

**CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE PRACTICE OF PASTORALISM
AMONG THE POKOT OF BARINGO COUNTY, KENYA, 1920-2017**

GABRIEL NYABUTO

C50/37771/2016

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL
SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE AWARD OF A MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN HISTORY OF
KENYATTA UNIVERSITY**

MARCH, 2021

DECLARATION

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

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

Gabriel Okiagera Nyabuto

C50/37771/2016

Supervisors

This thesis has been submitted for review with our approval as University Supervisors.

Dr. Peter Wafula Wekesa

Department of History Archaeology and Political studies

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

Dr. Pius Kakai Wanyonyi

Department of History, Archaeology, and Political studies.

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

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my dad Morice Okechi Motegi and my mum Pamela Nyatichi Choti for their profound belief in the power of Education. For everything you have done for me, there is nothing I can do to repay you but say thank you, and God bless you abundantly.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to acknowledge the following for their support and input. First of all, I would like to thank the Almighty God for enabling me to carry out this research. Secondly, I thank Kenyatta University for offering me an opportunity to undertake my Master's degree. I would like to thank all the Kenyatta University History Archaeology and Political studies Department staff members for their support and guidance. Thirdly, I am grateful to my two supervisors, Dr. Pius Kakai Wanyonyi and Dr. Peter Wafula Wekesa, for initiating me into research. Many thanks for their guidance and support during the entire course; God bless you abundantly. I am also indebted to Dr. Kennedy Gitu for his suggestions, comments on my drafts, and encouragements. I would also take this opportunity to thank my parents, Morice Oketch Motegi and Pamella Nyatichi, for their profound belief in Education and for supporting me through the entire course. I am equally grateful to Emmanuel Boyel and Evans Oyagi for their field research assistance during the entire research exercise. Finally, yet importantly, I would like to thank my classmates Grace Mbasu, Rita Mwendu, Geoffrey Anunda, Morice Karani, and Martin Mutito for making the entire stay at Kenyatta University a home away from home; God bless you all.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iv
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	x
LIST OF TABLES	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiv
GLOSSARY	xv
OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS	xvi
ABSTRACT	xvii
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background to the study.....	1
1.2 Statement of the problem	7
1.3 Research Questions.....	7
1.4 Objective of the study	8
1.5 Research Premises	8
1.6 Justification and significance of the study	9
1.7 Scope and Limitation	9
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	11
1.8 Literature review.....	11

1.9 Theoretical framework	15
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	20
1.10 Introduction	20
1.11 Research Methodology.....	20
1.12 Area of Study.....	20
1.13 Target population.....	23
1.14 Sampling size and sampling	23
1.15 Data Collection	25
1.16 Primary Data.....	25
1.17 Secondary Data.....	26
1.18 Data collection procedures	26
1.19 Data Analysis and Presentation	27
1.20 Ethical considerations	27
CHAPTER TWO	29
COLONIALISM AND THE PRACTICE OF PASTORALISM AMONG THE POKOT OF BARINGO DISTRICT (1920-1962)	29
2.1 Introduction	29
2.2 Baringo District	29
2.3 The Pokot	30
2.4 Pokot settlement in Baringo district before the establishment of colonial rule	34

2.5 Establishment of colonial rule in Baringo District and its immediate impact on the Pokot Pastoralism to 1919.....	36
2.6 Pokot pastoralism during the inter-war period from 1920-1939	43
2.7 Pokot pastoralism in Baringo during WWII (1939-1945)	49
2.8 Pokot pastoralism in Baringo in the Post-WWII period (1946-1962).....	54
2.9 Kolloa Incident and its impact on Pokot pastoralism 1950-1954.....	63
2.10 Closer administration, the introduction of ranches and their impact on Pokot pastoralism (1953-1962)	69
2.11 Summary	73
CHAPTER THREE	75
INDEPENDENCE GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF PASTORALISM AMONG THE POKOT OF BARINGO DISTRICT, 1963 TO 1991.....	75
3.1 Introduction	75
3.2 Independence and Pokot pastoralists in Baringo District (1963-1969)	75
3.3 Pokot Pastoralism and the Politics of land in Baringo District (1963-1969)..	81
3.4 Prolonged drought and Pokot pastoralism in the post-independence era (1963-1969).....	82
3.5 Cattle racketeering among Pokot Pastoralists in Baringo District (1967-1970)	87
3.6 Impact of ‘Ng’oroko’ Cattle raiders on Pokot pastoralism in Baringo District (1964-1980).....	88
3.7 Communal Punishment Policy and Pokot pastoralism (1967-1980).....	92

3.9 Response of Pokot pastoralists to Government Cattle-Breeding project (1970-1992).....	96
3.10 Summary	100
CHAPTER FOUR.....	102
THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGES AND CONTINUITIES IN PASTORALISM AMONG THE POKOT DURING THE ERA OF MULTI-PARTYISM (1992-2017).....	102
4.1 Introduction	102
4.2 Pastoral diversification among the Pokot (1992-2000).....	102
4.3 Guns and culture (1992-2000).....	107
4.4 Pastoralism, Ethnicity and Devolution (2000-2010)	110
4.5 Bride-wealth and pastoralism (2000-2010).....	113
4.6 The role of humanitarian activities in East Pokot (2010-2017)	114
4.7 Global warming and its effects on pastoral livelihoods (2010-2017).....	116
4.8 Summary	118
CHAPTER FIVE.....	120
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	120
5.1 Introduction	120
5.2 Summary	120
5.3 Recommendation	125
5.4 Policy Recommendations	126
5.4.1 Further research recommendation	126
REFERENCES.....	127

Bibliography	127
List of Informants	127
Appendix V: Research Permit	149
Appendix VI: NACOSTI Authorization Letter	150
Appendix VII: County Commissioner Authorization Letter	151
Appendix VIII: County Education Authorization Letter	152
Appendix IX: Research Approval Letter	153
Appendix X: Introductory Letter	154

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADC	African District Council
AI	Artificial Insemination
ALDEV	African Land Development
ASAL	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
CSD	Centre for Sustainable Development
DC	District Commissioner
DYM	Dini Ya Musambwa
FAM	Friends African Mission
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
FGDs	Focused Group Discussions
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GHA	Greater Horn of Africa
GSU	General Service Unit
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union
KANU	Kenya African National Union

KAR	Kings African Rifles
KFFHC	Kenya Freedom from Hunger Council
KHRC	Kenya Human Rights Commission
KMC	Kenya Meat Commission
KNA	Kenya National Archives
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
KPR	Kenya Police Reserves
KPU	Kenya People's Union
MLC	Member of Local Council
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
OI	Oral Interview
PC	Provincial Commissioner
PEV	Post Election Violence
PNU	Party of National Unity
RVP	Rift Valley Province
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

USAID United States Agency for International Development

LIST OF TABLES

<i>Table 1.0.1 Oral interviews schedule</i>	24
<i>Table 1.0.2 Focus Group Discussion schedule</i>	25
<i>Table 2.0.1 Census of the native population in Baringo District, 1935.....</i>	48
<i>Table 2.0.2 Convictions resulting from cattle thefts in Baringo District, 1940</i>	51
<i>Table 2.0.3 Destocking figures for Rift Valley Province, 1948</i>	56
<i>Table 3.0.1 Grazing Control Schemes in Baringo District, 1963.....</i>	79
<i>Table 3.0.2 Incidents of armed conflicts involving the Pokot and the Turkana in 1981</i>	91
<i>Table 3.0.3 Livestock population in Baringo District, 1980-1982</i>	97
<i>Table 3.0.4 Livestock population by breed in Baringo District, 1987.....</i>	99
<i>Table 3.0.5 Sales of skins in Baringo District, 1986-1987.....</i>	99

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1:0:1 Map of East Pokot Sub-County	21
Figure 1:2 Map showing Baringo district during the colonial time	22

GLOSSARY

Askari	A Swahili word meaning security officer
Banda	A Swahili word meaning a makeshift house temporary erected
Baraza	A Swahili word meaning public meeting usually addressed by the chief or Headman
Dukas	A swahili word meaning shop
Kodi	A Swahili word meaning tax
Majimbo	is a Swahili word meaning devolved unit
Ngoroko	Pokot word meaning warrior
Posho	A Pokot word for cereals
Sapona	A Pokot word meaning a ceremony whereby a young man graduates to adulthood

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Majimboism- this means a political devolution of power and services to a particular territory of a country

Nyumba Kumi Initiative- is institutionalizing community policing at the household level. The houses can be in the residential court, in an estate, gated community, block of houses streets, manyattas, market centers and villages. For this study the meaning applies to a manyatta.

Pastoralism- is a source of livelihood in which people make a living by tending large herds of animals. The herd range from cattle, goats, sheep, donkeys and camels. This activity is practiced in arid and semi-arid lands (ASAL) where other agricultural activities are not viable.

ABSTRACT

This study focused on the transformation in the practice of pastoralism among the Pokot of East-Pokot, Baringo County, from 1920 to 2017. It was guided by the following research objectives: to examine the way in which colonialism shaped the nature and practice of pastoralism among the Pokot of Baringo District, to examine post-independence government policies in the transformation of pastoralism, and to examine the socio-economic changes and continuities within pastoralism in Kenya's era of multi-Partyism. The study used two theories, dependency and under-development theory and symbolic interaction theory, in the analysis of data. The qualitative research approach was employed in the study. Data was procured from both primary and secondary sources. Secondary data was obtained from the various sources in the libraries within Nairobi and beyond. Online sources were also consulted. Secondary data was based on written data, both published and unpublished such as books, theses, journals, newspapers, and periodicals, among others. Primary data was procured from the Kenya National Archives (KNA) and from the respondents in the field. A purposive sampling procedure was used to select respondents whereby a sample of 100 respondents was drawn from government administrators, chiefs, clan elders, security personnel, church leaders, and members of the community who were presumed to have relevant information on the topic under study. Data from these respondents were procured through various strategies, including key informant interviews and Focused Group Discussions (FGD). The study's key research instruments were question guides, questionnaires, interview schedule guides, and document analysis guides, among others. Data analysis began immediately after data collection to avoid loss of vital information. This was achieved by creating themes from the gathered data guided by the study's specific objectives. The study revealed that there were both aspects of continuity and change in pastoralism in the period 1920-2017. The findings indicated that the colonial government altered the traditional mode of pastoralism by imposing fees to access dry weather grazing fields. The post-independence government perpetuated the colonial policies on the pastoral Pokot, and it was established that there was a change of conflict from resource-based to development-based. This study is important because it will help to identify the contribution of pastoralism to the Kenyan economy. It will also enrich the historiography of economic history not only in Kenya but also worldwide.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Pastoralism is an economic activity in which people make their living by tending large herds of animals. The species of animals vary within the various regions of the world. However, they are all domesticated herbivores that normally live in herds and eat grasses or other abundant plant foods. Horses are the preferred species among the pastoralists of Mongolia and Central Asia (Kandagor, 2005). In the Horn of Africa, it is primarily cattle. In the mountainous region of southwest Asia, it is mainly sheep and goats. Camels are more preferred in the lowland areas of South West Asia and the horn of Africa.

Around the world, pastoralism plays a major role in the economy. This is because livestock rearing feeds a large population through animals that are slaughtered and consumed as delicacies in most urban and rural towns. Animal products such as milk, hides, and skins are also used as raw commodities in the manufacturing industries. According to ILRI (2006), livestock is globally becoming agriculture's most important subsector.

In central Asia, pastoralism plays a key role in feeding the population. The practice is highly valued because it greatly contributes both to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and global trade. For instance, in Kazakhstan, despite fifteen years of political and economic turmoil, the livestock sector that is predominantly found in the dry land gives 42% of agricultural GDP (World Bank, 2005). While In Iran, mobile pastoralists' number just about 2% of the whole populace (1.3 million), as indicated

by government figures. However, they satisfy around one-fourth of the Country's livestock needs (CENESTA, 2004).

African pastoralists are those whose lifestyle, to a great extent, relies upon domesticating large herds of animals. They live in a wide range of conditions in numerous nations across the globe. Mobile pastoralism in Africa is dominantly practiced in arid and semiarid areas (ASALs). These zones are hot and dry, with low and inconsistent precipitation. The pastoralist communities lack other livelihoods that suite this dry climate. However, mobile pastoralism is well adjusted.

It is worth noting that pastoralism in Africa developed in light of environmental fluctuation more than 6000 years ago when the Sahara entered a time of prolonged desiccation. With no reliable supplies of permanent water, pastoralism enabled individuals to adjust to an undeniably parched and erratic climate by moving domesticated animals as indicated by the moving accessibility of water and pasture (Bollig, 2007). This opportunistic management framework is still carried on today, making pastoralism an effective and efficient land use and production framework for the world's dry-lands. Accordingly, the communities have become strong to the predominant climatic conditions. In Eastern Africa, pastoralism is the main activity that occupies the larger region of the dry-lands and borders areas. According to Travis (2014), pastoralism is the livelihood of most people living in the larger Eastern Africa's dry-lands. There are approximately 20 million pastoralists in the Horn of Africa, mainly living in arid and semi-arid areas in Kenya, Somalia, Ethiopia, and Uganda. In these areas, agriculture and other livelihood are not viable options.

In Kenya, pastoral communities occupy essentially dry and semi-dry regions of the country. These zones cover three-quarters of the nation's complete landmass, spreading over the dry Northeast, Northwest, Southern Rift, and Inland pieces of the Coast, and line Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Uganda, and Tanzania (Kenya Human Rights Commission, 2010) .

The borderlands that connect Kenya, Uganda, Southern Sudan, and Ethiopia are significantly drylands and are chiefly occupied by pastoral communities. These people's social and economic life is to a great extent organized around the support and prosperity of their domesticated animals. Regardless, these pastoral communities living in northern Uganda, North-western Kenya, South-Eastern Sudan, and South Western Ethiopia share a common language, culture, and geographical area (Leff, 2009). Despite this shared common identity, the study will focus on pastoral communities in Kenya, and more specifically, East Pokot.

Pastoralism in the East African drylands has undergone major transformations. In the precolonial period, pastoralists politically dominated their agricultural neighbours in the nineteenth century (Waller, 1985). However, Waller states that the situation was reversed during the colonial and post-independence when African governments were driven by more populous agricultural societies, often antagonistic to pastoralists' concerns. During the colonial time, pastoralists in Kenya were bounded in closed districts that confined their movement. During the independent period, ecological and political relations between pastoralists and the government deteriorated (Fratkin, 2001).

Traditional pastoral production demanded mobility. However, the government's actions reduced pastoralists' mobility through land alienation, grazing boundary demarcation, and borehole mechanization, which encouraged pastoral sedentarization. In addition, governments displaced local authorities over a range and water use, diminished adequacy of sanctions, and encouraged control by the powerful and the influential (Brokensha and Little, 1988).

Although in Africa drought is a climatic event, pastoralists have adapted to ecological variations, for example, low rainfall, patchy resources, and recurrent drought (Galaty, 1987). In addition, traditional land previously owned communally by territorial or kinship groups has shifted to privatization following policies encouraged by international organizations such as World Bank and United States Agency for International Development. This has been coupled with the pastoral regions being poorly administered by both the colonial and contemporary regimes (Fratkin, 2001). Despite these difficulties, pastoralism has been resilient, as pastoralists have shown a wide range of adaptations to change, including periodic oscillation between pastoralism and crop production, as well as hunting and gathering and, more recently, wage labor (Fratkin, 1997).

Ogalo and Onyango (2016) point out that the British colonial masters entry into Kenya divided the country into three regions. The first was the developed white highlands that had fertile soils that were good for cultivation that the colonialists occupied. The second was the less developed native lands which were less fertile where the natives lived and moved from to provide cheap labour. Lastly was the frontier or closed districts of north-western Kenya, which were arid and semi-arid lands marked by

harsh climatic conditions and were sparsely populated were occupied by the pastoralist societies Pokot included.

During the colonial period, those called 'advanced' districts were given an ever-increasing share in the social services and other good things that the colonial government valued. This increased the ever-widening gap between the 'advanced' and the 'backward' areas (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/1945). Hence, Zwaneberg (1972) observed that the colonial state viewed pastoralism and nomadic activities as primitive, backward, and discouraged. This view persisted into Kenya's independent government, which has tended to pay more attention to crop agriculture than to herding. This government approach has favored some sections of the country more than others, particularly pastoral regions in Kenya.

The Swynnerton Plan of 1954 introduced the idea of title-deeds for the first time in Kenya. There were endeavors to integrate the pastoralists into the new framework by granting private group title deeds to some individuals in creating group ranches. However, the post-independence state neglected to address the marginalization of pastoralists from the mainstream national development in many nations of the region. This situation is evident in East Pokot. Indeed many of the policies set up in the 1950s and 1960s continue to operate to date (Mkutu and Marani, 2001).

The Post-independence period witnessed the weakening of the traditional administration institutions in the pastoral territories. This is because the Kenyan government failed to acknowledge the role of traditional institutions among the pastoral societies. This has weakened the capacity of community leaders to exercise authority over the youngsters in their territories. At the moment, the administration

can be achieved by wealth, which youth are well situated to attain to access firearms. Thus, elders currently need to negotiate with the youth in a manner that is not quite the same as in the past (Blench, 2001).

With the introduction of vision 2030, which was unveiled in 2009, most stakeholders received the news with a great deal of excitement except pastoralists in Kenya. The pastoralists were left out of vision 2030 since it focused on agriculture, industry, and infrastructural development in major cities, which were all located outside pastoral regions (Amutabi, 2014). This can be coupled with president Uhuru Kenyatta's 'Big' four agenda which have not included pastoralism in Kenya.

From the 1970s, cattle raiding analysis regularly centered around social or environmental factors in explaining the persistence of cattle rustling among East African herders. Authors who argue for the significance of social factors associated raiding with the traditional social structures of pastoralist societies (Schlee, 2003), on the other hand, those who held the view on ecological factors, argued that pastoralist areas are characterized by scarcity of pasture and water. The struggle for these resources leads to conflict (Markakis, 1998). Furthermore, others highlighted the necessity of recuperation of livestock numbers after disease-induced losses as motivation for raiding (Toulmin, 1994).

In light of the background above, many studies have been carried out with regard to the transformation of pastoralism. Most of these studies have focused on commercialization, the increased use of small arms, and the increasing frequency of raids. However, the studies that have been carried out have barely examined

continuity and change in the practice of pastoralism which this study sought to address.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The study of African economic activities, especially pastoralism, has for a long period of time been left almost to the exclusion of social anthropologists (Ogot, 2003). Moreover, most pastoralism studies have mainly focused on understanding aspects of gender, economics, and politics. On the other hand, studies by scholars such as Kimambo (1972) and Ogot (2003) have focused on migration and settlement of African communities. Emphasis has been on the rise of political systems and understanding of the political economy of neo-colonialism. However, none of the studies have broken away from the past and tried to examine the trends and dynamics that have changed the face of pastoralism. This study, therefore, sought to address this lacuna by examining the historical transformations of East Pokot pastoralism. The study specifically set out to examine continuity and change issues in the practice of pastoralism among the Pokot of Baringo County, Kenya, 1920-2017.

1.3 Research Questions

The following research questions guided the study:

- i. In which ways did colonialism shape the practice of pastoralism among the Pokot 1920-1962?
- ii. How did post-independence Kenyan government policies shape the transformation of pastoralism among the Pokot between 1963 and 1991?

- iii. Which social-economic dynamics in pastoralism have remained resilient during Kenya's era of multipartyism 1992-2017?

1.4 Objective of the study

The study sought to achieve the following objectives:

- i. To examine how colonialism shaped the nature and practice of pastoralism among the Pokot of Baringo County 1920-1962
- ii. To examine the post-independence government policies and pastoralism transformation among the Pokot of Baringo District, 1963 to 1991.
- iii. To examine the socio-economic changes and continuities within pastoralism in Kenya's era of multi-partyism 1992-2017

1.5 Research Premises

The research was premised on the following assumptions

- i. That pastoralism as a practice underwent significant transformations during the phase of colonialism, 1920-1962
- ii. That independent Kenyan government policies substantially impacted on the practice of pastoralism among the Pokot of Baringo County, 1963-1991
- iii. That Socio-economic manifestations of pastoralism remained resilient among the Pokot in the era of multi-partyism in Kenya, 1992-2017

1.6 Justification and significance of the study

The study aims to serve as a source of information for scholars interested in pastoral economies and transformations on pastoralism. The current study aims to shed light on how colonialism impacted on the nature and the practice of traditional pastoralism, post-independence government policies on pastoralism, and the socio-economic changes and continuities of pastoralism. Therefore, the study aims to contribute to the growing body of literature on pastoral production in East Pokot in Particular and Kenya in general. This study will be significant to policymakers in Kenya generally and particularly among the Pokot of Baringo county. In this regard, policies formulated by all levels of government, especially those related to land access, should be customized to meet the cultural demands of the people in order to avoid resistance. Besides, the study will serve as an important reference point for researchers and general readers in Kenya and East Pokot, in particular on how East Pokot pastoralism has evolved and transformed to its present form

1.7 Scope and Limitation

The study analysed the trends and dynamics in pastoralism among the Pokot of Baringo County from 1920 to 2017. This study was confined to the East Pokot sub-County, where the Pokot of Baringo live.

The study considered 1920 to 2017 as a reasonable time frame to study transformations. The year 1920 was chosen as a departure time because this is the year that Kenya was brought under British colonial rule. This study sought to find out how colonialism affected the nature and the practice of pastoralism in Baringo District.

The year 2017 was also an important ending year because it marks the end of the first term of devolved governments in Kenya.

However, in the course of the study, the researcher experienced some limitations. First, the fear of being attacked on the way to the research site hindered the researcher from accessing some key research areas. Additionally, some respondents displayed a lot of suspicion to strangers. However, these challenges were overcome by hiring a research assistant from the native community to act as a link between the researcher and the respondents and to explain the purpose of this research.

Infrastructural problems were also encountered due to the lack of easily accessible roads and the long distances from one region to the other since the pastoralists keep moving from one place to the other. The researcher anticipated that this would have a bearing on the cost; hence the researcher sought extra finances. The researcher also experienced a challenge in communication. This was due to the language barrier between the researcher and the respondents during interviews. This problem was addressed by employing a research assistant from the community who was well conversant with the local language. The researcher also encountered a challenge in identifying the right respondents who were well versed in the community's history. However, this problem was addressed by working closely with local leaders who were able to identify knowledgeable informants within the locality.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.8 Literature review

Generally, the literature on the historical transformation of pastoralism in Africa and East Africa in particular is lean, yet the phenomenon is important to the African historiography and the general understanding of pastoralism as a source of livelihood. This study incorporates a review of literature on the transformation of pastoralism among the Pokot of Baringo County.

According to Gulliver (1955), To the Turkana, livestock is economically important to all people, and all social-economic activities are executed around the well-being of livestock. He further emphasizes the cultural growth in all communities that participate in livestock rearing. Although written over 50 years ago, Gulliver's statement is directly relevant to today's pastoralist Pokots.

Traditionally, cattle rustling among the pastoral communities was considered a cultural practice and sanctioned and controlled by the elders. However, this has been changing, with growing commercialization trends and internationalization pushing away cattle rustling from the traditional concept. The fundamental change in the traditional concept of cattle rustling can be attributed to the advent of colonialism in the late 1800s and the post-colonial practices (Kenya National Human Rights Commission, 2010). These have led to the transforming of cattle rustling from a cultural practice of testing a person's bravery and prowess to bloody warfare between various groups (Osamba, 2000).

Lomoywara (2018) explored the transformation of cattle rustling among the people of West Pokot. His interest was to examine how cattle rustling had changed over time from the precolonial period to the post-independent era. He notes that the influx of modern weapons completely transformed the practice of cattle rustling in West Pokot. Although his study informed this current study, he only concentrated on the cultural aspect. However, this study incorporated other aspects such as economic, social, political, and cultural aspects of transformation.

Osterle (2008) examined the change from cattle to goats in order for the Pokot to meet the market demand because people from urban cities had demanded meat. This led the Pokot to change from keeping cattle to goats. However, his work only focused on an economic perspective, leaving out other aspects which this study sought to include.

Since the 1990s, researchers have emphasized the changing nature of cattle rustling. Attempts to explain this change have pointed particularly to the increased proliferation of automatic rifles such as the AK-47. This led to the shift from the redistributive function of cattle raiding where the animals that were stolen served the purpose of paying bride-wealth or were redistributed to predatory raiding whereby the raided animals were commercialized (Hendrickson and Armon, 1998)

However, in the recent past, cattle raiding has undergone a major transformation to an illicit, violent commercial activity precipitated and maintained by small arms (Mkutu, 2003). The proliferation of small arms and light weapons is associated with the escalation and intensification of conflicts, crimes, and violence in the region. Indeed, SALW (2005) notes that 30 million illegal small arms are in circulation in sub-Saharan Africa.

The clear availability of guns and, more recently, the Kenyan, Ugandan, Sudanese, and Ethiopian politics have impacted on the local people in East Pokot. Political instabilities in neighbouring countries and access to different modern weapons influence raiding and violence in East Pokot. Therefore, this study examined how these forces influenced access to natural resources and their management in East Pokot.

Schlee (2003) notes that the British order was territorial consequently, the British managed to establish a degree of territorial control in Northern Kenya. They delineated territory for each of the pastoral groups. A number of cutting lines in the vegetation served as boundaries between tribal grazing areas. If a herd was found on the wrong side of the grazing line, ten percent of it was taken as fine. This study informs the current study on how the colonial masters created boundaries that have affected most pastoralists' way of life. Schlee's focus was on northern Kenya. However, this current study looked at the impact of colonial boundaries on the pastoralist of East Pokot.

During the colonial period, the land was taken away to be reassigned to individuals called 'developers' to cultivate cash crops (Desta and Copock, 2004). This was done under the disguise of developing the pastoral areas in order to salvage them from 'archaic' means of production (Yimer, 2015). These colonial programs focused on livestock and natural resources. Thus, these programs reduced pastoral land's size, forcing the pastoral communities to move to other areas in search of grazing lands. This, in turn, created conflict with neighboring communities. Although this particular study was conducted in Ethiopia, it informed the current study because it gave insight for understanding the researcher's area of study. However, this current study focuses

on the Kenyan government policies that have been antagonistic to the development of pastoralism, which has never been part of Kenya's national development agenda.

Galaty (2009) refers to reports and plans from the 1950s, which linked land proprietorship to agrarian development. Consequently, they justified the implementation of land registration in the Kikuyu reserves similarly as they did the demarcation of sectional boundaries and later group ranches among the Maasai.

However, the most important change brought by colonialism has been the territorialization of ethnicity. Groups that did not have bounded ethnicity now have them. For instance, Kenyan independence in 1963 accompanied a great deal of African solidarity against the former colonial masters in nation-building and unity. However, it was clear that the ruling party depended on earlier regional and tribal associations. The civil service was coordinated by the Kikuyu, the tribe of the then president, Jomo Kenyatta (Kioli, 2009). Both the colonial order and the African opposition moulded Kenyan legislative issues along ethnic lines. Subsequently, local patterns of contentions among pastoralists were influenced by national politics in different parts of the world.

Mutthies (1977) observes that Africa is a continent characterized by border wars due to its artificial borders that served colonial interests and disregarded local ethnic and economic conditions. The focus on border conflicts is supplemented by the perception of borderland being a marginal space inhabited by underprivileged people who suffer from a lack of infrastructure and political participation and inter-state conflicts (Markakis, 2006). Therefore, this study examined the impact of colonial boundaries in creating ethnicity with a major focus on East Pokot.

About 42% of the total length of land boundaries is drawn by parallels, meridians, and equidistant lines without considering social realities (Kolossof, 2005). However, concerning district boundaries in Kenya, Schlee (1998) argues that those boundaries were drawn by the distinction of those who drew them. Schlee identifies the dividing lines as colonial constructs that did not recognize African social, political, and economic systems beyond the colonizers' immediate interest. Thus in this perspective, the state border appears to be irrelevant at the micro-level or as a problem at the political and inter-state level.

For instance, Ali Shermaarke, the first prime minister of the Somali Republic, outlined his government position and the position of many Somalis when he wrote on the preface to a book on the *Somali peninsula*. There he argues that the boundaries set by the colonial government divided the Somali people into two countries, but they are the same people. Indeed, the Somali people occupy the same terrain and pursue the same pastoral economy. However, these created boundaries did not affect only the Somali but also other pastoral groups, including the Pokot. (Information Service of the Somali Government, 1962).

1.9 Theoretical framework

This study adopts two theories, dependency and underdevelopment and symbolic interaction theories. Given the complex nature of historical processes being examined, a single theoretical framework may not be sufficient, hence an integrated approach. For this reason, this study made use of the two theories to shed light on the Pokot colonial and post-independence experiences.

Dependency and under-development theory states that underdevelopment occurs when a dominant capitalist system penetrates into a previously autonomous pre-capitalist system. This creates a dialectal structural system of center-periphery relations culminating in domination, subordination, and exploitation of the pre-capitalist system by the capitalist system. Scholars like Walter Rodney used underdevelopment theory to explain the outcome of the incorporation of African economies into the world capitalist system.

African political, economic, and other scholars have blamed Europeans for the underdevelopment of the African economy. The utilization of dependency and underdevelopment theory explains the east Pokot sub-county's pastoral development and change situation. Dependency and underdevelopment theory holds that the state of underdevelopment in Africa is definitely the result of the incorporation of the third world economies into the capitalistic world system, which the West dominates. The theory was developed during the 1950s under the direction of Raul Prebisch, the Director of United Nations Economic Community (UNEC) for Latin America (Ferraro, 2008). Prebisch was concerned about the way that economic growth in the developed nations didn't necessarily lead to the development of the developing nations; rather, it contributed to their underdevelopment (Ibid). They concluded that underdevelopment in less developed nations is the consequence of the subordinate role they play in the capitalist system. It incorporates a condition where the economies of specific nations' economies are conditioned by the development and extension of another economy (Hodges, 1971).

This explains why underdevelopment and persistent poverty in less developed nations is a result of capitalistic exploitation. This development has been moving at speed

controlled by the capitalistic states. They direct the kind of animals raised and their market price. Simultaneously these resources from developing nations are purchased at low prices, transformed into finished goods, and are again taken back and sold at a high cost. This has been explained as a historical result of the relations between developing nations and the developed industrialist countries. In this way, the metropolitan expropriates economic surplus from its satellite and appropriates for its economic development. As capital accumulation was being taken away out of the periphery, it creates a state of increased dependency on the Center for the flow of foreign capital and technological innovation. There are also surplus products, for example, cash crops through multinationals, which demoralize the farmers' undertakings. In this way, farmers in the satellite countries remain underdeveloped for lack of access to their surplus and benefits in the end.

Rodney (1972) contends that imperialism for Africa did more harm than good. He condemned colonialism as having left more evil than good for Africa through exploitation which occurred through different forms. Among them is trading as the industrialized nations set their terms in a way totally profitable to them. Accordingly, the theory holds that underdevelopment was not the original state of Africa; rather, it was a result of the historical process of the extension of capitalistic around the world, which led to the development of the West at the expense of Africa. Studies of Kenya's colonial economy based on the underdevelopment viewpoint share a typical contention that African resources, labor, and agricultural produce were moved from the African territory to the Europeans (Brett, 1973). The theory has limitations. For example, the theory is not idealistic in the sense that entire poverty in the underdeveloped nations is entirely blamed on developed nations; it neglects the

chance of local conditions abetting dependency. Simultaneously, these scholars ignore factors like poor planning and ecological factors, which may add to a state's underdevelopment. Furthermore, the periphery's underdevelopment was also connected with an inability to complete significant land reforms and an inability to change income distribution, just to mention a little. Other than that, local establishments like cooperatives that were intended to help farmers advance agricultural production and have a value of their work ended up exploiting them. Much as the western world paid little for agricultural products from the periphery, local organizations would end up exploiting them further. The above weaknesses will be countered by symbolic interaction theory.

The symbolic interaction theory used in this study was developed by an American philosopher, George Herbert Mead, in the 1920s. The theory relies on the symbolic meaning that people develop and build in the process of social interaction. The theory asserts that individuals act according to their interpretation of the meaning of the world. It analyses society by addressing the subjective meaning that people impose on objects, events, and behaviours. It states that people behave based on what they believe and not on what is subjectively true. People interpret one another's behaviours, and it is in this interpretation that forms the social bond.

According to Mead (1964), symbolic interactionism is based on the idea that any community's culture is made up of concepts, which are internalized as symbols by the community. These symbols play a significant role in the process of encounter and interaction with external stimuli. These symbols are used to interpret and ascribe meaning to alien culture during the process of encounter and interaction (Petras

1968:128). Therefore, in the conception, social interaction is symbolic, and the people participating in the process (Strauss, 1952:69) construct social reality.

This theory was used to explain changes and continuities that pastoralists have experienced. This was crucial in determining the pastoral community relations with the state since, in the pastoralists' eye, the state is alien and not recognized because of the past negative interactions with the state. For instance, during the disarmament, the state has often more than not used brutal force in disarming them. This theory was also important in explaining that despite the continuing dwindling of resources and competition over resources, such as water and pasture, the pastoralists have remained resilient and continued rearing livestock.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.10 Introduction

This section contains the research design, the target population, sampling techniques, data collection procedures, and data analysis methods and presentation adopted in the study.

1.11 Research Methodology

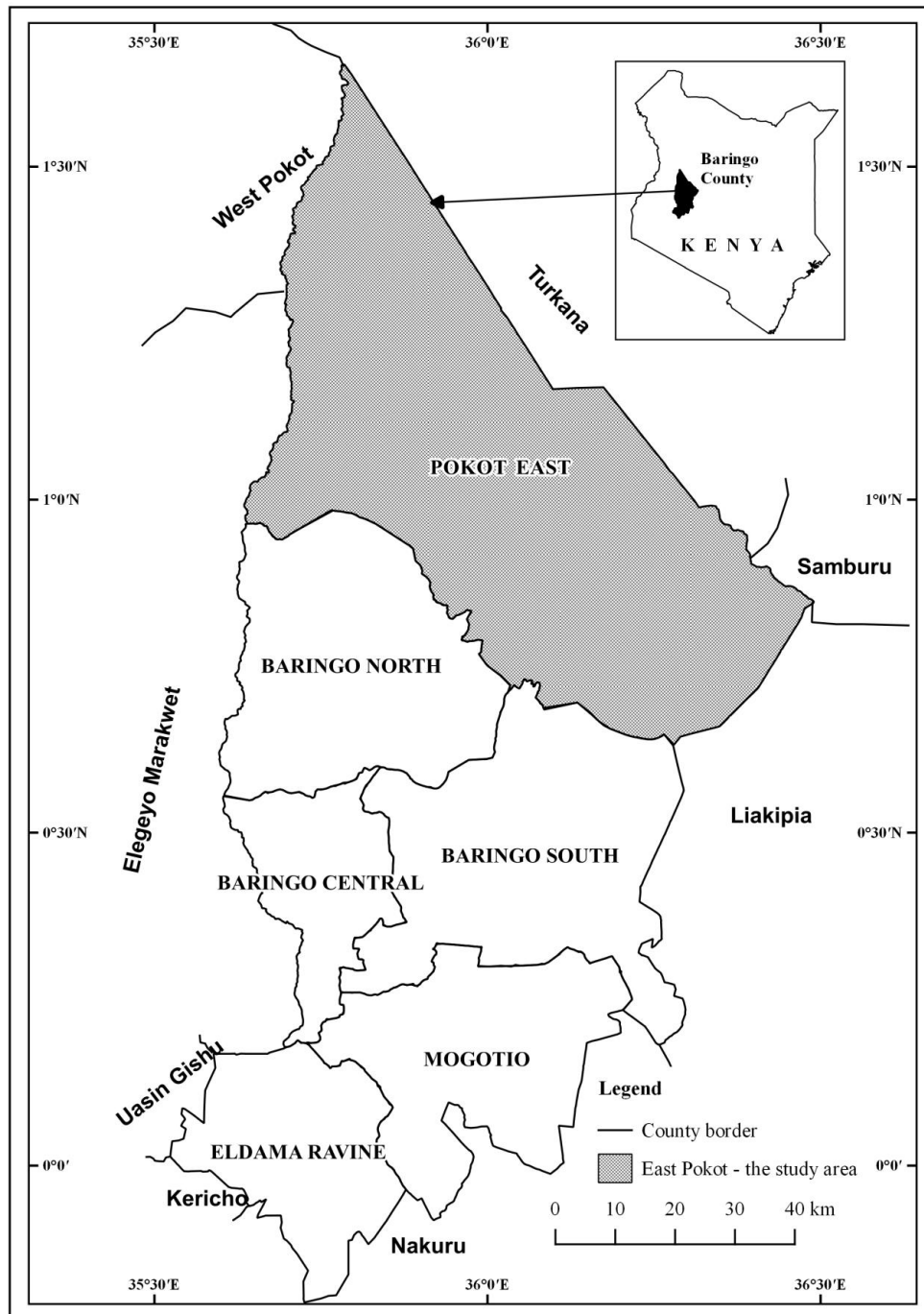
This study used a descriptive research design that was qualitative in nature. The descriptive research design is a method of collecting information by interviewing or administering questionnaires to a sample of individuals hence suitable for extensive research. This approach was important because it enabled the collection of in-depth data regarding opinions, attitudes, and feelings.

1.12 Area of Study

The study was carried out in the East Pokot sub-county, Baringo County in the Republic of Kenya. East Pokot is one of the sub-counties in Baringo County. The others are Baringo North, Marigat, Baringo central, Mogotio, and Koibatek sub-counties. East Pokot is located in the semi-arid to arid savannah plains North of lake Baringo. The Southern Nilotic-speaking Pokot exclusively inhabit the sub-county. It is among Kenya's poorest areas, characterized by rapid population growth, weak infrastructure, and high illiteracy rates. It borders Turkana and Samburu Counties to the North, Laikipia to the East, Nakuru and Kericho to the South, Uasin-Gishu to the South West, and Elgeyo-Marakwet and West Pokot to the West. It lies between the

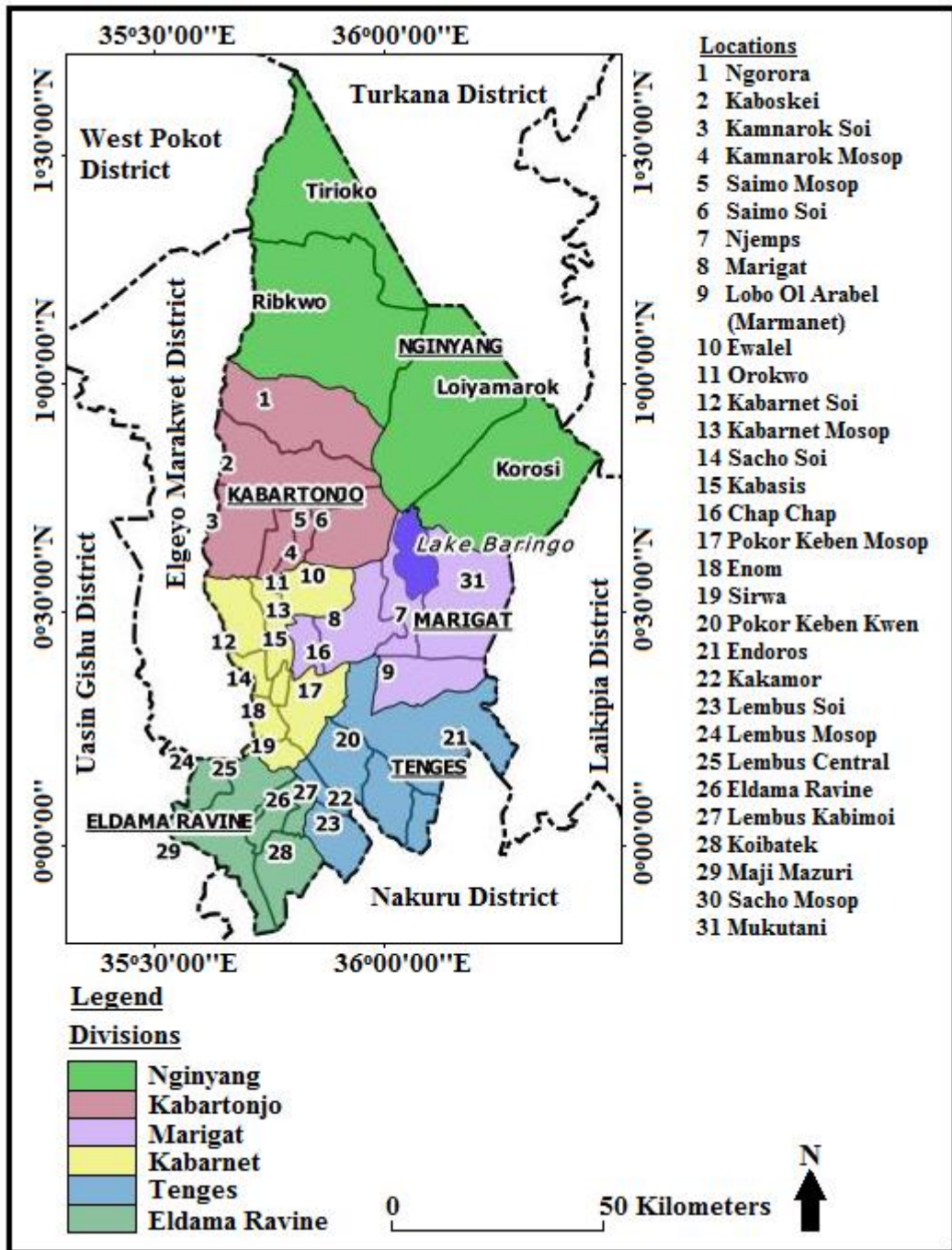
longitudes 35 30' and 36 30' East and between 0 10' South and 1 40'. (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) Population and Housing 2013). As shown below.

Figure 1:0:1 Map of East Pokot Sub-County



Source: KNBS (2018)

Figure 1:2 Map showing Baringo district during the colonial time



Source: Baringo District Development Plan (2008-2012)

1.13 Target population

The target population included civil servants, retired chiefs, village elders' extension officers, traders, elders, teachers, religious leaders, political leaders, Kenya Police Reservists (KPRS), and neighbouring communities.

1.14 Sampling size and sampling

Purposive sampling technique and snowballing techniques were used in selecting the study respondents. Purposive sampling was used to select individuals who the researcher considered to have important information on the topic under study. Identification and selection of interviewees were based on the information gotten from secondary, archival, and primary data. Snowballing technique was also used in this study. The researcher identified a number of knowledgeable informants who, in turn, directed the researcher to other informants with information about pastoralism. A sample of 100 informants was interviewed for information. Age, gender, geographical distribution, and command of historical knowledge were important guiding principles to the researcher.

Whereas the researcher had intended to interview neighbouring communities, it was not possible because of mobility and animosity between the Turkana and the Pokot. Additionally, age was not a key factor in selecting respondents. However, older people aged 40 years and above were given priority since they were presumed to be more knowledgeable than youth and had lived longer to see the transformations.

Table 1.0.1 Oral interviews schedule

Respondents	Number	Date	Place
Civil servants	18	28/06/2019 13/07/2019	Chemolingot Kabarnet town
Retired chiefs	5	25/06/2019	Chemolingot
Local residents	20	13/07/2019	Kapedo, chemolingot kolloa and Nginyang
Village elders	21	26/06/2019 1/07/2019	Chemolingot & kolloa
Extension officers	2	28/06/2019	Chemolingot
Teachers	6	12/06/2019	Chemolingot and kolloa
Political leaders	3	3/07/2019	Tangulbei
Traders	20	27/06/2019 2/07/2019	Chemolingot, kolloa and Nginyang market
KPRS	5	5/7/2019	Tangulbei and Kapedo

Source: Field Data

Table 1.0.2 Focus Group Discussion schedule

Date	Place	Group
26/06/2019	Nginyang market	Traders
28/06/2019	Chemolingot	Civil Servants
7/07/2019	Kolloa Market	Elders
12/07/2019	Tangulbei	Elders
14/07/2019	Kabarnet	Pastoral Experts

Source: Field data

1.15 Data Collection

The guiding principle behind selecting data collection instruments was the need to achieve representative data and enhance the validity of the result through methodological triangulation. Data collection was intended to meet the three objectives set by the study. To achieve the study objectives, interview schedules, questionnaires, and content analysis were applied in the collection of data.

1.16 Primary Data

Sources of primary data were the Kenya National Archives (KNA), located in Nairobi. Information sourced from the archives included colonial proceedings, and records from various departments such as agriculture and dairy boards, quarterly and annual colonial reports, correspondences, and veterinary reports on livestock diseases were of great importance. Information obtained from the archives was complemented with secondary sources and oral interviews. Oral interviews also provided useful information. Purposive sampling was used to identify and select interviewees. Age was not an important factor in selecting respondents. However, the elderly were given

priority as they were presumed to be knowledgeable. Oral data was recorded on tape with permission from interviewees then transcribed before analysis. The interviewees included experts on pastoralism, national government officials, county government officials, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) officials, and village elders.

1.17 Secondary Data

This study also utilized secondary data. Secondary data was collected by reading related works collected from print and digital formats. Particular attention was paid to the government reports, and policy documents that concern pastoralism were critically evaluated. Moreover, related studies such as unpublished theses, dissertations, newspapers, periodicals, and books on the theme of pastoralism were examined critically within the framework of the objectives. These were derived from various libraries in Nairobi. Additionally, secondary information was sourced from other external libraries within and outside the continent through online platforms. Online journals accessible on the internet also provided an important contribution to the secondary data for this research.

1.18 Data collection procedures

The researcher sought an introductory letter from Kenyatta University graduate school. The researcher used the graduate school letter to apply for a permit from National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation (NACOSTI). Permission to carry out the research was sought from the Baringo County Commissioner and Baringo County Director of Education. The researcher visited the research site, booked an appointment with the respondents, and notified them of the purpose and the mission of the study. During the interviews, coding of data was done

using a notebook and a pen and a voice recorder. Information gathered by the use of a voice recorder was transcribed and interpreted at the end of the day. The researcher used open-ended questionnaires as they gave room for the researcher to gather as much data as possible and gave the respondents room to express their views.

1.19 Data Analysis and Presentation

All the gathered data from the diverse sources outlined in this section formed the basis of analysis on continuity and change in pastoralism. The actual data processing and analysis were done in accordance with the objectives of the study. The data were classified according to their content and the specific historical time frame within which events took place. Secondary data collected from the written sources was carefully weighed against evidence from the archives and the field interviews to ensure the validity of the sources in terms of their content. On the other hand, the analysis of qualitative data gathered from personal and focus group discussion (FGDs) was done by breaking down the information into various themes and scrutinized it to ensure that it was accurate and consistent with other facts gathered from secondary sources and archives. This data was then presented in a narrative form.

1.20 Ethical considerations

The ethical issues observed in the study included confidentiality, informed consent, and respect for all respondents. The respondents were informed about the purpose of the study before being interviewed. The researcher showed respect to all participants by assuring them that the information collected was only to be used for the purpose of this academic study. Confidentiality was observed strictly to prevent physical and psychological harm to the respondents. The identity and confidentiality of the

respondents were protected. Only willing respondents were interviewed. Data obtained from the respondents were treated with the utmost confidentiality and then stored.

CHAPTER TWO

COLONIALISM AND THE PRACTICE OF PASTORALISM AMONG THE POKOT OF BARINGO DISTRICT (1920-1962)

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses colonialism and the practice of pastoralism among the Pokot of Baringo County. The following areas were examined: The location of Baringo district, the Pokot people, Pokot people's settlement in Baringo District before the establishment of colonial rule, establishment of colonial rule in Baringo district and its impact on Pokot pastoralism to 1919, Pokot pastoralism during the inter-war period from 1920-1939, Pokot pastoralism in Baringo district during World War Two (WWII) from 1939-1945, Pokot pastoralism in Baringo in the post-WWII period from 1946-1962, Kolloa incident and its impact on Pokot pastoralism from 1950-1954 and closer administration, the introduction of ranches and their impact on Pokot pastoralism from 1953-1962. Symbolic interaction theory was used in the analysis of the study.

2.2 Baringo District

By 1947 Baringo district, "with its headquarters at Kabarnet in the Tugen hills," lay on an area of approximately 4000 square miles (Baringo District Annual report 1947). Baringo district "lies in the Rift valley between the Elgeyo and Laikipia escarpments. During the colonial period, its southern part was settled by European farmers in the area between Solai and Eldama Ravine. The southern edge of Turkana formed the northern boundary, some miles north of Lake Baringo (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/3 Baringo District Annual Report 1947).

Different ethnic communities inhabit the Baringo district. In 1947, the District had some 40,000 African inhabitants, of whom the Tugen were the largest in population. The other group of inhabitants belonged to the Ilchamus, who lived around the South and Eastern shores of Lake Baringo and the Suk or the Pokot, who occupied the semi-desert bordering Turkana district (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/3 Baringo district Annual Report 1947). In the same vein, research from Key Informant Interview (KII) and FGDs indicates that there are different communities that live in Baringo, they include: the Tugen being the majority, the Pokot and the Ilchamus.

Administratively, the District was divided into 22 Locations, as of 1947, including 6 in South Tugen. Of these locations, 17 were occupied by the Tugen, four by the Pokot, and one by the Ilchamus (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/3 Baringo District Annual Report 1947). From an FGD East Pokot sub-county has five divisions, namely, Nginyang, Mondri, Churo, Tangulbei, and Kollowa (FGD, 7/07/2019). The next section examines the Pokot ethnic community in the Baringo district.

2.3 The Pokot

The Pokot fall under the Eastern Nilotic speakers, who consists of many diverse groups that share Nilotic ancestry and history. The community is considered as one of the tribes of the larger Kalenjin group. Their language is Nandi both in structure and much of the vocabulary (Stewart, 1950).

Thomson, in 1884, appeared to be the first European to encounter and write on the Pokot personally. In the record of his Journey of Exploration among the Snow land Volcanic Mountains and Strange Tribes of Eastern Equatorial Africa, Thomson wrote that the Pokot were "Strong-boned, ugly-looking fellows, they were totally naked. A

piece of flat brass dangled from the lower lip of each and must have been both painful and awkward. The most remarkable element of the Pokot, nonetheless, was the way they dressed their hair (a huge, decorated, bag-like chignon). The Pokot are depicted as exceptionally warlike, and for the most part, quite a match for the Maasai, wherein much of the time made attacks. They occupied a superb and beautiful scope of mountains" (Thomson, 1962).

Pokot were previously called Suk in the literature. For instance, Stewart (1950) termed the East Pokot as Suk, which was a Maasai nickname that meant ignorant cultivators who lived on the hills. Outsiders also used the term during colonial times. During the colonial period, the Pokot were called "Suk" by Europeans. To some Pokot, the older designation was a reminder of an era in which Africans lacked the power to name themselves. To others, it represents the clever ruse of a forebear who outwitted powerful strangers by disguising his identity. In the first perspective, "Suk" is an ethnic slur that Europeans borrowed from the Maasai, who denigrated non-pastoral pursuits. The name is said to derive from chok, a short sword or staff used by Pokot cultivators to till the soil. In the second perspective, when questioned by Europeans, a Pokot elder referred to himself as "Musuk," a term for the nearby tree. However, to the Maasai, the Suk or Pokoot (pronounced Pokaut) is a "Maasai name which is understood to mean 'the ignorant people. Pokot is said to be the Suk name for 'agriculturalists living in the highlands.' It is certain that the Pokot of this district, now sedentary pastoralists, were formerly agricultural" (KNA, PC/RVP/2/7/2 Baringo District Annual Report 1929).

Historically, Pokots, who are one of the Kalenjin sub-ethnic groups, are believed to have migrated from the River Nile area bordering the western Ethiopian highlands.

One of the Pokot myths says that they originally migrated from Egypt. The migration took place about 3000 years ago. They proceeded to Uganda and entered Kenya through Mt. Elgon. This was the point of dispersal at which some of the Kalenjin settled and became farmers. The Pokot moved northwards and settled in West and East Pokot (Robins, 2010). Similarly, ethnographers classified Kalenjin as a Nandi-speaking group of the southern Nilotic comprising of seven main sections; Pokot, Marakwet, Elgeiyo, and Tugen (Huntingford 1953).

Furthermore, the Pokot claim to have formerly migrated from Mount Sekker, West Suk- Mount Elgon after some Turkana and Karamoja experience. Hence they appear to have many customs in common with those tribes- certainly, their singing and dancing are identical” (KNA, PC/RVP/2/7/2 Baringo District Annual Report 1929).

When Pokot youth is about to be circumcised, “they make a quantity of beer. This is not done by their women-folk, as is the case in some other tribes” (KNA, PC/RVP/2/7/2 Baringo District Annual Report 1929). When the beer is ready, elders are invited to drink, and this was followed by a dance at night, invariably held in a cattle-shed. All people- men, women, and children took part in the dance (KNA 1929). Similarly, Mutsotso (2014) agrees with the above statement by noting that it was during circumcision, a rare occasion, that cattle were slaughtered.

Afterward, elders and the initiates proceeded to the river to take a bath. “the elders then cut sticks from the bushes around and go through a ritual which consists largely in threatening with corporal punishment” to anyone who shows signs of fear during circumcision (Mutsotso, 2014). Afterward, they proceeded to the nearest hill, where four *Suk* elders performed the operation. Thereafter, the initiates would sit down, and

wood ashes are placed under each one of them, and the foreskin is stretched out to its fullest capacity and pegged down to the ground with wooden pegs. The initiate would be left in this position for about half an hour when several incisions are made, lengthwise, which have the effect of producing a number of thin, and eventually withered, strips of skin. He is then released and accompanied by all the other lads and enters a hut built, especially for the occasion. He remains there for ten days, after which the foreskin is anointed with leopard fat and seared with a red-hot piece of iron wire. Whilst the iron is on the skin, and cold water is poured on. The net result of all this is that the lacerated foreskin falls off from the line formed by the searing-iron (KNA, PC/RVP/2/7/2 Baringo District Annual Report 1929).

Bollig (2006) established that the Pokot herd ideally consisted of camels, cattle, goats, sheep, and a few camels. In all herds, female animals make up the largest part of the herd. Whereas the males (young males, castrated males breeding stock) form a smaller but equally important part as they are the media for market exchange. On the same note on Pokot Herd, information gathered from O.I and FGDs established that the Pokot reared Zebu cattle that were more tolerant to diseases and could walk a long distance searching for water and pasture.

One cannot understand how colonialism shaped the nature and practice of pastoralism among the Pokot unless and until one gets to understand Pokot pastoralism before the advent of colonialism. There appears to be no doubt that the East Pokot of Baringo district migrated from West Suk- having spent a year in Turkana. It was clear that the Turkana customs- West Suk and East Suk were very similar; for instance, the baboon dance, which was practiced in Kacheliba, Lokitaung, and Tangelbei was similar (KNA, PC/RVP/2/7/2 Baringo District Annual Report 1931).

2.4 Pokot settlement in Baringo district before the establishment of colonial rule

The then District Commissioner for Baringo believed that the Pokot of Baringo migrated from West Pokot and settled in Baringo. He noted in 1931 that:

The Pokot lived in what came to be known as the Baringo district many years before the establishment of colonial rule. However, their existence in Baringo had been threatened by the Maasai with whom they had conflict over grazing and water. Both the Maasai and the Pokot of Baringo used to conflict over water and grazing resources because both were pastoralists. In particular, they used to fight over these resources at a place called Churo in the present-day Baringo district (Kenya Colony and Protectorate, 1933:1774-1775)

While giving evidence to the Carter Land Commission in 1933, an Arab Trader, by the name Ali bin Saleh, who had operated in Baringo for many years before the establishment of the colonial rule, stated the following:

I had been in this country long before the government established stations at Naivasha and Baringo. I had been in the Country even before I met Sir Frederick Jackson at Machakos when he went there to establish the station. Ever since I had known this country. Suk had raided at Churo. The Suk and those from Kolloa and Loyamuruk helped to build the Baringo Station. The Pokot residents at Churo paid tax to the government since tax started in the district. (Kenya Colony and Protectorate, 1933:1774-1775)

Ali bin Saleh the Arab trader, was on a safari with Sir Geoffrey Archer and Lowalan, the Chief of the Pokot, they passed through the country, and Suk were residing there.

On his part, Mr. Mood told the Land Commission that:

“This neighborhood has been occupied by the Pokot since a very remote period. I found a number of the tribe of the oldest circumcision age, namely Tukoi, who were actually born there, the tribe being at the time in actual possession of stock and sharing the country with the Labeyok. For a short time, they were driven out by

the Purko, and Laikipia Maasai, but returned to Churo when Baringo Station was first opened. These Suk received the sanction from Mr. Collyer who was first stationed at Baringo in 1903-04, of Sir Geoffrey Archer 1904-07, and Mr. Bruce 1908 and 1910-11, to reside at Churo” (Kenya Colony and Protectorate 1933:1775)

The Pokot of Baringo were under constant fights with the Maasai because of the country they coveted. In particular, resource-based conflicts between the Maasai and the Pokot were caused by the desire to occupy land at Churo that was well-watered by Amaya River (Kenya Colony and Protectorate, 1933). The Suk coveted this land because they were short of water for their livestock.

From an O.I with a Pokot retired chief noted that:

We lived with the Maasai and the Turkana here in Baringo. At that time, we used to fight over grazing fields and water; however, when the colonial masters entered Baringo, they drove away from the Maasai and the Turkana, and now the entire area remained ours(Loyepel O.I 6/7/2019)

Mr. Mood reported that he found the country between Lake Baringo, Churo, and Nginyang devoid of grazing and water and covered with the bones of cattle that had died of starvation (Kenya Colony and Protectorate, 1933).

According to Lemoywara (2018), pastoralism was a viable economic activity practiced among the Pokot. However, the advent of colonialists introduced plantation economies, fixed borders, and demarcated boundaries. All these factors reduced the pastoral economy to sedentary pastoralism whereby only the animals could be moved within the demarcated boundaries in search of pasture and water. Since the traditional mode of pastoralism was dependent on people's free movement and their stock in search of pasture and water, restricted movement and population pressure led to increased conflict between the Pokot and their neighbours.

Subsequently, the Pokot pastoralists in the Baringo district practiced pastoralism under difficult circumstances that had been occasioned by social and natural, environmental, and climatic conditions. The social circumstances stemmed from the attacks they faced from Maasai pastoralists who continued to attack them and either loot their livestock or drive them from their favorable grazing and watering lands. Environmental circumstances were occasioned by the harsh terrain they occupied and which was hostile to pastoralism. However, as we set out to demonstrate in the following section, the establishment of colonial rule was favourable to Pokot pastoralism in a number of ways.

2.5 Establishment of colonial rule in Baringo District and its immediate impact on the Pokot Pastoralism to 1919

Bollig (2006) observes that the British colonial empire established its administration in the Baringo district in 1902. Early on, administrators acknowledged that there was little in the district to attract the European settlers. The area may be definitely looked upon as a native reserve (Hobbsley 1906) Hobbsley's arguments were vividly captured by the colonial masters below.

Sana, O. & Oloo (2019) argue that the colonialists viewed pastoralists' way of life as chaotic, uneconomically productive, and environmentally destructive. For the colonial masters they felt that this practice was supposed to be discouraged and stopped immediately. The above words were well captured by Sir Charles Elliot, the commissioner for East Africa Protectorate, who had a mixed reaction about the Pokot pastoralists. These were expressed when writing to Lansdowne: he noted

I am convinced that it is useless to spend lives and money on subduing the barbarous inhabitants of barren deserts... not

unless it necessary to protect borders to allow the general movement of the protectorate not to be retrogressive (Barber 1968:46.)

Sir Charles Elliot's remarks were upheld by Sir Donald Stewart, his successor. The London policy confirmed to him a dispatch that read:

It is not the policy of her majesty's government to extend their practical administration over the remote parts of the protectorate until it was thoroughly consolidated around existing centers as the advantage of getting small tax is not commensurate with the risks and expenses which such expansion will entail (KNAFOCP8357,1904:2)

From the ongoing discussion, it is worth noting that the British colonial encounter with the Pokot Pastoralists began on a low note. Ogalo and Onyango (2016) note that poor relations between the Pokot and the British began immediately the British colonial masters came into contact with the Pokot. The Pokot viewed the British colonizers as intruders while the British colonizers viewed the Pokot as Pockets of disgruntled 'primitive' people trying to resist British 'superior' civilization.

Sorrenson (1968) also notes that the coming of the colonial rule in Kenya initiated social, economic, and environmental challenges that shaped the future of pastoralism in several ways. Namely, the new state encouraged the implementation of another form of pastoralism at its center. From 1904 onwards, the white colonial settlers began to settle on former African grazing areas. The creation of white highlands deprived the pastoral communities' essential resources and blocked their access to more. Giles and Gefu (1990) also note that the creation of boundaries and imposition of restricted movement of pastoralists denied pastoralists access to much of their former high grazing potential areas, which affected their herd management quality.

In the Kenyan colony, the state was divided into geographical regions based on their economic importance. This led to Kenya being divided into two halves. The Central and Southern regions comprised the agriculturally rich “white highlands,” while the savannah grasslands included the dry Northern region occupied by pastoralists, the Nyika plateau, and the central Rift region (Gitu, 2019). East Pokot was brought under colonial rule from 1920 onwards.

From KII, FGDs, and studies by Ogalo and Onyango (2016), Sorrenson (1968), Giles and Gefu (1990), and Gitu (2019) it is clear that the entry and occupation of former pastoral grazing fields by the colonial masters had devastating effects on pastoral Pokot. The conversion of former grazing fields into white highlands for cultivation denied access and use to the pastoralists. This altered the traditional mode of pastoralism that relied on movement as a survival strategy.

To a small extent, the colonial presence in the Baringo district was a blessing to the Pokot, who the Maasai had heavily threatened. Therefore the establishment of a government station in Baringo was highly embraced by the Pokot, who felt that by cooperating with the government, they would be allowed to live without the fear of attacks from the Maasai. Thus, the Pokot did not just welcome the colonial presence, but they also helped in building a colonial government station in the Baringo district. This took effect from around 1903. The Pokot of Baringo not only helped in establishing a colonial government in their midst, but they also cooperated by paying taxes (Kenya Colony and Protectorate, 1933).

As a result, of cooperating with the colonial government, the Pokot pastoralists received some gifts. The first gift they received was in 1911 when the Maasai were

evicted from Baringo district. As a result, the Pokot lived without the fear which the Maasai warriors had instilled in them. Secondly, was that Churo area vacated by the Maasai was occupied by the Pokot. Churo area was just as favourable to Pokot pastoralism as it had been for the Maasai.

From an O.I with an elder, it was noted that the Pokot and Maasai had occupied the Baringo area during the pre-colonial time. Being pastoralists, they both needed access to water and grazing fields, something that brought constant conflicts. However, the colonial government in Baringo helped to drive out the Maasai, leaving the Pokot area entirely for Pokot use (Lokowkor O.I 6/7/2019)

The new colonial government additionally assisted in making Pokot expansion possible. For instance, in 1907, British soldiers suppressed Maasai raiders on the Pokot. Similarly, between 1913 and 1918, the colonial government supported punitive attacks against the Turkana, seizing their cattle and weapons. Pokot warriors were happy to help with this effort. From that point, some Pokot families started to move toward the west, settling on previously dangerous lands. However, in a little while, the Turkana were attacking once more, and the affected Pokot attempted to move back to their traditional southern fields, just to be denied access by the white settlers (Awuondo, 1992). However, some proceeded further toward the west, across the border into Uganda. There the land seemed empty, in light of the fact that the Karimojong, were suffering from the outbreak of East Coast Fever, had moved their cattle temporarily to different fields. Pokot settlements in those regions remained a source of conflict with the Karimojong for a long time. The Pokot, who settled and grazed their animals around Uganda's Karamoja District, adopted numerous Karimojong customs that they were frequently called Karapokot. One of the customs

embraced by Pokot was 'sapana', where young fellows graduated to take influential positions locally (Awuondo, 1992).

It is represented by some administrative officers who know the area that the use of the Churo spring and access to the Amaya River is essential to the existence of the Pokot of the more easterly locations - Korossi and Loyamuruk. These two streams are the only permanently flowing water sources in the whole of the Pokot country. The Kerio River does not flow during drought. The country to the north, west, and south of Churo becomes parched for several months each year, and water and grazing are entirely lacking (FGD, 28/06/2019)

The third gift that the Pokot received from the Colonial Government was veterinary medicine. The area occupied by the Pokot in Baringo had been prone to occasional outbreaks of livestock diseases. These were brought under some measure of control by colonial veterinary officers and quarantine measures. The veterinary department, established in 1911, concentrated its services on the European settlers. It only provided inoculation to the African as a measure to control the spread of livestock diseases from African to European herds. Settler ranches concentrated upon the accumulation of herds and flocks using imported sires and indigenous cows. Hence for the Africans, the veterinary controls and checks were more extractive than development-oriented and could hardly help the locals to check livestock diseases within their reserves.

On the same vein of veterinary services from an O.I from a retired chief, it was noted that:

The colonial government did not give our cattle medicine to prevent them from contracting diseases. It was the role of each person to buy indigenous medicine from the African medicine men who were specialists in treating our animals (Loyepel O.I 6/7/2019).

Another gift was the establishment of rigid boundaries that separated tribes or ethnic communities, which had some form of casual interactions, friendly or otherwise, occasioned by different needs. Thus, Pokot pastoralists were segregated from their neighbouring ethnic communities by having their tribal boundaries demarcated. While these boundaries prevented inter-tribal raids to some extent, they also intensified inter-tribal animosity to a great extent. The latter was especially because the colonial government was in the habit of favouring some tribes more than others on the basis of the extent to which they cooperated with the government.

Through these boundaries, the colonial state-imposed considerable limitations on pastoralists' freedom and hence the accessibility of their livestock to the grazing pastures. This land and livestock ordinance began to erode the pastoral sector's traditions (Cherokoi O.I 8/7/2019).

Various Pokot and Turkana headmen had asked that the inter-tribal boundaries be made flexible. They pointed out that in the old days, the communities used to help each other with grazing in bad times and asked them to continue to do so. Anyone with experience of pastoral tribes will appreciate the futility of trying to keep these borders. Further, communities who had been allowed to mix freely were friendlier than if rigidly confined to watertight compartments (Kenya Colony and Protectorate, 1933)

The colonial government policy towards the pastoralist communities was based on the perspective that pastoralism was an uneconomical and irrational herding system based

on accumulation for its own sake (Fratkin, 1998). Thus Zwanenberg (1972) noted that “it would seem probable that the pastoral people's unwillingness to alter their methods of production stemmed from the fact the alteration offered by the colonial government was such as to create greater uncertainties than already existed.

Charles Elliot, one of the colonial commissioners (Governor) of the East African Protectorate, had no reservations about displacing pastoralists from their traditional lands. He said,

“I cannot admit that wandering ethnic groups have a right to keep superior races out of large tracts of land merely because they have acquired the habit of struggling over more land than they can utilize.” (Kenya land commission, 1933).

Thus, the land ordinance of 1902 gave the governor power to lease or sell the land to colonial settlers in Kenya. The colonial policy was to confine the pastoralists in native reserves while the authorities appropriated much of the pastoralists' free-range space for other purposes. Even though the Devonshire white paper of 1923 stated that the interests of the natives were supreme when they conflicted with those of whites and Asians, this did not work for the pastoralists (Maxon, 1992).

With regard to the discussions from FGD conducted with the elders of Pokot, it was noted that the colonial government discriminated against pastoralists who were seen as economically useless and whose only products were uncured hides and skins. Instead of the colonial government appreciating the pastoral economy, they dismissed it as a backward form of production and a barrier to civilization, which had to be breached for the sake of development (FGD, 12/07/2019).

With the advent of the colonial state, the pastoralists were confined in their specific localities. Consequently, chiefs and local councils were advised to check unauthorized migration of people from one subdivision to another. Such migrations were only necessary for periods of scarcity or other reasons and had to be done only with a district commissioner's cognizance (Ochieng and Maxon, 1992).

Inter-communal animosities were also occasioned by what came to be known as claims to ancestral lands. For example, the Pokot in Baringo district, long after establishing tribal boundaries, continued to lay ancestral claim to certain lands. Specifically, the Pokot of Tirioko and Loyamoruk were dissatisfied with the present Pokot—Turkana border, claiming that certain of their traditional grazing grounds in the region of Mount Silali were handed over to the Turkana (Kenya Colony and Protectorate, 1933)

2.6 Pokot pastoralism during the inter-war period from 1920-1939

The colonial government's efforts to secure the Pokot from their marauding neighbours got a boost in 1919 when the colonial government set up a military post at Kapedo. In his report of the Kabarnet Sub-District of 1920, the District Commissioner states that Kapedo post was established in March 1919, and the presence of K.A.R. Detachment there had effectively secured the Pokot from any further loss. The Turkana on that boundary had a wholesome dread of the K.A.R. as a fighting force. Even if they had the audacity to indulge in another raid, it would be practically impossible for them to abscond with their loot. The Pokot are alive to the benefits thus conferred on them. (KNA, PC/RVP/2/7/2 Annual report for the year ending 31/3/1920- Kabarnet Sub-District.)

Additional security was also provided to the Pokot to protect them from Samburu raids. There had since been no raids by the Samburu on the Pokot or vice versa. Thus as long as the section of the District could be frequently visited by an officer and patrolled by police from posts in the vicinity, cattle raids and promiscuous cattle thefts ceased (KNA, PC/RVP/2/7/2 Baringo district Annual Report, 1930)

The result of improved security, combined with quarantine regulations, served to increase the livestock population among Pokot pastoralists in the Baringo district. Particularly, livestock quarantines that were imposed among the Pokot of Baringo resulted in overstocking as cattle would not enter or leave their area. As a result, overstocking was experienced among these pastoralists. Evidence presented to the Carter-led Land commission in 1933 states that,

“It is estimated that the Suk Reserve is overstocked. It appears that the need for water and grazing is so pressing.... But it is represented that the Suk can hardly be blamed for the overstocking, which must, in part be attributable to the fact that the area had been maintained in Quarantine for the past seventeen years” (Kenya Colony and Protectorate, 1933:1776)

However, the difficult circumstances occasioned by overstocking among the Pokot pastoralists, due to quarantine, had to be lessened in about 1930-1931 when they were allowed access to the Il Kassim, a spring in the Mukatan area. Access was restricted mainly to the Pokot of Korrosi Location:

Besides access to the Churo spring and Amaya River, the Pokot greatly desire access to Il Kassim, a spring that feeds the Mukatan. This necessity is only for the natives of Korossi Location, who in dry weather have no water source other than Lake Baringo. Permissive use of this area was granted to this Location in the dry weather of 1930-1931 and again in the dry weather of 1931-31 (Kenya Colony and Protectorate, 1933)

In 1931, the Chief Native Commissioner recommended that money had to be loaned to the Pokot Local Native Council to enable water-boring operations to be conducted inside the Reserve in the hope of solving the water difficulty that the Pokot of Baringo district experienced. However, the colonial government policy was to sink boreholes for pastoralists far away from the agriculturalists so as to move them away to the periphery. This is confirmed by Oxfam, which noted, “There is a need to develop safe spaces between the herders and agriculturalists by developing water points in areas that will create fewer tensions. I would propose areas away from the district administrative boundaries.” (KNA/PC/RV/2/5/1938).

Thus according to a respondent (Yeiyei O.I, 01/07/2019), it was noted that the quarantine imposed on the Pokot of Baringo district had led to overstocking and the attendant problems of grazing and watering livestock. Therefore, the colonial government intended to promote the introduction of ranches that would lead to sedentarization. This, in turn, would create the need for them to want to improve their own land. This would lead to the control of diseases. The concept of ranches was meant to create the concept of capitalist pastoralism, a kind of commoditization of pastoralism (KNA, PC/RVP/2/7/2 Baringo District Annual Report 1931, page 3).

The Pokot were desirous of increasing their livestock population, which to them was a source of wealth. By 1931, the problem of overstocking was bothering the minds of local colonial administrators. Many of them were of the opinion that an outlet is found for Pokot livestock.

From a FGD with residents (FGD,14/07/2019), the main ambition of the pastoral communities was to increase their livestock and thereby become wealthy. However,

their main anxiety for the past two years had been the shortage of grazing. Therefore, it was thought that unless the Government provided some means of outlet for their stock, the situation of overstocking would grow more and more serious. The most desirable solution would be starting a canned meat factory or some similar market, which would enable administration officers to carry out their propaganda on a reasonable basis and with clearly defined objectives. The only other solution would appear to be the purely fortuitous one, reducing their surplus stock by the incidence of some disease that had to be hoped would not happen (KNA, PC/RVP/2/7/2 Baringo District, Annual Report, 1931).

As overstocking increased against limited grazing and water, the Pokot made trespasses into Samburu territory. However, this was not without problems. Pokot livestock picked animal disease from the Samburu territory. In 1933, for example, the Pokot had a double tragedy whereby they lost about 50% of their livestock to drought. While at the same time running away from drought, their livestock picked pleuropneumonia from the Samburu territory (KNA, PC/RVP/2/7/2 Baringo District Annual Report, 1933).

In a Focus Group Discussion with traders (FGD, 26/06/2019), it was noted that the most noticeable impact of the establishment of colonial rule in Baringo on Pokot pastoralists was in the area of trade in cattle as well as in skins and hides. Traditionally, skins did not have a lot of value, from the trade point of view, for Pokot pastoralists. However, due to the collapse of the Kenya meat marketing board in 1949, the colonial government attempted to perpetuate livestock marketing by promoting hides and skins. This was a measure to enhance destocking.

Thus the favourable security conditions, which the colonial government provided, coupled with the introduction of taxes, required that Pokot involve themselves in some form of trade in order to raise money for taxation. The favourable prices offered against exports, skins, and hides included encouraged the Indian traders to venture into Baringo to carry out trade in cattle and hides. The traders found Baringo district a favourable place to carry out this trade as the livestock population was on the increase. They needed money with which to pay taxes (KNA, PC/RVP/2/7/2 Baringo District Annual Report, 1933).

The volume of trade in maize meal and hides increased considerably as a consequence of famine, but the stock trade declined sharply for the same reason. There was a brisk exchange of maize meal and hides in the Pokot and Ilchamus country with Indian traders establishing a camp at Tangulbwe and opening a shop at Nginyang. The existing shops at Kapedo and Mukutan also took a new phase of life. Information from Indian traders showed that approximately 11,616 freesias of cowhides and 5,746 scores of goat hides were exported. The hides' trade undoubtedly attracted more hawkers. The sole exports were stock and hides, and the chief imports were maize meal, blankets, shukas, and cheap agricultural implements (KNA, PC/RVP/2/7/2 Baringo District Annual Report, 1933).

Before the outbreak of WWII, Pokot pastoralists were still moving freely outside of their delineated areas. Some of them moved freely into the West Suk areas located in the South Turkana district. While taking a census of Baringo District, it was noted that: efforts were made during the year to arrive at the correct approximate number of Pokot in this District, but nothing had been done until the new Census figures were brought in early 1936. It was unlikely that anything like the number reported having

left this District had gone to West Pokot (KNA, PC/RVP/2/7/3 Baringo District Annual Report, 1935).

The table below shows the census of the native population in Baringo District in 1935.

Table 2.0.1 Census of the native population in Baringo District, 1935

Natives	Men	Women	Children	Total
North Kamasia (northern Tugen)	6,965	5,357	7,975	20,297
South Kamasia (Southern Tugen)	3,038	2,465	3,788	9,291
Pokot-Suk	1,349	1,220	2,007	4,576
Ilchamus	636	553	694	1,883
Wanderobo	84	65	71	220
Total	12,072	9,660	14,535	36,267

Source: KNA, PC/RVP/2/7/3 Baringo District Annual Report (1935).

From the table above, it is noticeable that the population of men exceeds that of women. This can be explained by the fact that the information was based on the survey carried out by clerks by way of asking male adults for information concerning their herds and families. However, no checks were made on the information provided by men. (Shneider, 1990) The information regarding women and children was unreliable because most Pokot did not reveal their family members' actual numbers in fear that the information would be used for taxation purposes. Hence, the table above should be read with caution as the data only represent estimates. However, the number of men continues to exceed that of women in all the subsequent censuses that have been conducted in Kenya.

At this point, dependency and underdevelopment theory was very useful in the analysis of the colonial impact on the practice of pastoralism in that with the onset of colonial rule in Kenya, and they view pastoralism as an outdated practice that needed to be transformed by them. They overlooked the ecological factor that necessitates pastoralism as the only viable option in the ASAL region of Pokot.

2.7 Pokot pastoralism in Baringo during WWII (1939-1945)

WWII broke out in 1939. Baringo District was far removed from the War of the War, but the War nevertheless created ramifications in Pokot pastoralists' lives. Some of the ramifications were positive, while others were negative. The hardships occasioned by the war as well as lack of rainfall, led the Pokot of Baringo to disregard colonial boundaries. There was a movement in search of water and grazing, as was traditionally the case with Pokot pastoralists.

In 1939, Kabarnet, one of the wettest places in Baringo District, only recorded 25 inches of rainfall compared with an average of 50 inches of rainfall over 25 years. The result was that early in 1940, there was trespass in search of grazing that took place both on the Laikipia plateau by the Pokot, Ilchamus, and some of the Tugen, and also on the European farms bordering the southern boundary, by the Tugen (KNA, PC/RVP/2/7/3 Baringo District Annual Report, 1940).

Probably this was allowed to take place against the backdrop of the outbreak of the war, which, as a result, lessened closer administration. Also, most European farmers took part in the War. With the enlistment of many Europeans when Italy declared war, supervision on several farms bordering the District's southern end was either absent or much reduced (KNA, PC/RVP/2/7/3 Baringo District Annual Report 1940).

The Second World War formed a landmark in the history of nomadic pastoralism in Kenya. As the war came to an end, pastoralists supplied 96000 cattle and 12000 goats and sheep to the British armed forces under the so-called war effort programme (Ogutu, 1990). This is supported by KNA, which states that: although Pokot pastoralists did not actively participate in the war, their support was recognized because the Pokot, at the instigation of the broadminded chief Kipterer, presented 280 head of stock to the Kenya Central War Fund (KNA, PC/RVP/2/7/3 Baringo District Annual Report 1940). These demonstrated the potential wealth of the pastoral economy and the extent to which it could be developed and harnessed for the colony's benefit (Zezeza, 1989). However, the condition remained latent under these areas' general conditions at the end of the war.

It has to be emphasized that the absence of closer security in the Baringo District served to rejuvenate old customs of cattle thefts, which were traditionally associated with Pokot pastoralists. The table below shows convictions resulting from cattle thefts compared across different courts.

Table 2.0.2 Convictions resulting from cattle thefts in Baringo District, 1940

Years	Number of convictions for cattle thefts in the 1 st class magistrates court	Number of convictions for cattle thefts in the 2 nd class magistrates' court	Number of convictions for cattle thefts in the 3 rd class magistrates court
1939	0	17	4
1940	3	46	8
1941	2	17	11
1942		0	21

Source: KNA, PC/RVP/2/7/3 Baringo District Annual Report 1940, page 2

The table above sought to show that with laxity from the security sector, cattle raiding rejuvenated. Hence in the second magistrate court and the third magistrate courts, whereby 1941 and 1942 recorded the highest number of convicts due to cattle theft.

Baringo District encountered prolonged drought in 1943. This had a negative impact on Pokot pastoralists, especially women and children, as there was an acute shortage of food. The drought also made it hard to import food to Baringo (KNA, PC/RVP/2/7/3 Baringo District Annual Report 1940). The District suffered from a severe food shortage due to prolonged drought and curtailment of normal imports of posho. The shortage of milk and imported posho imposed considerable hardships on the women, children, and the aged, during the first half of the year. This was felt especially among the cattle owning sections of Tugen, Pokot, and Ilchamus. The Pokot were advised early in the year that they would have to subsist upon a meat diet.

They did this with good grace, augmenting with wild berries, which appeared to keep up their strength pretty well. However, they lost a lot of goats owing to the drought (KNA, PC.RVP/2/7/3 Baringo District Annual Report, 1943)

In the same year, 1943, friction between the Pokot pastoralists and Turkana pastoralists over grazing areas continued. The government had to step in to calm the situation by mediating an agreement between the two pastoral communities (Lomur O.I. 9/72019). Some friction was caused by the arrival in the Kapedo area of strange Turkana herds from the Kerio and Loru areas where they had been grazing but had been ruined by locusts and drought. At a big *baraza* at Kapedo in November 1943, both sides were given an opportunity to air their grievances. An agreement was eventually reached, and the Pokot allowed these particular Turkana herds to move into their territory until the rains came. It is felt that the Suk attitude was largely a protest in anticipation of further moves by the Turkana (KNA, PC.RVP/2/7/3 Baringo District Annual Report 1943)

Mutsotso (2013), on the same note, traces the conflict between the Pokot of Baringo and the Turkana to the seventeenth century when the Turkana acquired guns from the Arabs in order to capture slaves for them. They were unable to capture the East Pokot, so they used the guns to capture their livestock. However, most conflicts between the two communities were over territorial ownership of Kapedo. The contest is whether Kapedo centre falls in East Pokot initially Baringo district or Turkana district.

In an interview with Pokot respondents, Mustosto noted that the colonial government in 1917 allowed the Turkana to occupy Kapedo, which was a Pokot watering and trading centre during the drought but went back after the drought. However, the

Turkana came back to Kapedo in the year 1967 following a severe drought in Turkana South to take advantage of famine and relief food provided by the full gospel, which had established a base at Kapedo in 1964. They built a manyatta adjacent to the centre and never went back.

In an O.I with a key informant, this was what he had to say:

Kapedo is a Pokot name, and therefore it is ours rightfully. However, the Turkana came here as refugees to get water and grazing pastures during the drought and have refused to go back. Let the government clearly demarcate the boundaries and make Kapedo a Pokot territory (Lotee O.I 8/7/2019)

The long drought witnessed brought to the fore the necessity to reduce the cattle population among the Suk. Earlier on, it had been envisaged that controlled grazing areas would effectively deal with the shortage of grazing lands. However, it was realized that droughts were a menace to any measures geared towards controlled grazing (FGD 14/07/2019).

The effect of prolonged drought was most disheartening. The grazing lands, which had improved considerably, got worse before the 1943 rains. They then picked up to some extent but nowhere sufficiently to withstand the strain of another long drought. Under such conditions, it was becoming more and more obvious that no permanent improvement could be effected until the stock population was reduced to the very limited average carrying capacity of the land (KNA, PC.RVP/2/7/3 Baringo District Annual Report, 1943).

2.8 Pokot pastoralism in Baringo in the Post-WWII period (1946-1962)

For the people of Baringo District, the year 1946 was “described as a period of recovery, rehabilitation and re-absorption” because “ in both European and native areas... were thrown out of gear by six years of war” (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/2 Rift Valley Province annual report 1946). As for Pokot pastoralists, the post-war period found them “poor in stock and ... generally short of cash” (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/2 Baringo District Annual Report, 1946). As a result of these challenges, “very considerable readjustments had been required to meet the changed conditions which all sections of the community had been called upon to face when dealing with the post-war problems of reconstruction and development” (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/2 Rift Valley Province annual report 1946).

Indeed, there was a heightened sense on the part of the administration to improve the Africans' standard of living, given their participation in the War. More so was the concern of accommodating Africans who had participated in the War as they were seen to pose an administrative threat. In addition, there was a need to rejuvenate the economy because there was an economic depression in the post-WWII period. As a result, the pressure was brought to bear on the shoulders of the local colonial administrators. Writing in 1947, the Provincial Commissioner for Rift Valley stated:

In the Annual report for 1946, mention was made of the public-spirited manner in which District production Committees carried out the manifold duties imposed upon them by the ever-increasing demands of production ... District councils shouldered heavy burdens of reconstruction during the year, and much demand was made on their time in regard to the improvement of roads, proper use of water, and the many other matters which have become the concern of the local authority (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/3 Rift valley province Annual Report 1947, page 1)

In a semi-pastoral province, the problem of livestock and overstocking became one of the major preoccupations of all officers engaged in development within the Native land unit. No opportunity was lost in preaching the necessity for stock limitation and the importance of improving the cattle's quality (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/4 Rift Valley Province Annual Report 1948).

Post-war development efforts in Baringo District were mostly directed towards livestock, emphasizing water, destocking, and grazing control. Mackenzie (1998) noted that the colonial administrators argued that Africans, particularly herders in Kenya's marginal areas, were keeping more cattle than the land could hold, leading to overgrazing and land degradation. To restore the vegetation cover, colonial administrators called for livestock culling, mainly in the pastoral areas in Kenya.

Thus, great emphasis was placed on "grazing control and stock reduction, all of which touched the native areas of this province (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/3 Rift valley province Annual Report 1947). Destocking figures for the Rift valley region, Baringo included, for the year 1948 seemed promising and geared towards the right direction, as shown in the table below:

Table 2.0.3 Destocking figures for Rift Valley Province, 1948

Name of District	1947	1948
Nandi	6,041	7,001
Baringo	7,231	5,217
Samburu	1,357	5,472
West Suk	(Foot and Mouth disease curtailed sales)	2,878
Elgeyo	595	1,795
Total	15,224	22,362

Source: KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/4 Rift Valley Province Annual report 1948.

From the table above, the destocking policy led the pastoralists to lose many animals to comply with the colonial government policy.

From the table, it is evident that the destocking or culling of livestock was an idea widely accepted by both colonial administrators and the veterinary department as a measure to control soil erosion and land degradation. This led to a high number of animals being sold through compulsory selling of stock recorded in the year 1948 as a measure of destocking policy.

More specifically to the Baringo District and to the Pokot pastoralists, the Esageri scheme's initiation was more specific to the sphere of improving grazing. A scheme for rotational grazing in the Kisokon area was discussed with the local elders and appeared to receive the support of the majority of the Pokot in 1947. To the amazement of the colonial administrators, "it was the younger generation who promised their active cooperation. However, a number of the elders were not prepared to be convinced that only through such methods could their grazing be maintained and

their animals preserved. However, it was not possible to put the plan into active operation during 1947 due to the lack of convenient water supplies” (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/3 Rift valley province Annual Report 1947). On the side of destocking, cattle sales were started in South Baringo in 1946, and by the close of the year 1947, about 6,924 head of livestock had been sold to the Meat Marketing Board. This move did not affect the Pokot of Baringo District. It mostly affected the Tugen.

Some practices which pastoralists employed in the furtherance of their way of life were also promoted during the colonial period, late into the 1940s. When plenty of rain was witnessed, chiefs were obliged to close off-dry weather grazing areas. In 1947, for example, owing to plenty of rainfall, chiefs in Baringo closed “dry weather grazing areas two months earlier than usual.” In fact: In February, direct control of grazing areas at Mukuyuni, Kuress, Ngubretti, Gobat, and Luboi was handed over to chiefs and a satisfactory feature of the year has been the general realization of the need for controlled grazing” (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/3 Baringo District Annual Report 1947)

The only difference during the colonial period was that dry weather grazing areas were not under the control of the colonial chiefs. This was not the case during the pre-colonial period. In the pre-colonial period, pastoral communities had their own communally accepted systems of preserving dry-weather grazing areas (FGD, 26/06/2019). Under the colonial period, the preservation of such areas was sanctioned by the local colonial administrators. Another aspect was introduced during the colonial period whereby Pokot pastoralists had to pay some fee to use certain preserved dry-weather grazing areas. Churo, the B2 temporary native reserve used by the Korossi Suk as a dry weather grazing area on payment of grazing fees, was visited twice during the year (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/3 Baringo District Annual Report 1947).

However, some old habits among the Pokot pastoralists continued. For example, it was normal for two different pastoral communities to aid each other with grazing areas during the drought years. This relationship, as noted earlier, had been witnessed between the Pokot and the Turkana. This practice continued even into the late 1940s but not without some contradictions. For example, it was noted in 1947 that:

During the past six years, the number of Turkana who infiltrated into Pokot had steadily increased, and the Pokot had paid Turkana sub-headman living in their midst. During the past few years, the Pokot had been assisting the Turkana with temporary grazing facilities in drought years. However, the Turkana on their side had not helped the Pokot over the question of watering and were now regarding their grazing concessions as permanent. The Pokot had tired of the one-sided arrangement (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/3 Baringo District Annual Report 1947, page 5)

Even though the colonial government, with its concerted efforts at destocking, encouraged the sale of Pokot goats to Somali and Kikuyu traders, the Pokot pastoralists continued to take pride in keeping large herds of livestock. In 1947, for example, it was noted that”

In the middle of the year, efforts were made to interest the Pokot and the north Tugen in organized sales, but this proved most unpopular. At a goat sale at Nginyang on 24.6.47, attended by the executive officer of the Meat Marketing Board, not even one goat was produced (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/3 Baringo District Annual Report, 1947, page 5).

Thus, in spite of the post-WWII development scheme to improve the living standards of the people of Baringo by encouraging them to sell their livestock as a measure to improve grazing, the Pokot still presented some measure of resistance to such development schemes. Traditionally the Pokot held pride in keeping large herds of livestock. The District Commissioner (DC) noted in 1947 that:

Whereas there were no spectacular results in the northern end of the district. Yet it is satisfactory to report that the reason behind grazing control and soil conservation methods is more fully understood, and there has been a far greater appreciation on the principle of self-help in matters affecting the well-being of the people and the improvement of the land in which they live (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/3 Baringo District Annual Report 1947, page 7).

Towards the end of the early 1950s, the Pokot of Baringo District began to show anti-colonial attitude. This called for much closer and stricter administration over the Pokot pastoralists. The anti-colonial attitude was both a response to and cause of the Government's post-WWII development initiatives among the Pokot of Baringo. These initiatives seemingly failed to yield progressive results because the government, through the Meat Marketing Board, was not able to provide good prices and opportunities for cattle sales.

Economically, the inability of the Meat Commission to purchase stock had severe repercussions on the pastoral "tribes" furthermore, the extensive propaganda which had been directed in post-war years towards cattle sales and the disposal of surplus stock with good results was rendered abortive (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/6 Rift Valley Province Annual Report 1950).

Gitu (2019) points out that colonial administration from the onset made it their business to control the modes of production that existed within various communities in their colonies. This intrusive nature of the colonial state was informed by the belief that African modes of production were primitive, wasteful, and inefficient, requiring shepherding in order to transform into more advanced and civilized economies; with this in mind, the colonial administrators imposed on the African societies a capitalistic system characterised by central regulation whereby local resources were exploited for the benefit of the colonies (Fumagali, 1978).

Schlee (2013) argues that the scientific argument informed the destocking policy that local herds exceeded the ecological carrying capacity. Thus, this policy compelled the Africans to sell a certain percentage of their herds to meat traders and Kenya Meat Commission. Tignor (1977) notes that the destocking policy targeted many parts of the country Pokot included. As an enforcement measure, herds belonging to the targeted areas were forcefully confiscated and sold off. Fumagali (1978) notes that this regulation also emphasized strict enforcement of permits for access to restricted areas, movement of animals within the district and out of it and at watering points, and use of boreholes.

Even though desirous of keeping large stocks of cattle, the Pokot of Baringo District found themselves living in a “country which has had roaming over it, far more stock that it can support” (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/6 Baringo District Annual Report, 1950). The colonial administration perceived that the Tugen were more positively responsive to government development initiatives than the Pokot and the Ilchamus. This was in relation to the willingness of the Baringo communities to sell their livestock (destocking).

At the end of 1950, it is true to say that the Africans of Baringo District, be they Tugen, Ilchamus, or East Suk (Pokwot), readily accepted both these fundamentally important factors. However, by far the most important was the fact that the pressing need for destocking was fully appreciated by the Tugen and to a lesser extent by the Ilchamus and East Suk (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/6 Baringo District Annual Report, 1950)

The colonial administrators in Baringo advanced a narrative that promoted destocking because to them, “the progress and economic life of the District as a whole is

dependent solely on the success or otherwise of destocking” (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/6 Baringo District Annual Report, 1950). The colonial administration encouraged the Pokot to sell their livestock for three main reasons. The first one was to achieve sound use of grazing and watering resources. The second one was to minimize the appetite of neighboring pastoral communities such as the Turkana and the Samburu for undertaking cattle raids in Baringo District. The third was to enable the Pokot to raise money with which to pay taxes. In fact, when the Meat Commission failed to purchase cattle from the Pokot in 1950, the colonial administrators in Baringo became worried that this would translate to non-payment of government taxes by the Pokot pastoralists.

One of the pressing problems for 1951 may well be the collection of Tax for the current year and the arrears of “kodi” for 1950. For years the Baringo African has paid his Tax willingly and promptly. More recently, he has, in addition, paid cheerfully, thanks to a pocket full of cash received in exchange for his contribution towards the destocking programme (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/6 Baringo District Annual Report, 1950, page 2).

In order to make the Pokot sell their stock, efforts were directed towards inducing them to consume imported products. As a result, in 1950, the DC remarked that:

An effort is being made to induce the Suk to make more use of soap, and soap is now being stocked by dukas in E. Suk. Large numbers of old tires are now being imported, and tire sandals are universally worn so that one is no longer surprised at seeing the imprint of a Dunlop tire on some completely inaccessible hillside on the Suk-Turkana border (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/6 Baringo District Annual Report 1950, page 2).

A new dimension was also added to Pokot pastoralism, whereby trade in skins and hides was promoted. Traditionally, the Pokot did not keep livestock for purposes of benefiting from trade in these items.

The selling and bartering in hides and skins continued and provided a steady income source and a vital economic factor in the lives of the people who were unable to acquire cash from selling off their surplus stock as in former years.

The plans made in 1949 to bring this industry onto a proper basis have been implemented and put into effect. A course is at present being conducted at Kabarnet with a view to increasing the number of instructors. Demonstration of drying frames and a banda have been erected for the course. An all-out drive is being made to bring home to the people the fact that the hide and skin trade is important not only to the District but to Kenya and to ensure that properly flayed and dried hides are offered for sale and that there is a fair price for the article by all traders (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/5 Baringo District Annual Report 1950, page 59).

In order to effect proper inducement of the Pokot to purchase imported goods, the local administration started to plan for the expansion of trading centers from which Pokot pastoralists would access imported goods (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/5 Baringo District Annual Report 1950).

Generally, the Tugen were more readily responsive to government schemes geared towards changing them into “modernity” than Pokot pastoralists.

Enterprise is being shown in all forms of trading by individuals, mostly Tugen, and the demand for permission to open dukas increased with the recent announcements of the efforts to improve the quality and price of hides and skins (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/5 Baringo District Annual Report, 1950, page 62).

The government's thinking was that sale of livestock, skins, and hides and consumption of imported products would bring development and progress. However, the Pokot themselves viewed government policies, laws, and projects as an impediment to economic progress as they stood in their way to amass large herds of livestock, which was their traditional way of life. Generally, government policies, laws, and projects with regard to livestock-keeping in Baringo District seemed to rub

the Pokot pastoralists the wrong way. This was the basis for the anti-colonial attitude that some Pokot of Baringo District harboured against the government.

In 1950, the Provincial Commissioner for Rift Valley province referred to the Pokot of Baringo District as “unprogressive” owing to their desire to keep large herds of cattle goods (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/5 Baringo District Annual Report 1950).

Thus from the on-going discussion, it was important to note that it had a serious economic and social impact on the Pokot pastoralist. In essence, there was wealth reduction in the community through the forceful sale of animals. There was also a reduction of animal productivity. In the end, this policy led the pastoralist Pokot to rebel against the policy.

This colonial attitude towards the Pokot pastoralists and the punitive and propaganda methods of trying to “modernize” the Pokot against their wish became a fertile ground for contestation. In the middle of all, this mix arose anti-colonial struggles. One person by the name Lukas Pkech, took advantage of the simmering conflict between the Pokot pastoralists and the colonial administrators to stir up unrest. Lukas Pkech was an adherent of the Dini Ya Musambwa sect, who organized a group of Pokot pastoralists of Baringo District to disobey the local colonial administrators. This unrest is commonly referred to as the Kolloa Affray.

2.9 Kolloa Incident and its impact on Pokot pastoralism 1950-1954

According to David Reeds, in one of his letters dated August, 1,1954, Dini ya Musambwa was an anti- European religious sect. It was begun by Elijah Masinde a Bukusu man born in 1910 who lived in the Kimilili location. He was a member of

Friends African Mission (Quakers) and was educated in mission education. However, at 25 years of age, he decided to marry a second wife, something that led to his expulsion from the church.

After his expulsion from the church, Masinde worked as an Askari in the African Court before he left his job as An African Askari and formed Dini Ya Musambwa. The sect was spread to Pokot by Lukas Pkech, a Pokot, born in 1915 in west Pokot. He was a Roman Catholic Christian. He joined a government school at Kapenguria at the age of about 17. After two years, he was sent to an industrial training school at Kabete, where he stayed for four years, training as a tailor and a blacksmith, before returning to his home in 1946.

Lukas traveled to Bukusu in 1946, where he met Elijah Masinde and was converted to Dini Ya Musambwa. On his return to Pokot, he began to organize a following. It is said that he was warned twice by the DC, but he refused. In 1948 he was arrested while holding a Dini Ya Musambwa ceremony and convicted of being a member of an unlawful society, and was sentenced to 30 months in prison. He stayed in prison for one year before he escaped (Kipkorir, 1972).

The Kolloa incident happened in 1950 after the return of Lukas Pkech, who, after returning from industrial training at Kabete, where he learned tailoring and black smithery, traveled to meet Elijah Masinde. Masinde converted Lukas Pkech into Dini ya Musambwa. After his return to Pokot, he gathered a following whom he preached to, promising them eternal life, freedom from Europeans, reversion to primitive cultures, immunity from sickness and relief from blindness, and increased fertility for old men and sterility for women.

"You are all patriots as you sit... This very night you are to go and strike the blow and then die. I do not say that you are going to win the war at all. You have no weapons with you and are not all trained military men... I now encourage you to go and strike a blow bravely and die." (Kipkorir, 1972)

From the above preaching of John Chilembwe, Lukas Pkech the Pokot 'Messiah' and one of the followers of Dini ya Musambwa drew his sermons from (Kipkorir, 1972).

According to Reed, in his letter dated 1954 addressing Rogers, he stated that a chief had been sent to urge Lukas Pkech to surrender, but he refused. Alexander Bedell Simpson, the then DC, accompanied by the incoming DC, two police officers, and forty armed Africans were drafting a letter to Lukas Pkech making one last surrender demand for Lukas Pkech. As Simpson was completing the letter, a crowd of about 200 to 300 Pokots emerged from the bush and started dancing for Simpson and his members. Simpson ordered the shooting.

The unrest led to the battle of Kolloa and the death of three European officers, a Pokot tribal policeman or the local police as it was referred by British administrators, Lukas himself and a number of his followers" (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/6 Rift Valley Province Annual Report 1950).

The above statement was captured vividly by Kipkorir (1972), who stated that: The Kolloa affray that took place on 24th April 1950 was prompted by the government wanting to arrest a religious sect leader as Dini ya Musambwa. It was a short-lived clash between the colonial government and a few members of the religious sect, which led to the death of 20 Pokots. Lukas himself, one African Askari, and the incoming DC accompanying Simpson were also killed.

This caused the people of East Pokot to suffer heavily. A levy force commanded by an assistant superintendent of police was stationed at Nyinyang'. It was attached a political officer, directly responsible to the Provincial Commissioner of the Rift Valley Province (KNA, DC/BAR 6/1.). The legislative council debates report (1951) states that the levy force's occupation lasted a year and was paid for by the Pokot due to the Kolloa Affray. It was decided that each month the various locations would contribute approximately 250-300 cattle. The total number of cattle eventually collected was 5,000 and, when sold to the Kenya Meat Commission, realized the sum of £8,980.35.

The incident led to concerted efforts by the colonial government to put the Pokot pastoralists of Baringo under tight government and security surveillance. As a result of this battle, a Kenya police levy Force consisting of an Assistant Superintendent of Police, two European inspectors, and 70 African other ranks was imposed immediately with headquarters at Nginyang, some 35 miles from the battlefield. The task set for the levy force was the disarmament of the East Pokot, the enforcement of the fine imposed by the government, and of ensuring the performance of compulsory labour on public works such as roads and water supplies (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/6 Baringo District Annual Report 1950).

Generally, the government's response to the Kolloa incident had repercussions on Pokot pastoralism because the fine imposed on them by the government was to be paid in terms of livestock. This seemed to be a strategy of the government to enforce destocking rather than for punishment's sake. The full fine amounted to 5,000 head of cattle. In the words of the District Commissioner, it was noted that:

“The fine imposed by the government is being levied in cattle, and by the time the full 5,000 head has been removed, a great service towards destocking will have been rendered not only to East Suk, but to the District as a whole” (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/6 Baringo District Annual Report 1950, page 4).

Another aspect of the punishment of the Pokot pastoralists, especially of the Mwina area, was disarmament. The area residents of this area surrendered “many bows and arrows,” thereby becoming highly vulnerable and prone to cattle-raid attacks from other pastoral communities. The Pokot's vulnerability to Turkana cattle raiders was even more pronounced given that in 1949, “on the eastern side of Kapedo...on the Loyamoruk-Suk border, an unsatisfactory state of affairs had prevailed through the year” whereby the Pokot had lost several heads of livestock to the Turkana. Concerning this situation, the DC reported:

“Perhaps as a measure of revenge for the eviction of 100 of their families from Suk in 1948, the Turkana lifted off their erstwhile hosts some four hundred head of stock, mostly camels. This was in January, and only 50 had been recovered by the end of the year. The rest presumably have been eaten, and negotiations for the payment of compensation are still in progress (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/6 Baringo District Annual Report 1949, page 4).”

Given the circumstances of the previous years, and in the face of disarmament in 1950, Pokot pastoralism faced a difficult moment. During the year 1950, it was reported that “a large body of armed Turkana were on the “warpath” in this area” (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/6 Baringo District Annual Report 1950). Perhaps the Turkana were aware that the Pokot had been disarmed and scouting on raiding them.

According to a key informant (OI, 2/7/2019), the tax that the colonial masters introduced was popularly referred to as Kodi. The colonial government, through the chiefs, could pick the best and the healthiest bull from each homestead. The owners were not expected to give consent on which animal they were to take and which one

not to take. In addition, the East Pokot were commanded to surrender all the spears, and it was declared an offense for any Pokot to carry those weapons. This was meant to show the colonial government's might and show that the government could punish everyone who opposed its activities in the region.

Before the Kolloa incident, the Pokot of Baringo District had been referred to by the colonial administrators as “conservative, remote, and to all intents and purposes a peaceful, law-abiding people” (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/6 Baringo District Annual Report 1950). This thinking had discouraged the colonial government from reinforcing security for the sole purpose of policing the Pokot. However, this thinking of the Pokot as peaceful had been reversed. Indeed, the Pokot's thinking was a peaceful community had led to a lessened presence of the colonial government in that part of Baringo. This enabled the Pokot to occasionally move around, sometimes outside the borders established for them. However, with closer administration, Pokot pastoralists found themselves in a position where they could not breach the colonial laws and expectations.

In addition, pass laws were imposed on the Pokot pastoralists of Baringo District, and this heavily restricted and controlled their movement (KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/6 Baringo District Annual Report 1950). Traditionally, pastoralism was hinged on the movement of herds and herders in search of pasture and water. Therefore, this controlled movement definitely impacted Pokot pastoralism negatively.

Apart from the punitive measures imposed on the Pokot pastoralists, the government initiated public works projects, which included road-making and water supplies.

These projects served to reinforce closer administration of the Pokot as previously; they had been far removed from the government's watchful eye.

2.10 Closer administration, the introduction of ranches and their impact on Pokot pastoralism (1953-1962)

The post-Kolloa period witnessed the introduction of measures aimed at bringing development among pastoral communities of Baringo District. These measures also served to bring about effective and closer administration of communities residing in Baringo District with a view to stemming anti-colonial attitudes. Under controlled block-grazing schemes, the government-introduced ranches in 1953, but their effective rolling out was hampered by a shortage of staff.

The introduction of group ranches was done by subdividing large tracts of communal lands into smaller units, and then they were registered in the names of people elected as representatives of the groups, then the ranch was handed over to herders (Ogolla and Mugabe, 1996).

This was to encourage the people of Baringo to adopt the practice of controlled grazing. The South Baringo ranch (also called Esageri Grazing Scheme) belonged to the Tugen. The idea behind these ranches was the need to aid the rapid recovery of the grass cover. Esageri was started as a "pilot scheme for the rehabilitation of similar areas" in the Baringo District (Baringo District Annual Report, 1956).

While the colonial administrators encouraged communal ranches for the Tugen, the opposite was applied to the Pokot. For example, at the Kisokon area, individual ranches were set up whereby "the stocking rate remained at 20 head of cattle per

ranch” (Baringo District Annual Report, 1956). Whenever good rains were realized, the stocking rate per ranch would be increased to 25 cattle. However, the government was always short of personnel to supervise and enforce the stipulated number of heads of cattle per individual ranch. In the Kisokon area, it was noted in 1956 that ranch owners concentrated more on fencing their holdings rather than clearing the bushes to pave the way for grass germination (Baringo District Annual Report, 1956). Individual ranches under the Kisokon Individual Ranching scheme, were established to promote the same idea that the Esageri Controlled Grazing Scheme for the Tugen was established.

The idea of individually owned ranches was an innovation among Pokot pastoralists of the Baringo District. By 1961, “grazing schemes continued with generous African Land Development (ALDEV) assistance. These, together with consolidated areas, meant that nearly one-quarter of a million acres in Baringo were under control. However, in spite of the changes which these grazing schemes were to achieve, including closer administration, “in the Pokot Area... the prevalent resistance to change remains unimpaired” (Baringo District Annual Report, 1961)

Like controlled grazing schemes, the closer administration of the Pokot did not endear them to the colonial government. Their “rebellious” attitude to the colonial government seemed to persist. Thus, in spite of the punitive measures meted out on Pokot pastoralists for challenging the colonial government, some pockets of anti-colonialism still showed up among the West Suk Pokot. In addition, the West Pokot pastoralists also showed opposition to the stock census in Mosul (Baringo District Annual Report, 1956).

The Pokot, though resisting changes introduced by the colonial government, learned to play their cards with tact. Drastic and punitive measures meted out on the Pokot pastoralists of Baringo County after the Kolloa incident served to teach the Pokot to avoid aggrieving the colonial government. The colonial government organized even more scary measures to warn Pokot pastoralists not to dare the government again. This was in the form of displaying its military prowess for the Pokot pastoralist to see. A Company of 5(K) K.A.R. did a good Flag march in November and December in Pokot, visiting Kolloa, Nginyang, Kapedo and Akoret. This was well-timed and probably did a lot of good (Baringo District Annual Report, 1956).

Thus, anything that would have brought Pokot pastoralists, both in Baringo and elsewhere, into conflict with the government was avoided. Firstly, they refused to entertain anything to do with Mau Mau. As reported, “there was no opportunity for Suk again to show their enthusiasm for killing Mau Mau terrorists, but the Tugen of South Baringo played an important part in bringing several terrorists to justice (Baringo District Annual Report, 1956).

Secondly, Pokot pastoralists paid their taxes promptly to avoid a clash with the government. Thus, this was properly noted: “No subversion could be found in East Suk during the year though the Ribkwo Suk in the Koloa area and the Korossi Suk in Churo area showed some truculence, mainly when foreign Bwanas and police came in from other districts on their lawful occasions. The main idea of the Pokot was still to be left alone, and they paid their taxes well as an insurance premium against interference from government” (Baringo District Annual Report, 1956).

Thus, the colonial state used overstocking as an excuse to forcefully acquire animals from natives at a throw-away price in order to meet domestic and export market demands. In addition to the hut and poll taxes imposed on Africans, through livestock sales, the state was able to obtain the much-needed revenue for its functions. Destocking not only took away the best animals from most African pastoralist Pokot included but also, in the long run undermined their stock production and accumulation circles (Javis, 1991).

As the country moved towards achieving its independence from the British colonialists, politics began to take a twist, with ethnic politics taking center stage. The Tugen ethnic community was dominant in Baringo District in terms of population. The same community had blessings from the colonial government as it was deemed to be progress-minded, going by their embrace of colonial policies and positive response to government projects. The dominance of the Tugen was replicated in the Baringo African District Council (ADC), where they were also the majority. There had been a deliberate effort in 1961, on the eve of independence, to Tugenize the Baringo African District Council. Thus “The ADC called for the Tugenization of Government staff in Baringo (where suitably qualified Tugen were available) and were particularly concerned by the number of Abaluhya teachers in Baringo Schools” (Baringo District Annual Report, 1961)

Thus, Kenya attained independence at a time when ethnic relations between communities inhabiting Baringo District were strained. On their part, the Ilchamus “ejected Tugen grazers and their cattle which had encroached illegally. Had it not been for the fortuitous presence of the local Member of Local Community (M.L.C). Mr. Daniel Torotich Arap Moi, bloodshed might well have resulted. The Ilchamus, being

a small ethnic group, felt with some justification that the Tugen were trying to squeeze them out. They worried about the small number of Ilchamus in the Perkerra irrigation scheme and were equally concerned about Tugen who wanted to take over Lake Baringo Fishing Industry” (Baringo District Annual Report, 1961).

Cattle raids involving Pokot and Turkana seemed to resurface on the eve of independence whereby “stock thefts from the Scheduled Areas continued to be a major problem as did trespass by Pokot into Laikipia” (Baringo District Annual Report, 1961).

2.11 Summary

As seen from the above discussion, the pre-colonial Pastoral Pokot of Baringo District were well organized. For instance, during pre-colonial times, the East Pokot had their own accepted ways of preserving dry weather grazing areas. However, with the advent of colonialism, the preservation of such areas was sanctioned by the local colonial administrators. The chiefs now had direct control of grazing areas such as Mukuyuni, Koressi, Ngubretti, Gobat, and Luboi, unlike in pre-colonial times.

Secondly, there was the introduction of some fees to be levied by the local administrators in order for pastoralists to access the dry weather grazing fields. For instance, the Suk of Korossi were expected to pay some amount of fees to access the dry grazing areas at Churo, a dry weather grazing area.

Livestock was the pride of the Pastoral Pokot. However, the colonialist, through destocking policy, encouraged the Pokot to sell their livestock for three main reasons. One reason was that in order to achieve maximum utilization of grazing fields without

degrading the environment, they needed to have a small stock. The second reason was to minimize the appetite of the neighbouring cattle raiders, and the third was to enable to raise the desired amount to pay taxes. The colonial masters had a narrow perspective, and they did not take into account the fact that drought claimed a lot of their stock and that having much livestock could help them replenish their stock during the wet season.

Dependency and underdevelopment and symbolic interaction theory were instrumental in this section in showing how the colonialists transformed the nature of pastoralism, for example, by introducing destocking policies, curtailing mobility, and change of land tenure systems, as discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

**INDEPENDENCE GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND THE
TRANSFORMATION OF PASTORALISM AMONG THE POKOT OF
BARINGO DISTRICT, 1963 TO 1991**

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the Post-independence government policies and how they affected the nature of pastoralism. Therefore the following areas were examined: Independence and Pokot pastoralists in Baringo County 1963-1969, Pokot Pastoralism and the Politics of land in Baringo County 1963-1969, Prolonged drought and Pokot pastoralism in the post-independence era 1963-1969, Cattle racketeering and the Impact of ‘Ng’oroko’ Cattle raiders on Pokot pastoralism in Baringo County 1964-1980, Communal Punishment Policy and Pokot pastoralism 1967-1980, Range management Policy and Pokot pastoralism in Baringo County 1970-1992 and Response of Pokot pastoralists to Government Cattle-Breeding project 1970-1992. Symbolic interaction theory was very useful in explaining this chapter.

3.2 Independence and Pokot pastoralists in Baringo District (1963-1969)

Over decades the dry-lands of East Africa experienced tremendous changes and transformations. Although dry-lands are home to many pastoralists, the pastoral Pokot included pastoralism which had undergone various transformations adapting and adjusting to suit their livelihood (McCabe et al., 1999). This study sought to examine transformations that had taken place since independence to the period of multi-partyism.

Independence reignited a call, by political leaders, for national unity. The call for national unity was echoed by Pokot political leaders who also wanted unity for the

Pokot community. Colonial administrators had divided the Pokot into two, namely, the East Pokot and the West Pokot. As Kenya warmed up to independence, the Pokot of Kenya and the Kara Pokot (Karamoja) of Uganda ignited a debate about the need to have the three Pokot groups coming together as one group. In 1961, the Pokot people's leaders, under the chairmanship of the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) Office, Makutano, wrote to the District Commissioner stationed at Kapenguria with the motive of igniting a discussion around Pokot Unity. Their letter, signed by Mr. Thomas Aperit, the then DC, stated:

After a long understanding as well as sensitization, we Pokot people have found out that the Pokot should unite together (Karasuk, East Suk and West Suk to become one body as before)...(KNA, DC/KAPENGURIA/1/1/4)

Senior chief Ng'oleyo well explained the motive to want to unite. During a combined meeting of the Kara Pokot, West Pokot and East Pokot leaders held in African District Council Hall at Kapenguria on 1st and 2nd March 1963, he said that "it was of vital importance to unite the Pokot people together, and that the 'tribe' would be stronger and wealthier if the three groups organized themselves together. Also, during the meeting, "KaraPokot and East Pokot leaders appreciated and endorsed the decision taken by West Pokot African District Council in changing the name of the community from 'Suk' to the proper name 'Pokot' (KNA, DC/KAPENGURIA/1/1/4).

In 1964, Honorable Lorema, who was then a member of Parliament, gave the following notice of motion in the House of Representatives: "That in view of the fact that East and West Pokot people are of the same folk and in view of the fact that the former has gained nothing in Baringo District socially, politically and economically,

this House calls upon the government to amalgamate the two in one District for administrative and social purposes” (KNA, DC/KAPENGURIA/1/1/4)

The then Civil Secretary, Rift Valley Region, emphasized the need to have West and East Pokot people administered from Sigor without necessarily creating a new district.

He stated:

I am directed to inform you that this motion is agreed in principle; there is no question of creating a new district, but purely for administrative purposes, it is suggested that Pokot locations at present, within the Baringo District should be administered from Sigor in West Pokot District (KNA, DC/KAPENGURIA/1/1/4, 1964)

In response to the Civil Secretary’s letter, the Regional Government Agent-based in Baringo District was hesitant in encouraging the administration of both the West Pokot and East Pokot from Sigor. He stated that:

“Circumstances as they are at present, I strongly feel that it would be almost impossible to administer East Pokot from Sigor. At present the Sigor-Tet-kalewa-Nginyang road via Elgeyo Marakwet, is the only road of access to East Pokot from Sigor. The road is very long and almost impassable because of its present shocking condition.... Another administrative problem that would arise is that of disease control by the veterinary department... it would be more convenient for the Livestock Officer at Kabarnet to control the movement of stock from East Pokot than the Livestock Officer from West Pokot” (KNA, DC/KAPENGURIA/1/1/4, 1964)

Thus, from an administrative point of view, East Pokot would not be administered together with West Pokot due to the various handicaps mentioned above, and this worked against the unification of both groups.

It is important to discuss the relations between the Pokot of Baringo and those of West Pokot at this juncture. Mkutu, (2005) states that internal conflicts within the pastoral

communities of Pokot were very rare. He went ahead to give an example that killing a fellow Pokot usually imposed a high fine on the offender. They had to compensate through *lapai* the fine imposed on the offender, and their family serves as deterrent. This did not extend to when one killed an ‘enemy’ from another community such as Turkana or Samburu.

Mutsotso (2013) also conducted research on the conflict between the Pokot and other communities. He found out that the Pokot of Baringo had conflicts with their neighbours, the Turkana, Samburu, Ilchamus, Tugen, and Marakwet. In the same vein, from interviews with respondents and FGDs, all agreed that a Pokot was a Pokot be either from Uganda (karapokot) or the West Pokot. One did not raid or kill his/her kin. From the above, it is important to note that Pokot of Baringo have cordial relations with their kinsmen in West Pokot County.

As outlined above, independence was received with mixed reactions by the people of Baringo District. Generally, independence ignited local politics. It was noted in 1964 that “1964 was a very exciting year when politics influenced all activities in the nation” and “this was very remarkable in Baringo where supporters of a party were diametrically opposed to those who supported the other party” (Baringo District Annual Report, 1964). The post-independent government was keen on developing the people in Baringo District along the same lines as those provided by the colonial government. This was especially the case with regard to grazing control schemes.

In the changing circumstances of Kenya, it was perhaps creditable that “whilst little progress in grazing control was made at least we probably managed to hold our own” (Baringo District Annual Report, 1963).

The grazing control schemes in 1963, most of which were initiated in the colonial period, were as shown below:

Table 3.0.1 Grazing Control Schemes in Baringo District, 1963

Scheme	Graziers	Acres
Gobat	267	17700
Kimoset	208	16200
Radad	211	25000
Perkerra	335	16700
Chebren	421	19000
Kilombe	100	13200
Ol-Kokwe	141	9500
Total	1683	120300

Source: Baringo District Annual report 1963

Table 4 above showed how controlled grazing affected mobile pastoralism. The grazing schemes were introduced to reduce the free mobility of livestock and people.

Fratkin (1991) states that Kenya received independence in 1963 and carried on the regulatory and policy frameworks developed in the colonial period and transferred to the post-colonial period. The colonial policies remained in place in the next three decades, endorsed and funded by international agencies committed to the paradigms of the past and often advised by the old colonial experts as new consultants (Fratkin, 1991).

Like the colonial government, the post-colonial government previously seemed to advance the same attitude that Pokot pastoralists were not ready for change and were an obstacle to progressive forces and initiatives in Baringo District. For example,

regarding livestock disease control, the Pokot pastoralists were deemed unresponsive to government measures towards dealing with livestock disease. As a result, the Pokot were blamed for doing too little about disease control. Generally, the post-colonial government viewed the Pokot as anti-developmental. The path of development, which the post-colonial government pursued, was top-down policy enactment and implementation. The people at the grassroots were viewed as having little input to policy-making processes.

Dependency and underdevelopment were useful at this point to analyse the perpetuation of colonial policies of pastoralism which viewed this economic activity as an outdated practice. The perpetuation of colonial policies led to the marginalization and underdevelopment of the pastoral sector.

In 1963, when there was an outbreak of Foot and Mouth Disease in East Pokot, the government blamed Pokot pastoralists for occasioning the disease because they did not respond positively to government-initiated development programs thus:

Apart from Foot and Mouth in East Pokot, the district has been reasonably clear of disease. The attitude of East Pokot is very worrying. The area has suffered consistently from Foot and Mouth because they do not observe the quarantine, and as a consequence, the outbreak cannot be controlled. Furthermore, they refuse Rinderpest inoculations... a big stick must surely be wielded, and the Pokot made to toe the line. While they may wish to live as "stone age" men, all-around events are on the move. Disease knows no barrier, and Pokot indifference could cause untold damage to neighboring people. On a parochial level, it may well stop our stock sales completely (Baringo District Annual Report 1963, Page 9-10).

One of the post-Colonial government's immediate development policies was with regard to settling landless people and squatters on land formerly held by European farmers. However, the Pokot showed little interest in the Government's land

settlement policy. Therefore, the land, which initially belonged to the European settlers on Baringo District's borders, was acquired by the government for the settlement of squatters and the landless. This land for settlement schemes included Perkerra, Ravine, Ainamoi, and Timboroa. The Pokot did not take a keen and positive interest in settlement schemes because they did not want to be limited in terms of how many cattle they would be allowed to keep (Baringo District Annual Report, 1964)

The Pokots had a negative attitude towards settlement schemes as they would not like being controlled or limited on the number of animals they should keep (Baringo District Annual Report, 1964)

The politics of land in the Post-Independent Baringo District included opposition to Kikuyu settlement in the adjoining settlement schemes. Thus, from this point on, land politics began to take shape in the Baringo District.

3.3 Pokot Pastoralism and the Politics of land in Baringo District (1963-1969)

Historically, pastoral communities operated on communal grazing lands rather peacefully. This is because grazing lands could be used for several months before relocating to new fields. The elders made these arrangements, and they ensured that each community member had access to these fields (Ngaido, 2005). Therefore, access to resources is a legitimate issue of dispute between the pastoral Pokot and their neighbors (Gleditsh, 2013). This is because the area occupied by the Pokot receives little rainfall. Hence, the community scrambles to access these limited water resources and pasture with other communities around them.

Although Pokot pastoralists lacked any interest in being settled in settlement schemes, the Ilchamus and the Tugen continued to claim each other's land. Land claims and counterclaims took two forms: land claims within Baringo District and land claims across Baringo District. The fact that land claims and District claims sprung up after the colonial period points to the fact that the colonial government had succeeded in silencing voices over this matter. Even though the Pokot did not voice any land claims, they only wanted to be granted access to these fields at particular times of the year. Hence, they were blamed for grazing beyond their legal borders.

The Tugen and the Ilchamus still claim one another's land. The Elgeyos and the Tugen have been having claims over Cheplambus but at a meeting in Kabarnet... between both Baringo and Elgeyo D.C.s and some wazees from each side, it was agreed that the whole area belongs to Elgeyos unless they want to give a few plots to Tugen. This did not materialize and the Tugen, especially from Sacho Location, are still discontented.... The Pokots illegal graze in the districts neighbouring them infuriates their neighbors a lot (Baringo District Annual Report 1964, page 2).

Pokot pastoralists seemed to advance the attitude that they had a right to graze beyond their stipulated borders. This brought them into collision with government administrators both within and outside Baringo District.

3.4 Prolonged drought and Pokot pastoralism in the post-independence era (1963-1969)

Drought is an extended period of months or years in which precipitation is less than the annual average, and the result is severe water scarcity (Wilhite, 2011). Nkedienyi et al., (2011) stated that Kenya experienced an increased drought frequency from once in every ten years in the 1960s and 1970s to once every five years in the 1980s, and the frequency increased to once in 2-3 years. While according to World

Meteorological Organization defines drought as lack of precipitation over a region for a period of time Hydrological, which is a period with inadequate surface and subsurface water resource, agricultural which is a period with declining soil moisture and subsequent crop failure due to surface water resource or socio-economical which is a failure of water resource to meet demands which affect human activities both directly and indirectly (Hounam et al. 1975). This same pattern of drought was experienced among the Pokot pastoralists in Baringo District.

The net effect was that drought posed serious challenges for populations whose livelihood depended on natural resources. The Pokot being one of the groups that lived in the ASAL region, experienced serious drought challenges. Due to global climate change, the ASAL region experienced frequent climatic extremes such as increased aridity, increased water stress, increased malnutrition, among others (Thornton and Lipper, 2014).

In Baringo District, Prolonged droughts continued to present serious administrative problems, especially among Pokot pastoralists whose large herds of livestock needed water and grazing pastures. As had been the case during the colonial period, Pokot pastoralists trespassed into other territories in search of these two resources following the prolonged drought of 1964.

Although pastoralists were rich in knowledge that enabled them to exploit and protect the environment (Notenbaert *et al.*, 2012), the drought of 1964 was so severe that cattle from East Pokot were illegally moved to the neighbouring Districts of Maralal, West Pokot, and Elgeyo-Marakwet. This caused some alarm, but there was little that could be done about it other than to call out an army of police, which would in all

probability have ended in bloodshed. There was, however, something to be said for the attitude of the East Pokot, since their area had received no rain since October 1964, and if they were to survive at all, they had to take matters into their own hands (Baringo District Annual Report, 1966)

Subsequently, the administration had to acquire a ranch in Laikipia plateau as additional assistance for Pokot cattle (Baringo District Annual report, 1966). Furthermore, apart from the drought, there was also an outbreak of livestock diseases, which prevented the Pokot from selling their livestock. This “paralyzed the stock sales and the economy of” Baringo District, which still depended mainly on nomadic livelihoods. As a result, “very few persons could afford the payment of taxes” (Baringo District Annual Report 1966). Whenever droughts broke out, the Pokot of Baringo were always ready to face triple problems. One was the death of their animals in large numbers, the second was the outbreak of diseases as their animals had to be taken out of the district for grazing and, by doing so, contracted diseases from other districts. The third problem was that the Pokot could not sell their livestock due to quarantines because of diseases.

The droughts experienced by the Pokot in the period of 1964 to 1967 were cushioned by adapting and adjusting accordingly. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC, 2012) defines adaptation as an adjustment in the human system's nature in response to actual or expected climatic stimuli or their effects that moderate harm or exploit beneficial opportunities. On the other hand, Blaikie et al. (1994) define coping as how people act within existing resources and ranges of expectations in a given context to achieve various ends. In summary, it is worth noting that adaptation involves longer-term shifts in livelihood strategies while coping involves a temporary

adjustment in response to change or to mitigate shocks and stresses on livelihoods (Mogosi et al., 2012).

Siddle and Swindell (1990) contended that African pastoralists are adept at utilizing a variety of environmental specialties for food staples. In addition, indigenous frameworks were built on the foundation of the local environment's diverse knowledge as far as opportunities and constraints. Ogot (1979) contended that African ecology viewed from a historical perspective should deal with man's effort to adjust to his environment and his environment to himself. Ogot proposed that environmental history needed to zero in on man, the historian actor, and his awareness of options of actions in both time and place (Ogot, 1979). From the Ogot's perspective, Africans were aware of the ecological niches that helped the Pokot survive the 1967 drought, as will be discussed.

In the same vein, Notenbaert et al. (2012) note that the pastoral societies Pokot included had an intimate relationship with their environment and a rich knowledge that enabled them to both and exploits the changing rangeland conditions on which their survival is dependent. Like other nomadic communities, the Pastoral Pokot employed various strategies to adjust to the drought of 1967.

One of the Pokot strategies to cushion them against the 1967 drought was keeping a herd containing a mixture of different livestock as insurance against drought. Pokot's herd of livestock has different animal species, including camels, cattle, goats and sheep, and donkeys. All these animals have different forage and water requirements and adjust differently to drought. This indigenous knowledge on climate enabled the

Pokot to keep different herd species that cushioned the Pokot against total loss in the 1967 drought.

Economic diversification was another strategy that the Pokot used to cope and adjust to the drought of 1967. The Pokot engaged in other socio-economic activities that were not climatic sensitive for them to survive the drought. Among the diversification economies engaged by the Pokot included bee keeping, for them to sell honey and get cash to supplement the economic activities, they also engaged in charcoal burning activities; others looked for wage employment in urban centers as a measure to adjust to climatic extremes.

Mobility was another strategy that the Pokot used to survive the 1967 drought. In an O.I. with a Pokot elder, it was noted that; the Pokot segregated mountainous regions as the dry season grazing areas, and the elders preserved these areas, and no one could graze on these areas without the consent and authority of elders. In other instances, we could move with the animals a distance of 80 km to West Pokot, Turkana, Molo, or even Uganda when the drought was severe to feed our animals (Loyelel, OI 3/7/2020).

In spite of the negative impact of the drought of 1966, Baringo District was politically blessed in 1967. Daniel Arap Moi's elevation to the post of vice president in 1967 served to create political unity among the ethnic communities residing in Baringo District. This unity had been elusive since the time KANU and KADU political parties merged in 1964. Before 1964, Baringo District was deemed to be a KADU stronghold. However, there were also some Kenya African National Union (KANU) sympathizers

in Baringo, and in 1966, there were some Kenya Peoples' Union (KPU) elements in Baringo (Throup & Hornsby, 1998)

The manifestation of the strength of KANU in the District was illustrated by Local Government elections when KANU candidates were re-elected in all electoral areas unopposed. Some members of the Opposition Party (KPU) resigned and rejoined KANU during the year. Ostensibly, there were no noticeable activities of KPU in the District during the year 1968 (Baringo District Annual Report, 1968)

3.5 Cattle racketeering among Pokot Pastoralists in Baringo District (1967-1970)

As markets expand, traders move from one market to the other, selling all types of goods that range from household items, consumables, livestock, and clothing. Market days are important days that make residents congregate with the aim of selling, buying, or socializing. Particularly, livestock and meat play an important role in the social-economic setting of the pastoralist Pokot (Gitu, 2019). This is due to the increased demand for meat in the country and in the world (Food Agricultural Organization , 2017). Therefore, this global rise of meat consumption led the Nubians and Swahili to move to East Pokot and begin the trade-in livestock as articulated below.

It was stated in 1967 that “a sizeable community of Nubians and Swahilis in Eldama Ravine and Mogotio with a scattered but aggressive handful of Somali stock traders and businessmen, mainly concentrated in Mogotio and some engaged in stock racketeering among Pokots inside Pokot reserve, were engaging in illegal business” “whereby a gallon of used crude engine oil is exchanged for a huge he-goat, and a bag of posho is worthy a full grown-up ox”. This ‘corruption’ was rampant among Pokot

pastoralists of Baringo District because they were “usually hit by famine-spells” (Baringo District Annual Report, 1967).

Somali traders had convinced Pokot not to sell their livestock in auctions, as taxes would be deducted from their sales (Baringo District Annual Report, 1967). In addition, the Somali livestock traders had cautioned Pokot pastoralists not to sell their stock in auctions because the government would count their otherwise overstocked cattle (Baringo District Annual Report, 1967). Needless to say, if there is anything the Pokot of Baringo District dreaded, then it was destocking.

Somali traders lived among Pokot pastoralists, with whom they had intermarriages (Baringo District Annual Report, 1967). Eventually, Somali traders benefitted from “exorbitant sales of cheaply bought Pokot oxen at the KMC” (Baringo District Annual Report, 1967).

3.6 Impact of ‘Ng’oroko’ Cattle raiders on Pokot pastoralism in Baringo District (1964-1980)

Cattle raiding is a collective terminology loosely used in reference to illegal dealing in stock. Whether petty or thievery or large scale. Raiding is used in these contexts to mean armed attacks by one group with the aim of stealing a large number of stock (Markakis, 1993). The transformation of the *ngoroko*, which is loosely translated to mean a rebel group of raiders from the Turkana community who disobeyed elders in their villages after coming into ownership of guns through trade with Ethiopia pastoralists (Skoggard and Adem 2010). Changed raiding from the original purpose which was for redistribution, payment of pride price and a sense of bravery, to a more criminal act.

Traditional cattle raiding involved the use of crude weapons such as arrows and bows and spears; however, the introduction of more sophisticated weapons changed the whole act of cattle raiding. Turkana warriors, referred to as *ngoroko* were the first to acquire guns through trade with Ethiopia. The introduction of firearms changed the raiding practice as it brought in new actors such as arms traders. In some instances, it opened the practice of pastoralism to other actors who are not pastoralists (Okumu et al. 2017).

From 1964 onwards, Kenya's government had been pursuing the policy of unity and progress (development). This had seen the merger of KANU and KADU political parties. This unity had been shaken in 1966 when Jaramogi Oginga Odinga resigned and formed KPU political party. However, the elevation of Moi to the vice-presidency in 1967, led to political unity in Baringo District.

The doctrine of unity and progress was quite manifest throughout the District. However, this was not without some deep-rooted sectional differences and, to some extent, socio-political apathies that were not without their apparent consequences. Tribal clashes, especially between Pokots/Turkana, Pokots/Marakwets, and Pokots/Tugens, sometimes occurred with heavy consequences on all the parties involved (Baringo District Annual Reports, 1968)

One of the reasons that led to the escalation of these clashes was the declining influence of elders from the affected communities and the agitation from elected leaders. Unfortunately, the supposed arbitration of committees of tribal elders has become moribund and ineffective in settling tribal clashes due to unending agitations by some of the leading elected and local leaders. They kept the fire of disharmony and

discontent burning throughout the year. This was apparently due to the political advantage of the said political leaders (Baringo District Annual Report 1968)

The emergence of Ngoroko cattle rustlers affected the grazing pattern of Pokot pastoralists in Baringo in this way:

Cattle had gone up to the mountains at Paka Kating Sitet, Churo, Tiati, while Camels, sheep, and goats were left on the plains. Due to most of the population in Tirioko Location having moved with their stock to Ribikwo, Loyamuruk, and Korossi because of sporadic activities of Ngoroko all East Pokot was very short of grazing, fodder, and browse. Even with the protection of the G.S.U. at Kapedo those who have seen friends and relatives killed were not prepared to take a chance and return to Tirioko (Baringo District Annual Report 1970, page 19).

The above statement is well articulated by Mkutu (2003), who notes that raiders sometimes target to displace communities to create more room for pasture and water. Mkutu (2003) states that the Pokot attempted to displace the Marakwet. Similarly, in Uganda, Karimojong had been increasingly attacking non-pastoralist communities in Teso, Katakwi, and Kitgum districts, creating significant internal displacements (2003).

Pokot's love for large herds of cattle continued even in the face of government policy towards destocking. The Pokot were not ready to yield to any measures aimed at reducing their livestock, be it through cattle raids from Turkana Ngoroko cattle raiders or livestock sales/auctions organized by the government.

Any mention of destocking is absolute anathema to grazing in Baringo. Any man mentioning destocking is immediately branded as an enemy of the whole community... in a way anyone can departure with whatever stock he likes and in whatever numbers he can amass, any mention of control or laws to obtain control immediately becomes a big political issue with reverberations far and wide (Baringo District Annual Report 1970, page 20)

Pokot’s love for cattle received support from politicians who were in support of the Pokot culture of amassing large herds of livestock. Indeed, as reported in 1971, Pokot cattle increased in population thus: “It is noticeable that there has been an increase in stock population over the year with indigenous stock. This increase was mainly due to births” (Baringo District Annual Report, 1971)

Therefore, political leaders served to undermine government measures aimed at regulating Pokot pastoralism through the destocking policy. The result was an accumulation of livestock by Pokot pastoralists. This accumulation attracted cattle raiders from the Turkana side. The problem of Turkana *Ngorokos* continued into the 1980s. In 1981, for example, several incidents of Turkana attacks on Pokots were registered. On their part, Pokot pastoralists also retaliated against Turkana Cattle rustlers. Table 5 below summarizes such incidents in 1981.

Table 3.0.2 Incidents of armed conflicts involving the Pokot and the Turkana in 1981

Dates	Incident
2 nd February 1981	“Turkana cattle rustlers armed with automatic weapons raided Urusi Pokot Manyattas in East Baringo and made away with a large herd of cattle. Two Pokot male adults were shot dead, and no cattle recovered.”
2 nd April 1981	“Turkana cattle rustlers raided Lobkwo Location of East Baringo and stole 16 head of cattle. Two Pokots were wounded, and no cattle recovered.”
5 th April 1981	“Pokot cattle rustlers attacked the Kapedo area in the presence of security forces at Kapedo Base. They stole 250 heads of cattle but were all recovered after an exchange of fire.”
20 th April 1981	“A group of Turkana cattle rustlers raided Nginyang area of East Baringo, killing 17 Pokots and wounding 12 with gunshots. They

	stole a large head of stock. They were all followed and recovered in South Turkana.”
--	--

Source: Baringo District Annua Report (1981).

The table above showed the cattle rustling between the Pokot and Turkana in the year 1981 with the use of modern firearms.

By the 1980s, the government, instead of dealing with destocking and grazing issues, became preoccupied with curtailing cattle rustling, which always lost livestock, lives, and unending tribal tensions. One of the ways that the government decided to deal with the problem of cattle rustling was to continue promoting communal punishment. This is examined further in the next section.

3.7 Communal Punishment Policy and Pokot pastoralism (1967-1980)

In 1967 “an armed bandit group known as ‘Ngoroko’ continued terrorizing the Pokot's.” This bandit group also terrorized “other neighboring tribes up to Uganda, Ethiopia, and Sudan inclusively.” The government was of the view that “this armed gang has to be dealt with severely so that it can be stamped out once and for all” (Baringo District Annual Report, 1967).

The colonial government had introduced communal punishment as an approach to dealing with cattle raiders. Cattle raiding had been a traditional practice practiced by pastoralists across Kenya. Therefore, faced with unending and heightening incidents of cattle raids among pastoralists in Baringo and the neighbouring counties, the post-colonial Kenya government re-introduced collective punishment.

Though greatly discouraged, collective punishments are the only long-term answers to these tribal clashes. From time immemorial, Pokots, Turkanas, and their neighboring tribesmen have amicably sorted their differences through trial, and customary laws in paying heavy ransom for the persons either injured or killed and the property was stolen... communities suffering from tribal raids; and Ng'oroko rustlers are anxious to see this punishment reinstated by the government (Baringo District Annual Report, 1968, page 6).

The *Ngoroko* Turkana cattle rustlers continued to be a threat to Pokot pastoralists until the 1970s. As noted: “The *Ngorokos* from Turkana District have been a threat always to Pokots of Tirioko Location, and as a result, the government established a temporary G.S.U. camp at Kapedo” (Baringo District Annual Report, 1970)

However, in 1971, due to the government’s policy of improving security in pastoral areas, “Pokot people had a good year, and they moved back to areas earlier abandoned due to *Ngoroko* raids (Baringo District Annual Report, 1971). In spite of this moment of calm, “one would not fail to meet the petty politicians in the field attempting to plant seeds of discord among *wanainchi*” (Baringo District Annual report, 1971). In spite of all these, the G.S.U camp at Kapedo served a great deal in dealing with Pokot/Turkana cattle raids, which had characterized “the relationship between the Turkana and East Pokot.” This relationship was once described as “their traditional game of ‘stock theft’ (Baringo District Annual Report, 1970).

The *Ngoroko* problem continued to be a nuisance to the government in the late 1970s because the “activities of ‘*Ngoroko*’ north of the district resulted in the evacuation of large grassland areas fully covered with excellent forage. Pokot pastoralists, on their part, started retaliatory attacks against Turkana whenever they were raided. By 1977, “*Ngoroko* activities” were described as “endemic” (Baringo District Annual Report, 1977).

Ngoroko activities affected grazing a great deal, as cattle were concentrated in certain grazing areas far away from the Turkana/Pokot border. As a result of this concentration, overgrazing was encountered.

Beef cattle are concentrated around Kinyach, Nginyang. Formerly more concentrations were around Maron, Koloa, and Kapedo but had declined because of Ngoroko activities (Baringo District Annual Report, 1978, page 40).

In the face of all these grazing problems, the government concentrated on range management as a solution. However, this was done at the expense of tightening and improving the security situation, thereby leading to an endemic *Ngoroko* problem.

3.8 Range management Policy and Pokot pastoralism in Baringo District (1970-1992)

It is stated in the Baringo District Annual report (1976) that: “There were a lot of efforts to enlighten the range people on the modern scientific model of range ranching, although no organized ranching schemes were started. There was an emphasis on the deferment of grazing area, but this, unfortunately, did not meet with much success.”

Range management for communities in Baringo District, Pokot pastoralists included, was built upon the traditional practice of deferred grazing. Most pastoral people had generally accepted this practice as the economical and practical way of preserving grazing areas to be used by livestock during the dry season months. In the long run, and as the deferred areas became more and more recognized, it was hoped that they would be registered and set aside as ranching schemes taking into consideration the wishes of the participants. Nearly every location in the district except those of South Baringo practiced deferred grazing.

In spite of the cooperation and enthusiasm of the pastoral people over the strengthening of the deferred grazing system, the problem of organization and running of the systems left a lot to be desired. During the year, the deferments were so neglected that a major effort needed to be made if they were to continue to survive (Baringo District Annual Report, 1976).

Deferred grazing was endangered in 1976 because people broke the rules, which controlled this type of grazing. Government staff in the Range Management Division had ceased to provide guards who guarded deferred grazing areas. As a result, people simply broke the rules without much trouble (Baringo District Annual Report, 1976).

The Range Management Division performed poorly on the area of providing water resources, just as it had performed poorly on controlled grazing schemes among Pokot pastoralists in Baringo District. This is in spite of the cooperation shown by Pokot pastoralists themselves towards making contributions to the water supply scheme in Baringo District.

Baringo District Council continued to maintain and protect the boreholes in East Pokot. The Range Management Division had a grant of 40,000/- for the equipping and partial operation of the Losikiriamoi borehole in East Pokot. However, “the money was not spent to solve technical problems affecting the borehole.... At the end of the year, everything was at standstill”.(Baringo District Annual Report, 1976).

It was not until 1977 that the Range Management Division staff in Baringo District started to show some seriousness in promoting the idea of range ranching.

Throughout the year, the District Range Officer with his staff spent much time selling the idea of “ranches” to the people, and it was encouraging to see that the people responded positively. Meetings were organized, films on range management were shown, and tours and courses were organized. All these achieved much in getting the farmers to accept the group ranches. Group ranches gained such popularity that nearly all the people resident in the range areas accepted it as the only way of achieving their economic advancement (Baringo District Annual Report, 1977).

3.9 Response of Pokot pastoralists to Government Cattle-Breeding project (1970-1992)

The government, in its effort to promote improved breeds of cattle, introduced schemes in Baringo District. Artificial Insemination (A.I) and Sahiwal bulls varieties were introduced for this aim. Farmers were also encouraged to purchase grade/exotic breeds of cattle to increase their milk production. In 1982, for example, “A.I. Services continued to be rendered to farmers in Eldama ravine and Kabarnet,” whereby “a total of 5,873 inseminations were achieved” (Baringo District Annual Report, 1982). In the same year, “about 13 Sahiwal bulls were introduced into the district for upgrading the Zebu cattle for beef and milk production” (Baringo District Annual Report, 1982). Whereas the Tugens responded positively towards this programme, the Pokot did not. The Pokot continued to rear their Zebu cattle. Zebu cattle were kept mainly for the supply of beef.

Beef production was concentrated mostly in the district's range and marginal areas, namely Baringo East and some parts of south and central Divisions. Rearing of beef animals was done mainly by pastoralists, as there were no ranches nor large-scale

farmers. The breed Kept was mainly Zebu, with an estimated population of 120,000 heads (Baringo District Annual Report, 1982).

Demand for meat in the Baringo was on the rise whereby “1,920,500 kilograms of meat was sold in 1981 while 3,459,375 kilograms was sold in 1982” (Baringo District Annual Report, 1982). As the demand for beef shot up, so did the production of hides and skins as more animals were slaughtered. Indeed, the production of hides and skins for the year 1982 increased as compared to 1981 production figures. The hides increased by 600 pieces or 40%. The goats' skins went up by 11,447 pieces or 20%, while the rise of sheepskins was 5,768 pieces or 22% (Baringo District Annual Report, 1982)

In spite of the large number of animals that were being slaughtered, the population of livestock in the district continued to increase. The table below shows livestock populations in Baringo District between 1980 and 1982. The population includes both zebu and grade cattle.

Table 3.0.3 Livestock population in Baringo District, 1980-1982

Class	1980		1981		1982	
	Grade	Zebu	Grade	Zebu	Grade	Zebu
Mature cows	21,500	47,300	24,940	50,310	25,800	51,600
Mature bulls	1,000	2,200	1,160	2,340	1,200	2,400
Heifers over 1 year	7,500	18,500	8,700	17,550	9,000	18,000

Heifer calves	8,500	18,700	9,860	19,890	10,200	20,400
Bull calves	6,000	13,203	6,560	14,040	7,200	14,400
Steers	5,500	12,100	6,380	12,870	6,600	13,200
Total	50,000	110,000	58,000	117,000	60,000	120,000

Source: Baringo District Annual Report (1982)

In 1983, the problem of cattle rustling continued to pose a serious problem for Pokot pastoralists. It was reported in the same year that “in Baringo East, cattle rustling involving a hundred herds of stock and loss of lives were reported. The General Service Unit (GSU), Anti-Stock Unit, A.P.s, and general duty personnel did commendable work in containing the situation. This was boosted by the engagement of home guards who had been recruited (Baringo District Annual Report, 1983). Those animals, which survived the biting drought, were left emaciated.

Apart from the traditional custom of cattle rustling, the Pokot continued to overstock. The drought of 1984 had a devastating effect on Pokot pastoralists, and most of them had to move as far as Kitale and Molo in search of grazing and water. But even in the face of these movements, they lost a lot of their livestock (Baringo District Annual Report, 1984).

Towards the end of the 1980s, Zebu cattle still dominated the livestock population in Baringo District, and most of these were owned by Pokot pastoralists. In fact, 75% of the District's cattle population were beef (mainly indigenous breeds), and 25% were dairy animals. The table below shows livestock population by breed in 1987:

Table 3.0.4 Livestock population by breed in Baringo District, 1987

Animal type/breed	Population
Beef cattle	105,000
Dairy cattle	49,350
Sheep	129,000
Goats	680,000
Local hives	25,000
K.T.B.H.	5,000
Camels	5,5000
Donkeys	4,300

Source: Baringo District Annual Report (1987)

From the above figures, it can be deduced that Pokot pastoralists resisted government policy and initiatives of introducing exotic high-yielding breeds of animals.

Table 3.0.5 Sales of skins in Baringo District, 1986-1987

Division	Total hides		Total skins	
	1986	1987	1986	1987
Kabarnet	4,718	6,949	18,373	25,879
Kabartonjo	5,429	8,660	30,981	52,026
Tenges	417	486	2,058	4,615
Eldama Ravine	6,114	4,195	17,067	9,978
Mogotio	3,887	9,441	15,293	275
Marigat	1,793	2,729	21,269	44,571
Nginyang	241	139	10,419	10,899

Source: Baringo District Annual Report (1987).

It would seem that that Pokot did not engage much in the hides and skins trade. Going by the figures for 1987, Nginyang sold the least number of skins and hides for 1986-1987, as shown in the table above.

3.10 Summary

From this chapter, it has been noted that although pastoralism is the main economic activity carried out in the ASALs, the Post Independent government policies have hampered its development. This is due to the fact that the policies that have been developed are top-down policies. They are made by the government and bureaucrats and imposed on the people. Hence, they mostly meet opposition at the start of the implementation process. For a long time, the pastoral Pokot or Pastoral communities at large have never been consulted by the government.

During the early independence period, the government of Kenya recovered the white highlands from the colonial settlers. The issue of resettlement arose, and the native owners of the land hoped to rightfully get back their land, which had been taken away from them. For instance, in Baringo and across its borders, the land that the government of Kenya recovered included Perkerra, Ainamoi, Ravine, and Timboroa. Although the Ilchamus and the Tugen claimed the ownership of these lands, the Pokot of Baringo were not allocated any of the lands. This meant that the Pokot were to remain in their territory as ascribed to them by the settlers.

Similarly, issues of boundaries were alien to the Pokot during pre-colonial times. However, with the advent of colonialism, the boundaries were demarcated for each

ethnic group. The pastoral Pokot and other pastoral groups were dependent on mobility as a strategy to rear their stock. The independent government further adopted the colonial government policy and restricted the movement of pastoral Pokot. Initially, during the dry seasons, the pastoralist had co-existed with other pastoral communities because they could share grazing lands and water. In addition to the demarcation of boundaries in 1964, the Pokot were hit below the belt with drought. This meant that they had to breach the restriction order and trespassed into other territories in search of water and pasture.

In this chapter, dependency and underdevelopment and symbolic interaction theory were vital in contributing to assessing continuity and change in pastoralism. In this chapter, aspects perpetuation of colonial policies were carried forward. As such, in the post-independence period, continuity was more noted, for example, in favouring crop agriculture over pastoralism.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGES AND CONTINUITIES IN
PASTORALISM AMONG THE POKOT DURING THE ERA OF MULTI-
PARTYISM (1992-2017)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the social-economic changes and continuities in pastoralism among the Pokot. The following areas were examined: pastoral diversification among the Pokot 1992-2000, guns and culture 1992-2000, pastoralism, ethnicity and devolution 2000-2010, bride-wealth and pastoralism 2000-2010, the role of humanitarian activities in East Pokot 2010-2017 and global warming and its effects on pastoral livelihoods 2010-2017. Symbolic interaction theory played a critical role in the analysis of this chapter.

4.2 Pastoral diversification among the Pokot (1992-2000)

The new era of commercializing, the practice of pastoralism has been recognized in West African nations of Burkina Faso (Nielsen, 2010), Mali (Turner, 2009), Côte d'Ivoire (Bassett, 2009), Nigeria (Fabusoro *et al.*, 2008), and Senegal (Adriansen, 2006). Still, there is little scholarly attention to this process defined as such in East Africa. The reason for this may be that studies devoted to transitioning pastoral land-use systems in East Africa often focus more significantly on tourism-driven conservation and development. Pastoralists are studied here with reference to changing ecologies and changing narratives of conservation agendas rather than as economies of themselves. In response to this, the study sought to trace the impact of commercializing pastoralism and its implication on Pokot pastoralists.

Anderson (2000) observes that North rift valley pastoralists traditionally practiced raiding with traditional weapons to acquire wealth, for prestige retaliation, young girls, trophies, bride-wealth and a desire to claim victims in association with the death of favorite oxen, heroism and sometimes to get back the stolen cattle land and arms.

Mkutu (2005) pointed out that raiding has a cultural-historical connotation among all highland and Nilotic groups. It is not a new phenomenon but however has undergone change over the last forty years. Traditional songs and dances highlight the existence of raiding before the coming of the colonial government to the North Rift. Pastoral groups engaged in cattle raiding as a method for expanding lands, restocking animals obtaining bride-wealth showing bravery by new warriors, initiating young men into manhood, and enlarging the community herd after the dry season, disease or starvation. Typically coordinated by elders and seers were counseled to guarantee a triumph. The casualties of the raid were ordinarily the adjacent districts. When the warriors got back from the successful raid, ululations, and songs of praise welcomed them. Among the singers were potential ladies for the warriors. From the Hansard report 1996, Mwai Kibaki in parliament noted

We have kept records over the last five, six and seven instances of cattle rustling where cattle was taken from one part of Kenya, whichever district and the number of cattle was identified and in one case it was 2,000 and another case it was 3,000 or 4,000. The police established the direction the livestock was driven ... in some places, we are told the police used helicopters. Obviously trying to locate livestock for five days, they clearly established where the livestock went. They definitely did, and the police know ...when that livestock is driven from one part of Kenya to another, Lorries transport it. It is sold to butcheries in Kenya. It is not exported out of Kenya. So the police officers know that many of these thieves are protected. Daily Hansard 24th October 1996:2334.

From the FGDs and O.I conducted it was established that the emergency of new actors, namely the politicians and the business elite, who were central in influencing the raids because of their power and resource-based influence, transformed the practice of pastoralism. Traditionally, the raided animals were redistributed within the community; however, the emergence of the new actors in the pastoral sector saw raided livestock being transported in Lorries to urban centers for slaughter.

The early 1990s in Kenya was a period of democratization. With democratization, new changes began to be noticed among the pastoral communities. Greiner (2013) states that political pluralism came along with the changes in cattle raiding. Initially, cattle raiding was conducted with the aim of replenishing the stock. However, with political pluralism, the raiding was politicized and commercialized.

Pastoralists transition to other economic ventures such as agro-pastoralism in rural areas or business ventures in urban centres were as a result of new land policies (Turner and Hiernaux, 2008; Fabusoro *et al.*, 2008; Bassett, 2009), new institutions emerging from increasing instances of individuals employed as herders (Turner, 2009; Turner, 1999), or the need for pastoral adaptation to changing landscapes or ecological conditions (Nielsen, 2010; Galvin, 2009). In East Pokot, the pastoralists have moved from pure pastoralism to include other practices such as beekeeping, beer brewing, and wet season small farming practices, an alternative source of income used to supplement livestock herding.

According to respondents (FGD, 29/06/2019), it was noted that there was great dynamism with multi-partyism, the departure of official British colonial forces, and

the resulting inequalities and pressures from the foundations of governance set by that very force. Furthermore, the influx of new governmental conservation schemes of protected areas beginning in the middle of the twentieth century, and the recent trends toward global and local conservation and development programs, occasioned major changes. These changes are apparent in livelihood strategies, decision-making processes, and pastoralists' socio-cultural traditions at community and individual levels.

One of the changes that took place among the Pokot of East Pokot is that cattle have lost their economic value. According to a respondent (Kibet OI, 3/07/2019), it was noted that cattle lost their value and much attention has been paid to small stocks such as goats and sheep. This is because the small stock cope with extreme weather conditions and are also most preferred in the market. Hence, the pastoral Pokot narrowed down to market-oriented production. The establishment of many markets in the Pokot territory, e.g., the Nginyang market, Tangelbel market, and other mushrooming markets, make it easy to sell their stock quickly. In an FGD (14/07/2019), they seem to be in agreement with Osterle (2008), which found out that the numbers of goats increased tremendously while the numbers of cattle dwindled.

Economic diversification is another important feature that emerged during the research period. This means that rather than specialization in livestock production, the Pokot of East Pokot have diversified their production. Diversification here means that the Pokot have incorporated other economic activities such as honey production through the help of NGOs and the affirmative action fund whereby the Pokot get help so that they can diversify their production. Other economic activities that the Pokot

indulge in are charcoal burning and traditional beer brewing (Bollig and Osterle, 2013).

According to Greiner (2013), the Pokot has also infused crops' cultivation during the wet season. The Pokot nearly two decades ago began a more sedentary lifestyle due to population increase and the rise of land value, which has led to privatization. This made the Pokot start crop farming. This move is meant to supplement the family with food other than animal products such as meat, milk, and blood. According to the respondent (Yego OI 4/07/2019), it was noted that; at least in each homestead, there is some cultivation during the wet season. They plant crops that are drought-resistant such as maize sorghum and vegetables, which take a short period to mature.

Another key feature that seems to crop up, which has brought a new form of contestation, is creating boundaries. During the FGD (FGD, 26/06/2019) with the elders of Pokot, it was noted that initially, the land was communally owned and they could move freely grazing their animals with other ethnic groups such as the Samburu, Ilchamus, Marakwet, and Turkana. However, the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) demarcation of boundaries has created a sense of ownership of land by particular communities. This sense of ownership has brought about inter-ethnic violence because, unlike traditionally whereby communities mutually coexisted, now when they try to cross the boundaries to access grazing fields, it is termed as trespass. This leads to inter-ethnic violence with their neighbours.

Although traditionally, conflicts arose due to pasture, land, and water, these conflicts have shifted to another level. Now the conflicts that are witnessed are due to infrastructural projects. The Pokot of East Pokot share a District with the Tugen and

Ilchamus. However, due to their small population compared to the Tugen, who are the majority, the governor comes from the Tugen community, which is the largest ethnic group in Baringo County. This has made the East Pokot feel marginalized in terms of development projects. The Pokot of East Pokot feel that the Tugen have the lion's share in development projects. This led to ethnic hatred between the two ethnic communities (Bollig and Osterle, 2013).

Centralization allowed certain ethnic groups to dominate the state, leading to inequitable resource distribution. That is why when the county governments were introduced on 4 March 2013, Kenyans voted for governors at the county level for the first time. Under the 2010 Constitution, governors have substantial responsibilities for administration and service delivery in areas such as education, health and transport, and significant fiscal resources transferred from the Centre. These constitute historical changes in the fiscal and administrative organization of the Kenyan state. This raises several questions to ask in the ASAL region of Pokot: does devolution empower local communities? Will devolution bring service delivery closer to the people? Will county governments bring balance the relationship between the national and the county government? These were some of the questions being raised by the local inhabitants of Pokot.

4.3 Guns and culture (1992-2000)

The introduction of 'gun power' has seen the pastoral regions selectively advance on the market's recent gun varieties. Most, unfortunately, sometimes have access to more sophisticated weapons similar to the ones held by state security forces, which characteristically ought to possess and monopolize all tools of force and violence in

its area of jurisdiction (Bollig and Osterle, 2007; Mkutu, 2011; Mkutu and Wandera, 2013). Since the 1990s, researchers emphasized the changing nature of cattle rustling (Hendrickson, Armon, and Mearns, 1998) and attempted to explain this practice to the increased proliferation of sophisticated automatic rifles such as AK 47 (McCabe 2004; Mkutu, 2007).

Small arms to Kenya's peaceful pastoral regions are thought to have begun in the year 1866 during the Italo-Abyssinian war. The proximity of Turkana with Ethiopia continued to aid in the diffusion of arms into the district. According to Ali Omar, a Somali reported that in November 1913 that 'Abyssinian are selling rifles to the northern Turkana, the price of one being 70 sheep, one donkey and a bullock (KNA/DC/RVP, Annual report 1913).

From the on-going discussions, it is noted that the proliferation of small arms started with the Turkana due to their exposure to Ethiopia, and they used their arms to raid the Pokots. So the Pokot also decided to arm themselves so that they could defend themselves. When the Pokot were fully armed, they also began to molest their neighbours the Marakwet and other neighbouring communities. Also, the Marakwet decided to arm themselves to hit back on the Pokot. And that's how arms landed into civilian hands (Mkutu, 2003).

Van der Veen (2004) on the proliferation of light weapons in Africa notes that light weapons were easy to purchase, transport, use, maintain, repair, and conceal. He observed that the AK47 was the best-known weapon, tens of thousands which could be found in Africa. Veen observed that in Angola, the rifle could be exchanged for a sack of grain, and in Kenya, the weapon equals the price of a goat. The weapon has

transformed the pastoral sector into a commercial activity among the pastoralist people of East Africa and Africa at large.

There are many illegal weapons in Kenya, the majority being found in the pastoral areas. Regretfully, these weapons are neither acquired legally nor licensed by the state. According to the 2018 Small Arms Survey from a Geneva-based think tank, there were 750,000 illegal weapons in the country (Standard Sunday, June 16, 2019).

Once a community acquires this weapon, they could use it to control the natural resources, expand their territory and protect themselves and their livestock against raids and attacks from their neighbouring communities such as the Turkana. Therefore the weapon becomes a means to power, status, and survival (Okoboi, 2016).

In an FGD (3/07/2019) with warrior age-groups groups, it was confirmed that although raiding was done from earlier times, major changes have occurred to the practice. Initially, the elders organized, supervised, and regulated the practice. The number of people that went on the raid was a large group of 50-100 young warriors. However, with the introduction of commercial trade and the introduction of new weapons, the raid is organized by 2-3 people.

Despite disarmament and rearming communities through the Kenya Police Reservists (KPR), peace-building meetings, prosecuting perpetrators, declaring illicit firearms surrender amnesties, and establishing peace committees, insecurity in the pastoral region continue to prevail (Lokiyo, 2014).

Schilling et al. (2012) explain that raiders' motivation to engage in conflict/small raids is increased by the development of commercialization of raided livestock. According

to Mkutu (2007), commercialized raiding is facilitated by improved access to markets, rising demand for meat as part of the strong growth of urban population, and improved road infrastructure reaching pastoral regions. This form of raiding is undertaken with the explicit intention of selling livestock for immediate profit instead of restocking own herds (Mkutu, 2010).

4.4 Pastoralism, Ethnicity and Devolution (2000-2010)

The role of devolution going as per the Bomas draft constitution was to strengthen national unity through devolution of powers, create more centers of decision-making and development, promote local culture and institutions, and increase public participation in public affairs (Ghai, 2008). People felt alienated from the central government, where power was mostly concentrated. The unitary form of government that has been operational since 1963 made smaller ethnic groups feel alienated from the ‘presidency’ where it is believed that having ‘your man’ at the top means you will get a trickling down of services to your ethnic community where the top man happens to come from.

It was against this background that people wanted the restructuring of the government to incorporate all the ethnic groups living within the Kenyan borders. The 2010 constitution allowed for devolution of its functions, and people felt happy that there would be increased participation among the communities at a local level. However, those counties that happened to be heterogeneous such as Baringo, continued to suffer marginalization from the larger ethnic groups that they were merged with.

According to data from an FGD (3/07/2019), Pokot elders confirmed that they were not getting a fair share of resources from the County government of Baringo. This was

because they were the minority ethnic group leading them to get fewer Posts in the County government leadership. This had also replicated in the development agenda. Few development programmes were being directed towards the region. This marginalization has made the hopes of pastoral Pokot that devolution was to act as a corrective measure to the historical problems that had been witnessed in the Pastoral areas to seem to be disappearing.

Nearly ten years since then, little had been done in terms of development and empowering the local communities. Among the services provided by the county government included; limited infrastructures; for example, limited roads had been constructed, provision of water partially, few hospitals constructed far away, and some few ECDE schools. Despite marginalization in the area, the livestock market had been developed in East Pokot with the establishment of markets such as the Nginyang market and Kolloa market, where the Baringo government collected revenue from the sale of livestock.

Territorization of ethnicity can be defined as a colonial policy of controlling a group of people to specific regions in some instances referred to as homelands. It became necessary for the colonial masters to contain groups in specified boundaries in order to instill order in rather “order less frontier.” It was out of this thinking that the colonial administration went on to demarcate territories which in most cases were lines of the landscape or physical features that demarcated territories. These territories were established in areas that had fluid movement between groups with exchange networks and complementary relations that were a product of generations of interactions (Schlee, 2013).

It is worth noting that Territorizing ethnicity being witnessed in the recent past was not something new. In fact, it was begun by the British among the nomadic pastoralist of particular territories by confining them to tribal grazing lands (Parsons, 2012). This helped perpetuate ethnicity in East Pokot whereby the Pokot were confined to tribal grazing lands, and any group that tried to cross the border to enter their territory was regarded as an intruder. This could lead to inter-ethnic clashes. However, during the dry season, the pastoralists could put down their differences and share common water and grazing lands. Once the wet season came, everyone went back to his territory. Their decision to migrate to high-risk areas is driven by access to the resources they may no longer have the right to use, hence necessitating inter-community conflicts (Markakis, 1994).

Among the major causes of ethnicity were the environmental pressure in Baringo and, more particularly, East Pokot. Located in the ASAL areas, the environmental pressures proved to be a source of insecurity (Menkhaus, 2008). The area is hot, with little precipitation. The drought was a major event in the ASAL regions, with drought occurring nearly every year. This caused the pastoralists to lose many livestock through long trekking looking for water and pasture, diseases, and cattle rustling. Due to the loss, the Pokot had to look for alternative ways of replenishing their stock, which culminated in cattle rustling. This led to ethnic tensions with their neighbours, such as the Turkana, Marakwet, and Ilchamus.

Councils of elders were a key feature of government among the pastoral Pokot. With the weak state presence in the region, such councils wielded considerable authority and could be a force in applying customary law. “The revival and application of

customary law by clan elders have, in the absence of an effective state police and judiciary, been the single most powerful deterrent of criminals” (Menkhaus, 2005).

Herd mobility and migration are a response tactic to environmental stressors used by families and clans to find sufficient fodder in the ASALS and are crucial for nomadic pastoralism. However, grazing routes are specific for territorial clans and can cause conflict if not respected by other pastoralist groups. As droughts increase in intensity and frequency, herders are now forced to enlarge the distance of their migration patterns to lands outside their territories to compensate for diminishing resources (Blackwell, 2011). According to a respondent (Sialuk OI, 08/07/2019), the pastoral Pokot is traditionally used to cope with drought by grazing on the lowland and buffer zones during the wet season and the mountain areas during the drought seasons. However, now they are forced to move long distances looking for water and pasture and even causing conflicts with their neighbours.

4.5 Bride-wealth and pastoralism (2000-2010)

Marriage in patrilineal societies such as the Pokot has become very expensive. The bride price offsets the initial cost of raising the bride. Payment of the bride's price depends on the bride's kin and the bride's social status. Okoboi (2016) observes that the bride price among the pastoral people of East Africa and elsewhere in Africa was high. Similarly, Gambiri (2011) observed that an educated girl among the pastoral Mundari community in southern Sudan costs 50 cows, 60 goats, and 30000 Sudanese pounds in cash.

Nonetheless, dowry payment does not take into account the groom's capabilities and his family status. The setting of high bride price makes most young men who cannot

raise the stated number of livestock indulge in cattle raiding to be able to raise the desired bride price. As a teenage respondent (OI 4/07/2019) had this to say

“if I cannot raise the desired amount of livestock, I better go and raid instead of losing the love of my heart to another man which is a shame. I have to try. As a Pokot, it is better to die while trying.” (Yego OI 4/07/2019)

Blackswell (2011) observed the importance of bride-wealth in the following statement, Bride-wealth exchange is the greatest exchange of livestock among the Turkana and extends the wealth of families, allowing for greater social capital. In return for female labour, a man will pay the ‘bride-to-be's family as much as 60–80 animals.’ Although he used Turkana as a case study, according to data from an FGD (26/06/2019), the Pokot also pay 40-50 goats coupled with a few camels and cows. A large amount of livestock paid as bride-wealth is one of the causes of livestock raiding among the Pokot.

4.6 The role of humanitarian activities in East Pokot (2010-2017)

Although humanitarian activities date back to the previous centuries and feature prominently in many religions, they have evolved in the modern era in terms of politics, economics and technologies, and peace. Today’s humanitarianism is about working to alleviate both the suffering and causes of man-made conflicts, now known as complex political emergencies. It also responds to the effects of disasters, which used to be mistakenly deemed to be ‘natural’ but are now acknowledged to be at the interface of human vulnerability and the hazard event (Wisner *et al.*, 2004).

The original humanitarian purpose was giving help to those in need in an impartial, neutral and independent manner. In other words, it was the delivery of services to

those in need. The neglect by the state makes the Pokot to depend on aid from the NGOs working in the area for survival. Aid agencies like Kenya freedom for Hunger Council (KFFHC) moved in and established small-scale agricultural schemes and demonstration plots during drought to help the helpless pastoralists to cover their drought losses. The NGO introduced rain-fed, drought resistance crop agriculture and modern beehives to spur income-generating activities among the local communities (Mutsotso, 2010).

Although livestock production has been negated and marginalized over the years because of little contribution to the GDP, currently, people have shifted their bias and started to look at it with a new face. Leading International Organizations such as the UNDP, FAO, USAID, and the World Bank have begun to recognize nomadic pastoralists' contribution to livestock production in African national economies (Blackwell, 2011). All the meat that is consumed in urban areas comes from the pastoral keepers and other livestock products.

Holding an interview with a key informant (Konywaa OI 12/07/2019), it was noted that many aid-based organizations could be willing to help the pastoral Pokot in coping with drought through community empowerment in basic services such as saving lives livelihood support activities. The majority of the NGOs' penetration to the interior of East Pokot has been curtailed by depicting the Pokot as violent people by both the mass media and the Baringo county government. This has led the pastoral Pokot to suffer more at the expense of other ethnic communities in the county.

In an FGD, (3/07/2019) with East Pokot's elders, they brought a key feature in their discussion stating that the media largely portrayed the East Pokot negatively. When

two or three warriors conducted livestock raiding and few animals stolen, the whole group was labeled as bandits, and the number of animals stolen doubled. This has impacted negatively on the people of Pokot as the entire community is labelled as livestock raiders. Portraying East Pokot as violent people has hit them heavily because a lot of investors have not been able to go there for fear that they are violent people.

4.7 Global warming and its effects on pastoral livelihoods (2010-2017)

Climate change is occurring in Kenya, and people have begun to experience its impacts on their daily lives (IPCC, 2001). Historical records, oral and/or written, are replete with references to droughts and floods (Lelenguyah, 2013). With regard to pastoralists, questions that arise are what do pastoralists understand about climate change? How will climate change affect their livelihoods? And how vulnerable are they to the negative impacts of climate change? Although drought affects pastoralists and crop farmers, its impacts on pastoralists are higher. This is because they constitute the majority in arid regions, making them much vulnerable (Orindi *et al.*, 2007)

Climate change is the current global problem that affects a majority of people in the world. In Africa, climate-changing trends have hit the ASAL regions hard, affecting pastoralism as a livelihood negatively. Prolonged drought and floods make pastoralists conflict between and between themselves and between them and farmers.

In the Greater Horn of Africa (GHA), climate change is influencing the intensity and frequency of drought at an unprecedented rate, thus negatively impacting food security for millions of people. These arid and semi-arid lands (ASAL) are home to one of the largest populations of pastoralists in the world. Their livelihoods depend upon the environment for their survival. Their adaptation capacity is also weakened

by the region's insecurity and lack of infrastructure. As the competition escalates for shrinking pasture and water sources, livestock raiding incidences, violent disputes over scarce water sources, highway banditry, abductions, and indiscriminate killings among pastoralists have also escalated (Fewsnet, 2005).

The Pokot possessed a wide variety of coping mechanisms, like other pastoralist communities living in the region of Africa. Although they were traditionally used to coping with periodic drought, conditions have now changed. Drought is no longer periodic, and it is the new norm. There is no longer enough time for the herds and the people on whom they depend on recovering. Therefore, a permanent reliance on food aid has developed. Furthermore, increased pressure on the resource base provokes increasing conflict (Blackwell, 2011).

Evidence from an oral interview with a key informant aged 82 years had the following to say:

When I was growing up, this land was green with a lot of pastures. Those times there were a lot of cattle but look, there are no cattle here anymore. We have moved to the rearing of goats and camels. Camels were brought first to this area by Somali traders, but since they adapt well to drought we keep them (Loyelel O.I 3/7/2019).

The intensity of drought seems to be increasing over the years as a result of the changing climate. According to Orindi *et al.* (2007), the 2000/2001 and 2006 droughts were the worst in at least 60 years (since the 1940s), and several rainy seasons failed between these two extreme years. This made the pastoralist develop coping mechanisms to extreme weather conditions among them. These mechanisms included engaging in other economic activities such as beer brewing, beekeeping, and crop cultivation during the wet season to supplement their diet.

Persistent droughts, crop failure, and hunger are the new avenues that cause interethnic conflicts. This new dimension led to an increase in raids, which were used to replenish stock after the drought and the payment of bride price, unlike in the past. However, this has shifted to a market-oriented activity whereby the pastoralists raided each other for food or selling and getting what they lacked.

4.8 Summary

It is important to note that both exogenous factors and internal factors contributed to Pokot pastoralism's transformation. From the foregoing discussion, external actors who may not be pastoralists contributed to a great extent to the transformation of pastoralism. For instance, animals that were raided could be redistributed within the community; however, in the recent past, raided animals have been transported to urban centres to be sold and consumed as delicacies. On the same note, internal factors like access to wage employment made some people abandon the practice and engage in other activities.

Secondly, it is true that in the recent past, the pastoral Pokot of Baringo County, instead of specializing in the act of pastoralism, have diversified the economy. This is to enable them to supplement their economy by incorporating other aspects such as charcoal burning, beekeeping, wet season farming, among others. This is a coping strategy to avoid losses and suffering during drought.

Similarly, cattle have lost value among the Pokot of Baringo County. In this case, the Pokot value more the small stock such as goats and sheep, to cope with harsh climatic conditions. This has made the Pokot invest more in small stock. Additionally, the small stocks have a readily available market demand.

Climate change, as seen above, is happening in the world and Kenya in particular. With the rising global warming effects, the pastoralists suffer more because in the ASAL, with increased drought, many losses are incurred. This is mostly due to loss of animals as well as human lives through hunger and drought.

Dependency and underdevelopment, and symbolic interaction in this chapter showed change and continuity in pastoralism by noting that aspects of pastoralism had changed. For example, cattle had lost value, and the small stock gained more value. The introduction of devolution has also negatively affected continuity in pastoralism. Economic diversification, such as bee keeping, among other factors, has also contributed to this change, as discussed above.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the main findings, conclusions, and recommendations arising from the research. It briefly discusses the continuity and change in the practice of pastoralism among the Pokot of Baringo County, Kenya (1920-2017).

5.2 Summary

The study's main purpose was to examine the continuity and change in the practice of pastoralism among the Pokot of Baringo County, Kenya, from 1920-2017. Pastoralism is commonly practiced in the arid and semi-arid areas of the world, Kenya included. Even though pastoralism plays a significant role in Kenya's economy and despite having huge economic, social, and environmental roles and benefits, it remains largely marginalized by the various development policies and strategies since the colonial period. The lack of clear government policies on pastoralism and development compared to other sectors such as agriculture has undermined the pastoralist economy. Despite these challenges, the pastoralists have remained resilient throughout by either coping with the various shocks or adapting to the changes.

The study sought to achieve the following objectives, To examine the ways in which colonialism shaped the nature and practice of pastoralism among the Pokot of Baringo County from 1920-1963; To examine the role of post-independent government

policies in the transformation of pastoralism among the Pokot of Baringo County between 1963-1992 and to examine the socio-economic changes and continuities in pastoralism during the era of multipartyism in Kenya between 1992-2017.

The choice of the East Pokot of Baringo County was necessitated by the fact that the East Pokot Pastoralists have always had an acrimonious relationship with Kenya's government from the colonial period to the present day. In addition, all through, they have had a conflicting relationship with all the neighbouring pastoralists and agro-pastoralists overstock and territory. Secondly, the pastoralists are grouped into two the agro-pastoralists and the nomadic pastoralists. This study focused on the nomadic pastoralist of East Pokot.

Lastly, the choice of 1920 as the starting point captures the colonial occupation and control of Pokot "Country." This point in various ways had impacts on the practice of pastoralism, not only in Pokot but also in other pastoral communities. This study also justifies the year 2017 as the ending point of the study because it presents the study with a reasonable time span to study transformations that have taken place in pastoralism. The year 2017 is also important because it captures the contemporary issues that influence the practice of pastoralism in Pokot. The year also captures the role of counties in pastoral production and the benefits of devolution to pastoralism.

The theories of dependency and underdevelopment developed by Raul Prebisch and Symbolic interaction that was developed by an American philosopher, George Herbert Mead, in the 1920s were used to explain the work. This study was mainly qualitative in nature. It sought to shed light on the perceptions and historical contexts that have informed the evolution and transformation of pastoralism over time. The

understanding justified this approach that whereas considerable research has been conducted on pastoralism, hardly any research has been conducted on continuity and change in the practice of pastoralism.

Out of a population of about 133,189 people in East-Pokot Sub-county, Baringo County (KNBS Population and Housing 2013), a sample size of about 100 members was selected for this study. Key informants are comprised of clan elders who are the society leaders since they are presumed to have knowledge regarding transformations in pastoralism. This is because some of them were born during the colonial era.

Primary data was collected using open-ended oral interviews, key informant interviews, focused group discussions (FGD), document analysis, and questionnaires. The audio data was collected using a voice recorder. Short notes were also taken to facilitate further probing and to record non-verbal cues that the voice recorder could not capture. The interviewees included experts on pastoralism, national government officials, county government officials, NGO officials, and village elders. The data that was collected by the questionnaire will provide valuable insights that enriched the study.

This study also utilized secondary data. Secondary data was collected by reading related works collected from print and digital formats. Particular attention was paid to the government reports, and policy documents that concern pastoralism were critically evaluated. Moreover, related studies such as unpublished theses, dissertations, newspapers, periodicals, and books on the theme of pastoralism were examined critically within the framework of the study objectives.

All the gathered data from the diverse sources outlined in this section formed the basis of analysis on continuities and changes in pastoralism. The actual data processing and analysis were done in accordance with the objectives of the study.

From objective one, for instance, during pre-colonial times, the East Pokot had their own accepted ways of preserving dry weather grazing areas. However, with the advent of colonialism, the preservation of such areas was sanctioned by the local colonial administrators. Henceforth, the chiefs had direct control of grazing areas such as Mukuyuni, Koressi, Ngubretti, Gobat, and Luboi, unlike in pre-colonial times.

Secondly, there was the introduction of some fees to be levied by the local administrators in order for pastoralists to access the dry weather grazing fields. For instance, the Suk of Korossi were expected to pay some amount of fees in order to access the dry grazing areas at Churo, which was traditionally a dry weather grazing area.

Livestock was the pride of the Pastoral Pokot. However, through the destocking policy, the colonialists encouraged the Pokot to sell their livestock for three main reasons. One reason was to achieve maximum utilization of grazing fields without degrading the environment, which needed them to have a small stock. Other reasons were to minimize the appetite of the neighbouring cattle raiders and to be able to raise the desired amount to pay taxes. The colonial masters had a narrow perspective that did not consider that drought claimed a lot of the Pokot stock, and having much livestock could help them replenish their stock during the wet season.

Chapter two argued that the Post Independent government policies have hampered the development of pastoralism. This is because that the policies that have been developed

take a top-down approach. They are made by the government and bureaucrats and imposed on the people. Therefore they mostly meet opposition at the start of their implementation process. For a long time, the pastoral Pokot or the Pastoral communities at large have never been consulted by the government.

During the early independence period, the government of Kenya recovered the white highlands from the colonial settlers. The resettlement issue arose, and the native owners of the land hoped to rightfully get back their land, which had been taken away from them. For instance, in Baringo and across its borders, the land that the government of Kenya recovered included the Perkerra, Ainamoi, Ravine, and Timboroa. Although the Ilchamus and the Tugen claimed the ownership of these lands, the Pokot of Baringo were not allocated any of the lands. This meant that the Pokot were to remain in their territory as ascribed to them by the settlers.

Similarly, issues of boundaries were alien to the Pokot during pre-colonial times. With the advent of colonialism, the boundaries were demarcated for each ethnic group. However, the pastoral Pokot and other pastoral groups are dependent on mobility as a strategy to rear their stock. The independent government further adopted the colonial government policy and restricted the movement of pastoral Pokot. Initially, during the dry seasons, the pastoralists co-existed with other pastoral communities in that they could share grazing lands and water. To add insult to an injury, with the demarcation of boundaries in 1964 the Pokot were also hit below the belt with drought. This meant that they had to breach the movement restriction order and trespassed into other territories in search of water and pasture.

Another key issue from the forgoing discussion was the establishment of communal punishment as a strategy to curb cattle raids. The government established a temporary GSU camp at Kapedo to curb cattle rustling. This meant that when cattle raids were conducted by individuals, the whole community was to face the consequence. This impacted negatively on the community because even those who never participated in the raids suffered alike.

The pastoralist groups have co-existed for a long period with their fellow pastoral or agricultural neighbours. The government should adopt bottom-up policies, which are acceptable to the whole group to avoid resistance. Similarly, the government should allow the pastoral communities to cross the boundaries in order to share pasture and water with their neighbours so that they do not suffer losses of stock because of drought.

5.3 Recommendation

The study proposed three main recommendations based on the research premises that were established by the study. It is apparent that pastoralism as a practice underwent significant transformations during the period of colonialism. The study established the preservation of mountainous areas that the local colonial administrators sanctioned. There was also the introduction of some fees to be levied by the local administrators in order to access the dry weather grazing fields. The study concluded that pastoralism underwent several transformations during colonial times.

Based on the second premise that post-independent government policies in Kenya impacted the practice of pastoralism among the Pokot of Baringo County, the study established that Post-Independent government policies had hampered the

development of pastoralism. This is due to the fact that the policies that have been developed are top-down in nature. Therefore the study concluded that there is a need to review existing pastoral policies to accommodate a bottom-up approach.

Based on premise three of the study, Social-economic factors also contributed to changes in pastoralism among the Pokot during the multipartyism era in Kenya. The study established that some social-economic diversification occurred. This is because the Pokot incorporated other aspects in their livelihood, such as beekeeping and crop farming during the wet season. The study concluded that diverse socio-economic activities are responsible for changes in pastoralism among the Pokot during the multipartyism era in Kenya.

5.4 Policy Recommendations

The study recommended that there is need to review policies to accommodate bottom-up approach to issues relating to pastoralism.

5.4.1 Further research recommendation

The study came up with certain relationships that it could not explain and some issues; thus the study recommended the following areas for further research.

- (i) A study should be carried out to establish the extent to which identity politics and ethnic claims have been perpetuated in East Pokot

REFERENCES

Bibliography

List of Informants

S No	Name	Gender	age	Date of interview
1.	Moses Kipro	Male	40 years	1/07/2019
2.	Titus Lunyangapuo	Male	66 years	1/07/2019
3.	Mark Boyel	Male	30 years	1/07/2019
4.	Evans Korir	Male	69 years	1/07/2019
5.	Dennis Yeiyei	Male	30 years	1/07/2020
6.	James Tongole	Male	28 years	1/07/2020
7.	Evans Lorot	Male	20 years	1/07/2019
8.	Jane Lesalach	Female	65 years	2/7/2019
9.	Agnes Loremoi	Female	38 years	2/7/2019
10	Richard Cherop	Male	30 years	2/7/2019
11	Faith Olosoli	Female	30 years	2/7/2019
12	Joan Lolyon	Female	50 years	2/7/2019
13	Peter Loremoi	Male	52 years	3/7/2019
14	Michael Loyeiel	Male	82 years	3/7/2019
15	Gabriel Kibet	Male	61 years	3/7/2019
16	Linnet Lorot	Female	37 years	4/7/2019
17	Pamella Lokwale	Female	42 years	4/7/2019
18	Sospeter Kipang	Male	47 years	4/7/2019
19	Samson Yego	Male	42 years	4/7/2019

20	John Lotodo	Male	36 years	4/7/2019
21	Rebecca Losenguria	Female	27 years	4/7/2019
22	Damaris Lokowkor	Female	62 years	6/7/2019
23	Dennis Boino	Male	41 years	6/7/2019
24	Morice Loyepel	Male	71 years	6/7/2019
25	Jane yaran	Female	44 years	6/7/2019
26	Stanley Sikwar	Male	31 years	6/7/2019
27	Josephine Pusikou	female	37 years	6/7/2019
28	Margret Mukai	female	69 years	6/7/2019
29	Edwin Lopima	Male	47 years	7/7/2019
30	Lydia Lopetang'iro	Female	52 years	7/7/2019
31	Peter Adamoyang'	Male	47 years	7/7/2019
32	Pius Chepenget	Male	28 years	7/7/2019
33	Nicholas Lomwai	Male	54 years	7/7/2019
34	Pamella Lore	female	43 years	7/7/2019
35	Thomas Akuto	Male	44 years	7/7/2019
36	Wilson Chebet	Male	55 years	7/7/2019
37	Emmanuel Loywopa	Male	48 years	7/7/2019
38	Andrew Alimakori	Male	26 years	7/7/2019
39	Michael Tikamai	Male	37 years	7/7/2019
40	Veronica Lochwa	female	42 years	7/7/2019
41	Pius Koskei	Male	51 years	8/7/2020
42	Luke Akange	Male	62 years	8/7/2019
43	Evans Kamau	Male	47 years	8/7/2019

44	James Loteee	Male	54 years	8/7/2019
45	Mary Susiom	female	55 years	8/7/2019
46	Rebecca Koech	female	45 years	8/7/2019
47	Joel Sialuk	Male	32 years	8/7/2019
48	Veronica Cherop	female	29 years	8/7/2019
49	Mary Cherokoi	female	74 years	8/7/2019
50	John Loseikwang	Male	68 years	9/7/2019
51	Andrew Long'oleya	Male	48 years	9/7/2019
52	Evans Lokomoi	Male	47 years	9/7/2019
53	Edward Madanyang'	Male	61 years	9/7/2019
54	Peter Lomur	Male	60 years	9/7/2019
55	Pamella Loisekwang'	female	32 years	9/7/2019
56	Stella Yaradomo	female	41 years	10/7/2019
57	Kapel Loshankel	Male	43 years	10/7/2019
58	Evans Lokudo	Male	54 years	10/7/2019
59	William Lotudo	Male	47 years	10/7/2019
60	Mercella Ameme	female	37 years	10/7/2019
61	Mercy Lonyanga	female	32 years	10/7/2019
62	Juliet Ngorilapu	female	44 years	10/7/2019
63	Philemon Lokudo	Male	52 years	10/7/2019
64	Samuel Chepelion	Male	57 years	10/7/2019
65	Annette Tiyang'	female	64 years	10/7/2019
66	George Lemunyang	Male	43 years	11/7/2019
67	Isabella Nguratiang'	female	46 years	11/7/2019

68	Edwin Ywalaita	Male	44 years	11/7/2019
69	Daniel Ngoreruk	Male	52 years	11/7/2019
70	Linet Loring'ole	female	44 years	11/7/2019
71	Collins Anang'ole	Male	36 years	11/7/2019
72	Susan Lokomolian	female	33 years	11/7/2019
73	Geoffrey Ngorianyang	Male	71 years	11/7/2019
74	Simeon Kapel	Male	47 years	12/7/2019
75	Naftal Loyepel	Male	55 years	12/7/2019
76	Anne Komoita	female	28 years	12/7/2019
77	Phoebe Ling'aruk	female	49 years	12/7/2019
78	Solomon Atukoid	Male	63 years	12/7/2019
79	Benta Kidir	female	42 years	12/7/2019
80	Elizabeth Lomachar	female	44 years	12/7/2019
81	David Kamoma	Male	41 years	12/7/2019
82	Evans Konywaa	Male	51 years	12/7/2019
83	Christine Cheruiyot	female	43 years	12/7/2019
84	Gabriel Lonyang'ola	Male	39 years	12/7/2019
85	Protus Kimaiyio	Male	46 years	12/7/2019
86	Simeon Natolin	Male	52 years	13/7/2019
87	Wilson Kiplagat	Male	46 years	13/7/2019
88	Julius Konopen	Male	45 years	13/7/2019
89	Felix Tupokal	Male	33 years	13/7/2019
90	Hannington Arimuk	Male	42 years	13/7/2019
91	Harriet Kendagor	female	76 years	13/7/2019

92	John Cheptum	Male	72 years	13/7/2019
93	Jacob Koringula	Male	51 years	13/7/2019
94	Hellen Siabuk	female	46 years	13/7/2019
95	Diana Rotich	female	32 years	14/7/2019
96	Christine Katina	female	28 years	14/7/2019
97	Thomas Lotide	Male	27 years	14/7/2019
98	Jack Kamrinyang	Male	50 years	14/7/2019
99	Hezron Makaripa	Male	48 years	14/7/2019
10	Francis Ochung	male	44 years	14/7/2019

Archival sources

[KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/2 Rift Valley Province Annual report and District Annual Reports

1946

Colony and Protectorate of Kenya (1933) *Kenya Land Commission Evidence, Volume II*, Nairobi: Government Printer.

District Commissioner (1956) *Baringo District Annual Report 1956*, Kabarnet:

District Commissioner's Office

District Commissioner (1961) *Baringo District Annual Report 1961*, Kabarnet:

District Commissioner's Office

District Commissioner (1963) *Baringo District Annual Report 1963*, Kabarnet:

District Commissioner's Office

District Commissioner (1964) *Baringo District Annual Report 1964*, Kabarnet:

District Commissioner's Office

District Commissioner (1965) *Baringo District Annual Report 1965*, Kabarnet:

District Commissioner's Office

District Commissioner (1967) *Baringo District Annual Report 1967*, Kabarnet:

District Commissioner's Office

District Commissioner (1968) *Baringo District Annual Report 1968*, Kabarnet:

District Commissioner's Office

District Commissioner (1970) *Baringo District Annual Report 1970*, Kabarnet:

District Commissioner's Office

District Commissioner (1971) *Baringo District Annual Report 1971*, Kabarnet:

District Commissioner's Office

District Commissioner (1976) *Baringo District Annual Report 1976*, Kabarnet:

District Commissioner's Office

District Commissioner (1977) *Baringo District Annual Report 1977*, Kabarnet:
District Commissioner's Office

District Commissioner (1978) *Baringo District Annual Report 1978*, Kabarnet:
District Commissioner's Office

District Commissioner (1981) *Baringo District Annual Report 1981*, Kabarnet:
District Commissioner's Office

District Commissioner (1982) *Baringo District Annual Report 1982*, Kabarnet:
District Commissioner's Office

KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/2 Rift Valley Province Annual Report and District Annual Reports
1945

KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/2 Rift Valley Province Annual report and District Annual Reports
1946

KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/3 Annual report, Rift Valley Province and District Annual
Reports1947

KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/3 Annual report, Rift Valley Province and District Annual
Reports1947

KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/4 Rift Valley Province Annual report and District Annual Reports
1948

KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/4 Rift Valley Province Annual report and District Annual Reports
1948

KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/5 Rift valley Province Annual report 1949

KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/5 Rift valley Province Annual report 1949

KNA, PC/RVP/2/3/6 Rift Valley Province Annual Report 1950.

KNA, PC/RVP/2/7/2 Annual reports, Baringo District, Vol. I, 1917-1933

KNA, PC/RVP/2/7/2 Annual reports, Baringo District, Vol. I, 1917-1933

KNA, PC/RVP/2/7/2 Annual reports, Baringo District, Vol. I, 1917-1933

KNA, PC/RVP/2/7/3 Annual Reports, Rift valley Province and District reports 1934-1946

KNA/DC/RVP/ Annual report 1913

Secondary sources

Ackello-Ogutu, A.C. (1990). Pastoral livestock development systems and environmental degradation in Kenyan rangelands. Kenya: Long range planning unit. Ministry of Planning and National Development.

Adriansen, H. 2006. Continuity and change in pastoral livelihoods of Senegalese Fulani. *Agriculture and Human Values*. 23: 215-229.

Amutabi M (2014). Pastoralism, social protection and vision 2030 in Kenya: Possibilities and prospects. Limuru Franciscan Kolbe Press

Angassa, A. and F. Beyene. 2003. Current range condition in southern Ethiopia in relation to traditional management strategies: The perceptions of Borana pastoralists. *Tropical Grasslands* 37: 53-59.

Angassa, A. and G. Oba. 2008. Herder perceptions on impacts of range enclosures, crop farming, fire ban and bush encroachment on the rangelands of Borana, Southern Ethiopia. *Human Ecology* 36: 201-215.

- Awuondo, C. (1992). *The Rise of the "Cheering Crowd." Fiction and Kenya's Political History*. Nairobi: C.O Awuondo.
- Bassett, T.J. 2009. Mobile pastoralism on the brink of land privatization in Northern Côte d'Ivoire. *Geoforum* 40: 756-766.
- Batty, E. and Cole, I. (2010), 'Resilience and the recession in six deprived communities?' *JRF Programme Paper: Poverty and Place Programme*, Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- Blackwell, P, J. (2011). *East Africa's Pastoralist Emergency: is climate change the straw that breaks the camel's back?* Published online: 13 Jan 2011 available <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2010.541085>.
- Blaikie, P, et al (1994). *At risk: Natural hazards, people's vulnerability and disasters*. London: Routledge.
- Blench, R.M (2001). *'you can't go home again,' pastoralism in the new millenium*. London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Bollig, M. (1992), "*Ethnic Conflict in North-West Kenya: Pokot-Turkana Raiding 1969-1984*," *Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie*.
- Bollig, M. (2006). *Risk Management in a Hazardous Environment: Comparative study of Two Pastoral Societies*. New York: Springer.
- Bollig, M. S.-P. (2007). *Pastoralism in Africa Past, Present and Future*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Brokensha, D., & Little, P. (1988). *Anthropology and development in East Africa*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- CENESTA. 2004b. 'Steering Committee Meeting'. Notes of 16 September 2003.
- Colony and Protectorate of Kenya (1933) *Kenya Land Commission Evidence, Volume II*, Nairobi: Government Printer.

Cornell, A. & D'Arcy, M. (2014): County-level politics in Kenya after devolution, *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, available at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17531055.2013.869073>.

Dahlberg, A. 2000. Interpretations of environmental change and diversity: A critical approach to indications of degradation—The case of Kalakamate, northeast Botswana. *Land Degradation and Development* 11: 549-562.

Desta and Copock (2004) as quoted in Yimer, M. (2015). Sedentarization and Drought Resilience: Government Strategies to Support Pastoralist Livelihoods in Ethiopia. In Abera, Y. and Abdullahi, M. (Eds.). *The Intricate Road to Development: Government Development Strategies in the Pastoral Areas of the Horn of Africa*. Institute for Peace and Security Studies, Addis Ababa University

Fabusoro, E., T. Matsumoto, and M. Taeb. 2008. Land rights regimes in southwest Nigeria: Implications for land access and livelihoods security of settled Fulani agropastoralists. *Land Degradation and Development* 19: 91-103.

FAO (2017). OECD-FAO Agricultural Outlook 2017-2026 OECD publishing Paris. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/agr-outlook-2017-en>.

Ferrero, V., (2008). *Economics Dependency Theory: An introduction in the Development*, Render (ed), Giorgio Second, London Rutledge. *Ultimate change and Global Agriculture Potential*

Fewsnet, *Resource Based Conflicts and Food Security in the Greater Horn of Africa: A Preliminary Report on the Conflict Baseline Survey in the Karamojong Cluster of Kenya and Uganda*, Addis Ababa: USAID, 2005.

- Fratkin E East (2001), *African Pastoralism in Transition: Maasai, Boran, and Rendile*: African Studies Review, Vol. 44, No. 3 pp. 1-25 Published by: African Studies Association Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/525591>
Accessed: 15/12/2008 09:10
- Fratkin, E. (1997). Pastoralism: Governance and development issues. Annual review of Anthropology, 26 235-261.
- Fratkin, E. (1998). *Ariaal Pastoralists of Kenya: Surviving Drought and Development in Africa's Arid Lands*, Allyn and Bacon, Boston.
- Fratkin, E. (2008). *Pastures lost: The decline of mobile pastoralism among Maasai and Rendille in Kenya, East Africa*. Ch 7 in *Economies and the Transformation of Landscape*. Eds. L Cliggett and C.A. Pool. Rowman Altamira.
- Fumagalli, T. (1978). *A Diachronic Study Of Change And Sociocultural Processes Among The Pastoral Nomadic Samburu Of Kenya, 1900-1975*.
- Galaty (1987). *Cattle and Cognition: Aspects of Maasai practical reasoning*. Kenya: Bureau of Education Research Kenyatta University
- Galaty, John. (2009). *Walling In or Walling Out? Land demarcation and the genesis of pastoral conflict in East Africa*. Paper presented at the Workshop of the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in cooperation with and held at the Egerton University, Kenya, on the Ethnicization of Politics, Governance in the Borderlands, and the State in the Horn of Africa, July 7–9.
- Galvin, K.A. 2009. Transitions: Pastoralists living with change. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 38(1): 185-98.

- Ghai, Yash. "Devolution: Restructuring the Kenyan State." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2, no. 2 (2008): 211–226.
- Gleditsch, Nils Petter (2013). Climate change, environmental stress, and conflict. In: Crocker, *governance in an age of awakening*. Washington, DC, United States Institute of Peace Press.
- GOK, 2010. *National Climate Change response strategy*. Government Press: Nairobi.
- Goldman, M. 2003. Partitioned nature, privileged knowledge: Community-based conservation in Tanzania. *Development and Change* 34(5): 833-862.
- Greiner, Clemens (2013). Guns, land, and votes: Cattle rustling and the politics of boundary (re)making in Northern Kenya. *African Affairs*, 112 (447), pp. 216–237.
- Gulliver P H, (1955). *The Family Herds: A Study of Two Pastoral Tribes in East Africa: The Jie and Turkana* Routledge and Kegan Paul: London,
- Hendrickson, D.; Armon, J.; and Mearns, R, (1998) "The Changing Nature of Conflict and Famine Vulnerability: The case of Livestock Raiding in Turkana District, Kenya, *Disasters* 22
- Hodges, D.C., (ed), (1971). *Readings in US Imperialism*; Boston, Porter Sargeant
- Hounam, E., etal (1975). Drought and agriculture. Report of the CAgM Working Group on Assessment of Drought. Technical Note No. 138. WMO Publication No. 392. Geneva.
- Huntingford, G.W.B. (1953). *The Northern Nilo-Hamites*. . London: International African Institute
- Huntingford, G.W.B., (1953). *The Nandi of Kenya*, Routledge and Kegan Paul: London.

ILRI (2006). Mapping climate vulnerability and Poverty in africa: Report to the Department for International Development. Nairobi: ILRI.

IPCC. (2001). Impacts, adaptation and vulnerability. Contribution of Working Group II to the third assessment report of the IPCC. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kandagor, D. (2005). Rethinking Pastoralism and African Development: A case study of the Horn of Africa: *online Journal; CODESRIA*.

Kenya Human Rights Commission (2010). Morans no more – The changing face of cattle-rustling in Kenya. Nairobi, Kenya Human Rights Commission.

Kenya National Archives West SUK, annual report ,1945

Kenya National Human Right Commission. (2010). *Morans No More: The Changing Face of Cattle-Rustling in Kenya*. Nairobi: Kenya Human Rights Commission

Kimambo I,etal, (1972),*A Historical Studies of African Religion*, London: Heinemann Publishers.

Kioli, F. (2009). *Ethnicization of Political Participation in Kenya: from independence to present*, Kenya, on the Ethnicization of Politics, Governance in the Borderlands, and the State in the Horn of Africa, July 7–9, 2009.

Kipkorir, B, E. (1972) The Kolloa Affray, Kenya 1950, Gideon Were Publications
Transafrican Journal of History, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1972), pp. 114-129.

Kipkorir, B. (1972) The Kolloa Affray, Kenya 1950. *Trans African Journal of History*. Volume 2, Issue2: pp 114-129

KNBS, 2010. 2009 Kenya Population and Housing Census. Nairobi.

Kossolov, V. 2005 “Border Studies: Changing Perspective and Theoretical Approaches” *Geopolitics* 10:606-32.

Kratil & Swift (2003) *Understanding and managing pastoral conflicts in Kenya*.
Sussex, University of Sussex.

Kratli, S. And Swift, J. (2003): *Understanding and Managing Pastoral Conflict in Kenya*. Sussex: University of Sussex.

Lamphear, J (1976). *The traditional history of the Jie of Uganda*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Lamphear, J. (1993). Aspects of becoming Turkana: Interactions and Assimilations between Maa and Ateker speakers in Being Maasai , edited by Thomas Spear and Richard D. Waller, Oxford: James Curaray.

Leff, J. (2009).Pastoralists at War: Violence and Security in the Kenya-Sudan-Uganda Border Region. *International Conflict and Violence*. Vol. 3(2), pp. 188-203

Legislative Council Debates Official Report, vol. XLV (1951) p. 8-9 reporting Mr. Davies' reply to a question by the Hon. Arap Chemallan in the Council. Incidentally the total final cost was far short of the figure which the Commission had estimated and is suggested by Rosberg and Nottingham (see The 'Myth' p. 330).

Lelenguyah, G. (2013) *Effects of Climate Variability on Pastoral livelihoods in Marigat District, Baringo County, Kenya*. Thesis

Lokiyo, E. (2014) *Trans-border conflict between the Turkana and Pokot in Kainuk and Alale Divisions, Kenya: 1995-2013*

Lomoywara,M (2018) *Transformation of cattle rustling in West Pokot County, Kenya 1895-2000* PhD thesis Kenyatta University.

Markakis, J. (1994). 'Ethnic conflict and the state in the Horn of Africa', in K Fukui & J Markakis, *Ethnicity and Conflict in the Horn of Africa*, London: James Currey, pp 217–237.

- Markakis, J. (2006). *Class and Revolution in Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: Sham books
- McCabe, T. (1999). 'Nomadic movements.' In *Turkana herders of the dry savanna: ecology and bio-behavioral response of nomads to an uncertain environment*. Edited by Little, Michael A. and Leslie, Paul W. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McCable, T. (2004) *Cattle bring us to our enemies: Turkana Ecology, Politics and raiding in disequilibrium system*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- McPeak, J. (2005). Individual and collective rationality in pastoral production: Evidence from Northern Kenya. *Human Ecology* 33(2):171–97. doi:10.1007/s10745-005-2431-Y.
- Mead, G. (1964). *Evolution becomes a general idea*. Ed Anselm Strauss. Chicago: the university of Chicago press
- Mead, G. (1964). *The problem of society: how we become selves*. Ed Anselm Strauss. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press
- Menkhaus, K. (2005). *Kenya–Somalia Border Conflict Analysis*. Washington, DC: USAID
- Menkhaus, K. (2008). “The Rise of a Mediated State in Northern Kenya: The Wajir Story and its Implications for State-Building.” *Afrika Focus* 21, Meza-
- Morales, L. (2010). Drought risk management: Pilot study on vulnerability and local coping strategies. *Options Méditerranéennes*, A no. 95, 175-181.
- Migosi, J., et al (2012). Trends in primary school dropout and completion rates in the pastoralist Turkana County, Kenya. *Universal Journal of Education and General Studies* 1(10): 331–338.

- Millar, J. (2007) 'The Dynamics of Poverty and Employment: the Contribution of Qualitative Longitudinal research to Understanding, Transitions, Adaptations and Trajectories' *Social Policy and Society*, Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 533–544
- Mkutu, K and Marani, M. (2001). *The role of civil leaders in the mitigation of cattle rustling and small arms: the case of laikipia and Samburu*. AFDO, Nairobi.
- Mkutu, K. & Wandera, G. (2013). *Policing the periphery: Opportunities and challenges for Kenya Police Reserves*. Small arms Survey, Switzerland.
- Mkutu, K. (2003). "Pastoral Conflict and Small Arms and Security in the Great Lakes Region and Horn of Africa Safe world.
- Mkutu, K. (2003). Pastoral Conflict and Small Arms: The Kenya- Uganda Border Region. Saferworld.
- Mkutu, K. (2003). Pastoral conflicts and small Arms: the Kenya Uganda Border region, Safe world report November 2003.
- Mkutu, K. (2005) *Pastora conflicts, governance and Small arms in the North Rift-Valley, North East Africa*. Unpublished Phd thesis, University of Bradford.
- Mkutu, K. (2008) *Guns and governance in the rift valley. Pastoral conflicts and small arms*. Bloomington: Indiana university press.
- Morgan, D. L.(1950) (P. C. Rift Valley) to E. R. St. A. Davies, (C.N.C.,) DC/BAR 6/1. To ensure that no avoidance of surrender of spears occurred, the D.C. Elgeyo Marakwet was instructed to check on the Marakwet blacksmiths who traditionally supplied the Pokot with arms.
- Murunga, G. and Nasong'o, W. (2007). *Kenya: The struggle for democracy*. 1st ed. New York, Zed Books Ltd.

Mutsotso, B. (2013). The East Pokot Pastoralists in conflict siege: Reflections on cultural interpretations of persistent conflict. *International Journal of Education and Research* Vol 1. Nairobi.

Mwai Kibaki inaugural Address, December 30th 2002.
www.statehousekenya.go.ke/speeches/kibaki.

Ngaido, Tidiane (2005). Can pastoral institutions perform without access options? Collective action and property rights for sustainable rangeland management. CAPRI (Collective Action and Property Rights) Research Brief. Available from:

<http://www.capri.cgiar.org/wp/..%5Cpdf%5Cbrieff_dryl.pdf#page=10>

Nicholson, .E. (2014). A detailed look at the recent drought situation in the Greater Horn of Africa. *Journal of Arid Environments* 103(1): 71–79.

Nielsen, J.O., and Reenberg, A. (2010). Cultural barriers to climate change adaptation: A case study form Northern Burkina Faso. *Global Environmental Change* 20: 142-152.

Nkedianye et al (2011). Mobility and livestock mortality in communally used pastoral areas: The impact of the 2005–2006 droughts on livestock mortality in Maasailand. *Pastoralism: Research, Policy and Practice* 1(17):1–17.

Nkedianye et al. (2011). Mobility and livestock mortality in communally used pastoral areas: The impact of the 2005–2006 droughts on livestock mortality in Maasailand. *Pastoralism: Research, Policy and Practice* 1(17): 1–17.

Notenbaert, et al (2012). Policies in support of pastoralism and biodiversity in the heterogeneous drylands of East Africa. *Pastoralism: Research, Policy and Practice* 2(4): 1–17.

Notenbaert, et al (2012). Policies in support of pastoralism and biodiversity in the heterogeneous drylands of East Africa. *Pastoralism: Research, Policy and Practice* 2(4): 1–17.

- Nugent, P. (2002) *Smugglers, Secessionist and loyal Citizens on the Ghana-Togo Frontiers: the life of borderlands since 1914*. Athens, OH Ohio University Press ; Oxford James Currey.
- Ocan, E. (1992).“Pastoral crisis in north eastern Uganda.The changing significance of cattle raids” paper presented in the workshop on pastoralism, crisis and transformation in Karamoja, centre for basic research, work paper no. 21.
- Ochieng', W. R., & Maxon, R. M. (1992). *An economic history of Kenya*. Nairobi, Kenya: East African Educational Publishers.
- Ogolla, B.D. and J. Mugabe. (1996). 'Land Tenure Systems and Resource Management'. In *In Land We Trust - Environment Private Property and Constitutional Change* , ed. C. Juma and J.B. Ojwang. ACTS Press, Nairobi.
- Ogot B.A, (2003), *My Foot Prints on the Sands of Time*, Kisumu: Anyange Press
- Ogot, B.A., (1979). African ecology in historical perspectives: Problems and prospects. In Ogot, B.A. (Ed), *Hadith 7: Ecology and history in East Africa*. Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau.
- Okumu, W., Bukari, K., Sow, P., & Onyiego, E. (2017). The role of elite rivalry and ethnic politics in livestock raids in northern Kenya. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 55(3), 479-509. doi:10.1017/S0022278X17000118
- Orindi, A.O., Nyong, A., and Herrero, M. (2007). Pastoral livelihood adaptation to drought and institutional interventions in Kenya. UNDP Human Development Report 2007/2008.
- Osamba, J. (2000): The sociology of insecurity: cattle rustling and banditry in northwestern Kenya. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* 1 (2): 11-38.

- Osterle, M (2008) From cattle to goats: the transformation of East Pokot Pastoralism in Kenya; *Nomadic peoples* Vol 12(1) pp81-91
- Parsons, T. (2012). 'Being a Kikuyu in Meru: Challenging the tribal Geography of Colonial Kenya.' *Journal of African History* 53 P 65-86
- Schlee, G (2003). Redrawing the Map of the Horn: *The politics of Difference, Africa.* 73(3): 343-68.
- Schlee, G. (1989a.) *Identities on the Move: clanship and pastoralism in Northern Kenya.* Manchester: Manchester University Press (Reprint: Nairobi: Gideon S. Were Press; Münster: Lit).
- Schlee, G. (1992a). Who are the Tana Orma? *The problem of their identification in a wider Oromo framework.* Working Paper 170. Bielefeld: University of Bielefeld, Sociology of Development Research Centre (An electronic version of this paper is available at: http://www.eth.mpg.de/people/schlee/pdf/1992_WP_170.pdf).
- Schlee, G. (1998). Some Effects on a District Boundary in Kenya, in M Aguilar (ed). *The Politics of Age and Gerontocracy in Africa* Trenton, NJ Africa World Press, PP. 225-65.
- Schlee, G. (1998b). Some Effects on [of] a District Boundary in Kenya. In: Mario I. Aguilar (Ed.). *The Politics of Age and Gerontocracy in Africa: ethnographies of the past and memories of the present.* Trenton: Africa World Press, pp. 225–302.
- Schling et al (2012). On Raids and relations climate change, pastoral conflicts and adaptation in north western Kenya (Under review). In climate change and

conflict: where to for conflict sensitive climate adaptation in Africa? Ed. Bronkhost, S and Bob. Durban: Human science Research Council.

Schneider, Harold K. (1957) "The Subsistence Role of Cattle among the Pokot and in East Africa." *American Anthropology* 59, 2: 278-300.

Siddle, D. and Swindell, K. (1990). *Rural change in tropical Africa: From colonies to nation-states*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.

Skoggard, I. & Adem, T.A.. 2010. 'From rustlers to raiders: the filial disaffection of a Turkana age-set', *Ethnology* 49, 4: 249–62

Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) selected United Nations Document, 2005, available at <http://disarmament2.un.org/cab/images/bookletsalw2005.pdf>

Stewart. (1950). Quoted in GoK 1950. *Baringo District Annual Report*. National Archives. Nairobi.

Strauss A., (1956), *The Social Psychology Of George Herbert Mead.*, Chicago: University Of Chicago Press

Thomson, J. (1962), *Through Maasailand* London: Sampson howP Marston and Company.

Thornton, P. and Lipper, L. (2014). How does climate change alter agricultural strategies to support food security? The International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), Discussion paper.

Throup, D. & Hornsby, C. (1998). *Multi- party politics in Kenya: The Kenyatta and Moi states . the Trump of the system in the 1992 election*. Oxford: James Currey Limited.

- Toulmin C. (1994). Herders and Farmers or Farmer-Herders and Herder-Farmers? Overseas Development Institute, Pastoral Network Paper 15d, ODI, London
- Turner, M.D. (1999). Labor process and the environment: The effects of labor availability and compensation on the quality of herding in the Sahel. *Human Ecology* 27(2): 267-296.
- Turner, M.D. (2009). Capital on the move: The changing relation between livestock and labor in Mali, West Africa. *Geoforum* 40(5): 746-755.
- Turner, M.D. and Hiernaux, P. (2008). Changing access to labor, pastures, and knowledge: The extensification of grazing management in Sudano-Sahelian West Africa. *Human Ecology* 36: 5980.
- Van der Veen, R.; (2004) *What Went Wrong with Africa? A Contemporary history*, Amsterdam, KIT Publishers.
- Waller, R. (1985), Ecology, Migration, and Expansion in East Africa, in: *African Affairs*, 84, 347-370
- Wilhite, D. 2000. Drought as a natural hazard: Concepts and definitions. In *Drought: A global assessment. Natural hazards and disasters series*, ed. D.A. Wilhite, 245–255. London: Routledge.
- Wilhite, A. (2000). Drought as a natural hazard: Concepts and definitions. In *Drought: A global assessment. Natural hazards and disasters series*, ed., 245–255. Routledge: London
- Wisner, B., Blaikie, P., Cannon T & Davis, I. (2004). *Risk: Natural Hazards, People's Vulnerability and Disasters*, London: Routledge,
- Yimer, M. (2015). Sedentarization and Drought Resilience: Government Strategies to Support Pastoralist Livelihoods in Ethiopia. In Aberra, Y. and Abdullahi, M.

(Eds.). *The Intricate Road to Development: Government Development Strategies in the Pastoral Areas of the Horn of Africa*. Institute for Peace and Security Studies, Addis Ababa University.

Zezeza, T. (1989). The global dimensions of Africa's crisis: Debts, structural adjustment and workers. *Transafrican Journal of History*.

Published Thesis

Gitu, K. (2019). Samburu Demographic, Dynamics Dynamiques Demographiques Samburu 1984-2018 Phd thesis. Universtie De Pau Des Pays De L'adour

Lemmosa, P. (1998). A Historical Study of The Economic Transformation of the Samburu of North Central Kenya 1909-1963. MA Thesis Kenyatta University.

Lomoywara, M. (2018) Transformation of cattle Rustling in West Pokot County Kenya 1895-2000. Phd Thesis, Kenyatta University

Mkutu, K. (2005) Pastoralist Conflicts, Governance, and small Arms in North Rift, North East Africa. PhD Thesis. University of Bradford.

Mutsotso, B. (2010). The East Pokot on the Precipice: Conflict and Social Change in a Pastoralist Community. PhD Thesis, Department of Sociology and Social Work, University of Nairobi.

Okoboi, P. (2016). The Genesis, development and Impact of Cattle rustling in Teso Sub- Region, 1600-2001: A case of Katakwi District Uganda. Phd Thesis Kenyatta University.

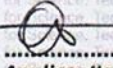
Appendix V: Research Permit


THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MR. GABRIEL OKIAGERA NYABUTO
of KENYATTA UNIVERSITY, 1760-40200
KISII, has been permitted to conduct
research in Baringo County


Permit No : NACOSTI/P/19/35852/30256
Date Of Issue : 29th May,2019
Fee Recieved :Ksh 1000

on the topic: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE
IN THE PRACTICE OF PASTORALISM
AMONG THE POKOT OF BARINGO
COUNTY KENYA,1920-2017

for the period ending:
27th May,2020


Applicant's Signature


Director General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation




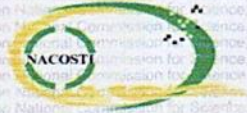
THE SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION ACT, 2013

The Grant of Research Licenses is guided by the Science, Technology and Innovation (Research Licensing) Regulations, 2014.

CONDITIONS

1. The License is valid for the proposed research, location and specified period.
2. The License and any rights thereunder are non-transferable.
3. The Licensee shall inform the County Governor before commencement of the research.
4. Excavation, filming and collection of specimens are subject to further necessary clearance from relevant Government Agencies.
5. The License does not give authority to transfer research materials.
6. NACOSTI may monitor and evaluate the licensed research project.
7. The Licensee shall submit one hard copy and upload a soft copy of their final report within one year of completion of the research.
8. NACOSTI reserves the right to modify the conditions of the License including cancellation without prior notice.


REPUBLIC OF KENYA


NACOSTI
National Commission for Science,
Technology and Innovation

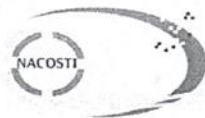
RESEARCH LICENSE

Serial No.A 25016

CONDITIONS: see back page

National Commission for Science, Technology and innovation
P.O. Box 30623 - 00100, Nairobi, Kenya
TEL: 020 400 7000, 0713 788787, 0735 404245
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke, registry@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke

Appendix VI: NACOSTI Authorization Letter



NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,
2241349, 3310571, 2219420
Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

NACOSTI, Upper Kabete
Off Waiyaki Way
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No. NACOSTI/P/19/35852/30256

Date: 29th May, 2019.

Gabriel Okiagera Nyabuto
Kenyatta University
P.O. Box 43844-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Continuity and change in the practice of pastoralism among the Pokot of Baringo County Kenya, 1920-2017.*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in Baringo County for the period ending 27th May, 2020.

You are advised to report to the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Baringo County before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit a copy of the final research report to the Commission within one year of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'S. Kibiru', is written over a circular stamp or seal.

DR. STEPHEN K. KIBIRU, PhD.
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:
The County Commissioner
Baringo County.

The County Director of Education
Baringo County.

Appendix VII: County Commissioner Authorization Letter



OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Telephone: 053-21285
(053)-21285

Email: countycommissioner@gmail.com

When replying please quote:

F.NO.ADM.18/1 VOL.II/104

**MINISTRY OF INTERIOR
AND CO-ORDINATION
OF
NATIONAL GOVERNMENT**

COUNTY COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
BARINGO COUNTY,
P.O. BOX 1 - 30400
KABARNET.

24TH JUNE, 2019

All Deputy County Commissioners
BARINGO COUNTY

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Reference is made to a letter Ref. No.NACOSTI/P/19/35852/30256 dated 29th May, 2019 from the Director – General NACOSTI

This is to confirm that **Gabriel Oklagera Nyabuto** of **Kenyatta University** has been authorized to carry out research on "**Continuity and change in the practice of pastoralism among the Pokot of Baringo County Kenya, 1920 – 2017**" for the period ending **27th May, 2020**.

Please accord him the necessary support.


HENRY WAFULA
COUNTY COMMISSIONER
BARINGO COUNTY

COUNTY COMMISSIONER
BARINGO COUNTY
P O. Box 1 - 30400, KABARNET

Appendix VIII: County Education Authorization Letter

REPUBLIC OF KENYA



**MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
STATE DEPARTMENT OF EARLY LEARNING & BASIC EDUCATION**

**OFFICE OF THE COUNTY DIRECTOR
(BARINGO COUNTY).**

Our Email: countyedubaringo@gmail.com
Tel / Fax: 053/21282

P.O. BOX 664
KABARNET

REF: CDE/BAR/RESEARCH.GEN/VOL.II

24/05/2019

Gabriel Okiagera Nyabuto
Kenyatta University
P. O. Box 43844 - 00100
Nairobi

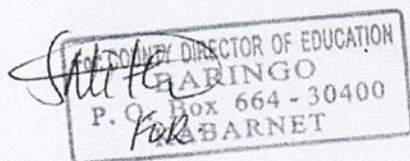
RE : RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Reference is made to your request letter Ref. No. NACOSTI/P/19/35852/30256 dated 29/05/2019 on the above subject.

I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to carry out research on "*Continuity and change in the practice of pastoralism among the Pokot of Baringo County, Kenya 1920 - 2017*" for a period ending 27th May, 2020.

The authorities concerned are therefore requested to give maximum support so that this research is completed within schedule.

I take this opportunity to wish you well during this research in our county.



Reuben M. Binott
For : County Director of Education
Baringo County

Appendix IX: Research Approval Letter



**KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL**

E-mail: dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke

Website: www.ku.ac.ke

P.O. Box 43844, 00100
NAIROBI, KENYA
Tel. 020-8704150

Internal Memo

FROM: Dean, Graduate School

DATE: 6th May, 2019

TO: Mr. Gabriel Nyabuto
C/o Department of History,
Archaeology & Political Studies

REF: C50/37771/2016

SUBJECT: APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL

We acknowledge receipt of your Research Proposal after fulfilling recommendations raised by the Graduate School Board of 18th April, 2018.

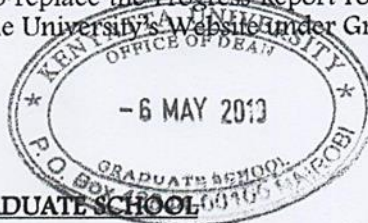
You may now proceed with your Data collection, subject to clearance with the Director General, National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation.

As you embark on your data collection, please note that you will be required to submit to Graduate School completed Supervision Tracking Forms per semester. The form has been developed to replace the Progress Report Forms. The Supervision Tracking Forms are available at the University's Website under Graduate School webpage downloads.

Thank you.

JULIA GITU

FOR: DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL



CC. Chairman, Department of History, Archaeology & Political Studies

Supervisors:

1. Dr. Peter Wafula
C/o Department of History, Archaeology & Political Studies
Kenyatta University
2. Dr. Pius Kakai
C/o Department of History, Archaeology & Political Studies
Kenyatta University

JG/ENW

Appendix X: Introductory Letter



**KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL**

E-mail: dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke

Website: www.ku.ac.ke

P.O. Box 43844, 00100
NAIROBI, KENYA
Tel. 020-8704150

Our Ref: C50/37771/2016

DATE: 6th May, 2019

Director General,
National Commission for Science, Technology
and Innovation
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI

Dear Sir/Madam,

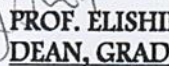
**RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION FOR MR. GABRIEL NYABUTO – REG. NO.
C50/37771/2016**

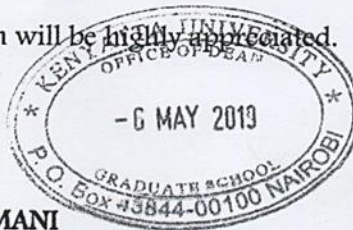
I write to introduce Mr. Gabriel Nyabuto who is a Postgraduate Student of this University. He is registered for M.A. degree programme in the **Department of History, Archaeology & Political Studies**.

Mr. Nyabuto intends to conduct research for a M.A. thesis Proposal entitled, **“Continuity and Change in the Practice of Pastoralism among the Pokot of Baringo County, Kenya 1920-2017.”**

Any assistance given will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,


**PROF. ELISHIBA KIMANI
DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL**



JG/cww