

Choices for Harmonious Coexistence in African Oral Literature: Images of Conflict and Peace in Marakwet War Songs

©2008

Paul Kipchumba

Abstract

Marakwet songs are of varied types, but accurate classification poses a problem of its own. There are war songs, for instance, but there are no clear examples of peace songs. However, the labelling of some of the songs as 'war songs' seems to privilege war over peace as a measure of accomplishment. Yet the songs are double-edged from the outset, giving obvious choices for harmonious coexistence that have hitherto been ignored by the parties involved. The explicit conflict images and the implicit peace images are presented side by side. The conflict option has often been foregrounded in many academic discourses. In this paper, I have pointed out how conflict and peace images are juxtaposed in fifteen war songs extracted from "Oral Literature of the Marakwet of Kenya" (2016). The study finds out that conflict and peace images in the songs present conflict and peace as socio-political and cultural choices that the Marakwet are consciously aware of and that peace can be attained only by foregrounding peace images in the songs. This study was occasioned by persistence of violent and destructive cattle rustling activities involving the Marakwet in north western Kenya.

Key Words: Conflict, Image, Marakwet, Peace, Pokot, Song, War

Introduction

Among the semi-pastoral Marakwet of north western Kenya, war is both an art and a preoccupation. The Marakwet engaged in cattle rustling activities with their pastoral neighbours the Pokot. Both are highland Nilotic Kalenjin sub-ethnic communities. In the past, the Marakwet won most of the battles as they had superior weapons (bows and arrows) to the Pokot spears. War among the Marakwet was carried out by warriors, young school dropouts, who isolated themselves from the rest of the community by living in the war frontlines in small groupings called *Kaporyong*. They follow Marakwet traditional culture—they marry more than one wife and sire children (as many as possible). However, in the recent past, war between the two communities has been carried out indiscriminately such that neither children nor women are spared. The age-old traditional practice of cattle raiding has transformed into violent and highly commercialized and politicized cattle rustling activity.

The Pokot began using automatic weapons after 1976. This brought out the weaknesses in the Marakwet war activities. In the period 1991-2001 the Marakwet displayed both weaknesses and

strengths at waging war with the Pokot. They were utterly defeated by the Pokot in the early part of this period. But this was later to turn round when the Marakwet gradually acquired guns after 1993. Although the number of cattle raids conducted by the Marakwet against the Pokot was limited, the Marakwet displayed war superiority that led the Pokot to respect and fear them. An unconditional truce was declared by both communities after the 2001 Murkutwa Massacre against the Marakwet (KHRC 2001) and enforced by subsequent change of government in Kenya in 2002, with the coming into power of President Mwai Kibai.

However, violent cattle rustling between the two Kalenjin sub-ethnic communities erupted again in 2016, forcing the Government of Kenya to recruit and deploy National Police Reservists to the region. This has since stabilized the security situation but has not stopped cattle rustling activities between the two communities. This participation of the Marakwet in cattle rustling activities, wars or some other form of aggression can be categorized and evidenced by the analyses of the images of conflict and peace in their war songs.

Images of Conflict and Peace in Marakwet War Songs

There are several treatises on African traditional conflict and peace management systems. Most of these accounts centre on the inherence of peace and conflict as stabilizing factors in the particular cultures or on conflict as a heinous issue. But none of them has observed conflict and peace as choices that the communities involved are consciously aware of. Wilson-Fall in his exploration of conflict prevention and resolution among the pastoralist Fulbe (Fulani) of West Africa (Senegal, Niger, and Northern Nigeria) recognizes the double-scheme in the treatment of internal and external conflicts. External conflict, which is the most telling case in this discussion, is mitigated by intermarriages (2000, 63), slightly different from the Marakwet situation. The Marakwet war songs are directed at the Pokot, an external enemy. But there are no songs trying to challenge peace or conflict in the immediate Marakwet society.

Gluckman who concentrates on the Nuer of the Sudan observes that there is some balancing of peace and conflict:

...how men quarrel in terms of their cultural allegiances, but are restrained from violence through other conflicting allegiances which are also enjoined on them by custom... In this way custom unites where it divides, co-operation and conflict balancing each other (1970, 2-3).

Gluckman's view is similar to that of Chesaina which demonstrates the understanding of peace and conflict among the Embu and Mbeere of central Kenya in their oral literature. In the furtherance of peace, communities fall into the trouble of war (2008, 132-134) and compact societies unite to face external threats, but it is always paradoxical that the individual's peace within the community is not guaranteed either (2008, 135). Children too, are not passive participants in a conflict-peace process as she illustrates in the Hawk and Dove characterization in the Embu and Mbeere children's oral literature (2008, 126). While she observes the coexistence of peace and conflict paradox in the oral literature, Chesaina does not interrogate them as apparent choices that the community is aware of.

Fallers, on the other hand, shows the Basoga of Uganda as a complex socio-political entity that differs from the Western world in the way they handle peace and conflict. He explores the integration of conflict within the institutions of the Soga society by showing how it helps to 'fit them together to satisfy basic minimum requirements for continued existence' (1965, 5). According to Fallers conflict is a stabilizing factor. But there is not much distinction between conflict and peace from his thesis thus differing from the central argument I advance in this paper—peace and conflict as conscious community choices. A closer opinion is held by Mkutu in his analysis of violent conflicts in the north western Kenya. Mkutu observes that pastoralism is coming under threat and is being replaced by cattle rustling that he terms violent (2008, 13), a view that is distant from my oral literature analysis of stylistic and thematic relevance. In the same line, Gachukia (1980) uses the sociological school of thought to reflect on cultural conflict as espoused by creative writers of East African literature. Her analysis centres on the Western-African cultural collision with the Western appearing as a culprit infringing on African values.

In addition, Goldschmidt and Goldschmidt bring out the concept of cultural disequilibrium among the Sebei as a result of socio-cultural changes from external factors: 'The disruption that renders old institutions and attitudes obsolete creates disequilibrium and the formulation of a new balance and harmony takes a long time' (1976, 354). They present the bigger picture of conflict that ignores the internal conflict-peace games, as in the case of Marakwet. Gurr falls within the category of Goldschmidt and Goldschmidt as he explores Western cultural infiltration in East Africa as a real cultural conflict. He draws his argument from Japan after Meiji Restoration in 1868 and compares with the East African situation through the writings of Okot p'Bitek's *Song of Lawino* and *Song of Ocol*, and Ngugi wa Thiong'o's *The River Between*. Gurr criticizes oral literature unjustly:

Traditional (oral) materials, ceremony, folk-tale or myth, normally exist as a communal creation, a composition evolved in and for the community. The ‘artist’ in a traditional society is more a performer of what already exists than a creator; the writer therefore has little directly to offer to his community’s traditional culture (1976, 74).

There is adequate local oral criticism and creativity or even unmatched originality in African oral literature, contrary to the standpoint taken up by Gurr, because somebody in the community must create this material before it can be performed.

In his account of oral messages in the 2007/2008 post-election conflict in Kenya, Osborn (2008) relates the role of rumours in the form of Short Text Messages (SMS), e-mails, weblogs in the fanning of violence. He sees the oral messages as chiefly responsible for the escalation of the conflict as showing another side of oral literature that is chiefly negative, which is not, most often, the case. Therefore, Osborn moves away significantly from my double-edged conflict-peace account, as illustrated by the Marakwet war songs.

The Marakwet war songs discussed in this paper are in two broad categories: (1) regret/ blame songs, 1-8; and (2) praise songs, 9-15. Blame songs recognize the importance of peace only after futility in the quest for supremacy from war, whereas praise songs celebrate success from battle and recognize and acknowledge peace as a result of war. The first song is peace-seeking. It is a request for the people to disarm. But it does not answer how community defence is to be effected, nor does it discuss anything about the enemy. This, in my view, does not mean that the persona is innocent and naïve. She deliberately omits any discussion of the entirety of community peace and security strategy as a ploy to get the enemy complacent, hence the paradox in the community’s quest for peace and reconciliation

1.

Marakwet Language

English Translation

1-Chenama kaalya X 2 piichuwee

1-Let us observe peace X 2 we people

2-Chemotee / chepisteena cho kikisirto

2-Let us forget/ let go the past

3-Chewirte puntikin

3-Let us throw away the guns

4-Chenama kaalya

4-Let us observe peace

The second song, takes the quest for peace as a wish. The song is wishing Margaret, a woman, peace of mind everywhere, even at the foot of a tree while resting. A woman in Marakwet oral literature symbolizes peace; therefore, Margaret stands for peace. But this way of looking at it presents peace as some kind of privilege. In other words, conflict is a tangible reality and peace is a longing with no certainty of being attained.

2.

Marakwet Language

English Translation

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1-Chereel Magret inyoru kaalya X 2 | 1-The white Margaret may you get peace X 2 |
| 2-Inyorchi keet wurit, inyoru kaalya | 2-May you get it at the foot of a tree, may you get peace |
| 3-Inyorchi tuyunwo, inyoru kaalya | 3-May you get it under Tuyunwo (a tree), may you get it |

In the third song, a peace song in war-time, peace is more pronounced but the song touches on some superficialities. The major issues such as the participants of the conflict, the meeting place are hidden. The unanswered question is whether there is true peace; it leaves several options for either peace or conflict. In Marakwet version of conflict management, an oath-treaty (*mis*) is administered to bolster any furtherance of peace. But the choice for peace or the suppression of conflict in this song is not clear. Therefore, a player in the peace-conflict situation is free to choose either.

3.

Marakwet Language

English Translation

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1-Kichomnyo e kichomnyo X 2 | 1-They have reconciled, they have reconciled X 2 |
| 2-Kichomnyo pikaa MAPOTU
Turkana ethnic communities) have reconciled | 2-The people of MAPOTU (Marakwet, Pokot and
Turkana ethnic communities) have reconciled |
| 3-Oyo kichomnyo | 3-Yes, they have reconciled |
| 4-Kituyo o kituyo X 2 | 4-They have united, they have united X 2 |
| 5-Kituyo pikaa MAPOTU | 5-The people of MAPOTU have united |

Similarly, the extent of conflict or peace is not clear from the songs. In the fourth song Churui is a war veteran who has been inciting youth into cattle rustling. He is definitely a sell-out of his people. However, Churui is still respected as a war veteran, as people keep watching his every move towards the youth; he is accused of inciting the youth into war. By virtue of his being a war veteran he earns some respect and recognition. By inciting the youth into violence he earns some derision and invites public outcry. Therefore, this song shows some powerful ambivalence between war and peace where the deterrent of war is a curse thereby sparing the question of ‘to what extent should a player go either peace-wards or conflict-wards?’ This ambivalence has sustained the conduct of violent cattle rustling between the communities in north western Kenya.

4.

Marakwet Language

English Translation

1-Churui e Churui wero Lorita meng’olelei	1-Churui, Churui the son of Lorita do not speak
2-Kinam ng’ala X 2	2-Words have got him (he is asuspect) X 2
3-Kinam ng’ala Churui nyole ng’orokoyon	3-Words have got Churui, the cattle rustler
4-Kipar korenyin	4-He has sold his people
5-Namin supetyo	5-May a barbed arrow catch you

Cattle rustling is a cultural practice that is practised by several pastoral communities according to the fifth song. Even if that is the case, it is still something to worry the communities. The Marakwet persona laments such an act of raiding away someone’s (Pokot’s) cattle leaving the owner hapless. Stealing the cattle is explicit, but identifying with the victim (Cherop) is implicit. Therefore, despite such setbacks, cattle rustling in its widest sense is still condoned by the community.

5.

Marakwet Language

English Translation

1-Kiriir kiriir oe a a	1-She has cried
2-Kiriir Cherop oe o kiriir kirirchi tukwak x2	2-Cherop has cried, o she has cried over their cattle

In addition, there is some conscious understanding of the implications of possession of illegal firearms by the Marakwet. In equal sense, there is some clear understanding of war and peace in relation to such possessions. For the Marakwet to enjoy relative cordiality with the Central Government, they have to surrender the illegal guns. But for them to live in peace with the Pokot, they have to possess the arms as a form of deterrence. This is the peace-conflict paradox expressed by the sixth song. The same is seen in the seventh song where the son of Lorita from Sibow Village has killed an innocent herdsman. The witness is asking the community to take action against him. Presence of peace is taken as the ideal precondition for existence. However, there is the overt violent conflict resulting to the death of the herdsman whom the persona declares innocent.

6.

Marakwet Language

English Translation

1-Lokoto Chembe Chumakow

1-Lokoto Chembe Chumakow

2-Keoite na puntukin

2-Let us return the illegal guns

3-King'wanit ng'alee Nyayo
disarmament

3-The Nyayo era is becoming tough with

7.

Marakwet Language

English Translation

1-Owolei x 2

1-I praise X 2

2-mm

2-mm

3-E woye owolei wero Lorita em Sibow mm

3-I praise the son of Lorita in Sibow

4-Keperchi nee chipo chiich?

4-Why did you kill someone's kinsman?

5-Keperchi nee kip-echai?

5-Why did you kill a herdsman?

6-Kepar chiich kulen

6-You have killed someone for no reason

In the eighth song Kimeli confesses implicitly of the challenges he has faced in his participation in cattle rustling. He declares that he would never participate in such activities; therefore, he has

embraced peace. But this only comes after Kimeli's futile quest for supremacy in cattle rustling war, as he confesses. Therefore, peace is a last resort according to him. In my view, the community recognizes the role of peace in sustaining human existence; however, peace is considered a last resort either in the face of defeat in war or in replenishing lost resources and strength in preparation of future war.

8.

Marakwet Language

English Translation

1-O o Kimeli

1-O o Kimeli (the son of Talai)

2-Kolo Kimeli karaam kaw motoweti chemwaka
and so he will never go abroad

2-Kimeli has declared that home is good

3-Motoweti chorsho
thievery

3-He will never participate in livestock

4-Motoweti Kapsang'ar
town in West Pokot County)

4-He will never raid Kapsang'ar (a small

5-Motoweti Cheptulel
lower West Pokot County)

5-He will never raid Cheptulel (a region of

6-Motoweti Chesumaya
Chesumaya (Sambirir Ward, Elgeyo Marakwet County)

6-He will never participate in the battles at

Moreover, in the ninth song Kocheseret is crying complaining that Marakwet raiders have raided away her cattle. However, the persona plays with language by declaring the raiding of Kocheseret's (an old grandmother) cattle by Marakwet raiders an allegation. The lamentation by Kocheseret of the loss of her cattle is ignored by the persona's assertion; therefore, the conflict option has been advanced towards Kocheseret as opposed to the peace option that seems sensible. This language play is a clear manifestation of the paradox of the embrace of peace and war among the Marakwet.

9.

Marakwet Language

English Translation

1-Rirei o rirei Kocheseret

1-She is crying, Kocheseret is crying

2-Leli kipatuka(k)

2-She alleges that the cattle have gone

3-Rirei o rirei

3-She is crying, she is crying

4-Leli kipatuka(k) chepleng
Marakwet

4-She alleges that the cows have gone to

Peace is sometimes secured through death according to the tenth song. The community is happy that there is peace because Merinyang has been killed, and they give thanks to Lomechar for having killed him. Thus the community enjoys relative calm because of the murder of Merinyang, a Pokot cattle rustler, by a Marakwet cattle rustler. In spite of this, the persona recognizes the unhappiness of his family over his death: ‘Until children have cried for him’. This line expresses some pity or regret over the way Merinyang has been murdered—inhumanly. Therefore, as much as the song celebrates the death of Merinyang, at the same time, it sympathises, giving the conflicting reality that the community does not see murder as something to celebrate but as a necessary evil.

10.

Marakwet Language

English Translation

1-Kikipar Merinyang o

1-Merinyang has been killed

2-Kikipar Merinyang arapLopela

2-Merinyang the son of Lopela has been killed

3-Kipa muren a

3-The warriors have gone for war

4-Kipa muren kuwit Tangasya al
West Pokot County)

4-The warriors have gone past Tangasya (a township in

5-Chekar atokeet al

5-Until insecure military points have been closed

6-Chekar atokeet, chekar Kamolokon
(border with West Pokot County)

6-To close insecure military points, to close Kamolokon

7-Owen owen o al	7-The war party, the war party
8-Araa Tangasya	8-In Tangasya
9-Sangpo Lelan al	9-In the vast expanse of Lelan
10-Kikipar Merinyang arap Lopela	10-Merinyang, the son of Lopela, has been killed
11-Kiriryo lakoi	11-Until the children have cried for him
12-KongoiLomechar kiperwech Merinyang Merinyang on our behalf	12-Thanks to you Lomechar for having killed Merinyang on our behalf

The eleventh song is a praise war song both underestimating and overestimating the importance of the AK47 assault gun to the cattle rustlers. Dangerous gunshots have been reported at the GSU's (General Service Unit of police) camp. If not of the mentioned guns AK47 assault guns (FN, lokwapenit, ritong), the Marakwet warriors would have perished. They are reporting to Nyang'ura (probably a war veteran). The Marakwet cattle rustlers claim that it is only because of their possession of guns that they managed to defend themselves from the Pokot cattle rustlers. In other words, they managed to secure peace because of the guns. But with the mention of all the guns, it is impossible to foresee peace except to justify an elusive peace within the cattle rustlers' inner selves.

11.

Marakwet Language

English Translation

1-Kium kityoli Nyang'ura x 2	1-There are heavy gunshots, Nyang'ura X 2
2-Kiumo kaachesu, Nyang'ura Nyang'ura	2-They have reported from GSU's camp, Nyang'ura
3-Kium saait mut, Nyang'ura	3-They have sounded at eleven o'clock Nyang'ura
4-Poryo 24, Nyang'ura	4-The war of 24, Nyang'ura
5-Kium so kipoi, Nyang'ura	5-It is really loud, Nyang'ura
6-Tomo FN, Nyang'ura	6-If not of FN, Nyang'ura

7-Tomo lokwapenit nyopo Lotabang, Nyang'ura 7-If not of Lotabang's Lokwapenit,
Nyang'ura

8-Tomo ritong Nyang'ura... 8-If not of Ritong', Nyang'ura

In addition, there is some justification for a 'show of force' in the twelfth song. This is an account of Marakwet revolt against British colonial rule. The white men were defeated in the fight at Cheseгон. The war was felt deeply even at Chepareria. The persona alleges that after fighting the colonial officers at Cheseгон (Marakwet-Pokot border), the entire Pokot territory, even areas close to Uganda like Chepareria, felt the magnitude of Marakwet might. Therefore, the colonials were not the target but the Pokot. It is most probably that Marakwet warriors believe that they experience peace by possessing military might only against the Pokot, a conclusion that moves me further to note that the community would like to realize peaceful coexistence with the Pokot but at the same time they do not want to be seen as 'the weaker partner', a quality that is only countered through successful violent conflicts.

12.

<i>Marakwet Language</i>	<i>English Translation</i>
1-Kuletee X 2	1-The war X 2
2-Araa Cheseгон	2-In Cheseгон
3-Kirur kulet	3-The war is rife
4-Cheluma Cheparerya	4-It is deeply felt even in Chepareria
5-O <i>kjpa chumba</i> X 2	5-The white men have run away
6-Mo <i>kwero</i>	6-Barefeet

In the thirteenth song Pokot cattle rustlers have raided Lomoreng's cattle in Tangul. The persona is lamenting the raid of cattle from Lomoreng, a Marakwet, by Pokot cattle rustlers. He consoles Lomoreng by telling him not to worry about the loss, as the Marakwet cattle rustlers will avenge for him by raiding Tangasya. But the chorus part of the song curses Lomoreng. He is seen as a culprit who deserves suffering and death. The bamboo-headed arrow in Marakwet custom is a ritual arrow. So the paradox of conflict and peace is explored here by consoling Lomoreng that

the Marakwet warriors will avenge for him the loss of his cattle and, at the same time, cursing him for being too cowardly to defend his possessions. Whichever the case, the community is ready for either peace or conflict.

13.

Marakwet Language

English Translation

1-Lomoreng wero Mochor ah	1-Lomoreng the son of Mochor ah
2-Merirei Lomoreng X 2	2-Don't cry Lomoreng X 2
3-Merirchi tukaa papu nyaa	3-Don't cry over my father's cattle
4-Cho kipka kuwitu Tangul	4-That have come past Tangul
5-Kuowonu chepleng ah	5-Forcing the Marakwet to wage war
6-Kipar tuchu mi Tangasya	6-To raid the cattle at Tangasya
7-Lomoreng kwamin ng'oki	7-Lomoreng may you be cursed
8-Lomoreng kwamin nyaril	8-Lomoreng may you suffer
9-Lomoreng kwamin tangas	9-Lomoreng may you suffer
10-Lomoreng naming supetyo	10-Lomoreng may a bamboo-headed arrow shoot you

There is rationalization and normalization of injustice in Marakwet war songs through quest for peace. In the fourteenth song Marakwet have raided cattle from Kakapul in Tiaty Constituency, Baringo County. A Pokot herdsman called Lomurmurya is crying bitterly over this loss but other Pokot herdsman console him by asking him not to worry about the cattle, as they could not be recovered. The cattle have disappeared into the distant upland Elgeyo Marakwet County. But the Pokot, to console the owner of the cattle, tell him of the supposed long distance that the Marakwet cattle rustlers have covered, making it impossible for the Pokot cattle rustlers to mount a recovery. For the owner of the cattle to enjoy peace, he must forget about the lost cattle. For the Marakwet to get away with punishment, they must take the cattle far away even into upland Marakwet, where they do not live. It is really hard to reconcile. Despite the predominance of commercialized cattle rustling between the pastoralist ethnic communities in north western Kenya, it is clear from this account that cattle rustling in the present context is a culture in its

own right where peace and conflict are the same. Sensitivity and insensitivity coexist, and insensitivity to the plight of the loser is victory.

14.

<i>Marakwet Language</i>	<i>English Translation</i>
1-Oe owoyee	1-Yes
2-Kikipar tupo Kakapul a raided	2-The Kakapul (Baringo County) cattle have been raided
3-Kikipar kilang mosop o	3-They have been driven into upland Marakwet
4-Lomurmurya merirei a	4-Lomurmurya don't cry
5-Chitap Baringo aya, Lomurmurya merirei	5-The person of Baringo, Lomurmurya don't cry

Lastly, there is no real war success in Marakwet war songs. In the fifteenth song a Marakwet warrior praises himself after raiding several Pokot territories successfully. Even if the cattle rustler has carried out successful raids, the use of the word “successful” implies some inherent worry within him, although he cannot admit because of the communal expectation of him—seeing life in terms of war.

15.

<i>Marakwet Language</i>	<i>English Translation</i>
1-O Ng'ailee X 2	1-O Ng'ailee X 2
2-Nyasilo ng'oroko	2-The one who is heard by the cattle rustlers
3-Toru Kipusien	3-He has participated in the raid of Kipusien
4-Toru Cheparial	4-He has participated in the raid of Chaparial
5-Toru Tangasya	5-He has participated in raid of Tangasya
6-Toru Kapsing'ar	6-He has participated in the raid of Kapsing'ar

Conclusion

This paper has explored the paradox of conflict and peace as choices for harmonious coexistence that the Marakwet are consciously aware of. By favouring conflict over peace, as is clear from the discussion above, in addition to it being part of their socio-political and cultural worldview, it is also a pragmatic decision by the actors in the conflict. In most of the songs, the images of peace present an improbability, a wish of the coward or the weaker person and a very last resort in the case of defeat or while buying time to replenish war resources and strength. Whereas conflict is seen as an aspiration as is the case of Kimeli in the eighth song, a successful war is also an illusion according to the fifteenth song, because it merely creates a vicious cycle in which the community must live while expecting inevitable retaliation. Therefore, taking all the perspectives presented by the images of conflict and peace in all the songs into account, peace can only be attained, not by other means, but by foregrounding peace images in these songs to inculcate a paradigm shift in the Marakwet war-like ideology and worldview.

References

- Chesaina, C. 2008. 'The Treatment of the Themes of War, Conflict and Peace in Embu and Mbeere Oral Literature.' In *Daisaku Ikeda and Voices for Peace from Africa* edited by H. Indangasi, and O. H. Masumi, 124-136. Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau.
- Fallers, A. L. 1965. *Bantu Bureaucracy: A Century of Political Evolution among the Basoga of Uganda*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Gachukia, W. E. 1980. 'Cultural Conflict in East African Literature.' PhD Thesis, University of Nairobi, Kenya.
- Gluckman, M. 1970. *Custom and Conflict in Africa*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Goldschmidt, W., and Goldschmidt, G. 1976. *Culture and Behaviour of the Sebei: A Study in Continuity and Adaptation*. Berkely: University of California Press.
- Gurr, A. 1976. Engagement is not Marriage: Perspectives on Cultural Conflict in East Africa. *Mosaic* 2, 65-79. Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press.
- KHRC (Kenya Human Rights Commission). 2001. *Raiding Democracy: The Slaughter of the Marakwet in the Kerio Valley, 2001*. Nairobi: Kenya Human Rights Commission.

Kipchumba, P. 2016. *Oral Literature of the Marakwet of Kenya*. Nairobi: Kipchumba Foundation. 339-343.

Mkutu, A. K. 2008. *Guns and Governance in the Rift Valley: Pastoralist Conflict and Small Arms*. Oxford: James Currey.

Osborn, M. 2008. 'Fuelling the Flames: Rumour and Politics in Kibera.' *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2(2): 315-327.

Wilson-Fall, W. 2000. 'Conflict Prevention and Resolution Among the Fulbe'. In I. W. Zartman, eds. *Traditional Cures for Modern Conflicts: African Conflict Medicine*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers. 49-65.