communities and the emergence of new languages. Therefore, the colonial concept of "tribe", as an exclusive group is undoubtedly a lie and, at its core, racist. To the contrary, a close look at the customs of the various Kenyan nationalities indicates a general absence of cultural exclusivism. As an alternative, they highlight the importance of integration through productive mingling and migration (Ogot, 1972).

The colonization of Kenya by the British was the climax of a process that had began decades previously (KNA, MSS/10/98), with the motivating underpinnings of the British exploration of East Africa provided by A.T. Matson. The foundation of colonial rule in Kenya can be explained by two conflicting but related hypotheses. Both theories seek to explain the world, but one is primarily economic and the other humanitarian.

The humanitarian theory states that the British started paying attention to East Africa in the 1700s. The focus was intended to kick up a fight against the slave trade. The British, having ended the slave trade domestically in 1807 and slavery in their plantation colonies in 1833, preached "legitimate commerce in natural and manufactured goods" and coerced Seyyid Said into signing several anti-slavery treaties (in 1822, 1845, and 1873) that limited and eventually ended the slave trade in East Africa. The British convinced Seyyid Said to enter into genuine deals in lawful commerce with Western nations to make up for his lost money from the slave trade. In 1839, Britain and Zanzibar established a trading pact. It is their crusade to eliminate slave trade that British became significantly involved in Zanzibar matters and, finally, as the main European force in East Africa in general and Kenya in particular (Ochieng,' 1992).

The second reason of why Britain came to occupy Kenya is economic in nature. In fact, the argument that Britain's involvement in East Africa stems from its stance against slavery has been called into question. There is "significant dispute among historians regarding origins of the abolition of slave trade and the relationship between abolitionist movements and the broader tendencies within the world economy and capitalist society," as stated by Ochieng' (1992). The European industrial revolution happened at the same time as the crusade to end the slave trade. Historians have provided a detailed account of the events that led to the installation of British administration in Kenya. Among these needs is a need for raw resources to support Britain's manufacturing sector. Europe's industrial and economic potential grew substantially in the decades before colonial authority in Africa, whereas Africa's remained relatively unchanged (Ochieng 1992:60). There was a surplus of goods in the European economy. Countries in Europe, such as Germany and France, increased their commercial interests in East Africa as a result of their surplus of products. British political slumber was broken about 1870 when the region's attention was drawn to the region by the burgeoning commercial and imperial interests of

Germany and France. In this way, it is possible to argue that the European scramble for African countries was a direct result of the European industrial revolution, as European nations needed African countries as sources of raw materials for their industrial endeavors and as markets for their finished industrial products. Consider the following citation from Ochieng'(1992):

The European industrial sector needs access to export markets. In addition to attracting investors and merchants, colonies benefited from the low costs of labor and production they provided. Therefore, the Industrial Revolution was the primary driving force behind Europe's conquest of Africa. Since Britain was the first country to organize its industries using the factory system and power-drive machinery, and since she was also the wealthiest country in the world, she was able to finance the first scientific studies that led to the modern industrial revolution....Even though Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, the United States of America, and Russia had all developed their industries by 1870, Britain was still the greatest industrial nation, as the Industrial Revolution that began in the mid-1790s continued into the nineteenth century. Many of these primary components were found to be available in Africa....(54-56) (Ochieng, 1992)

That "as Colony of Britain, Kenya was supposed to furnish raw resources for industrial Britain while affording a captive market for the latter's manufactured goods," as Maxon (1992:63) puts it, is essentially the same explanation given by Ochieng'. Ndege (1992:93) has done the same thing with respect to the economic theory as the primary justification for Britain's colonization of Kenya. According to what Ndege says:

The colonization of Kenya was essentially an economic plan which was conceived and executed by Britain following the kneil of laissez-faire capitalism in the nineteenth century (Ndege, 1992:93).

From 1871, a movement to have colonies abroad started in Germany and the appetite spread to other European nations including Britain. In 1881, the German colonial office was formed and within the quarter of the nineteenth century the slow process of European penetration of the African continent was first affected through explorers, traders, missionaries and concession hunters (KNA, MSS/10/98). Kenyanjui (1992:112) has reiterated the influence that the European visitors to Africa had in the colonization process.

He notes that European settlement was conceptualized by European travelers, missionaries and imperialists. During their travel and missionary work, European regarded uninhabited

lands as 'no man's land' and therefore free for settlement and exploitation by European settler-farmers (Kenyanjui, 1992).

After hearing the news from their early European visitors, many European countries considered going to war with one another over colonial territories. The Berlin conference in 1884–1885 was the culmination of a series of bilateral and multilateral agreements that served to lessen the likelihood of conflict. The Anglo-German Treaty, regulating the colonization of East Africa by Britain and Germany, was signed that year (1886). Having gained control of Kenya, Uganda, and Zanzibar via the Heligoland treaty in 1890 (Ochieng, 1992), Britain established a permanent presence in East Africa.

Britain did not initially intend to colonize Kenya; however, after the discussions at the Berlin conference and the subsequent treaties that were signed between Britain and Germany, Britain dispatched the Imperial British East African Company to secure and administer Kenya and Uganda on its behalf (KNA, MSS/10/5; A history of East Africa by A.T. Matson). After concluding a pact with Zanzibar in 1888, the corporation that had been founded in 1887 began governing Kenya and Uganda (Foran, 1962). Starting in Mombasa, IBEACo set out to expand trade into inland Kenya and the kingdom of Uganda. By 1889, the firm's sway had spread to Uganda.

However, the company's success was fleeting because it soon discovered that its operational costs were above its means. The corporation reached out to London's Foreign Office for help. In 1893, the Foreign Office agreed to take over Uganda, and by 1895, it had expanded its control over all of East Africa. London's foreign office oversaw the East African and Ugandan protectorates. Once upon a time, Kenya was referred to as the British East Africa Protectorate. In 1920, the country's title was changed to "Kenya" (Foran, 1962). When Kenya was declared a protectorate in 1895, "lobbyists favoring European colonization in the country stepped up their promotion," as Kenyanjui (1992:112) puts it.

In 1895, Britain formally recognized Kenya as a protectorate, opening the door to a wave of new colonists. In 1920, the Gusii and Maasai saw the first non-native Europeans arrive in their lands. And by taking Maasai territory without permission, they sowed discord among Kenya's many ethnic communities (Saitoti, 1980). A majority of Kenyans, including the Abagusii, Nandi, Kipsigis, Bukusu, Marakwet, Kabras, and

Bunyala, opposed British colonial control from the start. They were anxious to preserve their autonomy and traditional ways of life. Scholars have recorded the heroic struggle put up by ethnic groups in western Kenya against the advent of British administration (Nyasani, 1984; Wandiba, 1985). Since the Maasai benefited from their collaboration with the British, the Abagusii resisted the

British due to the large parts of the land given to the Maasai as a result of their collaboration. Due to the British superiority, they gave the Maasai fire arms which made the Maasai to be stronger than the Abagusii (O.I 20th December, 2021).

Upon European arrival in Kenya, the Maasai and Gusii populations' preexisting relationship was reversed and made worse by the erection of boundaries that separated them, as noted by Frieberg, (1987). The Gusii and the Maasai around the Trans-Mara area have been deeply engaged in cross-border warfare since the alteration of the administrative boundaries between Nyanza and the Rift valley province. Their peaceful cohabitation was upended by the spread of Christianity and formal education.

When colonial rule was finally established in Kenya, the colonial government set out to organize the nation. Some laws were passed to standardize the management of Kenya's then- vastly-divided ethnic population and to ensure equitable property ownership. This was accomplished in large part by creating separate administrative units for various ethnic groups, such as the Maasai and the Gusii. Each ethnic community was granted its land territory, distinct from the others. This method of tribal/ethnic organization was developed with the intention of facilitating indirect rule. Every group of people was to be ruled by its own set of traditions and laws. Native Reserve was the official name for every racial enclave. One reason ethnic territories were created was to facilitate efficient colonial rule over disparate ethnic groupings. There was also the goal of avoiding the ethnic strife that had characterized the era before colonial control. For instance, the Maasai and the Gusii had an adversarial history marked by inter-tribal violence, sometimes spurred by livestock rustling (Ochieng, 1974).

Divide and conquer was an inevitable tactic employed by the British. They sided with neighboring settlements that seemed welcoming. As an illustration, the British employed Abawanga warriors against various sub-ethnic groups inside the Luhyia and the

Luo. The policies and conditions established by British colonial administration fueled interethnic and intraethnic disputes during the colonial era. To begin, the region was improperly divided into districts that did not consider the needs of the local inhabitants. Second, animosity between the Wanga and the Luhya sub-ethnic groupings arose as a result of the imposition of foreign chiefs on some communities, such as the designation of Mumia's relatives as chiefs of heretofore independent groups (Nyasani, 1984). In the communities of the Gusii and the Maasai, for example, chiefs and commissioners were imposed by outsiders. Subsequently, we will take a cursory look of Gusii-Maasai interactions prior to the establishment of colonial control in Kenya.

The Maasai were great advantaged because they took a great land while the Abagusii felt disadvantaged and reacted by resisting the British (O.I 20th December, 2021). They were very angry. The British made the Abagusii very bitter because the British favoured the Maasai whom they gave all Abagusii lands (O.I 23rd November, 2021).

3.3. The Nature of Gusii-Maasai relations upon Establishment of Colonial rule in Kenya

When Europeans initially established colonial power in Kenya, they quickly realized that the Maasai people were a community of interest, and that they would need to negotiate with them before they could further European objectives. Two things prompted colonial interest in the Maasai. Firstly, the Maasai were a war-like people and, secondly, they occupied a large area of Kenyan land. Furthermore, the colonial authorities were worried about the impact of the Maasai's penchant for warfare on relations between different ethnic groups.

The colonial authority of Kenya placed a premium on maintaining amicable relations with the several ethnic groups that lived in the country at the time. It was, therefore, essential to appease the Maasai if peace was to reign. Less warlike communities needed to be shielded from Maasai aggression. The colonial authority could quickly gain the support of many groups who had been victimized by the Maasai by ensuring that such groups were safe from Maasai raids.

Due to the collaboration of the Maasai with the British while the Abagusii resisted, the infrastructural facilities provided by British benefited only the Maasai who had collaborated (O.I, 17th December, 2021). They did not share the infrastructural facilities (O.I 29th November, 2021). Since

the Maasai collaborated, they received superior weapons from the British while the Abagusii had arrows that were not efficient or effective (O.I 20th December, 2021).

According to Maxon (1989), some villages even petitioned the colonial authority for protection from attacks from other communities. One Gusii family, for instance, appealed to the colonial authority for help when it came under attack from another Gusii family (Maxon, 1989). Slavetraders from the Swahili and Arab cultures avoided Maasai country because of how dangerous it was (Onduru, 2009). It is unlikely that slave traffickers took even one member of the Maasai society (Murunga, 1998). Warrior groups like the Maasai, Nandi, and Kipsigis would have had an easy target in caravans, as noted by Matson (KNA, MSS/10/5).

There was a history of hostilities between the Maasai and the Gusii, as mentioned in the prior chapter. On numerous instances, however, the Maasai assaulted the Gusii (Ochieng, 1974). As a result of these interethnic wars, the Maasai drove the Gusii subgroups of Kitutu, Nyaribari, and Mugirango out of the present-day Kisii town and up the Manga escarpment. Other Gusii groups, including the Majoge, Bassi, and a subset of the Mugirango, fled to the Luo's territory in Kabwoch. Nchari relocated to the north-west, finding safety in the Nyakoe forest in the Wanjare area of modern-day Kisii County, while others of the mixed group of Bassi, Sweta, and Girango appear to have retreated to Suba territory in the Migori area (Aberi, 2009).

However, there are Gusii groups that actively opposed the Maasai. After the Maasai defeated the Gusii at Maasai, the Abategere subgroup of the Gusii relocated to Nyamache, where they met the Abakona (Maranga, 2017). As a result, the creation of colonial power in Kenya had the potential to alter the dynamics between the Maasai and the Gusii by preventing them from continuing their bloody history of conflict. This did not happen all at once; rather, it was a gradual transformation over the course of Kenya's colonial era. The colonial government was set on cementing a mutually beneficial relationship between the Maasai and Gusii.

The Maasai used to steal cattle from the Gusii and the Maasai. The Maasai believed that cattle belonged to them only. In recent times cattle theft has become minimal and those found to be guilty are given a heavy punishment (KII; O.I 07th October, 2021 P.35).

Conflict with the Maasai impeded colonial investments, particularly the building of the Uganda Railway. Kenya and Uganda were both under colonial administration when the railroad between Mombasa and Uganda was constructed (KNA: AWS/1/934; History of the railway Part III). British imperialism in Kenya, Uganda, India, and Egypt was advanced by the construction of the Uganda Railway (Kenyanjui, 1992). It is safe to say that the Maasai posed a serious risk to the Uganda Railway's construction and ongoing operation. Their tendency toward violence endangered the safety of the railway that passed through a sizable portion of Maasai territory. The Maasai would destroy metals used to build the railroad line. Weapons and jewelry were made from these metals.

The colonial government's desire to capture much of the territory under Maasai possession for the establishment of white European settler farmers was related to the security danger to the Railway. Train construction and the arrival of European white settler farmers in Kenya are linked. While the railway's original intention was to facilitate the transport of Uganda's exports by sea, the project has now proven to be a costly failure (Kenyanjui, 1992). Colonial administration in Kenya thought it necessary to make massive investments in farming in order to recoup the money spent on the Uganda Railway and make colonial endeavor in Kenya economically feasible. The area in question was Maasai ancestral land, making the Maasai a community of interest to the colonial authorities in Kenya; however the Maasai proved to be a barrier to the successful implementation of this economic enterprise.

Once colonial rule was established in Kenya, the government began about acquiring land, much of which was already occupied by the Maasai, for the purpose of placing European white settler farmers who intended to engage in industrial-scale plantation agriculture in the country. Aside from a tropical environment that is ideal for farming and fertile farmlands, Kenya did not have many natural resources that could be exploited by the colonial administration, thus agriculture became the main economic activity. "After 1901, it was suggested that since Kenya had no rich natural resources to exploit, in order to repay investment which had been made on the railway, European white settler farmers would produce cash crops on the idle land along the railway line," writes Kenyanjui (1992:113). As a result, colonial authorities began reserving expansive areas for European white settler farmers (Ndege, 1992). The following is what Talbott (1992:80-81) has

noticed:

The trade-minded British, determined to provide an economic support for the railroad being built from Mombasa to Lake Victoria, looked at various alternatives for making their new territory self-supporting and, perhaps due to the good climate as any other factor, decided on introducing a system of European settler agriculture as the economic basis of the colony...large expanses of land were denied Africans and reserved for the exclusive use of Europeans”.

The settlement of European farmers in Kenya took place under the governorship of Sir Charles Elliot who arrived in Kenya in 1902 (KNA, AWS/1/934; History of the railway Part III). Sir Charles Elliot, the then British Governor presiding over the Kenyan territory, was not happy that the Maasai were occupying such productive land for unproductive use. Throughout the entire period of colonial rule in Kenya, Nomadic pastoralism was considered as an unproductive use of land. Kenyanjui (1992:113) observes that “Elliot believed Africans were backward and were of interest only to anthropologists”. To him, nomadic pastoralism, to which the Maasai were accustomed to, was unproductive use of large tracts of fertile land. This discourse was intended to justify colonial administration’s intended land alienation away from the Maasai. Ndege (1992:96) has observed that the “Maasai were the first to feel the pinch of land alienation” in colonial Kenya.

The colonial government entered into a treaty with a Maasai chief by the name Lenana in 1904. The treaty saw the transfer of many Maasai from the north to the South. Some of them settled in Narok and became neighbors of the Gusii (Ndege, 1992). Before then, there were the Maasai who were neighbors to the Gusii but the migration of more Maasai from Laikipia increased the population of the Maasai in Narok. The land which was originally occupied by the Maasai in Laikipia was given to European white settler farmers. According to Ndege (1992:96), the “Maasai were not only forced to vacate their grazing lands but were also confined to the un-attractive Southern Reserve” where they came to be neighbors of the Gusii people.

The transfer of the Maasai from Laikipia to Narok had an effect on the Gusii-Maasai relations. Their transfer from Laikipia led to an increase in the Maasai population at Narok. This meant that the number of Maasai cattle rustlers increased and, with it,

upscaled incidences of Maasai-Gusii cattle thefts or raids, which was a negative impact of colonial rule on the Gusii-Maasai relations.

Before the colonial period, the two communities lived far from each other. The Maasai had big grazing lands therefore they stayed far away from the borders. For that reason, they did not interact much with the Gusii. They say their relationship was ok although there were cases of cattle theft (FGDs 3. 17th October, 2021).

However, the volume of trade increased between the Maasai and the Gusii since the Maasai obtained grain food from the Gusii in exchange for cattle and the related products like meat, milk, and hides.

As stated by Ndege (1992), Narok was not attractive to the Maasai because of the nature of pasturage and, as a result, the Maasai lost most of their livestock. The effect of this loss of livestock was reflected in the increase of cattle raids against the neighboring communities such as the Gusii. However, the Gusii got an opportunity to sell their grains to the Maasai since the Maasai were faced with hunger and famine following the loss of their livestock. Loss of livestock meant that the Maasai had to replenish their livestock by engaging in frequent cattle raids from their neighbors, the Gusii included.

Before the colonial period, the two communities lived far from each other. The Maasai had big grazing lands therefore they stayed far away from the borders. For that reason, they did not interact much with the Gusii. They say their relationship was ok although there were cases of cattle theft (FGDs 3. 17th October, 2021).

However, the colonial government did much to contain the animosity between the two communities, which was triggered by livestock raids. Cattle raids were controlled through establishment of effective colonial administration among the Maasai and the Gusii. The next sub-section examines colonial efforts which were undertaken in order to mend the conflictual relationship between the Maasai and the Gusii.

3.4 Establishment of colonial rule among the Gusii and the Maasai

Although Uganda became a British Protectorate in July 1894, the first meaningful contact between the Gusii and the colonial authority did not occur until the year 1900. From 1894 until 1902, the Gusii called the Eastern Province of the British Protectorate in Uganda home. This location positioned them far from the reach of colonial authorities.

Within the province, the districts of Mau, Baringo, Suk, and Nandi were created (Maxon, 1989: 15). The Gusii fell under the administration of Nandi District. After Europeans established a government outpost among them in 1907, they finally felt safe. Up until 1907, the European authority gave great attention to ensuring the security of the Uganda Railway.

The chaos that allowed colonial authorities to penetrate Gusiiland was aided by Gusii raids against neighboring communities, especially the Luo, and within Gusii clans. Before the colonial authority in Gusiiland was penetrated, the Kitutu clan regularly attacked the Mukseru clan, the smallest Gusii clan. The Kitutu pretended that the Mukseru were attacking Kitutu women merchants in Luoland, so they could justify their attacks (Maxon, 1989:17). As a means of coping with the prospect of losing their clan region, the Mukseru have dispersed among the Luo and other Gusii clans (I.O, September, 2021).

In November of 1900, Mr. Ombati, a prominent man in Muskeru, dispatched a delegation to Kisumu begging for military aid. In reality, the Muskeru did ask for and receive assistance from the British; but, it wasn't until 1902 that the results of this assistance could be seen (I.O, September, 2021). It was in the year 1902 that the Eastern Province of Uganda was annexed by Kenya (back then called the East African Protectorate) (FDG, October, 2021). This led to stricter government over the Gusii in southern Nyanza.

In May of 1902, a government outpost was set up in Kericho, among the Kispigis who were neighbors of the Gusii. A second station, located in a town called Karungu on the shore of Lake Victoria, was established there in the early months of 1903. (O.I, September, 2021). Eventually, the stations' bureaucrats began making journeys to the island of Gusiiland. Mr. H.B. Pantington, the officer in charge of the Kericho station, traveled to Gusiiland in 1904. He was warmly received. However, another official, Mr. F.W. Isaac, had a less successful trip to the Kitutu region of Gusiiland in 1905. (O.I, September, 2021).

When Europeans first arrived in the area, members of the Gusii village reacted in a variety of ways. The various tribes' attitudes to the British were complex. The British

colonial government, however, was intent on safeguarding ally communities like the Luo against Gusii aggression. To achieve this goal, the British made repeated colonial rule over the Gusii (FDG, September, 2021). In 1905, for instance, after news of stock theft and a murder committed by a Gusii in Luoland spread, the government sent troops to Gusiiland (O.I, September, 2021).

The first six days of the patrol were spent in Mugirango, Gusiiland, where penalties were being collected from all across the country. The topic of fines was discussed at a public meeting attended by local elders and government officials. The ease with which fines might be obtained varied greatly from place to place (O.I, September, 2021). This is why some people resort to physical force while trying to collect fines. Some Gusii showed animosity against the British invasion, so colonial officials established a government station in Gusiiland (FDG, September, 2021).

In 1907, Gusiiland's administrative leaders, Northcote and R.W. Hemsted of the Ugya District, chose the location. Known to the Gusii as Getembe, the neighborhood also served as home to the Nyaribari, Wanjare, and Kitutu (O.I, September, 2021). It was not only a cultural center for the Gusii people, but also a place where they could get water from two streams. Due to the Gusii's agricultural nature, the Maasai learned valuable agricultural skills that have improved their way of life, and as a result, the Gusii and the Maasai have become close friends.

After deciding that the Kisii government station would be the best place to oversee Gusii affairs, the District Commissioner set out to create the administrative framework necessary to run the Gusii (FGDs, September, 2021). During their time in power, the colonial authority implemented what became known as indirect rule. As soon as colonial administration was established among the Gusii and Maasai, the colonial government set out to improve relations between the numerous Gusii clans and the Maasai, Kipsigis, and Luo who lived in the area.

The Gusii and the Maasai did not live well; they had conflicts all along because of theft of the cattle. Sometimes when both youths from the two communities were grazing cattle together, they could experience conflicts and involve parents and the whole tribe at large and it could lead to conflicts between the two communities. (FGDs 4. 24th October, 2021)

One area which bred bad relations between these communities was cattle theft practices which the Gusii and the Maasai were heavily involved in (O.I, September, 2021). To enhance good relations, the colonial government abolished the institution of ebisirate, which promoted cattle stealing among the Gusii. The establishment of a government station in Narok witnessed the employment of African staff drawn from either the Gusii or the Luo, who had to live among the Maasai at Narok thus promoted mutual understanding between these three communities (O.I, October, 2021). The District Commissioner for Narok noted in 1914 that: -

Narok District has been administered by the Officer-in-charge and one District Commissioner. The station staff has worked well during the year. Amongst upwards of 80 station hands etc. that are permanently employed here there have I think been only five desertions. Station hands are Kisii and Kavirondo... All the station and safari work has been done by the D.C. Kisii (KNA, DC/NRK/1/1/1 Narok District Annual Report, 1914)

The next sub-section examines the early impact of colonial institutions of governance on Gusii-Maasai relations.

3.5 Impact of Early Colonial Institution of Governance on Gusii-Maasai Relations

Although Uganda became a British Protectorate in July 1894, the first meaningful contact between the Gusii and the colonial authority did not occur until the year 1900. From 1894 until 1902, the Gusii called the Eastern Province of the British Protectorate in Uganda home. This location positioned them far from the reach of colonial authorities. Within the province, the districts of Mau, Baringo, Suk, and Nandi were created (Maxon, 1989: 15). The Gusii fell under the administration of Nandi District. After Europeans established a government outpost among them in 1907, they finally felt safe. Up until 1907, the European authority gave great attention to ensuring the security of the Uganda Railway.

The chaos that allowed colonial authorities to penetrate Gusiiland was aided by Gusii raids against neighboring communities, especially the Luo, and within Gusii clans. Before the colonial authority in Gusiiland was penetrated, the Kitutu clan regularly attacked the Mukseru clan, the smallest Gusii clan. The Kitutu pretended that the Mukseru were attacking Kitutu women merchants in Luoland, so they could justify their attacks (Maxon, 1989:17). As a means of coping with the prospect of losing their clan region, the

Mukseru have dispersed among the Luo and other Gusii clans (I.O, September, 2021).

In November of 1900, Mr. Ombati, a prominent man in Muskeru, dispatched a delegation to Kisumu begging for military aid. In reality, the Muskeru did ask for and receive assistance from the British; but, it wasn't until 1902 that the results of this assistance could be seen (I.O, September, 2021). It was in the year 1902 that the Eastern Province of Uganda was annexed by Kenya (back then called the East African Protectorate) (FDG, October, 2021). This led to stricter government over the Gusii in southern Nyanza.

In May of 1902, a government outpost was set up in Kericho, among the Kispigis who were neighbors of the Gusii. A second station, located in a town called Karungu on the shore of Lake Victoria, was established there in the early months of 1903. (O.I, September, 2021). Eventually, the stations' bureaucrats began making journeys to the island of Gusiiland. Mr. H.B. Pantington, the officer in charge of the Kericho station, traveled to Gusiiland in 1904. He was warmly received. However, another official, Mr. F.W. Isaac, had a less successful trip to the Kitutu region of Gusiiland in 1905. (O.I, September, 2021).

When Europeans first arrived in the area, members of the Gusii village reacted in a variety of ways. The various tribes' attitudes to the British were complex. The British colonial government, however, was intent on safeguarding ally communities like the Luo against Gusii aggression. To achieve this goal, the British made repeated colonial rule over the Gusii (FDG, September, 2021). In 1905, for instance, after news of stock theft and a murder committed by a Gusii in Luoland spread, the government sent troops to Gusiiland (O.I, September, 2021).

The first six days of the patrol were spent in Mugirango, Gusiiland, where penalties were being collected from all across the country. The topic of fines was discussed at a public meeting attended by local elders and government officials. The ease with which fines might be obtained varied greatly from place to place (O.I, September, 2021). This is why some people resort to physical force while trying to collect fines. Some Gusii showed animosity against the British invasion, so colonial officials established a

government station in Gusiiland (FDG, September,2021).

In 1907, Gusiiland's administrative leaders, Northcote and R.W. Hemsted of the Ugaya District, chose the location. Known to the Gusii as Getembe, the neighborhood also served as home to the Nyaribari, Wanjare, and Kitutu (O.I, September, 2021). It was not only a cultural center for the Gusii people, but also a place where they could get water from two streams. Due to the Gusii's agricultural nature, the Maasai learned valuable agricultural skills that have improved their way of life, and as a result, the Gusii and the Maasai have become close friends.

After deciding that the Kisii government station would be the best place to oversee Gusii affairs, the District Commissioner set out to create the administrative framework necessary to run the Gusii (FGDs, September, 2021). During their time in power, the colonial authority implemented what became known as indirect rule. As soon as colonial administration was established among the Gusii and Maasai, the colonial government set out to improve relations between the numerous Gusii clans and the Maasai, Kipsigis, and Luo who lived in the area.

The Maasai believed that all cattle belonged to them. They stole cattle from the Gusii and the Gusii took revenge through stealing from the Maasai too, thus bad relationships between the two communities (KII.AC. 13th October, 2021, p.28).

At the outbreak of World War II, civil disobedience was the norm rather than the exception for chiefs, headmen, and the chiefs' council of elders. Instead, the District Commissioners were responsible for handling criminal matters. 'Exercising their powers of punishment save at the direct solicitation of the District Commissioner' was something the chief's council of elders rarely did, even when dealing with civil issues (KNA, DC/KSI/1/2). Removing authority from colonial chiefs almost had an adverse effect on the colonial administration's efforts to improve law and order (FDG, October, 2021). North Mugirango, for instance, was described by the DC as having "gotten into a poor state" (KNA, DC/KSI/1/2) "due to lack of power exercised by the chief and council of elders in North Mugirango." The incidence of livestock theft skyrocketed, and the colonial authorities had to devise new methods to deal with the problem.

To combat cattle theft, the colonial government passed a new law just before World War I broke out. It was called "collective punishment" because of the statute. Collective punishment was implemented for livestock theft instances during World War I. The sanctions were carried out by the individual chiefs in their respective territories. In 1914, for instance, the people of Wanjari area, led by chief Oyugi, were given a collective punishment. The theft of animals could be linked to the area, hence a punishment of Rs.1300/- was imposed. The entire sum was collected by the chief. The theft of a cow was linked to the Kitutu Location, and as a result, the community was fined Rs. 500 as a whole (KNA, DC/KSI/1/2).

In order to foster peace and harmony amongst formerly warring ethnic groups like the Maasai and the Gusii, the colonial chief, the Native tribunal, and the council of elders were all instrumental. Traditional native law and customs gave chiefs, native tribunals, and Councils of Elders primary authority over law and order (O.I, October, 2021). For instance, as stated in Rule 3 of the native tribunal regulations from 4 April 1911:

The jurisdiction of the council of elders under these rules shall be exercised only over the members of the native community over which such council has jurisdiction under native law and custom, and in relation to matters or things done or arising within a native reserve (East African Protectorate, 1912).

Apart from dealing with cases of cattle thefts within either the Gusii or the Maasai people, the colonial government also applied collective punishment on cases of cattle thefts in which the Maasai and the Gusii were involved. However, other measures were introduced to deal with cases of cattle thefts that threatened harmonious co-existence between the Maasai and the Gusii as divulged subsequently:

3.6 Other Colonial Measures to Control the Problem of Inter-Ethnic Cattle Thefts between the Maasai and the Gusii

The British colonial government in Kenya actively stoked ethnic tensions through a series of actions designed to achieve just that goal. This program helped people form ethnic identities, which in turn helped establish ethnically oriented district or tribal leadership. The colonialists' practice of discrimination against some ethnic groups fueled the flames of ethnicity. For instance, the Kalenjin and the Gusii dominated the army police force, while the Luo were given priority over other ethnic groups during the emergency if

they applied for a job as a clerk. As a result, tensions sprang up among several ethnic groups such the Gusii, Maasai, Kalenjin, and Luo (Pierli & Ratti, 2001).

The numerous ethnic communities set up administrative centers, courts, chiefs, and police stations to enforce the rule of law and maintain public safety. The Gusii, like the Maasai, operated their own set of governing structures inside the community. Yet, much more was needed than only community-based law enforcement organizations and processes in order to regulate inter-ethnic law and order. Interethnic disputes were typically settled through mediation and arbitration by District Commissioners and their Assistant District Commissioners, the police, and other government organizations (O.I, October, 2021). However, it is well known that the colonial rule tribalized the two populations in a number of ways. Colonial rule attempted to shape reality to fit its own administrative needs, even disregarding the preexisting relationship between communities. The colonial state quickly developed a need to categorize as part of its drive to establish its dominance. Leaders were tasked with identifying, organizing, and standardizing ethnic maps (Rothchild, 1997).

The problem of cow theft between the Masai and the Gusii lasted even after the introduction of colonial administration among these communities, and was culturally sanctioned and practiced. This was due to the fact that even though the colonial administration had made cattle raiding illegal, other cultural norms were still followed (O.I, October, 2021). According to Rothchild (1997), colonial powers actively worked to undermine ethnic unity when doing so offered strategic, economic, and political advantages. An incentive for ethnic groupings to mobilize support along ethnic lines was created as a result of fostering these socially constructed identities.

In particular, the robbery of livestock served as a rite of passage for newly initiated young men (warriors) to solidify their masculinity (FDG, October, 2021). It was a necessary step on the path to adulthood for the young initiates. Marriage was seen as a natural next step for young men as they become men. Of order to provide for their future wives, young men in the Maasai and Gusii communities often engaged in intertribal livestock raids. The Maasai and Gusii both had long-standing traditions of this kind of behavior, which, despite being accepted by both cultures, served to further entrench

animosity amongst members of different clans and villages. Colonial authorities saw cattle rustling as a kind of lawlessness and made concerted efforts to stamp it out. The following analysis takes a look at these attempts.

In many cases, the colonial government's imposition of colonial boundaries separated pastoralists from their usual reserve areas, killing off their herds and encouraging cattle raiding as a means of restocking. If a man believed his livestock had been unlawfully taken from him, he may regain them by raiding his Gusii neighbors (O.I October, 2021). The entry of Europeans with alien arrangement against them contributed to the border conflict between the Gusii and the Maasai.

3.6.1 Banning of ebisarate (cattle camps) among the Gusii

A primary source of wealth for the pre-colonial Gusii people was cattle. Warriors patrolled the Gusii's ebisarate, or livestock camps. It was imperative that each warrior be competent, strong, active, fearless, and disciplined, so they were all subjected to intensive training and a variety of very stringent rules- and education towards manhood (O.I, October, 2021). Cattle camps often housed livestock that had been stolen in cattle raids (cattle stealing). In 1913, the colonial government took action "to stop the practice of Kisii building cattle villages on the outskirts of their locations far away from tribal control" in an effort to put an end to this culturally unacceptable practice. Undoubtedly, such communities were used to conceal stolen animals (Annual Reports of the South Kavirondo District, Kenya, 1913-1923, KNA, DC/KSI/1/2). Silverschmidt's (1999) argument that Gusii warriors' cattle raids stoked tensions with the Maasai is supported by these claims.

Cattle rustling were a major problem for the colonial government, so harsh penalties were imposed on the two communities to discourage the practice that had previously been accepted on the basis of cultural norms. The theft of cattle was severely punished by Ordinance No. 8 of 1913 against the Theft of Stock and Native Produce (East African Protectorate, 1913: 11-12). In the eyes of the Gusii and their neighbors, this event signaled a sea change in the nature and definition of cattle raids. The following was said in this colonial ordinance:

Whenever any court shall convict any native of the stock or produce, the court shall, in addition to or in lieu of imposing any other punishment authorized by law, sentence the native convicted to pay a fine which shall in no case be less than ten times the value of the stock or produce in respect of which the offence has been committed (East African Protectorate, 1913: 11-12).

If a cattle thief was unable to pay a fine imposed upon him, his family, and sometimes his entire ethnic community, was forced to pay.

Unless the amount of the fine shall be forthwith paid, issue the warrant for the levy of the amount of the fine by distress and sale of any moveable property of the offender or the offender's family, sub-tribe or of any member of the offender's family, sub-tribe or tribe (communal punishment) in accordance to Section 3&4 of the Ordinance (East African Protectorate, 1913: 11-12).

As a people, the Gusii had many motives for stealing livestock. First, the Gusii, a traditionally cattle-keeping community, switched to crop farming as their major economic activity and reduced their livestock herd's right about the time colonial control was being established in Kenya. The Gusii stopped raising cattle for a number of reasons, including that the terrain they lived on was unsuitable for agriculture (Ochieng, 1974). In addition, the Maasai's insistence on owning all livestock led them to occasionally raid the Gusii for cattle, reducing the Gusii's interest in raising cattle (FDG, October, 2021).

The Gusii were mostly a settled farming community, yet they still had a need for livestock. The Gusii conducted the vast majority of their social and economic activities using livestock as a form of currency. Conflicts arose between the Maasai and their neighbors, the Kipsigis and the Luo, due to the Maasai's desire for cattle and their practice of gaining animals through raiding of their neighbors (O.I, October, 2021). The Gusii have a long history of keeping cattle in well-protected pens known as ebisirate. According to Were and Nyamweya (1986:128), the Gusii as a culture had various reasons to steal livestock. Before colonial rule was established in Kenya, the Gusii, a people who had previously relied on cattle for subsistence, shifted their focus to crop growing and drastically reduced the number of cattle they kept.

The Gusii gave up cow farming for a variety of reasons, one of which being that their land was unfit for cultivation (Ochieng, 1974). Because the Maasai are so possessive

of their animals, they periodically raid the Gusii for their cattle, discouraging cow farming among the Gusii (FDG, October, 2021). Even though the majority of Gusii were farmers, they still required animals. Livestock was used as payment in most social and commercial transactions among the Gusii. The Maasai's need for cattle and their habit of obtaining livestock by raiding their neighbors, the Kipsigis and the Luo, led to conflicts between the Maasai and the Kipsigis and the Luo (O.I, October, 2021). Cattle have been kept in ebisirate, a type of pen that has historical significance to the Gusii. Were and Nyamweya conclude (1986:128):

The colonial authority prohibited ebisirate to address the Gusii problem of livestock raiding, which strained relations with surrounding populations (KNA, DC/KSI/1/2, Kisii District Annual Reports). The colonial authorities had dual goals in enforcing this ban. The goal was to strengthen ties between the Gusii and Maasai people while also relieving pressure on the young males to participate in cattle raids and act as herd guards. There was always the threat of a retaliatory or revenge attack whenever one of the two communities suffered losses due to cattle raiding.

They did not interact much due to the distance they lived from the border. Nevertheless, they stole cattle from each other and this was the main cause of conflicts between the two communities (FGDs 5. 3rd November, 2021).

This was carried out by young men (warriors) from either of the community. Apart from banning ebisirate among the Gusii, the colonial government tightened taxation laws in order to secure labour from young men who were freed from cattle raiding practices (O.I, October, 2021).

3.6.2 Taxation laws and their Impact on Gusii-Maasai Relations

The colonial administration devised a system to acquire African laborers to work on European plantations for free or low wages after acquiring land for European white settler cultivation. Taxation is an example of a rather straightforward approach that has been devised. People of African descent were taxed into submission and made to work for wages. Since taxes had to be paid in hard currency, Africans had to earn money in one of two ways: by trading goods made on the land or by working for someone else.

One of the reasons why ebisirate was outlawed was so that young males would no longer feel pressured to participate in the socially sanctioned activity of stealing livestock. Taxation after their liberation drove many into the workforce for pay. The colonial

authority found the Gusii to be somewhat open to labor supply, in contrast to the Maasai, who seemed to have put up resistance against the supply of labor to colonial operations. The Gusii males appeared to be a more reliable source of labor than the Maasai. As a result, the colonial authority looked to the Gusii men as a source of cheap labor. The colonial government's goal of outlawing ebisirate was quickly realized, and they did establish a reliable source of male labor among the Gusii population (FGD, October, 2021).

In 1913, ebisirate were outlawed. In 1914, "almost 4,000 males were ordered to work beyond their districts in Gusiiland" for wage labor. Gusii-Maasai relations were affected in many ways by the loss of young males from both communities (O.I, October, 2021). The District Commissioner maintained that young men's minds were enlightened when they were given the opportunity to work in settings outside of their own communities. The District Commissioner wrote in his 1914 report:

It is hoped that the men, who have been sent all over the protectorate to broaden their perspectives and get work experience, will return to this more traditional region of the country better equipped to contribute to society. Thousands of people have been employed by the Public Works department in various capacities across the country, including on the coast with the Harbor and Water works, inland with the fuel cutting for the railway, inland with the irrigation works in the Maasai Reserve, inland with the Railway building in Magadi, and inland with the cotton and fiber plantations. According to the Kisii District Annual Report 1914 (KNA, DC/KSI/1/2), more progress was made in the district in terms of road building and agricultural production.

If migration of young men from Gusiiland made them to change from their conservative thinking, then the Maasai remained more conservative as ever. Thus, wage labour may only have contributed to peaceful co-existence between people and clans of the Gusii community as incidences of cattle stealing amongst themselves gradually diminished.

The agricultural nature of the Gusii helped in mending the Gusii Maasai relations in that they taught the Maasai important agricultural skills which have helped the Maasai due to this interaction, the Maasai and the Gusii have grown to become good friends. (FGDs 5. 3rd November, 2021).

Since the Maasai kept most of their young warriors (Morans) who refused to go out for wage labor, relations between the Gusii and the Maasai deteriorated. Some Maasai morans, however, found work tending European farmers' cows, and others found work as

guides for the city of Narok's many merchants. Moreover, some individuals served as tribal police (KNA, DC/NRK/1/1/1, Narok District Annual Report 1914).

The Maasai, on the other hand, managed to keep their warrior class intact while the Gusii saw their young men leave for wage labor. The Maasai stepped up their attack on the Gusii by seizing their livestock. This is due to their clever exploitation of Gusiland's dearth of active males of reproductive age. A colonial investigation found that the Maasai were almost solely responsible for cattle raiding. Although explosive and violent, it possessed all the characteristics traditionally associated with men to an extraordinary degree (KNA/PC/NZA/3/2/32, 1917). Cases involving cattle raids ate up a significant portion of the colonial administration's time. Cattle rustling appear to have increased throughout the colonial era. Inter-state wars were exacerbated by a lack of modern means of communication. There were no passable roads, so whenever the Maasai launched a raid, it would take too long for government security personnel to arrive. The poor communication infrastructure of the colonial era only exacerbated the problem. The security personnel had to wait an excessive amount of time for updates after any occurrence (O.I. 12th October 2021).

Since the Gusii refused to engage in wage labor, the Maasai expanded their cattle raiding on them. This was in part because the Gusii needed to sell animals to pay taxes to the colonial administration. After colonial rule was established in 1895, the indigenous Maasai population was compelled to sell their quickly expanding herds of livestock in order to pay for poll taxes and hut taxes. Prices for Maasai goods were driven too low as a result of their massive herds. Colonies were required to sell a minimum of 2,000 cattle per month to contribute to the military's food supply. The quota had the consequence of lowering Maasai livestock even further from 1917-1919. That made the Maasai fear about their land and cattle, so they sought for other means of subsistence. When they ran out of cattle, they had to resort to stealing them from their Gusii neighbors (O.I. 12th October, 2021). Border disputes between the Maasai and the Gusii were exacerbated by the collection of taxes and the seizure of cattle.

The more cattle they sold to pay taxes, the more cattle they needed, and the only way to get cattle was to steal them or raid their Gusii neighbors. Through repeated

exposure, Gusii men who pursued wage labor grew to accept monetary compensation as a standard method of resolving economic and social disputes. Before this time, the Gusii had been accustomed to the usage of cattle as a medium of exchange which traditionally tended to exacerbate cow thefts, translating into hatred between the two ethnic communities. The Gusii's urge to steal cattle diminished as they became accustomed to using money as a medium of transaction, suggesting that the Gusii moved away from a cattle economy toward a monetary one (O.I. 12th October, 2021).

The agricultural activity practiced by the Abagusii has greatly influenced the cordial relations along the Trans Mara border. The Abagusii taught the Maasai how to cultivate land, plant various crops. This as well, has contributed in improving the Kenyan economy in a large scale (O.I. 12th October, 2021).

Nonetheless, not every single Gusii felt this way. Cattle rustling persisted on a smaller scale, however. As the Gusii abandoned the cattle economy, the majority of young males relied on wage work as their primary source of income to cover expenses like taxes and dowries (FGD, 14th October, 2021).

Gusii village was vulnerable to Maasai cattle attacks because young men left Kisii District in pursuit of paid employment. However, the establishment of colonial rule among the Gusii and the Maasai meant that reliance on young men for security or defensive purposes gradually diminished, and the two communities eventually had to adjust to the security services of the colonial government, the colonial police, which promote peace, security, and harmony between the two groups. This is explained in greater detail below.

3.6.3 The Introduction of the Modern Police and its Impact on Gusii-Maasai relations

Because the police were so harsh on the Gusii in 1914 when they attacked a government post in Kisii town (Maxon, 1989; KNA, DC/KSI/1/2, Kisii District Annual report 1914), it's possible that they realized this sooner than the Maasai. According to Silberschmidt (1999), the ancient security infrastructure of the Gusii was rendered obsolete by the large colonial investments in the military and police service sectors, which ensured law and order in the society. The warriors in pre-colonial Gusii civilization served a purpose similar to that of today's police and armed forces. Given that pre-colonial Gusii society was sand-witched between warring ethnic communities like the

Kipsigis, Luo, and Maasai, these services were unavoidable (Silberschmidt, 1999). The colonial authority, however, successfully subjugated these groups, establishing law and order throughout southern Kenya.

They patrolled along the borders to make sure that no community stole cattle from the other through the border. They led to less theft between the two communities thus less conflicts between the two communities (FGDs 4. 24th, October, 2021). Police camps were put along to border to maintain peace between the two communities (FGDs 2. 16th October, 2021).

Since the Gusii were a settled community, it was easier for the police to establish their authority over them than it had been over the Maasai, who practiced nomadic pastoralism and were therefore extremely difficult for the colonial government to administer and control through the use of police force (FGD, 24th October, 2021).

Gusii elders continued to send their unmarried sons out to camp in the bush and take care of their families' cattle in the 1920s, despite the fact that the colonial administration had abolished ebisirate in 1912. The lads would use these events as opportunities to hone their spear combat skills and, on occasion, to launch raids against neighboring cow camps. Factionalism and warfare would break out with neighboring cow communities unless the elders could mediate a truce (O.I. 18th October, 2021).

Colonial authorities were trying to prevent Maasai youth from engaging in cattle raids in Gusii District. The colonial authority achieved this by doing away with moran. The Maasai and the Gusii both prepared young men for lives as warriors by sending them on raids against each other, but the Maasai had a more structured approach to training its warriors (FGD, 24th October, 2021). The findings of the current study are consistent with those of LeVine and LeVine (1966) and Nyasani (1984), both of whom state that Gusii men were highly recognized as fighters/raiders despite the fact that, unlike the Maasai, the Gusii had a well-organized warrior organization. For them, large-scale military preparations were something they exclusively did in times of crisis.

While the presence of contemporary police helped reduce incidents of ethnic conflict and livestock theft, this benefit was disproportionately provided to European neighborhoods compared to their African counterparts. The confrontations between the Maasai and the Gusii were exacerbated by the lack of security each group provided to one another. Gusii and Maasai territories were so far removed from the British administrative centers in Kisumu and Kericho that they suffered from inefficient management. The chiefs ran the show locally, with the British administration making only brief trips every so often. Certain tribal leaders participated in cattle rustling. Because the chosen chiefs were either directly or indirectly involved in cattle rustling, the practice of cattle raiding exploded into a serious administrative problem for the British colonial administration in 1919, KNA/PC/NRB/2/6/1 (1920). Because of this, conflicts persisted even while a colonial authority was in existence to try to prevent them. Because of their inability to adequately patrol the vast Gusii-Maasai border, the police failed to successfully curb cattle thefts between the Maasai and the Gusii. However, the Maasai were prevented from raiding European farms and stealing animals by the police. In a letter addressing the matter, the District Commissioner of Narok stated: -

The Maasai of the Western District of which the greater proportion are the Purko who came from Laikipia have more or less settled down now to their new surroundings.... Thefts of cattle from European settlers, raids and murders have practically ceased and no theft of cattle is been reported (KNA, DC/NRK/1/1/1, Narok District Annual Report). They patrolled along the border providing manpower for the chief (KII 12th October 2021). Police provided man power for the chiefs making it easy for them to implement laws that govern the people along the border (O.I. 12th October 2021). They patrolled along the border and provided manpower for chiefs making it easy for the chiefs to rule and implement. (O.I. 12th October, 2021).

The two communities' efforts to live in harmony were thwarted when the colonial economy they relied on was introduced and undermined their traditional means of subsistence. The Maasai, for example, were coerced into reducing their livestock numbers, and they had no idea that this would lead to animosity with their Gusii neighbors. As a result, tensions between the Maasai and the Gusii continued to rise across their shared border. Both the Maasai and the Gusii communities responded differently to colonial policies that were implemented to facilitate the imposition and growth of the colonial economy, and as a result, there was a historical shift in the nature, behavior, and character

of both people groups, as well as cultural-ecological impacts. Therefore, livestock raiding was altered to symbolize hostility against neighbors, rather than the previous practice, which did not indicate hostility between them (FDG, 24th October, 2021).

The Maasai, who were known for their frequent cattle raids, changed dramatically as a result of colonial efforts and are now considered to be largely law-abiding. The District Commissioner found this to be indicative of generally positive ties amongst the various indigenous groups in the area. Among his findings was that "as far as this district is concerned, there has been no difficulty with surrounding tribes" (KNA, DC/NRK/1/1/1, Narok District Annual Report). On the eve of World War I, when the colonial authorities in Kenya increased security, the Maasai began invading their neighboring communities in Tanzania. Specifically, the District Commissioner wrote the following: -

The Loita Muran and the Il Pelyani Muran made some raids into German East Africa and managed to collect some number of cattle.... The former lost two or three who were killed and one or two wounded, the latter lost about 17 people who were killed and 30 or 40 wounded (KNA, DC/NRK/1/1/1, Narok District Annual Report 1914).

By keeping people on both sides of the Trans Mara boundary from crossing into each other's territory, the police were able to reduce the number of incidents of theft and violence that occurred there (O.I. 7th October, 2021). To reduce tensions and crime between the two neighborhoods, police patrolled the border to ensure that no one from the other community entered (KII O.I, 13th October, 2021). As a result of their efforts to keep the peace, the Maasai and the Gusii living on opposite sides of the Trans Mara border rarely had to resort to violence against one another (O.I. 10th October, 2021).

Even though "several intelligence posts had been constructed along the Kenya-Tanzania border, under the chief Intelligence officer" (KNA, DC/NRK/1/1/1, Narok District Annual Report 1914), Maasai raids on their neighbors in Tanzania increased after World War I broke out. If the Maasai of Kenya assaulted their neighbors in Tanzania, the colonial authority didn't seem to care as much. But attacking other Kenyans like the Gusii was a huge deal.

3.7 Socio-Economic Consequences of Conflictual Relations between the Maasai and Gusii in the colonial period

It has been stated that industrial Revolution in Europe led to the colonization of African countries, Kenya included. Colonization of Kenya made it possible for Britain to access cheap labor and raw materials for furthering industrial revolution (Ochieng', 1992). But more than that, industrial revolution led to search of markets for finished goods and Africa became one of the markets (Ochieng', 1992). Ethnic communities in Kenya were in a constant state of conflict against each other. The Maasai, for example, were known to have terrorized other communities based on their belief that all the cattle belonged to them. Their fighting superiority and their expertise in launching cattle raids against other communities led them to command ownership of much of the Kenyan land.

Upon establishment of colonial rule in Kenya in 1895 (Foran, 1962), conflicts between ethnic communities became a stumbling block in Britain's quest to exploit the country's resources for the economic benefit of industries in Britain. It was hard to access labor in a conflict-ridden environment. Conflicts also prevented the colonial administration from accessing the much-needed land upon which farming would take place to generate raw materials for the benefit of industrial revolution.

Maxon (1992) has also alluded to the same reason provided by Ochieng' by stating that "as Colony of Britain, Kenya was expected to provide raw materials for industrial Britain while affording a captive market for the latter's manufactured goods". Similarly, Ndege (1992:93) has also emphasized the economic theory as the dominant explanation for the reasons why Britain came to colonize Kenya, Ndege states that:

The colonization of Kenya was essentially an economic plan which was conceived and executed by Britain following the kneil of laissez-faire capitalism in the nineteenth century (Ndege 1992:93).

Thus, ethnic communities which were in conflictual relations, such as the Maasai and the Gusii, suffered certain consequences upon the establishment of colonialism in Kenya. As for the Maasai, who were always seen as the aggressors, even Gusii also initiated cattle raids against the Maasai, were punished by the colonial administration. Some of the punishments which the colonial administration introduced had a bearing on the socio-economic lives of the Gusii and the Maasai. In 1961, for example, police

“shot and killed two Masai during Kisii/Masai clashes” which resulted from cattle thefts (Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), October 26th 1961, column 421). Apart from the killing of the Maasai by the police, Masai huts were also burnt down by the Kisii and this disrupted the normal lives of the Masai community. Women and children had to sleep outside in the cold (Ibid).

On the eve of the outbreak of the First World War, the colonial administration introduced a new law of dealing with cattle thefts. This was referred to as collective punishment. According to the Stock and Native Produce Theft Ordinance No. 8 of 1913 (East African Protectorate, 1913: 11-12), cattle theft was heavily punished. Cattle thefts in the precolonial period went unpunished. The only thing that resulted from cattle theft was retaliation and this exacerbated conflictual relations between communities concerned. This marked a transformation and redefinition of cattle raids among the Gusii and their neighbors. This colonial law or ordinance stated that:

Whenever any court shall convict any native of the stock or produce, the court shall, in addition to or in lieu of imposing any other punishment authorized by law, sentence the native convicted to pay a fine which shall in no case be less than ten times the value of the stock or produce in respect of which the offence has been committed (East African Protectorate, 1913: 11-12).

If a cattle thief was unable to pay a fine imposed upon him, his family, and sometimes his entire ethnic community, was made to pay.

Unless the amount of the fine shall be forthwith paid, issue the warrant for the levy of the amount of the fine by distress and sale of any moveable property of the offender or of the offender's family, sub-tribe or of any member of the offender's family, sub-tribe or tribe (communal punishment) Section 3&4 of the ordinance (East African Protectorate, 1913: 11-12).

Collective punishment was instituted for cases involving cattle thefts. These punishments were affected by chiefs in their respective areas of jurisdiction. In 1914 for example, a collective punishment was awarded onto the people of Wanjari location, under chief Oyugi. The fine was in the amount of Rs.1300/- on account of stolen cattle which were traced to the location. The chief collected the amount in full. Kitutu Location was also subjected to collective fine of Rs. 500 following theft of a cow which was traced to the location (KNA, DC/KSI/1/2). The Gusii and the Maasai suffered economically because this punishment drained their economic resources of the community which was

being punished. Resources, of the community which was being punished, included loss of money or livestock.

Another punishment which was imposed on the Gusii was the banning of cattle villages (ebisarate). Existence of these villages had encouraged the Gusii to steal and hide cattle (Maxon, 1989). Thus, they acted as reservoirs of wealth. By banning them, the Gusii suffered economically because their wealth, in terms of livestock, diminished. But the Gusii also suffered socially because part of their culture was lost. Were & Nyamweya (1986:128) have observed that after “the boys had successfully gone through the circumcision trials; they were now men who could marry and be admitted to Gusii governing councils. But their education in the ways of men and tactics of war was not complete until they lived in ebisarate, (egisarate sing.) ...”

Circumcision inmates were bonded together into brotherhood during their stay in ebisarate. Were and Nyamweya (1986:128) have observed that those “who did not cooperate were cautioned about their obstinacy, selfishness and uncooperativeness” and “a disobedient egisarate dweller could be denied his share of milk, meat and amaguta even if these items were produced by his own cow. If he remained obstinate after such a ruling, he would be asked to quit and start his own egesarate”. Pulling out of ebisarate meant that one was a coward who was unfit to defend his kin and kith and such a coward was ridiculed by members of his community. as such, ebisarate dwellers always struggled to keep themselves among the rest until the last day. This part of the Gusii culture was lost as it was banned by the colonial government since it bred conflictual relations between the Gusii and the Maasai.

Another socio-economic consequence arising out of the conflictual relations between the Maasai and the Gusii was the extreme shift, by the Gusii, from livestock to crop farming. Eventhough this shift had begun in the precolonial period, it was affected the more during the colonial period. This is bearing in mind that the colonial administration introduced money as medium of exchange. The colonial administration also began emphasizing the need to pay dowry in monetary terms because payment in terms of livestock was exacerbating incidences of cattle thefts especially among the young men (KNA, DC/KSI/1/2).

The demand for money among the Gusii increased during the colonial period. Fortunately, the colonial administration provided avenues for the Gusii to earn money. Cash crops were introduced as well as opportunities for wage labour. Thus, the introduction of money as a medium of exchange was intended to undermine the value of livestock as a medium of exchange among the Gusii and, consequently, the reduction of incidences of cattle thefts. However, the Maasai continued to value livestock and it is for this reason that conflictual relations continued to be experienced between the two neighboring communities.

Banning of ebisarate resulted from conflictual relations which such institutions encouraged young men to engage in. but the colonial government had to find an alternative avenue through which the young men would channel their youthful energies. The alternative was to find them wage labour. But in order to get young men out to work, and thereby reduce their involvement in conflictual activities, the colonial government increased taxes. Increase in taxes was therefore a consequence of conflictual relations between the Maasai and the Gusii because it was intended to channel youthful energies away from conflictual activities towards economically productive activities. The combined effect of banning ebisarate and increasing taxes had the effect of increasing migration of young men in search of wage labour. In fact, the old men had refused to free their sons for wage labour. This was informed by their fear of Maasai attacks and their sons were needed to defend their community against such attacks.

Cattle camps (ebisarate) were banned in 1913 and, in 1914; wage labor attracted “nearly 4000 men” who “were sent to work outside their territories in Gusiiland. Gusii men who offered themselves for wage labour were “dispatched to all parts of the protectorate” (KNA, DC/KSI/1/2). They got engaged in the Colony’s “Public Works Department all over the country. They worked on Harbors and Water works at the coast, on cutting wood for fuel for the railway, on irrigation works in the Maasai Reserve, on Railway building at Magadi, and a few on cotton and fibre plantations, where they acquired useful training. Those who remained in their Home Districts got engaged in road making and cultivation of land for economic advancement (KNA, DC/KSI/1/2 Kisii District Annual Report 1914).

Increased migration of male labourers from the Gusii community had the consequence of increasing social and economic burden of Gusii women. Women were left behind to care for the young and the old. Their domestic activities increased as well as their work on farms (Silberschmidt, 1999). However, recruitment of Gusii men in the First World War and the Second World War had the consequence of increased flow of money into Gusiiland through remittances. Wage labour was not the only cause for women's increased burden. Death of men during conflicts as well as arrests and imprisonment of perpetrators of such conflicts left women with burdens.

Generally, conflictual relations led economic inequalities (skewed development). In the first place, conflictual relations between the Maasai and the Gusii resulted in less development along the Gusii-Maasai border. This is bearing in mind the fact that it was along the border that most conflicts occurred. The District Commissioner for Kisii noted in 1943 that:

The District Commissioner Kisii in reporting these affairs has pointed out that every time a raid occurs, the entire Kisii population for some miles back from the border pack up and evacuate the area. He further shows that these people have responded to our urge for increased production, and have cultivated right up to the Maasai border. Twice this month however they have been disturbed and had to evacuate, and even when occupying their homes, they have to maintain constant vigilance (KNA, DP/18/14, 1943).

But apart from that, there was much development among the Gusii than among the Maasai in general terms. This is because of two reasons. The first one being the fact that the Gusii shifted to crop farming and crop farming was the most profitable economic venture during the colonial period than livestock economy. The colonial government favoured the Gusii in terms of economic advancement and supplied them with the necessary technology that was required to beef up food crop production. This is because it was easier to administer a settled community than a nomadic community. Also, being a settled community, the Gusii contributed more men as wage labourers than the Maasai and this brought more money in the community through financial remittances. The above affirmations clearly prove that during the colonial period, there were consequences attributed as a result of socio-economic interactions during the colonial era. The next section will equally examine the consequences of conflictual relations between the Maasai and the Gusii during the colonial period albeit the political processes.

3.8 Political Consequences of conflictual relations between the Maasai and the Gusii in the colonial period

The establishment of colonial rule among the Maasai and the Gusii had an impact on their conflictual relations. The colonial administration was desirous of establishing peaceful co-existence among the two communities. Peace was needed in order to facilitate the economic exploitation that was at the core of colonialism. LeVine and LeVine (1966) have observed that Gusii men were highly respected as fighters/raiders. On a general note, and unlike the Maasai, the Gusii lacked a well-organized warrior system. They only organized themselves for a large-scale war in times of crises. Thus, the first step that the colonial government undertook included the re-organization of the political systems of the Maasai and the Gusii.

Among the Gusii, for example, cattle villages (ebisarate) were banned. These villages were used for hiding and guarding stolen cattle. The same villages were also used for socializing male initiates on the topics relating to war. Even though the colonial government abolished ebisarate in 1912, Gusii fathers still sent their unmarried sons out together to camp in the bush and jointly look after their fathers' cattle in the 1920s. The boys would practice fighting with spears, and sometimes they would attack other cattle camps. This could escalate into feuding and warring with other cattle villages until the old men met to negotiate peace.

Whereas the colonial government banned warriorship among the Maasai and the Gusii with the intention of minimizing conflictual relations between the two communities, there was another reason to it. The colonial government wanted young men to become wage laborers, mostly on European farms as well as on government projects such as construction of roads, government buildings and building of bridges. Moranships were preventing young men from turning up in large numbers for work on such projects. Concerned that moranships and conflicts were taking too much time of young men, the colonial government had to ban such practices.

Apart from abolishing certain political institutions, conflictual relations between the Maasai and the Gusii necessitated the transformation of the institution of traditional leaders both among the Maasai and the Gusii. This was necessary because the traditional

leaders were accustomed to entertaining certain cultural practices which generated conflictual relations between the two communities. Among the Gusii, traditional leaders entertained cattle thefts. Maasai traditional leaders also entertained cattle rustling.

Traditional chiefs were gradually replaced by colonial chiefs. Colonial chiefs were given a lot of powers, in line with the government policy to impose it forcefully on the people. While some of the chiefs never abused these excessive powers, some over-did their powers. Cattle rustling which the Gusii and the Maasai culture sanctioned and encouraged among new initiates were outlawed and colonial chiefs were given powers to punish cattle thieves. In fact, the Native Tribunal Rules of 1911 widened the judicial powers of chiefs in civil cases by making provisions for the levying of fees and the exercise of appellate jurisdiction by a superior court of elders (KNA, DC/KSI/1/1).

Colonial chiefs were supervised by District Commissioners who were Europeans. Thus the traditional political systems of the Gusii and the Maasai were subjugated to colonial European officers even if they were unpopular to their subjects. This was intended to ensure that the colonial chiefs implemented government directives. The powers of the chiefs were curtailed with the enactment of a Native Authority Ordinance, in 1912, which introduced a council of elders to assist the chief in administrative matters (Low, 1965). From 1912 onwards, chiefs worked with council of elders in the maintenance of law and order among the Gusii. The chiefs and the Council of elders were supervised by the District Commissioner who was a European. Thus, the traditional political systems of the Gusii and the Maasai were subjugated and made to work under the European administrators. This supervision was necessary having been realized, in the early years of colonial establishment, that chiefs, and the councils which were supposed to advise them, were unable to affect arrest of cattle thieves (Maxon, 1989).

The other role of colonial chiefs was to turn up young men for service on European and government projects (Maxon, 1989). As more and more young men left their rural homes for wage labor, so did a decrease in conflictual relations. However, this thinking was not always true. While the Gusii did seek paid work away from home, few Maasai youths were willing to do the same. Arising out of this was the result that while the Masai had a steady supply of warriors to effect cattle raids, the Gusii lacked their own

homegrown defenses against such attacks. It was no wonder that many years after the establishment of colonial rule in Kenya the Masai continued to launch cattle raids against the Gusii.

Also owing to the fact that the Gusii and the Maasai warriors were relied upon to effect cattle theft, the colonial administration had to introduce new policing institutions (the Kenya Police and the Tribal Police). The introduction of these new policing institutions was meant to undermine the concept of warriorship among the Gusii and the Maasai. Traditionally, Gusii warriors and Maasai warriors were tasked with initiating conflictual relations between the two communities through cattle thefts. The new policing institutions were supposed to minimize or eradicate such conflictual relations. The police worked under the supervision of European colonial officers. The new policing institutions were expected to be neutral when enforcing law and order between the two communities during periods of conflicts. And by so doing, they were depended upon to ensure that conflictual relations between the two communities were minimized.

The consequence of conflictual relations between the Maasai and the Gusii, with regard to policing, is that more police posts/stations were established along/near the border of the Maasai and the Gusii than was in the interior. The result of this was the inequalities of police presence with certain areas having more presence than other areas. Overconcentration of police in certain places more than in others had the effect of encouraging lawlessness in areas where police presence was either lacking or inadequate.

Indeed, the colonial police did achieve some success with regard to minimizing incidences of cattle thefts involving the Maasai and the Gusii and when this success was realized, the Maasai turned to initiating cattle raids against their neighboring communities in Tanzania. This was on the eve of the First World War. Writing about this the District Commissioner, Narok District noted in his report of 1914 that: -

The Loita Muran and the Il Pelyani Muran made some raids into German East Africa and managed to collect some number of cattle.... The former lost two or three killed and one or two wounded, the later about 17 killed and 30 or 40 wounded (KNA, DC/NRK/1/1/1 Narok District Annual Report 1914)

By the beginning of the Second World War, chiefs, headmen and chiefs' council of elders dealt with civil disobedience but rarely criminal cases. Criminal cases were referred

to the District Commissioners. Even in dealing with civil cases, the chief's council seldom took steps 'to exercise their powers of punishment except the direct instigation of the District Commissioner' (KNA, DC/KSI/1/2). The taking away of powers from the colonial chiefs almost threatened to roll back the gains which had been realized in the administration of law and order and this almost backfired in the face of the colonial administration. In North Mugirango for example, the DC reported that "owing to lack of authority exercised by the chief and council in North Mugirango the affairs of this location got into a bad state" (KNA, DC/KSI/1/2). Cases of cattle thefts spiraled and the colonial government had to come up with new strategies to curb the menace.

Tensions in trade relations between the Gusii and the Maasai were another consequence of conflictual relations between the two communities. When peace prevailed, the Maasai and the Gusii would engage in trade relations but these relations deteriorated during period of conflicts. Traditionally, according to the chief of Nyaribari, the Maasai relied on food supplies from the Gusii during drought periods (KNA, DP/1/13). Food exchange relations traditional took place at Ramasha market. But when the War broke out between the two communities in 1943, the Gusii retaliated by stopping food supplies to the Maasai. It was not until the Maasai, through their District Commissioner stationed at Narok, pleaded for intervention from the District Commissioner stationed at Kisii to let the Gusii to continue supplying food to their Maasai neighbors (KNA, DP/1/13).

Another consequence of conflictual relations between the Gusii and the Maasai was the establishment of cross-border security committees which were tasked with the responsibility of finding solutions to the problem of cattle thefts (KNA, DP/18/3). These committees would meet to deliberate of matters of finding peace whenever conflicts ensued between the Maasai and the Gusii. Politically, conflictual relations between the Gusii and the Maasai had the consequence of taking too much of administrators' time. Chiefs, the police, council of elders, cross-border security committees and the District Commissioner took too much time worrying about occurrence of conflicts and how to resolve them as well as carrying out investigations. Too many meetings were convened to deliberate on such matters.

The preceding discussion has examined the social, economic and political consequences of conflictual relations between the Maasai and the Gusii in the pre-colonial and colonial period. The following as well, will delve much during the post-colonial period as espoused.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on how the institution of colonial power in Kenya affected the Gusii and the Maasai. According to the data, the first effect was to have the two groups accept colonial authorities including police, district commissioners, and chiefs as the de facto authorities responsible for maintaining order. Since the Gusii were severely punished for their repeated attacks on neighboring settlements, peace has reigned in the once warring factions. The colonial government's most popular form of punishment was the confiscation of entire herds of cattle. The Gusii and the Maasai both placed a high value on cattle, and when the colonial authorities confiscated herds as a form of punishment, the communities who lost their cattle suffered significant economic setbacks because cattle had long been the backbone of their economies. The enthroning of colonial chiefs and their aides (African police, council of elders, native tribunals/courts) was the next step after pacification in the building of colonial institutions of administration. In order to sway local populations in favor of colonial goals, these institutions were designed from the start to enforce and maintain law and order. They were tasked with implementing strategies for fostering a culture of law and order, reporting their results to the District Commissioner, and seeking out outside assistance for cases of communal crime as necessary.

Colonial rule among the Gusii and Maasai was instituted with the intention of influencing these groups to accept and conform to the colonial understanding of law and order. Before colonial control, it was culturally acceptable and sanctioned for villages to attack and plunder one another. After colonial rule, this activity was forbidden and considered a crime or vice. Colonial chiefs and their deputies (called "headmen") were tasked with rooting out lawbreakers within their villages and dealing with them or reporting them to the District Commissioners for further action.

The prohibition of traditional behaviors that stoked hostility between the Maasai

and Gusii was another effect of colonial administration on their relationship. Cow thefts were one source of tension between Gusii and Maasai groups, thus the former banned cattle camps (known as ebisirate). The Maasai have also done away with similar rituals, most notably the initiation of rustling cattle. After becoming a full member of the community, new initiates were often urged to invade neighboring settlements in search of livestock. The prohibition of this custom paved the way for improved relations between the adjacent Maasai and Gusii peoples.

Community boundaries were put in place to prevent the free flow of people, which frequently led to crimes like robbery and murder. In the past, for instance, the Maasai frequently clashed with neighboring Gusii because of their propensity of crossing wide swaths of country in search of grazing pastures and water. Most towns had chiefs or police officers keeping an eye on their borders to prevent incursions. However, there were not enough police officers stationed in any given area to prevent communities from encroaching on their turf.

The young males of the Gusii and Maasai originally played a security or defense role, but this was gradually eroded as the colonial administration introduced contemporary police and military forces. The customary role of young males in protecting their community and stealing animals from those of other groups declined. In comparison to ancient warriors, modern police were better equipped and educated to handle security situations (morans). Peaceful or friendly relations exist between the Gusii and Maasai because, while the warriors (Gusii) and the morans (Maasai) protected their separate groups, the modern police and the military protected them from confrontations between communities. Reuniting stolen animals with their rightful owners was a major factor in improving relations between the Gusii and the Maasai.

The colonial government instituted a system of communal punishment among the Maasai and Gusii, which often involved punishing an entire community for the actions of a few. As a deterrent tactic, the entire community would be punished. Cattle from all throughout the neighborhood were rounded up as a sort of punishment. Cattle being stolen or lost by community members, some of whom may not have committed the crime, is a common practice used to remind everyone to be on the lookout for any threats.

The impact on Gusii-Maasai relations of the government's implementation of levies was complicated. The Gusii pushed young men to leave their rural communities in search of wage labor, often by force. After ebisirate was outlawed, young men were too busy to engage in cattle raiding. Young males went to work to support their families and pay their fair share of taxes. The Gusii were once safe from Maasai raids, but this changed when more and more young males left their homes. As a result of government taxation, the Maasai were forced to sell their livestock. Cattle stealing exacerbated the already tense relations between the Maasai and the Gusii because the Maasai had become so reliant on the proceeds from livestock sales to fund government services.

**CHAPTER FOUR: TRANSFORMATION OF MAASAI- ABAGUSII CO-
EXISTENCE DURING SECOND WORLD WAR & DECOLONIZATION
PERIOD (1939-1963)**

4.1 Introduction

Between the years 1939 and 1963, Kenya went through a difficult era on all fronts, including the social, the economic, and the political. This was due to a combination of regional, national, and worldwide happenings. The First World War and the Mau Mau revolt both started in 1939 following the year 1939. The pressure that was put on the colonial administration's security apparatus came from both the Second World War and the Mau Mau revolt (Foran, 1962). Numerous Africans, especially members of the Gusii people, signed up to serve in the armed forces. In order to ensure that the army had access to an appropriate quantity of food, the production of food by others was encouraged to be increased. It was also necessary to rely on pastoralism communities like the Maasai to supply meat. In point of fact, the colonial authority exerted pressure on the Gusii and the Maasai to provide animals for the army's dietary needs. It was once claimed that 2,384 heads of cattle had been purchased from the Gusii in order to supply the military with food (KNA, DP/23/4). Because of the increased demand for meat and animals by the military, there have been more instances of cattle being stolen.

The battle had an impact on communities that coexisted in close proximity to one another, such as the Maasai and the Gusii. The Maasai and the Gusii were able to lead relatively tranquil lives alongside one another for the majority of the time that the Second World War was going on. On the other hand, tensions and disputes arose between the two communities, which were to be expected given that members from the two communities lived side by side and practiced different customs. To this point, interethnic tensions between the Gusii and the Maasai had been brought under control; but, there was a possibility that these tensions could once again go out of hand and cause an all-out war between the two groups. This was due to the fact that the police and the army were directed to focus their efforts on the Second World War, which resulted in a reduced security presence in particular locations. The Maasai were the ones that carried out the most of the relentless raids against the Gusii and stole their livestock. There were fatalities associated with several of the operations. Even while livestock theft involving the Gusii and the Maasai had been a problem in the history of Gusii-Maasai relations for a

long time, the Second World War caused an increase in the number of incidents involving both groups.

In the immediate aftermath of the conclusion of the Second World War, the Mau Mau revolt began. In spite of the fact that those of Kikuyu descent were mostly held responsible for inciting the rebellion, the influence of the Mau Mau was felt all throughout the country. This was as a result of the vast number of Kikuyu people who had moved to other parts of Kenya in search of land since there was a dearth of available land (Parsons, 1911). Some of them had moved to Kisii to live with the Gusii, and others had moved to Narok to live with the Maasai. In spite of the fact that the Mau Mau revolt did not have an immediate effect on Gusii-Maasai relations, it did contribute to the preexisting precarious security situation in the country, which lawbreakers took advantage of.

Both the Second World War and the Mau Mau uprising contributed to the Maasai and the Gusii having poor ties with one another as a result. After this, the colonial authority, working in partnership with Maasai and Gusii leaders, developed severe measures to heal broken inter-ethnic ties between the Maasai and the Gusii. These steps were intended to mend broken inter-ethnic relations between the Maasai and the Gusii. This chapter investigates the effects that the Second World War had on relations between the Gusii and the Maasai, as well as how administrators and servants of the colonial government worked with African leaders to mend rifts in the relationship that had been caused during the time period under investigation. A concise history of how the Second World War broke out will now serve as our first topic of discussion.

4.2 The Outbreak of the Second World War and Gusii-Maasai Co-existence

War between Germany and the United States officially began in 1939. The war may have begun in Europe, but it had an impact all the way in Kenya. From a more optimistic vantage point, the War opened doors for people of many races and cultures all around the United States. There are more jobs available to Gusii citizens now than there were before the war. Some statistics show that a sizable percentage of male Gusii participated in military service. As an added bonus, they were urged to increase crop production, which ultimately supplied the military with food. Neither did the Maasai contribute significantly to food production, in contrast to the Gusii. The Maasai, who traditionally work as

herders, contributed to the cause by selling livestock. During World War II, there was a surge in demand for cattle as a source of meat for the armed forces. Gusii were among the several residents of South Kavirondo District/Kisii district who gained greatly from the War by selling 2,384 livestock to the troops (KNA, DP/23/4). The Gusii men who had enlisted in the military also sent home money from the selling of food and other goods (KNA, DP/23/4).

There was, however, a downside to the rising popularity of cattle and meat, and we'll discuss that later on in this chapter. At this point, it's sufficient to note that rising military demand for beef fueled a spike in cattle thefts, which in turn inflamed tensions between different ethnic groups. During this time, the frequency of Maasai attacks against the Gusii grew. There was a lack of law enforcement because colonial officials, the police, and the army were all preoccupied with the war. For instance, after the colonial administrators left Kisii, a power vacuum ensued, leading to lawlessness and the plunder of the Kisii government station (Maxon, 1989). The breakdown of law and order was not confined to the native population or the ruling authorities. The tension between ethnic groups was also palpable. The effects of the war on ties between Maasai and Gusii are discussed in the next section.

4.3 Gusii-Maasai Co-existence during the Second World War

In 1939, Germany and the United States went to war with one another. Though it all flared up in Europe, the war was felt all the way over in Kenya. On the bright side, the conflict provided opportunities for people of many ethnicities and cultures all around the United States. Citizens in Gusii have greater employment opportunities now than they did before the conflict. Statistics suggest that a large fraction of adult male Gusii served in the armed forces. The troops were fed as a bonus since they were encouraged to enhance crop production. However, unlike the Gusii, the Maasai did not make a major impact on food production. Herders by trade, the Maasai donated animals. The demand for cattle during World War II skyrocketed because the military needed a steady supply of meat. The Gusii were just one group of people in the South Kavirondo District/Kisii district that benefited immensely from the War, since they were responsible for the sale of 2,384 animals to the armed forces (KNA, DP/23/4). Selling food and other items let the Gusii men who had enlisted in the military send money back to their families (KNA, DP/23/4).

We'll get into the disadvantage of the growing demand for cattle and beef later in this chapter. It is sufficient to remark at this juncture that increasing demands for beef by the military led to an increase in cow thefts, which in turn exacerbated tensions between various ethnic groups.

In this era, Maasai attacks against the Gusii increased in regularity. Because colonial officials, police, and the army were all focused on the war, law enforcement was lax. As an example, when the colonial officials abandoned Kisii, anarchy and looting of the government post followed (Maxon, 1989). It wasn't just the locals or the officials who had a hand in the breakdown of law and order. Furthermore, there was a noticeable level of racial animosity. In the following section, I will talk about how the war has affected the relationship between the Maasai and the Gusii.

The two communities did not interact much due to the war that was on going. There was tension all over and people feared to move and interact freely with others (FGDs 5. 3rd November, 2021). There were few cases of cattle theft because of the war (KII. 12th October, 2021).

Thus, the Maasai would lose livestock during droughts that they would not have lost if they had governed their dry-season grazing lands. This is why in years of severe drought, as 1943, when the Maasai lost most of their livestock, they turned to cow rustling to make ends meet. Even though the Gusii have stolen animals from the Maasai, they have more often been the victims. As a result of losing so many men to colonial development ventures as wage laborers, the Gusii were left less able to defend themselves than they had been before. In fact, numerous Gusii men served in the armed forces during WWII (KNA, DC/KSI/1/2). Livestock theft by the Maasai from the Gusii began in 1942 and reached its height in 1943 against this backdrop.

Their relationship did not change. They continued to have somewhat lukewarm relationship between themselves. This was attributed to the rampant raiding of cattle. They still experienced between themselves poor relationship due to the fact that, there were cases of cattle theft which was being practiced between the Maasai and the Abagusii (KII, C. 13th October, 2021).

Both positive and negative effects on relationships can be attributed to droughts. Cattle thefts, on the one hand, became more common as a result of the drought. However, the Maasai's hunger during droughts meant more business for the Gusii (KNA, DP/1/13). A prime example is the devastating drought that struck the Maasai in 1942 and 1943. The Maasai took advantage of the country's weakened security situation (caused by the War) to

launch a series of massive cattle robberies against the Gusii. The Gusii and Maasai went to war as a result, and the conflict affected their ability to trade with one another (KNA, DP/18/14, 1943). For this reason, Mr. Hunter, who was then serving as Acting Provincial Commissioner for Nyanza Province, wrote to the Chief Secretary in Nairobi, explaining that:

Despite the fact that the police posts are still in site and the fine or compensation has only just been collected at the hands of the Maasai, the Kisii have suffered two more raids at the hands of the Maasai during October [1943]. I suggest that their action in the circumstances is a defiant demonstration of bravado. One raid was perpetrated early in the month when the Maasai killed one Kisii and got away with 140 head of Kisii cattle, and the second was in daylight on 28th when the Maasai drove off 4 head from the grazing ground near the border (KNA, DP/18/14, 1943).

Traditional trade between the Gusii and Maasai was interrupted by the war that broke out after massive livestock theft by the Maasai from the Gusii. The chief of Nyaribari claims that the Maasai have historically been dependent on food aid from the Gusii during times of famine (KNA, DP/1/13). Ramasha market was the typical meeting place for those involved in the food trade. The Gusii cut off food supply to the Maasai as a form of retaliation after hostilities erupted between their villages during the War. The Maasai's District Commissioner in Narok had to appeal to his Kisii counterpart for help before the Gusii were allowed to keep delivering food to their Maasai neighbors (KNA, DP/1/13).

In his report to the District Commissioner of South Nyanza, the Chief of Nyaribari mentioned the interruption of Gusii-Maasai cordial ties were in 1943. They should remember how they begged their DC to ask D.C. Kisii to allow crop to be sold to them and to reopen a market at Ramasha. If it was not food from Kisii the Maasai could starve in famine...and of course they inwardly know that they rely on the Wakisii as their store of food. They don't know cultivating only they depend on meat and milk, then when there is a sun drought in their country they immediately run to get food from the Kisii (KNA, DP/1/13).

They gave the chiefs power to heart and solve that led to conflicts among Gusii and Maasai (KII 07th October, 2021). They put in place chiefs, who were given powers to sit and resolve those conflicts (KII, O.I 13th October, 2021).

The colonial authority took offense to Maasai cattle attacks against the Gusii. This is due to the fact that the colonial authority was always keen on ensuring the Maasai and Gusii got along swimmingly. Thus, the colonial government in Kenya could defend its continued presence in the country. The colonial authorities were especially worried about the impact that unrest on neighboring territories was having on food supply. During the War, food supplies were crucial. There needed to be enough food available to both feed the troops and keep famine from breaking out in places where Africans lived.

Since the Maasai did not engage in agricultural production, they needed the Gusii to provide for their dietary requirements and hence lived in one of these regions. The Gusii's ability to grow food was being stunted by Maasai raids. The Maasai and Kisii borders had been cultivated by the Gusii, but the raids had forced them back. When a raid comes, the entire Kisii population for miles back from the border packs up and evacuates, as reported by the District Commissioner Kisii, according to the writings of the Provincial Commissioner for Nyanza. Further, he demonstrates that the locals here have accommodated our need for greater output by cultivating land all the way to the Maasai frontier. Nonetheless, they have been forced to abandon their homes twice this month due to disturbances, and they must be on high alert at all times (KNA, DP/18/14, 1943).

As if the government's administration of the Military weren't already compromised enough, Maasai attacks disrupted agricultural production and, by extension, the provision of food to the war efforts. Specifically, the Gusii were sending more men than the Maasai to fight in the War. Since the Gusii produced food and provided much-needed labor throughout the War, they were favored by the colonial authority. In spite of this, the Maasai raids were having a detrimental effect on the Gusii. It was clear that the colonial authority would not stand idly by while the Maasai attacked the Gusii. In 1943, the Provincial Commissioner for Nyanza documented this event, writing:

However, it becomes increasingly challenging for local government to convince the people to maintain their War effort when a sizable number of them are confronted with local war situations that are, to them, of essential concern. When their houses and livestock are threatened by Maasai raiders, it is unreasonable to expect these people to send their men to a distant war and sell their stock (KNA, DP/18/14, 1943).

The colonial authority took substantial measures to reduce the instances of Maasai attacks on the Gusii in light of the help the Gusii and the Maasai relations offered to the War efforts and the threats posed by Maasai raids on the Gusii. By the time World War II had begun, the number of cattle thefts blamed on the Gusii had decreased. As a result, farming and wage labor are now the primary economic activity for the vast majority of Gusii. This was in response to the harsh penalty meted out to Gusii for livestock theft that the colonial authorities instituted in 1913.

In exchange for more livestock, the Maasai agreed to trade with the Gusii and increase their prosperity. Any group found to have stolen cattle faced severe repercussions (FGDs 5. 3rd November, 2021). The Maasai assumed that the Gusii were stealing from them because all cattle were theirs. The colonial government made significant efforts to maintain order along the frontier by punishing lawbreakers severely (FGDs 4. 24th October, 2021).

The theft of livestock was severely penalized by Ordinance No. 8 of 1913 against the Theft of Stock and Native Produce (East African Protectorate, 1913: 11-12). In certain cases, an entire town would suffer for the actions of a single cattle rustler (collective punishment). For this reason, it is not surprising that by 1943 the Gusii were no longer considered a threat due to their reputation as cattle rustlers, despite this reputation having been widespread in 1913. They may have stolen animals from the Maasai because they had suffered losses at the hands of their neighbors.

In 1943, for instance, the District Commissioner stated that, "Internally, the district has been peaceful, and on the whole, the inhabitants have responded exceedingly well to the numerous demands imposed of them owing to the war." There has been no peace on the Kisii-Maasai frontier, with armed raids and incursions into Kisii territory by the Maasai at the start of the year. A total of forty officers were deployed to the border, where they would spend the next twelve months manning outposts and conducting patrols. Despite this, the Maasai raided again in October, prompting considerable vengeance on the part of the Kisii. Those responsible among the Kisii were punished, but the Maasai perpetrators remain at large. KNA DC/KSI 1/5 page 2

When two different ethnic groups were involved in a stock theft, it set off a chain reaction of retaliations against each other. This led to tensions between the two groups.

Typically just a small number of people were responsible for cattle thefts. When dealing with lawlessness stemming from stock thefts and murders, the colonial administration could have used the Stock and Native Produce Theft Ordinance No. 8 of 1913 (East African Protectorate, 1913: 11-12), but it had many other tools at its disposal. As a result, colonial officials in Narok and Kisii proceeded with caution; without it, their efforts might have been compromised. The next part analyzes the steps colonial officials took during the War to improve relations between the Gusii and the Maasai.

The colonial punishment for the thieving community was to pay back twice as much to the other group and the government as the total amount of cattle stolen (FGDs 1. 17th October, 2021). This was a severe penalty for the community responsible for the cattle theft, as they were ordered to pay back twice as much as they had taken (KII 12th October, 2021). Disputes were brought before the chiefs, who were then given the authority to hear and decide them (O.I. 12th October, 2021). The community as a whole received harsh punishment for their involvement in the cattle heist. When caught, they would have had to pay back twice as much as they had taken (O.I 12th October, 2021).

4.4 Peace building measures by the colonial government and their impact on Maasai-Gusii relations during the Second World War

To reduce criminal activity, it takes more than just the presence of legislation. Law enforcement organizations also do not have a role in this (the police, courts, prisons etc.). The implementation of current rules that can deter criminal activity by an impartial administration is crucial. Especially in cases involving stock theft and murder, the District Commissioners of Narok and Kisii, with the assistance of law enforcement agents (the police and magistrates), did a great deal to ensure that the law was applied fairly and equally.

Police were placed along the border to curb on stealing cases from either the Maasai or the Abagusii (FGDs 5. 3rd November, 2021). They gave the chiefs powers to listen and resolve other cases that could lead to conflicts (FGDs 4. 24th October, 2021). They gave the chiefs power to preside over cases that led to conflicts between the two communities (FGDs 2. 16th October, 2021).

The Narok District Commissioner stressed the need for thorough investigations into stock theft claims before any action was taken. The Maasai and Gusii of precolonial

Kenya had their own methods of conducting investigations into crimes in order to determine the truth and punish those responsible. Among the Gusii, for instance, the okobutora ogoto oath was administered in cases involving claims over the ownership of a living head of cattle, especially if the animal in question had been stolen (KNA, DP/18/13). The resident of the hamlet where the animal was discovered may be asked to hold the horn while the plaintiff slices off the animal's right ear with a spear in such cases (endobo). When the animal shakes its ear, spraying blood on the disputants, the two sides issue a challenge to resolve the conflict. The plaintiff keeps the ear fragment as evidence while waiting for the oath's verdict and the animal is released back into the community from which it was first found. At a later cleaning (ogosorana) feast, if either party experiences hardship or fatalities in his family, he or she must produce a piece of ear (KNA, DP/18/13). Cattle theft was reduced as a result of these kinds of investigations in the Gusii village. But they did not discourage the Gusii from stealing Maasai cattle and vice versa.

In most cases, the establishment of justice and the imposition of punishment depend on the results of exhaustive investigations into acts of illegality. The colonial authorities faced a difficult task in preventing livestock theft amongst different ethnic groups because customary law only dealt with thefts between people of the same ethnic group. When it came to fostering cooperative relationships between the Maasai and the Gusii, colonial administrative officers understood the need of conducting thorough investigations. Writing to his fellow District Commissioner for South Kavirondo, the District Commissioner for Narok remarked in 1943 that conducting enquiries and offering fair hearing for both sides engaged in an alleged issue was necessary.

The investigation will be conducted in order to determine how many animals were taken and smuggled into this area. With the Maasai stock being taken, I was hoping you might be willing to initiate a similar process. Investigations of this nature must be conducted swiftly, and the results will likely rely heavily on statements made to authorities at the scene. To add to that, I think it's crucial to have the complainants in each case appear before the tribunal, and for the defendant tribe to have an opportunity to explain why they shouldn't face retribution (KNA, DP/18/14, 1943).

Both the Maasai and the Gusii were certain to have their own prejudices when reporting on and reacting to cattle robberies. To paraphrase the Kisii/South Kavirondo

District Commissioner: "in view of this evidence of Joseph's it does not seem worthwhile getting any more evidence, Kisii and Maasai will naturally be biased" (KNA, DP/18/14, 1946). As a result, confirming the veracity or falsehood of allegations of criminal behavior was an integral part of law enforcement. In a letter written to his counterpart in Kisii in 1944, the District Commissioner for Narok requested that "additional inquiry be done, as concerns the Kisii claim that 140 heads of cattle were stolen" (KNA, DP/18/14, 1944).

Police camps were established along the border to maintain peace among the two communities (FGDs 16th October, 2021). Rules were placed to govern the people along the border (FGDs 1. 17th October, 2021).

Sometimes people make assertions that turn out to be untrue after more thorough investigation. In 1944, the District Commissioner for Narok made the following statement on a third-grader named K. R. Joseph Matiko: "I have now had an opportunity of interrogating him." He said that although the cattle boma was a common one, it could not have contained more than 50 heads of cattle, and that the quantity of livestock reported stolen from the Kisii was provided as 40 head. Given the above, I'd appreciate hearing back from you on whether or whether you plan to launch a formal investigation (KNA, DP/18/14, 1944).

After conducting in-depth investigations, relevant parties took the necessary steps, such as determining the amount of compensation owed to the victims, and actually paying it. If a person was slain, monetary compensation was always given, but if stock was stolen, the offender was compensated in cattle. A letter from the Kisii police chief to the head of the city's public works department stated, "this homicide is still under investigation..." However, I can confirm that the local Maasai community has agreed to compensate the deceased's family with 15 head of cattle (KNA, DP/18/15), as arranged by the District commissioner in Narok.

In other cases, compensation was paid late, which constituted an obstacle to fairness. Justice postponed is justice denied, as the old adage goes. Indeed, the District Commissioners for Narok and South Kavirondo/Kisii were preoccupied with the problem of fairness in penalizing wrongdoing between the Gusii and the Maasai. When the legislation is applied unequally, it raises the issue of discrimination, and discrimination is an obstacle to fostering good ties and neighborliness between the Maasai and the Kisii. In

1943, the District Commissioner for Narok lodged a complaint with the District Commissioner for South Kavirondo/Kisii regarding the Gusii's tardiness in paying reparations to the Masai. He said it was an instance of bias against the Maasai in favor of the Gusii. Within the text he penned:

One major flaw in the current setup is that it has been determined to be impractical to pursue restitution from native South Kavirondoans for stock thefts perpetrated by them. The Maasai are aware of the broken agreement, and while no one has brought it up yet, I expect that to change if the tribe is asked to produce more heifers. Convincing the Maasai that prejudice is not being practiced on their behalf may prove difficult. Despite my confidence that the challenge can be surmounted, I anticipate that it will require extremely careful management if the required amount of support from the elders is to be forthcoming. To wit: "While we wait, do you have any better ideas for resolving the problem that has occurred on your end?" (KNA, DP/18/14, 1943)

In another instance, the District Commissioner for Narok was concerned with ensuring that the colonial government's initiatives to promote peace and understanding between the Maasai and the Gusii were carried out in a fair and unbiased manner. This time around, the idea of establishing a no-man's-land between the Maasai and the Gusii was proposed. Although this appeared like a preventative approach, it actually would have punished the Maasai by preventing them from grazing on Gusii territory. During times of drought, the Maasai traditionally ventured into Gusii territory in search of pasture and water for their animals. In a letter to his counterpart in South Kavirondo/Kisii, he stated:

Meanwhile, the District Commissioner for Narok was worried about the impartiality of colonial government programs meant to foster harmony between the Maasai and the Gusii. This time, it was suggested that the Maasai and Gusii create a no-man's-land in between them. While this might seem like a preventative measure, it would have been a form of punishment for the Maasai because it would have kept them from grazing on land belonging to the Gusii. Maasai herders have a long history of crossing into Gusii land during periods of severe drought in order to provide for their livestock. A letter he wrote to his equivalent in South Kavirondo/Kisii read as follows:

Norms and regulations were established (KII, 10th October, 2021). Conflicts between the two groups were reduced, and new relationships were forged, thanks to the selected chiefs who were tasked with discussing and addressing small problems that led

to conflict (KII, 7th October, 2021).

The District Commissioner for Narok, who oversaw the Maasai, was concerned that the Maasai wouldn't be able to graze their livestock in Gusii areas if a no-land man's was established. In times of severe drought, the Maasai would traditionally bring their livestock to graze in the Gusii areas. Two objectives were met by doing this. The first was to protect Maasai livestock, which in turn ensured the prosperity and sustenance of the Maasai people. Secondly, if the Maasai had suffered cattle losses due to droughts, the Gusii would have experienced an increase in livestock theft, further inflaming tensions between the two populations. The Maasai were told they couldn't let their animals graze near the border, even when there was plenty of grass, because it encouraged theft by bandits. Kenyan law enforcement took the initiative in fostering better ties between the Gusii and the Maasai, just like the District Commissioners had done. The Kenyan police force is discussed in the next section as a critical factor in fostering good relations between the Maasai and the Gusii.

4.5 The Kenya Police and peacebuilding among the Gusii and the Maasai during the Second World War

Colonial authorities implemented ethnic-based land divisions as a means of maintaining order and dominance. That's why people from different walks of life couldn't mingle freely. Contacts between people of different backgrounds only occurred along the borders. Positive relationships between neighboring ethnic communities were strengthened or new ones were established as a result of these interactions. The police have it easy when relations are good between people of different ethnicities on either side of an interethnic boundary. Whatever the case, the police played a crucial role in maintaining order when it seemed like chaos was certain.

There was a ban on entering Native Reserves at the time the Kenya Police Force was established in 1944. The Native reserve police force was made up of tribal leaders and their deputies. However, the government's stance on law enforcement on Native American reservations changed in 1944. It was said that this was necessary since cops need to be able to go wherever they need to in order to accomplish their duty (KNA, DP/18/14, 1945). They need to do this in order to conduct searches, retrieve stolen

property, or interrogate suspects. Long before they were allowed to work in Native Reserves in 1944, Kenyan police officers played a crucial role in managing interethnic borders. As a matter of fact, colonial rulers utilized these limits as a gauge of social cohesion. A good illustration of this can be seen in the Maasai and Gusii relationships.

Selected leaders were tasked with discussing and addressing minor issues that led to conflict between the two groups, and as a result, tensions subsided and new friendships were created (O.I. 7th October, 2021). But because criminals in Africa have become a complex species that needs to be dealt with by a trained officer, Kenya has allowed police access to protected areas. The police force in the native community was not equipped to deal with or even find competent criminals. Foran (1962) alludes to the possibility that, over time, criminals in Africa went from being amateurs to skilled professionals, able to steal massive amounts of money without leaving any evidence.

For example, the Lumbwa and Kipsigis cattle thieves were common in Gusii area by 1945, although they typically approached from the Maasai side. It was intended to look like the Maasai were stealing livestock from the Gusii. This makes sense when you consider that law enforcement officials often used cow trails to track down stray cattle.

A band of Lumbwa raiders entered Kisii from the Maasai Reserve. Five Kenyan law enforcement officers responded to the call and successfully stopped the intruders. We were able to retrieve all of the stock (KNA, DP/18/14). The Kenyan police, along with the District Commissioners, were instrumental in reducing cattle theft, which in turn helped to reduce hostilities between the Gusii and the Maasai. Criminals (cattle rustlers) would sometimes go into hiding, despite the government's dogged pursuit of them via police. For instance, in a letter dated 1943 and written to the District Commissioner for South Kavirondo, the District Commissioner for Narok mentioned that "...two Purko Muran, one-time associates of the Purko stock-thief killed at the Kisii village earlier this year were seen in Trans-Mara a few days after the murder." Everyone knows what their names are. One of the individuals is already on the FBI's most wanted list for stock theft and has a reputation for violence. Issuing arrest warrants and taking other necessary measures to carry them out" (KNA, DP/18/14, 1943). An effective deterrent against individuals who would threaten peace between the Maasai and the Gusii was the constant pursuit of known offenders, which led to their capture, conviction, and incarceration.

They made sure that no more crossed that border{Trans Mara} with stolen cattle thus reducing the cattle theft that way the major cause of conflicts between the two communities (FGDs 5. 3rd November.2021). They necessitated police to patrol along the border to maintain peace among the two communities (FGDs 4. 24th October, 2021). Patrolling along the border-maintained peace (FGDs 16th October, 2021)

On another note, the Kenya police were drawn from various ethnic communities. We had Gusii policemen working among the Maasai and they were very instrumental in preventing the Gusii from stealing Maasai cattle and vice versa. In 1945 for example, “Watende raided Masai; the party was turned back by the combined action of a Kisii Kenya policeman (the only one left at Lolgorien). All constables were sent out in the Buregi District to look for the Maasai cattle” (KNA, DP/18/14, 1945). Police from the various ethnic communities were involved in search for stolen cattle. This was done in order “to overcome language barriers” (KNA, DP/18/14, 1945).

Most Policemen were used for the enhancement of security through patrols along the border (KII 12th October, 2021; O.I. 12th October, 2021). They stayed along the border to patrol and maintain peace among the two communities (O.I, 07th October, 2021).

Apart from overcoming language barriers, the fact that the Gusii policemen worked among the Maasai and prevented loss of their cattle to neighboring ethnic communities through cattle stealing or helped in the recovery of stolen cattle promoted inter-ethnic coexistence between the Maasai and the Gusii. Cattle thefts and the accompanying murders were harmful to harmonious co-existence between the Maasai and the Gusii. As a result, they were dealt with seriously.

Apart from dealing with cattle theft-related incidences, the police also intervened in similar other circumstances which threatened the peaceful coexistence between the Masai and the Gusii. An incidence is recorded whereby John Livingstone Noah, African Assistant Inspector at Kamagambo Police Station was highly commended and rewarded for preventing a fight which was about to take place between a party of about 2000 armed Kisii and a party of armed Maasai being assisted by only one Sergeant and 7 Constables (KNA, DP/27/5 Police Annual Report for the administration of Kisii Division for the year 1948).

As from 1945 when the World War II ended, the need to improve radio and telephone communication among and between African Police Officers became obvious. In 1945, in a correspondence dated 12th May 1945 by Mr. S.D. McGoun, Provincial Superintendent of Police, Nyanza, Provincial Police Headquarters, Kisumu stated to the Commissioner of Police Nairobi that there was need to set up W/T sets in curbing cattle thefts in South Nyanza/Kavirondo and Kericho, in the following areas: Sotik, Kisii, Kipkemowa, Abossi (Chesonoi), Kihancha and the Provincial police headquarters. The correspondence read in part that:

....With the present state of communications and slow transport, police cannot get accurate information quickly enough to act with any likelihood of preventive results... It is almost impossible to get a call to Kisii or Kericho under an hour... and when one has got through it is most difficult and often impossible to hear what is being said (KNA, DP/27/3).

The Provincial Commissioner's call for improved radio communication among Police was realized in 1948 when the Signals Branch of the Kenya Police began establishing several stations across the Colony. All of them were operated by African Police under the supervision of the Signals Officer (Foran, 1962:137). The Signals Branch had made tremendous progress in 1948 by which time, it had a network of 45 Signal Stations with advanced art equipment. The Radio Section of the E.A. Post and Telegraphs Department was in charge, and management of the network being under the Police Signals Officer. The Signals Branch of the Kenya Police was reorganized in 1950. By early 1960s, the Unit had over 900 items of radio equipment in service. The messages handled by Signals Operators over the Police network for 1959 were 762,648, an average of 63,554 per month.

They stayed along the border to patrol and maintain peace among the two communities. (O.I. 07th October, 2021).

The good work of the Kenya Police was not enough to guarantee peaceful coexistence between two ethnic communities (the Gusii and the Maasai) which had a long history of occasional shoulder-brushing. There was need to go beyond reliance on tribal law and customs to guarantee Gusii-Maasai peaceful coexistence. This is especially the case bearing in mind that each of the ethnic communities (the Gusii and the Maasai) had their own systems of customary laws.. Gusii customary laws were not suited to resolve disputes among the Maasai and vice versa. Thus, the colonial government had to come up with a system of punishing Gusii crimes against the Maasai and vice versa. New forms of

punishing inter-ethnic crimes and its impact on Gusii-Maasai Co-existence

Relations between the Gusii and the Maasai were strained by occasionally murders which one ethnic community committed against the other. In view of this, the colonial administration in Kisii and Narok introduced, through consensus with Maasai and Gusii leaders, a form of compensation that contributed towards mitigating against this vice. In 1944 for example, the District Commissioner for Kisii noted that:

That the Maasai should pay compensation of shillings six hundred in respect of the Kisii killed, compensation is payable by the Maasai in view of the fact that the murderer of the Kisii has been arrested and convicted (KNA, DP/18/14, 1944)

The introduction of this form of punishment was important because the Maasai customary law relating to compensation for murder was not applicable to the Gusii and vice versa. Therefore, even though the colonial government had promoted the rule of law based on customary laws, such laws were inadequate to intervene in situations which involved two ethnic communities. Customary laws were only affected within and among members of the same ethnic group who prescribed to that law. Among the Gusii for example, a person who stole an animal or property belonging to his/her relative was made to pay twice as much as the stolen property but if a “person who went to steal from another location which was waging war against his own was caught and not killed, he was detained there and news sent to his location demanding the redemption of 12 head of cattle, and on receipt of those animals, he was normally released and escorted up to the boundary of his location and the other,” (KNA, DP/18/13)

However, if he stole cattle from members of the same ethnic community but not closely related, he would be made to pay compensation. But if he stole cattle from another ethnic community, he was praised. Thus, the colonial government introduced inter-ethnic mechanisms of compensating for stolen cattle. As for the Maasai, stealing cattle from another ethnic community was highly celebrated for they believed that all the cattle belonged to them.

There was heavy punishment for the community that was involved in cattle theft. They were supposed to pay double what they stole (O.I, 12th October, 2021). The tribe that was found guilty of stealing was to pay double what was stolen. This reduced the cattle theft because people did not want to pay more (KII, 12th October, 2021).

The colonial government’s handling of inter-ethnic murder also changed relations

between the Gusii and the Maasai. In most cases, cattle stealing ended up registering with murders. In precolonial period, murders emanating from cattle stealing between the Maasai and the Gusii did not involve any form of compensation because such provisions were absent in customary laws for both the Gusii and the Maasai. The Gusii customary laws, for example, only provided some form of compensation for murders involving close relatives or members of the Gusii ethnic community.

According to the Gusii customary laws, murder of a person, out of malice aforethought, by a close relative was heavily punished in pre-colonial period. In such cases, the murderer was made to pay “four head of cattle and two goats but if the deceased belonged to a clan which was by law intermarrying with his clan, he was ordered to pay twelve head of cattle or any amount which was considered enough to cover the bride-price, or offer a girl for marriage by the relative of the deceased,” (KNA, DP/18/13).

Without provisions for compensation, inter-ethnic murders between the Gusii and the Maasai went unpunished but left feelings of enmity between parties involved. However, the establishment of colonial administration among the Gusii and the Maasai changed the landscape of justice relating to inter-ethnic murders. Such murders were thoroughly investigated and some of compensation was prescribed (KNA, DP/18/14). If investigations revealed the murderer, the criminal was imprisoned. This went along way into securing justice to the family of the deceased.

4.6 Gusii-Maasai relations during the Mau Mau uprising

The end of the Second World War ushered in yet another security-related problem. Moss (2015:64) has observed that the “end of the Second World War brought a boom in the Kenyan economy and a wave in political activity” including anti-colonial political activities such as Mau Mau violence.

The uprising negatively affected government’s post-War development plans. Kenyanjui (1992:118) has correctly observed that: -

The most outstanding characteristic feature in the phase 1945-1960 was agricultural planning. The settlers planned and built irrigation dams, roads, fences and buildings, and formed co-operatives. However, the Emergency of Mau Mau in 1952

interfered with the planned development.

Even though Mau Mau uprising was greatly felt in Kikuyu Province, its ramifications spread far and wide. Wherever Mau Mau activities were spotted, the men and women behind such activities were mainly the Kikuyu. The Kikuyu had migrated far and wide across the Kenyan sphere. With an annual population growth of 2.5 percent and a population density of over 280 people per square mile, by the 1920s the Kikuyu reserves had become dangerously overcrowded (Parsons, 2011).

Ambitious or desperate, landless young men therefore had to seek their fortunes in less settled regions of the colony. District officers first noticed the vanguard of this mass Kikuyu migration in 1911, but the outflow of people from the reserves accelerated after the World War I. Many of them had migrated into the expansive Rift Valley province and when Mau Mau broke up, they Kikuyu migrants provided the avenue along which Mau Mau activities spread across the breadth and width of Kenya. In Nakuru, for example, the District Commissioner spotted Mau Mau activities whose origin he traced to Kikuyu Province. He noted in his Annual Report of 1947 that:

Another association designated Mau Mau, emanating from the Kikuyu reserve started branches at Naivasha and Ol'Kalou but did not emulate the green bay tree. This association is probably affiliated to the Kikuyu Central Association. There are several branches of the Kenya African Union in the district but these evoke little interest and fewer subscriptions. The majority of the other tribes take little or no part in District political activities (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru District Annual report 1947, p. 1-3)

People of the Kikuyu descent had not only migrated to Nakuru. Some of them had moved to Kisii and Narok and had settled among the Maasai and the Gusii (KNA, DP/1/108; KNA, DP/1/110; KNA, DP/1/111). People of Kikuyu ethnic identity had settled among the Gusii for many years as noted by the District Commissioner of South Kavirondo District in his Annual Report of 1932 ((KNA, DC/KSI/1/3 South Kavirondo District Annual report 1932, pp. 26). Mau adherents who were being pursued by the colonial government went into hiding among their relatives in Kisii and Narok. Therefore, the Maasai and the Gusii were not spared the effects of Mau Mau and anti-Mau Mau struggles. The Kikuyu who had settled in Gusii started showing signs of lawlessness. The chief of Nyaribari Location once wrote about Mau mau activities in his area saying”

I have been informed a few detail of the Kikuyu Central Association... When a member is given this food to eat he is made to swear an oath saying, "as a member of the Kikuyu Central Association I shall not tell the secrets of this association to the government nor to the government servant". (KNA, DP/1/13,1948)

Until 1954, when many of the Kikuyu were evacuated from Kisii, Mau Mau activities were very much alive among the Gusii. The District Commissioner for South Nyanza noted in his Annual Report of 1954 that:

By far the most important political event from a parochial standpoint was the removal, during the earlier part of the year, of all the Kikuyu who had over a long period of years infiltrated into the Kisii highlands. Thirsty of the menfolk were imprisoned late in 1953, after refusing to be photographed for identity documents, and shortly afterwards most of the remaining were subjected to restrictions orders- in fact they were ordered to live in Kisii Detention Camp. In March, the whole lot was deported, and the removal of women and children followed. This complex and difficult operation, in which some 500 families were uprooted and removed, was completed in June...." (KNA, DC/KSI/1/16 South Kavirondo District Annual Report 1954).

4.7. Gusii-Maasai relations during the Decolonization Period (Mau Mau uprising).

The presence of Mau Mau activities among the Gusii and the Maasai impacted on Gusii-Maasai relations both directly indirectly. In direct terms, the local administrators and other security apparatus (chiefs, police, and local elders) were called upon to be on high alert. So serious was the security situation at that time that chiefs were prohibited from doing business (trading) and, instead, called upon to concentrate on administrative duties. It was noted, during one of the meetings between the District Commissioner and Gusii chiefs that:

The District Commissioner told chiefs that he had a list of those who were trading in this district. He told them that as they were government servants they were not supposed to trade he would watch each chief who was a trader and if he was found not to be doing his full time to his government work he would be deprived of his Trade Licence or discharged from government service (KNA, DP/34/7).

Thus, the increased security surveillance not only monitored and prevented Mau Mau activities but also helped reduce other incidences of lawlessness, including cattle theft, which occasionally upset the peaceful coexistence between the Maasai and the

Gusii. The Chief of Nyaribari never missed a chance to report on the activities of the Kikuyu and their clandestine activities (KNA, DP/1/13).

No, their relationship was still poor due to cattle theft (KII 7th October, 2021). The Maasai collaborated with the British while the Kisii resisted their relationship did not change in any way they kept on stealing cattle from one another (KII O.I. 13th October, 2021).

Given the heightened security alert among the Gusii and the Maasai, there were few incidences of cattle thefts which usually upset peaceful coexistence between the two communities. That peace had prevailed between the Maasai and the Gusii is attributed to the fact that the only serious large-scale war which had been fought between them was in 1943. No such war had been witnessed again until 1948 when signs pointed to the circumstances that led to the War of 1943. The chief of Nyaribari Location wrote to the District Commissioner of South Nyanza warning him about the possibilities of Gusii-Maasai war in the offing.

Also, may you please write to the D.C. Narok to warn the Morani of Maasai that unless they despair with thefts the Wakisii will stop selling them crop as it were in 1943. They should remember how they begged their DC to ask D.C. Kisii to allow crop to be sold to them and to reopen a market at Ramasha. If it was not food from Kisii the Maasai could starve in famine during 1948, and of course they inwardly know that they rely on the Wakisii as their store of food. They don't know cultivating only they depend on meat and milk, then when there is a sun drought in their country, they immediately run to get food from the Kisii (KNA, DP/1/13, 1948).

The Chief of Nyaribari and North Mugirango Locations was indeed determined to preach and achieve peace between the Maasai and the Gusii. He knew how much trade between the two communities contributed to wards peaceful co-existence. He was particularly keen at ensuring that trade flourishes between the two communities, one of the handicaps towards achieving this was the poor state of the road running from "Keroka to Ramasha" market (KNA, DP/1/13). Ramasha was the market which facilitated trade between the Gusi and the Maasai. For him, trade enabled his people (the Gusii) to earn money and pay their taxes while at the same time forging friendliness between the Gusii and the Maasai.

They put in place chiefs, who were given powers to sit and resolve those conflicts (KII O.I 13th October, 2021).

Writing about his location in the monthly report of February 1949, the chief of Nyaribari and North Migirango which bordered the Maasai of Narok District Location stated that “there has been peace in both locations... and each person seems to be working harder in his usual work” (KNA, DP/1/13, 1949). The chief attributed this peaceful environment to his efforts to preach peace and tranquility. In his report to the District Commissioner for South Nyanza/Kisii, the chief noted”

Since I received your letter, I visited in most parts of each location holding barazas [Public meetings] to warn people not to make rots on the borders with the Kipsigis and with Maasai. Thefts decreased in considerable proportion during February and all people are very happy with the Kenya police for all efforts that they did to stop thefts and recover cattle stolen from Kisii (branded “K”) by the Kipsigis and Maasai (KNA, DP/1/13, 1949).

Indeed, it was during the Mau Mau period that chiefs were put on high alert to secure the peaceful co-existence between members of their respective ethnic groups and to prevent any inter-ethnic tensions from taking place. Some chiefs employed traditional conflicts resolution mechanisms to resolve the problem of cattle thefts which threatened peaceful co-existence between the Gusii and their neighbors, including the Maasai. In one incidence, the chief of Kitutu Location in Kisii resorted to oath taking ceremony. This method also led to decrease in cattle thefts and peace between the Gusii and their neighbors was promoted. In his report addressed to the District Commissioner for South Kavirondo/Kisii, the chief of Kitutu Location wrote:

Stock theft in the location was prevalent and increased remarkably from all angles of the location. This subject was discussed in barazas, and meetings with a view to stopping it. Also a very big baraza was held to discuss this subject only, and an oath was performed between the elders and well known thieves in May. Since then, thefts in the Location have decreased considerably (KNA, DP/1/13, 1949).

It is through the good work of chiefs, with regard to promoting peaceful coexistence, that incidences of cattle stealing decreased. In some cases, the chiefs ensured that “names of all well-known thieves in the location were recorded” (KNA, DP/1/13, 1949). This went along way into ensuring that thieves reformed. It is no wonder that some thieves surrendered to keep good behavior as law-abiding citizens” (KNA, DP/1/13, 1949). In most cases, cattle thefts were not an everyday or every month occurrence. There were those days and months when the Gusii and the Maasai experienced a peaceful environment

devoid of cattle theft incidences (see statistics of cattle thefts in Kitutu Location below).

Table 4.1: Number of livestock stolen in Kitutu location by month.

Source: KNA, DP/1/13, Monthly report for February 1949 by Chief of Kitutu Location.

MONTH	NUMER OF LIVESTOCK STOLEN
May	18
June	2
July	4
August	-
September	-
October	3
November	-
December	1

Table 4.1 above illustrates that there were moments of calm during which no incidences of cattle thefts were recorded. But there were also moments when a location would be on alert and tension due to the large numbers of livestock being stolen. The table also shows that the month of May recorded the largest number of cattle thefts in Kitutu Location but due to the efforts of the chief and law-abiding members of the Gusii society, the numbers reduced. Thus, there were a few members of the Gusii society who threatened peaceful co-existence in society.

Such was the situation that prevailed during the Mau Mau uprising. Otherwise, the general atmosphere of co-existence between the Maasai and the Gusii was one of harmony and tranquility throughout the period of Mau Mau uprising. Incidences which threatened peaceful coexistence between the two communities was dealt with promptly. For example, in 1954, resulting out of incidences of cattle thefts, Tribal Police posts had to be erected at border points which were considered as more deserving. In September a post was created at Anganga in attempt to put a stop to Maasai stock-raiding (KNA, DP/1/4 Monthly Intelligence Reports September/October 1954). Also, the number of African Police officers was increased in South Nyanza to effect maintenance of law and order along the Maasai border (KNA, DP/1/4 Monthly Intelligence Reports September/October 1954).

The colonial government did contribute to the peaceful coexistence of the Maasai and the Gusii. However, the same colonial government introduced legislative measures which criminalized pre-colonial economic practices that helped to nurture cross border coexistence between the two communities. Traditionally, the Maasai migrated in search of pasture and water. By doing so, they ended up grazing and watering their livestock in the territory of the Gusii community. Likewise, the Gusii practiced hunting and most of the wildlife was found in Maasai territory (KNA, DO/KSI/15/18/1A Administration Report of Kilgoris of the year 1961). Traditionally, these movements provided fodder for interaction between the Maasai and the Gusii. However, the establishment of colonial rule criminalized wildlife-hunting and put limits to nomadic way of life. Ethnic boundaries were strictly enforced by the colonial government and this seemed to have nurtured the feeling of “us” versus “them”. In particular, the colonial government had preference towards a settled way of life and discouraged unregulated movements of human populations. The reason for this is that it was easy to administer settled people than nomadic populations.

Related to restricting people’s movement was the establishment of cross-border committees which were mandated to resolve inter-ethnic tensions across the Gusii-Maasai border. These communities met to deliberate on ways of reducing cattle thefts but also in deciding compensation in the event of cattle thefts. Thus, their mandate was to facilitate “frequent meetings to settle complaints rapidly” (KNA, DP/1/6 Kisii District Quarterly report, July/September 1963, p.1). Whenever cattle thefts took place, the committees would meet and decide upon fines to be paid by the aggressing party to the aggrieved party. In 1963, for example, “Kisii and Maasai elders paid stock theft debts due from 1960 (Kisii shs. 10,266/-; Maasai Shs. 60,443/-).

They patrolled along the border to maintain law and peace (KII. 17th October, 2021). Maintain law and order along the border and patrolling the border (O.I,07th October, 2021).

As the Mau Mau began cooling down and the country moved towards independence, there was a drive to review boundaries. This move led some ethnic communities to demand for cessation. Traditionally two or three ethnic communities had been administered under one administrative jurisdiction. This was particularly the case between the Gusii, the Luo and the Kuria. Agitation for secession towards independence was occasioned by the revision of regional assembly boundaries upon which election of

regional representatives to the Senate were to be based. This exercise led to ethnic skirmishes across various regions of the country for example there were skirmishes between the Gusii and the Kipsigis but none was reported among the Gusii and the Maasai (KNA, DP/1/6 Kisi District half-yearly report, January-June 1963, p.2). Indeed, the period between 1955 and 1963 was one in which African's representation, through election, to the Legislative Council began to be realized.

The review of regional boundaries and elections led politicians into inciting their people. Incitement was tied to claims of ethnic independence. Ethnic communities which had lived side by side with each other started to claim for their own territories. In 1955, for example "a delegation from the Kabuoch section of East Konyango Location" presented their grievances to the District Commissioner pressing for the split of their location. The District Commissioner declined to heed to their pressure and warned that "stern action [involving the police] would be taken against the leading agitators if there was any more trouble" (KNA, DP/1/4). In 1961, a Kisii Member of Parliament (Mr. Sagini) was blamed by a Maasai Member of Parliament (Mr. Ole Tipis) for telling the Gusii that "the Kisii boundaries extended to the Mara River" (Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), June 6th 1961, Column 959).

A similar instance occurred in 1963 when the District Commissioner reported that on the Luo/Kisii border, the Bosamaro Luo agitated for transfer of the area in which they live to South Nyanza. It caused dispute. The Luo were told that it was impossible to change the boundary. They were not satisfied with the ruling and they continued to press for withdrawal (KNA, DP/1/6 Kisii District Quarterly Report, July/September 1963, p.1). But no such claims were experienced on the Maasi-Gusii border areas. The Gusii-Maasai border had been defined in such a way that there was no mix of the two communities under one territorial jurisdiction. Indeed, as it turned out, politicians benefited from instigating clan/ethnic clashes. The District Commissioner in his half-yearly report (January-June 1963), for example, states that "local clan loyalties had previously influenced the voting to a considerable extent" (KNA, DP/1/6, Kisii District half-yearly Report, January-June 1963, p.1). The next chapter will be following up on the impact of the establishment of elective boundaries on cross-border ethnic coexistence among other issues.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter examined the impact of the Second World War and decolonization processes, which came thereafter, on Gusii-Maasai cross border coexistence. The study has established that the outbreak of the war did have an impact in that it created a vacuum in the security apparatus of the colonial government. This security vacuum was exploited by a few members of the Maasai community who were out to break the law by stealing cattle from the Gusii. This is bearing in mind that by the time the Second World War broke out, the ability and capacity of the Gusii to defend themselves against the Maasai had been weakened. This resulted from the fact that many Gusii men had enlisted in the military and other service sectors of the colonial government. Secondly, most of the Gusii people had quit their traditional cattle rearing practices and taking up farming. Thus, their traditional institutions of safeguarding their cattle economy had been compromised.

Lawlessness on the part of some Maasai cattle thieves peaked in 1943 and this threatened the peaceful co-existence of the two communities. While the Maasai had well refined methods of raiding their neighbors and stealing their cattle, the Gusii had the advantage of being the chief suppliers of food to the Maasai. The Gusii retaliated by denying food supply to the Maasai. This was during a serious drought period. The Maasai had to plead with the Maasai, through their administrators, before the Gusii resumed food supply to the Maasai. The fact that the Maasai pleaded for food from the Gusii underscored the fact that both communities were interdependent on each other.

The study has also established that officers of the colonial government played a leading role of arbitrating in conflicts that threatened peaceful coexistence between the Maasai and the Gusii. These officers included the chiefs, the police, the chiefs and others working under them. The District Commissioners of Maasai and Gusii inhabited areas (South Kavirondo/Kisii district and Narok district) were always in contact with each other on matters relating to cattle thefts and murders on the Gusii-Maasai border. That they responded to such issues with speed and empathy did a lot to restore law and order. Chiefs also played their role of bringing pressure to bear on people under their respective jurisdictions. In particular, chiefs held public meetings (barazas) with their subjects and through such forums, members within society who encouraged lawlessness were brought under control. The promotion of the use of oath taking ceremonies, by Gusii chiefs, to

expose cattle thieves among the Gusii, went along way into decreasing incidences of livestock stealing and, consequently, animosity which such acts promoted among the Gusii and their neighboring Maasai.

The Kenya Police also played their role in enforcing the law. In particular, their efforts in recovering stolen cattle and undertaking thorough investigations into such acts as well as enforcing compliance to compensation measures went along way into forging good neighborliness between the Gusii and the Maasai. Police officers drawn from the Gusii community worked among the Maasai and they helped the Maasai to recover their stolen cattle. This gesture helped to nurture a sense of good neighborliness between the Maasai and the Gusii.

The intervention that the Gusii and the Maasai got from the colonial government, during periods of strained inter-ethnic relations, can be grouped into main categories namely: preventive and curative/punitive. The curative part entailed investigating incidences of lawlessness and, thereafter, prescribing punishment. Some of these were through imprisonment of convicted culprits, compensation in the form of livestock and monetary fines. However, in most cases, the police swiftly and recovered stolen cattle which were then sent back to the original owners. All these measures contributed towards cultivating a harmonious co-existence between the Maasai and the Gusii. In most cases, there were a few individuals who were bent towards breaking the law and straining the relations between the two communities.

Some of the preventive methods which promoted peaceful coexistence between the Maasai and the Gusii included foreseeing possible danger and taking necessary measures to prevent inter-ethnic fighting. One example is the prohibition of the Maasai from grazing near the Gusii-Maasai border. Also, the colonial administration positioned police posts along the Gusii-Maasai border. This helped to prevent potential criminals from the community against committing crimes against members of the other ethnic community. While it is true that the colonial administration promoted peaceful coexistence among the Maasai and the Gusii, it also promoted conflicts among them. For instance, Maasai attacks were mainly driven by severe droughts. When the Maasai lost most of their livestock to droughts, they engaged in cattle stealing as a form of recovering their lost

livelihoods. While this was a historical practice of the Maasai, the colonial government accelerated it. Most of the lands which the Maasai used as their dry-season grazing and watering areas were taken away from the Maasai. Thus, when droughts came, they had nowhere else to graze and water their animals and most of their livestock died due to drought. It did for this reason that the Maasai resorted to invading Gusii lands and even stealing their livestock as a survival mechanism.

Also, the commercialization of livestock made it a lucrative business. Traditionally, the Maasai and the Gusii kept livestock for domestic and cultural use. The establishment of colonial rule in Kenya commoditized livestock. People would sell livestock to pay taxes and pay other bills. The increased demand for money during the colonial period contributed to people valuing livestock for commercial purposes and for personal enrichment. Driven by greed for money, people started stealing livestock and this crime, as common as it became, pitted one community against the other.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of the study

Human beings relate with one another in their everyday struggles. This relation involves cooperation, tolerance, disagreements which are later on resolved and leads to latent peace. The term “coexistence” refers to the conditions that serve as the key fundamentals for the development of more sophisticated and harmonious intergroup interactions (Bar-Tal, 2004). It refers to the recognition of the right of the other group to coexist peacefully with its differences and to the acceptance of the other group as a legitimate and equal partner with whom disagreements must be resolved in ways that do not involve violence. It also refers to the acceptance of the other group as a legitimate and equal partner with whom disagreements must be resolved in ways that do not involve violence. According to Weiner (1998), the term "coexistence" refers to the state of existing in conjunction with, concurrently with, at the same time as, and in the same location as another.

Guided by the concept of societal coexistence, the study focused on studying the nature of interethnic coexistence among the Abagusi and the Maasai in Trans-mara area. Trans-mara boundary is a cosmopolitan region comprising of many communities. Trans Mara District was an administrative district in the former Rift Valley Province of Kenya. Its capital town was Kilgoris. The district had a population of 170,591 (1999 census) and an area of 2,846 km². It was created in 1994, when Trans Mara District was split from Narok District. The district had only one local authority, Trans Mara county council. Kilgoris Constituency was the only constituency of the district. Under the 2010 Constitution of Kenya and the new devolved form of government, the Trans Mara area was merged into Narok County. It continues as the Kilgoris Constituency electorally and administratively. Its name refers to the territory "across the Mara River" from the perspective of the rest of Narok County. The term "Trans Mara" is still used to refer to the geographical area.

The first objective introduces the two cultural groups. This backdrop is essential to understanding the two societies' core interactions. Geographically, the Maasai and

Gusii lived in different natural zones that supported different economic activity. The Maasai established permanent communities and gathered large herds of sheep in Narok due to its good conditions for nomadic pastoralism. In contrast, the Gusii settled in the Highlands because of its ideal climate for farming. Thus, the Maasai and Gusii created independent industries. Everyone knew the Maasai had animals and the Gusii had crops. What the Maasai and Gusii produced or failed to generate for consumption determined their economic interactions. The Gusii, who lived in a more agriculturally-favorable ecological zone, grew cereals the Maasai did not. After the Maasai obtained these grains, the Gusii could trade for animals.

The Maasai and Gusii lived peacefully due to basic integrative forces and the people's ability to invent new communal living and peaceful cohabitation practices. No elaborate and costly political procedures separated ethnic groups, therefore there was no sense of isolation. Economics and social interactions bolstered this. The institutions were well-established to meet community needs, yet tensions and animosity persisted. Another lesson is that ethnic groups evolved good conflict avoidance and peace management processes to reduce community tensions. The political, cultural, and economic factors characterized the interaction between the groups in the pre-colonial period. The general fragmentation of the population into villages and neighborhoods, clans and families, offered social and mental conditions that were probably conducive to interethnic coexistence.

The second objective examined how colonialism influenced the Gusii and Maasai co-existence. The two groups initially accepted colonial authorities after colonial conquest. Enthroning colonial chiefs and their aids (African police, council of elders, native tribunals/courts) followed pacification in constructing colonial administrative institutions. Law and order were built into these organizations to persuade locals to support colonial ambitions. They had to promote law and order, report to the District Commissioner, and seek outside help for community crime. Colonialism improved on the Maasai-Gusii relationship by banning traditional practices that inter-ethnic conflict. Gusii and Maasai communities clashed over cow thefts, therefore the former prohibited cattle camps (ebisirate). Maasai customs, such as cattle rustling were also restricted or abandoned. Prohibiting this custom improved ties between the nearby Maasai and Gusii.

Community boundaries prevented unrestricted movement, which led to conflicts. For example, the Maasai often clashed with the Gusii because they crossed large areas in search of grazing pastures and water. Most communities had chiefs or police officials monitoring their borders to avoid invasions. However, there were not enough police personnel in each location to prevent populations from expanding. As the colonial administration brought police and military troops, the Gusii and Maasai young boys lost their security or defense function. Young men' role in protecting their community and stealing animals from other groups reduced. Modern police were better prepared and trained to handle security issues than ancient warriors. Gusii and Maasai have amicable relations since the modern police and military safeguarded their groups from community conflicts whereas the warriors and morans defended their own groups. Reuniting stolen animals with their owners improved Gusii-Maasai ties.

The third objective examined the impact of World War II and the process of decolonization on the coexistence between the Gusii and Maasai communities across borders. The investigation revealed that the war resulted in the emergence of a security vacuum within the colonial government. A group of Maasai individuals engaged in exploiting vulnerability in the security measures of the Gusii community, resulting in the unlawful acquisition of livestock. The Gusii community had experienced a decline in their defensive capabilities against the Maasai at the onset of the Second World War. This phenomenon occurred due to the significant enlistment of Gusii males in the colonial military and various other public agencies. Furthermore, a significant number of individuals belonging to the Gusii ethnic group transitioned from cattle rearing to engaging in agricultural practices. The institutions responsible for safeguarding their traditional cattle-based economy experienced a decline in their effectiveness.

The colonial authority played a role in mediating conflicts between the Maasai and Gusii communities, which posed a threat to their harmonious cohabitation. The individuals within this group consisted of chiefs, police officers, and subordinates. The District Commissioners of the districts inhabited by the Maasai and Gusii communities, namely South Kavirondo/Kisii district and Narok district, maintained regular communication with incidents of cattle theft and homicides occurring along the border. The prompt and effective manner in which they attended to these concerns facilitated the

restoration of order. Chiefs additionally applied influence and coercion over their subordinates. Specifically, leaders convened public gatherings known as "barazas" in order to exercise authority against individuals who violated the law.

Seeking to assess how interethnic conflicts are resolved in Transmara border area, the findings revealed that community members engage in negotiations, reconciliation, participation in social groups and sporting activities and advocacy for peace. External actors who aid in conflict resolution include the government, NGOs, CBOs and religious organizations. However, it was noted that the government efforts in conflict resolution is limited. Thus for effective conflict resolution to be achieved, the respondents felt that peace campaigns for peaceful coexistence should be strengthened, there is need to address the root causes of conflict and there is need for political socialization and dialogue.

5.2 Conclusion From the study findings

The study established that the Maasai lived in locations optimal for a livestock economy, whereas the Gusii lived in places optimal for a crop economy. Due to their mutual dependence on agriculture and animals, the Gusii and Maasai societies were inextricably linked. During the colonial era, barter commerce between the two communities was possible. However, trading links between the Maasai and the Gusii never developed into other realms of relations, such as marriage, due to conflictual relations that stemmed from livestock robberies. This research confirms previous findings that the Gusii and Maasai did not have a particularly harmonious relationship prior to colonization.

Conflicts between the Gusii and Maasai were common before the colonial era, but this research shows that they lessened throughout that time. Reasons for this decline are provided in this paper. Colonialism was initially formed in Kenya with the explicit goal of taking advantage of the country's abundant natural and human resources. Harmony was essential for the success of exploitation. Men spend a disproportionate amount of time battling and protecting their communities from danger. By recruiting, training, and employing police and an army, the colonial authority eliminated the need for such a system. It was crucial to have African males take part in the exploitative process. Peace was essential so that people could get out of bed and tend to their crops or travel to

Europe in quest of paid job. As we saw in Chapter 3, the installation of colonial control in Kenya contributed to the development of amicable cross- border contacts between the Maasai and the Gusii while also encouraging hostility between the two groups.

Interethnic coexistence if well harmonized is a good strategy for promoting a sense of sustainable nationhood in Kenya. Basing the findings to Emile Durkheim's structural functionalism perspective, no part of society can function properly in isolation of the other societal parts and this explains why different ethnic groups coexist in a given locality. However, achieving equitable coexistence is difficult because it is constrained by factors like struggle over scarce national resources including power, land, cattle and ideological differences.

Interethnic conflicts are always manifested externally to people by its consequences than through its real causes which are always hidden, thus the findings were clear that it is important to pay attention to the root causes of conflict than to its symptoms. Fourth, diplomatic mechanisms for conflict resolution are seen to yield better results and leads to lasting peace. The use of force in conflict resolution only leads to short-term peace and restored calmness but the conflict is still latent and hidden within the individual multiplying and later on explodes to a huger conflict. Thus when the root causes of conflict are dealt with and the parties to the conflict come into consensus, the chances of repeated incidents are unlikely to be witnessed.

5.3 Recommendations Based on the findings of the study

The following recommendations were highlighted and were categorized sequentially from the community perspective to the government, Non-Governmental Organizations and finally areas of further research.

The Community:

- i. The community members can mobilize their natural resources including land and expertise and engage in economic activities like commercial farming and sell the produce to further support other developmental projects within the community.
- ii. Similarly, the community members should actively participate in developmental programs that foster peace and unity. For instance, sports which should be regularly organized to unite the community members fostering positive competition among the group members and also act as a learning process for the

participants to learn about other cultures.

- iii. Women worldwide have been witnessed to experience the vast effects of conflict, thus conflict resolution and peace-building initiatives should include gender perspective and to be precise a significant role of women in meaningful management of conflict.

The government:

- i. The government on the other hand should intensify its role in conflict resolution and management operations and this can be done through popular participation, equality in distribution of resources and to a very limited extent use of force to curb insecurity.
- ii. The government should introduce inter-cultural centers in this village and promote local tourism.
- iii. Education is of outmost importance, thus education system should be reformed and ensure that there are national education units that address relevant issues of interethnic coexistence with the efforts to eradicate stereotypes, prejudice and negative attributions.
- iii. To foster equitable coexistence, structural methods including policies aimed at reducing inequalities should be put in place.

The Non-Governmental Organizations:

- i. The Non-Governmental Organizations on the other hand should commit themselves on community sensitization and campaign for peaceful coexistence. This they can do by mobilizing public resources and using affiliation groups as a channel for development and peace.
- ii. Similarly, NGOs can fund vocational trainings to empower the youths in the villages who are idle and use their idle state to engage in immoral activities, which eventually leads to conflicts and chaos in the society.

Further Research

Harmonious coexistence can be used as a strategy in poverty eradication efforts. Traditionally, different ethnic groups have values and engage in different activities for survival. Not all ethnic groups engage in similar activities. Thus if all these values and activities are amalgamated, then development can be achieved within the region with practice of cultural pluralism.

REFERENCES

- Aberi, G. E. (2009): Influence of gendered linguistic images of girl education: A case study of southern Kisii District. Master of Arts Research project submitted to English and Linguistic Department, Egerton University.
- Abraham, M.F. (1982). *Modern Sociological Theory*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Abdullahi, D. (1998). *Failed states: When Governance goes wrong!* London: Horn Heritage.
- Abuso, P. (1980). *A traditional history of the Abakuria CDA 1400- 1914*. Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau.
- Achebe, C. (1975). *Morning Yet on Creation Day*. London: Heinemann.
- Ackermann, A. (2000). *Making Peace Prevail: Preventing Violent Conflict in Macedonia*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- Adan, M., and Pkalya, R. (2004). Indigenous Democracy, Traditional Conflict Resolution Mechanisms-Pokot, Turkana, Samburu and Marakwet. Intermediate Technology Development Group, Eastern Africa.
- Adorno, T.W. et al., (1950). *The Authoritarian Personality*. New York: Harper.
- Ahmed, A. (1992). *Postmodernism and Islam*. New York: Routledge.
- Alesina, A., Baqir, R., and Easterly, W. (1999). Public Goods and Ethnic Divisions. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 114 (4), 1243-1284.
- Alessandro, T. (1996). "United and Divided: Boorana and Gabaro among the Macha Oromo in Western Ethiopia". In Baxter, P.T.W., Hultin, J., and Alessandro, T. (Eds.), *Being and Becoming Oromo*. Lawrenceville, NJ: The Red Sea Press: 251-264.
- An Evaluation of International Alert, Fantoft-Bergen, Norway: Christian Michelsen
- Hugh Miall Conflict Transformation: A Multi-Dimensional Task 19 © Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management Institute, 79-112.
- Anderson, D. M. (1995). *Maasai: The People of Cattle*. San Francisco: Chronicle books.
- Apollos, M. (2010). *Armed Conflict and the Law*. Nakuru: The Center for Conflict Resolution.
- Arrous, B. (1996). *Beyond Territoriality: A Geography of Africa from Below*. Dakar: Codesria.
- Aseka, E. M. (1994). 'Implications of Democracy in A Multi-Ethnic Society', Paper presented at a Conference in a Nairobi Hotel. (1997b). 'Re-conceptualizing the Political Economy of Ethnicity in Africa', Lecture two of the Think Piece Lecture Series presented at the CODESRIA Governance Institute in Dakar. (1997a). 'Pre-modern Modernists and Postmodernists in Africa', A Manuscript prepared to be published in the CODESRIA Monograph series.
- Asiwaju, A.I. (1985). *Partitioned Africans: Ethnic Relations across Africa's International Boundaries*. London: C. Hurst.
- Assefa, H. (1996). "Peace and Reconciliation as a Paradigm: A Philosophy of Peace and its Implication for Conflict, Governance and Economic Growth in Africa" (ed.).

- Assefa, H. (1996). Ethnic Conflicts in the Horn of Africa: Myth and Reality. In Rupesinghe K. and Tishkov V.A (Eds), *Ethnicity and Power in the Contemporary World*. Tokyo:United Nation University Press.
- Asselin, H., and Wachira, G. Peacemaking and Democratization in Africa. Nairobi, and Kampala: East African Educational Publishers.
- Atieno-Odhiambo, E. S., and Lonsdale, J. (2003). *Mau Mau and Nationhood: Arms, Authority and Narration*. Ohio: Ohio University Press.
- Auclair, C. (2005). Charting a Framework for Sustainable Urban Centres in Africa. *UN Chronicle Online Edition*, United Nations, New York.
- Avugma, A. (2000). Tribalism, Colonialism and Capitalism. The socialist Standard. Retrieved from <http://www.feedback@worldsocialism>.
- Ayuka, M.N. (2018) "Gender and the changing funeral and burial practices among the Gusii people of Kenya", *International Journal of recent Research in Interdisciplinary Sciences* 5, no. 4: 8-15.
- Azam, J. P. (2001). The Redistributive state and conflicts in Africa. *Journal of Peace Research*, 38 (4), 429-444.
- Azar, E., and Burton, J. W. (1986). *International Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner and Wheetshaeaf.
- Barasa, K. (1997) The impact of past and potential ethnic conflicts on Kenya's stability and development. A paper prepared for the USAID Conference on Conflict resolution in the Greater Horn of Africa June, 1997.
- Baechler, G. (1998). Why environmental transformation causes violence: A synthesis. Environmental change and security project report, Issue 4, pp. 24-44.
- Bates, D. (2003). "The Second World War, 1939-1945. Modern Africa: A Social and Political History (1944):61-65.
- Barasa, K. (1997). The impact of past and potential ethnic conflicts on Kenya's stability and development. University of Nairobi.
- Bentsen, C. (1989). *Maasai Days*, Newyork: Double day.
- Berman, B., and Lonsdale, J. (1979). 'Coping with the contradictions: The Development of the Colonial State in Kenya, 1894-1914,' *Journal of African History*
- Bercovitch, J. (1996). *Resolving International Conflicts: The Theory and Practice of Mediation*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Bloomfield, D., and Reilly, B. (1998). 'The Changing Nature of Conflict and Conflict Management'. In Peter Harris and Ben Reilly (eds.), op. cit.
- Bisin, A., and Verdier, T. (2010). The Economics of Cultural Transmission and Socialization. In: Steve, T (ed.), *Ethnicity, Conflicts and Consensus in Ghana*. Accra: Woeli Publishing Services. ????
- Bogonko, S. N. (1992). *A history of modern education in Kenya (1895-1991)*. Nairobi, Kenya:Evans Brothers Ltd.
- Bogonko, S. N. (1996). "Grazing grounds and Gusii indigenous education", *Education in Eastern Africa, Vol. 6, 2, 176, P. 191-206*.
- Bonta, B. D. (1996). *Conflict Resolution among Peaceful Societies: The Culture of*

- Peacefulness. *Journal of Peace Research* (33), 403–420. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0022343396033004003>
- Bonta, B. D. (1997). Cooperation and Competition in Peaceful Societies. *Psychological Bulletin* 121(2), 299–320. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.121.2.299>
- Bush, K. D., and Salatarelli, D. (2000). *The two faces of education in ethnic conflict: towards a peacebuilding education for children*, Florence: UNICEF.
- Branch, D. (2011). *Kenya between Hope and Despair, 1963-2011*. New Haven: Yale University Press, ISBN 978 – 0-300-14876 -3.
- Campbell, D.J., and Gichohi, H. (1998). *Maasai people Traditions and Culture*. Nairobi.
- Chavulimo, J.A. (2019) Implications of Inter-ethnic conflicts on economic growth in Kenya: A case study of Nyando, Muhoroni and Tinderet sub-counties. Ph.D. Dissertation, Kisii University.
- Chua, A. (2003). *World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability*. New York: Doubleday.
- Cochrane, F., and Dunn, S. (2002). *People Power: The Role of the Voluntary and Community Sector in the Northern Ireland Conflict*. Cork: Cork University Press.
- Collier, P. (2001). “Ethnic Diversity: An Economic Analysis of Its Implication” *Economic Policy*, 32, 129–66.
- Collier, Paul. and Lal. (1986). *Deepak Labor and Poverty in Kenya, 1900-1980*. Oxford University Press.
- Colson, E. (1953). Social Control and Vengeance in Plateau Tonga Society. *Africa* (23), 199–212.
- Collier, P., and Cunning, J.W. (1999). Explaining African Economic Performance. *Journal of Economic Literature*. Vol. XXXVII, 64-111.
- Collier, Paul, Anke Hoeffler, and Mans Soderbom. 2001. —On the Duration of Civil War. *Policy Research Working Paper 2681*, World Bank, Washington, DC.
- Court, D., and Dharam, G. (1974). *Education, Society, and Development: New Perspectives from Kenya*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press.
- Comaroff, J., and Comaroff, J. (2009). *Ethnicity*. Illinois, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Comaroff, J. L., & Roberts, S. (1986). *Rules and Processes: The Cultural Logic of Dispute in an African Context*. Illinois, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cordell, K., and Wolff, S. (2009). *Ethnic Conflict: Causes, Consequences and Responses*. Cambridge: Malden Polity.
- Court, D., and Kabiru, K. (1980). “Development Policy and Educational Opportunity: The Experience of Kenya and Tanzania”. University of Nairobi Institute of Development Studies Occasional Paper #33.
- Court, D. (1984). “The Education System as a Response to Inequality,” In Joel D. Barkan (Ed), *Politics and Public Policy in Kenya and Tanzania*. (Revised Edition), Praeger: New York.
- Curle, A. (1971). *Making Peace*. London: Tavistock.

- Curle, A. (1987). *In the middle: non-official mediation in violent situations*. New York: Berg.
- Daily Nation, 11th, 29th & 31st March 1992. Daily Nation, 14th May, 1993.
- Daily Nation, 23rd May, 1993. Daily Nation, 19th June, 1993. Daily Nation, 24th September, 1996.
- Decalo, S. (1998). *The stable Minority: Civilian Rule in Africa, 1960-1990*. Gainesville: Florida Academic Press.
- Dentan, K. R. (2001). Ambivalences in Child Training by the Semai of Peninsular Malaysia and other Peoples. *Crossroads: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 15(1), 89–129. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/40860773>
- District Commissioner (1978). Kisii District Annual Report, 1978. Kisii Town: Narok: District Commissioner's Office.
- District Commissioner (1981). Narok District Annual Report, 1981. Narok Town: District Commissioner's Office.
- District Commissioner (1983). Narok District Annual Report, 1983. Narok Town: Narok: District Commissioner's Office.
- District Commissioner (1984). Narok District Annual Report, 1984. Narok Town: Narok: District Commissioner's Office.
- Dion, D., and Huber, D.H. (1997). Sense and Sensibility: The role of rules. *American Journal of Political Science*, 41 (3), 945-957.
- Dualeh, H. A. (1994). *From Barre to Aideed*. Nairobi: Stellagraphics Ltd.
- Dreyton, S. (1995). Demystifying Tribalism: Identity, Politics and Conflict in Modern Africa. Bulletin No. 1. Dakar: CODESRIA.
- Easterly, W. (1998). *The Quest for Growth*. World Bank.
- Easterly, W., and Levine, R. (2001). What have we learned from a Decade of Empirical East African Protectorate (1913) *Ordinances and Regulations Vol. XV*, January 1st-December 31st 1913. Nairobi: Government Printer, pp. 11-12
- Elbadawi, E., and Sambanis, N. (2000). Why are there so many civil wars in Africa? Understanding and Preventing Violent Conflict. *Journal of African Economics*, 9(3). 244-269.
- European Platform for Conflict Prevention. (1999a). *Searching for Peace in Africa: An Overview of Conflict Prevention and Management Activities*. Utrecht: European Centre for Conflict Prevention.
- European Platform for Conflict Prevention. (1999b). *People Building Peace*, Utrecht: European Centre for Conflict Prevention. *Research on Growth? It's Not Factor Accumulation: Stylized Facts and Growth Models. The World Bank Economic Review*, 15 (2).
- Epokhorr, K. S. (1999). *A framework for cross-cultural conflict resolution theory: Prospects for Cultural Contributions from Africa*. Richardson Institute, Lancaster University: Unpublished thesis.
- Esese, D. P. L. (1994). 'Democracy in Multi-Ethnic Society: The Kenyan Situation'. Paper Presented at a Conference in a Nairobi Hotel.

- Fabbro, D. (1978). Peaceful Societies. An Introduction. *Journal of Peace Research* 15(1), 67– 83. DOI: [http:// dx.doi.org/10.1177/002234337801500106](http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/002234337801500106)
- Fearon, J., and David, L. (1996). “Explaining Interethnic Cooperation”. *American Political Science Review*, 90(4), 715-735.
- Fearon, J., and David, L. (2000). “Violence and Social Construction of Ethnic Identity.” *International Organization*, 54(4), 845-877.
- Fernea, R. (2004). Putting a Stone in the Middle: The Nubians of Northern Africa: In K. Graham, and P. F. Douglas (Eds.) *Keeping the Peace: Conflict Resolution and Peaceful Societies around the World*. New York: Routledge (pp. 105–121).
- Fisher, R., and Keashly, L. (1991). The potential complementarity of mediation and consultation within a contingency model of third-party intervention.“ *Journal of PeaceResearch*, Vol 28, No. 1, 29-42.
- Fitzduff, M. (1999). ‘Changing History-Peace-building in Northern Ireland.’ In European Centre for Conflict Prevention, *People Building Peace*. Utrecht: European Centre for Conflict Prevention.
- Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), 1993.
- Foran, Robert W. (1962): *The Kenya police*. London: Robert Hale
- Fosbrook, H.A. (1948), —An Administrative Survey of the Maasai Social System. Tanganyika notes and records: Tanzania.
- Gachanga, T. (2012). Kenya: ethnic agendas and patronage impede the formation of a coherent Kenyan identity. *At Issue E-Zine*, 14(4).
- Grandin, B. (1991), Maasai Herding Colony: An analysis of the livestock production system of Maasai pastoralists in Eastern Kajiado district, Kenya. Addis Ababa, int ‘l livestockcenter for livestock.
- Glasl, F. 1982. ‘The Process of Conflict Escalation and Roles of Third-parties’. In G. B. Bomers and R.B. Peterson (Eds.), *Conflict Management and Industrial Relations*, Boston, The Hague. London: Kluwer Nijhoff.
- Gluckman, M. (1956). *Custom and Conflict in Africa*. Basil Blackwell: Oxford.
- Göhlen, R. (1990). Fraternal Interest Groups and Violent Conflict Management: A Socio- Structural Hypothesis. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (115), 45–55.
- Gould, R. (1999). Collective violence and group solidarity: Evidence from a feuding society. *American Sociological Review*, 64, 356-80.
- Government of Kenya (1965) Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 on African Socialism and its Application to planning in Kenya. Nairobi: Government Printer.
- Government of Kenya, 1965. Narok District Annual Report, 1965. Narok: District Commissioners’ Office
- Government of Kenya, 1966. Narok District Annual Report, 1965. Narok: District Commissioners ‘Office
- Government of Kenya, 1970. Narok District Annual Report, 1965. Narok: District Commissioners’ Office
- Government of Kenya (2006). Dr Di National Policy for the sustainable development of arid and semi-arid lands of Kenya.
- Günther, S. (2001). *Regularity in Chaos: The Politics of Difference in Recent History*

- of Somalia. Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale: Working Paper No. 18.
- Günther, S. (2002). *Imagined Differences: Hatred and the construction of Identity*. Münster: Lit Verlag.
- Günther, S. (2002). "Approaches to 'Identity' and 'hatred': Some Somali and other perspectives". In: Günther, S (Ed.), *Imagined Differences: Hatred and the Construction of Identity*. Münster: Lit Verlag: 3-32.
- Hashim, I. H. M., Mohd-Zaharu, N., and Khodarahimi, S. (2012). "Factors predicting inter- ethnic friendship at the work place". *Interpersonal* 6(2):191-199.
- Hay, M.J. (1975). "Local Trade and Ethnicity in Western Kenya." *African Economic History Review*, 2, 7-11.
- Hazlewood, A. (1979). *The economy of Kenya: the Kenyatta era*. Oxford University Press, USA.
- Held, D., McGrew, A.G., Goldblatt, D., & Perraton, J. (1999). *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Hellen, O. M. (2016). *Cross Border Conflicts Between the Kipsigis And Abagusii of Kenya, 1963-2002* (Doctoral dissertation, KENYATTA UNIVERSITY).
- Homewood, K., & Rodgers, W. A. (1991). *Maasailand ecology: Pastoralist development and wildlife conservation in Ngorongoro, Tanzania*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Hugh Miall Conflict Transformation: A Multi-Dimensional Task 20 © Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management. Human Rights Watch, Africa Watch (1993). *Divide and Rule: State Sponsored Ethnic Violence in Kenya*. New York: HRW. Hughes, L. (2002) *Moving the Maasai: A colonial misadventure*, A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of doctor of philosophy in the Faculty of Modern History, Trinity College, University of Oxford.
- Human Rights Watch (2002). Available at: www.hrw.org/reports/2002/kenya2/Kenya202-02.htm
- Ihonvbere, J. O. (1994). "Beyond Warlords and Clans: The African Crisis and the Somali Situation". *International Third World Studies Journal and Review*, Vol. 6.
- Illife, J. (1979). *A Modern History of Tanganyika*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Isichei, E. (1997). *A History of African Societies to 1870*. London: Cambridge University Press. Pp.582. ISBN 978-521-45599-2.
- International Alert. (1996). *Resource Pack for Conflict Transformation*. London: InternationalAlert.
- Jabri, V. (1996). *Discourses on Violence: Conflict Analysis Reconsidered*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Jacobs, A.H. (1965). *Pastoral Maasai*. Oxford: London
- Jonyo, F. (2002). *Ethnicity in Multiparty Electoral Politics*. In Chweya, L. (Ed), *Electoral Politics in Kenya*. Nairobi: Claripress.
- Kakai, P.W. (1997). *The Northern Luyia Anti-Colonial Resistance: The Lumboka-*

- Chetambewar”.
- Kakai, P. W. (2000). History of Inter-ethnic relations in Bungoma, Mt Elgon and Trans Nzoia Districts, 1875-1997. Ph.d Thesis. Kenyatta University.
- Kamungi, P. M. (2001). The current situation of internally displaced persons in Kenya. Jesuit refugee services Report.
- Kang, E. G. (1976). Conflicting Loyalties Theory: A Cross Cultural Test. *Ethnology* 15(2), 201–210.
- Kangoi, P.M. (1974). A history of the Tigania of Meru to about 1908. B.A.Dissertation, Nairobi. University of Nairobi.
- Kanyinga, K. (1998). Struggles of Access to Land. The Squatter Question in Coastal Kenya. Copenhagen: Center for Development Studies.
- Kanyinga, K. (2000). “The Changing Development Space in Kenya”. In Gibbon, P. (Ed), *Market Civil Society and Democracy in Kenya*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Re-distribution from Above, The Politics of Land Rights and Squatting in Coastal Kenya. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrika institutet.
- Kenya’s Unfinished Business’. Human Rights Watch. Available at: www.hrw.org/reports/2002/kenya2/Kenya202-02.htm
- Kariuki, S. (2004). ‘Can Negotiated Land Reforms Deliver? The Case of Kenya, South Africa and Zimbabwe’. *South African Journal of International Affairs* 11(2), 170
- Kaufman, S. (2001). Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Keith, A. N. (1994). Changing doctoral degrees: an international perspective. *Society for Research into Higher Education*, p.8.
- Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR) and Kenya Land Alliance (KLA). (2006) ‘Unjust Enrichment: The making of Land-Grabbing Millionaires’. Living Large Series 2(1) Available at: www.hrw.org/en/node/62465/section/6
- Kenyanjui, S. S. S. (1992:118) European Settler Agriculture, in W.R. Ochieng’ and R. M. Maxon (eds) *An Economic History of Kenya*, Nairobi: East African Publishers Ltd. P.111-129
- Kerlinger, N . F. (1964). *Foundation of Behavioral Research*: New York: Holt and Winston Inc. Khapoya, V. (2013). African Nationalism and Struggle for Freedom: The African experience. Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge MA 02140 (617) 441-5400.
- Kiliku Report (1992). The Parliamentary Select Committee to investigate ethnic clashes in Western and other parts of Kenya.
- Kimani, K. (2009). Healing the Wound: Personal Narrative about the 2007 Post Election Violence. Twaweza Communications: Nairobi.
- Kimenyi, P. M., and Ndung’u. Sporadic Ethnic Violence: Why Kenya has not Experienced a Full Blown Civil War. *Inter Regional Economic Network (IREN)*. University Printers Press.

- Kipury, N. (1983). *Oral Literature of the Maasai*: Heinmann Educational Books; Nairobi.
- Kisaka, Michael O. and Nyadera, I. Nyaburi. (2019). "Ethnicity and Politics in Kenya's Turbulent Path to Democracy and Development," *Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları Dergisi/Journal of Social Policy Conferences*, 76: 159–180.
- Kisii District Development Plan 1974-1978
- Kisii County Integrated Development Plan, (2013-2017). Retrieved from <https://africaopendata.org/dataset/2013-2017-kisii-county-integrated-development>
- Kivasis, S.J. (1953) *Maisha ya Sameni ole Kivasis yaani Justin Lemenye*, Kampala, Dar esSalaam & Nairobi: The Eagle Press.
- Kothari, C. R. (2003). *Research Methodology, Methods and Techniques (2nd Ed)*. New Dehli:Wishwa Prakashan Publishers.
- Kulet, H.R. (1972). *To Become a Man [A Novel]*, Nairobi: Longman Kenya Ltd.
- Kuria, K, G. (1993). "Majimboism and Ethnic Clashes in Kenya Today". *The Nairobi LawMonthly*, May.
- Kurspahic, K. (1994). "Bosnia's Beacon of Hope". *Journal of Democracy*, January, Washington: John Hopkins University Press. Washington.
- Lake, D., and Rothchild, D. (1996). Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of EthnicConflict. *International Security*, 21 (2), 41-75.
- Lederach, J. P. (1997). *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Lee, J., and Bean, F. D. (2004). America's changing color lines: immigration, race/ethnicity, and multiracial identification. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30, 221-242.
- Leonard, David K. (1991) *African Successes: Four Public Managers of Kenyan rural Development*. Berkely: University of California Press. California.
- LeVine, Robert A and LeVine, Barbara B. (1966): *Nyansiongo: A Gusii community in Kenya*. New York: Wiley.
- LeVine, Robert A. (1966). "*Sex roles and economic change in Africa*" Vol.5
- Levine, R. A. (1996). *Child care and culture: lessons from Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press.
- LeVine, Robert A. (1959). Gusii sex offences: "A study in social control", in Lieberman, B. (ed.) *Human Sexual behaviors* ; John Wiley and sons Inc. 336-357. Also in *AmericanAnthropologist*, 1959, 61(6): 965-990.
- Lewis, A (1961). *Pastoral Democracy*. London: James Curry.
- Lonsdale, J., & Berman, B. (1979). Coping with the contradictions: The development of the colonial state in Kenya, 1895-1914. *Journal of African History* 20: 487-505.
- Lonsdale, J. (1992). "The Politics of Conquest in Western Kenya: 1894 – 1908". In Berman, B. and Lonsdale, J. (Eds) *Unhappy Valley*. Nairobi: Heinemann Kenya.
- Lonsdale, J. (1992). *The moral economy of Mau Mau: Wealth, poverty & civic virtue*

- in Kikuyu political thought. In B. Berman & J. Lonsdale (Eds), *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya & Africa*. Books ONE & TWO, PP. 315-504. London: James Currey.
- Low, D.A. and Smith, A. (1976): *History of East Africa. Vol.3*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Lowilla, L, J, E. (1998). 'The Role of Sudanese Women in Conflict Prevention and Resolution'(Presented at the 9th CODESRIA General Assembly held in Dakar between December 13th and 20th 1998).
- Lorentzen, P., McMillan, J., and Wacziarg, R. (2008). Death and Development. *Journal of Economic Growth, Springer, 13 (2), 81-124*.
- Lunyiigo, L, S. (1985). *The Colonial Roots of Internal Conflict Resolution in Uganda*. International Peace Research Institute, Oslo.
- Maloba, W. (1989). "Nationalism and Decolonization: 1947 – 1963". In Ochieng' W.R. (Ed) *A Modern History of Kenya*. Nairobi: Evans Brothers Kenya Ltd.
- Manundu, M. (1994). "Resource Ownership and use in Multi-Ethnic Society: The Case of Kenya" Paper Presented at a Conference in a Nairobi Hotel.
- Maranga, J. O. (2018). Evolution of Colonial Law and Order among the Gusii (1902-1963). A Masters Thesis, Department of History, Religion and Philosophy, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology.
- Masaka, O.W.; Ratemo D.M.; and Ongaga E. (2017) Effects of Interethnic Conflicts on Rural People's Livelihoods in Kenya - Case of Kenyena and Rongo Sub-Counties in the Lake Victoria Basin. *Arts Social Science Journal 8: 1-6*.
- Mauro, P. (1995). Corruption and Growth. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics, 110 (3), 681-712*.
- Mayer, Phillip. (1949): "The lineage principle in Gusii Society"; *Memo. 24 of international African Institute*; London and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mayer, Phillip. (1950). "Gusii bride wealth law and custom", Rhodes-Livingstone paper No. 18. London: Oxford University Press.
- Maximova, S. G. et al., (2016). The methodology of diagnostics of inter-ethnic relations and ethnic social processes, *International Journal of Environmental and Science Education, 11(11):4885-4893*.
- Maximova, S. G., Avdeeva, G. S., & Maximov, M. B. (2013). Migration Processes and Socioeconomic Security of Border Regions of Russia. *Herald of the Altai State Agrarian University, 11, 123–127*.
- Maxon, R. (1992) "The establishment of the colonial economy" In W.R. Ochieng' and R.M. Maxon (eds) *An Economic History of Kenya*. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, p. 63-74.
- Maxon, Robert M. (1989) *Conflict and Accommodation in Western Kenya: the Gusii and the British*. Rutherford: Failegh Dickson University Press
- Mazrui, A. A. (1969) *The imperial Fragmentation: The legacy of Ethnic and Racial Conflict*. Denver: University of Denver.
- Mazrui, A., & Tidy, M. (1969a). *Nationalism and the New States*. Nairobi: Heinemann.
- Mazrui, A. A. et al., (1993). "Nation-Building and Changing Political

- Structure”. In Mazrui A.A. and Wandj C. (Eds) *General History of Africa Vol. VII. California: UNESCO*.
- Mazrui, A.A. (2000). “Globalization: Africa's Stake in New Scramble”. Sunday Nation January.
- McOnyango, O. (1995). "The Jews, The Gentiles, and The Grudge". UNESCO seminar paper, 28 - 31, May.
- Menyi, E.M. (2009) The Impact of Inter-ethnic Conflicts on Women’s participation in Livelihoods activities: A case study of Molo, Nakuru District. M.A. Thesis submitted to the Department of Sociology and Social Work, University of Nairobi.
- Melson, R. and Wolpe, H. (1970). Modernization and the Politics of Communalism. A Theoretical Perspective. *American Political Science Review*, 64 (4)
- Miall, H., Ramsbotham, O., and Wodhouse, T. (1999). *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Miguel, E., and Gugerty, M. K. (2002). “Ethnic Diversity, Social Sanctions, and Public Goods in Kenya,”. Unpublished manuscript, University of California at Berkeley.
- Mirzayev, S. (2007). The Conflicting Theories of Ethnic Conflict: The Case of Nagorno Karabakh, M.A Thesis. Central European University: Nationalism Studies Program.
- Montalvo, J.G., and Reynal-Querol, M. (2002). Why ethnic fractionalization? Polarization, ethnic conflict and growth. Economic Working Papers, Department of Economics and Business, Universitat Pompeu Fabra.
- Montalvo, J. G., & Reynal-Querol, M. (2005). Ethnic diversity and economic development: *Journal of Development economics*, 76(2), 293-323.
- Moraa, N.S. (2019) Assessment of the effects of ethnic conflict on access and participation of children in primary education in Nakuru, Kenya. M.A. Thesis, Kenyatta University.
- Morner, S. (2006) The Maasai- Changes in livelihood after land loss. Thesis submitted to the Sordertorn University College
- Moss, N. C. (2015) ,The dilemma of councillors’: The history of local government in Kenya, C. 1945-2010, Unpublished thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Department of History, Durham University.
- Mutua, M (2008). *Kenya’s Quest for Democracy: Taming the Leviathan*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishing.
- Mkutu, K. (2008). *Pastoralism and Conflict in the Horn of Africa*. United Kingdom: University of Bradford.
- Mugenda, O., and Mugenda, A. (2003). Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches. Nairobi: African Center for technology Studies.
- Mulu, F. K. (2008). The role of Regional organizations in conflict management: IGAD and the Sudanese Civil War. Catholic University of Eastern Africa, Nairobi, pp: 3-28.
- Murunga, G. R. (1998). "The Evolution of Mumias Settlement into an Urban Centre to C.

- 1940', M.A. Thesis, History Department, Kenyatta University.
- Mworia, L., and Ndiku, J. (2012). Inter-ethnic Conflict in Kenya: A case of Tharaka-Tigania Conflict: Causes, Effects and Intervention Strategies. *Journal of Research in Peace, Gender and Development*, 2 (7).?
- Nagel, J. (1974). Inequality and Discontent: A Nonlinear Hypothesis. *World Politics* 26(July):453-472.
- Nagel, J., and Olzak, S. (1982). Ethnic mobilization in new and old states: An extension of the competition. *Social Problems* 30 (2), 127-143.
- Nagel, T. (1991). *Equality and Partiality*. New York: Oxford University Press. ISBN 9780195174373.
- National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK). (1993). 'The Role of Kenyan Churches in Democratization'. Paper presented at a conference on the Christian Churches and Africa's Democratisation, Leeds.
- Ndagala, D. K. (1992). Territory, pastoralists, and livestock: Resource control among the Kisongo Maasai. Uppsala, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksell International
- Ndege, G. O. (1992) "History of pastoralism in Kenya, 1895-1980", In W.R. Ochieng' and R.M. Maxon (eds) *An Economic History of Kenya*. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, p. 93-110
- Ndege, P. O. (2009). Colonialism and its Legacies, Lecture delivered during Fullbright-Hays Group project abroad program: July 5th to August 6th 2009 at the Moi University, Main Campus.
- Ndegwa, S. (1997). "Citizenship and Ethnicity: An Examination of Two Transition Moments in Kenyan Politics." *American Political Science Review* 91(3), 599-616.
- Ndung'u, P. (2006). 'Tackling Land Related Corruption in Kenya'. Available at: siteresources.worldbank.org/RPDLPROGRAM/Resources/459596-1161903702549/S2_Ndungu.pdf
- Nhat Hanh, T. (1987). *Being Peace*. Berkeley, CA: Parallax Press.
- Njiru B.N. (2012). Climate Change, Resource Competition, and Conflict amongst Pastoral Communities in Kenya. In Scheffran J., Brzoska M., Brauch H., Link P., Schilling J. (eds) *Climate Change, Human Security and Violent Conflict. Hexagon Series on Human and Environmental Security and Peace, vol 8*. Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg
- Nnoli. O. (1998). *Ethnic Conflicts in Africa*. Nottingham: Codesria.
- Nyamwaka, E. (2011). Creative Arts and Cultural Dynamism: A Study of Music and Dance among the Abagusii of Kenya, 1904-2002. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Kenyatta University, Nairobi, Kenya.
- Nyanchoka, J. (1984). The Law of Succession Act and Gusii Customary Law of Inheritance. MA Thesis. University of Nairobi.
- Nyasani, Joseph. (1984): "*The British massacre of the Gusii freedom defenders*"; Nairobi Bookmen.
- Nyong'o P. A. (1987). *Popular Struggles for Democracy in Africa*. London: Zed-books.
- Nyukuri, B.K. (1995). *Ethnicity, Nationalism and Democracy in Africa: The Dilemma*

- of Sustainability. A paper read at a UNESCO Seminar.
- Nyukuri, B.K. (1997). *The Impact of Past and Potential Ethnic Conflicts on Kenyans: Stability and Development*. A Paper presented at the USAID Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Greater Horn of Africa.
- Nyunya, J. (2001). "Reports by National Experts: Kenya. Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution: Capacity Assessment Study for the IGAD Sub-Region." Leeds: University of Leeds, Centre for Development Studies.
- Nzomo, M. (2002). *Gender, Governance and Conflicts in Africa*. Dakar, Senegal.
- Nzongola, N., and Lee, M. (1997). *The State and Democracy in Africa*. Harare: AAPSH.
- Ochieng', W. R. (1974). *A Pre-colonial History of the Gusii of Western Kenya; C.A.D. 1500 to 1914*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.
- Ochieng', W.R. (1975). *An Outline History of the Rift Valley*. Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau.
- Ochieng, W. (1975). *The first Word: Essays on Kenya History*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.
- Ochieng', W. R. (1992) "European Mercantilism and Imperialism in Kenya before Colonial Rule", In W.R. Ochieng' and R.M. Maxon (eds) *An Economic History of Kenya*. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, p. 49-74.;
- Odak, O. 1990: The Kuria ethnology. In Khayota et al. (Eds.), *The Kuria of western Kenya*. Nairobi: Kenya Archaeological and Ethnographic Research Agency.
- Odak, O. (1995). Inter-ethnic relations in Bantu-Nilotic ethnic boundaries of western Kenya *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 120, (2), 227-240.
- Odinga, O. (1967). *Not yet Uhuru*. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.
- Odongo, W. O. (2011). 'William Odongo Omamo: Man with elephantine humor'.| *Kenya Year-book*". Kenyayearbook.co.ke.Retrieved 9 February 2016.
- Ogendo, O. (1999). *The Land Question in Kenya: Critical Issues on the Eve of the 21st Century*. Nairobi: DFID, East Africa.
- Ogot, B.A. (1972). *War and society in Africa: Ten studies*. London: Frank Cass Publishing House.
- Ogot, B.A. (1996). *Ethnicity, Nationalism and Democracy: A kind of Historiography*. In Ogot, B.A. (Ed.) *Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Democracy in Africa*. Maseno Institute of Research and Postgraduate Studies.
- Ogot, B. A. (2000). "Boundary Changes and the Invention of "Tribes". In Ogot, B. A. and Ochieng, W. R. (Eds.), *Kenya: The Making of a Nation*. Maseno: Institute of Research and Postgraduate Studies (pp 16-31).
- Ojwang,' J.B., and Mugambi, J. N. K. (1989). *The S.M. Otiemo Case: Death and Burial in Modern Kenya*. Nairobi: University of Nairobi Press.
- Okoth, P. G. (2005). *Africa at the Beginning of the 21st Century*. Nairobi: Nairobi University Press.
- Okulu, L. L. (1974). *Church and Politics in Africa*. Nairobi: Uzima Press.
- Oloo, A. (2010). Marginalization and the Rise of Militia Groups in Kenya: Mungiki and Saboat Land Defense Forces. In Okumu, W., and Ikelegbe, P.S, (Eds), *Militias*,

- Rebels and Islamist Militants: Human Security and State Crisis in Kenya. Tshwane, Institute of Security Studies.
- Omwoyo, S. M. (1992). The Colonial Transformation of Gusii Agriculture. A thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts of Kenyatta University.
- Omwoyo, S. M. (1997). Gender, Women and Agricultural production among the Abagusii C. 1875- 1963. *The Eastern Africa Journal of Historical and Social Sciences Research* Vol1 no 2.
- Omwoyo, S. (2008) Assessing the impact of coffee production on Abagusii women in Western Kenya: A Historical Analysis (1900-1963). In *Journal of gender, science and technology: perspectives from Africa*.
- Onduru, T.A. (2009) Economic change in South Nyanza, Kenya, 1880-1945. Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of Witwatersrand.
- Orodho, J.A. (2009). *Elements of Education and Social Science Research Methods (2nd Ed.)*, Maseno: Kanezja Publisher, Kenya.
- Ortner, S.B. and Whitehead, S.B. (1981) *Sexual meanings: The cultural construction of gender and sexuality*. University of Chicago press.
- Osaghae, E. (1994). *Ethnicity and its Management in Africa: The Democratic Link*. Lagos: Malthouse Press Limited.
- Osaghae, E. H. (1994). "Ethnicity in Africa or African Ethnicity?: The search for a contextual understanding". In: Himmelstrand, Ulf; Kinyanjui, Kabiru and Mburugu, Edward (eds.). *African Perspectives on Development*, Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers: 137-151.
- Osamba, J. (2000). The Sociology of Insecurity, cattle rustling and banditry in Northwest Kenya. *Africa Journal on Conflict Resolution*. ?
- Osamba, J. (2001). Violence and the dynamics of transition: state, ethnicity and governance in Kenya. *Africa Development* 26: 1-2. 41.
- Otunnu, O. (2002). A Special Comment: Children and Security Disarmament Forum. United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research: Geneva
- Ozgen, Z. (2015). Maintaining ethnic boundaries in "non-ethnic" contexts: constructivist theory and the sexual reproduction of diversity. *Theory and Society*, 44, (1), 33-64.
- Padilla, A.M., and R.A. Ruiz. (1974). Latino Mental Health: a Review of the Literature. National Institute of Mental Health, Rockville, Md. 1974.
- Parkipuny, M.S. (1975). Maasai Predicament Beyond Pastoralism, Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam.
- Parsons, T. 2011. "Local responses to the Ethnic Geography of Colonialism in the Gusii Highlands of British-Ruled Kenya", in *Ethnohistory* 58:3, pp. 491-523
- Partnership for Peace (2012). Strengthening the Capacities of Non-State Actors to Prevent and Resolve Conflicts in the Region Affected by Post-Election Violence in Kenya. Retrieved from <http://www.partnershipforpeace.eu>.
- Picciotto, R. (2010). 'Conflict Prevention and Development Co-Operation in Africa: An Introduction', in *Conflict, Security & Development*, vol.10, no.1. pp.1-25.

- Pfetsch, F., and Rohloff, C. (2000). *National and International Conflicts 1945-1995*. London:Raddcliffe-Brown. A. R. (1929). *Age Organization –Terminology*, Oxford: London
- Raju, B. M. (1973). Education in Kenya: Problems and perspectives in educational planning and administration. Nairobi, Kenya: Heinemann.
- Ramsbotham, O., and Woodhouse, T (1996). *Humanitarian Intervention in Contemporary Conflict*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Rapoport, A. (1989). *The Origins of Violence*. New York: Paragon House.
- Robarchek, C. J., & Robarchek, C. A. (1998). Reciprocities and Realities: World Views, Peacefulness, and Violence Among Semai and Waorani. *Aggressive Behavior* (24), 123–133.
- Rothchild, D. (1981). *Managing Ethnic Conflict in Africa*. Washington: Brookings Institutional Press.
- Rupesinghe, K. (1995). *Conflict Transformation*. London: Macmillan.
- Rutten, M. (2002). Parks Beyond Parks: Genuine Community Based Wildlife Eco-tourism or Just Another Loss of Land for Maasai Pastoralists in Kenya? London: IIED.
- Ryan, S. D. (1971). 'Civil Conflicts and External Involvement in Eastern Africa'. Kampala: Department of Political Science, Makerere University.
- Saberwal, S. (1970). The Traditional and Political Organization of the Embu of Central Kenya. Kampala: East Africa publishing House, 1970. Sainbull.
- Sambanis, N., and Shayo, M. (2013). Social Identification and Ethnic Conflict Author(s): Source: *The American Political Science Review*, 107, (2), 294-325.
- Sandbrook, R. (1985). *The Politics of African Economic Stagnation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schmid, A. (1997). Early Warning of Violent Conflicts. In A.Schmid (Ed.), *Violent Crime and Conflicts*. Milan: ISPAC (International Scientific and Professional Advisory Council of the UN Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme).
- Schraeder, P.J. (1993). 'US Intervention in the Horn of Africa amidst the End of the Cold War in Africa Today. *The Horn of Africa*, Vol.40 No.2 Quarter (Washington).
- Sharlamanov, K., and Jovanoski, A. (2013). “The ethnic relations in Macedonian Society measured through the concept of affective social distance”. *American International Journal of Social Science*, 2, (3), 33-39.
- Shepherd, G.W. (1966). National Integration and South Sudan. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 4 (2), 193-212.
- Sheriff, A. M. H. (1985). “Social Formations in Pre-colonial Kenya”. In Ogot, B.A. (Ed.) *Hadith 8: Kenya in the 19th Century*. Kisumu: Anyange Press (pp.1-31).
- Sibley, C. G. (2013). Social Dominance and Representations of the National Prototype: The Exclusionary Emphasis Hypothesis of National Character. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 37, (2), 212–224.

- Silberschmidt, M. (1999) Women forget that men are the masters: Gender Antagonism and socio-economic change in Kisii, District, Kenya. Stockholm: Elanders Gotab.
- Smith, A. (2000). Sustainable federal condition: ideology, Political practice and social Justice. In: Kymicka, W., and Norman, W (Eds.), *Federalism: The Multi Ethnic Challenge*. London: Longman.
- Soja, E. M. (1968). *The Geography of Modernization in Kenya*. New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Sokoine, E.M. (1981). 'Foreword' in Saibull, S. & Carr, R. Herd and Spear, London: Collins & Harvill Press.
- Spear, T. (1993). *Being Maasai Ethnicity and Identity in East Africa*, London: England.
- Spencer, P. (1990). *Time And The Boundaries Of The Economy in Maasai. Property, poverty and people: changing rights in property and problems of pastoral development*. Manchester University press. Manchester
- Suberu, R.T. (1993). "The Travails of Federalism in Nigeria". *Journal of Democracy*, Washington: John Hopkins University Press. ?
- Suliman, M. (1996). War in Darfur. In: Baechler, G., and Kurt, R (Eds.), Environmental Degradation as a cause of war. *Verlag Ruedger, Zurich, pp: 45-60*.
- Sundaram, J. K. (1988). Cultural Survival Quarterly Magazine, September, 1988. Sunday Nation, 30th November, 2018.
- USAID (2005). Conflict Early Warning and Mitigation of Resource Based Conflicts in the Horn of Africa. Conflict Baseline Report. Conducted in the Karamojong' cluster of Kenya and Uganda.
- Upesinghe, K. (1998). *Civil Wars, Civil Peace*. London: Pluto.
- Uzoigwe, G. N. (1995). "European Partition and Conquer of Africa: An overview: "UNESCO General History of Africa, 1995:39.
- Talbott, I. D. (1992) "African agriculture", in W.R. Ochieng' and R.M. Maxon (eds) *An Economic History of Kenya*. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, p. 75- 92.
- Talle, A. (1987). Women at a loss: Changes in Maasai pastoralism and their effects on genderrelations. Stockholm: Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology.
- Throup, D., & C Hornsby. (1998). Multiparty Politics in Kenya: The Kenyatta and Moi States and the Triumph of the System in the 1992 Election. Oxford: James Currey.
- Varshney, A. (2002). *Civic Life and Ethnic Conflict: Hindus and Muslims in India*. Yale: Yale University Press.
- Vayrynen, R. (1991). To Settle or to Transform? Perspectives on the Resolution of National and International Conflicts, New Directions in *Conflict Theory, Conflict Resolution and Conflict Transformation*. London: Sage, 1-25.
- Waki Report (2007). The Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence (CIPEV). Nairobi: Government Press. 1 20.

- Waller, D. R. (1984). Interaction and Identity on the Periphery: The Trans-Mara Maasai. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 17, (2), 243-284.
- Wamwere, K. (2008). *Towards genocide: The curse of negative ethnicity*. Nairobi: MvuleAfrica.
- Wangechi, N. L. (2013). Effects of armed ethnic conflict on education of children and the implication for peace education, a case study of Nakuru county, Kenya
- Wekesa, P.W. (2010). Old Issues and New Challenges: The Migingo Island Controversy and the Kenya-Uganda Borderland. *Journal of East African Studies*, 4(2), 331-340.
- Were, G.S. (1967). *Western Kenya historical texts*. Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau.
- Were, Gideon S. and David Nyamweya (ed.) (1986): Kisii District socio-cultural profile; Government of Kenya. Nairobi: Lengo Press.
- Wipper, A. (1977) *Rural rebel*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press.
- Yanamo, T., & Deininger, K. (2005). Land conflicts in Kenya: Causes, impacts, and resolutions: Foundation for Advanced Studies on International Development/National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies. *The World Bank*, 28.
- Yieke, F. (2011). Ethnicity and Development in Kenya: Lessons from the 2007 General Elections. *Kenya Studies Review*, 3(8).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: ARCHIVAL SOURCES

1. DP/18/13 Minutes of law panel meetings 1938-1961
2. DC/KSI/3/2 Histories and customs- political record book 1907-1924
3. KNA, ACW/27/16 Rift Valley Province Security and intelligence reports
4. KNA, ACW/27/42 Kisii District Intelligence Committee Minutes
5. KNA, ACW/27/86 Narok District Intelligence Committee Minutes
6. KNA, BN/81/114 Maasai Claims 1962-63
7. KNA, DP/33/3 Kisii District Annual Report 1963
8. KNA, DP/33/4 Kisii District Annual report 1964
9. KNA, DP/12/9 Kisii District Development Plan 1974-1978
10. KNA, KA/4/5 President's speeches 1963-1970 KNA, DP/1/100 Butende-Kuria-Maasainorth Mara border committee 1956-1961
11. KNA, DP/1/108 Movement of natives- Kikuyu, Lumbwa etc. 1954-1955
12. KNA, DP/1/13 Monthly reports by chiefs 1948-1949
13. KNA, DP/1/4 Border Committee Maasai- Kisii and reports 1961-1966
14. KNA, DP/1/97 Nyangusu- Maasai border Committee 1956-1964
15. KNA, DP/1/4 Border Committee Maasai- Kisii and reports 1961-1966
16. KNA, DP/1/4 Border Committee Maasai- Kisii and reports 1961-1966
17. KNA, DP/1/6 Provincial administration- monthly and quarterly reports of Kisii District 1956-69
18. KNA, DP/34/7 Administration: staff; chiefs and headmen, minutes of chiefs' meetings 1948-52
19. KNA, DP/18/13 Administration, Minutes of law panel meetings 1938-61
20. KNA, DP/18/14 Raids, Native Unrests and riots 1939-1948

21. KNA, DP/18/15 Law and Order, bruises of violence general, murders, death, post-mortem examinations 1945-1955
22. KNA, DP/23/4 Military, Anglo-Italian War, general correspondence, history of war 1942-1947
23. KNA, DP/1/6 Provincial administration- monthly and quarterly reports of Kisii District 1956-69
24. KNA, DP/27/3 Special Police Borders. Procedure to be followed on report of Kisii stocktheft. 10 February 1939-12 May 1945
25. KNA, DP/27/5 Special police Borders.

26. KNA, DP/27/5 Annual reports 1946-18 February 1950

27. KNA, DC/KSI/3/2 Histories and customs- political record book 1907-1924

28. KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru District Annual Report 1947

29. KNA, DC/KSI/1/2 South Kavirondo Administration annual report 1913-23

30. KNA, DC/KSI/1/3 South Kavirondo District Annual reports 1924-32

31. KNA, DC/KSI/1/5 South Nyanza District Annual report 1943

32. KNA, DC/KSI/1/16 South Nyanza District Annual report 1954
33. KNA, DC/KSI/1/1 Ugaya and South Kavirondo District Annual and quarterly reports 1907-08 and 1913-14
34. KNA: AWS/1/934, History of the railway Part III
35. KNA, DC/NRK/1/1/1 Narok District Annual Reports
36. KNA, MSS/10/98 The Motivational underpinnings of the British exploration of East Africa by A.T. Matson
37. KNA, MSS/10/5 Papers written by A.T. Matson.
38. KNA, DP/1/100 Butende-Kuria-Maasai north Mara border committee 1956-1961

39. KNA, DP/1/97 Nyangusu- Maasai border Committee 1956-1964

40. KNA, DP/12/9 Kisii District Development Plan 1974-1978

41. KNA, DP/18/13 Administration, Minutes of law panel meetings 1938-61

42. KNA, DP/18/14 Raids, Native Unrests and riots 1939-1948

43. KNA, KA/4/5 President's speeches 1963-1970

44. PC/RVP/11/1/4 Gusii Bride wealth law and custom 1950

APPENDIX 2: REFERENCES FROM PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

1. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), June 6th 1961
2. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), October 26th 1961
3. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), October 23rd 1962
4. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), July 2nd 1964
5. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), August 5th 1964
6. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), September 25th 1964
7. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), June 15th 1965
8. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), September 16th 1965
9. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), May 25th 1966
10. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), October 21st 1966
11. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), November 2nd 1966
12. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), March 6th 1970
13. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), March 13th 1970
14. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), May 27th 1970
15. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), September 25th 1970
16. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), July 13th 1971
17. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), November 26th 1971
18. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), April 5th 1972
19. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), April 17th 1973
20. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), September 12th 1973
21. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), December 7th 1973
22. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), May 23rd 1974

23. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), July 5th 1979
24. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), April 1st 1981
25. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), October 8th 1991
26. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), November 22nd 1995
27. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), May 16th 1996
28. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), August 20th 1997
29. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), August 27th 1997
30. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), October 9th 1997
31. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), April 29th 1998
32. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), December 6th 2000
33. Republic of Kenya- The National Assembly, Parliamentary debates (Hansard), June 6th 2001

APPENDIX 3: ORAL INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED

Abel Orembo (F) 65 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 27th November, 2021

Abel Ondieki (M) 70 Years Old of Bassi-Bogetaorio-Borabu Ward, Bomachoge Borabu SubCounty 28th September, 2021

Alice Nyaboke Robini (F) 63 Years Old of Masimba Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 4th November, 2021

Alice Kerubo Nyagechi (F) 77 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 12th November, 2021

Agnes Onsare (F) 60 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county, on date 22nd November, 2021

Albert Amanche (M) 45 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county, on date 21st November, 2021

Alfred Nyakot (M) 82 Years Old of Shankoe Ward, Trans Mara West Sub County interviewed on date O.I. 22nd December, 2021

Alfred Ombui Maeba (M) 50 Years Old of Village elder of Nyamasibi ward, Masaba South sub county interviewed on date 08th October, 2021

Alfred Ombui Maeba (M) 57 Years Old, Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South sub county interviewed on date 18th October, 2021.

Amos Mogoi Okong'o (M) 70 Years Old of Masimba Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 7th November, 2021

Andrew Bichang'a (M) 86 Years Old of Bassi-Bogetaorio Ward, Bomachoge Borabu SubCounty on date 18th October, 2021.

Asenath Anyieni (F) 50 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date on date 26th November, 2021

Beatrice Kwamboka (F) 62 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 7th December, 2021

Benjamin Abuga Getate (M) Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 14th December, 2021

Benjamin Lewamin (81 Years Old) of Kilgoris Central Ward, Trans Mara West Sub County interviewed on date 20th December, 2021

Benson Juma Mayaka (M) 60 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County

interviewed on date 6th December, 2021

Christopher Mose (M) 74 Years old of Nyamasibi ward, Masaba South sub county interviewed on date 7th October, 2021.

Charles Nyakundi (M) 69 Years Old of Nyachekei Ward, Nyamache sub county interviewed on date 12th December, 2021

Charles Kiage (M) 65 Years Old of Bassi-Bogetaorio-Borabu Ward, Bomachoge Borabu SubCounty 23rd September, 2021

Charles Momanyi Mose (M) 79 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 11th November, 2021

Clement Oigara (M) 79 Years Old of Bassi-Bogetaorio-Borabu Ward, Bomachoge Borabu SubCounty on date 19th October, 2021.

Cornelius Moenga (M) 58 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 4th December, 2021

Daniel Misati Masese (M) 82 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South sub county interviewed on date 29th November, 2021

Daniel Mogire (M) 67 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 21st December, 2021

Daniel Mwembi Onchoke (M) 71 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 9th December, 2021

Daudi Kapaio (M) 77 Years Old of Shankoe Ward, Trans Mara West Sub County interviewed on date 24th November, 2021

David Edward Nyarusa (M) 81 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South sub county interviewed on date 29th November, 2021

David Malindati (M) 75 Years Old of Kilgoris Central Ward, Trans Mara West sub county interviewed on date 10th December, 2021

David Otuoma (M) 56 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 20th September, 2021

David Ogega Nyagokana (M) 75 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 10th November, 2021

David Nyabuti Matoke (M) 78 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South sub county interviewed on date 1st December, 2021

David Motaroki Osumo (M) 76 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South sub county interviewed on date 2nd December, 2021

Dennis Nyagaka Onchera (M) 55 Years Old of Masimba Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 23rd November, 2021.

Dinah Kemunto (F) 58 Years Old of Bokimonge ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county, on date 17th November, 2021

Dominic Nyariki Kerosi (M) 65 Years Old of Masimba Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 5th November, 2021

Dorah Bosibori Onyancha (F) 58 Years Old of Masimba Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 2nd November, 2021

Edward Maoncha Bosire (M) 64 Years Old of Masimba Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 6th November, 2021

Edward Shankale (M), 65 Years Old of Kilgoris Central Ward, Trans Mara West sub county interviewed on date 15th October, 2021.

Elijah Makori (M) 50 Years Old of Village Elder, Nyachekei Ward, Nyamache sub county interviewed on date 12th October, 2021

Elijah Omae Ayieni (M) 60 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 2nd December, 2021

Elijah Okemwa (M) 62 Years Old of Nyachekei Ward, Nyamache sub county interviewed on date 20th November, 2021

Elizabeth Mong'are (F) 55 Years Old of Bokimonge ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 06th October, 2021

Elmeridah Kwamboka (F) 57 Years Old of Bassi-Bogetaorio-Borabu Ward, Bomachoge Borabu Sub County 27th September, 2021

Enoch Nyandika Oroko (M) 73 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 14th November, 2021

Esther Omwenga (F) 50 Years Old of Bokimonge ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 23rd December, 2021

Evans Makori Ondara (M) 65 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South sub county interviewed on date 25th December, 2021

Evans Moracha (M) 61 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 3rd December, 2021

Evans Ombui Obiero (M) 75 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 13th November, 2021

Evans Ongweso (M) 70 Years Old, Bokimonge ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 20th September, 2021

Evans Nyagaka (M) 58 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South sub county interviewed on date 13th October, 2021.

Evans Oichoe Tureti (M) 64 Years Old of Nyachekei Ward, Nyamache sub county interviewed on date 19th November, 2021

Evans Ombati Nyarango (M) 67 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South sub county interviewed on date 27th December, 2021

Evans Mochache (M) 73 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South sub county interviewed on date 30st December, 2021

Ezra Nyamari (M) 45 Years Old of Bokimonge ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 12th October, 2021

Florence Mokeira Omoi (F) 60 Years Old of Masimba Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 2nd November, 2021

Fred Mogusu (M) 48 Years Old of Bassi-Bogetaorio-Borabu Ward, Bomachoge Borabu Sub County on date 13th October, 2021.

Florence Nyaboke Mogaka (F) 63 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 3rd December, 2021

Francis Nyabicha Mochogi (M) 68 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South sub county interviewed on date 27th December, 2021

Gabriel Gichana Oyugi (M) 72 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 10th November, 2021

Geoffrey Oleum (M) 54 Years Old of Kilgoris Central Ward, Trans Mara West Sub County interviewed on date 17th December, 2021

Geoffrey Lenkome (M) 77 Years Old of Kilgoris Central Ward, Trans Mara West Sub County interviewed on date 16th December, 2021

Geofferey Omwenga (M) 55 Years Old of Bassi-Bogetaorio-Borabu Ward, Bomachoge Borabu Sub County 28th September, 2021

George Nyambane (M) 49 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county, on date 01st December, 2021

George Ongera Ochanda (M) 66 Years Old of Nyachekei Ward, Nyamache sub county interviewed on date 18th November, 2021

Gerald Itira Mecha (M) 65 Years Old of Nyachekei Ward, Nyamache Sub-County, interviewed on date 11th December, 2021.

Gerald Nyamongo Ndege, 64 Years Old of Bassi-Bogetaorio-Borabu Ward, Bomachoge Borabu Sub County, dated 18th October, 2021.

Gilbert O. Mose (M) 55 Years Old of Bokimonge ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 11th October, 2021

Gladys Mong'ina Bosire. (F) 48 Years Old, of Secretary at the office of the MCA of Nyamasibi ward, Masaba South sub county interviewed on date 08th October, 2021

Gladys Mayaka (56) Years Old of Bassi-Bogetaorio-Borabu Ward, Bomachoge Borabu Sub County 22rd September, 2021

Gladys Nyabonyi Guto (F) 59 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 4th December, 2021

2021 Grace Anyona (F) 45 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 29th November, 2021

Grace Kwamboka Omagwa (F) 75 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South sub county interviewed on date 31st December, 2021

Haron Onchiku (M) 76 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South sub county interviewed on date 28th November, 2021

Haron Ayuma (M) 82 Years Old of Nyachekei Ward, Nyamache sub county interviewed on date 09th October, 2021

Hellen Nyanchama (F) 60 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 03rd December, 2021

Henry Mogaka Nyakwara (M) 65 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 9th November, 2021

Henry Aroni Nyanamba (M) 69 Years Old of Nyachekei Ward, Nyamache sub county interviewed on date 17th November, 2021

Henry Matoke Kiyuka (M) 77 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South sub county interviewed on date 27th November, 2021

Hezron Omae (M) 71 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 24th November, 2021

Ibrahim Onditi (M) 76 Years old of Nyachekei Ward, Nyamache Sub County interviewed on date 24th December, 2021

Isaiah Morara Mwoma (M) 74 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 31st December, 2021

Jackson Mogire (M) 94 Years old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South Sub County

interviewed on date 09th October, 2021

Jackson Nyamasege (M) 59 Years Old of Masimba Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 1st November, 2021

Jairus Omwoyo Orori (M) 52 Years Old; Acting chief 1 of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 13th October, 2021

Jackson Kerore Anchinga (M) 62 Years Old of Masimba Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 4th November, 2021

James Kengere (M) 71 Years Old of Bassi-Bogetaorio-Borabu Ward, Bomachoge Borabu Sub County 23rd September, 2021

James Ongeri Mogoia (M) 69 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 9th November, 2021

Jane Bosibori Omwoyo (F) 74 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 14th November, 2021

Jane Ongiri (F) 63 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 15th December, 2021

Jason Maangi Ongera (M) 71 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 15th November, 2021

Jecinta Lesisa (M) 67 Years old of Shankoe Ward, Trans Mara West Sub County interviewed on date 17th December, 2021

Jeremiah Nyabuto Manyinsa (M) 67 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 12th December, 2021

Jeremiah Mangongo (M) 65 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 1st December, 2021

Jerusha Mogambi (F) 55 Years Old of Bassi-Bogetaorio-Borabu Ward, Bomachoge Borabu Sub County 26th September, 2021

Joash Mireri Nyandiri (M) 70 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South sub county interviewed on date 28th December, 2021

Job Momanyi (M) 63 Years Old of Bassi-Bogetaorio-Borabu Ward, Bomachoge Borabu Sub County 24th September, 2021

Joel Momanyi Maiko (M) 67 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 8th December, 2021

John Mogire Angwenyi (M) 68 Years Old of Nyachekei Ward, Nyamache sub county interviewed on date 17th November, 2021

John Moikoyo (M) 60 Years Old of Bassi-Bogetaorio-Borabu Ward, Bomachoge Borabu SubCounty 25th September ,

Josephine Monyangi (F) 58 Years Old of Bassi-Bogetaorio-Borabu Ward, Bomachoge BorabuSub County 22rd September, 2021

John Kengi (M) 70 Years Old of Nyachekei Ward, Nyamache Sub- County, interviewed ondate 10th December, 2021; 5th December, 2021

John Songoyo (M) 87 Years Old of Shankoe Ward, Trans Mara West Sub County interviewedon date 5th October, 2021.

Johnson Ombiro (65 Years Old) of Nyachekei Ward, Nyamache sub county interviewed on date18th December, 2021

Joseph Abuga (M) 54 Years Old of Bokimonge ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date20th November, 2021

Joseph Kipsha (M) 50 Years Old of Kilgoris Central Ward, Trans Mara West sub countyinterviewed on date 19th October, 2021.

Joseph Osamo Ongweti (M) 65 Years Old of Masimba Ward, Masaba South Sub Countyinterviewed on date 1st November, 2021

Joseph Omwenga Ogata (M) 61 Years Old of Nyachekei Ward, Nyamache sub county interviewed on date 22nd November, 2021

Joseph Bosire Senso (M) 80 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South sub countyinterviewed on date 30th November, 2021

Joseph Oteki Rioba (M) 77 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South sub county interviewed on date 1st December, 2021

Joseph Memusi Ole Pulei (M) 64 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub Countyinterviewed on date 13th December, 2021

Joseph Bitutu Mosoti (M) 67 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 20th December, 2021

Josephat Nyangeri (65) Years Old of Bassi-Bogetaorio-Borabu Ward, Bomachoge Borabu SubCounty, on date 28th, November, 2021

Julius Magati Ndege (M) 66 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South sub countyinterviewed on date 26th December, 2021

Julius Machogu Nyauma (M) 69 Years Old of Chief Geteri location of Gesusu ward, MasabaSouth sub county interviewed on date 07th October, 2021

Julius Mokaya Manyansa (M) 71 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South sub

countyinterviewed on date 26th November, 2021

Kepha Nyandieka (M) 54 Years Old of Magenche Ward,Bomachoge Borabu sub county, ondate 23rd November, 2021

Kepha Obegi (M) 55 Years Old of Bokimonge ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date24th December, 2021

Kkipasenwa Lemiso (M) 73 Years Old of Kilgoris Central Ward, Trans Mara West SubCounty interviewed on date 20th December, 2021

Lawrence Nyaanga Nyokwoyo (M) 59 Years Old of Masimba Ward, Masaba South SubCounty interviewed on date 3rd November, 2021

Lemashon Isaac (M) 80 Years Old of Kilgoris Central ward, Trans Mara West Sub-County,interviewed on date 12th December, 2021

Maranga Isoe (M) 89 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed ondate 8th December, 2021.

Meshack Ogechi (M) 75 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed ondate 18th December, 2021

Meshack Samoita (M) 60 Years Old of Shankoe Ward, Trans Mara West sub county interviewed on date 17th October, 2021.

Methusella Mogire (M) 72 Years Old of Nyacheki Ward, Nyamache Sub County interviewedon date 23rd December, 2021.

Michael Basweti Nyangate (M) 76 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub Countyinterviewed on date 2nd December, 2021

Milkah Nyanchoka Onsogo (F) 65 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South Sub Countyinterviewed on date 23rd December, 2021

Moipei Kakaney (M) 65 Years Old of Kilgoris Central Ward, Trans Mara West sub countyinterviewed on date 17th October, 2021.

Moraa Moegi (F) 71 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed ondate 29th December, 2021

Morang'a Misati Jared (M) 75 Years Old of Nyacheki Ward, Nyamache Sub County interviewed on date 8th December, 2021

Mose Sunguria Omwenga (M), 71 Years Old; Border Committee leader of Nyacheki ward,Nyamache sub county interviewed on date 12th October, 2021.

Nyabuti Tirisa (M) 79 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 30th November, 2021

Nyakundi Ombeka (M) 43 Years Old of Nyacheiki. Ward, Nyamache Sub County interviewed on date 09th October, 2021

Nyapeni Getonto (M) 74 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 14th October, 2021.

Nyaosi Pora Makori (M) 76 Years Old of Nyacheiki Ward, Nyamache Sub County interviewed on date 23rd November, 2021

Ogendi Peter Moindi (M) 66 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 18th December, 2021

Ondeyo K. Machani (M) 65 years old of Nyacheiki Ward, Nyamache Sub- County, interviewed on date 10th December, 2021.

Onkoba Nyabando (M) 60 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county, on date 26th November, 2021

Osiemo Chillion (M) 40 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on 13th December, 2021

Patroba Mariaria (M) 55 Years Old, Bokimonge ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 24th September, 2021

Pauline Nyatichi (F) 66 Years Old Nyacheiki Ward, Nyamache Sub County interviewed on date 20th Dec. 2021

Paul Machoka (M) 70 Years Old of Nyacheiki Ward, Nyamache Sub County interviewed on date 17th December, 2021

Peter Manani Onkoba (M) 65 Years Old of Nyacheiki Ward, Nyamache Sub County interviewed on date 19th November, 2021

Peter Martin Abere (M) 67 Years Old of Nyacheiki Ward, Nyamache Sub County interviewed on date 18th November, 2021

Penuel Nyagaka Timond (M) 48 Years Old; Assistant Chief of Gesusu ward, Masaba South sub county interviewed on date 13th October, 2021

Peter Ndege Nyambane (M) 65 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 19th December, 2021

Peter Nyaboke Okeri (M) 67 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 17th December, 2021

Peter J. Osongo (M) 65 Years Old of Masimba Ward, Masaba South Sub County

interviewed on date 28th December, 2021

Peter Mokaya (M) 70 Years Old of Bassi-Bogetaorio-Borabu Ward, Bomachoge Borabu Sub County 21st September, 2021

Philip Amboga Atima (M) 75 Years Old of Nyachekei Ward, Nyamache Sub County interviewed on date 23rd November, 2021

Phires Nyanchama (F) 60 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 02nd December, 2021

Rael Nyaboke (F) 65 Years Old of Bokimonge ward, Bomachoge Borabu Sub County on date 06th November, 2021

Rael Mongina Okenyoro (F) 70 Years Old of Nyachekei Ward, Nyamache Sub County interviewed on date 16th November, 2021

Rebecca Nyanchama (F) 57 Years Old of Bokimonge ward, Bomachoge Borabu Sub County on date 10th October, 2021

Richard Nduko (M) 55 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 28th November, 2021

Richard Atambo (M) 67 Years Old of Bassi-Bogetaorio-Borabu Ward, Bomachoge Borabu Sub County 21st September, 2021

Richard Onsinyo (M) 63 Years Old of Bassi-Bogetaorio-Borabu Ward, Bomachoge Borabu Sub County 25th September, 2021

Robert Omwenga (M) 60 Years Old, Bokimonge ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 20th September, 2021

Robert Chuma (M) 52 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county, on date 19th November, 2021

Robert Simiyu (M) 54 Years Old of Bassi-Bogetaorio-Borabu Ward, Bomachoge Borabu Sub County 28th September, 2021

Robert Sorobi Oberi (M) 75 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 28th November, 2021

Robert Basweti Mesa (M) 64 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 7th December, 2021

Ronald Onyancha Ogeto (M) 55 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 5th December, 2021

Ruth Nyamusi Miregwa (F) 67 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 24th December, 2021

Ruth Monyangi Ogembo (F) 66 Years Old of Masimba Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 7th November, 2021

Samson Amayo Mwaya (M) 60 Years Old of Nyachekei Ward, Nyamache Sub County interviewed on date 22nd November, 2021

Samwel Nyangoma Nyauma (M) 79 Years Old of Nyachekei Ward, Nyamache Sub County interviewed on date 23rd November, 2021

Samuel O. Magati. (M) 78 Years Old of Nyachekei Ward, Nyamache Sub County interviewed on date 22nd December, 2021

Samwel Aming'a (M) 66 Years Old, Bassi-Bogetaorio-Borabu Ward, Bomachoge Borabu Sub County, on date 28th, November, 2021

Samuel Jackson Maroro (M) 72 Years Old of Nyachekei Ward, Nyamache Sub County interviewed on date 25th November, 2021

Sarah Nagororom (F) 70 years Old of Kilgoris Central Ward, Trans Mara West Sub County interviewed on date 17th December, 2021

Sarah Bosire (F) 54 Years Old of Bassi-Bogetaorio-Borabu Ward, Bomachoge Borabu Sub County 27th September, 2021

Sarah Nyamoita Okerio (F) 65 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 16th December, 2021

Selina Ngoimo (F) 70 Years Old of Kilgoris Central Ward, Transmara West Sub County interviewed on date 10th December, 2021

Simon Kolseta (M) 77 Years Old of Kilgoris Central Ward, Trans Mara West Sub County interviewed on date 29th November, 2021.

Simon Sagwe (M) 85 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 09th October, 2021.

Simon Magutu Mabeta (M) 69 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 28th December, 2021

Solomon Kiyapi (M), 67 Years Old of Kilgoris Central Ward, Trans Mara West Sub County interviewed on date 19th October, 2021.

Stanley Ongiri Kagora (M) 66 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 11th December, 2021

Stephen Arisa (M) 60 Years Old of Masimba Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 3rd November, 2021

Stephen Nyakundi Otiso (M) 67 Years Old of Masimba Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 6th November, 2021

Stephen Nyangwono Asamba (M) 80 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu subcounty on date 11th November, 2021

Stephen Onserio Okirigiti (M) 74 Years Old of Nyacheki Ward, Nyamache Sub Countyinterviewed on date 24th November, 2021

Teresa Kemunto Nyabando (F) 66 Years Old of Masimba Ward, Masaba South Sub Countyinterviewed on date 5th November, 2021

Thomas Makori (M) 65 Years Old of Masimba Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewedon date 14th October, 2021.

Thomas Mose Atambo (M) 63 Years Old of Nyacheki Ward, Nyamache Sub County interviewed on date 20th November, 2021

Thomas Morekwa Mayaka (M) 63 Years Old of Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub Countyinterviewed on date 6th December, 2021

Tipaya Siptier (M) Years Old 70 Years Old of Shankoe Ward, Trans Mara West sub countyinterviewed on date 27th November, 2021

Veronica Kwamboka Nyaigoti (M) 66 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu subcounty on date 8th November, 2021

Vivian Naserian (F) 46 Years Old of Kilgoris Central Ward, Trans Mara West Sub Countyinterviewed on date 19th December, 2021

Walter Ondieki Onyangi (M) 67 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub countyon date 8th November, 2021

Wilfred Gichaba Mangera (M) 73 Years Old of Nyacheki Ward, Nyamache Sub Countyinterviewed on date 25th November, 2021

Wilson Kimsoi (M) 74 Years Old of Kilgoris Central Ward, Trans Mara West sub countyinterviewed on date 24th November, 2021.

Wycliff Kiyiapi (M) 70 Years Old of Kilgoris Central Ward, Trans Mara West sub countyinterviewed on date 15th October, 2021.

Yobentina Omwenga (F) 65 Years Old of Bokimonge ward, Bomachoge Borabu Sub Countyon date 21st September, 2021

Yobes Nyagaka Omwoyo (M) 65 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South Sub Countyinterviewed on date 22nd December, 2021

Yunes Nyabuti (F) 58 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date30th November, 2021

Zablon Osinde (M) 45 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu sub county on date 04th December, 2021

Zablon Mirieri Nyagwencha (M) 75 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu subcounty on date 12th November, 2021

Zachariah Jomo Kaunda (M) 72 Years Old of Nyamasibi Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 29th December, 2021

Zachary Omwoyo Obwogi (M) 72 Years Old of Magenche Ward, Bomachoge Borabu subcounty on date 15th November, 2021

Zephaniah Machuki (M) 48 Years Old of Village Elder, Nyachekei ward, Nyamache sub county interviewed on date 10th October, 2021

Zipporah Nyandoro (F) 60 Years Old of Bassi-Bogetaorio-Borabu Ward, Bomachoge Borabu Sub County 29th September, 2021

APPENDIX 4: INFORMATION ON FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

FGD 1: Conducted in Gesusu and Kilgoris Central Wards (Border Committee Officials), interviewed on 7th October, 2021.

1. Maranga Isoe 95 Years Old (Gesusu Ward)
2. Maranga Nyakweba 87 Years Old (Gesusu Ward)
3. Daudi Kapario 75 Years Old (Kilgoris Central Ward)
4. Daniel Marindati 80 Years Old (Kilgoris Central Ward)
5. Ole Nakeni 90 Years Old (Kilgoris Central Ward)
6. John Songoyo 88 Years Old (Kilgoris Central Ward)
7. Hezekiah Getanda 76 Years Old (Gesusu Ward)
8. Wilson Monari 85 Years Old (Gesusu Ward)
9. Josiah Nyaosi Nyamiaka 84 Years Old (Gesusu Ward)

FGDs 2: Conducted on Kilgoris Central Ward, Trans Mara West Sub County interviewed on date 16th October, 2021.

1. John Letaya Bormongi (M) (61 Years Old)
2. Edward Ayiswa parugui (M) (63 Years Old)
3. Olekoti koiseta (M) (62 Years Old)
4. Gideon poromongi (M) (63 Years Old)
5. Rollex Lekakeny (M) (60 Years Old)
6. James Lakakeny Sirayo (M) (63 Years Old)
7. John Songoyo (M) (64 Years Old)

FGD. 3: Conducted in Gesusu Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on 17th October, 2021.

1. Dennis N. Onchera 55 Years Old
2. Isaac Tamaa (54 Years Old)
3. Morang'a Ondieki (53 Years Old)
4. Gesabwa Suga (52 Years Old)
5. Jairus O. Orori (52 Years Old)
6. Penuel N. Timondo (54 Years Old)
7. Julius M. Nyauma (55 Years Old)
8. Japheth Onkundi 56 Years Old

FGDs 4: Conducted in Shankoe Ward, Trans Mara West Sub County interviewed on date 17th October, 2021.

1. Dominic Oleyeye (45 Years Old)
2. Daniel Ngaminene (44 Years Old)
3. Peter Ngairi (45 Years Old)
4. Joseph Turiaki (47 Years Old)
5. Edward Kiyapi (46 Years Old)
6. Benson Olekibaba (46 Years Old)
7. Brian Kipsha (45 Years Old)

FGDs 5: Conducted in Masimba Ward, Masaba South Sub County interviewed on date 24th October, 2021.

1. Oseko Mochorwa (73 Years Old)
2. Austine Mochache (74 Years Old)
3. Wilson Nyakundi (73 years Old)
4. Josphat Onwong'a Mose (75 Years Old)
5. Timothy Maranga Mochorwa (74 Years Old)
6. Samwel Onwong'a (76 Years Old)
7. Ibrahim Mayieko (74 Years Old)
8. Evans Nyang'au (75 Years Old)

FGD 6: Conducted in Bokimonge Ward, Bomachoge Borabu Sub County on date 30th October, 2021

1. Florence Mokeira Omoi (55 Years Old)
2. Jerusha Mogambi (55 Years Old)
3. Sarah Bosire (57 Years Old)
4. Elmeridah Kwamboka (56 Years Old)
5. Zipporah Ondieki (57 Years Old)
6. Nyanchama OGikenyi (58 Years Old)
7. Yobensia Omwenga (57 Years Old)

FGDs 7: Magenche Ward, (Border Committee Officials), Bomachoge Borabu Sub County on date 3rd November, 2021.

1. Jared Nyaundi. 56 Years Old
2. Evans Ondieki. (57 Years Old)
3. Hezron Nyakwega (54 Years Old)
4. Gideon Maranga (52 Years Old)
5. James Anyona Mokuia (53 Years Old)
6. Ben Moraro (55 Years Old)
7. Reuben Nyanchoka-village elder (56 Years Old)
8. Johnson Orange –Community police (57 Years Old)
9. Rose Nyariki-Ass.Chief (57 Years Old)
10. Johnson Orange—Assistant chief (56 Years Old)

FGDs 8: Conducted in Nyachekei Ward (Pastors of Interdenominational Transmaraborderline Churches), Nyamache Sub County interviewed on date 8th November, 2021.

1. Rev. Evans Mirera -Riomoro P.A.G Church
2. Rev. Samwel Kamanda- Naikuru P.A.G Church
3. Rev. Evans Aboki- Baringo P.A.G Church
4. Rev. Nehemiah Masara- Nyamakorobo Friends Church
5. Rev. Isaac Oanda- Nyabiosi P.A.G Church

6. Rev. Ronald Moracha- Geteri P.A.G Church
7. Rev. George Ombwori- Riagetenga P.A.G Church
8. Rev. Samwel Momanyi- Getengereiri P.A.G Church

FGDs 9. Conducted in Magenche, Bokimonge and Bassi Bogetaorio, (for the Primaryschools headteachers); Interviewed on date 30th November, 2021.

1. Mr. Fred Ombaso- Nyangusu Primary School (Basi Bogetaorio)
2. Mr. Japhet Oganda- Mokomoni Primary School (Bokimonge Ward)
3. Mrs. Judy Nyabwari-Nyamecheo Primary School (Magenche Ward)
4. Mr. Julius Nyagaka- Nyangeti Primary School (Bokimonge Ward)
5. Mr. Onchieku Kengere- Borangi Primary School (Bokimonge Ward)
6. Mr. Shadrack Maraga- Endereti Primary School (Bokimonge Ward)
7. Mr. Kennedy Isaboke - Riyabu Primary School (Bokimonge Ward)
8. Mr. Fredrich Haggai -Kiango Primary School (Bokimonge Ward)
9. Mrs. Asenath Momanyi- Bendere Primary School (Basi Bogetaorio)
10. Mr. Jomo Ombui- Rioganda Primary School (Basi Bogetaorio)

APPENDIX 5: LIST OF PARTICIPANTS IN KEY INTERVIEWS

TARGETED POPULATION	NUMBER
County Commissioners	2
Sub-County Commissioners	4
Member of County Assemblies	9
Chiefs	10
Sub-Chiefs	10
Non-Governmental Organizations	2
Religious leaders	60
Households	398
Principals	21
Headteachers	29
Community Policing Officials	9
TOTAL	554

APPENDIX 6: RESPONDENTS INTERVIEWED PER WARD

No.	Wards	Registered voters	Sample Size	Respondents Interviewed
1.	Bokimonge	15,618	51	34
2.	Basi-Bogetaorio	14,860	49	30
3.	Nyachekei	14, 297	47	42
4.	Gesusu	12,242	40	35
5.	Masimba	12,057	40	29
6.	Nyamasibi	10,111	33	28
7.	Kilgoris Central	15,894	52	22
8.	Shankoe	11,004	36	13
9.	Magenche	15,105	50	44
	TOTAL	121,118	398	277

APPENDIX 7: TOOLS USED FOR DATA COLLECTION

Section A: Nature of co-existence between the Abagusii and Maasai in the Pre-colonial period.

Good Morning/Afternoon! I am Mr Jackson Ondong’a Maranga, a PhD student at Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology. I am conducting a historical study on inter-ethnic co-existence: a case study of Maasai and Abagusii of Transmara border from 1895 to 1963. You have been randomly selected to participate in this research. I would like to ask you some questions on social, economic and political issues. The interview will take about thirty minutes. Your answers will remain strictly confidential and they will be used only for research purposes on aggregate.

Do I have your consent to continue with the interview? -----

BIODATA

- 1. Name of the respondent-----
- 2. Age.....
- 3. Location of residence.....
- 4. Date of the Interview.....
- 5. Main occupation/position of the respondent
- 6. Ethnic group of the respondent-----
- 7. Gender.....

General Information

What are the economic activities in Trans-Mara border in the pre-colonial period?

What do you attribute to problems above

Problem	Cause

How did the communities perceive each other during the pre-colonial period?.....

Explain your answer above.....

Of the two groups in the area, which group had the worst relations in the pre-colonial period?

.....
.....

Did cultural practices affect relations between communities in the area.....

Which activities brought the communities together.....

What are the consequences of negative ethnicity in the region.....

Section B: Impact of the establishment of colonial rule on inter-ethnic co- existence between the Maasai and Abagusii before the outbreak of the Second World War (1895-1939)

GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Describe the nature of Gusii-Maasai co-existence during the establishment of colonial rule in Kenya

.....
.....
.....

2. Explain whether colonial rule contributed to the Gusii-Maasai co-existence or not and how.....

.....
.....

3. Did the Establishment of the colonial rule in Kenya check against confrontational relations of warfare between the two communities and how did this happen?

4. Upon establishing colonial rule among the Gusii and the Maasai, the colonial government embarked upon improving relations between the various Gusii clans as well as between the Gusii and their neighboring ethnic communities who included the Maasai, the Kipsigis and the Luo. Do you agree, if yes, explain how this happened.....

.....
.....

5. Explain the impact of early colonial institution of governance on Gusii- Maasai ethnic co-existence.....

.....

The early chiefs were given a lot of powers, in line with the government policy govern the people. Did these chiefly powers impact in any way on how the two communities related to each other?

6. By the beginning of the Second World War, chiefs, headmen and council of elders dealt with civil disobedience but rarely criminal cases. Do you agree, if yes explain.

7. Did the chiefs and headmen have other tasks of promoting co-existence between the Maasai and the Abagusii?

8. What role did the police and special reserve have on the co-existence of the two communities?

9. Describe the various measures which were introduced to deal with cases of cattle thefts that threatened harmonious co-existence between the Maasai and the Gusii during this period

10. How were cattle theft cases handled by the two communities during the colonial period?

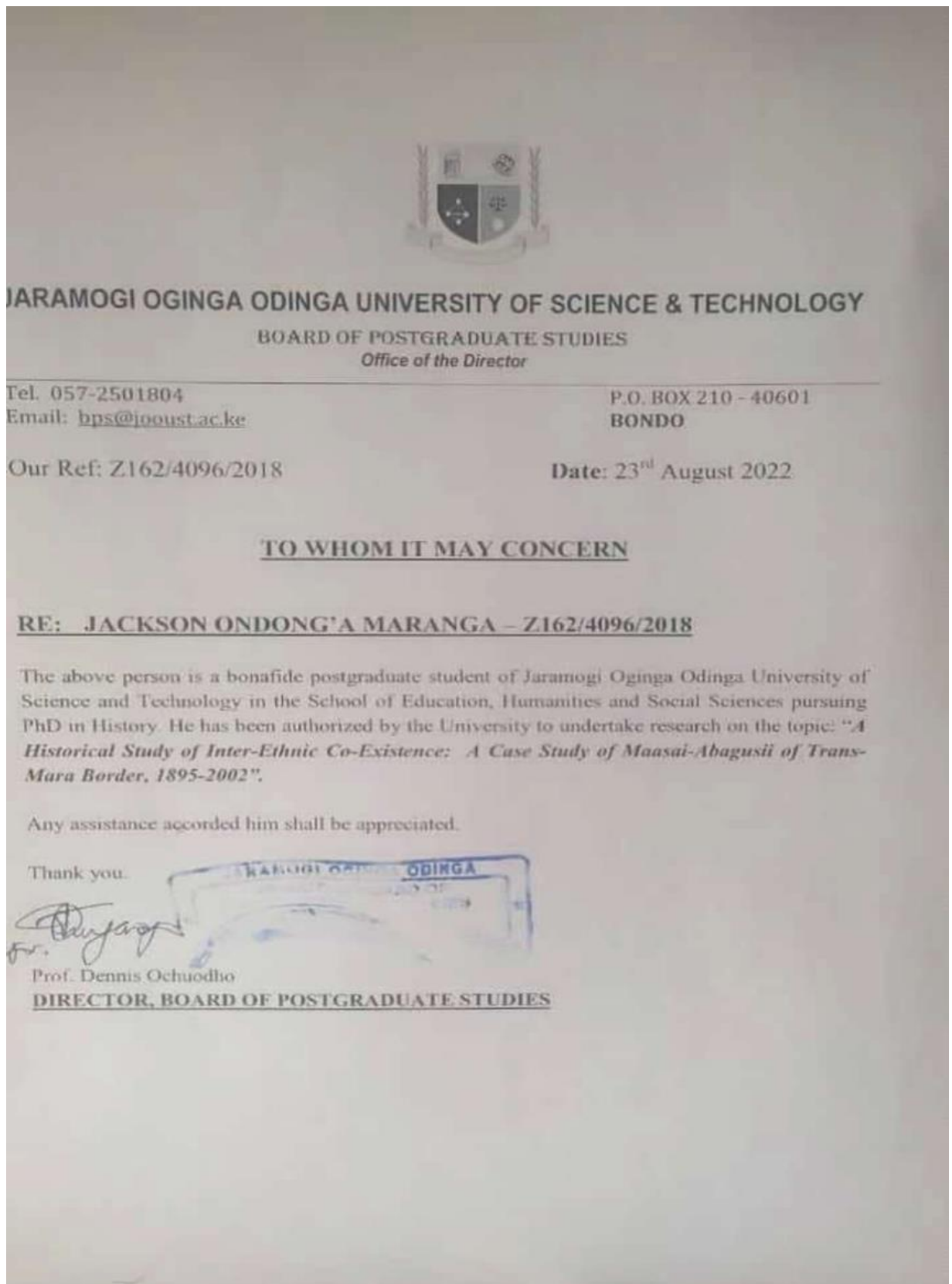
11. Throughout the establishment of colonial rule among the Maasai and the Gusii, the problem of cattle thefts among these two communities continued to be culturally sanctioned and practiced. Do you agree with this statement? How did this practice of cattle theft affect the harmonious co-existence between the Maasai and the Abagusii of Transmara border during this period?

12. How did the various taxation laws impact on Gusii-Maasai relations during the establishment of colonial rule among the Gusii and the Maasai?

13. Did the colonial taxation laws affect the young in relation to cattle theft practice

and the general inter-ethnic co-existence between the two communities?

APPENDIX 8: LETTER FROM THE UNIVERSITY



APPENDIX 9: RESEARCH PERMIT

 REPUBLIC OF KENYA	 NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION
Ref No: 391407	Date of Issue: 22/Nov/2022
RESEARCH LICENSE	
	
This is to Certify that Mr. Jackson Ondonga Maranga of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology, has been licensed to conduct research on the topic: A Historical Study of Inter Ethnic Co-existence: A Case Study of Maasai – Abagusii of Trans-Mara Boarder from 1895-2002.	
License No: NACOSTI/P/20/6485	
391532 Applicant Identification Number	 Director General NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION
	Verification QR Code 
<p>NOTE: This is a computer generated License. To verify the authenticity of this document, Scan the QR Code using QR scanner application.</p>	