



THE CURRENT STATUS OF SOCIAL AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION BETWEEN THE MAASAI PASTORALISTS OF KENYA AND TANZANIA

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Abstract: *Abstract: The objectives of the study were to establish the challenges the Maasai pastoralists experience when engaging in cross-border movement, the measures to facilitate cross-border movement, and establishing the importance of informal cross-border movement. The theories used to expound the study were intergovernmentalism, and relative deprivation theory. A sample of 80 respondents was used to give information on the status of social and regional integration between the two countries. The findings were that the current status of social and regional integration between the countries was 62.8% satisfactory, cross-border movements by pastoralists promote social and regional integration (69.7%), and that free movement of goods and services fostered strong integrated community between the two countries (79.2%). The challenges identified were the stiff customs and border procedures (60%), limited border checkpoints (56.9%), unequal enforcement of the standards of compliance (57%), and informal restrictions (63.8%) were mentioned as major challenges of informal cross-border movements among the pastoralists. The respondents also mentioned other key problems of the changing land tenure (28.75%), increasing demand for land (70%), and lack of adequate investment in the dry lands to control the livestock resources (pastures and water (51.3%). The measures suggested were adequate community participation; Mainstreaming resources based conflicts, and establishing and supporting cross-border exchange programs for the pastoralists. The cross-border movements were associated with promoting unity, international relations and creating stronger economies. It was recommended that the two governments engage in dialogue to further strengthen the relationship between the two countries. Policy formulation was also a suggested help in controlling the movement of the pastoralists across the borders.*

Key study terms: informal cross-border movement, regional integration, social integration, Maasai, pastoralists

1.1 Study background

Cross-border movements among the pastoralists in East Africa have been in existence before colonialism and creation of the current East African states. The Maasai's grazing lands have since time immemorial been the rift valley and other savannah grasslands on the plains stretching from Kenya's Laikipia County to central Tanzania. This study focused on the Maasai of Kenya and Tanzania mainly because of their pastoral production system which necessitates frequent cross-border movements in search of pasture and water for their livestock. Coast (2006) indicated that the Maasai of Kenya and Tanzania are arguably the best-known pastoralist population in the world. While focusing on their nature of migration, across the two nations, Coast argues that a study on the Maasai along the Kenya and Tanzania provides a better understanding and appreciation of the challenges and the opportunities that they present towards deepening EAC integration.

Wakhungu et al (2014) on the challenges and opportunities associated with pastoralism among the Maasai of Kenya and Tanzania, indicated that livestock was their main form of food, financial capital and wealth. The study was composed of 177 pastoral farmers in Kajiado County in Kenya and Morogoro and Tanga areas of Tanzania. The challenges identified by the study were that majority of the farmers (35%) dependent on selling livestock for earning livelihood; there was also limited access to quality veterinary services (71%), as well as challenges accessing pastures seasonally when migration to the other country was necessary.

Economic integration is a concept that the member states of EAC prioritize and that they aim to achieve through the formation of the trading bloc. The main purpose of regional integration, as in EAC, is to increase East Africa's visibility in the African and global market (Söderbaum, & Taylor, 2008). Regional integration is strengthened by support of political will of the leaders in respective countries.

Mwaniki (2011) observed that, informal contacts were critical in strengthening EAC regional integration networks as well as relationships. Informal contacts across the borders facilitate cross-border trade that contributes immensely to regional integration. Economic integration forms a baseline for the sharing of resources as well as strong integration of the pastoral communities' like the Maasai of Kenya and Tanzania. A research by Eyster (2014) on the East African Community integration barriers and facilitators indicated that the Maasai community remains blessed with abundant natural resources that acts as sheer potential for growth. The EAC (East African Community) consists of six countries including Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda. Kenya and Tanzania share boundaries and the two countries form the basis for this study. To the Maasai's the boundaries are simply imaginary lines and not a hindrance to their movements. This is in line with the spirit of the EAC which focuses on implementing , customs union, common market and eventually a political confederation which allows free movement of goods, labor, people, capital and services, the six member states need not to have barriers for entry for goods, people and livestock.

Mwasha (2011) argues that the critical need for having a regional economic integration (REI) is to eliminate trade barriers and promote highest levels of collaborations. The EAC is one of the oldest regional economic arrangements in Africa that focuses on promoting free trade across the two countries and other member states. Ombeni (2008) states the importance of economic regional cooperation provides both formal and informal cross-border movements that further enhance regional integration.

Ombeni (2008) also pointed out the challenges that member countries continue facing when it came to free movement of goods and services. Issues with formal procedures like offering license to Kenyan airline operators to fly into Tanzania was once an issue that represents the random occupancies that demean the operations of the two countries in forming and strengthening regional integration (Ogutu, 1996). Another study by Gichangi (2012) on the effects of East African common market cross-border business for Kenya association of manufacturers' members (KAM) recommended that government as well as policy makers should come with policies and guidelines that promote position of establishing free movement of members of the EAC and their goods. In that case, the concern of informal cross-border movements were not addressed to the extent of their influence in regional integration. Migratory movements provides for movement of goods, services and people from one country to the other (Photios-Tapinos, 2000).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Informal movement of the pastoralists has been a common practice since time immemorial in East African region. This practice has been associated with shared cultural, social and economic experience; important aspects in regional integration. However, the case is not the same across Tanzanian-Kenyan border. Tensions of informal cross-border movements (ICMs) have been witnessed in the recent past where the Maasai of Kenya were prevented from taking their livestock to Tanzania's Serengeti for pastures (Tubei, 2017). The issues of governance deficit and lack of cross-border policies on the informal movement of pastoralists has also contributed to the increased tension. Intrastate conflicts, as well as interstate conflicts were hindrances towards achieving economic and regional integration (Kakuba & Saidi, 2017). They suggested that having common identity was viable aspect in reducing tension. The study also suggested that establishing custom union at cross-border points, including for the pastoralists, was critical for harmonizing economic policies. The study identified a gap where majority of the designed or suggested integration policies were not implemented. A recent action by the Tanzanian border customs officials of seizing Kenyan Maasai cattle and auctioning them led to heightened tension that saw the two countries create barriers, to free livestock movement. The action was preceded by another incident where 6,400 live one week old chicks from Kenya were burnt alive upon entering Tanzania (Ahmed & Ngunjiri, 2017). If the cross-border movements are not controlled and if the governments do not take controls, then the political tensions are likely to escalate, affecting the socioeconomic development of the people of the two countries. From the studies on the cross-border integration, and the recent heightened border tensions, there seems to be no sufficient information on social integration and informal cross-border movement between the two countries necessitating this study. It is on the basis of such actions that this study was mooted to establish the importance of informal cross border contacts and relationships involving the Maasai community in enhancing regional and social integration in Eastern Africa.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study was to establish the importance of informal cross-border movements and relationships among the Maasai pastoralists in enhancing regional integration in East African region. Specifically the study sought to;

- a) Establish the challenges facing the Maasai pastoralists during their cross-border movements in search of pastures and water for their livestock
- b) Establish the measures that can facilitate cross-border movements among the Maasai pastoralists of Kenya and Tanzania

- c) Establish the importance of informal cross-border movements by the Maasai in enhancing regional integration in East Africa

1.4 Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework was built on the variables of the study where challenges, measures to facilitate cross-border movement and the importance of cross-border movement are interconnected in creating a commercially integrated East African Region. The challenges identified acted as a pull-down thus hampering the expected regional integration. Measures or aspects facilitating regional integration and in relation to livestock production (pastoralism) also enhance regional integration. Importance of regional integration was also included as a contributor to regional integration (RI).

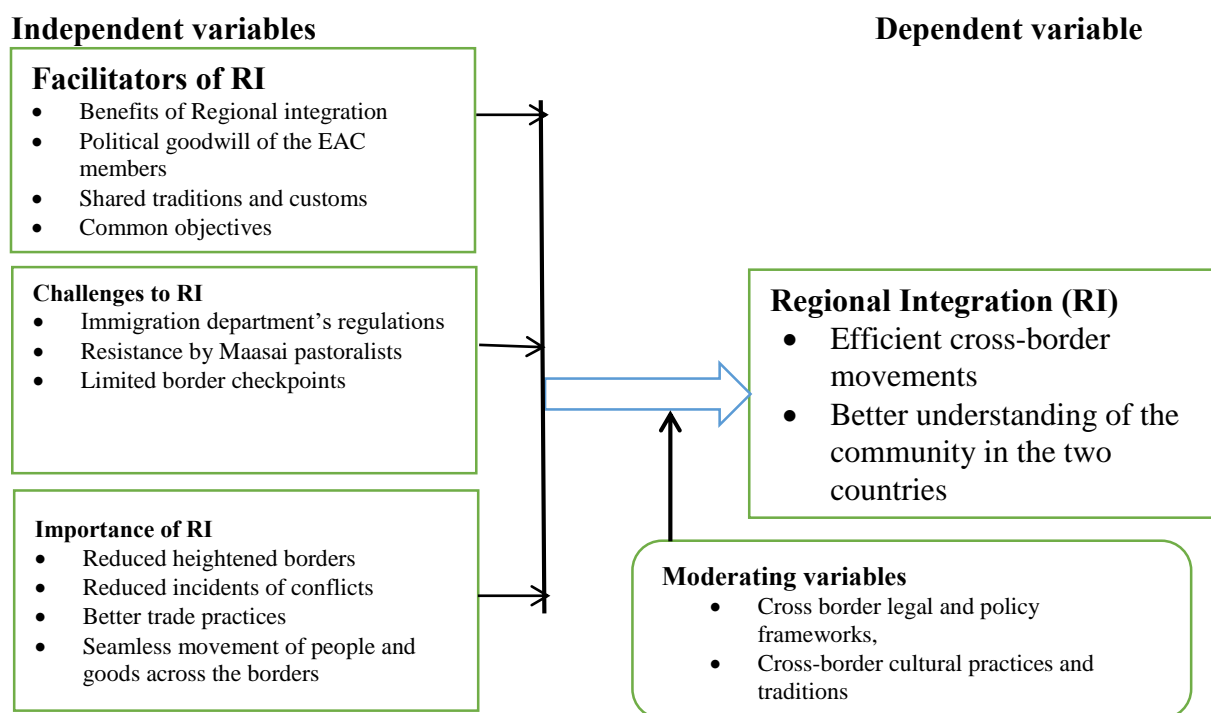


Figure 1: Conceptual framework
Source: Authors (2019)

The conceptual model picks on the three elements of facilitators, challenges and importance of regional integration as the key independent variables that influence the overall regional integration process. The first objective on how regional integration of the EAC members and the informal cross-border movement has heightened rules contributes to both facilitators and challenges of regional integration as influenced by the informal cross-border movement of the Maasai community. The expected impacts of the regional integration contribute to the importance of the regional integration process as influenced by the both informal and formal cross-border movements. Resistance to regulations set by the two countries' immigration departments

contributed to the challenges of regional integration. Approaches related to pastoral informal cross-border movement that enhance the process of social integration among the community were associated with the facilitators of RI between the two countries.

1.5 Literature review

Theoretical review

The study picked from some theories that focus on pastoralists, the conflicts caused due to limited livestock resources and the theories related to transhumance and pastoralism. The conflict theory and the theory of protracted social conflict (PSC) were embraced to further expound on the study and the associated variables. The conflict theory highlights the process of establishment of a conflict that includes pre-conflict and post-conflict periods. The theories relate to the on-and-off situation that has marred Maasai pastoralists informal cross-border movement from Kenya to Tanzania and vice versa.

Inter-governmentalism

One of the selected theories was the theory inter-governmentalism. Inter-governmentalism has been defined as working outside an agreed treaty and it emerged from early 1970s. The theory was proposed by Andrew Moravcsik who was then working got the European Union program (Bickerton, Hodson, & Puetter, 2015). The origin of the term came from the interaction of international aspects like human rights, European integration, and policy making where interactions between governments needed specialized focus (Hout, 2015). In subjects like political science and international relations, intergovernmentalism focuses on national governments as the primary actors in regional and international integration process. The model asserts that there are diverging national interests that need to be addressed.

Regional integration that promotes or upholds intergovernmentalism is the European Union where political and economic integration is practiced and implemented. The EU has supranational independent institutions as well as intergovernmental negotiated decisions that arise from the member states (Bickerton, Hodson, & Puetter, 2015). The EU has a standardized system of laws that control market of all products across the member states. The benefits of this model of international integration allows free movement of goods, livestock, people, capital and services among other interests within the boundaries of the European Union. The policy also allows the member states to enact legislations that have direct impact on home affairs of the member states, agriculture, fisheries, trade and even regional development. The model also sets target for establishing monetary union that allows members to freely exchange goods and services (Schimmelfennig, 2015). The African Union represents another form of intergovernmentalism in Africa that is less integrated compared to EU.

The study thus is guided by the model of intergovernmentalism where free flow of trade items and services occur, and where members of the union can freely move from one place to the other without many restrictions. The case of informal cross-border movement by the Maasai of Kenya and Tanzania points to the need for the two countries, and the other members of the East African Community to have a common integrated union that allows its members to freely move within the borders. Through addressing border issues, then the member states would be able to do trade and other forms of interaction efficiency as the intergovernmentalism theory holds.

Relative Deprivation Theory

The relative deprivation theory focuses on the social changes and movements where people take actions in order to achieve something after feeling oppressed and sidelined (Smith, & Pettigrew, 2015). The theory helps in explaining how individuals focus on attaining their desires like status, wealth and opportunities among other things. Proponents of social deprivation theory use it to explain why people join social movements or even advocate for some actions. In this case, advocating for change in the way cross-border movement is handled by the migration officials. Relative deprivation helps explain how the lack of resources to sustain the lifestyle, diet and activities of an individual or community. Through the relative deprivation theory, it is possible to compare between different situations of a person or group of people. The theory also helps in explaining individual experiences associated with discontent when one community or an individual is deprived of an important resource. It also helps in explaining cases where societies describe feelings and/or measures of social, political and economic deprivation that can be described as relative as opposed to absolute (Olson, Herman, & Zanna, 2014). The concept of the theory focuses on behavior, attitude, and political attitudes, with an aspect of social exclusion. Some scholars have used relative deprivation in trying to describe deviant behaviors of some society members. Deviant behaviors are actions geared towards achieving goals that the deprived feel the society has denied them.

Robert K. Merton used the concept of relative deprivation to help understand social deviance, while borrowing from the concept of anomie suggested by Emile Durkheim. Another proponent of relative deprivation, Walter Runciman, stated four preconditions of relative deprivation in terms of possessing an object X by a person A. The preconditions work in that individual A does not have object X, but knows other people that have object X, an object he wants. In this case, the fourth precondition is that person A can get object X as it is realistic since the other person can access it (Pettigrew, 2016). The four preconditions help explain why the Maasai pastoralists will informally cross the border from Kenya to Tanzania in search of animal pastures and water, that during some season are absent in Kenya, and present in Tanzania. Runciman explains two forms of relative deprivation, fraternalistic and egoistic relative deprivation. Egoistic relative deprivation is as a result of unfavorable social position to one party (which member A belongs) as compared to another group which better. For instance, a pastoralist who is prevented from crossing the border due to political reasons and compares themselves to another group who are allowed to cross even when they have the same political inclination. Fraternalistic relative deprivation has been associated with actions like racial discrimination, agitation that leads to large social movements, and the envy feeling of the characters who are held in high esteem by the society members. Relative deprivation theory has been associated with conflict theory where members feel they deserve a particular product or service to enable them fit in the class of society they admire. Gayle and Miller (2001) identified the stages involved in pastoral communities' conflicts including pre-conflict, confrontation, crises, outcome and post-conflict

Empirical Literature Review on Pastoral Cross-border Movements

Pastoralists have maintained their nomadic lifestyles even after independence in Kenya and Tanzania, periodically crossing the country borders to search for pasture and water. The empirical literature focuses on the challenges the Maasai face when crossing borders with their livestock, the measures that when taken can facilitate cross-border movement among the Maasai livestock

herders, and the critical importance of the cross-border movement in facilitating regional integration.

Ekiru (2011) studying on the factors influencing cross-border conflict resolution between Turkana and Pokot communities indicated that political factors like feelings of alienation, marginalization, and lack of political trust was associated with increased border conflicts. Other factors mentioned as key in heightening cross-border conflicts and misunderstanding included cultural, social and economic factors. Communities with shared cultural practices are likely to move freely to their counterparts in the neighboring country as opposed to those who have different cultural practices. The study by Ekiru (2011) pointed out to the reasons why conflict resolution efforts by political leaders of the conflicting regions including commercialization of cattle rustling, and fighting for the livestock resources. The feeling and assumption that the neighbors from the other country are intending to use their economic resources, that is pastures and water on the expense of the locals fuels the cross-border feuds.

Resistance by the Maasai Pastoralists on border controls

The resistance to the provisions of border controls and prevention of informal cross-border movements to the Maasai pastoralists is because of the value the pastoralists commit to the pastures and waters across the borders (Coast, 2002). The author indicates that resistance to events or threats to the livelihoods of the Maasai are eminent across the borders. Threats including that of acquisition of the livestock, and preventing them from accessing the resources that serve them make their resistance even more (Coast, 2002).

The UN Secretary General Report (1998) focused on the reasons of continued conflicts across Africa. One of the major causes was historical injustices and legacies. Back in 1885, at the Congress of Berlin, Africa was partitioned into territorial units. Among the affected were the pastoralists who were divided and placed into different states under different conditions. The new states created boundaries that disturbed the pre-colonial movements of the pastoralists creating two different communities, by putting a boundary. Since the colonization brought about the boundaries dividing one community into different states, the Maasai community feels discouraged and inconvenienced since it cannot access its traditional dry- and wet-lands for pastures of their livestock. The Maasai community thus resists the international boundaries created that disrupted their traditional movements in search for pastures. The UN Secretary General Report (1998) also presents a myriad of reasons that make the community resist the boundaries and stops put by the immigration officials. The continued competition for the scarce resources, especially the natural resources make the immigrant officials to protect what feels as own resources against depletion from other external communities.

Measures to facilitate cross-border movements of the Maasai community

CORDAID, an NGO (Non-Governmental Organization) based in The Hague, Netherlands, indicated that communities working together enhanced unity and cohesion promoting regional integration. The document by CORDAID focused on cross-border movement between Kenya and Ethiopia argues that prioritizing community led actions contribute to improved preparedness to embrace cross-border movements and understanding each other. The document further insists that for successful community integration, dialogue needs to be instilled to facilitate easy and friendly exchange of information, settling of disputes, and grass-root involvement in peace-making

process. CORDAID (2014) opined that a combination of bottom-up and top-down approaches in communication between the Maasai community members and leaders.

Among the good practices action points suggested by the CORDAID (2014) was that governments in respective countries should realize that resource sharing among pastoral cross-border communities is universal. It was also recommended that communities and governments learn and appreciate that livestock mobility patterns affect several neighboring states and that there should be consultation-based resource sharing and management as the core of conflict management. The practice of cross-border consultation in response to community needs has been practices in the Northern Kenya and South Ethiopia (covering Bori community of Kenya and Dambi/Bokola of Ethiopia) where conflicts on resource have reduced owing to coordinated participation in community processes. Ekiru (2011) discussed several intervention strategies that conflicting communities and countries focusing on pastoralists could use to help solve the feuds. Peace building strategies between the two countries, and focusing on the pastoral communities were felt to have some impact on easing relations between the two parties. Despite the fact that the study by Ekiru (2011) focused on two different communities, the study on Maasai community of Kenya and Tanzania is similar in that the two respective national governments often have misunderstandings at the borders, especially for moving of economic goods and livestock. Peace building process focuses on aspects that the two neighboring states can agree on leading to increased understanding and social integration. Economic development as influenced by the facilitation by the governments enables the community to access products and services from each other for economic benefits. The Maasai community benefits from their livestock through trading the livestock and their products. Economic agreements favoring the pastoral community would put economic value to the pastures and water the pastoralists get from the neighboring country without creating tensions.

Policy formulations and law enforcement has been indicated to influence how integration process flows. For instance, policies that favor movements across the boundaries are likely to ease the heightened tensions between the two countries' border control. Policy formulations especially on the aspects of sharing the available livestock resources are likely to moderate how the community interacts with the members from the other country. Cross-border movements, whether informal or formal enhance understanding between the two communities/states. For instance, the movements across the border enable the members to understand the traditions, the needs, governance systems and the shared resources with the other community enhancing social integration among the community members.

Lambroschini (2011) recommends cross-border interventions that recognize official country borders as of little significance especially to the agro-pastoralists communities who freely move from one country to another. The recognition of the insignificance of the country borders to the pastoralists should further inform the government to make policies that favor the cross-border movements by the pastoralists. In addition, projects targeting pastoralist communities near borders should be harmonized to focus on the similar needs by the communities, the livelihood assets, the shared resources and the traditional governance systems. The study also suggested that the cross-border movements and their interventions should establish linkages across the conflicting communities leading to better understanding of the involved parties.

The literature review points out that majority of studies done on cross-border movements among

the pastoralists is based on conflicts on land, water and pastures and there are few studies done on enhancing regional integration from the perspectives of pastoralists. In addition, most of the studies on the Maasai are focused on land rights and have not focused majorly on how cross-border movements enhance (or otherwise) regional integration. Few studies conducted across the East African on pastoralist cross-border movement (CBM) have rarely focused on the aspect of CBM in promoting regional integration. Social integration between the two countries has not been achieved especially on the freedom of movements. Informal cross-border movements, especially for the Maasai pastoralists has existed since independence, when boundaries divided the community into two, the Maasai of Kenya and of Tanzania.

1.6 Methodology

The methodology used was a mixed study approach where both qualitative and quantitative methods were used to collect information needed to answer the research questions/objectives. Quantitative data was collected through the use of questionnaires. The questionnaires were based on the research questions and items (sub-variables) identified from the literature review. Qualitative data was collected through key informant interviews conducted on key persons who experience the effects of regional integration, who practice pastoralism, and also cross-border control experts. Qualitative data collection through interviews provided succinct and elaborate answers to the research questions (Maxwell, 2012). Secondary data was collected from peer-reviewed journals and periodicals. Secondary information from scholarly websites like Google Scholar and EBCSO host was used to support the study. In studies where description as well as understanding of the human behavior is concerned, then qualitative research design is preferred since it focuses on explaining as well as predicting human behavior (Babbie & Mouton, 2015). It was also possible to collect more information through probing on the respondents on matters challenges and factors promoting cross-border movements (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). Both the questionnaires and key informant guide focused on challenges affecting targeted population in cross-border movement, facilitators of cross-border movement, and asking the respondents on aspects on the importance of cross-border movement in regional integration.

Location of the study

The greater area of study was Kajiado County in Kenya and Arusha region covering Longido district in Tanzania. The Kenya-Tanzanian border areas with major border towns like Namanga and Loitokitok were selected/targeted. Namanga and Loitokitok are both in Kajiado County on the side of Kenya. The coordinates of Namanga are 2°33'S 36°47'E and it lies in Longido District in Tanzania. Namanga is 110 kilometers from Arusha as well as 183 kilometers from Nairobi. The population of the town is approximately 10,000 with an approximate 6,000 rural population. Loitokitok is also a border town located 255 kilometers south-east of Nairobi. It is located 2.9250°S 37.5100°E and it forms one of the main focus areas of the study. Kajiado is a county in Kenya found to the south of Kenya bordering Makueni, and Taveta counties to the East, Tanzania to the south, Narok to the west, Nairobi, Machakos and Kiambu to the north. It has a population of 687,000 people. The county has seven administrative divisions. The major economic activity for the people of Kajiandi, who are predominantly Maasai is livestock keeping. Respondents were also drawn from the side of Tanzania to ensure representation of Maasais from the two countries. The target population was the pastoral community of Maasai who are spread across Kenyan and Tanzanian rift valley and plains. The Maasai are predominantly pastoralists who move from one point to the other looking for pasture and water. They form the target population as they cross the

Kenyan-Tanzanian border frequently and seasonally depending on the availability of pasture and water. Kajiado and Narok Counties in Kenya form the majority of the cross-border points between Kenya and Tanzania. From the general targeted population of Maasai pastoralists, a sample was selected along the border points to participate in answering questionnaires, and a few were selected from the sampled persons to participate in the key informant interviews.

Sampling procedures and sample size

Simple random sampling was used since there were many potential respondents who qualified to be included in the study. The random sampling without replacement is the most common as it gives each element in the target group a chance to be selected to represent the others. The sampled population consisted of 74 respondents sampled from the Kajiado County border towns and points along the border areas. From the sampled respondents, key informants were selected based on the information, expertise and experience on the cross-border movements. From the larger population of Maasai pastoralists who move from Kenya to Tanzania and vice versa, the study focused on the population on the Longido district in Arusha region (Tanzania) and Kajiado County in Kenya. The sample size was selected using the Fisher formula, presented by Hossan-Chowdhury (2011); The sample size was determined using the following procedure,

$$n = z^2 p q e^2$$

n - Desired sample size n less than 10, 000)

z - Standard normal deviate at 1.96 corresponding to 95% confidence interval

P - Estimated proportion of target population (The expected proportion is small 0.05% of the Maasai Pastoralists with the given level of significance and accuracy).

q - 1 - p

e - The error margin 0.05

$$n = z^2 p q e^2$$

$$n = 1.96^2 \times 0.05 \times 0.95 = 73.14$$

$$n = \quad \quad \quad 0.0025$$

$$n = \quad \quad \quad \mathbf{74 \text{ respondents}}$$

1.7 Study Findings

Frequency and number of times of Crossing Kenya/Tanzania border

It was established that 91.3% of the sampled respondents crossed the boundary frequently as compared to 8.8% who indicated that they were not frequently crossing the border. This also indicated that most of the people living around the borders were frequent visitors to the other state (Kenya and Tanzania). The information is shown in the table below

Table 1: Frequency of crossing the border

Frequency of crossings	Frequency	Valid Percent
Less than 5 times	12	16.2
Between 5 to 15 times	36	48.6
Over 15 times	26	35.1
Total	74	100

Source: Field data, 2019

It was established that those who crossed the borders over fifteen times a year were 35.1% and

those who crossed less than five times a year were 16.2%. A majority of the respondents at 48.6% crossed the border into the other country between five and ten times a year. The frequency of crossing was an indicator of how active the cross-border movement was among the livestock keepers and traders.

Current Status of social and regional integration between Kenya and Tanzania

The respondents were asked to describe the current status of social and regional integration between Kenya and Tanzania, and the levels to which they were satisfied. Table 2 summarizes the findings of the current social and regional integration between the two countries.

Table 2: Status of social and regional integration between Kenyan and Tanzania

Scale	Frequency	Valid Percent
Satisfactory	49	62.8
Uncertain	14	17.9
Unsatisfactory	15	19.2
Total	78	100

Source: Field data, 2019

From the study results, it was found that most of the respondents at 62.8% (n=49) were satisfied with the current status of social and regional integration between the two countries while those who were not satisfied were 19.2% (n=15). There was another group of respondents of about 18% (n=14) who were not certain of the current situation of social integration. The satisfaction level of 62.8% could point to the fact that despite some aggressions here and there, the integration has not been adversely affected in terms of relating with each other.

The study findings on the current status of social and regional integration was supported by the FGD reports, where there was a high number (n=4, out of 9) who argued that currently, there were strains on the two countries' socioeconomic integration. It was observed that the challenges related with the cross-border movements between the two countries was causing severe relations. Recent examples were given where Kenyan government was testing Tanzanian drivers for corona virus, confirming high numbers of positive cases, and sending them back to their home country for further treatment. The situation led to Tanzanian government reacting by closing the borders with Kenya as announced by the Tanga Regional Commissioner, Mr. Martine Shidela. On their part, Tanzanian authorities were quoted accusing Kenyan government as follows, "*Tanzanians who have tried crossing the border to Kenya are facing challenges, and do not bother going there (Kenya) to buy items.*" The statement meant that Kenyan authorities were frustrating the Tanzanian nationals when trying to enter Kenya. The Tanga Regional Commissioner further commanded that, "*Authorities from today (May 19, 2020) not to allow any truckers coming from Kenya to Tanzania. We cannot allow them to continue shipping the virus in to our country*" (Owino, 2020). The statement shows how sometimes the border movements can be when critical issues emerge. The issue of pastoralists often happens both informally and formally when livestock is trucked into Tanzanian markets or when livestock crosses the border for pastures.

The forth and back retaliations between the two countries on matters trade and movement of people causes strain on the border relations. For instance, during the initial phases (within two months after first cases reported) of coronavirus infection in East Africa, two Kenyan journalists were seized while investigating scourge of the pandemic, and held by the Tanzanian authorities. The action was in retaliation to the actions by Kenyan government of testing truckers from Tanzania, and sending them back to their home country for further treatment. Previously, the pastoralists' community had experienced the same, with some of its members being held incommunicado without a reason being given. A member of FGD said, "*My two brothers and two neighbours had crossed into Tanzania for grazing livestock but were captured, livestock seized, and held for a five days. After the release, there were missing cows but instead they were escorted and pushed into Kenya. We lost several cows in Tanzania.*" This was supported by other FGD members (n=4) who had experienced the same while crossing into Tanzania. From the comments given, it was evident that sometimes the relationship between the two countries was not rosy, and that there was need to have a common understanding between the two states.

The current state of regional integration between the two states

There was need to understand the current state of social integration and the challenges that the informal cross-border migrants faced when tending to their livestock and doing trade. The respondents gave their opinion on what could be worked on to improve the working relationship between the two countries. Members shared their opinions on what could hamper the relationship between the two countries and the comments were summarized on table 3 as shown.

Table 3: Suggestions from the members on challenges for cohesion

Statement	Frequency	Percent
The challenges have led to peace and harmony through conflict resolution	3	18.8
Poor transport and communication network due to barriers	6	37.6
Has led to a good relationship between the two countries	4	25.1
There is disagreement between the two nations	3	18.8
There are strict officials at the border from the Tanzanian border	2	12.5
It has led to both positive and negative social and economic impacts	4	25.1
Kenyans should allow close relationship with the Tanzanians	3	18.8
There are frequent disagreements between the two nations	4	25.1
Total	20	100

Source: Field data, 2019

Some issues were mentioned by the respondents as the main cause of the not-so satisfactory status of social and regional integration. Some mentioned aspects were poor transport and communication between the two states (37.6%), strict officials at the border control places (12.5%), and frequent disagreements between the two countries (25.1%). Members also felt that there was a high likelihood of the two countries having closer relationship (18.8%) if the proper communication mechanisms were used. The respondents also felt that the challenges, when addressed, have led to advancing good relationship between the two countries (25.1%). About 25.1% of the respondents also felt that through addressing the challenges, it was possible to have a social and economic impact on the members of the two countries who were doing business across

the two countries. It was also viewed that through having the challenges, people were able to have peace and harmony between the two countries. The disagreements between the two countries often require negotiations and bilateral talks leading to strengthened relationship. A review of existing literature points to the observation that intra-trade between the two countries is still fraught with challenges (Yiga, 2018). The EAC members has ratified the common market, monetary and customs union, all meant to allow cross-border business. The perspective that cross-border business is still conducted with difficulties is also held by Omwandho (2017). The findings in this study are similar to those by Galaty (2016) on the boundary-making processes and the pastoral conflicts along the Kenyan-Ethiopian borderlands. Galaty conclude that geospatial boundaries often separated communities and created barriers in flow of people, business, and livestock.

From the FGD forum, members reflected the same scenario of challenges facing social integration between the two countries. One local leader noted, “*The two countries need to allow free movement of goods and livestock without seizing them. This has been a culture practiced even before the two countries existed.*” Some members felt that the state of integration was boosted by the often and small border squabbles since after each incident, the two leaders talk and agree on the way forward, thus strengthening the status of social integration. Another member said, “*Common understanding and standard procedures are needed to be applied for members from both countries to enable seamless movement of people into and out of the two countries.*” Members thus felt that there was need to improve the current state of bilateral relations and social integration.

Challenges faced during cross-border movement between Kenya and Tanzania

The researcher also wanted to know the measures that the respective governments and community (the people residing along the borders and the respective governments) can do to improve the situation. The respondents were given a list of measures to rate based on how they felt the measure could improve the state of cohesion and integration among the two countries. The measures were summarized on table 4 as shown below;

Table 4: Measures to improve social and regional cohesion

Statements	N	SD	D	U	A	SA	Mean	SD
Stiff customs and border procedures negatively influence social and regional integration	80	20	6.3	13.8	27.5	32.5	3.46	1.501
Limited border checkpoints along the border acts as an hindrance to regional integration	79	19	19	5.1	35.4	21.5	3.22	1.465
Regulatory environment for doing business is favourable	70	12.9	17.1	10	32.9	27.1	3.44	1.39
Standards compliance between the two countries are not equally enforced	79	12.7	13.9	16.5	32.9	24.1	3.42	1.336
No formulated procedures and policies to control livestock movements	78	17.9	12.8	5.1	32.1	32.1	3.47	1.501
Informal restrictions at the boarders make movements challenging	80	20	10	6.3	25	38.8	3.53	1.567
Corruption by border officials hampers efficient and seamless cross-border movements	78	19.2	10.3	10.3	34.6	25.6	3.37	1.46
Inadequate transport links to cross the borders negatively influence social integration	77	6.5	9.1	7.8	29.9	46.8	4.01	1.23
Tideous cross-border processes between the two countries force the pastoralists to cross the boarders in informal ways	76	5.3	5.3	27.6	38.2	23.7	3.7	1.059
Little influence over policy and decision-making processes by the pastoralists	80	10	7.5	13.8	32.5	36.3	3.78	1.292
Institutional structures for pastoralists cross-border engagement are weak	78	9	7.7	7.7	44.9	30.8	3.81	1.217

Resistance by the Maasai pastoralists to follow border regulations scuttle the integration process	79	19	7.6	16.5	21.5	35.4	3.47	1.509
Average								

Source: Field data, 2019

Key: SD= Strongly disagree, D= Disagree, U= Uncertain, A= Agree, and SA= Strongly Agree, SD= Std. Deviation

One of the approaches the respondents stated to improve social and regional integration was controlled customers and friendly border procedures. About 60% of the respondents agreed that stiff customs and border procedures had negative effects on social and regional integration. Close to 26.3% of the respondents disagreed with the statement that stiff customs and border procedures negatively influenced social and regional integration. This was supported by the aspects of promoting stringent measures to control illegal trade and goods that hurt the communities in both countries. The limited border checkpoints along the border focus on the main transport corridors leaving many other areas. This was associated with negative influence on social and regional integration as supported by 56.9% of the respondents. About 38% disagreed with the statement that limited border checkpoints along the border acted as a hindrance to hindrance to regional and social integration.

Regulatory environment for doing business is a major component of social and regional integration among East African Community member states. Nearly 30% of the respondents disagreed that regulatory environment for doing business was favourable between the two countries. The statement on regulatory environment presents the status of economic and political integration of the two countries where it shows that the status is moderately favourable to both countries. The mean of 3.44 point to the average satisfactory of the respondents that regulatory environment for doing business was favourable between the two countries. It was also felt that having complying with the standards set by the two countries was associated with improved understanding between the two countries. The standards of compliance between the two countries were not equally enforced as indicated by 57% of the respondents. Those who were not sure whether the standards were applied equally were 16.5%, a relatively high percentage showing that the respondents probably had no right information on the enforcement of standards.

Formulation of policies and procedures to control livestock movement was supported by 64.2% of the respondents as appropriate measure to improve the relationship between the two countries. About 30.7% of the respondents also felt that there were formulated procedures and policies to control livestock movement. Informal restrictions like the recent burning of chicks and auctioning of Kenyan cows in Tanzania was not based on any formulated policies or restricted conditions but acts randomly done to create tension among the two countries. Most of the respondents at 63.8% felt that the informal restrictions at the borders were making both formal and informal cross border movements hard and challenging.

Another measure of controlling challenges affecting cross-border movement were the corruption by border officials. The study sought to establish whether corruption hindered seamless cross-border movement where 60.2% of the respondents agreed that corruption was negatively affecting the state of regional and social cohesion. Another 29.5% of the respondents felt that corruption was not a major barrier to cross-border movement at the designated border points. It was also felt that inadequate transport links to cross the borders had a negative influence on social integration (76.7%). This was due to the fact that many of the pastoralists in rural villages had challenges in

accessing products and services from the neighbouring country citing frustrations by the security officers once found in the neighbouring country. The aspect of having many cross-border points to move into the neighbouring countries was not associated with any negative effects on social integration as 15.6% of the respondents disagreed that transport links were critical in enhancing informal cross-border movements.

The tedious cross-border processes between the two countries have forced the pastoralists to cross the borders in informal ways (61.9%). The tedious processes were supported by many respondents who opined that they were made to discourage cross-border movements as only 10.6% disagreed with the statement. The respondents also indicated that they had little influence over policy and decision making processes hence they were disadvantaged leading to the informal cross-border movements (68.8%). It was also found that 75.7% of the respondents felt that institutional structures for the pastoralists engaged in cross-border movement were weak. Those who disagreed that the institutional structures were weak were only 16.7% pointing to the need to have stronger institutional structures to handle the informal cross-border movements.

Another critical aspect that was negatively associated with the social and regional integration process was the resistance nature of the Maasai pastoralists who fail to adhere by the cross-border movement regulations between the two countries (56.9%). About 26.6% of the respondents disagreed that the resistance by the Maasai pastoralists in following border regulations scuttled social integration process. Due to the nature of the Maasai economic activity of keeping livestock, they have been accustomed to moving across the borders in search for pastures and water, often crossing into Serengeti plains of Tanzania.

Studies done by Pavanello (2009) and Galaty (2020) indicate that for there to exist cordial and friendly border relations, the countries involved have to have structured controls on the border crossing. Similarly, Kateka (2016) also noted that the East African Countries have had strong and objective engagement, leading to a more united corporation than the previous regional block. Annual, and regular meetings by the heads of states, ministers concerned, and other concerned professionals can offer solutions to the challenges and barriers identified. Cormack & Young, (2012) notes that political dynamics and trade economics are some of the key factors that determine the direction of the EAC.

From the FGD, members felt that the progress of the EAC social and regional integration was in good direction, and could be improved. Corruption at the border, where immigration officers and police officers take bribes to allow people or block others from crossing the borders. One member indicated, *“Police officers and immigration officers at the border take bribes. They harass people especially those carrying goods across the border. It is even worse for herders who are threatened with impounding of their livestock based on the 2007 livestock ban between the two countries.”* According to Omwandho (2017), the cracks have emerged in the East African Community based on the many spats between Kenya and Tanzania. According to the author, President Magufuli has been keen to implement a 2007 livestock ban that goes against the ideal of free movement within the region. The Tanzanians feel left out in the EAC matters and Kenya placed as a regional power. The perception that Kenya is the regional power elicits a form of struggle for power control between the two countries that is likely to continue for a while, further straining the social and regional integration (Omwandho, 2017).

Barriers to implementation of cross-border movement policies

The EAC and the two countries have ratified policies and treaties that allow member countries to have free trade with each other. Despite the countries having existing treaties, policies and action plans, there have been challenges in implementing them. The challenges identified that acts as barriers towards cross-border movement policies/strategies were summarized on table 5.

Table 5: General Challenges identified among the Maasai Pastoralists

Barriers to implementation of cross-border movement policies	Frequency	Percent
Changing land tenure	23	28.75
Increasing demand for land	56	70
Negative perceptions and stereotypes across the boarders	56	70
Inadequate investment in the dry lands to give pastures and waters	41	51.25
Failure by respective governments to diversify pastoralists groups	42	52.5

Source: Field data, 2019

The researcher also sought to identify some of the notable barriers to implementing cross-border movement policies as well as facilitating efficient movement of Maasai pastoralists. The study identified the changing land tenure as one of the most occurring problem limiting the movement of the pastoralists as supported by 28.75% of the respondents. The increasing demand for land supported by 70% of the respondents was also associated with the increasing threats of reducing the grazing land for the Maasai pastoralists, hence limiting their cross-border movements. The negative perceptions and stereotyping by the neighbouring farming community might have played a role in increasing the tensions between the two countries as supported by 70% of the respondents. The neighbouring community might view the Maasai as troublesome while moving with their animals across the borders and thus call for their respective government to react through having strict cross-border movements. Another component of barrier experienced by the pastoralists was the inadequate investments in the dry lands on pastures and waters as supported by 51.3% of the respondents. The failure by the respective governments to diversify the pastoralist groups and their economic activities (52.5%) has also been associated with increased tension of the limited resources as the pastoralists cross the borders to search for pastures. Many of the challenges were associated with the resources available for the Maasai community, including land, pasture and water where the governments were mentioned as lagging in addressing their issues. From the key respondents, it was found that the nature of tensions arose from the fear that the Tanzanian Maasai were having their resources consumed by the Kenyan livestock hence raising the tensions. It was also observed that the demand for land for crop farming, especially near the fertile areas of Kilimanjaro and the plains led to changes in land tenure from the nomadic style to permanent dwellings further complicating the search for pastures and water for the Maasai pastoralists.

The findings in this study were similar to those by Galaty (2016) where there have been negative perceptions and stereotypes across the border. The study further notes that Kenya and Ethiopia borders have had the challenges of cross-border movement for pastoralists with communities dictating what to happen with their neighbours. From the FGD, members claimed that the physical boundaries made it hard for them to continue moving their livestock across the border. One member said, “*Crossing the border with livestock led to perceived competition of natural resources*

with the natives thus creating the feeling of disjointed communities.” From this perspective, the Tanzanian authorities have acted on the 2007 livestock ban to prevent depleting their natural resources. The study by Onyango (2018) and Rugadya (2017) hold that the changing land tenure, and the increasing demand for land use have led to enactment of natural environment policies to control and protect natural livestock resources, including controlled access to parks, forests and other pasture-rich areas. One of the FGD members noted that there was little investments in Kenya to have water available for the animals during the dry season, and that they tended to move in search of water to the Tanzanian side.

The study further wanted to know the other challenges the pastoralists faced when they were crossing into Tanzania and into Kenya. The summary of the other challenges faced by the Maasai pastoralists in their search for pasture and water as they cross the Kenya/Tanzania border were recorded in table 6 shown below.

Table 6: Specific problems faced by the Maasai Pastoralists in search of pasture

Other specific problems mentioned	Frequenc y	Percen t
Long distances	6	10.5
Lack of communication	5	8.8
Harsh climate and environmental conditions	8	14.0
Lack of enough security	10	17.5
Inadequate means of transport	3	5.3
Spread of diseases	5	8.8
Interference with the wildlife along the border	3	5.3
Corruption	2	3.5
Water shortage	4	7.0
Higher population that leads to movement in search of water and pasture	6	10.5
Discrimination	2	3.5
Tribalism and cattle rustling	2	3.5
Total	57	100

Source: Field data, 2019

The most mentioned problem affecting the respondents in terms of getting their pasture and water was insecurity (17.5%), followed by the harsh climate and unconducive environmental conditions (14.0%), and the long distances the herders move while searching pastures (10.5%). The high population surrounding the border area (supported by 10.5%) made the pastoralists to move from their home areas into far areas searching for pastures. Other challenges experienced were lack of appropriate communication between the two countries and the neighbouring communities when tensions were available based on the available resources. The spread of diseases (8.8%), inadequate means of transport especially in the rural areas (5.3%) and water shortages (7.0%) were also mentioned as probable barriers in ensuring a socially and cohesive community between the two countries. Interference with the wildlife along the borders was also mentioned by 5.3% of the respondents. The key informant respondents also felt that there was need to have lenient rules for crossing the borders. This was also supported by the assertion that there was a form of discrimination on Kenyans crossing the borders with their goods and livestock (n=4). Anadolu

(2020) reports that Kenya deporting 182 coronavirus carriers back to Tanzania and consequently closing the borders with Tanzania and Somalia created a precedence of counter-reactions from the former. FGD members noted that discrimination at the borders, lack of communication, and shortage of pastures and water were challenges associated with moving with livestock across the other country. One member said, “*The lack of adequate transport to the places we take livestock, and the cattle rustling (thefts) are some of the difficulties we face when we cross the borders to Tanzania. The challenges make it hard to move easily, with sometimes losing livestock to unscrupulous people masquerading as government officers in the other country.*” The regional authorities in Tanzania have quoted that movement of the herders into Tanzanian forests disrupts wildlife, destroying habitats for animals that helps in the country’s tourism. A study by Ndiku (2015) notes that sources of conflicts in Kenya, and her neighbours include natural resources, land, and political activities. The pastoral land and water is fuelled by the cultural practices of livestock raiding, and the desire for revenge. While the cattle rustling along the Tanzania-Kenya border has reduced significantly, frequent thefts are reported.

Measures to facilitate the Maasai Pastoralists’ cross-border movement

The importance of cross border movement in fostering regional and social integration was also tested where the respondents were asked to mention the best approaches the two governments and the associated border communities could embrace to create a strong social community.

Table 7: Measures to facilitate the Maasai Pastoralists’ cross-border movement

Statement	N	SD	D	U	A	SA	Mean	SD
Building pastoralist organization's capacity on advocacy, research and communication	79	3.8	0	2.5	31.6	62	4.48	0.875
Documenting pastoralists' contributions to the social integration of the two countries	80	5	3.8	7.5	50	33.8	4.04	1.012
Building consensus among the pastoralist community between the two countries to further understanding	78	6.4	7.7	7.7	35.9	42.3	4	1.184
The two governments can have trade policy and trade agreements on pastoralists livestock and movements	79	10.1	11.4	5.1	30.4	43	3.85	1.36
Having economic infrastructures like transport links and more border controls enable regional integration between the two countries	79	11.4	8.9	2.5	25.3	51.9	3.97	1.396
Having frequent forums for dialogue to allow cross border movements for livestock and their products	78	9	1.3	3.8	35.9	50	4.17	1.178

Source: Field data, 2019

Key: SD= Strongly disagree, D= Disagree, U= Uncertain, A= Agree, and SA= Strongly Agree, SD= Std. Deviation

The researcher wanted to know the measures that can lead to a more stable East African Community, especially focusing on Tanzania and Kenya. Among the suggested approaches were building pastoralist organizational capacity on areas of advocacy, research and communication where those who agreed were 93.6% versus 3.8% those who disagreed. The mean of 4.48 out of 5 suggested that members strongly agreed that having strengthened organizational capacity on research, advocacy and communication was likely to cause a more socially and cohesive community.

Another aspect that was associated with improved East African Community member states, especially Kenya and Tanzania were documenting pastoralists' contributions to enhance social integration of the two countries. This statement was supported by 83.8% of the respondents while another 8.8% of them disagreed that documenting the pastoralists' contributions were not that important in facilitating regional integration among the two countries. The mean of 4.04 was also critical in providing an integrated community for the two nations. Building consensus among the pastoralists community for the two countries was also noted to promote cohesion as supported by 78.2% of the respondents. The two governments were also indicated to have trade policy and trade agreements in respect to the livestock and cross-border movements where about 73.4% supported the assertion. There was another 21.5% of the respondents who felt that having trade policy and trade agreements on pastoralists and their movements was not likely to influence social and regional integration among the two countries.

The other aspect of having economic infrastructure like transport links and more border controls to enhance regional integration between the two countries was supported by 77.2% of the respondents, with a mean of 3.97. There was also another 20.3% of the respondents who felt that the economic infrastructure was not that significant in promoting regional integration between the two countries. The other component suggested to improve social integration was having frequent forums for dialogue to allow cross-border movements, both informal and formal for livestock and products. The statement was supported by 85.9% of the respondents versus 10.3% who disagreed that having frequent forums for dialogue to allow cross border movements was significant in enhancing social integration among the two countries. A key informant noted that the frequent dialogues were critical in ensuring a socially cohesive community. It was observed that since majority of the pastoralists are of the same tribe, the Maasai, it was necessary to allow them to move freely with their livestock into Tanzania and Kenya. The fact that citizens of the EAC countries moved freely into and out of member countries needed also to be transferred to livestock. To have this work effectively, there was thus a need for Tanzania to revoke the livestock ban. An FGD member indicated, *"There is need to allow the Maasai community to move with their livestock across the region since our movements do not cause harm, but promote wildlife."* The focus on how the livestock movements and pastoralism contributes to the environment could lead to changes on the livestock bans, especially on the forests, grasslands, and game reserves. It was also suggested that the two governments engage bilateral talks to solve the impasse, and allow free movement of livestock. A member said, *"There is need to have the two presidents talk and allow free movement of goods, services, and even livestock. This will further strengthen the relations between the two countries, making social integration even strong."* Having consensus between the two leaders and the two communities was likely to enhance social cohesion and regional integration. Ndiku (2015) noted that community identify was key across the border movement where listening to the members of the community amounted to perception of good understanding, valuing the community and its culture.

1.8 Conclusion

The study examined the current status of social and regional integration and the informal cross-border movements among the Maasai pastoralists present in Kenya and Tanzania. The challenges identified affecting regional integration were a significant influencer to the status of social integration for the two countries. The measured identified to promote regional integration process were also found to be significant influencers of social and regional integration of the two countries.

The component of appreciating the importance of the social and regional integration was not felt to be significant influencers of social integration of the two countries. The study was able to identify several challenges, measures to take to promote social integration and the importance of regional integration.

1.9 Recommendations

From the study, it was recommended that policy formulations were necessary for enhancing relationship between the two countries. The trade embargoes and tensions between the two countries that arise often need to be controlled to ensure the traders and pastoralists engage in economically viable activities. Inter-community public participation was also recommended to ensure that the members appreciate the aspect of cross-border movements. It was also recommended that mainstreaming resource based conflicts between the two communities was needed. The two respective governments also needed to promote the aspect of resource sharing among the pastoral cross-border communities.

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