

**PASTORALISM AND COLONIAL LEGACY OF RESOURCE CONFLICT IN
LAIKIPIA WEST CONSTITUENCY, KENYA, 1895–2019**

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**A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the
Master of Arts Degree in History of Egerton University**

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DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION

Declaration

This thesis is my original work and to the best of my knowledge it has not been presented for any award in this or any other institution.

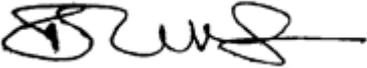
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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, David Kangethe and Veronica Wangari, for supporting my quest for education fully, and to my sisters, Vivian and Joan for always wishing me the best.

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The successful completion of this study would not have been possible were it not for God. Several institutions and individuals were instrumental in the success of this project. First, Egerton University helped me in unleashing my potential by giving me a chance to undertake a master's course in history by admitting me into the programme. This thesis would never have been written and even if it were, it would not have acquired the form it has.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia West Constituency, Laikipia County. Inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia West Constituency can be traced back to the period before 1895 when the white settlers began establishing their homes in Laikipia County. Prior to the British colonization, this area was largely dominated by the Maasai and Samburu who were pastoralists. With the coming of white settlers most of the lands, however, were seized and the pastoralists' communities displaced from their areas. Many white settlers opted to ranching since most of the lands were semi-arid. Later immigrants resulted to irrigation systems leading to the horticultural boom in Laikipia in the 1980s. With the coming of the whites and the existence of inadequate pastures for the pastoral communities, the area has continued to witness unceasing conflicts. The study aims at identifying the causes of conflict among the pastoral communities, the historical trends of the conflict and the legacies of white settlement in Laikipia West Constituency from 1895 to 2019. This study will employ the conflict theory by Karl Marx. The theory asserts that, inter-ethnic conflicts are necessitated by the exclusive allegiance to the interest by one's ethnic nationality and cannot be eradicated. In respect to this, data was obtained from primary and secondary sources. Primary data will be obtained from the Kenya National Archives in Nairobi and from oral interviews with relevant informants. Secondary data was obtained from relevant books, journal articles, the articles, internet, theses and conference papers. Data obtained was then evaluated and analysed. Data was analysed in three analytical frames namely: theoretical framework, documentary review and content analysis. The study of pastoralism and colonial legacy of resource conflict in Laikipia West Constituency was necessary as it helped in identifying causes of resource conflict. The study also adds to the historiography of resource conflict in Kenya while assisting policy makers involved in conflict resolution.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIC	Africa Inland Church
DEC	District Emergency Committee
DP	Democratic Party
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DSC	District Emergency Security
FP	Family Planning
FORD	Forum for Restoration of Democracy
GSU	General Service Unit
GOK	Government of Kenya
IO	Oral Interview
LNC	Laikipia Nature Conservancy
LW	Laikipia West
LWSC	Laikipia West Sub-County
LPC	Laikipia Peace Caravan
SASR	Small Arms Survey Report
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IFRA Africa)	<i>Institut Francais de Recherche en Afrique</i> (French Institute for Research in
MP	Member of Parliament
KNA	Kenya National Archives
KNFP	Kenya National Focal Point
KWS	Kenya Wildlife Service
NACOSTI	National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation
NPFL	National Patriotic Fronts of Liberia
NPRs	National Police Reservists
NRM	National Resistance Movement
NSAC	National Security Advisory Council
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
RBPU	Rural Border Patrol Unit

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

<i>Askaris</i>	Security Officers
<i>Boda boda</i>	Motorbikes
<i>Bunduki</i>	Gun
<i>Mende</i>	Cockroach
<i>Gishagi</i>	Rural slums
<i>Imesahau sisi</i>	Have forgotten about us
<i>Kibarua</i>	Menial jobs
<i>Madoadoa</i>	Multi-coloured
<i>Moran</i>	Young men in the Maasai community
<i>Nyumba Kumi</i>	A Cluster of Ten Households for purposes of keeping law and order
<i>Panga</i>	Cutting knives used in farms
<i>Rungu</i>	Knobkerries crafted and mostly used for war
<i>Safari</i>	Journey
<i>Theru</i>	Monkeys
<i>Duka</i>	Shops
<i>Shamba</i>	Farm
<i>Serikali</i>	Government
<i>Shule</i>	School
<i>Watu</i>	People
<i>Wazungu</i>	White people

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

This study examines inter- ethnic conflict in Laikipia West Constituency. Notably, Kenya and to a larger extent its neighbouring countries have witnessed different types of cross-border conflict from the colonial era to date.¹ Moreover, in traditional societies raiding activities were carried out by pastoral communities as a way of restocking their heard especially after acute droughts or after outbreak of diseases, causing conflicts amongst the communities involved. The causes of conflict currently are numerous and complex. They include poor governance, poverty, drought, famine, competition for scarce resources just to mention a few. According to Stavenhagen, conflict can be considered ethnic when it involves organized political movements, mass unrest, separatists' action, and civil wars with opposing lines drawn along ethnic motives.² Inter-ethnic conflicts involve distinct plural societies living in a certain geographical area while intra-ethnic conflicts involve internal feuds within a singular ethnic identity. Ethnic struggles of smaller communities for political autonomy and freedom from socio-economic exploitation by large communities saw the breakup of former Soviet Union in the 1990s, when ethnic nations seceded from the Soviet Union. This trend was replicated in the rest of Eastern Europe.³

Conflicts have been witnessed across the African continent. While some of these conflicts are fuelled by socio-economic and political competition, others have arisen due to deep rooted ethnicity along the “divide and rule” policy of the colonial administration as observed by Mamdani.⁴ Akiwumi on his part observes that, ethnic interests set the pace of conflict between the Nuer and Dinka communities of South Sudan. This decimated ethnic cohesion and political patriotism.⁵ A case in point is that between the majority Hutu rising against the designated politically and economically powerful minority Tutsi in Rwanda. Monopoly over

¹R. M. Van and A. King, *The colonial History of Kenya and Uganda*,(Nairobi: East African Bureau, 1975) p.23.

²R, Stavenhagen., *The Ethnic question: theoretical issues*. Dubrovnik: June 3-6, 1991.

³J, Goodhand., *Enduring disorder and persistent poverty: A review of the linkages between ward and chronic poverty*. (*World Development*, 31(3): 2003), pp. 629 – 646.

⁴M, Mamdani., *Saviours and Survivors*. (New York: Pantheon Books and Colophon, 2009), p.27

⁵A.M. Akiwumi., *Report of the Judicial Commission Appointed to Inquire into Tribal Clashes in Kenya*. (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1999), pp.44-50.

economic resources and control of political power by one ethnic group to the exclusion of the others could explain the origin of these conflicts.⁶

Okoth and Ogot postulate that, Kenya has had her share of conflicts involving various ethnic groups or clans. The prevailing understanding of inter-ethnic conflicts in Kenya is that, these conflicts stem from incompatibility between the conflicting parties inspired by ethno-nationalism. The duo further asserts that, ethno-nationalism is a concept that refers to particular communities expressing themselves socio-economically and politically to the disadvantage of others who compete for similar opportunities.⁷

According to Mkutu, ethnicity has played a big role in the mass exodus of Somali from their country to Kenya since 1991. Such conflicts have led to a crisis in state power and governance in countries such as Ethiopia, Djibouti, Nigeria, Sierra-Leone, Liberia, Sudan and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). He further observed that the highest rate of war related deaths, 32 per 100,000 people globally is found in Africa.⁸ From the 1990s, inter-ethnic related conflicts took a regional character, especially in the Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa regions. Inter-ethnic conflicts in the East African region have also been provoked by predatory exploitation of economic resources between herders and farmers, fanned by the easy accessibility and acquisition of guns through porous borders.⁹

Despite most countries in the world aspiring to create viable and stable nations comprising of many political entities that are consolidated under democratic rule that ensures peaceful co-existence among all ethnic groups, it is still not a success.¹⁰ Some of the ethnically motivated conflicts involved the Sabaot and the Babukusu in Bungoma over land and cattle, more intensely from 1970s.¹¹ In Gucha and Migori districts, inter-ethnic conflicts have involved the Luo and Abagusii. The Mijikenda conflict with upcountry communities at the Coast has led

⁶ O. Nnoli., *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension, 1978.

⁷P.G. Okoth and B.A. Ogot. (Eds). *Conflicts in Contemporary Africa*. (Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 2000), pp. 29-38.

⁸K. A. Mkutu., *Guns and Governance in the Rift Valley: Pastoralist Conflicts and Small Arms*. (Nairobi: East Africa Educational Publishers, 2008), p. 36.

⁹M. Mohamud and P. Rutu, *Closed to Progress: An Assessment of the Socio- economic Impact of Conflict on Pastoral Economies in Kenya and Uganda*. (Nairobi: Practical Action, 2005), pp. 32-37.

¹⁰F. Mohamed., "From Ethnic responses to clan identity: A study of state penetration among the Somali nomadic pastoral society of North Eastern Kenya," PhD theses, Upsalla University, 1999

¹¹P.W. Kakai., *Inter and Intra-Ethnic Conflicts in Mt. Elgon and Trans-Nzoia District since 1875*. (PhD Diss. Nairobi: Kenyatta University, 2000), p. 35.

to tragic results just before and during general elections since 1992.¹² Devastating inter-ethnic conflicts were witnessed between the Oromo and Pokomo in the Tana River Delta, Tana River County, over pasture and water between 2012 and 2013.¹³

Similarly, tragic inter-ethnic conflicts erupted in the Rift Valley region in 1992 between the Agikuyu and the Kalenjin over land ownership, with Molo being the epicentre of the clashes.¹⁴ Mkutu observes that over 5000 people were killed and about 75,000 were displaced during the clashes. The year 2012 witnessed inter-ethnic clashes among the communities in Samburu County, leading to the death of over 40 people. This included police officers sent to quell the violence.¹⁵ Conflicts between Pastoralist communities and agricultural communities exist in Laikipia West. The constituency is inhabited by pastoralist communities such as the Maasai and the Samburu and agricultural communities such as the Kikuyu and Kisii.¹⁶ It is in this view that this study sought to examine the history of inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia West Constituency, Laikipia County, which has been fuelled by the struggle for limited resources.

The origin of the unceasing resource conflict in Laikipia West Constituency involving the different pastoral communities, can be traced back to the period before 1895 when the white settlers began settling in the country. Prior to the coming of the imperialists, the constituency was inhabited by the Yaaku and Ndigiri communities.¹⁷ The inhabitants practised pastoralism in the vast lands. When colonization was gaining momentum, many Europeans migrated and settled in Laikipia where they acquired huge tracts of land. Pastoralists in the area were pushed away by some whites who had begun practising agriculture in some fertile parts of the constituency.¹⁸ In other parts, ranches were set up such as the Kuki Galmann ranch. Kuki

¹²J. K. Kiliku., Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee to investigate Ethnic Clashes in Western and other parts of Kenya (Nairobi: Government Press, 1992).

¹³ V.M. Volisi, *Agro- Pastoral Conflicts and Cooperation in Kenya: The Case of Oromo and Pokomo in Tana Delta, 1992-2017*. (MA. Nairobi: Nairobi University, 2019), p. 52.

¹⁴A.M. Akiwumi., Report of the Judicial Commission Appointed to Inquire into Tribal Clashes in Kenya. Nairobi: Government Printers, 1999.

¹⁵K.A. Mkutu, *Guns and Governance in the Rift Valley: Pastoralist Conflicts and Small Arms*. (Nairobi: East Africa Educational Publishers, 2008), p. 13.

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 14.

¹⁷ K.A. Mkutu, “*Guns and Governance in the Rift Valley: Pastoralist Conflicts and Small Arms*” (Nairobi: East Africa Educational Publishers, 2008), p. 13.

¹⁸Republic of Kenya, *Laikipia west District Development Plan 2008-2012* (Nairobi: Government Printer, 2009), pp. 1-55.

Galmann bought the ranch from Colin Francombe, an absentee landlord in 1970.¹⁹ In an estimate, almost 50% of Laikipia County land mass is owned by large scale ranchers less than 30 of them.²⁰

After independence in 1963, land use in Laikipia West Constituency changed from mainly ranching to small-scale mixed farming. Most of the land was then subdivided and this brought with it an influx of immigrants mainly from central Kenya.²¹ Prior to this immigration, people from central Kenya had migrated to Laikipia after their fertile land was alienated for settlers' whites for cash crop farming. Migrating to Laikipia was viewed as a better option since the whites residing in this area gave migrants land to settle on as they worked in settler farms. Since then, there emerged hatred between the original inhabitants of Laikipia West and the immigrants whom they viewed as foreigners. Since then, there has been prevalence of conflict between farmers, pastoralists, large-scale ranchers and the wildlife.²²

Laikipia West has been faced with challenges of ethnic-conflicts over the years. Conflicts within a country affects its neighbours and pose threat to regional security and stability and emerges as a key concern to policy makers.²³ Despite various studies being conducted on conflict in Laikipia such as the conflict amongst pastoral communities in Rumuruti, a detailed study on the history of resource conflict in Laikipia West as a result of limited resources is yet to be fully documented. The leading cause of the conflict is presumed to be the conflict of interests between farmers on one hand and pastoralists on the other hand. With the increasing climatic change and the decrease in pasture and water for the animals the conflict in the constituency is bound to intensify.

¹⁹ The Daily Nation, A tale of Love, Death and the Battle for Kuki Galmann's 100,000 Acre Ranch in Laikipia. September 19, 2021 p.15.

²⁰ M. Apollos, "*Decades old tensions are driving conflict in Kenya's Laikipia region*" (Egerton University, 2017) p. 2.

²¹ B. Kiteme and H. Linegar, Dimensions of global change in African mountains: *The example of Mount Kenya in International Human Dimensions programme on Global Environmental change Mountainous*, 2008, pp. 18-22.

²² I. Campbell, R. Craig, A. Crawford, *Climate change and conflict. Lessons from community conservancies in Northern Kenya (Conservation Development Centre, International Institute for Sustainable Development and safeworld, 2009)*, p. 4.

²³ G. Tsebelis, *How political institutions work*, (Princeton: Princeton University press), p. 46.

It is clear that several factors have led to inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia West Constituency. The study therefore endeavoured to understand the underlying factors that have caused the perpetual inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia West Constituency.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Laikipia West Constituency has for many decades been characterised by perpetual conflicts. The frequency of the conflicts in Laikipia West have intensified over time. The key players involved in the conflict include the pastoral communities, ranch owners and the communities practising agriculture. As a result of the conflict the area has witnessed movement of people to safer areas, food insecurity, and destruction of property and loss of lives. These issues have not been studied. Consequently, this study seeks to answer the following questions. What are the root causes of the unceasing conflicts in Laikipia? How has the conflict in Laikipia West evolved over time? What are the colonial legacies of resource conflict in Laikipia West Constituency? This study therefore endeavoured to examine the history of resource conflict in Laikipia West Constituency.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The broad objective of this study was to examine the history of inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia West Constituency from 1895 to 2019. The specific objectives were:

- i). To assess the root causes of inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia West Constituency from 1895 to 1963.
- ii). To examine the historical trends of inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia West Constituency 1964 to 2019.
- iii). To analyse the colonial legacies of inter-ethnic conflict on the economic, social and political fabric of Laikipia West Constituency up to 2019.

1.4 Research Questions

- i). What were the root causes of inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia West Constituency from 1895 to 1963?
- ii). What has been the historical trend in inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia West Constituency from 1964 to 2019?
- iii). What were the colonial legacies of resource conflict on the economic, social and political fabric in Laikipia West Constituency up to 2019?

1.5 Justification of the Study

Laikipia West Constituency is a home to many ethnic groups that exist in perpetual conflicts. The ethnic groups are divided into pastoralists and agricultural communities. Resource conflict lead to loss of human life, displacement of people, damage of property and economic decline. Peaceful co-existence will result to increased opportunities for investments. Economic activities will thrive leading to high life expectancy. This is the very opposite of the realities of the IDPs, food insecurity and low levels of education which are triggered by ethnic conflict.

The realization of peaceful co-existence between the multi-ethnic residences in Laikipia West Constituency will activate beneficial development programs. Communities will integrate and engage in farming and other income generating activities. The local communities in Laikipia West Constituency be beneficiaries of this study. The study would lead to a realization of ways of maintaining peace in Laikipia West which will result to a thrive of empowerment projects which will lead to financial stability of the residents. Through community and government peace initiative partnership by creating an investment atmosphere. A progressive economic life line and peaceful co-existence for the residence communities was sought. Again the study equally added into written works on conflicts.

1.6 Scope and Limitations

This study covered Laikipia West Constituency in Laikipia County. The study focused on the trends, causes, effects and interventions of inter-ethnic conflicts in Laikipia West Constituency between 1895 to 2019. The year 1895 was chosen because this is the time when the whites started settling in Laikipia consequently leading to the issues of land arising while 2019 being the year when series of clashes were witnessed in Laikipia West Constituency. Due to controversies surrounding the proposed study, some informants were afraid of providing information required for the study. To overcome this fear, the informants were assured that, the study was only to be used for academic purposes. The researcher faced the problem of language barrier since the society is multi-ethnic. This was mitigated by the acquisition of a multilingual language translator.

1.7 Definition of Terms

Balkanise: To divide a country into small ineffectual states and sections.

Colonial legacies: Effects of colonialism.

Conflict: State of disharmony where groups or communities compete for perceived or real interests out of unmet needs.

Colonialism: Refers to the policy or practice of acquiring full or partial control of another country.

Ethnic groups: Refers to a group of people who have the same cultural and traditional traits.

Ethnicity: The state of belonging to a group that has a common cultural identity.

Ethno-nationalism: Refers to a form of ethnic consciousness wherein the nation is defined in terms of ethnicity.

Imperialism: Refers to a policy of extending a country's power and influence through
Acquisition of colonies.

Inter- ethnic conflict: Violent confrontation where ethnic groups turn against each other
in the quest for resources and at times power.

Islamise: Refers to the act of converting people to Islam

Migrants: People moving from one place to another often in search of better living and working conditions.

Resource conflict: Conflict over resources such as pasture and water

Ward: An area represented in the county assembly by a Member of the County Assembly (MCA).

War: A mutually recognized hostile exchange of actions among two or more parties conducted by Conventional military forces or paramilitary forces to achieve respective policy objectives.

1.8 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

An understanding of ethnic conflict was important for this study as it provided an in-depth literature of the study. It is in this regard that this section sought to analyse some of the literature on ethnic conflicts. These reviews were done globally, continentally, regionally and locally. This literature review sought to reveal the gap that exists between ethnicity and conflict and hence sought to fill it. This section also reviewed the relevant theory that informed the study.

1.8.1 Literature Review

According to Smith, in a situation where there exist a fair amount of cultural pluralism, and a fair amount of social pluralism, political moves may be made by a demographically dominant ethnic population to gain advantage over minority groups.²⁴ Protracted conflicts over the rights and demands of ethnic and religious groups have caused more misery and loss of human life than has any other type of local, regional and international conflicts since the end of world war two.²⁵ When the United Nations (UN) came into existence, nations were wrong to believe that a new world order, would emerge in which global justice would be observed. In any given society, ethnic equalization is needed. Inequality either socially, politically or economically leads to more genocide, manslaughter and displacement of people all over the world.²⁶

In addition, while studying conflict in the world, Lefter asserts that the Cold War was based on patriotism that reduced the federation of United States of America and Soviet Socialist to national- hood policies.²⁷ The ammunitions using and after the end of Cold War in the 1990s explains the occurrence of conflicts in many parts of the world. Lefter concludes that global terrorism was influenced by this competition in arms technology in the backdrop of globalization. Apart from the ammunitions, this study sought to examine all other factors that have led to inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia West Constituency ranging from cultural to political factors.

²⁴ A.S. Smith, *Origin and spread of pastoralism in Africa*, (University of Cape Town: Department of Archaeology, 1992). P. 42.

²⁵ B. Gurr, *Ethnic conflict in world politics*, (Cambridge: West View Press, 2004), p. 42.

²⁶ United Nations, " *The International forum for Social Development: Social Justice in an Open World*," (New York: United Nations, 2006), pp. 22-30.

²⁷ M. P. Leffler, *For the soul of mankind: The united states, the Soviet Union and the cold war* (New York: New York University Press 2007), p. 7.

Kemal contends that various tribes and religious groupings in Bosnia existed for a long time in peace with each other.²⁸ Kemal posits that the conflict in Bosnia was externally imported from Serbia due to their project aimed at conquering other territories by force of arms. This study was useful because it gave a glimpse of how external factors often influence stability of various places as for Laikipia we have the whites who came in as immigrants. However, while the study of the conflict in Bosnia covers the whole of Bosnia, this study covered a small area, a constituency.

In another study Kreuzer observed that ethnically motivated conflicts were so common in Indonesia. Large scale and deadly violence often occurred and featured prominently due to harsh narratives and community stereotypes against each other.²⁹ These community stereotypes were common in Indonesia and occur mainly in specific cultural settings. The conflicts in Indonesia often led to deaths and mass destruction of property. The aged often tell narratives which often encourage the tradition of fighting villages. The study by Kreuzer was relevant because the conflicts in Laikipia West Constituency are often thought to be castigated by various stereotypes about various communities. However, there are other factors such as environmental and political factors that were studied.

Liberson on his part argues that the different experiences of groups defined racially and ethnically have in part been explained by the different modes of incorporation of the groups into American society. Ethnic groups in the United States of America are composed of voluntary migrants and their descendants. Los Angeles in the United States has a history of considerable racial and ethnic conflict ranging from Zoot Riots of 1943 through Watts Riots of 1965 and the Rodney King riots of 1992. In Los Angeles, Mexicans, Californians and European Americans had been competing for space, resources and power to determine the others future since early 1840s.³⁰ Kurashige concurs with Libersons argument on the inter-ethnic conflict in Los Angeles, by asserting that, the birth of a multi-ethnic Los Angeles began with the first generation of Japanese and African Americans struggle to obtain safe and affordable housing. Kurashige goes on to give examples of violence, public standoffs between African American homeowners and their neighbours. Unlike Kurashige who studied

²⁸K. Kemal, "Bosnia's Beacon of Hope" *Journal of Democracy*, January 1994, p. 32.

²⁹ P. Kreuzer, "Applying Theories of Ethno- Cultural Conflict and Conflict Resolution to Collective Violence in Indonesia (Frankfurt: Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, 2002) p. 45.

³⁰S. Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 32.

ethnicity and conflict in Los Angeles only as a result of competition for the limited resources this study sought to examine all the factors leading to inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia West Constituency. This was aimed at showing that the continuing conflict in Laikipia West Constituency was caused by a host of factors including competition over limited resources.

Yet in another argument, Martin posits that the phase of colonialism was anchored on economic and political domination in Africa. Colonial administration policies were based on the divide and rule policy. The culture of the colonialist was seen as being superior as compared to that of Africans. The effects of colonialism can greatly be felt till today. In Martins study on Africa, he gives an account of economic and political domination of Africans by whites. Martin argues that the colonial administrative policies of the French in Africa were racial since their culture was viewed as being better.³¹ There was division of Africans between the collaborators and those who resisted. The divide-and-rule system was also adopted, leading to the marginalization of some communities. Marginalization of communities together with the divide and rule policy are responsible for conflicts in Africa. Martins study was slightly relevant to the study of Laikipia West Constituency in that it brought out the division of the people as a result of colonialism as being the root of conflicts. However, Martins study did not bring about social reasons and post-colonial factors that led to conflict in Laikipia West Constituency.

In his study of the Liberian civil war, Utas states that the war began on Christmas eve in 1989. When a group of roughly 150-1011 equipped rebel soldiers supported by Libya and Bukina Faso crossed over to Nimba County in Liberia.³² The National Patriots Front of Liberia (NPFL) drove out the armed forces of Liberia from Nimba. The struggle previously viewed as ethnic turned the whole of Liberia into a war zone. Soldiers fought with an aim of attaining productive geographic areas especially those with gold and diamond deposits. It was after seven years of fighting that the war came to an end and democratic elections held in 1997. While examining the Liberian war, Utah observed that it led to the death of 60,000 people and many other people were displaced to the neighbouring countries of Sierra Leone, Guinea and Ivory Coast. Unlike Utah who explains the war in Liberia as a political war of

³¹G. Martin, "The Political Economy of African European Relations, 1963-1980" (Ph.D. Diss. Indiana University, 2002). p. 27.

³²P. Kaarsholm, *Violence Political Culture and Development in Africa*, (Oxford: James Currey Publishers, 2006) p. 42.

rebels against the government that later led to economic standoffs. This study sought to examine the war in Laikipia West Constituency as having begun as a result of land issues. Furthermore, the conflict in Laikipia is an ethnic conflict of communities against other communities as opposed to a conflict of rebels against the government.

According to Onyango, the ethnic conflicts being experienced in Africa are not merely as a result of the continental and national boundaries drawn by the colonialist but are as a result of ethnic grudges.³³ Onyango further postulates that there are numerous socio-economic and political grudges existing among various communities and which often leads to ethnic conflict at the slightest provocations. This study deviated from Onyango's work by looking into the issue of boundary between Laikipia and other counties as being a source of the frequent conflicts in Laikipia West Constituency.

Abbink while studying conflict in Ethiopia observes that the violence goes back to the very foundation of the Ethiopian state and must include both the forced incorporation of its neighbouring peoples and the brutal repression of the fascist period.³⁴ Ethiopia had a misunderstanding with Eritrea over the colonial border along the Mareb River in the north. After two years of war, the conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia ended with a frail peace agreement signed in Algiers in 2000. Jon says that the war caused close to 100,000 deaths and about 300,000 people were displaced from the border areas. Additionally, during Haile Selassie's reign, the emperor consolidated power in his leadership while subordinating regional leadership and other elites who had previously maintained control over the local population. Due to this, conflict emerged between different ethnic groups and the state. The most significant resistance occurred in Bale an area inhabited by the Oromo and Somali groups. According to Gilkes, other conflicts started as a result of contested ownership of salt works. However, Gebru alludes that, there were other grievances stemming from political, administrative oppression, land alienation, and ethnic hostility. While the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea is a cross-border conflict dispute, in this study, the conflict involved was ethnic and largely involved a fight over resources.

In his study on conflicts in the horn of Africa, Ryan brings out the war in Sudan as being a war over race and religion. The main causes of war in Sudan are religious and racial

³³ O. Onyango, *The Jews, The Gentiles and The Grudge*.” UNESCO Seminar paper, 1995, 28-31

³⁴ A. Jon, ” *The Ethiopia Conflict in International Relations and Global Discourse*,” 2021

sentiments.³⁵ The people living in the northern part of Sudan often try to Islamize the people in the south, an endeavour that has been met with a lot of resistance. Ryan therefore explains the war in Sudan as a conflict over race and religion. This study slightly deviated from Ryan's view on the cause of conflict, by examining political and economic factors leading to war in Laikipia West Constituency.

Dualeh examines inter-ethnic conflicts in Somalia. He examines the origin of Somali inter-clan warfare since the colonial era. In his work, he notes the main ethnic communities are the Hawiye, Digil, Dir, Rahanweyn, Darod and Isaq. These clans are hostile to each other and tradition has it that each clan has a traditional enemy.³⁶ The inter-clan warfare in Somalia has grown over time to cover the whole country. Since independence, Somalia has not had a stable government. This study concentrated on a smaller area of study, that is, a constituency. More so, the resource conflict in Laikipia West Constituency is not presumed to be as a result of inter-clan misunderstandings but as a result of factors ranging from social, economic and political issues.

In other studies on causes of conflict in Africa, Rotimi examines conflict in Nigeria as a result of religion. He contends the need to bring together Hausa and Fulani who are Muslims and Igbo who are Christians.³⁷ For a long time, conflict was common in Nigeria resulting to the collapse of the government in 1967. It was during this time that the military took over till 1970. The war in Nigeria was only limited to certain places. It was a war that did not affect the whole country. This study differed from the study by Rotimi by examining both the pre-colonial and post-colonial causes of conflict rather than the post-colonial factors.

Bienien posits that in Kenya communal structures are still intact and it is the social and economic structures that are ultimately responsible for conflict in the country.³⁸ He further gave this as an explanation to why land ownership has remained a very sensitive aspect in Kenya's historical and contemporary political economy. Bienien pointed out that the formation of the Luo Thrift by Luo traders was mainly to challenge Asian monopoly in trade

³⁵ S. D. Ryan "Civil Conflict and External Involvement in Eastern Africa". *International Journal* 28, No. 3 (1973), pp. 465-510.

³⁶ H. A. Dualeh: *From Bare to Aided* (Nairobi: Stellagraph, 1994), p. 10.

³⁷ R.T. Suberu, *The travails of federation in Nigeria* (Washington: John Hopkins university press, 1993), pp. 67-78.

³⁸ H. Bienien, *Politics of Participation and Control* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1974) p. 131.

in Nyanza.³⁹ While Bienien's study focuses on economic structures as entirely responsible for conflicts in the country, this study focused on social, political and environmental factors responsible for conflict in Laikipia West Constituency.

Okulu examines the trends and causes of inter-ethnic conflict in Uganda. Okulu argues that inter-ethnic conflict in Uganda started during the colonial times. He also argues that ethnic wrangles worsened over time as people wanted to be identified with royalty.⁴⁰ Ethnicity issues worsened when Uganda secured her independence and Milton Obote took over instead of Kabaka Mutesa who hailed from the royal family. The occurrence led to inter-ethnic conflict in Uganda. Museveni however argue that the conflict in Uganda was as a result of the National Resistance Movement formed to fight repression and dictatorship.⁴¹ While the inter-ethnic war in Uganda is considered to be the result of royalty and resistance movements as argued by Museveni, ethnic conflict in Laikipia West Constituency is thought to be as a result of economic, cultural and political factors furthermore royalty is not a key factor to occurrence of conflict in Kenya.

According to Murphy, inter-ethnic conflicts in Kenya is normally organized and sponsored by the government.⁴² Conflicts are politically motivated. Murphy's argument seems to be subjective in nature since conflict is also caused by lack of pasture especially among the pastoralist communities among other factors.

Johana demonstrates how ethnic conflicts in Kuresoi North Sub-County has been caused by disagreements over land ownership.⁴³ Johana asserts that the Kipsigis are considered as the original inhabitants of the land.⁴⁴ Different ethnic communities often flock to Kuresoi to purchase land since the area is suitable for farming. In times of conflicts, those who purchased land in the recent past are considered foreigners and hence get threatened with eviction. The threats have often led to some ethnic groups migrating to other areas until peace is restored. In Kuresoi, the possibility of ethnic conflicts increasing is high because of rising

³⁹ Ibid p. 225.

⁴⁰ H. Okulu, *Church and Politics in East Africa* (Nairobi: Uzima Press, 1947), p.56.

⁴¹ Y. Museveni, *Selected Articles on Uganda Resistance War* (Nairobi: Color Print Ltd, 1985), p. 75.

⁴² C. Murphy, *Ethnic Relations in Kenya* (Nairobi: Oxford Press 2003), p. 23.

⁴³ J. L. Kipkemoi., "Factors Influencing Inter- Ethnic Conflicts in Kuresoi North Sub-County: Nakuru County" MA Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2015.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 45.

population. Bolling also asserted that the Kalenjin also participated in cattle rustling with the blessing of the elders.⁴⁵ Cattle rustling led to animosity between the Kalenjin and the affected communities. This study differs from Johana's study by looking into factors other than issues of land, and the fight for resources that have led to perpetual conflict in Laikipia West Constituency.

Leo addresses land as being the main source of conflict in Kenya. Leo states that land issues have their origin in the colonial period in Kenya when colonialist dreamt of making this part of Africa a white man's country.⁴⁶ During that time, large tracts of land were alienated for white settlement. The alienation of land rendered many Kenyans landless and hence the beginning of conflict between the blacks and the whites who had settled on the farmers lands. Furthermore, pastoralists were pushed to deplorable reserves where there was inadequate pasture for their animals.⁴⁷ This gradually led to conflicts between the pastoral communities and the whites who had occupied their lands. This study differs from Leos' study in that apart from conflict witnessed between the whites and pastoral communities in Laikipia West Constituency, resource conflict between communities living in Laikipia West are studied.

Another set of related studies on conflict in Kenya alludes that conflict could be attributed to the push by high ranking KANU officials for the introduction of a federal system of government based on ethnicity.⁴⁸ In the study federalism or majimbo system based on ethnicity is a threat to any country's unity and stability. Majimbo meetings brought divisions and even led to animosity in Kenya between 1991 and 1995.⁴⁹ While Odhiambos' study was solely focused in studying a national wide conflict mainly based on political reasons, this study focused on a constituency. Besides politics, this study focused on all other factors that have led to resource conflicts in Laikipia West Constituency.

In his thesis, Yattani focuses on how interethnic conflict has extended its roots between the Gabra and Dassenetch communities. He examines the causes of conflict since 1960. Yattani argues that the causes of conflict are: cross boarder conflicts frequented by the Turkana,

⁴⁵ M. Bolling, " *Ethnic Conflicts in North West Kenya*, (London: International institute, 1990) p.32.

⁴⁶ C. Leo, *Land Class in Kenya*, (London: University of Toronto Press, 1984) p. 87.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 62.

⁴⁸ A. Odhiambo, "Seek ye First the Economic Kingdom, The Cultural Dimensions of Development in Africa," in B. A. Ogot (Ed), *Economic and Social History of East Africa*, Hadith 5(Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1976), p. 30.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p.50.

Didinga, Toposa, Nyangatom and Dassenetch, easy access to modern weapons, social inequality and victimization because of lack of a voice in the government, social cultural factors, climatic change and vulnerability of households.⁵⁰ Yattani's study is relevant but revolves around the Gabra and Dassenetch who are pastoral communities. This study was aimed at finding out how white settlement in Laikipia led to land issues and how politics contributed to increased resource conflict in Laikipia West Constituency.

A similar study on interethnic conflict in Bungoma by Wanyonyi was equally important. Wanyonyi discusses a host of factors that led to inter-ethnic conflict in Bungoma, Mt Elgon and Trans Nzoia districts. The study focuses on factors like the availability of firearms, economic issues, land and boarder issues in promoting inter-ethnic conflict in Bungoma, Mt Elgon and Trans Nzoia.⁵¹ The conflict that erupted at Mungachi and Kikai in the late 19th century had economic causes. Sections of the Sabaot harassed and even killed some Babukusu who crossed Cheptais area into Bakisu. In addition to killings, the Sabaot acquired many cattle from Bakisu through raids. These losses brought about the battle which came to be designated as the war of Choge. Conflicts were locally defined. The conflicts witnessed in Bungoma, Mt Elgon and Trans Nzoia were all expressed as being as a result of colonialism. The conflict was also affected specific sections of either community as other sections continued interacting peacefully. This study however differed from Wanyonyi's study by focusing on both the colonial factors and postcolonial factors that lead to interethnic conflicts in Laikipia West Constituency.

In another study on the extent of conflicts in Mumias East Sub-County, Iteyo and Simiyu examined the underlying causes of inter-clan conflicts which have not been addressed adequately. They analyzed the causes of conflicts as being politically motivated when politicians from different clan wrangle and fight over leadership dominance, land conflicts mostly in Mukunga and Malaka sub-locations, boarder disputes between Makunga and Mumias East and land grabbing by majority clans such as the Abashitsetse and Abakolwe.⁵² The study by Iteyo and Simiyu however only attempted to analyze the conflict as a result of

⁵⁰ I.D. Yattani." Interethnic Conflict between the Gabra and Dassenetch, 1960-2011" (M.A Dissertation, Kenyatta University, 2015) pp. 11-14.

⁵¹ P.S Wanyonyi." History of Interethnic Relations in Bungoma, Mt Elgon and Trans Nzoia Districts, 1875-1997" (PhD Dissertation. Kenyatta University, 2000) pp. 74-78.

⁵² Crispinous and Ruth," *The Nature and Extent of Inter-clan Conflict in Mumias East Sub-county, Kakamega County, Kenya*, 2019 pp. 5-8.

disagreement among the various clans. This study differed from Crispinous and Ruth's study by seeking to examine inter-ethnic conflicts as opposed to inter-clan disagreements that lead to conflict in Mumias East Sub- County.

Warurii in his thesis on conflict in Rumuruti notes the causes, effects and interaction in Rumuruti District. He cites the major factor of inter-ethnic conflict in Rumuruti as being the pressure for land. Warurii discusses banditry as a crucial issue in Rumuruti.⁵³ Other factors discussed by Warurii are banditry, political incitation, unemployment and marginalization. This study differed from Fredrick's study in that it focused on cultural factors and the environmental factors that have led to conflicts in Laikipia West Constituency.

Yet in another study on peace building and conflict management, Mwaniki purports that the state is highly regarded and often accused of neglecting the people in the marginalized areas.⁵⁴ This has led to the government not gaining acceptability and trust from the local communities. The situation in the North Rift is no different from the situation in Laikipia whole the communities accuse the government of not taking enough precautions so as to stop the recurring fights however the conflicts in Laikipia does not only involve natives of the land but also the white immigrants.

In further pursuit of ethnic conflict, Ndiku and Mworira while studying inter-ethnic conflict in Tharaka-Tigania observed that boundary disputes formed the leading course to the occurrence of the conflict. There has been constant conflict on where the boundary should be between the two communities. The feeling that the establishment of boundaries that created the new districts was dividing cohesive communities giving them different identities worked against cohesion and identity.⁵⁵ While this study solely focuses on conflict in Tharaka and Tigania as a result of boundary disagreements this study focused on boundary issues among many other factors that leads to inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia West.

⁵³F. K. Warurii, "Interethnic Conflict, Causes, Effects and Interventions, 1963- 2010" (M.A Thesis Dissertation. Kenyatta University, 2015), pp. 82-92.

⁵⁴ W.T. Mwaniki, P. M. Mbuchi, M. Lelerok and P. F. Mwei, *Peace Building and Conflict Management: Joint Case Study of North Rift Region of Kenya* (Nairobi: Pauline's Publication, Africa, 2007) pp. 23.24.

⁵⁵M. N. Judas, M. Lilian," Interethnic conflict in Kenya a case Tharaka-Tigania conflict, causes, effects and intervention, 2012" p. 4-6.

In his thesis on impacts of inter-ethnic conflict in Molo, Muthoni argues that inter-ethnic conflict periodically occurred after every five years.⁵⁶ In her research, she also asserts that 62.5% of the respondents pointed out political incitement as the leading cause of conflict in Molo. Land disputes were also cited as a cause of inter-ethnic conflicts. The Kalenjin leaders pointed out that the kikuyus had come all the way from central and were now occupying land which they termed as their own. They felt that the Kikuyu should go back to their land where they belong. This study deviated from Muthoni's study on inter-ethnic conflict in Molo by looking into the frequently occurring conflicts in Laikipia West rather than the conflicts occurring after every five years.

In a further analysis on violence and dynamics of conflict, Osamba observes that civil wars are among Africa's most serious societal crises. According to him, the drive towards western democracy which is liberal has engendered the polarization of particular groupings as parties crystallize on the basis of ethnic and regional interests rather than common ideology or political principles. He further states that there has been an upsurge in cases of conflict since the introduction of political pluralism in 1991.⁵⁷ The acquisition of state power is regarded as a good opportunity for ethnic groups to heighten ethnicity and ethnic consciousness. While Osamba's study highly regards political reasons as being the leading cause of inter-ethnic conflict in Kenya. This study deviated from Osamba's study by looking into economic, social and political reasons leading to increased conflict in Laikipia West.

Spencer in his study on Samburu asserted that there was no explicit ownership of land in the Samburu. Land was communally owned and used for the benefit of all community members. Spencer also observed that subsistence production of the Samburu revolved around livestock.⁵⁸ Later commercialization of pastoralism marked a partial shift in production goals from meeting subsistence goals and production of the market.⁵⁹ While the study by Spenser offered an insight into the communal land ownership as was the case in Laikipia before the

⁵⁶E. Muthoni, "The impacts of inter- ethnic conflicts on women's participation in livelihood activities: A case study of Molo, Nakuru District," MA Dissertation. Nairobi university, 2009), p.8.

⁵⁷J.O. Osamba, "Violence and the dynamics of transition: state ethnicity and governance in Kenya", *Africa Development/ Afrique el Development*, 2001, Volume 26, no.1/2(2001), pp.37-54.

⁵⁸ S. Spenser., *Samburu: A Study of Gerontocracy in a Nomadic Tribe* (California; University of California Press 2021).pp. 20-40.

coming of the whites by pastoral communities, it did not give detailed information of how the current land divisions and how the coming of imperialists affected the people of Laikipia.

In a study on traditional conflict resolution measures, Soja states that a variety of people developed unity based upon sets of linkages which cuts across kingship ties.⁶⁰ Soja also argues that linkages provided a structure for cooperative actions against outside adversaries. So conflict occurred among ethnically unrelated communities. However, Soja's study was limiting because communities who share a common linkage such as pastoral communities of Laikipia West Constituency often engage in conflict. This study therefore sought to examine inter-ethnic conflict among pastoral communities and the white settlers of Laikipia West Constituency.

From the foregoing literature review, the literature presents resource conflict in various countries. The review identified a knowledge gap, hence the need to study the causes of conflict in Laikipia West Constituency since there was no proper documentation on it.

1.8.2 Theoretical framework

Theories are devices used in explaining reality. A theory is also a reasoned statement meant to clarify, guide, and interpret the findings of research.⁶¹ This study employed conflict theory with the aim of developing a framework for understanding the evolution of resource conflict in Laikipia West. Marx's conflict theory notes that there are two basic groups of people: the wealthy and the poor. Conflict theory studies the social control that the rich have over the masses. Marx believed that one society or organization only functions in order to try and better their social situations resulting in some social upheavals.

According to Marx, the existence of different social classes is the continuous source of inevitable conflict and change on the social structure occurring through violent upheavals affecting class composition. Marx sees the human society as a collection of competing interest groups and individuals each with their own motives and expectations. This is because all members in a society do not have the same values, interests and expectations. Agreements

⁵⁹ T.G. Stevenson, *Commission on Nomadic people*, (Ethnographic Museum University of Oslo Norway 1987) p.5.

⁶⁰E. W, Soja," *The geography of modernization in Kenya*, (New York: Syracuse University press, 1968) p. 54.

⁶¹ P. Oliver, "writing your theses now, 2009, (New Delhi': Sage publication India), p. 943.

only appear among those who share similar privileges, leading to unequal distribution of scarce resources. This theory looks at unequal distribution of scarce resources and the relationship between two or more groups within society.

Marx's conflict theory was used in explaining the conflicts that exist in Laikipia West. Laikipia West is an area inhabited by people of different ethnic groups all having different likes, values and interests. The competing interest groups end up engaging each other in unending conflicts as they try to safeguard their own likes and interest amid the scarcity of resources.

1.9 Research Methodology

This section gives a description of a step by step methodology that was used in the study of resource conflict in Laikipia West Constituency. It covers the area of study, research design, sampling procedures, data collection, data analysis and ethical consideration.

1.9.1 Area of study

The study was carried out in Laikipia West Constituency. Laikipia West Constituency is one of the three constituencies in Laikipia County, which is located in the semi-arid region of the former Rift Valley Province. The constituency is located on the Laikipia plateau which is 9700km wide. It is also located along the equator and lies between the latitude 00 17s and 45° N and 36.15° E and 37.20° E. Laikipia West Constituency was established in 1966. However, our study begins from 1895 because this was the time when the whites started trickling in Laikipia consequently, leading to conflict due to land issues. The main inhabitants of Laikipia West are the Samburu, Tugen, Agikuyu and the Pokot.

Laikipia West Constituency is vast with an estimated population of about 116,300 people. The people in Laikipia West practise agriculture, mainly planting maize and other grain crops although greenhouse horticulture is slowly taking course. The pastoral communities have continued with their animal keeping culture though not intensively as it used to be before.

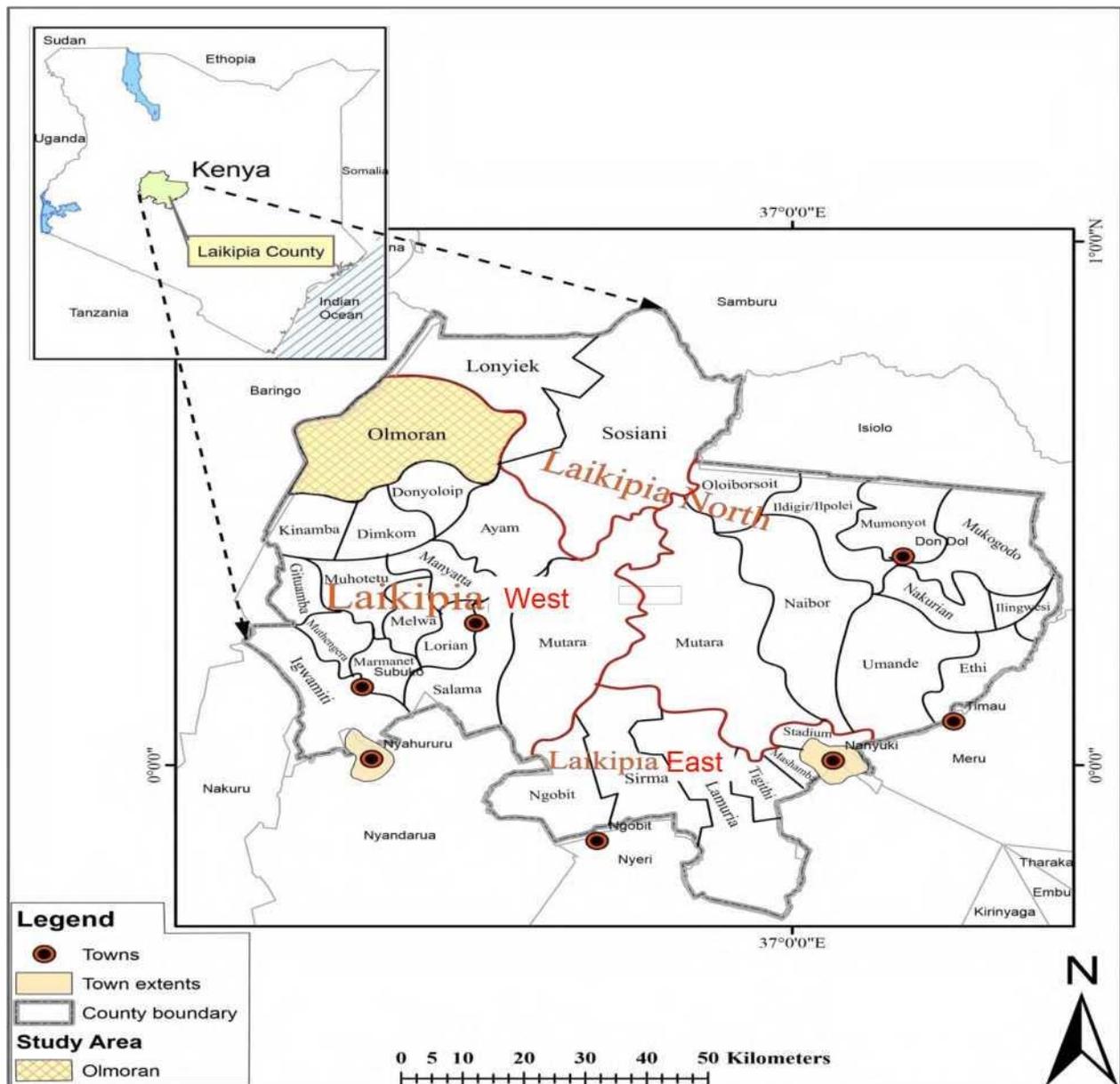


Figure 1: Location of Laikipia West Constituency

Source: Map drawn by Robert Kiplimo, a cartographer.

1.9.2 Research design

Grupta defines research design as a plan, structure and strategy of investigating conceived so as to obtain answers to research questions.⁶² This study was based on historical research design. The design involves examination of past events so as to explain why events happened the way they did. The design involves identification of the research problem, getting the information needed, evaluation of sources and synthesis of information collected and lastly interpretation of information. Historical research design helped the researcher to acquire substantive amount of useful information that was used in studying pastoralism and the

⁶²M. Grupta, *Research Methodology* (India: Prentice Hall, 2011), p. 23.

colonial legacy of resource conflict in Laikipia West Constituency from 1895 to 2019. Qualitative research methods are best suited generally for social sciences especially historical inquiries.⁶³ Hence, was needed to understand the conflict in Laikipia West Constituency not at face value but having a deeper understanding of it.

1.9.3 Sampling procedures

This study employed purposive sampling methods. Purposive sampling method was used to select the residents of Laikipia West Constituency since information needed for the study was believed to be well understood by the elderly in the society and those who have resided in Laikipia West Constituency for a long time. This is because elders are regarded as the custodians of the culture and information in any society. Their experience in dealing with the recurring conflicts in the society was hence needed. Purposive sampling method led to snowballing whereby one informant referred the researcher to another informant who is more knowledgeable on the topic of study. During the research a total of thirty-five informants were interviewed so as to get the desired information as far as the study is concerned. The informants for this study were drawn from people of different ethnic groups residing in Laikipia West Constituency. It also included people of all races, ages, professions and education levels. Purposive sampling method gave an undisputed picture of the root causes, trends and effects of resource conflict in Laikipia West Constituency.

1.9.4 Data collection

Data was collected in two ways. These are primary sources and secondary sources. In this study, both primary and secondary sources were used. Primary data was drawn from the archival and oral sources. Archival data included records from the Kenya National Archives. Archival data constituted the main source of data for this work especially for the colonial and the post-colonial eras. Oral interviews were conducted in the field so as to get first-hand information. Primary data was collaborated with secondary data for a wholesome study. Secondary data was collected from books, theses dissertations journal, articles, reports, internet and conference papers some of which were available in the university library while others were sought from the national library. Information from the various sources gave a clear picture of the conflict in Laikipia West Constituency.

⁶³J. W. Creswell, *Qualitative inquiry and Research design: Choosing among five traditions* (London: Sage Publication, 1998), p. 52.

1.9.5 Data analysis

According to Gall and Borg data analysis refers to the process of inspecting, cleaning, transforming and modelling data with a view to discovering useful information, suggesting conclusions and supporting decision making.⁶⁴

In the study of inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia West Constituency, data was analysed using: theoretical framework, documentary review and content analysis. Theoretical framework was used as a sieve so as to distinguish relevant data from irrelevant data. Documentary review involves analysing documentary data. The researcher read through relevant data recorded besides the oral information collected so as to subject one source to another and eventually understanding the conflict in Laikipia west constituency. With this, the researcher was able to compile information that is a true reflection of the conflict in Laikipia. Content analysis was eventually done. Content analysis entails contextualizing given statements and words. After the data was been analysed, objective conclusions were made based on the objective and research premises of the study. Data was then analytically presented.

1.9.6 Ethical considerations

The authority to conduct the study was sought from the ethics and research committee and Faculty in the University. Permission to collect the required data was sought from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI)

During the data collection exercise, informants were assured that their identity would be highly safeguarded. In addition, the researcher made it clear to the informants that the information was purely be for academic purposes. During the data collection exercise, informants were free to participate in the study as they wished.

⁶⁴ W.R. Borg, D. Gall, "Educational Research," (New York: Longman, 1983). p. 16.

CHAPTER TWO

CAUSES OF INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICT IN LAIKIPIA WEST, 1895-1963

2.1 Overview

This chapter discusses settlements of different communities in Laikipia West. It endeavours to trace the original inhabitants who were mainly pastoralists and who engaged in pastoralism in the vast Laikipia plains. Over the years, there has been immigration of other communities into Laikipia such as the Kikuyu from central Kenya and white settlers and this too has been explained in this chapter.

It also examines the root causes of conflict in Laikipia West. Since the colonial times, Laikipia West has continued to witness conflict that has intensified over time. As conflict continued to spread, economic activities and livelihoods of the area residents were disrupted. This resulted to people continually migrating from one area to another citing insecurity reasons. Due to conflict, area residents resulted to alternative ways of survival, which include some residents being involved in criminal activities. Studies have also shown a shift of conflict in Laikipia from being large scale to small-scale, targeting households, small areas and the police. Recent studies have shown that there is commercialization of livestock theft. The animals are usually sold in nearby markets.

This section therefore argues that causes of conflict in Laikipia West is not limited to one factor but rather to a host of factors acting independently hence unceasing conflict in Laikipia West.

2.2 Original Inhabitants of Laikipia West

Laikipia West constituency is a multi-ethnic area that comprises of pastoralist communities such as the Maasai and Samburu who are the original inhabitants of the area.¹ Until about 1550 the Yaaku and Ndigiri are thought to have previously lived in Laikipia practising hunting and gathering. Later another group, the Wardeia Darya, then migrated from present day Ethiopia to Laikipia trading and intermarrying with both the Yaaku and Digiri

¹ K.A. Mkutu, *“Guns and Governance in the Rift Valley: Pastoralist Conflicts and Small Arms”* (Nairobi: East Africa Educational Publishers, 2008), p.13

communities. The Yaaku adopted the Wardei Darya Cushitic language which is still spoken by a few people to date.²

In 1790 the Maa- speaking communities arrived, displacing the Warya and went on to dominate the region. The Maasai went on practicing pastoralism in the vast lands.³ In 1896, the British protectorate government in Kenya began the construction of the Uganda Railway. The railway was intended to connect Uganda with the coast. It was also going to facilitate effective exploitation of economic resources in the interior of both Kenya and Uganda.⁴ With the completion of the Kenya- Uganda Railway in 1901, white settlers were encouraged to settle and engage in income generating activities. Crop farming and animal keeping was encouraged by the colonial government.⁵ The colonial government made it easy for the whites to alienate land from African communities through colonial land policies.⁶ The Crown Land Ordinance of 1902 allowed the white settlers to purchase any underdeveloped land for settler farming.⁷ Sir Eliot believed that the whites had a divine calling to pacify Africans and since the Maasai were irredeemable the only solution was to eliminate them.⁸ With several agreements, the last one being the 1911 agreement, more lands were alienated to the white settlers and Africans pushed in reserves. This policy necessitated the settling of the whites in the country and in Laikipia where there was vast land for farming and ranching activities. The people from central Kenya mainly migrated to Laikipia as squatters to work for the white settlers.⁹ The Kikuyu, Abaluyia, Ameru, Turkana, Somalia, Pokot and Tugen migrated to Laikipia around the 1920s as workers for the white settlers.¹⁰ Other communities residing in

² B. Gordon., *A Natural History Guide*. (A publication of the Laikipia Wildlife forum, 2011) pp. 30-50

³ International Institute for Strategic Studies, *Complexities of Laikipia Conflict* (Nairobi, 2019), p. 1.

⁴ G. S. Were and D. A Wilson, *East Africa through a Thousand Years* (Nairobi: Evans Brother Limited, 1987), p. 8.

⁵ P. Waweru, "Continuity and Change in Samburu Pastoralism under Colonial Rule from 1909 – 1963" (PhD Thesis, Njoro: Egerton University, 2006), p. 42.

⁶ W. R. Ochieng, *A Modern History of Kenya* (Nairobi: MacMillan Educational publishers, 1985), pp. 45-60.

⁷ Ibid. 60.

⁸ J. J. Ngunjiri, D. Kierein and G. Mwenda, "*Destination Laikipia, Celebrating 100 years of Nanyuki town*," (Awesome Concepts LTD, 2020) p. 8.

⁹ B. Kiteme and Linger, "*Dimensions of global change in African mountainous: The example of Mount Kenya in International Human Dimensions programme on Global Environmental Change Mountainous*, 2008) pp. 18-22.

¹⁰ K. Mkutu, "Pastoral Conflicts, Governance and Small Arms in the North Rift, North East Africa". (PhD thesis. University of Bradford, 2005). P. 36

Laikipia were the Somali and Turkana who occupied the Rumuruti area.¹¹ As the whites continued to experience hostility in other parts of the country so did the relationship of the whites and locals in Laikipia decline.¹² It was not until 1950s that huge numbers of immigrants settled in Laikipia West.¹³ At the time of independence, the Agikuyu were far much ahead of their neighbours in terms of politics.¹⁴ They involved themselves in buying of land through land buying companies such as Mathira Land Buying Company and Mutukanio Land Buying Company coordinated by Kihika Kimani.¹⁵ Wanjiku, an 80-year-old widow, recalled how they had migrated to Laikipia after they had bought a piece of land from a land buying company in the 1960s.¹⁶



Figure 2: One of the houses previously owned by White Settlers

Source: Photograph taken by the author on 21 November 2021

¹¹ KNA/DC/LKA/17Annual Report, 1957.

¹² KNA/DC/LKA/1/5, Annul Report, 1954.

¹³ A.M. Akiwumi, “*Report of the Judicial Commission Appointed to inquire into Tribal Clashes in Kenya*” (Nairobi: Government printers, 1999) p. 7.

¹⁴P. Waweru, “Continuity and Change in Samburu Pastoralism under Colonial Rule, 1909-1963” (PhD Thesis, Egerton University, 2006), p. 30.

¹⁵S.W. Nasongo and G.P. Murunga, *The Struggle for Democracy* (London: Zed Books, 2007), p. 24.

¹⁶ Wanjiku, OI, 06 Sep.2021

2.3 Causes of Conflict in Laikipia West

Inter-ethnic conflicts have continued to be witnessed between Kenya and its neighboring countries since the colonial era to date.¹⁷ Stavenhagen argues that conflict is a state of disharmony where state parties compete for perceived or real interests out of unmet needs. According to him, conflict can be considered ethnic when it involves organized political movements, mass unrest, separatists' action and civil wars with opposing lines drawn along ethnic motives.¹⁸ Moreover, inter-ethnic conflict involves distinct plural societies living in a certain geographical area while intra-ethnic conflicts involve internal feuds within a singular ethnic identity. Ethnic conflicts in Laikipia west constituency can be traced back to 1895 when the white settlers began establishing their homes in Laikipia. Welsmann asserts that prior to British colonization, Laikipia was under pastoralism by the Samburu. With the coming of the colonialists however, most of the lands were seized and the pastoral communities displaced from their areas.¹⁹ Murango, a 48-year-old farmer, terms the conflict in Laikipia as being a struggle for limited economic resources by the majority over the minority.²⁰

2.3.1 Uneven Terrain

The surrounding terrain makes it difficult for the police and Anti-Stock Theft Unit to combat cattle rustling in Laikipia West Constituency which is located in the semiarid region of the former Rift Valley Province.²¹ Despite the constituency being located on the plains, it borders Baringo County on one side, and is widely separated by a hilly and rocky terrain. This makes it almost impossible for police to conduct successful operations in Laikipia West Constituency. Efforts to bring these conflicts to an end have been futile despite the government employing various strategies to curb them. In fact according to Akiwumi, the conflict have continued to intensify since the 1960s.²² Laikipia West border with Baringo

¹⁷ R. M., Vanzwanenberg and A. King., *Colonial history of Kenya and Uganda* (Nairobi: East African Bureau, 1975) p. 23.

¹⁸ R. Stavenhagen., *Ethnic question: rhetorical issues*. (Dubrovnik: 1991), p. 3-6.

¹⁹ Republic of Kenya, Laikipia West District Development plan 2008-2012(Nairobi: Government Printer, 2009), pp.1-55.

²⁰ Murango, OI, 08 October 2021

²¹ Laikipia County, First County Development Integrated Development Plan, 2013-2017

²² A. M. Akiwumi, "*Report of the Judicial Republic of Kenya, Laikipia West District Development plan 2008-2012*(Nairobi: Government Printer, 2009), pp. 1-55.

²² Murango, OI, 08 October 2021.

County is characterized by a hilly and rocky terrain endowed with gorges and valleys which makes it difficult for cattle rustlers to be pursued as they drive stolen animals to the neighboring Baringo County. Gachuhi, a *Nyumba kumi* head asserts that efforts to aid the officers in bringing back stolen cattle are futile since the bandits know where to hide.²³ Often, police deployed to pursue cattle rustlers and attackers who mainly flee with their fortunes, are not familiar with the uneven terrain hence facing navigation difficulties during rescue operations. They are easily attacked by cattle rustlers during rescue operations. It is in such operations that many security personnel have lost their lives in the hands of armed raiders. A one-on-one discussion with Kahahi, a Rural Border Patrol Unit (RBPU) officer, revealed the fear most of the security personnel have. According to him, the bushes, huge stones and gorges act as perfect hideouts for these bandits who then fire their guns indiscriminately killing most of them since they even do not know where to hide.²⁴



Figure 3: The hilly and rocky terrain separating Laikipia West and Baringo County.

Source: Photograph taken by the author on 23 November 2021

²² Laikipia County, *First County Development Integrated Development Plan*, 2013-2017

²² KNA/DC/LKA/1/7Annual Report, 1 957.

²² A. M. Akiwumi, “*Report of the Judicial Commission Appointed to inquire into Tribal Clashes in Kenya*” (Nairobi: Government printers, 1999) pp. 25-35.

²³ Gachuhi, OI,05 Sep.2021

²⁴ Kahahi, OI,25 Nov.2021

2.3.2 Social Inequality and exclusion

In the 1935 boundaries demarcation, the districts of Laikipia and Samburu were amalgamated and Laikipia considered as white highlands while Samburu was considered black highlands and Lowland.²⁵ The division was accompanied by unequal treatment of residents in either side.²⁶ Laikipia is a semi-arid county located in the former Rift Valley province. It is classified as one of the marginalized areas in the country and mostly occupied by pastoralists. According to Ruto and Pkalya most pastoralist communities have been neglected and deprived of their rights.²⁷ Laikipia was faced with problems of food shortage, inaccessibility in most areas due to bad roads, human wildlife conflict, high illiteracy levels and widespread inter-ethnic conflicts. Due to inequality and exclusion in the education sector, Laikipia West has often lagged behind with the literacy levels in the constituency standing at 49.2 per cent according to the 2019 census data.²⁸ In the 1957 handing over report, the District Commissioner stated that the poor state of the roads often caused agitation among the locals. He suggested that funds needed to be expended on the main arterial roads.²⁹

Due to the hardships faced by people of this constituency, they felt that they were neglected and hence the need to revolt against the ruling government and justice systems for attention. They felt that they were in their own world and that no one cared about them. This necessitated the need for the herders to engage in rogue practices for their survival. Todo, a herder, argued that Laikipia *si* Kenya, *serikali imesahau sisi*. He painfully recounted that even getting the very basic commodities like food proved to be an issue.³⁰

As communities struggle for the inadequate resources available, they disagree and this results in conflict. Conflict experienced in Laikipia West is further fuelled by some leaders who use the inequality status witnessed to incite locals against the leadership. This often add fuel to the already existing conflict.

²⁵ KNA, Laikipia- Samburu District. Handing Over Report.

²⁶ Ibid. p. 3.

²⁷ P. Ruto, “*Conflict in Northern Kenya: A focus on the Internally Displaced Victims in Northern Kenya*” (Nairobi: ITDG-EA, 2003), pp.54-60.

²⁸ K. Waihenya, “Unfair sharing of resources to blame for Laikipias’ low literacy,” Daily Nation, 28 June, 2020, p. 25.

²⁹ KNA, Handing Over Report- Laikipia Samburu District

³⁰ Todo, OI, 03 Sep.2021.

2.3.3 Political Incitement

Recurrent inter-ethnic conflicts have been a feature of Laikipia County since the 1960s.³¹ This is despite security, conflict management and peace building being a political pillar of Kenya's vision 2030.³² Murphy asserts that most incidences of inter-ethnic conflict in Kenya are normally organized and sponsored by the government.³³ This is evidenced in Laikipia, a Constituency characterized by a multi-ethnic community all harbouring different beliefs and ideologies different from those of their counterparts. Exclusive allegiance by communities towards their leaders have seen ethnic groups engaging in conflicts that could otherwise have been avoided. Politicians have occasionally incited their communities against others often leading to ethnic conflict.³⁴ Abong, a 98-year-old local farmer explains conflict in Laikipia as having exacerbated due to the formation of the Kamatusa group formed to counter Gema of Kenyatta's time. Kamatusa group was formed to bring together all pastoralist communities so as to counter the growing Kikuyu numbers. The Kamatusa group bought weapons and sought financial aids to cover up for their lack of strength. The Gema and Kamatusa were not able to unite due to their ideological differences and this has led to constant grudges.³⁵ In recent times, arrests have been made on several leaders, including Tiaty Member of Parliament William Kamket and Mathew Lempurkel ex-Laikipia Legislator who are considered to be inciting the Maasai community in Laikipia to rise up against owners of ranches and conservancies in Laikipia resulting to tension and conflict that has seen many people migrate from their homes.³⁶ According to the field research, many informants agreed that there is a tendency of the conflict in Laikipia West increasing as the political temperatures rise. Politicians seeking votes in Laikipia during the vote hunting process promise residents that once elected, they will drive away all the white settlers and the local residents will have pieces of land in the ranches and conservancies.³⁷ These have resulted to conflicts have often disrupted the livelihoods of the people, resulting to death and mass destruction of property. Eleri and Manyara observed that forceful invasions of ranches are activated by legislators equipped with evidence that the 99-year tenancies obtained by settlers in Laikipia were about to expire. They therefore incited the herders to attack and inhabit the affected farms with the

³¹ KNA/PC/NKU/2/15/13

³² GoK, "Kenya Vision 2030," Nairobi: Government printers, 2007.

³³ C. Murphy, "Ethnic relations in Kenya" (Nairobi: Oxford press 2003), p. 23.

³⁴ J. K. Kiliku, "Report of the parliamentary Select Committee to Investigate Ethnic Clashes in Western and other Parts of Kenya," (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1992) p.3.

³⁵ Abong, O.I, 09 Sep.2021

³⁶ B. Okoth, "How Matiangi plans to end Laikipia violence," *The standard*, 10 September, 2021, p. 7.

³⁷ M. Mwenda, *Complexities of Natural Resources Conflict in Kenya: A Case Study of Laikipia Conflict* (University of Nairobi; Nairobi, 2018) pp. 20-30.

eventual expectation of possessing these farms. Such incitements contribute to the demolition of belongings, eradication of wildlife and damage of tourism to an area that is an important terminus for thousands of visitors worldwide.³⁸

According to Wachira, a journalist in Kinamba, untamed politics has been one of the leading causes of conflict in Laikipia West Constituency.³⁹ Wachiras' sentiments were echoed by Lokichong, a resident of Muchongoi, who in an interview reported that there was a tendency of conflict increasing when local leaders incite the people, of which most incitements were tribal in nature.⁴⁰

2.3.4 Easy Availability of Illicit Weapons

Some inhabitants of Laikipia West Constituency are herders, others farmers, others large scale beef farmers, others are ranchers among many other economic activities practiced. The diversity of the economic activities practised is made possible by the fact that Laikipia West is a semi-arid area with vast lands. Herders residing in Laikipia and its neighbouring counties experience the problem of inadequate pastures for their livestock, a situation worsened by the changing climatic conditions and shrinking grazing lands as more lands are put under farming. Aggrieved by some traditional beliefs that the vast Laikipia lands and that all animals belong to them, some pastoral communities mainly herders acquire illegal firearms which they use to launch attacks on their neighbors. A study by Leming'ani indicate that Laikipia is faced with high insecurity levels especially with the proliferation of small arms, a situation that has created a cycle of poverty, limited resources and frequent conflicts.⁴¹ The easy accessibility of guns from Uganda and South Sudan through porous borders have hampered disarmament exercises among pastoral communities, moreover throughout the years, herders have mastered the art of making homemade guns.⁴² In one study conducted by Small Arms Survey (SASR), Kenya was reported to have had a considerable stockpile of

³⁸ G. Manyara and J. Eleri, "Community-Based Tourism Enterprises Development in Kenya: An Exploration of Their Potential as Avenues of Poverty Reduction". *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 2007, PP. 628-644.

³⁹ Wachira, OI, 15 Nov.2021

⁴⁰ Lokichong, OI, 24 Nov. 2021

⁴¹ R. Leming'ani, "*Resource Based Conflicts between White Settlers and Pastoralists in the Horn of Africa: A Case Study of Laikipia County in Kenya* (University of Nairobi: Nairobi, 2017), p. 35

⁴² M. Mohamud and P. Rutu, "*Closed to Progress: An Assessment of the socio economic Impact of Conflict of Pastoral Economies in Kenya and Uganda*" (Nairobi: Practical Action, 2005), pp. 32-37.

weapons, ranging from 100,000 to 500,000 weapons.⁴³ Some illegal firearms are sneaked into Kenya from Uganda via the porous borders and sold at an affordable price.⁴⁴ These weapons include guns that are used when conducting raiding activities on the neighboring communities. There have been reports that some politicians have been equipping their people with firearms so as to aid them in revolting against the government and causing destruction among locals from other ethnic groups hence resulting to them migrating. According to Lekulal, locals have constantly observed a white helicopter believed to be delivering ammunitions landing in Laikipia Nature Conservancy, and it is after the landing that conflict intensifies.⁴⁵ In such cases, locals flee from these areas and when the electioneering period nears, they do not vote and this destabilizes politics of Laikipia. Waswa, a nun at St Mark Catholic Church built during the colonial days, recounted that the church has over the years acted as a safe haven for victims of conflict who are forced to leave their homes for safety reasons.⁴⁶ Despite efforts by the government to bring calm in Laikipia West, little has been achieved hence unceasing conflict in Laikipia West Constituency. The pastoral communities have hesitated in surrendering their weapons to government agencies. With time residents of Laikipia lost confidence in the state apparatus to ease tension and often take the law in their hands.

⁴³ GoK, “*Small Arms Survey Report*,” (Nairobi: Government Printers, 2008), pp. 54- 60.

⁴⁴ Kenya National Focal Point (KNFP), “*Small Arms and Light Weapons: Presentation on National Data on Illicit Arms Flow and Impact policy*,” 2020, pp. 4-6.

⁴⁵ Lekulal, OI, 11 Nov. 2021.

⁴⁶ Waswa, OI, 13 Nov. 2021



Figure 4: Illegal firearms set on fire on 9th June 2021.

Source: [www. Gunpolicy.org](http://www.Gunpolicy.org)

2.3.5 Climatic Change Induced Conflict

Economic activities of people of Laikipia West Constituency have largely been affected by the changing climatic conditions over time. Some residents of Laikipia West, mostly kikuyu are farmers, others are herders mostly Samburu while others are ranchers owning the huge ranches in Laikipia. According to the Laikipia District annual report of 1957, Laikipia was the biggest beef producing district in the European areas due to the good rains.⁴⁷ The situation has continually changed over the years due to climate change. In an estimate, almost 50% of Laikipia County land mass is owned by large scale ranchers less than 30 of them.⁴⁸ In short, Laikipia is dominantly pastureland with 48 registered ranches.⁴⁹ One such ranch found in Laikipia West is the Kuki Galmann ranch. The ranch is a home to many wild animals which occupy the vast ranch and also lodges for tourists. Lodges in the conservancy include the prestigious Muktann Lodge. With the changing climatic conditions, there are prolonged dry seasons resulting in shortage of pasture for both livestock and wild animals in the ranches. There is also a decrease in the amount of wheat which according to the 1957 report was being grown on large scale basis in Laikipia with the largest wheat store being located in Thompson

⁴⁷ KNA, Annual Report- Laikipia District. 1957, P. 34.

⁴⁸ M. Apollos, “*Decades old tensions are driving conflict in Kenya’s Laikipia region*” (Egerton University, 2017) p.2.

⁴⁹ County Government of Laikipia, Land and Land use, 2018

Falls.⁵⁰ This decrease in pasture goes hand in hand with an increase in population, which Kiteme posits was considerable between 1962 and 1997 in Laikipia when the annual growth rate was 4.7 percent as opposed to the national average of 3.3 percent.⁵¹ This results to competition for the available resources. Akiwumi asserts that pastoral communities provoke confrontations by grazing their animals in people's farms.⁵² Drought has pushed the pastoralists to driving their animals into people's farms. This often led to conflict between the farmers and herders. In some instances, herders also drive their animals in hundreds into ranches that are individually owned and this has resulted to conflict between pastoralists and ranch owners.⁵³ In one recent attack, Laikipia Nature Conservancy was invaded and the prestigious Mukutan Lodge burnt down by herders seeking pastures for their animals.⁵⁴ Mwamba, a local farmer recounted a time when his *Shamba* was invaded by herders who had crossed over from Baringo County during a drought, leading to massive destruction of his crops hence lowering the farms profits. According to him, neither the herders nor the government was willing to compensate for the losses incurred amid escalating climatic changes and the declining yields.⁵⁵ Mwamba's sentiments were echoed by Mware, a former chief in Wangwachi, who talked about an increase in the number of reported cases of farmers and area residents being terrorized by herders from the neighboring counties year in year out.⁵⁶ These farmers claimed that the heavily armed herders have been grazing in their farms even during the day. The trend seems to be worsening with the changing climatic conditions. There has been a proposal to build a General Service Unit (GSU) camp in the Laikipia nature conservancy to aid in maintaining calm in Laikipia West Constituency, but this is yet to be implemented.

⁵⁰ KNA, Annual Report- Laikipia District. 1957.

⁵¹ B. Kiteme and H. Linegar., Dimensions of Global Change, pp.18-22.

⁵² A. Akiwumi, Report of the Judicial Commission, pp.14-20.

⁵³ S. Njuguna, "Agency pushes for durable solution to Laikipia insecurity," *Daily Nation*, 06 March, 2017, p 24

⁵⁴ V. Kejitan, "Illegal herdsmen Burn down Kuki Galmann's the Mukutan Retreat in Laikipia West," *Kenya.co.ke*, 30 March, 2017,

⁵⁵ Mwamba, OI, 17 Oct. 2021.

⁵⁶ Mware, OI, 19 Oct.2021.

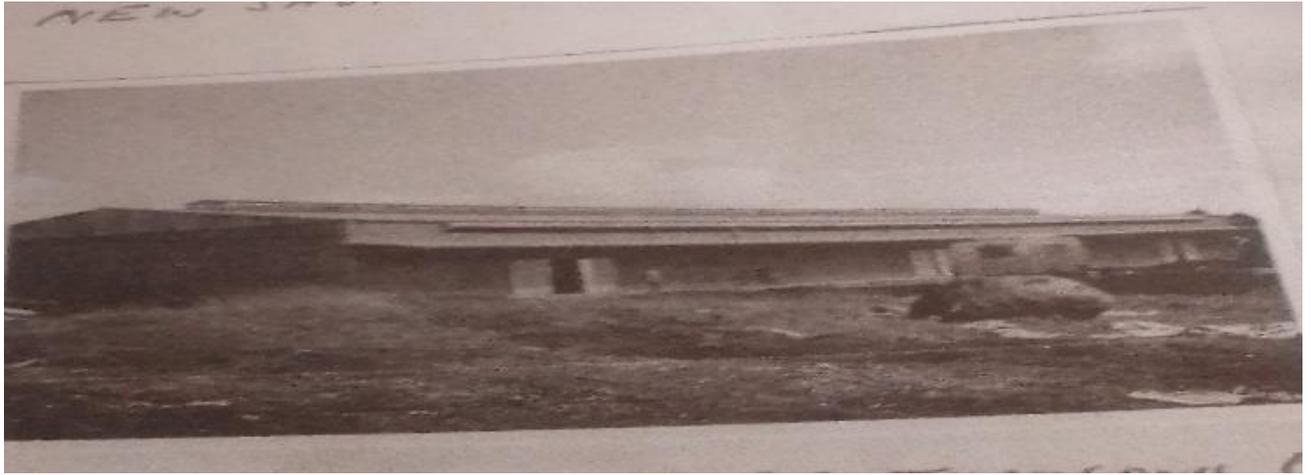


Figure 5: A Wheat Store at Thompson Falls.

Source: *KNA, Annual Report- Laikipia District, 1957, p.20*



Figure 6: Inside the Wheat Store in Thompson Falls.

Source; *KNA*

2.3.6 Youth Unemployment

Laikipia West is a vast constituency with a high population. A huge section of the population in Laikipia West are youths, most of who are either illiterate or semi-illiterate. According to reports, the literacy levels in Laikipia West stands at 49.2%.⁵⁷ This means that majority of the

⁵⁷ K. Waihenya, “Unfair sharing of resources to blame for Laikipias’ low literacy,” *Daily Nation*, 28 June, 2020, p. 25.

people in Laikipia West are illiterate. Literacy levels in Laikipia are presumed to be low due to frequent interruption of education activities and schools, high poverty levels, frequent migrations of school children and their families as insecurity grows, harmful cultural beliefs that hinder education activities among others factors. Among the pastoral communities, herding is done by youths and young men who are otherwise supposed to be in schools. This hinders them from going to school as they spend most of the time in the fields in search of pasture for their animals. Choge, a youthful herder and charcoal trader on the Laikipia West-Baringo border, admitted to having dropped out of school during one of the recurring drought periods so as to concentrate on taking care of his family's animals. He noted that the climate has greatly changed over the years, forcing many of his peers to drop out of school, so as to concentrate on moving around with their animals in search of pasture.⁵⁸ Increasing levels of poverty and idleness tend to push some youth to get involved in commercial raiding, which with time escalates to conflicts.⁵⁹ Low literacy levels make it difficult for residents of this area to secure formal jobs, which are usually taken over by people from other areas. Apart from herding, some middle-aged men resulted to engaging themselves in the transport sector while others who are not privileged enough engage in raiding activities so as to secure huge herds of animals, which according to them amount to wealth. According to Njuguna, a *boda boda* rider, most illiterate youths and those who drop out of school tend to try their luck in small businesses to earn a living, some which are not successful. Those who are too poor to afford other ways of sustaining themselves, engage in raiding activities for commercial purposes whereby stolen animals are sold out in the livestock markets in the county.⁶⁰ This has led to increased insecurity and conflict in Laikipia West Constituency.

2.3.7 Economic Decline

Economic decline is one of the causes of resource conflict in Laikipia West Constituency. When the whites came and established settlements in Kenya, the colonial government allowed them to acquire land and even engage in economic activities that could aid in generation of income. In Laikipia, the whites acquired huge chunks of land which would have otherwise been used for agricultural activities and herding by the locals for ranching purposes and large-scale farming of wheat. When the Africans demanded land ownership, they were

⁵⁸Choge, OI, 10 September. 2021.

⁵⁹ IADC 2009

⁶⁰Njuguna, OI, 15 Nov. 2021.

subjected to corporal punishments, arbitrary arrests and murder.⁶¹ The 1957 annual reports indicated an increase in the wages paid by the British in rural areas, which was mainly attributed to scarcity of farm labour.⁶² This resulted in constant conflicts between the natives and the whites as they viewed them as having taken their ancestral lands. In the remaining lands, the locals mainly engaged in agriculture, which was not stable due to frequent conflict. When skirmishes begin, people flee from these areas and establish temporary settlements in safer grounds hence leaving the lands unutilized. These unutilized lands have over time been taken over by ad hoc land owners, many of whom pastoralists from other counties. Ochieng, an executive sales manager at Laikipia Flour Millers, narrated that the conflict has often led to a reduction of the raw materials for the mills. As more people flee from the affected areas, land is left idle and this reduces the size of land under cultivation, which in turn leads to a reduction of raw materials for these industries.⁶³ More, when the electioneering period nears, the skirmishes in Laikipia tend to increase hence worsening the situation. This has discouraged investors from investing their resources in these areas citing insecurity reasons. Areas like Kamwenje are important as they accord a beautiful view of Lake Baringo and a place to enjoy the cool breeze from a distance. They are also located adjacent to the Laikipia Nature conservancy, which would otherwise be important for game drives and animal viewing. However due to insecurities, the great potential of the constituency largely remains untapped, slowing development in the area.

⁶¹ KNA/DC/LKA/1/4- Annual Report, 1953.

⁶² KNA, Annual Report- Laikipia District. 1957.

⁶³ Ochieng, OI, 20 Sep.2021.



Figure 7: A Signboard to the Kuki Galmann Ranch

Source: Africanspicesafaris.com

2.3.8 Land Tenure Systems

Land use and its resources are a major cause of intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic conflict in rural Kenya.⁶⁴ According to Bienien, colonial solidarities in Kenya have yet to be destroyed and it is clear that economic development and social change seems to have given greater salience to ethnic considerations.⁶⁵ This partly explains why the issues of ethnicity and land ownership have remained very sensitive and explosive aspects of Kenya's historical and contemporary political economy.⁶⁶ When the colonialists came to Kenya, they were determined to make Kenya a white man's country. They were also determined to establish systems that would favour their settlement in Kenya. The British government constructed the Uganda Railway to facilitate effective exploitation of economic resources in Kenya and Uganda. After the completion, economic activities that would generate cash were encouraged to aid in the recovery of the construction costs. In response to this, the colonial government came up with laws and incentives that would favour migrating whites. Laws enabling easy acquisition of land, easy acquisition of labour, and the government support enabled the settlers to acquire

⁶⁴ P. Kakai, "Inter and Intra-Ethnic Conflicts in Mt. Elgon and Trans-Nzoia District since 1875" (Kenyatta University, Nairobi. 2000) pp.30-40

⁶⁵ Bienien, The politics of participation and control, p. 131.

⁶⁶ Leo, Land and Class in Kenya, p. 225.

huge chunks of land for settlement and engaging in income generating activities. Conditions set up on acquisition of land enabled the immigrants to acquire land on lease for 99 years.⁶⁷ Some whites moved into Laikipia where they established ranches while in other areas, they established beef farms. Such ranches include the Kuki Gallman ranch in Laikipia West whose land was leased for 99 years. After Kenya had gained independence in 1963, many Europeans sold their ranches to government schemes and commercial land buying companies.⁶⁸ The lease period is hence over and the local politicians are repeatedly inciting the locals that the white settlers should now leave their lands for them so as to benefit from what is rightfully theirs. These findings support the assertions by Waweru who argued that scarcity of resources such as land, pasture and water are a source of conflict in ASAL regions.⁶⁹ This has often led to conflict in Laikipia West Sub- County. Kigano, a village elder, argued that it was not socially acceptable in traditional African society for one, in this case Kuki, to have thousands of acres of land to herself while surrounded by hundreds of hungry livestock succumbing to effects of drought.⁷⁰

2.3.9 Social Cultural Factors

Incompatibility of culture has a role to play in the ongoing conflict in Laikipia West. Some pastoral communities believe that all animals belong to them as they were created for them. This means that no other community is allowed to own livestock apart from them.⁷¹ Such archaic beliefs have often sparked conflict as raiding activities carried out by pastoral communities intensify. This kind of conflict is mainly between the raiders and those whose cattle are raided. Superiority complex among some communities make them to conduct raiding activities as a show of might and power and this results to conflict. After many dry months, raiding activities were carried out as a way of restocking their herds, some of which may have died during prolonged droughts. This often led to conflict as the animal owners resist their animals from being taken away. Animals raided are also used in payment of dowry during marriage. People of Kamwenje area of Laikipia West are worst hit by these raids. They recounted that milk has become their gold and that the increase in price of the

⁶⁷ S. Coldham, "Colonial policy and the Highlands of Kenya, 1934-1944," *Journal of African Law*, Vol.23. No.1, pp. 65-83.

⁶⁸ P. N. Kamau, "Land perceptions of drought and conflicts in Laikipia West Sub County, "Kenya, *journal of humanities and Social sciences*, Vol. 9 (2020), p. 32

⁶⁹ P. Waweru, "Continuity and Change in Samburu Pastoralism under Colonial Rule from 1909-1963" (Egerton University, Njoro, 2006) p.3.

⁷⁰ Kigano, OI, 02 September. 2021

⁷¹ F. Opiyo, J. Schilling, J. Scheffran, "Raiding pastoral livelihoods: motives and effects of violent conflict in north- western Kenya," *Pastoralism Research Journal*, (2021), pp. 7-8.

product in this areas was due to the fact that there are only few remaining animals as most of their animals have been raided by the herders and driven into the neighbouring places via the hilly and rocky terrain making it difficult for the officers, who are not very conversant with the terrain, to pursue them amid the raiders possession of sophisticated weapons. These social cultural factors often have led to unceasing conflict in Laikipia West Constituency.

2.3.10 Ethnicity

Ethnicity is a vice deep rooted among the Kenyan people, which, according to Mamdami, can fuel conflict.⁷² Political marginalization has often evoked heated debates by pastoralists especially during the electioneering period.⁷³ It is so deep rooted in the culture and lives of the Kenyan people such that it results in an incompatibility of the plural society. In Laikipia, ethnicity was evident as during the study the Pokots viewed Kuki Galmann as an enemy. Lenakukuya who lived in the west side of the Kuki Galmann ranch claimed that Kuki was a remnant of Kenya's colonial past and among those who refused to give them back their land. He further claimed that Kuki had continued to be hostile to them since she settled in that land hence the need to revolt against her.⁷⁴ People are so much divided into their own ethnic groups and will mostly concentrate on choosing leaders from their own ethnic groups regardless of their manifesto. The exclusive allegiance on one's ethnic group and their leader results in them only choosing leaders from the same ethnic group and following them religiously without clearly discerning their actions and words. Ethnic leaders of a particular community are treated as demi-gods and act as the regions spokesperson. The end results of this is that it necessitates favouritism where the leader chooses to repay the allegiance of his people with favours and goodies as opposed to them being a fair leader to all. Favours bestowed include development projects such as roads being build, electricity connectivity being done, and even bursaries being awarded to their children. This leads to conflict between the favoured group and those who are not favoured.

2.3.11 Illiteracy

High illiteracy levels coupled with the high poverty levels in Laikipia West have led to increased conflict in the constituency. By 1957, there were eight schools in Laikipia, two of them being private schools, that is Thompson Falls School and Van Riebeeck School which

⁷²M. Mamdami, *Saviors and Survivors* (New York: Pantheon Books and Colophon, 2009), p. 27.

⁷³ S.W. Nasongo and G.P. Murunga, *The Struggle for Democracy* (London: Zed Books, 2007), P. 9.

⁷⁴Lenakukuya, OI, 03 Nov.2021.

mostly catered for African children who were heavily aided by the government.⁷⁵ These schools were understaffed and couldn't hold the many students seeking education considering the classroom shortage. The number of school going children not attending school was considered to run into hundreds.⁷⁶ The illiteracy levels in Laikipia West are high and according to the 2019 census data, it stands at 49.2 percent.⁷⁷ Most of the children do not attend school, and even if they do, they only do it as a ritual as most of them are attached to income generating activities at a young age. They have no role models to guide them as most of their parents are also not educated. Most of them survive by merely selling produce from their farms and these activities have highly been affected by climate change. They are not empowered into engaging in other diverse income generating activities. This means that even if decent jobs are offered to them, they do not have the economic knowhow on how to go about it as most of them are either illiterate or semi-illiterate. Kigen, a former employee at Ngarua Flour Millers, recounted the many times when they had to source for technicians from Nanyuki and Nakuru to repair their machines when they broke down. This is so because very few people were conversant with the machines, hence the high cost incurred in sourcing technicians from other places.⁷⁸ This has led to the never-ending cycle of poverty that has been passed on from one generation to another. The younger generation has resulted to engaging in illegal activities such as theft as a means of survival. More so, there has been claims that in the recent times there has been commercialized theft of animals which are otherwise sold to the neighbouring markets. This results to conflict in Laikipia West.

2.3.12 Inadequacy of Resource

Laikipia County is a semi-arid county. Despite its arid nature, it harbours people who engage in various economic activities for survival. The farming communities of Laikipia include Agikuyu, Ameru, Abagusii and Abaluyia.⁷⁹ Apart from the farming communities, there are also some communities practising pastoralism in Laikipia. All these people depend on the scarce resources available in Laikipia for survival. Land is one such inadequate resource in Laikipia. Okoth and Ogot postulates that inter-ethnic conflicts are as a result of skewed

⁷⁵ KNA, Annual Report – Laikipia District 1957

⁷⁶ Ibid p. 39.

⁷⁷ K. Waihenya, "Unfair sharing of resources to blame for Laikipias' low literacy," *Daily Nation*, 28 June, 2020, p. 25.

⁷⁸ Kigen, OI, 20 Sep. 2021.

⁷⁹ A. M. Akiwumi, "*Report of the Judicial Commission appointed to inquire into Tribal clashes in Kenya*," (Nairobi: Government printers, 1999) P. 2.

allocation of economic resources.⁸⁰ This is because land is needed in large quantities by herders who move from one place to another in search of pasture for their livestock, there are also farmers who grow crops and ranches which occupy massive lands in Laikipia. In an estimate, almost 50% of Laikipia County land mass is owned by less than 30 large scale ranchers.⁸¹ Scarcity of land in Laikipia has often led to conflict between herders, ranch owners and farmers. Availability of water is also an issue especially during the dry season. With the changing climatic conditions, and the increase in horticultural practices in Laikipia West, the issue of water use is becoming more evident. Herders from the neighbouring arid counties flock to Laikipia during the dry seasons in search of pasture. They drive their animals in their hundreds into individual farms and private owned ranches where they feed on pasture and crops in the farms and these actions result in conflict in Laikipia. In the recent times ranch owners, their employees and residents of Laikipia have been killed and others maimed after herders' invaded people's farms and ranches resulting to death and destruction of property.

2.3.13 Human Wildlife Conflicts

Laikipia County is endowed with many ranches, some of which are privately owned while others are owned by the government. Some of these ranches are used for beef cattle, while others are for large scale farming of wheat while others are a home to wild animals, hence attracting tourists. The wild animals living in these ranches include zebras, elephants, and buffalos among others. These animals are a source of conflict between the ranchers and the farming communities in Laikipia west Constituency.⁸² In 1956, the Laikipia District Commissioner wrote to the Commissioner in Samburu decrying the destruction of few small plantations by elephants which preferred plantation food to their natural fodder.⁸³ This was so despite the presence of an elephant control officer in Laikipia.⁸⁴ This is so because wild animals often stray away from these ranches especially during the dry seasons in search of pasture and water. These animals often find their way into people's farms and homesteads causing damage, actions the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) is slow to respond to. It is in such instances that people have ended up losing their lives and this has resulted to frequent

⁸⁰ P. Okoth and B. Ogot, *Conflicts in Contemporary Africa* (Jomo Kenyatta Foundation: Nairobi, 2000). p. 16-30

⁸¹ M. Apollos, "*Decades old tensions are driving conflict in Kenya's Laikipia region*" (Egerton University, 2017)

⁸² GoK, *Laikipia West District Development plan (2008-2012)*, (Nairobi: Government Printers, 2009)

⁸³ KNA, Laikipia- Samburu. Handing Over Report.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p. 20.

disagreements between the ranch owners and the locals. Kirui, an employee in one of the ranches, recounted that the management had made efforts to elect an electric fence round the ranch but the exercise had not been fully completed due to the huge size of the ranch.⁸⁵ Losses caused by the animals are in some instances uncounted for and damages rarely compensated by the Kenya Wildlife Service. Consequently, farmers in various parts of Laikipia have resorted to using various ways to resolve the conflict between them and the Kenya Wildlife Service. Some measures applied include the killing of wild animals which invade their farms for meat and other animal products. This has led to conflict between farmers, ranch owners and the government.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has discussed the communities of Laikipia. It has shown who the original inhabitants of Laikipia were and the economic activities they engaged in. It has shown how the whites found their way into Laikipia and how the whites' settlement in Laikipia influenced conflict.

The second part of this chapter focused on the root causes of conflict in Laikipia West from the uneven terrain characterized by bushes and gorges that act as hideouts for the rogue herders to high illiteracy levels and the availability of illegal firearms which are easily available from across our borders. Other factors discussed were the changing climatic conditions and the traditional beliefs that all animals belonged to specific communities. The next chapter will focus on the historical trends of conflict.

⁸⁵Kirui, OI, 02 Sep.2021.

CHAPTER THREE

TRENDS OF INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN LAIKIPIA WEST, 1964-2019

3.1 Overview

This chapter focuses on the historical trends of inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia West Constituency from 1964 to 2019. Conflict in Laikipia West has been unceasing, that is, occurring from time to time. The conflict in Laikipia West has often resulted in death, destruction of property, cultural interaction among many other effects. This chapter will focus on the trends of conflict in Laikipia West since the early post-colonial period to date.

3.2 Trends of Conflict in Laikipia West

Laikipia West Constituency have continued to witness recurring inter-ethnic conflict over the years. The Constituency is multi-ethnic and comprises of pastoralist communities such as Maasai, Samburu, Pokot, Tugen, Nandi and Bantu communities such as Kikuyu and Kisii.¹ Before the coming of the white settlers, communities residing in the vast Laikipia plains practised hunting and keeping animals, then, conflicts were minimal. When Kenya was declared a British Protectorate, the British government in Kenya began the construction of the Kenya- Uganda Railway in 1896. The railway was to facilitate exploitation of economic resources in the interior of Kenya and the landlocked Uganda, resources that were going were going to assist in the running of the economy.² It was at that time that the British government encouraged white settlers to engage in agricultural activities both crop farming and animal keeping.³ This mode of colonial economy led to land alienation from African communities through colonial land policies.⁴ White settlers were allowed to occupy any land owned by the Africans that seemed to lie idle and underutilised.⁵ Africans were pushed to living in reserves and in deplorable conditions as most of their lands had been taken over by the white settlers. It is in this process that natives of Laikipia lost most of their land. Africans living in reserves were forced to provide labour in the large farms and forced to pay taxes to the colonial government. Village headmen and the chiefs were consequently used by the British Colonial

¹ P. Lemoosa, "A Historical Transformation of Pastoral Economy of Samburu of North-Central Kenya, 1900 – 1963" (M.A. Thesis. Kenyatta University, 1998). P.28.

² G. Were and D. Wilson, *East Africa through a Thousand Years*, (Nairobi: Evans Brother (Kenya) Limited, 1987).p. 25.

³ P. Waweru, "Continuity and Change in Samburu Pastoralism under Colonial Rule from, 1909 – 1963". (Ph.D. Thesis. Egerton University, 2006). p.32.

⁴ W. R. Ochieng, *A modern History of Kenya*, (Nairobi: MacMillan Educational Publishers, 1985) P.42.

⁵ Ibid. 40.

Government to recruit African labour for the colonial economy⁶ Around the 1920s, most communities have lost their land to the white settlers and this period saw a few members of the Agikuyu, Abaluyia, Ameru, Abagusii, Somali and Turkana joining the Maasai, Nandi, Pokot, Tugen and the Samburu as labourers of the settlers. Most of the Somali and Turkana occupied Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County in the 1950s⁷

In the 1950s political associations and movements had come up to fight for their land and to resist oppression from the colonial government one such grouping was the Mau-Mau movement. As the Mau-Mau wave affected the neighbouring Nyandarua and Nyeri counties, so did the relationship between the Africans and the Europeans in Laikipia worsen.⁸ During this period, inter-ethnic conflicts were restricted to the colonial chiefs, sub-chiefs, community elders, the District Emergency Committee (DEC) and the District Security Committee (DSC).⁹ The Mau-Mau struggle intensified animosity between the British colonial administrators and the Africans.¹⁰

After Kenya had gained independence, people were really waiting to gain back their lands and resources from the white settlers as promised by the leaders. This was not the case however as there was skewed allocation of resources which included land.¹¹ Unfulfilled promises resulted to ethnicity as communities sought to unite for political legitimization and domination.¹² Allocation of resources and politics was based on ethnicity and ethnic kingpins of communities acted as mediums between their communities and the state for acquisition of resources and favours.¹³ The MP for Laikipia West Constituency during this time was G.G. Kariuki, a Kikuyu. The relation between the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin in Laikipia-West Sub County took a twist in 1975 when J.M Kariuki, a Kikuyu leader was killed. Before his body was found, the then Vice President, Daniel Arap Moi kept on assuring Kenyans that J. M.

⁶ W. R. Ochieng, *A modern History of Kenya*, (Nairobi: MacMillan Educational Publishers, 1985) P.42.

⁷ KNA/DC/LKA/1/7/ Annual Report, 1957.

⁸ KNA/DC/LKA/1/5, Annual Report, 1954.

⁹ KNA/DC/LKA/2/2 – Handing Over Report, 1950 -1958

¹⁰ P.G. Okoth and B.A. Ogot. (Eds). *Conflicts in Contemporary Africa*. (Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 2000), pp. 35-38.

¹¹ S. W. Nasongo & G. P. Murunga, (Ed). *The struggle for Democracy* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 2007) pp. 25-40.

¹² G. P. Okoth and B. A. Ogot, (Ed) *Conflicts in Contemporary Africa* (Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 2000).pp. 12-15.

¹³ W.R. Ochieng, W. R, *A modern History of Kenya* (Nairobi: MacMillan Educational Publishers, 1985) P. 25.

Kariuki was in Zambia.¹⁴ The Kikuyu joined university students in national wide protests against the government creating tension between the Kalenjin and Kikuyu in Laikipia. In addition to this, in the 1970's, the government continually used armed communities' militia to secure the Agikuyu land resources by making alliances with them against the Kalenjin in the former Rift Valley Province.¹⁵ This increased hostility between the Agikuyu and Kalenjin communities in Laikipia resulting to an increase in banditry activities.

The Agikuyu community had greater economic prosperity and dominance and were more self-consciousness than the pastoral communities in Laikipia.¹⁶ They resulted to buying land through land buying companies. Such companies included Laikipia West Company, Mathira Land Buying Company among other land buying companies.¹⁷ This saw an influx of Bantu communities in Laikipia after purchasing land from the companies. Gichane, a former chief in the area recounted the population in Laikipia rising greatly in the 1960s and 70s after many Kikuyu bought land from the land buying companies.¹⁸ Only a few pastoralist communities bought land from the land buying companies. The majority of the pastoral tribes lived in former reserves in Manyattas and moved from time to time in search of pasture for their animals. After the Bantu communities bought land in Laikipia County, many of them became absentee landlords.¹⁹ The pastoralists grazed their herds at will on these lands. The sale of former European farms to other communities and land buying companies has over the years been a source of dispute by the pastoralists who feel that they were deprived of their ancestral land and that the presence of those other communities is an interference with their grazing rights in the area.

The unchecked balance of power was evident and had set grounds for inter-ethnic conflicts in Kenya and in Laikipia by the time Kenyatta died. The Bantu and Nilotic communities in Laikipia were incompatible.²⁰ This was also noted by Kuki who alleged that without her the

¹⁴S. W. Nasongo and G. P. Murunga, (Ed). *The struggle for Democracy* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 2007) pp.30-40.

¹⁵ Ibid. P.45

¹⁶ A.M. Akiwumi., *Report of the Judicial Commission Appointed to Inquire into Tribal Clashes in Kenya*. (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1999), pp.55-60.

¹⁷ S. W. Nasongo and G.P Murunga. (Eds). *The struggle for Democracy*. (London: Zed Books Ltd, 2006). pp. 47.

¹⁸ Gichane, OI, 15 Sep.2021.

¹⁹ A.M. Akiwumi., *Report of the Judicial Commission Appointed to Inquire into Tribal Clashes in Kenya*. (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1999), pp.90-110.

²⁰ S. W. Nasongo and G. P. Murunga, (Ed). *The struggle for Democracy* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 2007) pp.60-70.

area would have been turned into a grazing zone and poachers' paradise.²¹ The pastoral communities have often provoked tragic confrontation by grazing their livestock on crops of the Bantu communities.²²

After Moi took over power from Jomo Kenyatta as the second president, he dismantled GEMA comprising of Bantu communities and approved ethnic groupings of Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana and Samburu (KAMATUSA) because they supported KANU.²³ By 1981, development of regions largely depended on the loyalty of their leader and people to the president. This meant that regions that did not show loyalty to him and the KANU government risked being consigned to economic and political oblivion.²⁴ It was due to inequality in the KANU government that Maina Njenga formed the *mungiki* group to respond to economic sabotage directed to the Kikuyu and to register political indignation at the negative political targeting on the community.²⁵ However, the *mungiki* menace was greatly felt in Laikipia County after 1997.

Out of frustration and desperation, the non-pastoral tribes of Laikipia held a march in 1996 carrying the body of a victim who had been murdered by the pastoralists in the course of cattle rustling.²⁶ The residents expressed anger at the government for lack of concern about their security. Previous complains by the non-pastoral tribes had not elicited any assistance from the Police Force. The march led to the government sending armed security men into the area to evict pastoralists communities who used to invade non-pastoralists land in search of pastures but this did not materialize.

Wide scale and tragic inter-ethnic clashes were first witnessed in Laikipia County in 1998.²⁷ Mkutu argues that inter-ethnic raiding became prevalent from the 1990s.²⁸ On January 1998, armed Pokots stole 15 goats in an attack at the home of Esther Mburu. The assailants were followed by Kikuyu warriors who caught up with them and managed to recover ten goats. In

²¹ K. Galmann., *I dreamed of Africa*, (London: Penguin, 2012). p.45

²² A.M. Akiwumi., *Report of the Judicial Commission Appointed to Inquire into Tribal Clashes in Kenya*. (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1999), pp. 60.

²³ S. W. Nasongo and G. P. Murunga, (Ed). *The struggle for Democracy* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 2007) pp.71-74.

²⁴ *Ibid.* pp.61-63

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 64

²⁶ *Ibid.* 66-80.

²⁷ IRF. (2009). *The Root Causes and Implications of the 2007-2008 Post Election Violence*. Nairobi: IRF/KTT

²⁸ K.A. Mkutu, "*Guns and Governance in the Rift Valley: Pastoralists Conflicts and Small Arms*" (Nairobi: East Africa Educational Publishers, 2008), p.32.

response to this, the Kikuyu launched an attack in the home belonging to a Pokot. They cut and killed forty goats, maimed his cattle and burnt his house. Retaliatory attacks over such killings within communities in Laikipia County have become spiral.²⁹ In response to this, a peace meeting was organized between the Kikuyu and the Pokots. Before the start of this meeting on 13th January 1998, Pokots demanded that their tribesmen be compensated for all animals lost.³⁰ Despite efforts to restore peace between the warring communities, peace was not achieved.

On 14th January 1998, Pokots and Samburu raiders raided Kikuyu homes killing two people and burning houses belonging to the Kikuyu in Olmorán area leading to massive migration of people.³¹ People sought refuge in Ol Moran Catholic Church, and other churches in Sipili and Kinamba.

After the attacks that ended on 16th January, the Kikuyu felt the government was condoning the attacks. Neither did Jonathan Soi, the commanding officer Ngarua Police station then nor did the Chief Inspector make arrangements for the provision of food and security for refugees.³² On 17th January 1998 over 100 Kikuyu men armed with *pangas*, knives and *Rungus* confronted raiders at Mutamaiyu. However, many of them were killed by pastoralists' gunshots rendering their revenge mission a disastrous one.³³ To some communities, raiding is considered as a heroic activity that brings out the prowess in a man.³⁴ The Tribal clashes effectively ended on 18th January, as thereafter no incidences of tribal clashes were reported.

On May 2007, armed cattle rustlers raided Kikuyu homes in Olmorán areas of Laikipia West. The raiders took 200 heads of cattle. However, the armed cattle rustlers were killed by the Kenya Police in Olmorán area during a cattle recovery operation.

²⁹K. A. Mkutu, "Small arms and light weapons among pastoral groups in the Kenya-Uganda border areas" Volume 106, No. 442:47-70 2007

³⁰ A.M. Akiwumi., *Report of the Judicial Commission Appointed to Inquire into Tribal Clashes in Kenya*. (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1999), pp.60-70.

³¹K.A. Mkutu, "*Guns and Governance in the Rift Valley: Pastoralists Conflicts and Small Arms*" (Nairobi: East Africa Educational Publishers, 2008), p. 36.

³² A.M. Akiwumi., *Report of the Judicial Commission Appointed to Inquire into Tribal Clashes in Kenya*. (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1999), p.65.

³³ F. K. Warurii, "Inter-ethnic conflict: Trends, Causes, Effects and Intervention in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia county, Kenya 1963-2010" (MA Thesis: Kenyatta University, 2015), p.85.

³⁴ P. Lemoosa, "A Historical Transformation of Pastoral Economy of Samburu of North- Central Kenya, 1900-1963" (M.A Thesis: Kenyatta University, 2012), p.52.

In March 2008, about 60 young Kikuyu men were killed in Rumuruti area of Gatundia in a retaliation attack after one Turkana man was burnt to death after being caught stealing goats from a Kikuyu family. To the Turkana community, the act of burning bodies, whether alive or dead is against their traditions, hence the retaliation.³⁵ Revenge attacks over such bizarre killings have become more and more spiral in Laikipia West.³⁶

On April of 2017 herders launched attacks on private ranches that left several people, including Britons, dead. Tristan Voorspy, an Ex-British Soldier, was killed while inspecting his lodges by armed pastoralist herders in Sossian ranch which he co-owned.³⁷ On April 23rd, of the same year, Kuki Galmann a conservationist and the author of *Dreamed of Africa*, was shot and badly injured by herders when they invaded her Ar Nyiro Ranch, otherwise known as Laikipia Nature Conservancy, which she owned. The properties destroyed during invasions in Sossian Ranch include Chali and Romeo hotels. In another invasion at Al Maisor Ranch in Rumuruti, Pokot herders killed two workers and drove in their cattle to graze. The range of attacks between herders and whites is because the Europeans claim original land settlement rights while pastoralists, among them Maasai, claim Laikipia as their ancestral land which was alienated during the 1911 agreement.³⁸ However, normalcy has resumed. The conflict escalated prompting the international organization that stands with indigenous communities to write an open letter to the president raising concerns on the confrontations between herders, Samburu, Maasai and the Pokot that has led to massive deaths and violation of human rights by the police sent to quell the violence.³⁹

³⁵ F. K. Warurii, "Inter-ethnic conflict: Trends, Causes, Effects and Intervention in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia county, Kenya 1963-2010" (MA Thesis: Kenyatta University, 2015), p.85.

³⁶ A. M. Akiwumi, "Report of the Judicial Commission Appointed to Inquire into Tribal Clashes in Kenya," (Nairobi: Government Printers 1999) p.19.

³⁷ S. Smith, "Former British Army officer Tristan Voorspy shot dead in Kenya," *Evening Standard*, 06 March, 2017, p.5

³⁸ K. Kabatesi, "Brutality won't settle Laikipia Conflict," *The star*, 17 September, 2021, p.19.

³⁹ Cultural Survival, open letter to the president of the Republic of Kenya H.E Uhuru Kenyatta over the situation in Laikipia, broken land, Broken lives of the pastoralists people in Laikipia and Samburu,



Figure 8: The Mukutan Lodge on fire in Laikipia Nature Conservancy

Source: africanspicesafaris.com

On July of 2017, a contingent of Anti-Stock Theft Unit police officers ran into an ambush in Matwiku village in Laikipia West Sub County (LWSC). Six police officers were killed by armed bandits including a Deputy Police Commandant while those who were injured were airlifted to Nairobi for treatment.⁴⁰ This incidence remained deeply etched in the minds of most residents and was echoed by most informants as one of the deadliest attacks. Matara, a resident of Matwiku, narrated how the government had sent reinforcement to the police headquarters in Kamwenje and how the convoy was ambushed just before they reached Kamwenje. According to him it was a well-planned attack and it showed that the then chief *Simba* was conspiring with the rogue herders by providing them with information that made it easy for the herders to carry out the attack as they were waiting for the police in the bushes. That is how the officers were ambushed, resulting in many of them being injured and some dying.⁴¹ In November, at least 300 cattle were allegedly killed by police in Ratia village during a shootout with rogue herders in Laikipia West.⁴²

A Standard newspaper report indicated that four more schools were closed in Laikipia West following the rising rates of insecurity, bringing the total number of schools closed to eight. On the previous day parents from Ndindika primary and secondary as well as Mbogoini and

⁴⁰ S. Njuguna, "Six police officers killed in Bandit attack in Laikipia West," *Daily Nation*, 12 July, 2017, p.13.

⁴¹Matara, OI, 14 Nov. 2021.

⁴² M. Kurgat, "Resign over Laikipia cattle shooting, Matiangi and Boinett told," *The star*, 06 November 2017, p. 11.

Arabal schools together with their children, marched to the Assistant County Commissioners office at Kinamba engaging police in running battles. The parents were also protesting the killing of three people in the previous week by suspected bandits. Among those killed was a General Service Unit (GSU) Officer.⁴³ Rising cases of insecurity have seen hundreds of families from Matwiku, Wangwachi and Olmoran area flee.

By August, students were yet to return to schools as insecurity continue to hit Laikipia County. Due to insecurity, some parents were camping at police units such as Kanja Forest Service and others at police camps. To counter this, the Rift Valley Regional Commissioner, Natembeya, stated that at least twenty police officers were deployed in each school to provide for security. Affected schools included Ndindika Secondary School that was temporary closed among others.⁴⁴ A discussion with Kamotho, a former principal of Ideal School, revealed that conflict was the main reason that led to the school shutting down. According to him, as conflict continued to intensify, parents were afraid of enrolling their children in the school which was still growing, leading to the school collapsing.⁴⁵

The National Security Advisory Council (NSAC) held an emergency meeting on September 4 on insecurity in Laikipia County amid rising tension in the region. On the previous day, two people were killed by armed bandits in three different attacks in Mirango and Ratia village in Olmoran ward. The attack also left a class eight pupil at Mirango primary school nursing gunshot wounds.⁴⁶ According to Sergeant Kiprop, the attack happened just a few days after 50 armed bandits attacked Kamwenje General Service Unit (GSU) command centre in Laikipia West fatally injuring a GSU officer.⁴⁷ Leaders of Laikipia West who include the governor want the National Police Reservists (NPRs) redeployed in the area. Leaders claimed that the withdrawal of reservists had left residents vulnerable to banditry attacks and cattle rustling. In the past, ethnic violence was left to be resolved by the District Emergency Committee and the District Security Committee.⁴⁸

⁴³ J. Mugambi, J. Munyeki, "Laikipia residents terrified about surge in banditry killings," *The Standard*, 03 August, 2021, p.16.

⁴⁴ S. Njuguna, "Bandits push students, teachers out of Laikipia West," *Daily Nation*, 04 August, 2021, p. 4.

⁴⁵ Kamotho, OI, 18 Nov. 2021

⁴⁶ W. Maina, "Bandits still roam freely as school reopen in Laikipia," *Daily Nation*, 13 Sep, 2021, p.20.

⁴⁷ Kiprop, OI, 21 Oct. 2021.

⁴⁸ KNA/DC/LKA/2/2

On September 11, Interior Cabinet Secretary Matiangi held a high level security team in a visit to the affected areas where he announced a raft of measures including deployment of an elite police unit to Olmoran aimed at restoring sanity in the region. He visited houses that had been torched by bandits earlier that day. Some houses torched include those of National Police Reservists in the Dam Samaki area. In part of the solutions the Cabinet Secretary CS announced the deployment of GSU to join other formations in restoring order in the affected areas. He also said that surveyors would be deployed to Laikipia to expedite the land titling process and review and recommend action on lapsed land leases.⁴⁹ Wasiwasi, a businessman operating in Laikipia West recounted that people have been living in fear due to frequent attacks that result to them closing their businesses so early and as conflict continue to spread, the purchasing power of the people is greatly reduced.⁵⁰

In the recent skirmishes in Laikipia, the government sent a message to the bandits via the rift valley forceful disarmament exercise following the recent killing of two policemen and two soldiers at the Laikipia Nature Conservancy. Disarmament exercises comes hardly a day after bandits killed two Kenya defence forces (KDF) soldiers and two General Service Unit (GSU) officers in Laikipia after they were shot dead at Ngerecha in Kamwenje village of Laikipia West. This happened as the KDF soldiers were digging a trench at the Laikipia Nature Conservancy (LNC) to deter bandits from moving stolen animals.

3.3 Summary

Laikipia West Constituency has over time witnessed ethnic conflicts. The most memorable one being the 2017 conflicts that remain etched in the minds of the locals. Frequent conflicts have greatly affected the economy of Laikipia negatively and have led to massive migration of locals to safer grounds. Modes of cattle theft have greatly changed over the years from being large-scale conflicts to small scale conflicts mainly for commercial purposes.

During the study, it was clear among the locals that conflicts mostly intensified during the electioneering period. The colonial legacies of resource conflict in Laikipia West constituency are discussed in the next chapter

⁴⁹ S. Njuguna, "Matiangi unveils new measures to beef up security in Laikipia," *Saturday Nation*, 11Sep, 2021, 10

⁵⁰Wasiwasi, O I, 09 Nov. 2021

CHAPTER FOUR

COLONIAL LEGACIES OF RESOURCE CONFLICTS ON THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FABRIC OF LAIKIPIA WEST UPTO 2019

4.1 Overview

This chapter discusses legacies of conflict in Laikipia West Constituency up to 2019. The first part of this chapter discusses how the acquisition of huge lands in form of ranches have led to the problem of food insecurity and ethnic division of people that results to ethnic leadership. Other colonial legacies of resource conflict in Laikipia West constituency are discussed in this chapter they include arson and destruction of property, animosity towards Bantu communities among others.

4.2 Legacies of Resource Conflict in Laikipia West Constituency

Colonialism had various effects on the social, economic and political fabric of Laikipia West. Some of the effects were positive while others were negative as discussed below:

4.2.1 Food Insecurity

Morgenthau alludes that the need for prevalence of peace have become a concern of all nations worldwide.²⁰⁰ This is so because constant conflicts often affects economies of nations adversely. In Laikipia West Constituency, conflict have led to food insecurity. When conflict engulfs the constituency, it becomes difficult for area residents to engage in farming which is the main economic activity in the constituency. Mwenda asserted that the situation is worsened by the fact that residents are reluctant to diversify their economic activities.²⁰¹ Most of the pastoralists only depend on cattle, which have been diminishing overtime due to drought and diseases. Conflict have led to deaths reducing the manpower and number of people working in the farms. Those who die during inter-ethnic defence or revenge wars are mostly young and energetic members of the communities. They leave behind old and other vulnerable groups who cannot cope with the communities' demand for increased food production.²⁰² Conflict has also made it difficult for area residents to access certified seeds and mechanization of farming activities. These have led to reduced yields and abandonment

²⁰⁰ A.J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers, 2007), pp.16-28.

²⁰¹ M. Mwenda, *Complexities of Natural Resources Conflict in Kenya: A Case Study of Laikipia Conflict*, (University of Nairobi, Nairobi, 2018). p. 57

²⁰² F. Warurii, "Inter Ethnic Conflict; Tendencies, Cause, Effect and Intervention in Rumuruti Divisions of Laikipia Counties Kenya, 1963-2010" (M.A Theses. Kenyatta University, 2015). Pp. 17-27.

of farms. Over the years, many people have hence migrated from the conflict prone regions of Laikipia West constituency leaving their farms which have now been taken over by ad hoc land owners. The farms have been left uncultivated and have over time been overgrown with bushes and thickets now acting as safe habitats for crawling animals and crickets. Lazarus, a man living with disability in Milimani area of Laikipia West, asserted that he now has been forced to rent a one roomed house in the nearby centre where he now lives with his family. This was after he left their ancestral land handed over to him in Mahua area due to frequent attacks by Pokots crossing over from Baringo County. According to him, since he left his farm and home, life has become difficult and unaffordable because he now even have to purchase what he used to previously plant in his farm amid the rising cost of living.²⁰³ Animals are also a soft target due to cultural beliefs by some pastoral communities that all animals belong to them. In addition to this, animals are easily sold during market days hence acting as a source of income. Due to this belief and the need for sustainability, raiders conduct raiding activities in the neighbouring communities. Raiding is also carried out as a way of restocking the animals especially after a prolonged period of drought. This has resulted to reduced food production in most places of Laikipia. According to Karanja, a pastor in one of the churches, the number of domestic animals in the area have greatly reduced as many people have moved their animals to their relatives' places who live far away and others decided to sell them rather than them being stolen and generating losses.²⁰⁴

4.2.2 Ethnic leadership

Ethnic leadership is also one of the legacies of conflict in Laikipia West Constituency. The East African of 24 January states that although Laikipia is multi-ethnic, killers only target the kikuyu.²⁰⁵ Mwangi Kiunjiri and other politicians from the area allege the killings as the work of the private army assembled by certain top Kanu leaders to ethnically cleanse the districts of opposition-minded Kikuyu.²⁰⁶ Conflict is rampant in Laikipia West Constituency and has often spread its wings to affecting leadership in this constituency. In Laikipia, community leaders have been accused of riding the wave of violence for political gains and thus being complicit.²⁰⁷ Due to incompatibility of the multi-ethnic communities living in Laikipia West, all communities want to elect leaders from their own ethnic group so as to protect their

²⁰³Lazarus, OI, 30 Nov 2021.

²⁰⁴Karanja, OI, 14 Nov 2021.

²⁰⁵ Africa Research Bulletin: *Political, Social and Cultural Series*, February 2000. pp. 5-7.

²⁰⁶ Ibid. 8.

²⁰⁷ G. R. Fox, "Maasai Group Ranches, Minority Land Owners, and the Political Landscape of Laikipia County, Kenya. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 2018, pp. 473-493.

interests over those of their neighbours. The Kikuyu for example want to elect a leader from their own ethnic group so as to protect their interests in farming in the region a situation that is replicated by people from other ethnic groups. This is so despite some leaders having better ideologies as compared to those of their counterparts. An informant that sort enormity narrated that this is evident as when the electioneering period nears, some pastoral communities tend to forcefully evict Bantu communities residing in Laikipia so as to stop them from exercising their democratic rights of voting so that in the end only a leader inclined to their ethnic group will be able to clinch the leadership position.²⁰⁸ This has greatly affected leadership and service delivery to the people of Laikipia west.

4.2.3 Arson and Destruction of property

According to the newspapers, properties of unknown value belonging to conservancies and to the local communities have been destroyed over time due to conflict that continue to spread in Laikipia west.²⁰⁹ According to Githaiga, a church elder at Ndindika African Inland Church (AIC) church, most people have had to leave the place they called home for years and which have taken them much time and effort to build citing insecurity reasons.²¹⁰ As conflict intensifies, people's houses have been burnt down and this results to them loosing lots of property. Mweshi, a businessman recounted how his home was invaded by heavily armed herders who fled with his animals after destroying his properties. He questioned what kind of herders would need guns to graze their animals and why they would invade his home at night.²¹¹ In some centres, effects of the conflict are evident as, people have migrated from these areas leaving their businesses and homes some which bear bullet holes. Government vehicles have also been shot with some being completely destroyed by bandits during frequent shootouts as they try to combat bandits. In the recent times there has been out roar from conservancy owners, as a result of herders invading their lands and destroying their crops and properties while also poaching in this conservancies. Properties destroyed during the skirmishes in conservancies include burning of the prestigious Muktann lodge that was previously used for tourists in Laikipia Nature Conservancy and destruction of community projects such as cattle dips.

²⁰⁸ Informant one, OI, 02 Sep 2021.

²⁰⁹ Daily Nation, July 10, 2021.

²¹⁰ Githaiga, OI, 03 September. 2021.

²¹¹ Mweshi, OI, 14 Nov. 2021.



Figure 9: A cattle dip built in the 1990s by the community.

Source: Photograph taken by the author on 13 October 2021

Many people have also lost their lives during this skirmishes and this include police officers and police commanders. Children have been orphaned and wives left as widows. Parents have lost their sons who mostly have had to protect their families and animals at night from theft by bandits in the volatile and insecure area of Laikipia West. Kamau, a *boda* rider in Mastoo area recounted to have lost count of the number of times they have had to sleep with their animals in the fields trying to protect them from theft which have led them to loosing many animals and properties of unknown value being destroyed.²¹²

²¹² Kamau, OI, 15 Nov. 2021.



Figure 10: The former expansive Matwiku Market in Laikipia West.

Source: Photograph taken by the author on 20 October 2021

4.2.4 Animosity towards Bantu Communities

There really has been a common belief in Laikipia West that some communities are openly being favoured by the government over others. This is so because Laikipia West Constituency harbours a multi ethnic community each with different beliefs, ideologies and all speaking different languages and practicing different cultures. Some communities view themselves as minorities and consider the government of the day as openly favoring people from their own ethnic group leaving them without anything to fend for themselves. This has led to the minorities having to adopt retaliatory measures. These retaliatory measures include animosity towards the Bantu communities. This is because the president and most of the leaders and in this case the governor, deputy governor, MP, and the women representative are all from the Bantu community. Animosity have sometimes been too much to the extent of some people being killed and others having their properties destroyed hence a massive migration to safer places.

4.2.5 Increased tourism activities

It was in 1970 that Kuki Galmann came to Kenya together with her husband with the desire to carry out cattle ranching. After scouting for land they came across the Ol Ari Nyiro, a

ranch that was owned by an absentee landlord, by Colin Francombe. It was after several visits in Francombes' ranch that Kuki finally decided to purchase it. They practised agriculture by stocking thousands of sheep and cattle a venture that later changed on seeing how the nearby ranches had been destroyed leaving wildlife with no habitants.²¹³ Laikipia West then became a home to one of the most lucrative conservancy. The Kuki Galmann ranch in Laikipia West constituency is a home to many wild animals that attracts tourists from all over. The ranch is endowed with lodges that act as good tourist resting points when they visit the conservancy. The area bordering the conservancy and Baringo County offers a good view of Lake Baringo at a distance and a cool breeze from the lake. However, the potentiality of this land is untapped due to frequent conflict. The area is highly prone to banditry attacks which is aided by the expansive uncultivated lands acting as proper hideouts and the presence of highly armed bandits from the neighbouring Baringo County. Kuki regarded that without her, the area would be regarded as a poachers paradise since the Pokots knew Ol Ari Nyiro from time immemorial as it had once been their territory where they had run cattle and goats.²¹⁴ Frequent conflicts have led to land as a natural resource being underutilized. In a separate instance, bandits attacked and burned down the prestigious Muktann lodge in Laikipia West Constituency hence affecting tourism activities in Laikipia. According to Watisha, investors seeking to invest in tourism agree that there is so much potential in Laikipia that is if a lasting solution to frequent insecurity is found.²¹⁵ However, this has remained a wish with the current bloody clashes in the area as the herders perceive a lot of land owned by ranchers as being idle.²¹⁶

²¹³ The Daily Nation, A tale of Love, Death and the Battle for Kuki Galmann's 100,000 Acre Ranch in Laikipia. September 19, 2021 p.15.

²¹⁴ K. Gallmann, " *I Dreamed of Africa*," (London: Penguin, 2012). P. 148.

²¹⁵ Watisha, OI, 23 September. 2021

²¹⁶ The Daily Nation, December 30, 2018 p.25.



Figure 11: Laikipia West Constituency border with Baringo County.

Source: Photograph taken by the author on 3 September 2021

4.2.6 Emergence of Community Health Centres

Laikipia West Constituency is home to the Laikipia Nature conservancy otherwise known as Kuki Galmann ranch. The Kuki Galmann ranch has endeavoured to be part of the community by contributing to the welfare of the people and the community at large. The Kuki Galmann ranch also known as Al Ar Nyiro ranch offers employment opportunities to the neighbouring community some work as game ranchers, others as cooks, others as managers within the institution while others act as security personnel's. All this people earn an income from this conservancy. Kamuru, a tour guide working at the ranch alludes that the conservancy has greatly aided in alleviating poverty by offering numerous employment opportunities to the people.²¹⁷ Apart from offering employment opportunities, the ranch has been participating in community projects through the Kuki Galmann foundation. Through the foundation, the ranch has aided in sponsoring the education of needy students in the area and also educating the local community on the importance of environmental conservation while also providing books and water storage tanks to schools since Laikipia is arid. Other projects supported by the foundation include health facilities. Health facilities supported by the ranch include the

²¹⁷Kamuru, OI, 17 Oct. 2021.

Kuki Galmann health facility in Matwiku shopping centre. The health facility has been aiding locals by providing maternal care to pregnant mothers while also offering treatment of basic ailments to the locals residing in this area. Provision of subsidized health services has been beneficial considering that the nearby health centre is more than one kilometre away and often, people flock in this areas to get treatment when ill. Cheptoo a nurse in this facility alludes that roughly the facility receives 30- 50 patients a day and have greatly aided in decongesting the Mastoo health centre which previously used to handle very many patients.²¹⁸ According to Kamau, a local trader in this Centre, the health facility has really aided them in accessing health services which was initially not within the locals reach.²¹⁹



Figure12: The Kamwenje Health Centre, a government facility serving the locals.

Source: Photograph taken by the author on 29 November 2021

²¹⁸Cheptoo, OI, 29 Nov. 2021.

²¹⁹Kamau, OI, 29 Nov. 2021.



Figure 13: The Kuki Galmann Health Center located in Matwiku Centre.

Source: Photograph taken by the author on 29 November 2021

4.2.7 Effects on the Education Sector

Laikipia West Constituency have often appeared in the media as an unsafe haven due to frequent insecurity that continue to rock the area. Insecurity status in Laikipia have greatly affected the lives and lively hoods of the people of Laikipia. When attacks are launched by herders in Laikipia West, normal day to day activities are affected. Among the affected amenities in Laikipia are schools. Research carried out by Mwenda found that the conflicts in Laikipia County have had a far-reaching impact on the state of education in the County.²²⁰ In the recent skirmishes, schools were shut down as students rarely turn up in schools due to fear of being attacked on their way to school. According to Pkalya, in situations of armed violent conflict, schooling is frequently disrupted through closures, imposition of curfews by the government and displacement of learners together with their families. In some instances schools are also destroyed.²²¹ Gichohi, a teacher at Umoja secondary school asserts that in some instances, students report to school at eight and leave for home as early as 3:00pm

²²⁰ M. Mwenda, *Complexities of Natural Resources Conflict in Kenya: A Case Study of Laikipia Conflict*, (University of Nairobi, Nairobi, 2018). pp. 53-55

²²¹ Pkalya et, al 2008.

affecting the day to day school activities.²²² Although education levels in Laikipia West are generally low, the availability of Laikipia Nature Conservancy in Laikipia West have greatly aided in improving the education levels. Several education centres in the area are supported by the Kuki Galmann ranch through the Kuki Galmann foundation. The Kuki Galmann foundation offers scholarships to students who post exemplary results while also donating books and learning materials to nearby schools. Sospeter, a high school teacher at Ndindika secondary school recounted the many times that the conservancy supported the school by providing foodstuffs and water tanks as life changing, statements also supported by Kimaiyo of Mahua secondary school.²²³ Despite efforts shown by the conservancy on improving the education levels, learning institutions close from time to time due to insecurity in some parts of the constituency. Learning institutions affected by the skirmishes include Mbogoini, Ndindika secondary school, Umoja day secondary school among others. Students often have to report to school late and leave early before the scheduled time so as to give them ample time to reach home before the attackers' strike. Some students also drop out of school to take care of the young ones after their parents lose their lives in life threatening attacks leading to high school dropouts and consequently low literacy levels in Laikipia West Constituency. Other youths who drop out of school engage in drug taking and trafficking, stealing, arson, rape and other criminal activities.²²⁴ This situation depletes the progressive levels of the community's source of livelihood. If nothing is done, then the cycle of poverty will continue among the residents. Ibrahim and Jenner asserts that this confines more and more people to pastoralism as the only source of livelihood.²²⁵

²²² Mrs. Gichohi, OI, 15 September. 2021.

²²³ Sospeter, OI, 17 Sep. 2021.

²²⁴ M. Mwenda, *Complexities of Natural Resources Conflict in Kenya: A Case Study of Laikipia Conflict*, (University of Nairobi, Nairobi, 2018). pp. 53-57.

²²⁵ D. Ibrahim, "Wajir Community Based Conflict Management," (Paper presented to the USAID Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Great Horn of Africa, June 1997), p.12.



Figure 14: Mwenje High School located in Mastoo among the schools affected by conflict.

Source: Photograph taken by the author on 15th September 2021

4.2.8 Economic Decline

Unceasing conflicts in Laikipia West have greatly disrupted the livelihood of the people. Omosa postulates that effects of resource based conflicts in Laikipia West are felt when the affected parties have limited access to food as a basic commodity.²²⁶ A further study by Mkutu in 2007 revealed that Ngarua and Olmoran areas were poorly served with security facilities and infrastructure.²²⁷ Further studies by Mkutu observed that when farmers till their land and plant crops during the rainy season, herders from the dry counties invade their farms together with their animals destroying crops previously planted while also taking with them animals belonging to their neighbours. This has resulted to farmers and land owners fleeing

²²⁶ K.E. Omosa, *Impact of water conflict on pastoral livelihood: The Case of Wajir District in Kenya*, (Canada: International Institute for Sustainable Development 2005), pp. 5-20.

²²⁷ K.A. Mkutu, *“Guns and Governance in the Rift Valley: Pastoralist Conflicts and Small Arms”* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 2008), pp.35-40.

from this areas leaving the once productive lands bare.²²⁸ Murango, a farmer and Brookside milk collector asserted that he no longer wastes his fuel going to collect milk in Kamwenje and Mahua areas since the milk there is insignificant as he collects three to five litres of milk on a good day as opposed to years before where he could collect up to eighty litres of milk from the residents.²²⁹ The affected lands are since characterized by over grown grass and bushes. Disserted farms have since been occupied by adhoc land owners and this move have greatly affected the economy of Laikipia West negatively. Kireri who acts as an intermediary between those looking for lands to cultivate and farm owners' recounts that business has greatly deteriorated over the years as he rarely finds clients who need to lease land.²³⁰ Other farms, especially those adjacent to the conservancy have not been cultivated for a while as the wildlife living in the conservancy often invade this farms leading to destruction of crops. In Wangwachi area, since year 2019, the government have been encouraging locals to pick up lands left behind by immigrants and begin to farm them so as to clear bushes and somehow aid in reducing insecurity by headers who view the land as being idle. Farmers led by Muraya Mwangi decried that despite having aided the government in clearing up the lands for farming, buffaloes and *theru* invaded crops in the farms leading to huge losses.²³¹ With the construction of railways and roads, there emerged a system of urban modes which superseded the earlier urban nodal locations in importance.²³² Roads leading to affected areas are deplorable and have not been upgraded for years as most finances are used to enhance security measures as opposed to being allocated to development projects. This is because the government concentrates on developing the heavily populated areas at the expense of areas that seem to be marginalized. This increases tension as some areas are considered as being favoured as opposed to others.²³³ The electricity connectivity in Laikipia West is also poor and people still use the traditional methods of lighting. This makes the people of Laikipia West to still lag behind in terms of development.

Recent studies such as the study on conflict in Rumuruti show that the conflict tends to increase as the electioneering period nears. Due to this, development projects have stalled as there are fears that when the electioneering period nears they will be affected and their

²²⁸ Ibid

²²⁹ Murango, OI, 28 September. 2021.

²³⁰ Kireri, OI, 18 Oct. 2021.

²³¹ Muraya, OI, 26 Nov. 2021.

²³² C. Andersen., *British Engineers and Africa*, (United Kingdom: Routledge 2016) pp. 50-55.

²³³ A. Umar, "Development of a Sustainable North Eastern Kenya: Kenya pastoralist forum" (Nairobi: Crescent of Hope, 1994) p. 13-25.

businesses will go back to scratch. Conflicts also pose significant strains on public finances, lowering national revenues and raising military spending.²³⁴ A lot of resources are no longer used for development and this which further aggravates the economic and social costs of the conflicts.



Figure 5: A photo of one of the deplorable roads linking Milimani and Kamwenje.

Source: Photograph taken by the author on 16 October 2021

²³⁴ F. Opiyo, o. Wasonga, J. Schilling and S. Mureithi, “Resource-Based Conflicts in Drought-Prone Northwestern Kenya: The Drivers and Mitigation Mechanisms” *Journal of Agricultural Research*, 2012, pp.442-453.



Figure16: Deserted land bordering Kuki Galmann Ranch.

Source: Photograph taken by the author on 16 October 2021

4.2.9 Cultural Interaction

Due to the strategic location and history of Laikipia West, it is inhabited by people of different ethnic groups. All these communities have their own way of life that is different from others ways of life. As people from various communities interact on various levels in events such as weddings, funerals, initiation ceremonies and even in schools, they tend to imitate the ways and lives of their neighbouring communities. Kibet, who live in Gataracha area narrated that he has resided in Laikipia West since he was born in the land inherited from his father. He now have his own children who have been brought up among the kikuyus and who are fluent in the language and adopted the Kikuyu lifestyle rather than those of the Kalenjin community.²³⁵ Communities tend to adopt their neighbours' ways of dressing, what they eat and even the mode in which they build their houses. This is evident in some areas as some Kikuyu tend to build their houses similar to those ones of their neighbouring

²³⁵ Kibet, OI, 02 September. 2021.

communities. The existence of people of different races including the whites of Laikipia have resulted to communities adopting different kinds of lifestyles that are different from those of the communities they were born into. The cultural interaction of the people of Laikipia is visible in the mode of dressing, house building, ornamental skills, and initiation activities among others. During market days, beads and clothing of various communities are showcased as they are sold in an open air market that attracts many people. In normal circumstances one will find Kikuyus speaking in Kalenjin and even Kalenjin's who have been assimilated into the Kikuyu community and adopted their way of life. The multi-ethnic community of Laikipia have since adopted a lifestyle that is multi-ethnic in nature.

4.2.10 Uneven distribution of land as a natural Resource

Laikipia West Constituency continue to grapple with issues of land that have been passed on from one generation to another over time. Mkutu observes that land as a natural resource is used for various purposes by communities and the various uses can often give rise to ownership legitimacy issues.²³⁶ Generally, Laikipia is characterised by vast lands. These lands are normally owned by a few wealthy individuals to the expense of other residents of Laikipia West. Kiragu a nurse operating his clinic in Kinamba argued that land was the main bond of contention in Laikipia and mainly between ranchers and pastoralists and that farmers were casualties between these two parties.²³⁷ This translates to a problem of land shortage in Laikipia West Constituency. A huge chunk of land is occupied by ranches and is considered by herders as being underutilized as opposed to when it could be used for herding by herders of Laikipia or for agricultural purposes by farmers of Laikipia. Unequal distribution of land as a natural resource in Laikipia is attributed as the main cause for recurring conflicts in Laikipia West. Residents of Laikipia West who previously lived in the war prone zones, have over time migrated from these areas to safer zones with their belongings. This includes residents of Kamwenje, Mahua, Wangwachi, Rumuruti and Arabel. People who flee from these areas often seek refuge in safer areas hence leaving their initial homes and lands unoccupied. These unoccupied lands have over the years been covered by overgrown bushes, grass and trees and looks unkempt, they are characterized by dilapidated houses with the sounds of chirping crickets, falling walls and rusted iron sheets. They have since been taken over by herders who are not the initial land owners. Mwai, a barber in Mastoo area recounted

²³⁶ K. A. Mkutu, "Small arms and light weapons among pastoral groups in the Kenya-Uganda border areas" Volume106, No.442:47-70 2007.

²³⁷ Kiragu, OI, 17 September. 2021.

that there was a significant growth in many of the small canters with time due to influx of people from the affected areas.²³⁸ According to Kimenyi a cobbler who have resided in Wangwachi area for the last sixty years, the land issue is worsened by the fact that most of the farmers do not have land title deeds and with some lands now having been left bare and taken over by adhoc land owners, who aren't the real owners, the situation is likely to get worse.²³⁹



Figure 17: Some of the vacated houses in Kamwenje due to unceasing clashes.

Source: Photograph taken by the author on 17th September 2021

4.2.11 Death and Displacement of People

Resource Conflict in Laikipia West Constituency have often resulted to massive death and destruction of property of unknown value. In the recent skirmishes and those of the past, people have lost their lives as they try to protect their properties and animals from being stolen. Those who show signs of resistance against the attackers are killed. Wanjeri, a teacher in one of the local schools, emotionally recalled when her husband was gunned down by bandits in the volatile areas of Kamwenje. According to Wanjeri, her husband was killed when he dashed out of their house during the wee hours of the night to intercept herders who had taken off with their animals from fleeing. It was in this ordeal that she lost her

²³⁸ Mwai, OI, 28 Sep. 2021.

²³⁹ Kimenyi, OI, 20 Oct. 2021.

husband.²⁴⁰ She has since relocated to safer areas of Milimani shopping Centre where she resides with her children. This is not an isolated case as many more people have lost their lives in similar ordeals. In recent times, Laikipia residents have raised concerns that herders invading their farms were a major cause of insecurity which have often led to loss of lives and property.²⁴¹ It was due to such conflicts that owners of some ranches such as Kuki Galmann and Tristan Voorspy were left with gunshot wounds after they were attacked by illegal herders who forced their way into these ranches trying to get pasture for their animals during the dry months. Armed forces have also not been spared in such ordeals. There have been frequent attacks that have resulted to death of police officers who often are sent to quell the violence. Armed herders are so much conversant with the environment and the physical terrain and this makes it easy for them to stage successful attacks against the *askaris*. According to area residents led by Lekulal a 98-year-old residence of Kamwenje village, the police are equally afraid of the attackers since they are in possession of sophisticated guns which are not even used by the Kenya police.²⁴² To Lekulal death was an everyday affair, so normal such that they were already used to it. Lekulal' statement collaborated with Leshekwet's a long distance herder who claimed that death to them was as such much part of their lifestyle as was living to see their herds grow.²⁴³ Survivors of such ordeals have to live with permanent disabilities and some with bullets edged in their bodies due to these attacks. People have often fled from the war prone zones leaving the areas unoccupied. They have since relocated to other areas that are habitable resulting to a refugee problem in Laikipia West Constituency.

4.2.12 Refugee Problem

Conflict have continued to occur in African countries from time to time but it wasn't till the 90s that violence and conflict become endemic in Africa and have continued to feature permanently as a characteristic feature of Laikipia over the years.²⁴⁴ Communities in Laikipia continue to conflict with each other due to scarcity of resources, political incitements among other issues. As conflict continue to worsen, people tend to migrate from affected areas allegedly known as hot spots of the conflict to other areas that are viewed as being safer. Those who do not have financial capabilities to purchase land elsewhere seek refuge in churches, government schools and police stations as they wait for peace to prevail. This has

²⁴⁰ Wanjeri, OI, 26 Nov. 2021.

²⁴¹ Daily Nation, Residents fear for their lives as herders invade, August 16, 2021 p. 18.

²⁴² Lekulal, OI, 28 September. 2021.

²⁴³ Leshekwet, OI, 01, Nov. 2021.

²⁴⁴ Violence and dynamics of transition: state ethnicity and governance in Kenya. Codesria

occasionally created a refugee problem in Laikipia that is temporary but one that keeps on recurring. This is so because it happens when conflict intensifies and come to an end when the conflict ends. However, there are other immigrants who live as squatters due to unceasing conflict in some areas of Laikipia West. Such include squatters of Salama in Rumuruti area of Laikipia West. According to Gashambi, a local farmer in Robere, the refugee problem seems to be increasing over the years, and when this happens, they often seek refuge in Robere primary school. Gashambi continues to assert that in one recent attack the attackers claimed not to have serious concerns with women and children because to them they were nothing nor their men who they referred to as *mende* but were concerned with *watu wa Madoadoa* which referred to police officers²⁴⁵

4.2.13 Emergence of Clustered homes

As conflict continue to worsen in various parts of Laikipia West, residents have continually migrated from these areas to safer areas. Over the year's residents Of Kamwenje, Matwiku, Njorua Ndindika among other areas have continued to flee from their homes which have been left unoccupied with unattended farms. Most of the affected people move to small centres in the areas that viewed to be more secure and camp there as they wait for guns to be silenced. Some of these immigrants live as internally displaced persons in different areas of Laikipia such as Rumuruti and Kinamba.²⁴⁶ Other immigrants have come together to form groups where they make contributions which they then use to buy land which is then subdivided among the group members. Each member is given a small portion of land where they mostly build semi-permanent houses and having settled here, they now seek employment opportunities (*Kibarua*) in the nearby farms owned by locals. This has led to the emergence of clustered homes in rural areas similar to those found in slums commonly known as *Gishagi*.

²⁴⁵Gashambi, OI, 09 Oct. 2021.

²⁴⁶ P. Waweru, "Continuity and Change in Samburu Pastoralism under Colonial Rule, 1909-1963" (PhD Thesis: Njoro: Egerton University, 2006), p.60.



Figure 18: Some of the Clustered Houses in Mwenje.

Source: Photograph taken by the author on 20 November 2021

4.2.14 Human Wildlife Conflict

The existence of Kuki Galmann Ranch in Laikipia West Constituency has greatly resulted to human wildlife conflict. When the whites came into Laikipia, they took over huge chunks of land some which were converted into conservancies. These conservancies are a home to many wild animals are a source of tourist attraction. One such conservancy is the Kuki Galmann Conservancy. A study carried out by Gadd exposed that rogue elephants and buffaloes in unprotected conservancy area caused crop damage and reduced crop yields. Gadd further stated that the Kenya Wildlife Services (KWS) does not act urgently to address this challenge, with the excuse that tourism was a greater income earner than peasant

farming.²⁴⁷ There has been an increase in human wildlife conflict in Laikipia West Constituency over the years due to the changing climatic conditions. In Laikipia West, animals that frequently attack people lively hoods include elephants, buffaloes, Lions and even monkeys that invade their farms leading to animosity between farm owners and conservancy owners.²⁴⁸ This often led to conflict in Laikipia West Constituency.

4.2.15 Summary

Frequent conflicts in Laikipia West have affected the rapid growth of Laikipia Sub County. It is evident from this chapter that some effects of this conflict are positive while others are negative. Due to colonialism and the availability of ranches, community health centres have been build and have aided the community by providing medication for short term illnesses and offering counselling services to members of the community. The Kuki Galmann ranch has also assisted schools in the area by donating books and learning materials which otherwise have aided in improving education in the areas. Though some effects are positive, others are negative and have adversely affected the people of Laikipia. There has been economic decline as the main economic activities of the people which is farming for farming communities and herding for herders have greatly been affected leading to loss of jobs and income. There is also a strain for resources as communities' scramble for the limited resources especially land and pasture which is inadequate with the presence of pastoral communities from neighbouring countries during the dry season. The fight has led to animosity between communities with the ethnic division resulting to people voting for a leader from their community with the hope of being favoured as opposed to their counterparts. Other challenges include human wildlife conflict, death and displacement of people and food insecurity. The next chapter discusses the summary, recommendations and conclusions.

²⁴⁷ M. Gadd, *Conservation Outside of Parks: Attitudes of Local People in Laikipia, Kenya*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) pp.50-63.

²⁴⁸ Wambui, OI, 01 Nov. 2021.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

In this study, there was an attempt to examine root causes of inter-ethnic conflict, historical trends of inter-ethnic conflict and colonial legacies on the economic, social and political fabric of Laikipia West. The study has demonstrated how colonial legacies have resulted in resource conflict in Laikipia West Constituency. The main objective of this study was therefore achieved.

Chapter two focused on the root causes of inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia West. The study found out the root causes of inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia West as numerous. Other than the issue of land, which is considered as a key factor leading to conflict other factors were discussed. It was revealed that ethnicity in Laikipia West often result in conflict. This is because various ethnic communities had different interests and values leading to disagreements and hence conflict.

Politics was also discussed as a factor leading to conflict in Laikipia West. This was evident as insecurity tended to increase during political activities, especially towards general elections. This was attributed to incitement from those seeking leadership positions. There was also the issue of easy availability of weapons which has revolutionized conflict by use of sophisticated weapons. Bandits are also well conversant with the terrain which is characterised by bushes, gorges and steep valleys that serve as hideouts for the bandits prior to or after attacks. Moreover, they are acclimatized to the harsh weather conditions that favour them as compared to targets. Climate change was also discussed as a leading cause of conflict. With increase in global warming and as deserts continue to expand, herders in Laikipia suffer from inadequate pastures for their livestock, resulting in them grazing their animals in ranches which are privately owned and in other people's farms. This has often led to conflict between herders, ranchers and farmers in Laikipia.

In Chapter three that is from 1964 Laikipia West Constituency started to witness a series of conflicts mainly from disputing communities. These communities included the herders, the ranchers and farmers. Initially, this attacks used to happen on large scale basis but with time this has changed and the attacks launched are mainly small scale targeting households. The

raiders from neighbouring communities are usually armed with sophisticated guns which they use in carrying out their raiding activities.

As a result of these conflict, there has been infrastructure underdevelopment in this areas such as roads as many people have migrated to safer areas leaving this area underdeveloped. People have lost their lives including Tristan Voorspy, a rancher and many people who try to resist the invasions. As a result of insecurities, many people have migrated from affected zones to safer habitants. This has inhibited farming activities as farming is the major economic activity of the people of Laikipia. More so, areas where people have migrated are highly underdeveloped and are characterised by underdeveloped centres.

In chapter four up to 2019, the legacies of colonialism on the economic, social and political fabric of Laikipia West up to 2019 were discussed. Community health centres were established such as the one supported by the Kuki Galmann foundation to aid residents. Tourism activities also increased due to ranches, some which are home to wild animals' hence promoting tourism. However, there is a fight for resources especially land as most ranches tend to occupy huge chunks of land which would otherwise be used for the betterment of the community. Due to the fight for resources, many people have lost their lives and others migrated to other areas. The main objective of examining pastoralism and colonial legacies of Resource conflict in Laikipia West constituency up to 2019 was achieved. The study was informed by conflict theory by Marx.

5.2 Conclusions

In conclusion, therefore, the study observed that ethnic-conflict have been rampant in Laikipia West. Conflict in Laikipia West have greatly evolved from being large scale to being small scale conflict targeted on households. In this study, causes and historical trends of ethnic-conflict in Laikipia have greatly been discussed. While some colonial legacies are positive, such as support given to the educational sector and hospital, some effects are negative such deaths and destruction of properties among many others. According to Marx, the social control that the rich have over the masses is the continuous source of inevitable conflict and change.

5.3 Recommendations

In view of the findings of the study, several recommendations emerged. Inadequate pasture was noted as one of the main causes of conflict in Laikipia West Sub-county and this mainly resulted in herders flocking to Laikipia in search of pasture for their animals. Because of this,

there is conflict between herders, ranch owners and farmers, with herders terrorising the other two groups. Consequently, the study recommended that the government should teach the herders modern ways of animal keeping which include zero-grazing so as to avoid the frequent movement of animals from one area to another in search of pasture.

Underdevelopment was also another serious issue in Laikipia West. Poor roads made it difficult for the police officers to go after criminals after they stole livestock from residents of the affected area. Poor lighting also meant that shopping centres closed early hence underdevelopment. The study recommended that the government should move fast to reinstall electricity in the area and also embark on improvement of roads in the constituency to make it easier to arrest criminals who think they can get away without being caught.

Lack of proper education was also seen as a contributory factor to conflict. Since the residents couldn't get access to formal education in schools due to insecurity, they decided to engage in illegal practices such as theft of cattle to survive. The study recommended that the government should work on improving the educational levels in Laikipia West by ensuring that peace prevails so that all students of school-going age are able to go to school.

Throughout this study, it is evident that Resource conflict in Laikipia West thoroughly examined since it continues to spread with time. Further research needs to be undertaken to examine on the role of the government in conflicts in Laikipia.

In view of the study, several recommendations emerged. The frequent and unceasing ethnic conflicts in Laikipia West have greatly affected the lives and livelihoods of the people of Laikipia West. Many people have lost their lives and property, learning activities also been affected among other great vices. As a result of this, the study recommended that the government should lay out clear strategies and laws that will aid in curbing conflict in Laikipia West.

Poor roads and few security officers was also another serious issue in Laikipia West. It was noted that the security officers serving the conflict prone area were few and were often overwhelmed during attacks as the bandits were well armed and well conversant with the terrain. The poor roads also make it difficult for the bandits to be pursued and reinforcement coming late when needed. The study recommended that the government should move fast to construct a GSU camp in the area and also repair roads in the area.

SOURCES

(A) INFORMANTS

S/No	Name	Age	Occupation/Details	Place of Interview	Date of Interview	Length of Stay in Laikipia West
E 1	Abong, Stephen	98	Farmer	Njorua	15.11.2021	80
2	Alice, Wanjeri	35	Teacher	Ngerecha	26.11.2021	23
3	Akanga, Lazarus	43	Farmer	Milimani	30.11.2021	43
4	Bett, Dennis	27	Rural Border Patrol Unit	Gataracha	02.9.2021	3
5	Cheptoo, Collins	40	Nurse	Matwiku	29.11.2021	14
6	Choge, Ibrahim	80	Charcoal Trader	Kamwenje	10.9.2021	20
7	Gashambi, Jemimah	55	Farmer	Robere	09.10.2021	42
8	Gachuhi, Timothy	57	Nyumba Kumi head	Kamunju	05.9.2021	40
9	Gichohi, Samuel	40	Teacher	Mastoo	15.09.2021	10
10	Githaiga, Patrick	62	Church elder	Mwenje	03.9.2021	37
11	Kamau, John	15	Local trader	Matwiku	29.11.2021	10
12	Kamau, Paul	25	Boda boda rider	Mastoo	15.11.2021	23

13	Kamotho, Stanley	53	School Principal	Ndindika	18.11.2021	25
14	Kamuru, Mwangi	30	Tour Guide	Ndindika	17.10.2021	8
15	Karanja, Andre	40	Pastor	Matwiku	14.11.2021	7
16	Kahahi, Philip	26	Rural Border Patrol Unit	Kamwenje	25.11.2021	26
17	Njuguna, Reuben	51	Boda boda operator	Mastoo	15.11.2021	16
18	Kigen, Ben	65	Former Employee Ngarua Floor Millers	Tandare	20.9.2021	50
19	Kiragu, George	53	Nurse	Sipili	17.09.2021	18
20	Kiprop, Boniface	26	Military	Olmoran	21.10.2021	4
21	Kimenyi, Dan	60	Cobbler	Wangwachi	20.10.2021	45
22	Kinyua, John	50	Amaya Initiative	Kinamba	30.11.2021	35
23	Kireri, Amos	43	Farm Broaker	Njorua	18.10.2021	32
24	Kirui, Stephen	35	Gateman Kuki Galmann	Mwenje	02.9.2021	30
25	Leshekwet, Watt	27	Long distance herder	Mahua	01.11.2021	15
26	Leishan, Job	32	Herder	Wangwachi	19.10.2021	10
27	Lokichong, John	27	Herder	Theria	24.11.2021	27
28	Lenakukuya,	36	Herder and farmer	Kamwenje	3.11.2021	16

	Lemuron					
29	Makenna, Galmann	40	School director	Ndindika	19.11.2021	22
30	Matara, Morris	43	Businessman	Matwiku	14.11.2021	20
31	Mweshi, Zackary	36	Businessman	Matwiku	14.11.2021	15
32	Mwamba, Moses	56	Local Farmer	Ndindika	17.10.2021	30
33	Muraya, Mwangi	59	Retired Teacher	Ngerecha	26.11.2021	29
34	Mwai, Simon	29	Barber	Mastoo	28.09.2021	9
35	Mware, Lucy	57	Former Chief	Nganoini	19.10.2021	40
36	Ndungu, Sospeter	45	Teacher	Kinamba	17.09.2021	20
37	Ochieng, Kennedy	28	Sales personnel	Tandare	20.9.2021	4
38	Owango, Morphat	28	Businessman	Sipili	09.9.2021	8
39	Todo, Collins	29	Herder	Matwiku	03.9.2021	27
40	Wambui, Vivian	15	Student	Mahua	01.11.2021	10
41	Watisha, Wesley	55	Politician/ Businessman	Mahua	23.09.2021	30
42	Murango, Onesmus	48	Milk Collector	Mastoo	28.09.2021	25
43	Wagachira, Francis	59	Journalist	Kinamba	15.11.2021	14
44	Wasiwasi, Ambrose	70	Businessman	Milimani	09.11.2021	36

45	Waswa, Dorothy	50	Nun	Kinamba	13.10.2021	10
46	Muthee, Kigano	94	village elder	Gataracha	02.9.2021	70
47	Informant No.1	93	Farmer	Gataracha	02.9.2021	50

N/B: The informants that appear here approved the listing of their names

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(I) INTERNET SOURCES

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: PUBLICATION

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Original Article

Pastoralism and the Struggle for Survival in Laikipia

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Date Published: **ABSTRACT**

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Keywords:

Rampant,
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Immigrants,
Historical Trends,
Political Upheavals

This article is about the unceasing ethnic conflicts in Laikipia West constituency, Laikipia county. The interethnic conflict has continued to be witnessed between Kenya and its neighbouring countries since the colonial era to date in Kenya, mainly in the arid and semiarid areas amongst pastoral communities. Laikipia West constituency has been experiencing perennial conflicts that have been worsening over time. The conflicts have often led to the disruption of social and economic activities and people migrating from their residential areas in search of safer places to settle in. Ethnic conflicts in the constituency can be traced back to 1895 when the white settlers began establishing their homes in Laikipia county. Prior to British colonial rule, the area in Laikipia was under pastoralism by the Maasai and Samburu communities. With the coming of the colonialists, most of the lands were seized and the pastoral communities living in these areas were displaced. Some immigrants resulted in establishing ranches, while other immigrants resulted in irrigation systems leading to the horticultural boom in Laikipia in the 1980s. The first part of this article will seek to unearth the root causes of inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia, while the effects of the perennial conflicts are examined in the later part. This study employed the conflict theory by Marx, which purports that the existence of different social classes is the continuous source of inevitable conflict and change in the social structure occurring through political upheavals affecting class composition.

APA CITATION

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APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Interview schedule for county administrators and civic leaders

1. Please identify yourself (Name, age and your occupation)
2. What do you know about the genesis of Laikipia West? (Original inhabitants, initial residents)
3. Give a brief history of Laikipia, and more so Laikipia West Constituency
4. What physical changes have occurred in the constituency since the initial days?
5. What is the administrative structure of the constituency? Are there any changes that have occurred in the administrative structure of the constituency over time?
6. What roles have the Kukki Galmann ranch played on tourism and educational in the constituency?
7. What are the causes of conflict in Laikipia West?
8. Have the neighbouring communities' influences conflict in Laikipia West?
9. What role do the whites of Laikipia play on the ongoing skirmishes?
10. What noticeable changes did the Europeans bring in Laikipia?
11. What do you think can be done to restore peace in Laikipia?
12. Do you have any other information that can be helpful to this study?

Interview schedule for Business Community and other community residents

1. Please identify yourself (Name, age and your occupation)
2. How long have you lived in this constituency? Can you give a brief history of Laikipia?
3. Do you have any information on the genesis of Laikipia West? How did this constituency come to be?
4. What changes have occurred in the constituency since the colonial times?
5. Did the whites engage in trade? If yes, specify the items of trade and where this was carried out:
6. What economic activities have the whites of Laikipia engaged in since their settlement in this place?
7. What is the administrative structure of the constituency? Are there any changes that have occurred in the administrative structure of the constituency over time?
8. What is the occupation of most of the residents in Laikipia west?
9. Why do you think inhibits the gradual growth of Laikipia West Constituency?
10. In your opinion, what are the causes of conflict in Laikipia west?

11. Could you please narrate the series of conflicts that have been occurring in Laikipia West over time?
12. Are there specific changes you would like to see in the constituency? If yes, please explain.
14. What do you think can be done to improve the situation in Laikipia?
15. Do you have any other information that can be helpful to this study?

Interview schedule for civil servants and other employees (both serving and retired)

1. Please identify yourself (Name, age and your occupation)
2. How long have you lived in this town? How long have you served in the capacity you currently hold?
3. Do you have any knowledge of how this constituency came to be?
4. Has the Laikipia Nature Conservancy influenced the development of Laikipia West? If yes, elaborate.
5. What other factors influenced the development of Laikipia West?
6. Are you aware of any challenges the town faces? If yes, elaborate.
7. Do you have any other information that can be helpful to this study?

Interview schedule to conservancy workers and police officers

1. Please identify yourself (Name, age)
2. How long have you lived in this area?
3. What can you say about the genesis of Laikipia West?
4. What are the legacies of colonialism to the people and general development of Laikipia West?
5. Explain why tourism have not properly thrived in this constituency despite its potentiality?
6. In your opinion what do you think can be done to improve the situation in Laikipia?
7. What challenges do the residents of this place including you face in your line of duty?
8. Do you have any information that can be relevant to this study? If yes, please disclose.

APPENDIX C: NACOSTI PERMIT

 <p>REPUBLIC OF KENYA</p>	 <p>NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION</p>
Ref No: 686650	Date of Issue: 19/July/2022
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