

**NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT FRAMEWORK AS A CONFLICT
MANAGEMENT STRATEGY IN KENYA: A CASE STUDY OF LAIKIPIA
COUNTY**

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R52/87731/2016

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**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT
MANAGEMENT AT THE INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (IDIS), UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.**

2018

DECLARATION

I, Vanessa Mueni Mutunga, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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This research project is hereby submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor.

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Date

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DEDICATION

The success of this research project, and indeed my Masters' Degree will be attributed to the manifestation of God's unfailing faithfulness and grace to. I am grateful to my supervisor, Dr. Martin Ouma for his undivided guidance throughout the entire project.

I am forever grateful to Chris and my entire family for their tireless support and encourage that has seen me through this journey till now and I dedicate this project to them for their endurance and perseverance to me.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to acknowledge my supervisor Dr. Martin Ouma for the support, guidance and encouragement during this period of my study. Above all I thank God for letting me be where I am and having done all I have done through my studies.

I also thank the entire staffs of University of Nairobi, in particular library staffs and the management of institute of diplomacy and international studies, for their support during the entire period of my studies.

Last but not least, I cannot forget my family members and friends who counselled me and encouraged me.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADR:	Alternative Dispute Resolution
AU:	African Union
CBNRM:	Community-Based Natural Resource Management
CIDP:	County Integrated Development Plans
NEAP:	National Environment Action Plan
EMCA:	Environmental Management and Coordination Act
EU:	European Union
FAO:	Food and Agricultural Organization
FGD:	Focus Group Discussions
GoK:	Government of Kenya
GSU:	General Service Unit
KPR:	Kenya Police Reservists
KPS:	Kenya Police Service
MEAS:	Multinational Environmental Agreements
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organization
OCPD:	Officer Commanding Police Division
UNF:	Unifying Negotiation Framework

ABSTRACT

This study sought to assess the existing natural resource management frameworks in place in Laikipia County and their auspicious potential as effective tools for managing natural resource based conflicts in the region. Natural resource-based conflicts are still rampant in various parts in Kenya. The objectives of the study were; to examine the link between scarcity of natural resources and conflict in Laikipia County, to assess the effectiveness of existing strategies and policies for natural resource based conflicts in the Management County and examine a framework for the integration of natural resource based conflict management policies in the County to aid in quelling such conflicts. This study is focused on contributing to the theoretical body of knowledge aligned to conflicts that ensue as a result of scarcity of the limited natural resources in Kenya and in particular, Laikipia County where the manifestation of these conflicts has recently escalated into violence, death of livestock and invasion of the white settlers ranches that has strained international relations with between Kenya and the United Kingdom. Although there has been a focus on pastoral conflicts in the County before, the findings of this research will help build upon and support the outcomes of these previous studies and especially inform on the policy gaps in the devolution process of integration of existing national environmental management policies. This research was studied through the use of mixed methods whereby both quantitative and qualitative data was collected, collated and analyzed. The target population for the study comprised of the members of local communities including elders and opinion leaders, county government officials, and experts on natural resource management. The researcher used questionnaires, interview guides and focus group discussions to collect the data from Rumuruti and Doldol. Data analysis of the information gathered from the questionnaires was done through excel and SPSS. The technique that was used to analyze the qualitative approach is breaking down the information in the form of themes. Based on the findings of the study, it was concluded that natural resource management is integral in alleviating conflicts in Laikipia County. The findings indicated that frequent droughts and water scarcity threaten peaceful coexistence community livelihoods over increased competition over natural resources. Most of the respondents indicated that both the administrative and community coping mechanisms and responses to these conflict remains ineffective with a significant number indicating the need for increased community participation and involvement in conflict mitigation strategies and peace committees. Measures to remedy this include prioritization of peace and security agenda by the County government through adoption of appropriate measures and actions towards management and resolution of pastoralist conflicts and insecurity in the area. Increased public and community participation and awareness during and after the conceptualization of County resource policies and strategies with aid in the implementation of effective and resource management tools. The advocacy for more innovative community-based resource conflict strategies by the County such as the Amanyanganyu Triangle Initiative that seeks innovative solutions to the problem of insecurity dogging the region will go a long way in promoting peaceful consistence by the populace.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

Natural resources play a vital role to the sustenance and hence access or lack of the same cannot be taken for granted. Debate over the allocation of these resources and in particular with mounting scarcity and shortages in relation to over exploitation and subsequent depletion due to population growth and climate variations as is the case in Laikipia County in Kenya, calls for more discussions on effective interventions to manage resultant conflicts. This chapter discusses on the background to the study, the problem statement, justification of the research, questions and objectives that were sought to be answered and in length, the theoretical review of available literature on the relationship between scarcity of natural resources and recurrent conflicts in Laikipia County.

1.1 Background to the Study

Natural resources form an integral part of society worldwide due to their vital significance as foundations for communities' identity, economic standing and creation of wealth through industries and trade According to the United Nations study on internal conflicts worldwide, 40% are attributed to natural resources.¹

Natural resource framework on management of renewable and non-renewable resources, is a crucial system or structure that assists to advert latent conflicts. These conflicts as defined as Resource – based conflicts as they manifest out of allocation disputes and grievances, misuse and mismanagement of the limited resources by those with authoritarian power over them which results into violence to extents of diminishing human welfare ²

¹ United States of Institute of Peace, (2014) 'Natural Resources, Conflict, and Conflict Resolution', A Study Guide Series on Peace and Conflict for Independent Learners and Classroom Instructors. Washington D.C. P. 6. Available at <http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/file/08sg.pdf> [Accessed on 10/08/2014]

² Planas, Florent. "The Exploitation of Natural Resources". *Un An Pour La Planete*. Retrieved 22 March 2012.

Hence, conflict management is a useful practice that identifies and handles emerging conflicts in an efficient yet sensible and equitable manner that aids avert escalation of these disputes into fully blown violent scenes. As governments strive to maintain and control peace in their respective jurisdictions that is mainly brought about by insecurity, it's been acknowledged that conflicts of environmental nature are key in challenging security from local to international levels.³ Unlike developed nations whose economies are more industrialized, developing economies tend to depend much more on their natural resources as primary sources of income and for the subsistence of their populations.

In many societies, natural resources such as water, forests, land play a significant cultural and historical role in the identity of their people. The communities inhabiting Laikipia County in Kenya, are no exception as the locals embrace great cultural and historical significance to the land, water, grazing lands and forests available in the County. Political and economic motives often drive resource based conflicts as evidenced by recurring conflicts in Laikipia County over allocation and management of land, grazing pastures, forests and water. These conflicts are often elicited by rapidly dwindling scarce resources due to climate variations that have witnessed reduced rainfall and water catchment levels in the County that have to be shared by the nomadic pastoralists, ranch owners and large-scale farmers.⁴ In corroboration, environmental experts assert that ample and co-operative management of water and water bodies as natural resources will significantly assist the process of seeking peaceful and sustainable solutions to many of the water conflicts whether, local, national or cross – border.⁵

Numerous attempts and efforts by governments, environmental activists and organizations, have been explored through local, national and international negotiations

³ Sumner, Brian Taylor (2015). “Territorial Disputes at the International Court of Justice”. Duke Law Journal. Retrieved September 6, 2015.

⁴ Rohwerder, B. (2015). Conflict Analysis of Kenya. Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham

⁵ Germanos, Andrea (September 25, 2016). “UN Experts to United States: Stop DAPL Now”. *Common Dreams*. Retrieved September 27, 2016.

aimed at establishing co-operative water agreements such as the Nile Basin Initiative.⁶ Notwithstanding, political incitement, strong conversancy movements, variations of rainfall patterns due to climate change, historical marginalization and grievances over land allocation and cultural and historical predispositions by the nomadic communities such as cattle raids and banditry all impede comprehensive negotiations and agreements over management of resources in Laikipia County. Moreover, though their national policies and law to guide natural resource management the county of Laikipia is yet to contextualize and develop legislative frameworks to guide their implementation. It is from this context that this study sought to establish the natural resource management framework as a conflict management strategy in Kenya.

1.1.1 Management of Resource – Based Conflicts in Kenya

Like many other jurisdictions around the world, Kenya has not been an exception in experiencing conflicts over natural resources such as land, water, fisheries, forests, minerals and graze lands. Resource based conflicts are inimitable hence necessitate expeditious resolution since they involve livelihoods of people⁷. Kenyan societies which are part of the wider developing economies, depend heavily on natural resources for generation of income and sustenance of livelihoods. Resource based conflicts that are been experienced in the country and recently at the local levels with the devolution of the environmental matters, can partially be attributed to the wanting implementation of effective natural resource conflict management policies by County administrations. The National Environment Policy of 2013 by the Ministry of Environment, water and natural resources at the national level prescriptions specific policies on natural resources and environmental conservation policies which are effective mechanism in addressing conflict that arise out of the allocation, utilization and management of natural resources within the country.⁸ The slow or lack thereof adoption and implementation thereof of

⁶ allAfrica.com. 1999. Water and Politics on the Nile [Online]. Available at <http://www.hewett.norfolk.sch.uk/curric/NEWGEOG/Africa/waterwa6.htm> (accessed 15 Mar. 2002; verified 12 Sept. 2003)

⁷ Tyler, S. (2016), Communities, Livelihoods, and Natural Resources: Action Research and Policy Change in Asia, (International Development Research Centre, 2016), available at <http://www.idrc.ca/EN/Resources/Publications/openebooks/230-9/index.html> [Accessed on 17/01/2016]

⁸ <http://www.environment.go.ke/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/National-Environment-Policy-20131.pdf>

these effective policies by County administrations, contributes to the escalation of conflicts that arise due to access of limited resources by growing population inhibiting these areas which destabilises the communities' livelihoods and leads to environmental degradation⁹.

Grievances by communities due to historical injustices perpetrated on them for example on land allocation and colonial boundaries dividing ethnic tribes arguable act as catalyst to the fuelling resentment and anarchy among communities that escalates mounting disputes into violent resource based conflicts. In particular, varying norms, beliefs and societal interpretations concerning property rights amongst pastoralist societies have been associated to ensuing conflicts. Another school of thought asserts that public policy can at times contribute to conflicts over natural resources. A policy formulated by a government for example to relocate its citizens forcefully from land or forests over which it has control, may result in resistance hence violence as seen in the Mau Mau forest evictions in Narok.¹⁰ Laikipia County has also been experiencing natural resource conflicts that have affected the lifestyle of the residents who are mainly pastoralists and heightened insecurity.

In the surrounding counties of Samburu, Baringo and Isiolo, the pressure from the pastoralists searching for pasture and water for their large herds of livestock is high. The period between January and April 2007 in Laikipia was considered the most typical raids in the region as herders forcefully drove their cattle into conservancies attacking the security guards. Conversely, through the enactment of the existing Constitution of 2010, it was expected that this would change as it prescribes necessary provisions for the management of natural resources while at the same time encouraging co-ordination for the participation of communities and Counties in the governance of natural resources at the local level. In addition, Kenya has a comprehensive legal and institutional framework premeditated to deal with resource based conflicts and either resolve or manage them.

⁹ Kaimba, G. K., Njehia, B. K., Guliye, A. Y. (2011). Effects of cattle rustling and household characteristics on migration decisions and herd size amongst pastoralists in Baringo District, Kenya

¹⁰ Boone, Catherine. "Land Conflict and Distributive Politics in Kenya." *African Studies Review* 55, no. 1 (2012): 75-103. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41804129>.

Conflict management mechanisms and institutions both at the counties and at the National government have not been efficiently operational in terms of management of natural resource conflicts. In Laikipia County, lack of legislative structures and contextualized environmental policies has been a major impediment to natural resource management. High frequency of conflicts between large scale ranchers, herders, wildlife and large-scale farmers, have been witnessed in Laikipia County with some reaching fierce levels, mostly in the Northern areas of Laikipia West. Argo-pastoral clashes where farmers and pastoralists compete for access to resources, specifically pasture and water and cattle grazing on farmers' crops continue to be experienced with high frequencies. Cattle rustling or raiding and small-scale livestock theft are also predominant. Conflicts in Laikipia needs to be managed through interactive, participatory and inclusive approaches for the sake of balancing interests, power and adjusting parties' expectations, so as to avoid the potentially negative effects of conflict in a society.

1.2. Problem Statement

The root cause of natural resource-based conflict in Laikipia County is resource scarcity. Majorly, pastoralist's societies result to conflicts over the ownership and use rights of these limited resources.¹¹ Pastoralist's grievances have been transformed recently by factors such as; active resistance to assimilation, economic and political marginalization, demographic changes, resource depletion, cattle stealing (raiding/rustling), the growing availability of light weapons and small arms, climatic variations and poorly designed policies.

The prevalence of conflicts in Laikipia County has had negative effects on the social wellbeing of the communities. A study by Adan and Kayla¹², reported that due to occurrence of frequent conflicts in Laikipia County, communities have lost a high number of livestock through cattle rustling. According to the daily nation report¹³ over 10,000 herds of cattle have been lost through cattle rustling. The Kenya government

¹¹ Bollig M, "Ethnic conflicts in North-West Kenya: Pokot-Turkana raiding 1969-1984", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol 115, 1990, pp 73-90.

¹² Adan, M. and Pkalya, R. (2005). *An Assessment of the Socio-Economic Impacts of Conflict on Pastoral and Semi Pastoral Economies in Kenya and Uganda*. Practical Action — Eastern Africa

¹³ <https://www.nation.co.ke/news/Leaders-organise-meeting-to-address-conflict-in-Laikipia/1056-4175614-mx0oak/index.html>

through the ministry of interior has also reported that frequent conflicts have led to loss of human life estimated at 25 security personnel and over 50 civilians especially in areas where armed groups engage in violent conflicts. In addition to human casualties, many people have been displaced by conflicts. Access to social amenities like schools and health facilities is also hampered by the conflicts.

The main approaches that have been used in Laikipia County are mutual security guarantees amongst conflicting groups, and the support of customary resolution mechanisms to resource based conflicts. These approaches have failed in achieving sustainable peaceful coexistence among the communities in such areas. The main problem has been lacking of a holistic approach toward resource-based management in the County. The county lacks proper policy framework for conflict management that creates joint efforts by all stakeholders. This study therefore seeks to develop and propose a natural resource management framework as a strategy for solving natural resource-based conflicts in Kenya pastoral communities using Laikipia County as a case study.

1.3 Research Questions

The research questions included the following;

1. Is there a link between scarcity of natural resources scarcity and conflict in Laikipia County?
2. How effective are the existing policies for conflict management mechanisms in Laikipia County?
3. What would be a proper framework for management of recurring resource-based conflicts in Laikipia County?

1.4 Research Objectives

The overall objective of the study was to document a possible conflict management framework based on research and analysis of different types of natural resource-based conflicts.

1.4.1 Specific Objective for the Study

The specific objectives included the following;

1. To examine the link between scarcity of natural resources and conflicts in Laikipia county
2. To investigate the effectiveness of the existing policies for the management of resource-based conflicts in Laikipia county.
3. To examine an efficient framework for the management of recurring resource-based conflicts in Laikipia county.

1.5 Literature Review

This section deals with review of the literature relevant to the objectives of the study. It foregrounds the theoretical literature of the study, and later an empirical literature review. The ensuing literature reviewed is based on the fundamental issues spelt out in the study objectives.

1.5.1 Theoretical Literature

The study favours the dual concern theory based on natural law and democracy approaches to conflict resolution. Democracy is used to refer to the right of a person to take part in governance in the area of the environment.¹⁴ It captures the primary principle of the practice of equal rights by all, advocates, industrial leaders, community groups, governments, workers, academics and other authorities in the governance of national matters. This right is also found under Articles 42 and 70 of the Constitution of Kenya.

1.5.1.1 Resource Scarcity Theory

The theory of resource scarcity leads the debate on natural resource management conflicts. Among pastoral communities traditionally, conflicts have been interconnected between invariably drought that plays to the depletion of natural resources and competition over the consequently limited resources. Conflict is caused by scarcity of natural resources in two main ways, according to the scarcity and conflict perspective.

¹⁴ Colin H. Kahl, *States Scarcity and Civil Strife in the Developing World*, op. cit., pp. 11 -12.

The initial apparatus is that resource scarcity pushes elite individuals to capture resources, which results in marginalization of the powerless individuals in the process. Secondly, scarcity's draining effect on social and economic innovation supposedly causes conflict. The connection between conflict and environmental pressure before is enabled in part by societies' ability to realise such communal goals as innovation and economic thus acclimatizing to changing societal pressures and economic conditions caused by resource scarcity. For a society to deal with scarcity, its necessities for ingenuity nevertheless, the very scarcities that create social inventiveness essential, act equally as constraints on innovation¹⁵.

Scarcity or relative scarcity of resources trigger violence mutually at the individual level likewise at the collective level, although it has now become possible to have conflicts provoked by resource appropriation in situations of abundance. Communities that engage in violent conflicts are thus not predominantly motivated by grievances such as historical animosity, ethnic discrimination, or inequality but fundamentally due to illegitimate and selfish agendas of economic nature propagated greed. Self-determination and identity issues are often dismissed in favour of the focus on the role played by natural resources by and of themselves, as the main stimulus by communities to engage in war¹⁶. Though greed seems more prominent than grievance, genuine grievances emanate from such circumstances as inequality, rapid economic decline, political transition and repression, lastly ethnic and religious fractionalization. The illegal ownership of guns in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County exemplifies this theory because communities would like to be armed at the detriment of their opponents yet use the power of the gun to accumulate economic profits.

While the focus on drought-induced conflicts is often over competition of grazing pasture, it is in cognizance of further elements that propagate and trigger violent conflicts in Laikipia County. Most violent conflicts experienced in pastoral inhabited areas result as a myriad of political, economic and social-cultural dynamics that reinforce each other

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ Mureithi SM and Opiyo FEO. 2010. Resource use planning under climate change: Experience from Turkana and Pokot pastoralists of Northwestern Kenya. In Proceedings at 2nd International Conference on Climate, Sustainability and Development in Semi-Arid Regions.

by limiting accessibility to, availability of and depleting natural resource bases.¹⁷ This had been the cause of conflict between private ranches and group ranches in Laikipia County. Competition over scarce natural resources is triggered by recurrent droughts and aggravated by political incitements, unclear property right regimes, weak local institutions, proliferation of small firearms, and cattle-raiding, which consequently exacerbates violent conflicts observed in Laikipia county.¹⁸ The development of integrated strategies, policies and the strengthening of the local governance institutions which are entrenched into traditional practices of management of inter-community conflicts that emanate from competition over scarce resources, is integral to the ultimate resolutions of violent conflicts.

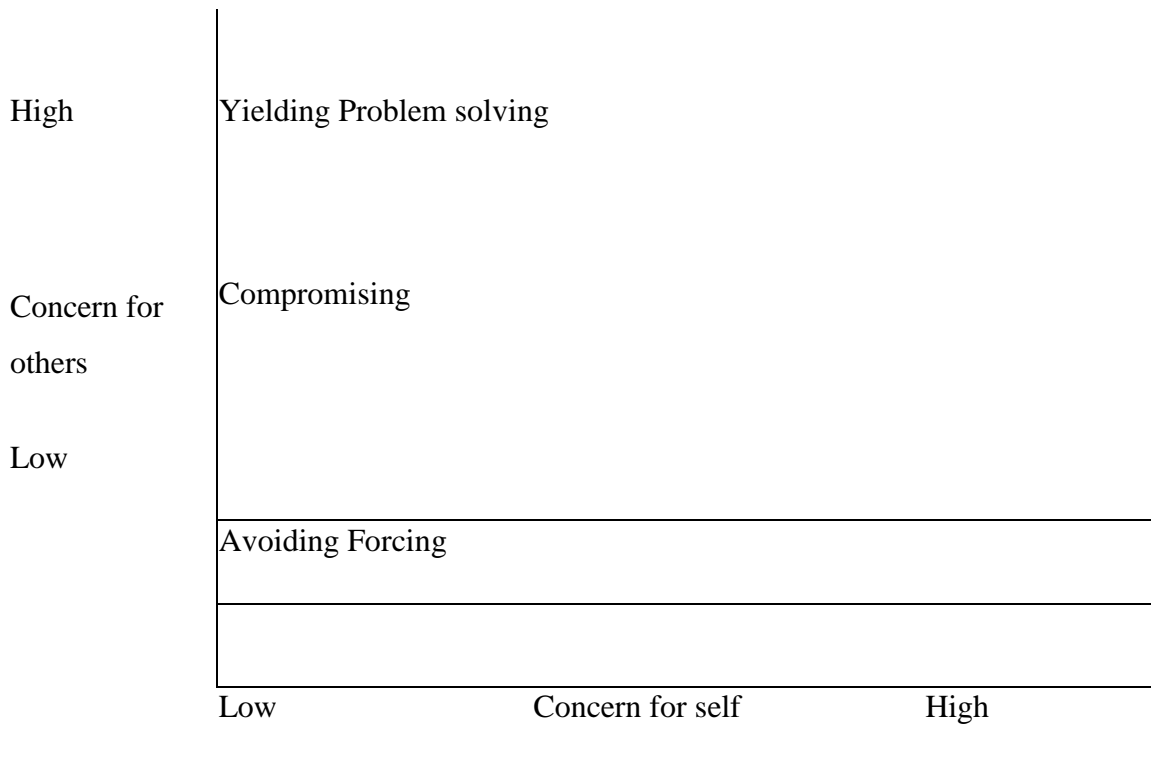
1.5.1.2 Dual Concern Theory

More than a few theories exist on conflict management strategies. However, they all touch on the Dual Concern Theory that contends that conflict management is a function of the high or low concern for oneself, joined with the high or low concern for others. The Dual Concern Theory is based on five conflict management strategies (Figure 1): forcing (persuasive arguments, threats and bluffs and positional commitments); yielding (incorporating and accepting others will); avoiding (reducing the importance of the issues); problem-solving (an agreement that satisfies mutually own and others' aspirations) and compromising (an active exploration for a middle ground). Figure 1 shows the orientation of the strategies in terms of high or low concern for self and others.

¹⁷ Mwangiru "[Peace and Conflict Management in Kenya \(Nairobi: CCR, 2003\)](#)". In: *East African Journal of Human Rights and Democracy Vol. 3*. University of Nairobi; 2003.

¹⁸ *ibid*

Figure 1.1: Theoretical Representation of the Five Conflict Management Strategies as a Function of Concern for Self and Concern for Others



(Source: de Dreu et al., 2001)

Conflict management recognises that conflicts are unavoidable and occur at any given time hence the management of existing procedures, substance and relationships through continuous enhancement is crucial in hindering escalation into violence¹⁹. The relationship and co-existence of wildlife and humans in relation to competition over scarce natural resources necessitates management to avert emergence of conflicts.²⁰The 2017 incident that led to invasions hence resulting to the death of a British national, Tristan Voorspuy, have influenced a motion on how to deal with the issue of invasion. Effective Conflict resolution measures were introduced following the thrilling cases experienced in 2017 despite there been invasions throughout the past years. A functional conflict management model is crucial which involves analyzing the different aspects of

¹⁹ Daniels, S.E., Walker, G., Emborg, J., 2012. The Unifying Negotiation Framework: a model of policy discourse. *Conflict. Resolution. Q.* 30, 3e31.

²⁰ Ulrich, A., Ifejika Speranza, C., Roden, P., Kiteme, B., Wiesmann, U., Nüsser, M., 2012. Small-scale farming in semi-arid areas

conflicts such as actors/Stakeholders and third parties in the conflict, the issues people fight about, dynamics/intensity of interaction, the conflict context and structural factors, causes of the conflicts and the options/strategies for dealing with them.

1.5.2 Empirical Literature

The purpose of this section is to review the existing literature on conflict management through developing relevant policy and implementation. It provides a critical assessment of empirical studies related to the research topic as guided by the objectives of the study.

1.5.1.1 Relationship between Natural Resources and Conflicts

Over the past ten years, connection between natural resources and conflict has shifted attention. This has been attributed to access to data and due to the theory of “resource curse”²¹. However, no agreement has been arrived at with regard to this relationship. Le Billon²² argued that the main driving factors of natural resource conflicts are power games, divergent, competitive interests by the involved stakeholders brought about by the insufficiency of these ecological resources.²³ Further, he asserts that the phenomenon of ‘resource curse’, inequitable benefits distribution, lack of satisfactory consideration for conflict management in formulation of legislative regulations, vague policies, institutional shortcomings, competition between different land uses and poverty advance nurturing grounds for the surfacing of emerging conflicts²⁴. The local communities have also continued to exert pressure on conservation areas due to population pressure and inadequate livelihood improving interventions in these areas²⁵.

²¹ Bacchetta, M., Beverelli, C., Hancock, J., Keck, A., Nayyar, G., Nee, C., et al. (2010). World Trade Report 2010, Trade in Natural Resources. World Trade Organization.

²² Theisen, M. (2010). Blood and soil? Resource scarcity and internal armed conflict revisited. *Journal of Peace Research* 45 (6): 801–818.

²³

²⁴ Marfo, E. (2016) Powerful relations: the role of actor-empowerment in the management of natural resource conflict. PhD. Dissertation, Wageningen University.

²⁵ Mwita, J. E., (2013). Land cover and land use dynamics of semi-arid wetlands: A case of Rumuruti (Kenya) and Malindi (Tanzania)

Additional aspects include weak enforcement of existing legislation, land tenure insecurity and economic greed by political elites²⁶.

According to Homer-Dixon²⁷, resource-scarcity is potentially a root cause for insurgencies, group identity disputes and interstate conflicts. The scarcity of non-renewable arguably contribute more to inter-state conflicts compared to scarcity of renewable resources.²⁸. According to Koubi²⁹ most studies on resource based conflicts resolve around water whose utilization for agricultural activities, transport, fishing and other wealth creation activities often contributes to inter -community, inter-state and international territorial disputes.

Natural resource based conflicts according to the FAO manifest at different levels in society and involve different actors all competing for control and possession of limited resources.³⁰. These conflicts as discussed by Grimble and Wellard³¹ occur at various levels of the society, hence categorized as micro-micro and micro-macro conflicts. Micro-micro conflicts such as ownership rivalry disputes between communal and private land owners are categorised as micro-conflicts as their manifest at intra-personal and inter-group levels. Secondly, conflicts that result from the capture of projects grounded on natural resources by powerful politician and society's elites who own and control much of the resources available. Thirdly, conflicts over unfair distribution of profits and work between land-owners and resource communal land users. The other examples include conflicts between indigenous communities and colonial occupiers, wealth disparities amongst locals and large land tract owners and lastly, disputes ignited internally over land ownership due to speculative commercial land activities.

²⁶ Kaimowitz, D. (2013). Forestry law enforcement and rural livelihoods. *International Forestry Review* 5 (3):199-210.

²⁷ Ibid

²⁸ Homer-Dixon, 2010. Thomas F. *Environment, Scarcity and Violence*. Princeton University Press.

²⁹ Koubi, Spilker, Hohmelt, and Bernauer

³⁰ FAO (Food and Agricultural Organization), (2012). *Participatory forestry*. Available at: <http://www.fao.org/forestry/participatory/en/>

³¹ Grimble and Wellard (2014) *Framing environmental disputes*. In: Lewicki R. J., Gray B. & Elliott M., eds. *Making sense of intractable environmental conflicts: concepts and cases*. Washington D.C., USA: Island Press.

On the other hand, micro-macro conflicts manifest between the communities and external stakeholders which include state agencies and multi-national organisations. These conflicts contradict natural resource needs and values that manifest through conflicting agendas such as wildlife habitat conservation advocacy and safeguarding of the livelihoods of the communities co-habiting and relying on the same scarce natural resources. Conflicts of these nature arise out of cultural disputes between societal groups and outsiders who either have political influence (local, provincial or local), commercial companies or NGOs whose aspirations and motivate over resource use differ and clash with the communities' take over the governance available resources.

However, arguments over resource scarcity have been challenged by a couple of scholars such as Stern³² who asserts that assumptions sustaining the scarcity notion are irrational due to exaggerated threats arising from market misperceptions in the crude oil markets by oil mine owners. Furthermore, Koubi³³ explains that in spite of their sturdy empirical accounts, scarcity scholars' quantitative research results are often weak and they often fail to prove the connection between the phenomena of scarce resources and intrastate or interstate conflicts. On the contrary, Dinar³⁴, argues that scarcity of resources could possibly be an important force for the furtherance of co-operation between states. This potentially positive effect of resource scarcity has been ignored by other scholar of resource scarcity as the ways in which this scarcity might spur co-operation is not feasible to them³⁵.

1.5.1.2 Effectiveness of Existing Policies in Conflict Management

Resource based conflicts often result in hostility and violence, leading to loss of livelihoods and in Kenya, as in the rest of the world, there does exist mechanisms for the peaceful resolution of environmental conflicts. The fact that resource-based conflicts continue to escalate in spite of the existence of these conflict management mechanisms means that they are not completely effective and something still needs to be done to put

³² Stern, P. (2016) The spoils of nature: Armed civil conflict and rebel access to natural resources. *Journal of Peace Research*, 47(1), 15-28.

³³ Koubi, V. (2013) Grievances, economic wealth, and civil conflict. to natural resources. *Journal of Peace Research*

³⁴ Dinar, R. (2011) *Global resources: Conflict and cooperation*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

³⁵ Dinar, R. (2011) *Global resources: Conflict and cooperation*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

in place effective mechanisms that deal with environmental conflicts in a manner that brings lasting solutions that are acceptable to the contesting parties.

The study examines whether the existing policies and mechanisms in place offers such an opportunity. A study by Mwangiri³⁶ however found some gaps in the management of resource-based conflicts in Kenya where she singled out lack of proper use of mediation. The legal and institutional mechanisms that currently exist emphasise the use of courts and tribunals for the resolution of resource based conflicts. Other mechanisms used for the management of environmental conflicts such as litigation and administrative action still need to remain in place. Indeed mediation, if found suitable, can be used together with other existing conflict management structures and legal mechanisms in a manner that makes it more viable as a conflict resolution mechanism in the Kenyan context.

This study does not advocate for the abrogation of other conflict management mechanisms that can be applied to resolve environmental conflicts. Rather it seeks to explore the best combination for proper management of resource-based conflicts in Kenya. The resulting synergy, it is submitted, can only be good for the Kenyan people. The participatory nature of mediation gives Kenyans a chance to enjoy democratic environmental governance where they have a say in the use, access to and utilisation of environmental resources in their localities.

Closely connected with the question for resolution of conflicts is the notion of sustainable development. The Environmental Management and Coordination Act, Section II describes the concept of sustainability to mean development that is geared towards catering for the needs of present-day generations without compromise on the ability of future generations to also meet their needs through maintenance of the carrying capacities of supportive ecosystems. Sustainable development is closely connected to the concept of sustainable use of natural resources. The concepts of inter and intra-generational equity

³⁶ Mwangiri, M., *Conflict in Africa: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management*, (Centre for Conflict Research, Nairobi, 2006).

are relevant here. It is suggested by Thorsten Treue and Iben Nathan³⁷ that mediation may offer a solution; communities are given a chance to decide how their environmental resources are to be managed by the present generation for future generations.

Given the causes of resource-based conflicts, they can hardly be resolved by the adversarial method offered by the law³⁸. The reason is that environmental conflicts are peculiar as there are not necessarily any enforceable legal rights and duties that attend them. Hence, the proposal for evaluation of the existing institutional and judicial mechanisms for resolving environmental conflicts in order to see what challenges the alternative dispute resolution methods and especially mediation can meet. Basically, this study adopts the “deprivation”, “state failure”, “honey pot” and “resource curse” approaches that provide theoretical mechanisms on environmental conflicts.³⁹

The Kenya Constitution was promulgated to address governance issues in Kenya such as public participation, equity and human rights. The Constitution provides the framework for all future legislation, including land use and related issues for the natural resource sector. Currently, all existing laws are being reviewed to conform to the provisions of the Constitution⁴⁰. Different conflict analysis frameworks have been developed to manage conflicts in natural resource areas. Natural resources management according to California Natural Resource Agency⁴¹, is the planning and decision-making process that coordinate resources use so that the long-term sustainable benefits are optimised and conflict among users are minimised. Most of which have been general to all kinds of natural resources.

³⁷ Thorsten Treue and Iben Nathan. *Community Based Natural Resource Management*, (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, Copenhagen, 2004), p. 2. See also G. Borrini-Feyerabend, M. Pimbert, M.T, Farvar, A. Kothari and Y. Renard, *Sharing Power: Learning-by-Doing in Co-management of Resources Throughout the World*, (IIED and IUCN/ CEESP/CMWG, Cenesta, Teheran, 2004),

³⁸ Colin H. Kahl, *States Scarcity and Civil Strife in the Developing World*, op. Cit., pp. 12-28.

³⁹ Okoth - Ogendo, “Managing the Agrarian Sector for Environmental Sustainability”, in C.O. Okidi, P. en ~ Mbote and Migai Akech (eds.), *Environmental Governance in Kenya: Implementing the ramework Law*, (East African Educational Publishers Ltd, Nairobi, 2008), pp. 222 - 234

⁴⁰ Oksanen, T., Gachanja, M., Blasten, A. (2011). Strategy Note for Forest Governance Reform in Kenya. Indufor for the “Miti Mingi Maisha Bora - Support to Forest Sector Reform in Kenya ” (MMMB) Programme.

⁴¹ California Natural Resource Agency (CNRA) (2010:3)

Resource based conflicts need to be managed since unmanaged conflicts impact negatively on sustainable development. Resolving environmental conflicts results in “environmental security.”⁴² Environmental conflicts, have a potential for escalation into violence that lead to clashes and loss of lives if unchecked. There is, thus, a need to enhance mechanisms that are geared towards resolving or, at any rate, managing environmental conflicts. The study examines whether mediation has the capacity to achieve desirable results in resolution of such conflicts and ensure that there is peaceful co-existence between communities and other parties, such as developers and government in Laikipia County.

1.5.1.3 Framework for Management of Recurring Resource-Based Conflicts

The recurrence of conflicts in Laikipia County over the years over contests over natural resources indicates that effective conflict management mechanisms need to be put in place for speedy resolutions. There are a few efficient frameworks whose integration into the decentralization processes for the management of natural resources would aid address these conflicts. The Unifying Negotiation Framework (UNF) as advanced by Daniel and colleagues⁴³ deriving from Fisher’s ⁴⁴earlier work stressing the prominence of public policy as a social constructed negotiation among conflicting discourses, provides a multi-faceted analytical lens for the design of enhanced policy formulation discursive processes. The framework provides a compass and essential a map to guide the manoeuvre through multi-level and complex-laden negotiation platforms through the primary use of participatory public processes. The framework guides designers and implementers to better understand and investigate complex natural resource states that builds firm foundations for the later design of proper redress strategies. The benefit to this is that the framework does predict values in determining which factors need more emphasis instead, it offers an organized context for the exploration of all relevant aspects.

⁴² Carol J. Greenhouse, “Mediation; A Comparative Approach”. *Man. New Series*, Vol. 20, No. 1, *Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, (Mar., 1985), pp. 90-114: 90.

⁴³ Daniels, S.E., Walker, G., Emborg, J., 2012. The Unifying Negotiation Framework: a model of policy discourse. *Conflict. Resolution. Q.* 30, 3e31.

⁴⁴ Fischer, F., 2003. *Reframing Public Policy: Discursive Politics and Deliberative Practices*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, U.K.

A primary feature of the framework is the multi-level approach that it adapts that is, the micro (focus on individual) level which is primarily the design matrix, meso a level higher where external forces and structures institute space contextual design (macro). Daniels builds on Li's⁴⁵ work which accounts for both the macroeconomic policies that are the contextual aspects with the individual aspect that encompasses personality distrusts and contests with others during natural resource negotiations. The six pillars of UNF which are culture, agency, incentives cognition, institutions and oriented actor experience constitute a paramount role in the discourse process as they provide a holistic approach to analysis of both individual and contextual factors. Particularly, in management of natural resource issues, studies have shown that the incorporation of climate, its seasonality and natural resources as additional pillars, resulted in adaptive unified discourse resolutions.

Arbitration in the political process is informed by firmness whereas when applied in the resolution of a conflict, it takes a mutual construction of relationships that are legitimate and satisfying to the needs of each party according to Cloke.⁴⁶ In addition, it argues that, given that conflicts arise from non-compliance with needs or non-negotiable values of the parties, the role of arbitration is to satisfy the shared needs of the Parties and exclusion of the underlying causes of the conflict. Arbitration in the political process allows the parties to have sovereignty over the election of the arbitrator, the process and the result. What makes the mediation in the political process to bring a resolution is the fact of voluntariness, independence of the parties about the process and the result. Bercovitch argues that when the parties show a genuine desire to submit and commit to mediation, it is a sign that the parties are eager to resolve the conflict. In addition, he argues that when only one party is willing to submit to mediation, the chances of resolving that conflict are slim.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Li, M., Tost, L.P., Wade-Benzoni, K., 2007. The dynamic interaction of context and negotiator effects: a review and commentary on current and emerging areas in negotiation. *Int. J. Confl. Manag.* 18, 222e259.

⁴⁶ Cloke, K. (2008). *Conflict Revolution: Mediating Evil, War, Injustice and Terrorism*. Jannis Publication.

⁴⁷ Bercovitch, J., 2011. *Theory and practice of international mediation: Selected essays*. London; New York: Routledge.

According to Bercovitch, the resolution of a conflict occurs when the root causes of adequately addressed, thus denying the threat of greater conflict-generating behaviour. In addition, he argues that the political process is not based on coercion or execution, but rather on the basis of a common ground on which to build durable and lasting solutions, never to re-examine the conflict in the future. These attributes of the mediation process in the political process are that; there is autonomy in the selection of a mediator, flexibility of the process, speedy and non-coercive mutually satisfying solutions that foster relationships and they address the underlying root causes of conflict leading to efficient resolution as opposed to just a settlement.

1.6 Hypothesis

Hypothesis 2

H₁: Developing an integrated natural resource management framework will lead to improved peaceful coexistence among the communities living in Laikipia County.

H₀: Developing an integrated natural resource management framework will not lead to improved peaceful coexistence among the communities living in Laikipia County

1.7 Methodology

This section contains the research design, the study area, the target population, the sampling techniques, the data collection tools / instruments, the data analysis methods and the ethical considerations.

1.7.1 Research Design

The study adopted a descriptive research design based on a mixed methodology approach employing both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis. This method allowed the researcher to analyze qualitative and quantitative data separately and merge them during the interpretation and discussion of findings in order to reach concrete decisions⁴⁸.

⁴⁸ Creswell, J. W., & Plano Clark, V. L. (2011). *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research* (2nd ed.). London: Sage Publications Ltd.

1.7.2 Study Area

The study was conducted in Laikipia County Kenya. The study localities were identified and selected after an assessment of the recently conflicts that have rocked the County guided by data from County administration and police records. Several areas identified include; Rumuruti, Doldol Makanya near the Ol Pejeta Conservancy and areas surrounding Kereita Forest.

1.7.3 Sampling

The populations of interest for this study were stakeholders involved in the conflict resolution for the most recent conflict between ranchers and pastoralists in Laikipia County. Through purposive selection, the study covered a total of 60 respondents to respond to the questionnaire. Communities living in these selected areas were sampled using questionnaires to give their views regarding how natural resource use affects their coexistence. The main respondents were community members who participated directly in the conflict resolution committees in the 2017 conflict between farmers and herders. The management of the ranches were also interviewed to give their views regarding the best way forward towards resolving the recurring conflicts in the area. Data was also be collected from local police stations and hospitals to ascertain the extent of the conflict in terms of the number of the people affected.

Three Focus Group Discussions were also held with informed participants of past conflicts in order to gain an understanding of the best approaches for conflict resolution in their areas. Interviews with key County administrative officials and experts conversant with the County developments on implementation of natural resource and environmental conservation were conducted.

1.7.4 Data collection

A mixed method approach was adopted to collect data and related information from primary and secondary sources. This involved the study of literature and semi-structured questionnaires.

1.7.5 Data Sources

Secondary Data

Secondary data was obtained from literature study of published data sources from local, national and international levels. Most of these sources concern key stakeholders in government and non-governmental organizations.

Primary Data

Primary data was collected from key informants using questionnaires.

Self-completion Questionnaires

The key stakeholders were targeted for interviews using a semi-structured questionnaire to establish an overview of the conflicts in representative forest ecosystems of the country. The survey in each area was conducted with the support of 4 research assistants. The questions were a mix of one-part response and multiple part responses. Appendix 1 shows the questionnaire that was administered to respondents. It is divided into 5 sections (General issues e.g. Household characteristics; Types of conflicts, actors and causes: General trends, intensity and impacts of conflicts; Existing management measures and their challenges and; Proposed conflict management measures).

1.7.6 Data Analysis

The data gathered from the field work both quantitative and qualitative was subjected to analysis. Primary data collected from the field was analysed in several steps; questionnaire data were then coded and entered into Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) for analysis, while spread sheets findings were presented using frequency distribution tables, bar graphs and pie charts. Qualitative data was analysed by coding common themes and presenting the findings in form of generalized statements in narration form, whereby those responses that carried the greatest weight regarding the issues under study were reflected. The systematic analysis and presentation of the information was aimed at making useful conclusions and recommendations about the research.

CHAPTER TWO

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SCARCITY OF NATURAL RESOURCES AND CONFLICT IN LAIKIPIA COUNTY

2.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses findings relevant to the first research objective that sought to investigate the correlation between conflict and scarcity of natural resources in Laikipia County.

2.1 Scarcity of Natural Resources and Conflicts

Conflict caused by the management of natural resources highlights the exploitation caused by dishonestly taking the land of the powerless for selfish gains.⁴⁹ This explains conflicts in Laikipia County which are deeply rooted in white settlers taking up of the land belonging to the Maasai through unscrupulous means demonstrating genuine infringement of human rights and wrongdoings under universal law.⁵⁰ Such a point of view would help the global group in separating between those situations where regular assets are honestly used to pay contentious expenses and those where the extraction and exchange of such assets is subsidizing ill-conceived action⁵¹. Understanding the resource-based struggle is tied down on the rule that the capability of those involved in exploiting natural resources is pegged to the access to outer markets. Parties associated with this type of conflict take away the capacity to benefit from asset extraction and they can never again fuel or manage disputes. Despite the fact that it is currently generally acknowledged that income from common assets gave the coordination to war in nations, for example, Angola, Cambodia, Liberia and Sierra Leone, the global group presently can't seem to address this issue adequately and deliberately. The international community needs to address asset related clashes in a way that handle their specific character, by proactively tending to the exchange that underlies the war, and in addition the war itself. Global Witness trusts that the international community, led by the

⁴⁹ Wiesmann, Urs, Francis N. Gichuki, Boniface P. Kiteme, and Hanspeter Liniger. "Mitigating Conflicts over Scarce Water Resources in the Highland-Lowland System of Mount Kenya." *Mountain Research and Development* 20, No. 1 (2000): 10-15

⁵⁰ Galaty, John G. "States of Violence: Ethnicity, Politics, and Pastoral Conflict in East Africa." In *Geography Research Forum*, Vol. 25, Pp. 105-127. 2016. 28 Ibid P 65-66

⁵¹ Ibid

Security Council, should set up a thorough hindrance methodology with a legitimate order to prevent strife assets from adding to human rights infringement and to expel them from universal exchange⁵².

Findings by Hussein reveal that African clashes are resource-based. To have those assets at the disposal of a number of individuals is to embolden the rise of neediness. Conflicts are unavoidable human social orders since social orders have varieties. The exact connections concerning natural resource frameworks and the bigger geo-political framework characterize peaceful occupation techniques, weakness and ability to adjust to change⁵³. Granted the high dependence of pastoralists on a restricted normal asset base, these procedures are basic in that they can: increment asset shortage (as a result of contracting rangelands and rising interest), and reshape control appropriation and asset administration instruments⁵⁴. In the Moral and Political reasoning, it is clear that, individuals are self-seeking, that is, they grind and battle to satisfy their own needs. Whenever there is a lack of solidarity and commonality, individuals and different human beings tend to clash about the accessible possibilities and assets, this in the end could prompt clashes which normally turns brutal as in the case of Laikipia, where the conflicts are tripartite in Nature between the ranchers, the small-scale famers and the pastoralists.

2.2 Comparative analysis Between Natural Resource Management and Conflict Globally and In Kenya

Latin America also contains countries that are afflicted with land conflict. Resource based contention in Latin America dates back to the colonial phase where Spanish settlers and their relatives regularly consolidated substantial and selective land property to the disadvantage of indigenous groups, all through the land. Land struggle in Latin America is usually about water, mining and is fundamentally caused by the increase

⁵² Hussein, Jeylan Wolyie. "Taking Narratives on Identity-Based Conflicts in the Horn of Africa Seriously: The Case of Intergroup Conflicts at Pastoral Frontiers in Ethiopia." *International Journal of Peace Studies* 21, No. 1

⁵³ Galaty, John G. "Rangeland tenure and pastoralism in Africa." *African Pastoralist Systems* 185 (1994): 204.

⁵⁴ Mureithi, Francis, Richard Munang 2010 Drought adaptation and coping strategies among the Turkana pastoralists of Northern Kenya. *International journal of disaster Risk science*. 6, No. 3 (2015): 295

in population at an alarming rate⁵⁵. As in the case of Laikipia County, population increase has had a corresponding effect over clashes over resources. The conflicts in Laikipia region have been fuelled by factors such as increased population, yet the land resource remains the same. In corroboration, the KBS⁵⁶ indicates that after Kenya gained independence there was subdivided land which attracted the pastoralists and small farmers from the north and south respectively to come and inhabit the land⁵⁷. However, the growth of the population in Laikipia County is incomparable to the available resources and food security leading to competition over scarce resources and conflicts for more access into the ranches belonging to the white settlers. The increase in population means more demand for land which has led to encroachment of forests by the local inhabitants seeking to set up land for farming and for grazing.

In the case of Brazil, these clashes over natural resources are between settlers and herders, and between various pastoralist gatherings that fight around issues of cultivations, grazing and access to water⁵⁸. More often than not these conflicts are activated by the dry season that causes the pastoralists to move in search of water. Farmer-herder clashes between various pastoralist groups in Sahel states are habitually, sporadic and low power clashes without direct interference by the governments. They often revolve around issues concerning land use for controlled development against grazing, including arguments about access to water and domesticated animals attacking.⁵⁹

Pastoralism is characterized by shortage of resources, nomadism and farmer-herder conflicts in East Africa and more specifically in Kenya⁶⁰. This implies that securing access to water is an essential requirement to pastoralists' adaptability and consequently their capacity to adapt to the changing climatic conditions⁶¹. Socio-cultural practices are

⁵⁵ Lederach, John Paul (1997). *Building Peace—Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington: US Institute for Peace, P115

⁵⁶ Kenya Bureau of Statistics survey (2009)

⁵⁷ Behnke, R.H. and Muthami, D., (2011). The contribution of livestock to the Kenyan economy.

⁵⁸ Ibid

⁵⁹ Ibid

⁶⁰ Wiesmann, Urs, Francis N. Gichuki, Boniface P. Kiteme, and Hanspeter Liniger. "Mitigating Conflicts over Scarce Water Resources in the Highland-Lowland System of Mount Kenya." *Mountain Research and Development* 20, No. 1 (2000): 10-15. 38 Ibid P 91-9

⁶¹ Lederach, John Paul (1997). *Building Peace—Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington: US Institute for Peace, P115

the distinctive, spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or a social group

Whenever pastoralists invade white settlers' ranchers, clashes emerge, mostly when groups infringe on developed zones spoiling crops, or when water reservoirs are intensely stressed through pumping upstream by the settlers at the expense of other groups and populations living downstream. This has been the case in Laikipia County as the government strategies support horticulture farming with the view that pastoralism is a backward practice. Moreover, there is additionally a general absence of government engagement in pastoralist regions and thus the pastoralist interests are never a priority to the government.⁶²

In India as is the case of Laikipia County clashes between various pastoralist groups are usually started by cattle raids and clashes over grazing rights. In Laikipia the pastoralists believe that they should be allowed to graze their animals in idle conservancies, though this doesn't auger well with the position of the government and white settlers. In India the pastoralists have domesticated animals as a method for restocking after dry seasons and for the bride price of their youthful herders', this however, has turned out to be more vicious because of common wars and the expanded accessibility of weapons in the Himalayan district like Gaddis. Similarly, what makes conflicts in Laikipia County dreadful is the proliferation of accessibility to small arms leading to cattle rustling and banditry.

Communal clashes and the ever-changing climatic conditions were the main factors of asset-based clashes in China. Both, farmer-herder clashes and clashes between pastoralists were activated or aggravated by environmental change. Long dry periods compelled nomadic herders to change their routines and vie for water and land with different groups. Pastoralist districts in the Tibetan Plateau of China remain minimized territories, portrayed by lack of basic amenities, lack of a security arrangement and a general absence of government contribution to security and development. These variables add to the helplessness of pastoralist areas to environmental change and their affinity for

⁶² Wiesmann, Urs, Francis N. Gichuki, Boniface P. Kiteme, and Hanspeter Liniger. "Mitigating Conflicts over Scarce Water Resources in the Highland-Lowland System of Mount Kenya." *Mountain Research and Development* 20, No. 1 (2000): 10-15. 38 Ibid P 91-9

violent clashes. In spite of the fact that duties regarding pastoralists by state and local specialists have regularly stayed unfulfilled, there has been some advance in tending to the basic reasons for pastoralist and agriculturist herder clashes as of late⁶³.

2.3 Catalytic Factors for Natural Resource Based Conflict in Laikipia County

Management of natural resources is a precarious challenge for developing countries today as increased competition for diminishing renewable resources continues to escalate due to increasing population numbers, environment degradation and climate change. Areas that have been affected by recurrent violence due to natural resource management are Laikipia, West Pokot, Turkana and Samburu. This year alone, it is reported that more than 2000 people have been killed as a consequence of violence that pitted the pastoralists and the small-scale farmers against each other. Subsequently there have been repeated reprisal attacks that have resulted in a high number of casualties and fatalities.

Cattle rustling is rife in the area and is complicated by commercialization of the practice with reports indicating that rustled cattle are sold in markets in Nairobi and neighbouring countries. Insecurity in the region that is fuelled by political rhetoric and polarization adds to the escalation of the conflict. Additionally, accessibility of light weapons and small arms by the herders fuels the insecurity.⁶⁴ . Research indicates that feelings of historical exclusion of the pastoralists under President Daniel Moi's Tugen led regime fuel ethnic tension in the region. Emerging trends in the conflict relate to the targeted attack of women and children⁶⁵.

The locals in Laikipia indicate that conflicts have a direct impact on the achievement of their economic, social and cultural rights. Although during this study we were unable to contact all relevant actors in the conflict (due to challenges relating to the terrain), reducing resource based conflict in Laikipia County requires reduction in the levels of inequality and socio-political factors impeding equity of land distribution.

⁶³ Satvenhagen Rodolfo, *Ethnic conflict and the Nation state*. Springer ,2016

⁶⁴ 2012, Conflict Assessment, pp 12 -13, PRAGYA accessed at https://www.pragya.org/doc/Conflict_Assessment_Report.pdf on 21 May 2015

⁶⁵ Pragma is a non-governmental development organization established in 1995. Initiated in the global South, our current operations span India, Nepal, Sub-Saharan Africa, UK, and USA

Galtung⁶⁶ asserts that conflict takes place in the context where there is a denial of access to resources for survival or wellbeing; when there is political repression, detention, marginalization and expulsion; and interference in one's need to identify or socialization or equal citizenship. Divisions among those societies that tend to glorify their sense of identity and security by conflict in essence seek changes in the structures of their societies. This is the case in Laikipia County where the Maasai people have attempted to seek redress on the treaty which saw them give away their land freely to the white settlers.

2.3.1 Land Ownership Conflicts

Land distribution and ownership in Laikipia County has been the constant cause of the conflict between the pastoral communities, ranchers and small-scale farmers. The pastoral communities believe that the ranchers took their land from them through deceit and by taking advantage of their poor education and illiteracy in signing agreements including the 1904 Anglo-Maasai treaty.

These are some of the challenges in Laikipia County where large-scale ranchers own over 50% of the land in, yet in terms of population they are less than 30%. The pastoralists and other inhabitants in Laikipia have often reacted to the inequalities on land adjudication by taking matters into their own hands by forcing their way onto the ranches. The pastoral communities consider the ranches part of their grazing land, indicating that ranches which are idle should be made accessible to their herds⁶⁷. This is part of the reason behind the recurring conflicts in the County.

Even though a large proportion (71.1%) agreed that dangerous gangs and bandits roamed in the area, 22.2% of the respondents strongly agreed and that area cattle rustling taking place was criminal. The majority of the people interviewed indicated that pastoralism had taken another direction in that cattle were being stolen for commercial not cultural purposes.

⁶⁶ Galtung, J.” *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*”. (London: Sage Publication, 1996).

⁶⁷ Krätli S, Swift J (2001). ‘Understanding and managing pastoral conflict in Kenya: How contemporary understandings and knowledge of pastoral conflict can guide practical work’, Environment Team, IDS Sussex, UK

It was noted that natural resource issues on their own do not solely cause the escalation of violence and conflicts. This escalation of natural resource based conflicts into fully blown violence is also attributed to other underlying unresolved issues such as marginalization, discrimination and exclusion of groups politically. Communities view land as a source of their livelihood, as an economic asset and attribute it to their identity as a people, history and culture as is the case with ethnic communities occupying Laikipia County⁶⁸.

Land distribution and ownership in that County has been the cause of the conflict between the pastoral communities, ranchers and small-scale farmers for many years.

The Anglo-Maasai Treaty of 1904 was merely a strategy to steal land from the Maasai and take their inheritance. This agreement saw the Maasai people give their best land to the white settlers through means of manipulation⁶⁹. Though these agreements were dubious and based on false promises to the locals by the British colonialists, the initial inhabitants were ultimately displaced and never had their demands met thereafter. Later attempts to regain their land through legal means have been futile evoking much anger and bitterness from the Maasai who are pastoralist'. Every effort made by the Maasai people to regain their land since independence has failed and often their pleas to the government fall on deaf ears. They have tried both legal and combative means with little if any success. Most of the time the government comes in to protect the white settlers at their expense including killing their livestock's and shooting them⁷⁰.

Due to the force used by the government to counteract them, the pastoralist in 2004 decided to retaliate. The outcome was that the crops of the small-scale farmers were destroyed by the pastoralists and violent conflicts erupted between the livestock herders, farmers and white settlers who own and run the ranches. Strong conservancy advocacy and movements in support of the land policy in the neighbouring Counties of Samburu,

⁶⁸ UN-HABITA, Toolkit and guidance for preventing and managing land and natural resources conflict (2012).

⁶⁹ Kinnaird, M.F. and O'brien, T.G., (2012). Effects of private-land use, livestock management, and human tolerance on diversity, distribution, and abundance of large African mammals. *Conservation Biology*, 26(6), pp.1026-1039.

⁷⁰ Fox, G.R., (2018). Maasai group ranches, minority land owners, and the political landscape of Laikipia County, Kenya. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 12(3), pp.473-493.

Isiolo and Baringo recently have been fuelling resistance from the pastoralists in these regions which over time spill into the Laikipia County due to community ties and relations which have only been separated by administrative boundaries. This was one of the major catalysts for the wide spread invasion of private ranches and conservancies by pastoralists in Laikipia County in 2017.

2.3.2 Inequalities on Land Adjudication and Redress

Onyango⁷¹ asserts that pastoralists are in a persistent state of crisis due to the widespread violence that takes place in an attempt to deal with the various challenges that are human induced as well as environmental. These include natural hazards such as earthquakes, slopes and terrain, rain patterns, quality of land and availability of water resources that are avital foundations of the pastoralists' insecurities and vulnerability. These environmental challenges strain the coping mechanisms of the populations involved. These challenges are aggravated among pastoralist societies as they are more exposed to these shocks due to the fact that they lack the necessary resources and infrastructure to cope adequately. As previously stated, in Laikipia County large scale ranchers own over 50% of the land yet only represent less than 30% in terms of population. The pastoralists and other inhabitants in Laikipia have often reacted to the inequalities on land adjudication by taking matters into their own hands and invading the ranches. They pastoral communities consider the ranches part of their grazing land indicating that ranchers which are idle be made accessible to their herds⁷². This is part of the reason behind the recurring conflicts.

2.3.3 Immigrants Displacing the Pastoralist

One of the most significant reasons why resident communities in Laikipia County migrated from their initial places of domicile was due to the economic endowment and increased empowerment available. Land buying companies emerged particularly in Central province, their motive being to legitimize agriculture as the backbone of Kenya's economy. Pressure for land was already rife at the turn of the century in Central Province,

⁷¹ Onyango, E.O. "Pastoralists in Violent Defiance of the State: *The Case of the Karimojong in Northeastern Uganda*" (2010).

⁷² Krätli S, Swift J (2001). 'Understanding and managing pastoral conflict in Kenya: How contemporary understandings and knowledge of pastoral conflict can guide practical work', Environment Team, IDS Sussex, UK

but it was not until 1950s that huge numbers of immigrants settled in Rumuruti and Laikipia West Sub-County ⁷³. Like many other parts of Kenya where communities acquired land and settled through land buying companies, such communities adopted ethnic names to identify emerging administrative areas corresponding to where the majority of them may have come from. In Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County, for instance, the name 'Kiamariga' used for a sub-location in Mutara Location is from Karatina in Mathira Constituency as well as 'Thome'. In like manner, 'Maundu ni meri' Sub-location in Sosian Location is a replica name originally from Nyandarua County and so is 'Ndurumo' (Akiwumi, 1999). 'Kagaa' is a name from Githunguri in Kiambu County. Ethnic coalescence on either side of the community's economic divide has been used to propagate names of ethnic areas of residence. Such use of distinct names from places of origin helps to whip solidarity and a sense of cohesion and belonging on the particular ethnic groups who use them. On the other hand, the names accelerate the feeling of being dispossessed of pastoral land by the Bantu communities during the inter-ethnic conflicts.⁷⁴

2.3.4 Cattle Rustling and Banditry

Cattle rustling and banditry features prominently as a cause of natural resource based conflicts in Laikipia County. The cultural belief and justification of embracing cattle rustling among the Maasai community is that the practice is viewed as a means to restock herds lost due to effects of harsh drought, expanded grazing pastures and the conventional means by men of age to acquire cattle for payment of bridal price. The other long held belief among the Masaai community is that all cattle originated from them hence the rationalisation to raid those in possession of the animals. The above cultural beliefs were gradually adopted amongst other pastoralist communities who occupy Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. This observation concurs with studies done by Mkutu⁷⁵.

⁷³ Akiwumi, 1999

⁷⁴ Hezekiah Biril, O.I., 11-4-2013, Rumuruti Township

⁷⁵ Mkutu, K.A., 2008. *Guns and Governance in the Rift Valley: Pastoralist Conflict and Small Arms*. James Curry, Oxford.

However, interviews with key informants who have resided in the County for years suggest that prior to 1979, the cattle raids were far less frequent and in a majority of those cases the stolen livestock was often recovered. Since 1979, however, the trend has been reversed leading to an escalation in the number of cattle stolen with the proportion of those recovered less. This scenario may exist due to absence of police posts in some places. Many raids that take place in the more remote and difficult areas do not get reported to or become known to the police. It is suggested the police appear to do little even when the stock theft is reported to them so people rarely report any incidents. Since rustling is not a full-time job, the arms skilled morans switch into banditry.

Most of the conflicts as indicted by most of the respondents occur as a result of the farmers and herders competing over the scarce socio-economic resources such as land, water and pasture. This results in wars of hegemony and subordination as the communities try to edge each other over the control of these limited crucial resources. This struggle acts as a motivator for cattle rustling and banditry fuelling the desire for economic greed and for accumulation of economic wealth increases. Recently, the preference to use modern arms over the traditional weaponry while raiding typifies the underlying profit giving a significant motive for the increase in cattle rustling and insecurity within the County. This profit-making element coupled with lapses within the securities apparatus of the County has been the main reason for the recurrence of these conflicts.⁷⁶ This transforms modern day cattle rustling from a traditional cultural practice to an economic venture by external actors such small arms sellers with security agents colluding with the perpetrators. Akiwumi⁷⁷ asserts that the perpetrators of this banditry deplete the neighbouring Bantu communities of their socio-economic sustenance through destruction of their properties, theft of food while at the same time dispossessing them of their livestock. This is further identified in the Table 2.1.

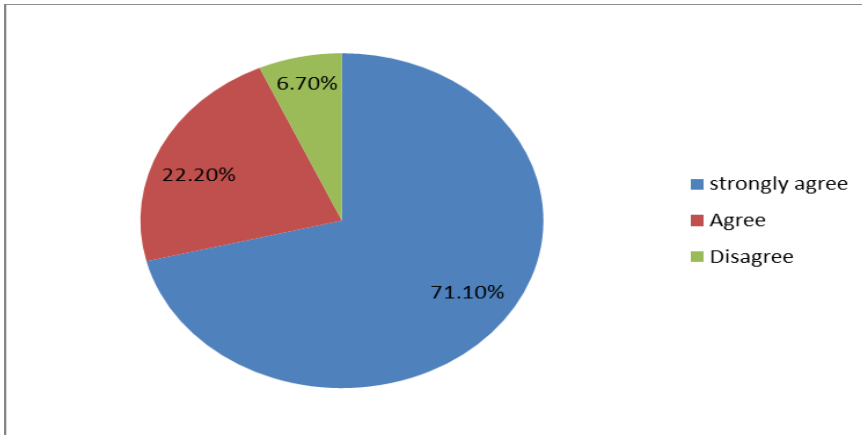
⁷⁶ Mkutu, K.A., 2008. *Guns and Governance in the Rift Valley: Pastoralist Conflict and Small Arms*. James Curry, Oxford.

⁷⁷ Akiwumi, 1999).

2.3.4.1 Cattle Rustling and Crime

The researcher sought to find out from the locals what their views were in regards to whether this age-old practice was criminal or not and the results indicated in the Figure 2:1:

Figure 2.1: Cattle Rustling is Criminal

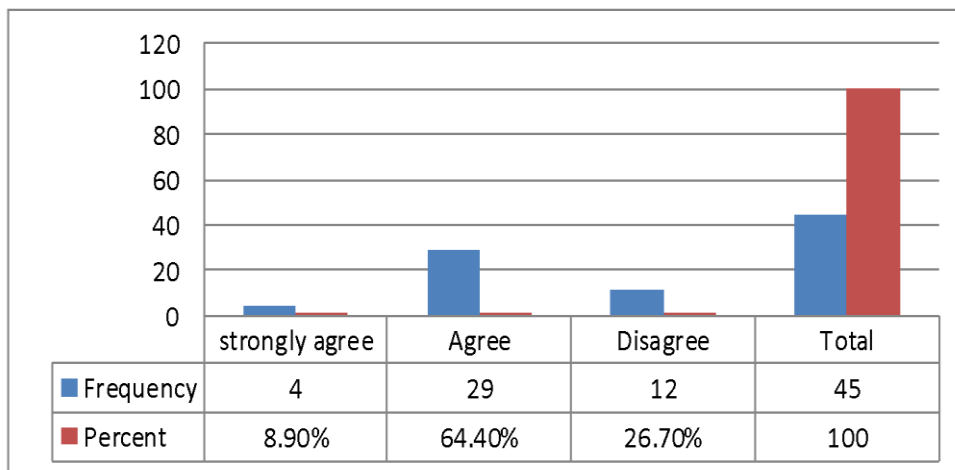


Source: Field Data, 2018

2.3.4.2 Cattle Rustlers are Non –Pastoralists

The researcher was interested in finding out whether cattle rustlers in County were pastoralists or non-pastoralists and the results indicated in the Figure 2:2.

Figure 2:2: Cattle Rustlers are Mainly Non -pastoralists



Source: Field Data, 2018

64.4% and 8.8% of respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that the cattle raiders are not pastoralists residing in the County, as the stolen animals are often transported to open livestock markets or to butcheries almost immediately. In the course of the discussions, it was noted by the respondents that some of the cattle rustlers were not necessarily pastoralists but other people including young men who were ex-military. They were not stealing the cattle for cultural reasons but solely commercial often loading the animals onto trucks.

2.3.5 Cattle Rustling is Fuelled by Politics as it Intensifies During Campaigns

The researcher was interested in finding out whether politics has been a catalyst to cattle rustling as it exaggerates during campaign periods and the results indicated in the Table: 2:1.

Table 2:1: Cattle Rustling Intensifies during Political Campaign Periods

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	strongly agree	23	51.1
	Agree	14	31.1
	Neutral	8	17.8
	Total	45	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2018

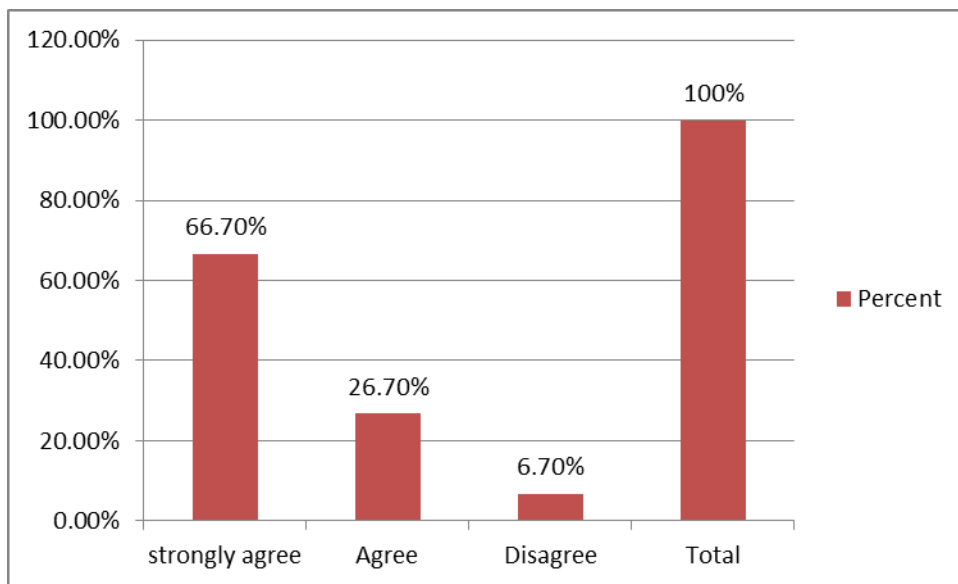
While most of the respondents viewed cattle banditry and rustling as a constant occurrence, 2% of them stated that it was more frequent in the campaign seasons. A majority of the respondents concurred in their claims that a larger percentage of the insecurity in the region was fuelled by incitements by politicians. Pastoral conflicts (as indicated by the expert during the interview) affords the politicians an opportunity to control the wealth in the pastoral communities and perpetuate illicit trades of small arms, since a large percentage of trade passes outside of official channels. Political actors play a role in protracted conflicts through their tribal lines. The Members of the County Assemblies and local leaders are the main sponsors of the criminal activities as asserted by most of the respondents interviewed. They make various political promises including things such as land and cattle to those who will participate in raiding their neighbouring communities. During the focus group discussions, the respondents also indicated that political incitements against ranchers led to more and more violence, revenge and counter

revenge. Political Leaders such as Members of Parliament (MPs), Members of County Assembly (MCA) and party leaders can be instigators as well as facilitators of a conflict especially by their rhetoric⁷⁸. They can also directly promote conflict by certain propaganda or while competing for political leadership during general and party elections⁷⁹. Politicians can also sponsor raids as a way of raising funds for political campaigns or to maintain political leverage over their opponents in order to win power easily⁸⁰.

2.3.6 Cattle Rustling has been commercialized by Wealthy Cartels

The researcher was interested in finding out whether the age-old traditional practice of cattle rustling has been commercialized into an income generating venture by wealthy cartels and now run by businessmen in the County and the results indicated in the Figure 2.3.

Figure 2:3: Cattle Rustling has been Transformed into a Business Venture



Source: Field Data, 2018

⁷⁸ Fratkon E. “Resurgence of Inter pastoralists’ warfare in Kenya.” *Conference Paper on Resurgent Ethnic Conflict and Tribalism in Africa*. Atlanta USA (1994).

⁷⁹ Amisi B. K. Conflict in Riftvalley and Western Kenya. *USAID Conference Paper on Conflict Resolution in the area* (Horn of Africa June, 1997).

⁸⁰ Ibrahim and Jenner. *Wajir Community Based Conflict Management Seminar Paper for the USAID Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Greater Horn of Africa* (1997).

According to the table above, 66.7% of the respondents believe that cattle rustling has become a business run by wealthy cartels and 26.7% agreed respectively while 6.7% indicated disagreed. In recent times pastoral conflict appears to be more influenced by commercial rather than cultural reasons. However bizarrely a majority of the local leaders were quite happy for the conflicts to continue as this was seen as a traditional method to restock cattle and amass wealth with unscrupulous business people.⁸¹ During the focus groups discussion, the respondents indicated that they believed arms dealers and livestock traders often supply weapons to bandits.⁸²

2.3.7 Water Resource and Conflict

Laikipia County suffers from water shortages for domestic use, farming and livestock rearing due to the high incidences of droughts. The arid and semi-arid areas including Laikipia have unpredictable climate patterns. This disrupts agricultural planning leading to reduced yields in farming and loss of livestock. The situation is further intensified by the lack of access to credit and financial services, increasing demands for food supply and low profits from farming activities⁸³.

During the survey, unsurprisingly, a majority of those questioned considered water a scarce resource, with a greater percentage able to differentiate between the amount of rainfall received and the access of the same either through catchment areas such as boreholes and dams or through the use other water harvesting techniques. Those that disagreed, believed livestock banditry and theft in general as the main issues. A majority of the respondents believed that water was constantly used upstream to the disadvantage of those downstream. Most of those disagreeing did not live near a river. This later group found it challenging in conceptualizing the larger hydrological system and were also unaware of any other uses of land in the region e.g. horticulture in the upstream areas.

⁸¹ Hendrickson et al., 1996

⁸² Cheserek et al, "Nature and Causes of Cattle Rustling among some Pastoral Communities in Kenya", *Journal of Emerging Trends in Economics and Management Sciences (JETEMS)* (Vol. 3 (2), 2012) pp. 173-179.

⁸³ Bekure, Solomon, ed. *Maasai (1991). Herding: an analysis of the livestock production system of Maasai pastoralists in eastern Kajiado District, Kenya*. Vol. 4. ILRI (aka ILCA and ILRAD).

It was noted from the sentiments of the respondents that security had an effect on the use of the limited resources by the users and their keenness to harvest rain water. Even though most of the respondents reside in small traditional mud-huts that have thatched roofs, the few who have iron roofs were hesitant to capitalize on modern technologies in harvesting water. As one respondent indicated:

‘We don't have a way of harvesting water because this is a temporary home. We would like to stay here but with more security. We're not prepared to build a permanent home because we might be killed or have to leave.

Seasonal migration that is frequently experienced in the region by nomadic pastoralists in search of food and water for their cattle, demonstrates that climate variabilities and seasonality play a central role in the livelihoods of the communities. Many of the respondents comprising both the farmers and pastoralists, concurred to claims that the rainfall patterns in the region had drastically changed over the past decade with the last three having experienced the most fluctuations making it hard for predictions of the start rains and their intensity during the rainy seasons. Most of the respondents also conceded that disturbances from elephants is a general seasonal issue that while suggesting that climate change was also contributing to the increase in the frequency of the elephants' migrations.

Interestingly, a greater number of respondents to the questionnaire commented on climate change compared to those for the semi-structured interview who only remarked on it after they were questioned about it directly through a specific questionnaire item. On the issue of cross-border movements as one of the major contributing factors for escalation of conflicts in Laikipia County, 70% agreed and remarked that the County had turned into a hot bed for nomadic pastoralists from neighbouring counties in search of pasture. This they stated is exacerbated by the incapability of the elders in managing these cross-border movements.

2.3.7.1 Water Influences Conflict

The researcher was interested in finding out whether water influences conflict and the results indicated in the Figure 2.2.

Table 2:2: Water Conflict and Conflict

	strongly agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Volume of rainfall and the accessibility of water has caused frequent conflicts	4	8.9%	31	68.9%	1	2.2%	9	20.0%	45	100.0%
Water as a scarce resource has attracted conflict from different communities	0	0.0%	26	57.8%	0	0.0%	19	42.2%	45	100.0%
Extraction of water upstream is detrimental to the users downstream	4	8.9%	32	71.1%	0	0.0%	9	20.0%	45	100.0%
Rainfall patterns in the region have changed between the last three to ten years	4	8.9%	29	64.4%	12	26.7%	0	0.0%	45	100.0%
Laikipia County is a hotspot as pastoralists from neighbouring counties came in search of grazing pasture which is a major factor leading to disputes and ensuing conflicts	16	35.6%	19	42.2%	10	22.2%	0	0.0%	45	100.0%
Disturbance and crop destruction by elephants is generally a seasonal issue which is experienced more during the dry seasons	8	17.8%	28	62.2%	0	0.0%	9	20.0%	45	100.0%

Source: Field Data, 2018

Varying rainfall volumes and accessibility to water has being a major contributing factor to the frequent upsurge conflicts in the County as underlined by 77.8% of the respondents who strongly agreed with that statement. Water scarcity has increased and is predicted to continue to increase in the future due to climate variations, expanding shift towards agricultural activities, growing human and livestock populations⁸⁴. This phenomenon potentially an outcome of global climate change can be argued to be an outcome of the increasingly unusual erratic rainfall patterns, prolonged dry spells and drought⁸⁵.

When asked whether they were in agreement with the assertion that water as a scarce resource has attracted conflicts between different communities, most of the respondents, that is 57.8% agreed. Scholars indicate that droughts caused by erratic and irregular rainfall reduce the availability of water for communities that depend on rainfall-fed agriculture and animal husbandry for their livelihoods⁸⁶.

A total of 81% of the respondents believed that water was being taken upstream to the detriment of users downstream. This leads to scarcity of water and the resultant

⁸⁴ International panel on climate change 2007 report.

⁸⁵ S. Bahta, 2008. Equitable Resource Management and Regional Security in the Horn of Africa; Human security setting the agenda for the Horn of Africa. Published by Africa Peace forums. Nairobi-Kenya p 160

⁸⁶ W. Tsuma (2011) climate change -conflict Nexus. Frame work for policy-oriented action, p 7

conflicts. According to Nyaoro⁸⁷ conflicts over land in Kenya originate in competing demands for water, either between individuals with the same purpose or a number of different users with different interests. This study has corroborated the view that the accessibility to water is perceived as a causal factor to the escalation of conflict, manifested through exclusion of others over the tussle for the control and use this resource as well as through its extraction for commercial agricultural initiatives. This is still evident despite the apparent utilization of advanced technologies designed to foster water efficiency.⁸⁸ While a significant number of respondents agreed that water is being removed upstream to the detriment of users downstream, those who disagreed often didn't live near a river and could not envisage the greater ecological system. They were also unaware of other potential land uses in the region, such as horticulture.

64.4% and 8.9% of the respondents who were a majority believed the fluctuating rainfall patterns in the County over the last three to ten years period had made it increasingly difficult to predict the onset, intensity and duration of the rains during the projected rainy seasons. 80% of the respondents also identified elephant disturbance as a general seasonal problem experienced majorly by the farmers and especially the dry seasons. This was attribute to the migration of the elephants during droughts in search of water a phenomenon brought about by climate change that has seen the water volumes of most of the County's water catchment spots decline and many dry up. A majority of participants believed that pasture has continually become a scarce resource with a majority in agreement that cross-county migration and movement of nomadic herders from neighbouring communities in search of available grazing pastures in Laikipia County. This was indicated as one of the major triggers for communal and ranch disputes as the nomadic pastoralists from same communities neighbouring Laikipia invade by use of force to access these ranch and communal owned water spots and pastures. This finding is attributed to 35.6% and 42.2% of the respondents who agreed and strongly agreed with the assertion.

⁸⁷ Nyaoro, 1999

⁸⁸ Wiesmann et al., 2000

2.4 Agro-Pastoral Conflict

Generally, participants did not believe that herders purposely infiltrate farmers' crops or even knowingly allow their boys on herding duty to graze their livestock on farmers' shambas. Many of the respondents indicated that within the pastoral communities, boys are tasked with the responsibility of grazing and watering livestock and hence by the mere virtue that most of the time it's these children who are with the animals, invasion by the animals into farmers' crops is merely an unpremeditated consequence of herding. Many of the respondents maintained that if farmers took the responsibility to fence in their crops, then a greater percentage of conflicts between farmers and pastoralists would be manageable as this would tame most the roaming cattle. Qualitative data however suggests that fencing was just a superficial remedy that is not adequate to quell farm invasions by nomadic pastoralists and wildlife in search of pasture during drought seasons. To support this, farmers stated that due to the fact that most of these nomadic herders are usually armed with light weapons and firearms, confronting them when cattle enter into their farms is a daunting affair as they are scared of retaliatory physical attacks from them. As one farmer in Laikipia West spoke:

‘Fences are useless because pastoralists remove the fences and let their animals in. When you ask them what they're doing they ask you if you eat the grass because grass is for cows. If you argue with him he just stays silent. These people are armed so you can't quarrel with them.’

Another respondent stated as there was fighting in town where there were no animals, the conflicts that occurred between the farmers and pastoralists was obviously not about animals. This may suggest that there are broader socio-political issues at play and issues such as fires and access to resources such as water and boreholes are part of the wider agro pastoral conflict. See figures shown in the figure 2.7.

2.4.1 Agro-Pastoral Conflicts

The researcher was interested in finding out the relationship between ranchers and pastoralists and what caused conflict.

Table 2.3: Agro-Pastoral Conflicts

	strongly agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Conflict between ranchers and pastoralists is due to encroaching of farms	5	11.1%	32	71.1%	0	0.0%	8	17.8%	45	100.0%
Conflicts between ranchers and pastoralists can be solved by fencing of farms	30	66.7%	15	33.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	45	100.0%
Possession of fire arms by pastoralists contributes to heightened conflicts	22	48.9%	15	33.3%	4	8.9%	4	8.9%	45	100.0%

Source: Field Data, 2018

According to the table above, 82.2% of the respondents indicated that conflict between ranchers and pastoralists was due to encroaching of farms while 17.8% of the respondents disagreed. The majority of participants in the questionnaire believed that much of the conflict between the protagonists would be eased if farmers were to fence their crops, to keep out the roaming cattle belonging to the pastoralists from destroying their crops. However, during the FGD the respondents indicated that fencing was not a guarantee for security of their farms and property as the pastoralists were well armed and easily made their way into their farms. They also said that they didn't stand a chance and often cannot advance any case for compensation with pastoralists for fear of being killed. According to Gausset⁸⁹ these problems are evident in Laikipia in conflict that involves access to resources such as pasture and water for their livestock.

82.2% of respondents agreed that possession of firearms by pastoralists contributes to heightened conflicts, far more than previously. Many of the respondents opined that the increase in the use of light firearms and violent cattle raids in the recent past has led to a heightened state of insecurity in the area. Many respondents especially during the FGD referred to a number of incidents in the years, 2006 to 2009 when many

⁸⁹ Gausset (2005).

people were killed in Laikipia, including 32 people in one incident in the west of the county. It is apparent the government needs to work closely with local leaders for peaceful a disarmament exercise as a way of promoting peace in Laikipia.

2.5 Factors Sustaining Natural Resource Conflicts in Laikipia County

The susceptible to drought by Laikipia County due to its semi-arid ecological nature is a marco factor that predisposes it water conflicts amongst humans and wildlife. A common feature of conflicts among these pastoralist communities is their intensive in the few wet areas neighbouring dry ones. Disputes are hence transported from dry zones to the wet zones by migrating herders and wildlife making the wet areas in the County epicentres for ensuing conflicts. These resultant conflicts usually involve actors such as the groups and communities that perceive the right to access, control and protect these scarce resources. Pastoral conflicts have the following characteristics: they arise due to natural resource scarcity, ethnic and tribalism strife which represents communal tussles against the discriminatory allocation and use of these resources. In addition, they are a manifestation of perceived disconnect between policy and regulatory goals on conservation goals over social development, insufficient political will and weak governance that has contributed to insecurity in the region. This rising insecurity has nurtured the proliferation of firearms, cattle rustling and banditry in the County⁹⁰.

In addition, changing seasonal rain patterns have subjected most of the areas to prolonged and recurrent drought episodes affecting the sustainability of vegetation growth. To deal with this, wildlife and the native communities have to adapt their lifestyles around seasonal movements that are characterized by migrations and shifting populations in search for pasture and water. This induced forced migration and the competition that is created over access to natural resources among the pastoral communities leads to political instability and conflict with the neighbouring communities, farmers and ranchers.

⁹⁰ A holistic approach to natural resource conflict: The case of Laikipia County, Kenya.” *Journal of Rural Studies*” 34 (2014): 117-127.

Lack of political willingness to address the issues of cattle rustling and banditry continues to progress conflicts among pastoralist communities. In Laikipia County, small scale farmers often lose their cattle to nomadic pastoralists who raid their herds with an aim to replenish their own stocks, expand their grazing pastures, gain and control access to water a practice they have maintained for decades as a means to show their social dominance⁹¹. However, in recent years, due to the increase in availability and use of modern small arms, the changes in the raiding of livestock to become more of a commercial business, dispute over land tenure and banditry, traditional cultural practices have become more prevalent, sophisticated, more intense, and destructive among the pastoral communities⁹². Proliferation of illegal weapons has also increased the severity of cattle rustling and banditry. In addition, commercialization of livestock raiding mentioned above, in which wealthy businessmen, politicians, traders and local people pursue their own economic objectives has created further problems by interfering with pastoral livelihoods and ultimately contributed to the conflicts themselves. ⁹³Politicians are also assisting communities to acquire guns and ammunition, and guaranteeing markets for stolen animals while providing food and transport for the raiders to get to and from the targeted area.

The security force training and capacity to deal with conflicts in Laikipia has also been wanting as indicated by most of the respondents. The government interventions and community involvement is vital in establishing a lasting peace to the resource based conflicts in Laikipia. There is also need for deployment of enough security personnel to mitigate the conflicts without any political interference. The security force should further be empowered with enough equipment and weaponry to counteract the armed pastoral militia.

⁹¹ Omondi P. A thesis on wildlife – Human Conflict in Kenya. Monreal McGill University (unpublished) pp.63-

⁹² Mkutu, K. (2000): Cattle Rustling and the Proliferation of Small Arms: the case of Baragoi, Samburu District. Paper presented at the conference ‘Improving Human Security through the control and Management of Small Arms’, Arusha, March 23-25.

⁹³Eaton, D. (2008): Violence, revenge and the history of cattle raiding along Kenya-Uganda border. Halifax Dalhouse University.

Nomadic pastoralists cause conflict in others areas as they move in search of pasture. The wide plains often experience conflict as they form points of contact between different nomadic pastoralists. To some extent recent attempts by the Government to create a settled life among the pastoralists has created a pattern whereby, people fight to own land individually as opposed to traditional communal ownership system. This is evidenced by the Masaai who pressed their case at the Carter Commission of Inquiry into Land in 1904. At the constitutional talks at Lancaster House in the 1960s, they raised the issue yet again and they were ignored, yet again. Their effort to regain their land is to some extent based on their need to settle and farm⁹⁴. This assertion was further echoed by respondents interviewed in Rumuruti and Doldol. In 2004, the Laikipia Communities repeated the historical land demands to the British Government and mobilised civil society to protest and press for compensation and restitution. They were met with police violence and brutality. Thwarted time and again in their hundred-year quest for justice, the Maasai see the agreements as a potent symbol of official indifference, even hostility to their rights. The ranchers show no understanding of the situation point when they say these issues are now dead explaining the anger among the pastoralist leading to never ending conflict with white settlers. These conflicts over natural resources has resulted to death of several white settlers and their workers including at the Ol Maisor ranch which lost two workers to Pokot herders and tens of thousands of cattle. This invasion is said to have been politically instigated.

2.6 Summary of Key Findings

Chapter two highlights the results finding that pastoralist conflicts in the study area were due to natural resources management gaps. This led to existence of exploitation and dishonestly taking the land of the powerless for selfish gains. Laikipia also faces increased pressures that can potentially disrupt its balance. Population growth has stretched the use of land and natural resources. Frequent droughts and water scarcity threaten land management and community livelihoods and increases competition over natural resources. Additionally, a lack of knowledge and access to sustainable building materials and water to irrigate crops leads to the unsustainable use of forests and rivers.

⁹⁴ Dr Lotte Hughes. Malice in Maasai land: The historical roots of current political struggles.

Laikipia County experiences a myriad of socio-economic and environmental challenges that undermine household's livelihoods. The higher potential zone of the County is faced with the challenge whereas the good land for farming is in the hand of the white settlers. The study findings confirmed that pastoral conflicts have been commercialized overtime and other actors including the politicians usually acts as triggers to the conflict.

CHAPTER THREE
EFFECTIVENESS OF THE EXISTING STRATEGIES FOR CONFLICT
MANAGEMENT MECHANISMS IN LAIKIPIA COUNTY

3.0 Introduction

This study examines the effectiveness of existing policies and strategies used by communities in Laikipia County to solve conflicts arising from natural resource-based conflicts in the area.

3.1. Effectiveness of the Existing Strategies for Natural Resource Management

3.1.1 Preferred Strategies used to Address Conflicts

The researcher was interested in finding out the preferred strategies used to address conflicts and the results as highlighted in the Table 3.1

Table 3:1: Traditional Strategies used to Address Conflicts

	Frequency	Percent
Arbitrations by community elders	14	31.1
Peace meetings	14	31.1
Disarmament	13	28.9
Courts of Law	4	8.9
Total	45	100.0
Preferred Modern strategies used to address conflicts		
	Frequency	Percent
Collaborative approach	11	24.4
Environmental governance	12	26.6
Environmental and Natural Resources valuation	4	8.9
Restoration and rehabilitation of environmentally degraded areas	10	22.2
Enhanced security mechanisms and apparatus in the county	8	17.7
Total	45	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2018

With regards to the traditional strategies used to address conflicts, the study established that the most preferred method for conflict resolution by communities in the region was arbitration by community elders and peace meetings as established by 31.1% of the respondent in both cases. 28.9% said that it was the use of disarmament while only 8.9% said courts of law were the most preferred method. The findings show that

arbitration by community elders and peace meetings was the preferred method to solve conflicts.

In reference to the history of natural resource policy and conflict resolution, the usual way to prevent and resolve natural resource and environmental conflicts is through legislative, administrative, and judicial approaches. Unfortunately, the outcome is not satisfactory to the decision-makers, citizens and advocates which often results in a recurrence of disputes that strains relationships and a rise in transaction costs.

With regards to modern strategies used to address conflicts, the following assertions were made by the respondents. Majority of the respondents affirmed collaborative approach to natural resource management. This strategy involves creating a platform for key stakeholders to address common issues using the relevant information. Other key propositions include increasing meaningful citizen participation which fosters informed decision making and accountability.

A significant proportion of the respondents further asserted that environmental governance in resource management was highly correlated to conflict management in Laikipia County as indicated by 26.6% of the respondents. There exists a policy gap in relation to the management of natural resources due to the slow or lack of adoption of the existing national environmental policies at the county level. This calls for prompt harmonization of these national policies in the devolution process. In addition, weak enforcement of legislative mechanisms remains a key issue in Laikipia County calling for redress.

8.9% of the respondents further indicated that there was need for valuation of environmental resources. Public investment in the sector is minimal due to the low prioritization of the environment and natural resources by policy makers. The way forward would be to increase public investment in the sector thus have a corresponding effect in natural resource management in Laikipia County. Increased public participation at the national, county and communal level, environmental education and awareness results in increasing public investment. Additionally, collective public decision making is essential for sustainable development.

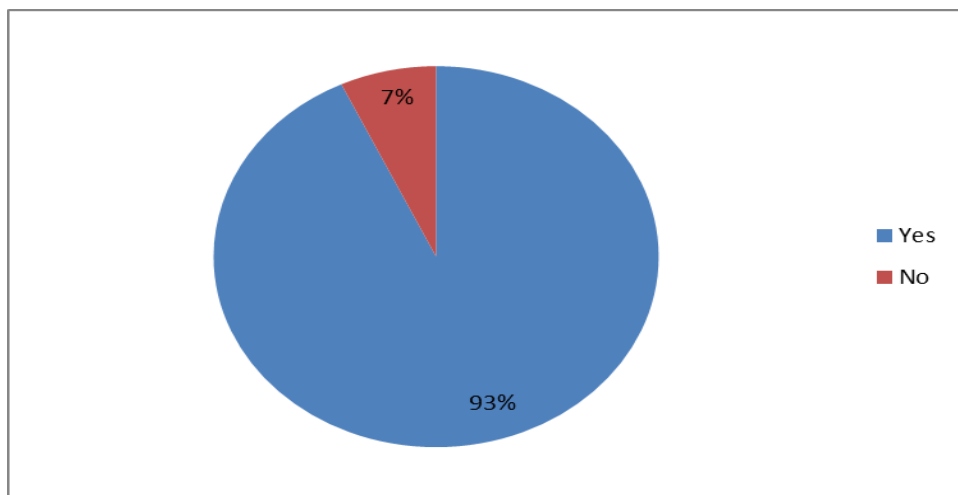
Rehabilitation and restoration of environmentally degraded area was rated at 22.2% by the study respondents indicating that it played a significant role in natural resource management. This is due to high environmental degradation in some of the areas occupied by pastoral communities in Laikipia County. This strategy would aid in minimizing the movement and invasion of the nomadic herders into the ranches and the conservancies.

As indicated by 17.7% of the respondents were in agreement that enhanced security mechanisms and apparatus in the county will go a long way in addressing tribal disputes caused by competition over the limited natural resources. As witnessed in the recent past, conflicts between herders, farmers, ranch owners and wildlife conservancies erupted into violent raids resulting to death and loss to livestock and wildlife due to security lapses.

3.1.2 Effectiveness of the Strategies used for Resource- Based Conflict Management

The study sought to evaluate awareness and acceptance of the strategies used for conflict resolution and peace building among communities in Laikipia County and the response indicated in figure 3.1;

Figure 3.1: Effectiveness of the Strategies used for Resource-Based Conflict Management



Source: Field Data, 2018

The figure above shows respondents' level of confidence in the strategies used for resource-based conflict resolution. Respondents when asked whether they had confidence

in the strategies used for conflict resolution in the study area. 93% conceded to having confidence in the strategies used for resource-based conflict management. However, 7% of the total respondents had a contrary view and indicated that they did not have confidence in the strategies employed in the region.

3.1.3 Level of Confidence in Strategies for Conflict prevention and Resolution

The study sought to assess the Level of Confidence in Strategies for Conflict Resolution and the responses indicated in Table 3:

Table 3.2: Level of Confidence in Strategies for Conflict Resolution and Peace

Response on qualities admired	Frequency	Percent
Local knowledge	18	40%
Community participation	13	29%
Solves conflict and promotes peace	11	24%
Shortens time for dispute resolution	3	7%

Source: Field Data, 2018

These respondents indicated that they admired certain qualities in these strategies as discussed below. Twenty-three (18) respondents representing 40% of the total respondents said that they admired the use of local knowledge and capacities in the strategies. Another eighteen (13) respondents representing 29% of the total respondents said that they admired the participatory nature of the strategies while twelve (11) other respondents representing 24%, argued that the strategies were effective in helping to solve conflicts and bring peace. Three (3) respondents representing 7% said they admired the strategies because they shortened time for dispute resolution.

The findings in the above table show that majority of the respondents supported community led strategies in the study area to solve conflicts and promote peace.

3.2 Policy Gaps in Management of Natural Resource Based Conflicts

According to Stephen Tyler⁹⁵, management of resource-based conflicts have in the past taken a narrow focus towards the factors of production. This strategy excluded integration of institutional, social and policy mechanisms that are adaptive to the rapid depletion of resources in modern world. This has been the case in Laikipia County where the existing natural resource management policies lack a broader perspective in their approach to resolve disputes. The 2018 mapping exercise across the 47 counties in Kenya concerning the progress on implementation of environmental management frameworks and policies revealed that the bills are still pending. This state of affairs foments undesirable consequences for environmental governance and resolution of resource-based conflicts.

It is of utmost importance to explore new mechanisms and institutional policies that manage these conflicts and resolves them efficiently focussing on long-term sustainability as well as economic feasibility. Drastic changes such as population growth, climate variations, increased human settlements and economic activities call for the review of the national environmental policies to adopt and have a compounding effect on these changes.

Ayling and Kelly ⁹⁶ asserts that rapid changes in land use development causes restraint on the limited resource leading to competition by the expanding populations. Natural resource use in Laikipia County continues to be a contributing factor to armed conflicts between ranchers, small scale famers and pastoralists. ⁹⁷.

In the past, natural resource based conflicts were resolved through informal mediations and negotiations which were the traditional resolution mechanisms. These traditional approaches as practiced at the community level were aimed at fostering relationships and peaceful co-existence through their participatory, expeditious, voluntary, flexible and informal nature. Conflicts back then manifested in economic

⁹⁵ Stephen R. Tyler, Policy Implications of Natural Resource Conflict Management (2012)

⁹⁶ Ayling, R.; Kelly, K. 1997. Dealing with conflict: natural resources and dispute resolution. Commonwealth Forestry Review, 76(3), 182–185.

⁹⁷ Tungittiplakorn, W. 1995. Highland-lowland conflict over natural resources: a case of Mae Soi, Chiang Mai, Thailand. Society and Natural Resources, 8(2), 279–288.

circumstances with which minimization of risk was commonly favored over maximization of profits while at the same time based on cultural-specific values and spiritually which defined the secular versus the sacredness of the field play between them.

The penetration of global economic forces into the undertakings of the communities' economic affairs in the recent past has led to the collapse of traditional justice systems has modern conflicts often manifest and are dealt with more through state mechanisms due to their national jurisdiction nature.

3.2.1 Comparative Analysis of Existing National Policies on Natural Resource Management and Extent of Implementation by Laikipia County

The socio-economic well-being of the Kenyan economy and its citizens' livelihood is ultimately interconnected to the environment due to the country's heavy reliance on agriculture as its economic backbone. In addition, Kenya's natural resources generate the country's wealth directly and indirectly through productive sectors such as fisheries, agriculture, livestock, energy, water, forestry, tourism, trade and industry. Successive whole sections or chapters of the national development policies, plans and regulations have been dealing with environmental issues since independence. The 1992 Rio Earth Summit in particular made a significant contribution to the management and planning of the county's natural resources by providing an improved understanding of the link between development and the environment. The conclusion of the summit recommended and re-emphasized the necessity for a comprehensive environmental policy and legal framework that initiated the process of the National Environmental Action Plan (NEAP) that was finalized in 1994.

The policy formulation development resulted in Session Document No. 6 of 1999 entitled "Environment and Development". The legislative procedure has published the Act on Coordination and Environmental Management (ACM) No. 8 of 1999 as the first environmental law in Kenya. Both the session document and the law have been added to a large number of existing sector-specific laws and directives in various environmental aspects such as water, forests and minerals.

The adoption of the 2010 Kenya Constitution and further new developments, such as climate change, have been an important chapter in the development of Kenyan environmental policy. The Constitution is an embodiment of government-developed natural resource management strategies. These range from the principles and impacts on the environment by the Multilateral Environmental Agreements (MEAs) that prescribe the right to a clean and healthy environment, as enshrined in the Bill of Rights chapter V which is entirely devoted to the earth and the environment. It also includes a number of social and economic rights that are ecological in nature, such as: The right to water, food and housing. It is the government's obligation to ensure through the Ministry of Environment that the guidelines are reviewed and formulated to reflect the aspirations of the Constitution and the emerging problems in managing the wealth environment. This policy should aim to provide a holistic framework for implementation by the district government.

The enactment of the new constitution in 2010, and the subsequent adoption and implementation of specific national environmental policies on natural resources and environmental conservation at the County level has been slow as part of the implementation process, with only a handful of district councils passing laws on resource management over the last seven years since the decentralization of the environmental administration as stated by the key informant⁹⁸. The County governments seven years down the line are yet to formulate and enact effective policies and regulations customized and specific to their respective County resources needs that will aid in alleviating grievances and injustices relating to ownership, use and management of resources.

The interview with the key informant brought out to light the slow adoption and implementation of the existing national environmental policies by Laikipia County. This was attributed to bottle necks in the legislative process within the administration in relation to pending environmental management bills in the assembly which causes policy gaps that stemming grievances over competition for limited resources ride on to crop up conflicts in the County. It was thus noted that the County is yet to implement and enforce

⁹⁸ Njenga Kahiro , CECM water, environment and natural resources county government of Laikipia County (2018)

an effective and comprehensive natural resource management framework. The key informant pointed out the need for more public participation and involvement in the legislative processes of the County to aid in fast-tracking the enactment of the proposed resource management bills in the County assembly.

Increased insecurity that has been experienced in the County was highlighted by the informant who suggests that lapses in the security administration and apparatus needed review and boosting to curb brewing recurring conflicts that at times turn violent. When asked about the extent to which Laikipia County had implemented the national land policy which sought to correct historical injustices, dating back to 1895 when the nation became a British colony, he pointed out that the existing national land policy has not been very effective in dealing with conflicts between the native communities' and white settlers over land allocation, use and utilization in the County over the years⁹⁹.

Powerful usage of the Community Land Act can go far towards guaranteeing that neighbourhood groups can secure rights to land, thus settling conflicts¹⁰⁰. However, there is lack of goodwill in the implementation of the Act which came into force just a few days before a constitutionally mandated deadline for its passage, calling into question the political will required to ensure its implementation. This is particularly important because, even though the new law significantly empowers local communities it does not give sufficient guidance to pastoralists on how to unpack and fairly order their customary rights, which often overlap with other communities. Land issue is often a controversial issue in Laikipia County. Much of the latest round of violence in Laikipia County was triggered by politicians armed with information that the 99-year lease contracts of ranchers in Laikipia were about to expire. They moved to incite the shepherds to invade and occupy the affected ranches with the last hope of possessing them. This often led to the destruction of property, the annihilation of wildlife and the loss of tourism in a region that is a leading destination for thousands of tourists around the world.

⁹⁹ Njenga Kahiro , CECM water, environment and natural resources county government of Laikipia County (2018)

¹⁰⁰ The Community Land Bill (2015)

3.2.2 Challenges in Policy and Legislative Development for Natural Resource Management in Laikipia County

There is need to settle on better educated decisions with regards to the best long-haul utilization of the pastoral territories. Appropriate reforms and land tenure rights related to access to grazing land and water for pastoralists and other interested parties. This is important as prohibiting group ranch conservancies from being used for grazing and residential purposes deprives people of livelihood opportunities as many conservancy areas are large (around 10,000 acres) and reduces the grazing lands available if not used for livestock.

Conservation sites are often located in privileged areas with water sources whose restricted use has negative effects on the majority of inhabitants and livestock. The new system of measures by the African Union (AU), focuses on the privileges of pastoralists, including the privilege of access to spatially distributed assets, and the importance of maintaining and improving peaceful versatility as a procedure of achieving efficient use of limited resources while dodging exploitation. Despite all this technical assistance, county governments have not legislated adequately, and some of the laws developed are of low quality and grossly inadequate in drum up support of the functions for which they were developed. Research indicates that the four most unlegislated functions by the county governments including Laikipia county includes animal Control with 42 Counties (91%) having no legislation on it; Control of Air and Noise pollution with 42 counties (89%); County Planning with 38 counties (80%); and Natural Resources and Environmental Conservation (soil, water and forestry) also with 38 counties (80%) having not legislation at all respectively Laikipia county included¹⁰¹. The county policies are also not linked to the national policy framework under Vision 2030. Instead, county policies are being based on the county integrated development plans (CIDP). The CIDP however changes every five years depending on the regime. Legislation is for posterity and should not be subject to political vicissitudes of changing county governments¹⁰². It may therefore be useful to base policies and legislation on functions for continuity since county functions does not change.

¹⁰¹ GOK, Ministry of Devolution, 'The Policy on Devolution Systems'. 2016.

¹⁰² Counties' Assemblies Websites

Even though the government has been training the members of the county assembly on policy and legislative development they tend to change with each regime, presenting a high level of attrition of knowledge and capacity built. There is also lack of clarity on policy and legislative development responsibilities for con-current functions. Though there is a general belief that the national government has primary responsibility, there are no guidelines on how County governments are supposed to domesticate these policies and legislation including issues related to water, land and wild life management. Furthermore, there are policy gaps at the national level with regard to some of these policies such as natural resource management and arid and semi-arid policies hence making it difficult for counties to develop their own. However, even where there is a national policy, counties still have not developed policies¹⁰³.

Lack of public participation policy also impede on conflict resolution and mitigation in Laikipia County. The laws and policies being developed thus present the danger of pre-empting public participation and undermining its usefulness. Article 118(1) mandates Parliament for among other things; facilitates public participation and participation in legislative and other matters of Parliament and its committees. In principle, active participation in democratic elections, policy development and legislation, among other things, offers citizens of modern democratic governments the opportunity to express their collective will and signify their consent to their desired political order and for their common good. The conception of “common good” is a critical factor that motivates meaningful participation of the people in public administration and in the development of appropriate policy and legislation that guides the affairs of government¹⁰⁴.

3.2.3 Socio-Economic Pressures over Resources Triggers Conflicts

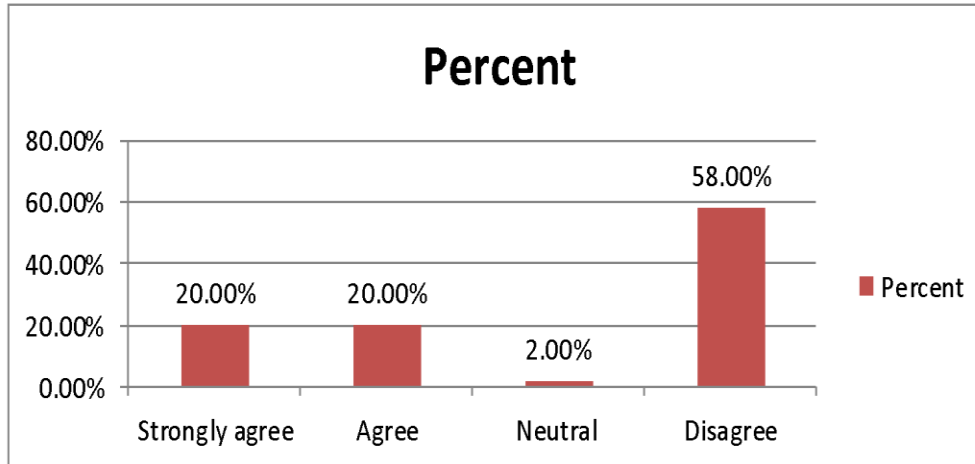
3.2.3.1 Socio-Economic Pressures Triggers Resource Based Conflicts

The researcher was interested in finding out whether socio-economic resource competition trigger resource based conflicts in Laikipia County and the results indicated in the Figure 3.1.

¹⁰³ GOK, A guide to legislative development in Kenya (2015)

¹⁰⁴ Kenya Law Reform Commission, Guide to the Legislative Process in Kenya.

Figure 3.2: Socio-Economic Resource Pressures Trigger Resource Based Conflicts



Source: Field Data, 2018

Figure 3.1 reveals that about 40% of the respondents felt that socio-economic resource competition triggered resource based conflicts in Laikipia County. However, majority of the respondents felt that social economic challenges, weaknesses in land policy as well as inequality in resource distribution as a root cause of conflicts in Laikipia County. During the interview schedules the chief of Rumuruti gave a comparative analysis and changes that have occurred in the subsequent governments indicating that during Jomo Kenyatta's era, the pressure of livestock on socio-economic resources such as water and pasture was not acute among the communities¹⁰⁵. In any case, absentee land buyers from the Bantu communities allowed the pastoral communities to graze their livestock there. The scenario changed during the Moi era because many of the immigrants across the resident communities set up permanent settlement. The socio-economic resources continued becoming even scarcer during the Kibaki era. Competition for such scarce resources manifested itself in conflicts in Laikipia County.

The scarce resources in question in Laikipia County include water and grazing land. The pastoral lifestyle requires effective management of pastoral areas in the dry season so that the pastoral system works effectively. The socio-economic activities and

¹⁰⁵ Homer-Dixon, 2010. *Thomas F. Environment, Scarcity and Violence*. Princeton University Press.

way of life of pastoralists have been adversely affected by the loss of access to key grazing areas because most of the open lands have been alienated for other uses such as livestock and horticulture. The inhabitation of the arid and semi-arid northern western region of the country by several pastoralist communities sharing scarce resources under a single and complex land tenure system possesses great potential for persistent resource based conflicts in the absence of functional resource governance mechanisms and institutes¹⁰⁶.

3.2.4 Effectiveness of the Existing Policies for Conflict Management Mechanisms in Laikipia County

The second objective concerns the effectiveness of existing strategies for conflict management mechanisms. The development of effective measures to eliminate such causes of conflict is clearly a challenge in the context of Laikipia. It will take years. However, serious attempts to tackle these issues can make a significant contribution to the prevention and management of conflict, if recognized by the participating communities as such, through the district government's involvement in the development and governance of the community. If this is the case, it should not fulfil what is needed due to lack of capacity. This includes, in part, the contextualisation of national policies for the management of natural resources and the development of district-specific policies to address the protracted conflicts in Laikipia County.

Development review and implementation of existing bill and policies such as environment Management and Conservation Bill, Agriculture development input fund bill, Wildlife utilization policy, animal disease control bill, Water and sanitation bill, County development strategic plan and county structure bill, Drought and disaster management policy and bill, Laikipia county development authority bill will help in resource mobilization and support of development projects within the county. As in the case of the national government the major problem is no lack of policies and bills to address these conflicts but lack of political goodwill to implement them.

¹⁰⁶ Ho-won Jeong. (1999). Theories of Conflict, ed. by Lester Kurtz, Encyclopedia of Violence Peace and Conflict Vol. 3., Academic Press, London, p.511

During the focus group discussions, in both Rumururit and Doldol, participants indicated that the district government should take appropriate measures aimed directly at preventing conflicts, such as: For example, the establishment of agreed programs that meet the needs of pastoralists and other resource users throughout periods of drought and other predictable crises. Respondents said the county has very good policies and bills for managing natural resources, but there was no good will to implement them. Participants also said that district employees needed capacity building in natural resources that management could contribute to their slackness. Participants also said that there is a need for programs and projects to raise awareness, educate and strengthen peace with local peacebuilding resources. However, they said that although the primary responsibility for the development and implementation of the programs and measures described above should lie with the district government and its citizens, the lack of community involvement and participation. Conflict prevention demands the active involvement of both the local and national stakeholders with external factors such as financial and external technical assistance from external actors such as the EU and its member's states only playing a supportive role to the entire process. Although the conflicts in Laikipia are serious, they do not seem to have become so ingrained or intense that they are stubborn. There are many ways to reduce the pressures of conflict and to promote useful conflict prevention and security measures.

3.3 Natural Resource Management and Conflict Mitigation

The increase in the intensity of the conflict in pastoralism is due to the inability of pastors to maintain or establish institutions to moderate and govern differences based on natural resources. This deficiency transformed the use of resources from cooperation and negotiation to competition and confrontation. Many, if not most, of current conflicts stem from the incapability of political, economic and social institutions to pay enough attention to the perceived grievances and needs of pastoral communities. According to Azar¹⁰⁷, state institutions cannot be captured and controlled by ethnic opposition groups and these institutions cannot become an instrument of ethnic favouritism, as has the majority of the pastoralists in Doldol. The government must also provide significant

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

economic alternatives to livestock assault and other illegal activities for young men, who make up the majority of the armed groups in the pastoral communities. The provision of alternative economic livelihoods for people currently involved in the assault of armed cattle and other illegal activities should be part of broader strategies for the management of natural resources¹⁰⁸.

Governments should also explore the possibilities of diversification of pastoralist livelihood strategies, while not ending the pastoral lifestyle, for example, the commercial livestock breeding. This will require better veterinary services to ensure a steady increase in the amount of livestock.¹⁰⁹ When asked about the strategies that the government should put in place on natural resource management as a strategy of ending conflicts in Laikipia County, many of the respondents indicated that the county government should demarcate areas for growing fodder for communities to access only during extreme drought, that the county government should have a coordinated emergency access for water and pasture and alternatives for counteracting wildlife and livestock deaths.

Most areas of Laikipia County as many other marginalized regions within the country depict the same features of remote rural areas trapped within the pitfalls of insecurity, isolation, chronic poverty, socio-political inequalities, weak economic integration, limited political leverage and a challenging natural environment that results to high climate risk vulnerability to its residents. It is also beset by insecurity and violence, discouraging investment and undermining development. This is shown by the 2012 report of the Korean government, which states that the security infrastructure is inadequate for such a large area with poor communication networks, dispersed populations and a large number of illegal firearms¹¹⁰.

The resource based conflict also relates to the government role in guaranteeing accessibility to basic human needs. Due to political alignments some communities are

¹⁰⁸ Catherine Nekesa Barasa." *Protracted conflicts and children's social well-being: A Case of West Pokot County 1990- 2014.*" (2015).

¹⁰⁹ Simon Miiiri Gitau." *Conflicts between pastoral communities in East Africa. case study of the Pokot and Turkana* (2013).

¹¹⁰ Conservation Development Centre, International Institute for Sustainable Development and Safeworld, *Climate Change and Conflict: lessons from community conservancies in northern Kenya*, (November 2009).

able to have contact and control of power¹¹¹. They use the state resources to dominate the other groups. This unfair treatment denies others their human needs. This leads to opposition thus exacerbating Conflicts as in the case of Laikipia County¹¹². The pastoral communities in Laikipia County were of the opinion that the national security measures were inadequate and misadvised. For example, the government policy of disarmament in pastoral areas without providing guarantees or alternative for security simply creates a vicious cycle of security dilemma for these communities¹¹³.

3.3.1 Activities Undertaken to Address Resource Conflicts in Laikipia County

The researcher was interested in finding out the activities undertaken to address resource conflicts in Laikipia County and the results indicated in the Table 3.

Table 3.3: Activities Undertaken to Address Resource Conflicts in Laikipia County

	Frequency	Percent
Organizing peace meetings	24	53.3
Arbitration and resolution of disputes	16	35.5
Community outreaches	5	11.1
Total	45	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2018

Table above, shows activities respondents undertook in peace building groups, committees or associations. 53.3% of the respondents stated that as members of peace building groups, committees or associations, they participated in organizing peace meetings while 35.5% said they carried out arbitration and resolution of disputes. 11.1% said they were engaged community outreaches. Regarding the people who help solve conflicts occurring in the region, most of the respondents indicated community elders while a significant proportion of the respondents said it was members of peace committees and chiefs respectively. County Officer and NGOs were also mentioned as

¹¹¹ Oyeniyi, A (2011). Ethnicity and Indigene/ Settler Conflict. In Africa, Transcend Media Service.

¹¹² Yieke,F. (2011). Ethnicity and Development in Kenya: Lessons from the 2007 General Elections. Kenya Studies Review, 3(8).

¹¹³ Branislav L. Slantchev. Introduction to International Relations: The Security Dilemma; Department of Political Science, University of California – San Diego (May 11, 2005).

great contributors to peace building and conflict mitigation in Laikipia County. Civil society organisations have extensive technical expertise in their areas of focus, and often times advocate for and participate actively in policy and legislative development. With support from development partners, they provide technical and financial resources towards these endeavours leading to development of draft policies and bills on various issues. They are a strategic resource which counties can tap in to for support with their policy and legislative development agendas.

3.3.2 Nature of Complaints Reported by Respondents

The study sought to assess the nature of complaints reported by respondents and the responses were indicated in Table 3.3.

Table 3.4: Nature of Complaints Reported by Respondents

Response	Frequency	Percent
Members of peace committees and community elders had performed roles for too long	26	57.7%
Community elders did not recover stolen livestock from cattle rustlers after arbitration.	10	22.20%
Strategies do not resolve conflicts completely	9	20%
Total	45	100%

Source: Field Data, 2018

Asked on whether they had heard of complaints regarding strategies used for conflict resolution and peace building by communities in the study area, 73% of the respondents indicated that they had not heard of any complaints from the area residents while 27% indicated that they had heard of complaints. The nature of complaints that the 27% of the respondents had heard of are discussed below.

Some of the respondents (22.2%) indicated that the inability by community elders to recover stolen livestock from cattle rustlers after arbitration was the main weakness of the current strategies used to solve resource-based conflicts. Other (20%) of the respondents said that they had heard complaints that the strategies did not solve conflicts completely while 57.7% indicated that the complaint they had heard of was that some

members of peace committees and community elders had performed these roles for too long thereby affecting transparency.

3.3.3 Effectiveness of Existing Conflict Resolution Strategies

When asked if they believed that peace and security in the region had improved with the use of community-led strategies for conflict resolution and peacebuilding, a resounding 100% of respondents indicated that peace and security in the region had improved

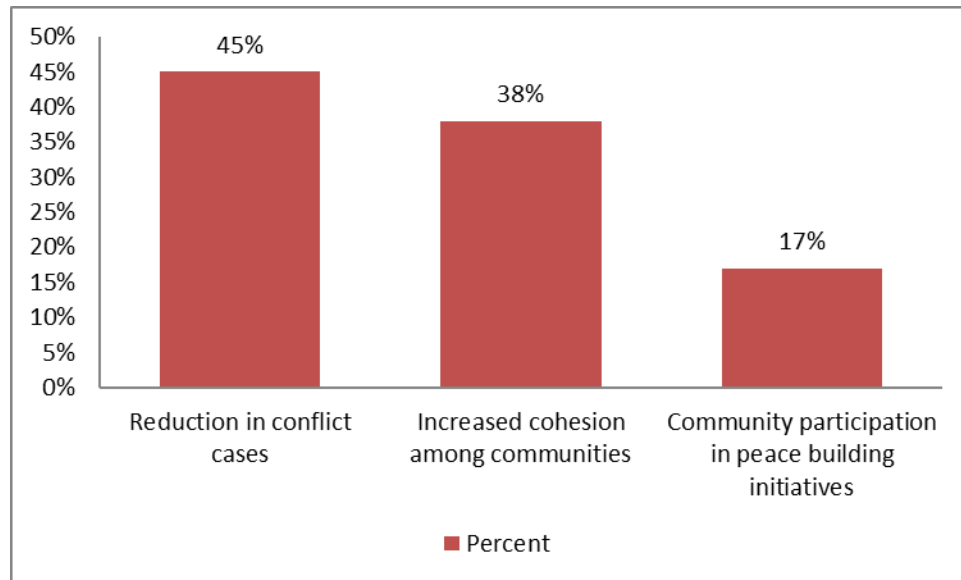
These finding is particularly interesting given reports that portray the area as a conflict-prone area. This however showed that the community led strategies can be a good intervention if given proper support by all stakeholders in peace building in the County.

3.3.4 Benefits Realized from Use of Community-Led Strategies

The study sought to assess the benefits realized from use of community-led strategies

In conflict management and the responses were indicated in Figure 3:2.

Figure 3.3: Benefits Realized from the Use of Community-Led Strategies



Source: Field Data, 2018

The previous figure shows the benefits that the respondents indicated had been obtained as a result of the use of community-led strategies for conflict resolution and peacebuilding. 45% of respondents indicated that there had been a reduction in the number of reported conflict cases in the area, while 38% said they had noticed an improvement in relationships and cohesion between people from various ethnic groups who live in the area. In addition, 17% of respondents stated that community participation in peacebuilding initiatives was an impact that had been achieved as a result of the use of community-led strategies for conflict resolution and construction of the peace in the region. With respect to the use of community-led strategies for conflict resolution and peace building and their impacts on shared natural resources, 57% of respondents indicated that the incidence of conflict over resources had been reduced. Another 38% stated that inter-ethnic tolerance among members of different ethnic communities in the area had been carried out in the district. However, only 5% felt that the use of community-led strategies for conflict resolution and peacebuilding had resulted in the sustainable use of commonly shared resources. The study established that the use of community-led strategies for conflict resolution and peacebuilding had helped in conflict resolution and peacebuilding efforts in the study area. 82% of respondents said that unity among people living in the study area had been achieved as a result of the use of community-led strategies for conflict resolution and peacebuilding, while 18% He stated that the use of community-led strategies for conflict resolution and peacebuilding has provided avenues for conflict resolution and the promotion of peace in the region.

3.4 Summary of Key Findings

A good number of the respondents expressed a strong opinion that alternative dispute resolution (ADR) mechanisms and other informal resolution redress methods that have been in use in Laikipia County to address pastoral conflicts have yielded promising results. They however, reemphasised on the need to enhance the use of Community-led strategies to adequately deal with the recurring conflicts in the County through increased community involvement and participation in all conflict mitigation strategies and peace committees. Some of the respondents who were conversant with the recently launched Amaya Triangle Peace Initiative as a strategy by Laikipia County and its neighbours aimed at reducing migration which perpetuates resource based conflicts that perpetuate

hunger and poverty, expressed their support on it as a right step towards sustainable conflict management as the initiative takes on a regional approach ensuring cross-border communities' participation.

In regards to the effectiveness of the current strategies applied in the resolution of conflicts in the County, the study confirmed that the redress mechanisms are still lacking in relation to resolving recurrent conflicts. The respondents expressed their complaints over the efficiency of the community-based strategies indicating that most of the stolen livestock is never recovered. It was observed from the study that the inability of the community elders and the peace committees to recover stolen herds from rustlers after arbitration was one of the main factors that contributed to the lack of confidence and support by some sections of the community to the alternative dispute resolution mechanisms.

CHAPTER FOUR

FRAMEWORKS FOR MANAGEMENT OF RECURRING RESOURCE-BASED CONFLICTS IN LAIKIPIA COUNTY

4.0 Introduction

The chapter analyzes intervention mechanisms in coping with resource-based conflicts in Laikipia district. The study suggests that the interventions with the best chances of success are integrated mechanisms that combine both normative interventions and community interventions in an appropriate setting. Community-based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) uses a widespread process as an approach that aims to preserve biodiversity while improving rural living space. The fundamental theory argues that controlling natural resources for local groups improves households' access to and management of these resources, thus improving the resource base and its benefits to communities. Other suggested approaches stem from the implementation of recommendations from Task Forces such as the Ndungu Land Report and the Commission's Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Report. This study used primary data to examine other complementary intervention methods used to manage resource-based conflicts in the Laikipia County.

4.1 Frameworks for Management of Recurring Resource-Based Conflicts

Recurring clashes emerge due to lack of sufficient land, returnees asserting hereditary or unique land, nomads infringing on indigenous land and sharing of regular assets, and due to lack of water and pasture. While there is no solid observational data, there is information to trust that the recurrence of conflicts in Laikipia County has grown over time. In an interview with the manager of one of the Conservancies in Laikipia County, he cited competition for socio-economic resources as responsible for resource based conflicts in Laikipia County. He asserted that current inequalities had contributed to conflicts, underlining the requirement to re-adjudicate land and restructure the economy in a way that increases participation and productivity of the poor and marginalized communities. Economic deprivation, inadequate policing, state security arrangements and competition over limited natural resources have boosted inter-ethnic conflicts in Laikipia County.

The respondents were requested to indicate their level of agreement on the extent to which scarcity of natural resources contributes to conflicts. During the focus group discussion, the respondents from Rumuruti indicated that the major outcomes for recurrent conflicts between herders and farmers included crop damage, indiscriminate bush burning, government attitude towards the herders, continuing farm fragmentation by farmers and ethnic rivalry. In Doldol, where the majority of the respondents were pastoralists, they indicated that deliberate hostility by other parties always initiated the conflict. The herders said that this was partly because of the prejudices but also the stereotyping by the farmers. The herders also indicated that crop damage was a major trigger of the protracted conflicts between farmers and pastoralists. These findings from the focus group discussion agree with Tonah¹¹⁴ who indicated that the most common cause of conflict between pastoralists and farmers arises from the destruction of farm crops by herders' livestock. This is also supported by Olaleye¹¹⁵ who agreed that crop competition over land and water access and damage of farmers' crops were the predominant factors causing farmer-herder conflict in the study area.

The intensity of the conflict can also vary due to confusion and frustration among members of a community from poorly communicated development policies to violent conflicts between groups over the rights and responsibilities of resources. By reducing government participation in Laikipia County's natural resource management decisions are increasingly influenced by resource users, including smallholders and indigenous peoples, as well as ranchers, large landowners and private companies in sectors such as forestry and agriculture. Without exception, resources can be used by some people in a way that undermines the livelihoods of others, as the actions of the great ranchers against the shepherds have shown. The resulting conflicts often lead to a chaotic and wasteful use of human capabilities and the depletion of the very natural resources on which livelihoods, economies and societies are based. They can also lead to bloodshed.

¹¹⁴ Tonah, S. (2006). Farmer –Herder Conflict in Volta region of Ghana. *Journal of Social Sciences*.2 (1), 6-10.

¹¹⁵ Olaleye, R.S., Odutola, J.O., Ojo, M.A., Umar, I.S. and Ndanitsa, M.A. (2010). Perceived effectiveness of conflict resolution methods for improved Farmer-Pastoralist relationship in Chikun Local Government Area of Kaduna State, Nigeria. *The Nigerian Journal of Rural Extension and Development*, 3:54-58

Natural resources are also entrenched in a common social space that creates complex and unequal relationships among diverse social actors. It is the actors with the utmost access to power who control the scarce natural resources that lead to conflict.¹¹⁶

4.2 Amaya Triangle Peace Initiative and Management of Recurrence of Resource Based Conflicts

The County government of Laikipia in collaboration with the leadership of the neighbouring Counties; Baringo, Samburu, Isiolo and West Pokot have come together with the relevant National Government security agencies to address the issue of security as a key determinant of the social, economic and political outcomes of the greater region. This innovative solution strategy to the insecurity that has been dodging the region and a key factor influencing cross-County border migrations will aid avert conflicts resources in neighbouring Counties.¹¹⁷ These strategies entail bringing together other counties affected by resource based conflicts including Baringo, Isiolo and neighbouring counties within the Amaya triangle peace initiative. The competing demands for food, water, and energy eventually create ethnic conflicts, human-wildlife conflicts and rural-urban migration culminating in human displacement which in turn compromises food production¹¹⁸. The government of Laikipia is working towards a stable human settlement by investing in food security, profitable farming and rural development. Moreover, the County government is committed not just to ensure food security in the county, but also to increase rural incomes by transforming farming into profitable business and ensuring sustainable use of the natural resource base. It is hoped the agricultural capabilities will be realized through a wholesome system approach with the farmer and pastoralist at the centre of development. In a bid to steer the county to economic heights, it is seeking to carry out countywide mapping of all farmers to create a farmers' database. Laikipia County is also enhancing agricultural extension service delivery through appropriate outreach programmes and by implementing mechanisms to enhance provision of those

¹¹⁶ Peet and Watts 1996

¹¹⁷ Njenga Kahiro, CECM water, environment and natural resources county government of Laikipia County (2018)

¹¹⁸ Martin Nie , Drivers of Natural Resource-Based Political Conflict ;*Journal of Policy Sciences* Vol. 36, No. 3/4 (2003), pp. 307-341

extension services by both the public and private service providers. Laikipia County is also exploring the possibility of setting up a farmers training and resource centre in the county where the attendees may obtain relevant knowledge and skills.

4.3 Traditional Structures and Natural Resource Based Conflicts

4.3.1 Traditional Structures for Mitigation of Resource Based Conflicts

This study sought to establish the existence of traditional structures in Laikipia County and their role in natural resource management and how effectively these structures contribute towards to conflict resolution within the County. The findings are presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Existing Traditional Structures for Resource Based Conflict Mitigation

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	39	86.6	86.6	86.6
	No	6	13.3	13.3	13.3
	Total	45	100	100	100

Source: Field Data, 2018

A majority of the respondents (86.6%) asserted that there existed traditional structures in the community for resource based conflict mitigation. However, 13.3% of the respondents indicated that the traditional structures were in existence but their functionality in averting resource based conflicts or resolving conflicts was wanting. Some of the respondents indicated that some of the resource based conflicts were perpetrated by elders and leaders in the community.

4.3.2 Role Played by Traditional Structures in Resource Based Conflict Mitigation

The study sought to establish whether traditional structure has a role in resource based conflict prevention and mitigation in Laikipia County. The findings were as presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Role played by Traditional Structures in Resource Based Conflict Mitigation in Laikipia County

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	43	95.5	95.5	95.5
	No	2	4.4	4.4	100.0
	Total	45	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Data, 2018

When the respondents were asked to indicate whether traditional structure had a role in natural resource based conflict mitigation, most of the respondents (95.5%) affirmed that traditional structures played a significant role in conflict mitigation.

4.3.3 Role of Traditional Structures in Resource Based Conflict Prevention

The study sought to establish what traditional structures existed to assist with resource based conflict prevention and the findings were as presented in Table 4.3;

Table 4.3: Role played by Traditional Structures in Resource Based Conflict Prevention in Laikipia County

	strongly agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Mediating disputes	31	68.9%	10	22.2%	1	2.2%	3	6.7%	45	100.0%
Support peace committees	24	53.3%	20	44.4%	1	2.2%	0	0.0%	45	100.0%
Effectiveness is promoting cohesion among communities	34	75.6%	9	20.0%	1	2.2%	1	2.2%	45	100.0%

Source: Field Data, 2018

From the study findings 91.1% of the respondents indicated a strong agreement that traditional structures helped in mediation of disputes. From the study, it also emerged that traditional structures played a role in supporting the work of peace committees as

was agreed or strongly agreed by 44.4% and 53.3% of the respondents respectively. From the study, it also emerged that traditional structures played a role in promoting cohesion among communities in Laikipia County. This was asserted by 95.6% of the respondents who indicated a strong agreement with this position.

4.2.4 Effectiveness of Traditional Structures in Natural Resource Conflict Management

The study sought to establish the effectiveness of traditional structures in natural resource conflict management and the findings were as presented in Table 4.4;

Table 4.4: Effectiveness of Traditional Structures in Natural Resource Conflict Management

	Frequency	Percent
Very Effective	12	26.7
Effective	23	51.1
Poor	8	17.8
Very poor	2	4.4
Total	45	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2018

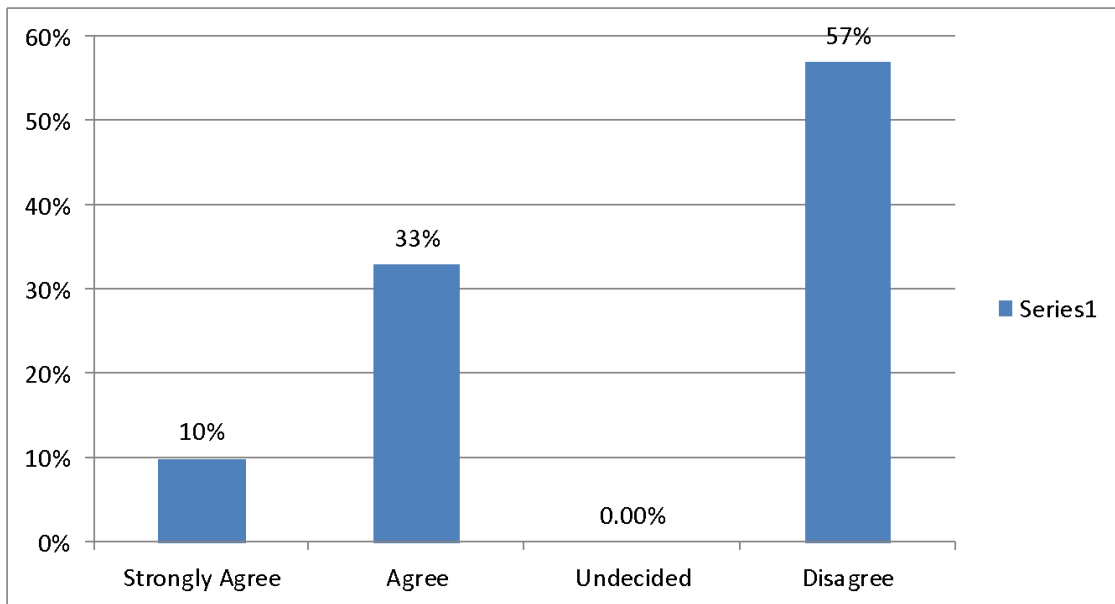
The study sought to establish how effective traditional structures are in fostering sustainable peace in Laikipia County. It was established that 26.7% and 51.1% of the respondents asserted that traditional structures are very effective and effective respectively in resource based conflict prevention and management.

4.3.5 Community Involvement and Participation in Conflict Prevention and Resolution

Resource management essentially concerns resource users who are communities that primarily rely on these resources for their sustenance. Crucial to the attainment of natural resource management is how effective it mobilizes the community and is capability of sustainably promoting positive environmental sustainability, economic and social beneficial capacity. The researcher was interested in finding out if there was any

social involvement in the conflict reduction in Laikipia County and the results are indicated in the Figure 4.1:

Figure 4.1: Community Involvement and Participation in Conflict Prevention and Resolution



Source: Field Data, 2018

The community's role in natural resource management is critical not only in terms of undertaking environmental conservation projects but also in securing ongoing ownership, and the maintenance of natural resource management projects and programs for sustainability purposes. When asked their level of agreement on the level of community involvement and participation in conflicts prevention and resolution, the majority (57%) of the respondents disagreed that community was fully involved in solving natural resource management conflicts with most of the respondents indicating that the level of involvement of pastoral communities was significantly low compared to ranchers and farmers. Only 43% of the respondents agreed with that assertion. Most of the elders during the FGD noted that the traditional institutions and systems of solving conflicts were functioning with relative effectiveness and impunity. Historically it was the elders that would negotiate peace agreements and grazing rights between

communities. The elders in Laikipia County complained that religion, education, Peace Committees, the government, unscrupulous businessmen and politicians played a role in the collapse of the traditional systems of justice. The women interviewed also indicated that though they were the most affected by pastoral conflict they were left out in the conflict resolution processes.

They maintained there was need for a public participation policy in the county to guide community participation and involvement in conflict resolution mechanisms especially as the women, youth and the elderly are increasingly being left out of important decision-making processes. The community are stakeholders in conflict mitigation. It was thus proposed that traditional conflict resolution systems and approaches be supported in cognizance that conflict resolution should be imperative for all stakeholders.

4.4 The Link between Ownership of Natural Resources and Conflict

The study sought to establish the link between Ownership of Natural resources and conflict and the findings were as presented in Table 4.5;

Table 4.5: The Link between Ownership of Natural Resources and Conflict

	strongly agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
During droughts, pastoralist livelihoods become particularly precarious leading to increased aggression on white settlers' lands	15	33.3%	20	44.4%	10	22.2%	0	0.0%	45	100.0%
There is need for special arrangements to be made to ensure emergency access to pasture and water, even to the conservancies	2	4.4%	23	51.1%	2	4.4%	18	40.0%	45	100.0%
There is no insecurity and deprivation during droughts	0	0.0%	8	17.8%	12	26.7%	25	55.6%	45	100.0%

Source: Field Data, 2018

The findings of this study as shown in the table indicate that during droughts, pastoralist livelihoods become particularly precarious leading to increased aggression on white settlers and their lands as indicated by 77.7% of the respondents. Only 22.2% of the

respondents were undecided that droughts increased the likelihood of conflicts between the pastoralists and the white settlers. During the focus group discussions, respondents from Rumuruti indicated that conflicts tend to increase during the months January to March which is usually a dry season in the region with pastoralists struggling to feed their livestock and losing their cattle in the process. When asked where these pastoralists come from, the respondents indicated that most of them are from Samburu, Baringo and Isiolo counties. Based on the nomadic behaviour of these pastoral communities that have been streaming into Laikipia County with their livestock, it is evident that harsh climatic conditions have been influencing such attacks.

The study findings indicated that 4.4% and 51.1% of the respondents strongly agreed and agreed that there is need for special arrangements to be made to ensure emergency access to pasture and water even to the conservancies during the dry spell season. However, 40% of the respondents disagreed that there was need for special arrangements to be made to ensure emergency access to pasture and water during drought seasons while 4.4% were neutral to the assertion. Indeed, rampant drought and famine in Laikipia County contributes to conflicts as the herders are willing to do anything to survive. With regards to insecurity and deprivation during droughts, 55.6% of the respondents felt that droughts contributed to increasing deprivation and insecurity in Laikipia while a 17.8% agreed that drought did not necessarily cause conflicts and 26.7% of the respondents were neutral with that assertion.

In line with the study findings, issues of community land use and ownership remain highly contentious in Kenya and recent years have witnessed an escalation in land related conflicts. In many of these cases, communal land has been transferred by the local governments for infrastructure projects or to private persons without consent or payment of compensation to the affected communities¹¹⁹. The strong opposition to the acquisition of community land for the Lake Turkana Wind Power project, Kenya's largest ever private investment, is a prominent example of such concerns. Unfarmed pastoral or forestlands are especially at risk. Many county governments still think of this as public

¹¹⁹ Answeeuw .W.L Alden,Cotula and Taylor ,Land rights and the rush for land: Finding of the global Commercial .ILC Rome, Italy (2012)

land, not as a part of community land.¹²⁰In Marakwet and other parts of North Eastern, it emerges that the conflict between white settlers and pastoralists is heightened by the existing land use policy. The beneficial utilization of rangelands through mobile domesticated animals' cultivation has for a long time characterized the best process for extracting the most out of generally minimal grounds, and in this way feeding the ever-increasing population. However, in the last ten years the most important peaceful grounds have turned out to be liable to extensive horticultural ventures, bringing about the misfortune or discontinuity of rangelands, instigated decentralization of pastoralists, and a radical diminishment in domesticated animals' numbers. This is one of the causes behind resource-based conflicts in Laikipia County.

4.5 Link between Resource Governance and Resource Based Conflict

The study sought to establish the link between governance of natural resources and occurrence of resource based conflicts in Laikipia County and the findings were as presented in Table 4.6;

¹²⁰ Ibid

Table 4.6: Resource Governance and Resource Based Conflicts

	strongly agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
The governance structure weakens and undermines traditional governance systems	4	8.9%	29	64.4%	12	26.7%	0	0.0%	45	100.0%
Insecure access and scarcity of grazing pastures and water has led to constant confrontations between nomadic headers and ranch owners leading to violent conflicts	21	46.7%	14	31.1%	10	22.2%	0	0.0%	45	100.0%
Threats of conflicts are predominantly severe during droughts and similar crises	14	31.1%	31	68.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	45	100.0%
Neglect and discrimination of the communal needs of pastoralists in the County by the colonial administration and successive regimes, has propagated a bias towards white land owners	0	0.0%	29	64.4%	1	2.2%	15	33.3%	45	100.0%
The few implemented secure land ownership and tenure system in the County that are beneficial have less regard to the pastoral communal laws and needs	4	8.9%	32	71.1%	0	0.0%	9	20.0%	45	100.0%
Nomadic groups tend to rely more on communal grazing rights, that are not anchored within the legislative laws	4	8.9%	27	60.0%	3	6.7%	11	24.4%	45	100.0%
Governance shortcomings on the provision for water and grazing pasture needs to the pastoralists, has contributed to ranch and conservancies invasions and, wildlife conflicts	3	6.7%	9	20.0%	0	0.0%	33	73.3%	45	100.0%

Source: Field Data, 2018

The findings also indicate that weaken and undermined traditional justice governance systems by the shift to legal and legislative governance arising from modernity as indicated by 8.9% and 64.4% has increased the likelihood of conflicts in the county while 26.7% of the respondents were non-committal to the assertion.

The responses from the focus group discussions in Doldol and Rumuruti corroborates this finding that scarcity and insecure access to water and grazing pasture has led to constant friction with ranchers' owners and other users, which in turn has led to violent conflicts. Most of the respondents indicating 46.7% and 31.1% strongly agreed and agreed respectively with that assertion. During the focus group discussions, the

respondents indicated that armed pastoralist groups have, over the previous few months, forcefully moved their herds of livestock onto ranches or conservancies resulting in destruction of property and loss of life both human and animal. The respondents further indicated that the invasions were caused because of the unequal distribution of resources and scarcity of grazing land for pasture and water. The invasions have occurred periodically during previous droughts experienced in Laikipia.

31.1% and 68.9% of the people interviewed in Laikipia County indicated that risks of conflict are predominantly severe during droughts and similar emergencies. The respondents explained that when the weather conditions were favourable, there were increased invasions and tripartite conflicts between the herders, ranchers and small-scale farmers.

64.4% of respondents said that the successive colonial and post-colonial administrations in Kenya not only neglect the needs of the pastoralists, but often directly show more support for the conservancies and the ranch owners. In line with this Fox¹²¹ indicates that most of the time the government comes in to protect the white settlers at the expense of the herders even going as far as killing their livestock. The pastoralists often retaliate due to the force used by the government apparatus to subdue quelling conflicts. In 2004 the pastoralists retaliated and the outcome was that the crops of the small-scale farmers were destroyed and violent conflicts erupted between the herders, farmers and ranchers.

31.1% and 68.9% of Laikipia respondents indicated that the risk of conflict during periods of drought and similar emergencies is particularly high. Most respondents (80%) admitted that securing secure land tenure and ownership of land could have been beneficial in many ways. In Laikipia, however, this was done with little regard to the needs of nomadic pastoralist laws. 20% of respondents disagreed.

With regards to nomadic communities' reliance on communal grazing rights, which are not anchored and protected by the national legislative laws, 68.9% of the respondents underlined that this was a major issue in Laikipia County while 24.4% disagreed. During focus group discussions the respondents asserted that the demarcation

¹²¹ Fox, G.R., (2018). Maasai group ranches, minority land owners, and the political landscape of Laikipia County, Kenya. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 12(3), pp.473-493

and creation of new administrative structures had contributed to resource based conflicts though the intention was good. Most of them claimed that the boundaries had brought in limited mobility and high competition for resources which militates against peaceful coexistence between the communities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. To most of them, branding and controlling livestock movement is an appropriate measure towards peaceful coexistence of communities in Laikipia County.

Governance shortcomings in relation to provision of pastoralist needs for grazing pasture and access to water for their livestock needs has prompted ranch invasions and similar conflicts as indicated by 26.7% of the study respondents. Most of the respondents comprising of 73.3% indicated that there were other factors that influenced these invasions, including the pre-independence treaty which saw the herders give their lands to the white settlers. However, the treaty was meant to take land from the Maasai who were rightful owners ¹²². Until today this issue has never been settled and remains the major causative factor for the conflicts in Laikipia County.

4.5.1 Coordination of Government Institutions Mandated to Tackle Environment Issues

A key informant pointed out that the diverse nature of environmental issues necessitates the integration of environmental considerations into all development plans and at the same time facilitating cooperation and consultation between relevant government agencies and stakeholders at all levels. He stated that it was necessary to examine the existing institutional mechanisms and to examine ways and means of improving the coordination and cooperation between the many institutions whose mandates all relate to environment management and conservation¹²³.

Additionally, the government should build confidence within the communities so that if they hand over the guns that the state possesses this provides the ability and goodwill to effectively ensure security for them. This has not been the case in Laikipia

¹²² Kinnaird, M.F. and O'brien, T.G., (2012). Effects of private-land use, livestock management, and human tolerance on diversity, distribution, and abundance of large African mammals. *Conservation Biology*, 26(6), pp. 10

¹²³ Njenga Kahiro , CECM water, environment and natural resources county government of Laikipia County (2018)

County. The facts are confirmed by Buchunan¹²⁴. However, the government must collaborate with local NGOs and local communities in order to increase efficiency in this regard. Proliferation of SALW keep on resurfacing even after the GoK confiscated small arms in March, 2007.¹²⁵ During the FGD one of the CBO also asserted that governance capacity-building component for holistic natural resource management was needful in a bid to reduce conflicts.

4.6 Public Private Partnerships in Management of Natural Resource Conflicts

Public private partnership also presents a very important opportunity in resource base conflict mitigation in Laikipia County. Partnerships are by their nature a sustainable commitment to advancing forward together towards the achievement of higher common goals. It's paramount to device innovative ways to ensure inclusivity of stakeholder involvement and partnerships to enhance a broader representation from all sectors of the private sectors and the civil society to guarantee the advocacy of the communities' voices at policy level. This is because the private sector, civil society actors and communities play a central role in environmental protection and management.¹²⁶

The Key Informant also pointed out that non-state actors have the advantage of being less reliant on political pressure and influence than formal government agencies. They are therefore well placed to play a leading role in setting the agenda and policy development. He pointed out that NGOs could help resolve resource conflicts at the local level by providing considerable expertise and resources, while informing and informing public debate on environmental issues and challenges at national level. The involvement of these non-state actors can be encouraged through incentives such as increased investment in the sector and through mechanisms that provide a framework for building partnerships between these entities and the Government¹²⁷.

¹²⁴ Buchunan and Lind (2005) 26-1039

¹²⁵ Kobia ,samuel healing the world : working together with religion in Global Society Chicago .International council of Christians and Jews (2005).

¹²⁶ Njenga Kahiro , CECM water, environment and natural resources county government of Laikipia County (2018)

¹²⁷ Njenga Kahiro , CECM water, environment and natural resources county government of Laikipia County (2018)

4.7 Promoting Cooperation between Group and Private Ranches in alleviating conflicts in Laikipia County

The study respondents further indicated that governance on group ranches has encouraged dialogue between group ranchers and private ranches to some extent¹²⁸. They asserted that in the past, conflict between group ranches and private ranches were common during dry and drought seasons with pastoralists invading private ranches. However, these conflicts do not occur any longer in some areas particularly due to training and capacity building by Non-Governmental Organizations¹²⁹.

When grazing on private ranches, a modest grazing fee is levied and often used by private ranches to benefit the group ranches. This arrangement is also beneficial for private ranches where rangelands are often underutilized, leading to the deteriorating quality of grasslands. There are other benefits to group ranches grazing herds in private ranches. For example, in Borana Ranch, group rancher's animals benefit from the health regime of private ranches. Private ranchers initially feared that grazing herds would introduce diseases that would threaten their own herds; this fear has not materialized and has since been recognized to be insignificant. The traditional rights of other pastoralist groups from the north to graze in group ranches in the northeast are maintained, as long as the grazing herds are restricted in numbers, adhere to grazing blocks assigned by the group ranchers, and follow grazing rules¹³⁰.

Security has improved in the northeast with cooperation between group ranches and private ranches. However, the western part of the county is marked by conflict and insecurity and increasing human-wildlife conflict. For example, the western wildlife fence, erected to protect communities, is being vandalized due to the lack of community ownership.

¹²⁸Lowi, Miriam. *Water and Power: The Politics of a Scarce Resource in the Jordan Basin*. Cambridge University Press, 1993.

¹²⁹Ibid

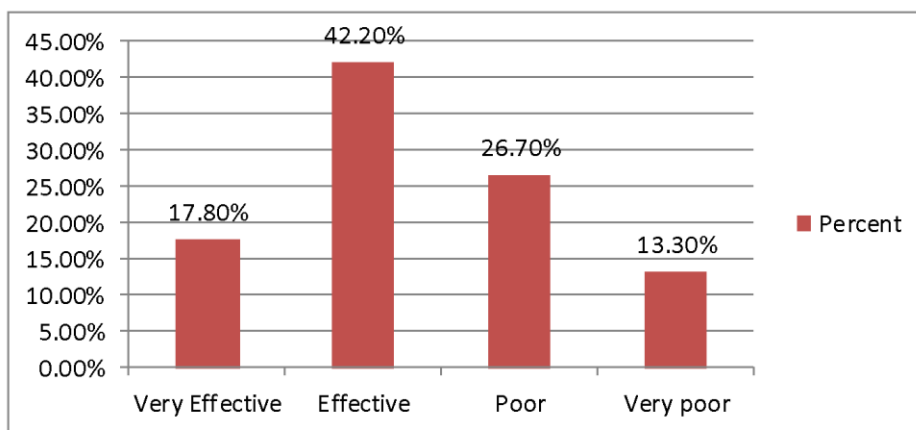
¹³⁰Dellapena, Joseph W. "Treaties as Instruments for Managing Internationally Shared Resources: Restricted Sovereignty versus Community of Property", *Columbia Journal of International Law*. Vol 18., 1993.

4.8 Government Led Approaches Towards Resource Based Conflicts Management

4.8.1 Effectiveness of State Interventions in Mitigating Resource Based Conflicts

The researcher was interested in finding out the effectiveness of state interventions in mitigating resource based conflicts and the results are indicated in the Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2: Effectiveness of State Interventions in Mitigating Resource-Based Conflicts



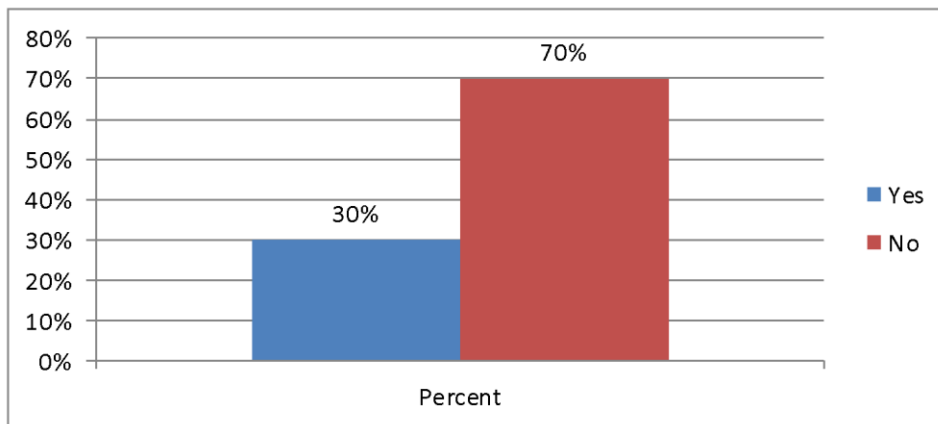
Source: Field Data, 2018

The table above shows that majority indicating 42.2% and 17.8% respectively were of the opinion that the state interventions were effective in mitigating resource based conflicts while another group of 26.3% and 13.3% held a stronger view that they were poor and very poor respectively.

4.8.2 Effectiveness of Government Led Conflict Mitigation Approaches

The researcher was interested in finding out whether Government initiatives in addressing natural resource based conflicts in Laikipia County have worked and the results indicated in the Figure 4.3;

Figure 4.3: Effectiveness of Government Led Approaches in Mitigating Conflicts in Laikipia County



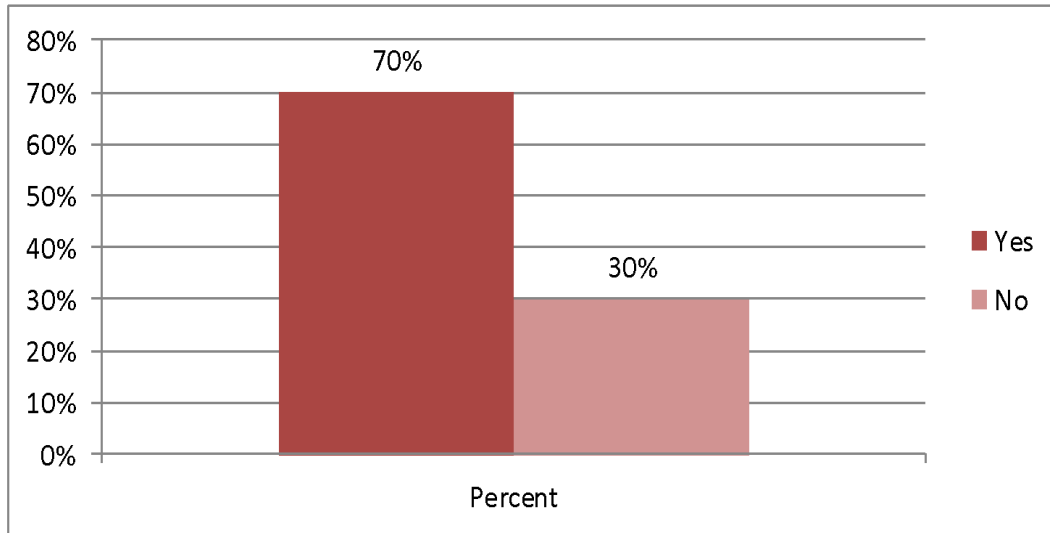
Source: Field Data, 2018

Minority of the respondents affirmed the role of the government in mitigating resource based conflicts in Laikipia County stating that the government approaches were working because of reduction of mortality rate from conflicts, reduction of pastoral activities and increased farming activities among the small scale farmers. However, the majority (70%) still felt that the Government was failing greatly in enforcement of rules and regulations governing the management of pasture and water which were among the major causative factors for conflicts in Laikipia County. Those interviewed termed the government responses as reactionary rather than having a preventative approach due to numerous acts of violence meted out by security personnel, though it apparently subdues large scale armed resource based conflicts. They thus recommended that there was need for training, vetting police reservists, having their firearms registered and their command structures strengthened so as to reduce resource based conflicts.

4.8.3 Government as a Key Stakeholder in Resolution of Resource Based Conflicts

The researcher was interested in finding out whether the Government is considered a key stakeholder in resource based conflicts and the results indicated in the Figure 4.4;

Figure 4.4: Government as a Key Stakeholder in Resolution of Resource Based Conflicts



Source: Field Data, 2018

From the questionnaire, it is evident that 70% of the respondents felt that the government was a key stakeholder working towards the reduction of natural resource based conflicts in Laikipia County whereas 30% were of the contrary opinion. The state security apparatus in Laikipia County includes the General Service Unit (GSU), the Kenya Police Service (KPS) and KPR or home guards. The KPR is a body of unpaid civilian volunteers, established in 1948, operated under the 1988 Act but now operating under the Kenya Police Service Act of 2013. They assist in the regular security of life and property, avoidance and recognition of wrongdoing, misgiving of guilty parties and authorization of all laws and controls. With the apparent prevalence of corruption in the police sector, people of questionable behaviour and even criminals have been recruited by the Officer Commanding Police Division (OCPD) as reservists for commercial interests¹³¹. Some of the respondents felt that the government had misplaced priorities and was focused on projects that would boost their political mileage and not posterity.

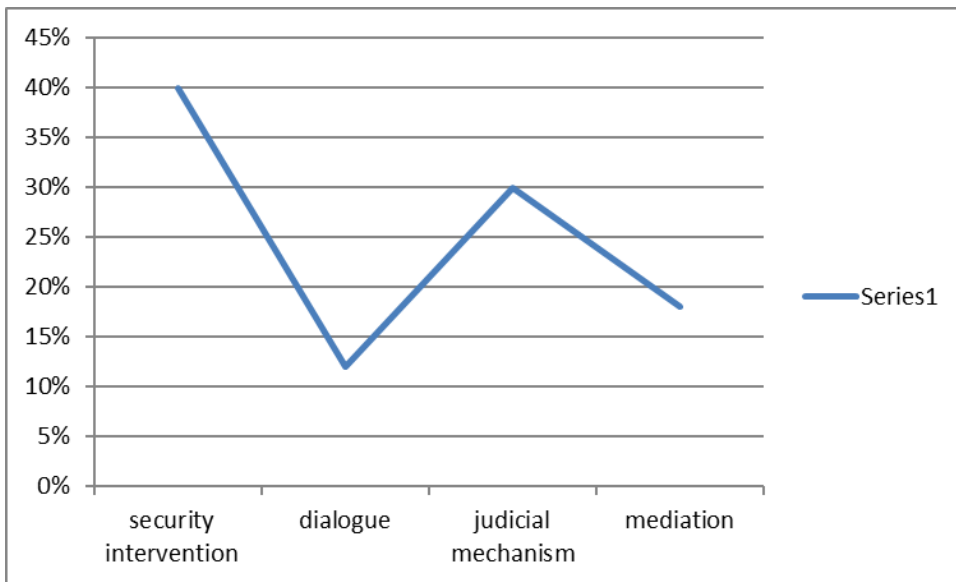
¹³¹ Kenya National Dialogue & Reconciliation NDR 2010 : *Statement of principles on long term issues and solution*

4.9 Integrated Methods of Conflicts Interventions

Although direct responsibility for managing natural resources rests primarily with landowners and resource managers, the inclusive framework recognizes that a broader concept of due diligence should be accepted by all members of the community. As consumers and managers of natural resources, livestock farmers, herders and farmers should be required to act responsibly and make informed choices, taking into account that their actions affect the sustainability of the management of these resources.

Different conflict methodologies are only effective with good timing and interfacing. Both formal and informal approaches have been used to settle resource-based conflicts in Laikipia County. Such approaches are not wholly independent but are also overlapping. The figure below shows the various methods used to address the conflicts in Laikipia County. They indicated that the core method adopted is the security intervention method, followed by judicial mechanism, mediation and finally dialogue method. The responses are indicated in figure 4.5;

Figure 4.5: Suggested Methods for Conflict Resolution



Source: Field Data, 2018

The respondents accorded the use of dialogue in barazas, inter-ethnic sports and cultural events, public awareness and disarmament peace initiative forums the lowest

rating (10%). Getting opposing groups to the dialogue table is a recognized approach of solving resource-based conflicts both locally and internationally. The stakeholders who included village elders, clergy, students, morans, public servants, politicians, NGOs executives and academics were also peace brokers through dialogue and inter-ethnic sports and cultural events. Such locally initiated solutions to interethnic conflicts in Laikipia County appear to be more effective than managed approaches that used force and legalized power to disarm communities during inter-ethnic conflicts. Integrating the local communities and accommodating their own informal methods of ensuring surrender of the illegally held weapons were likely to yield lasting and effective results.

There was need to appreciate good rapport between the communities and the state officers and organs in Laikipia County.¹³² In corroboration, Morgenthau¹³³ indicates that the use of integrative mechanisms including the use of local communities and accommodating their own informal methods of ensuring surrender of the illegally held weapons were likely to increase the chances of solving resource-based conflicts more effectively.

During the FGD, respondents indicated that separate actors cannot be trusted in to individually utilize and manage these resources rationally. As such, they prefer cooperation as long as they can trust that everyone else will work together. A possible solution would therefore be the creation of a mutually recognized settlement process between livestock farmers, peasants and herders.

4.10 Summary of Key Findings

Chapter four highlights the results of the study findings confirmed that collective and integrated approaches to resource based conflicts intervention legitimizes the process of peace building between communities since the interests of various stakeholders are included. The resultant degree of ownership and consensus gives an impetus to the parties in conflict to display commitment in the implementation of the recommendations so

¹³² Baxter, Paul Trevor William, and Richard Hogg, Eds. *Property, Poverty and People: Changing Rights in Property and Problems of Pastoral Development*. Department of Social Anthropology and International Development Centre, University of Manchester, 1990.

¹³³ Morgenthau, A.J. (2007). *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers.

reached. Nevertheless, the community had existing mechanisms that could be used to address the pastoral conflicts including community involvement and participation in all conflict mitigation strategies and peace committees.

Overall, this study shows that a long-term solution for the prevention and management of shepherds and other conflicts lies directly in the recognition of conflict resolution and peacebuilding initiatives. However, these strategies face challenges that urgently need to be addressed in order to achieve community-led conflict management and peace-building measures to achieve further success. The results also showed that strengthening communities can contribute to long-term conflict mitigation and peacebuilding and to strengthening existing community-led strategies to address these challenges.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION

5.1. Introduction

This chapter provided for summary of study results as they were discussed and recommendations given. This section provided a summary of the highlights of the findings on the analysis of natural resource management framework as a conflict management strategy in Kenya. Further, the chapter highlights on the key findings, conclusions, recommendations and further research recommendation.

5.2. Summary of Study

5.2.1 Link between Scarcity of Natural Resources and Conflict in Laikipia County

This study finding indicates that pastoralist conflicts in the study revolved around cattle possession, replenishing livestock lost during drought and diseases as well as dowry payment. This is made worse by unequal distribution of scarce resources where large-scale ranchers own over 50% of the land in Laikipia yet in terms of population they are less than 30%. The pastoralist and other inhabitants in Laikipia have often reacted to the inequalities leading to conflicts. Besides, the growth of the population in Laikipia County is incomparable to the available resources and food security leading to competition of scarce resources and conflicts for more access into the ranches belonging to the white settlers. The increase in population means more demand for land, water and pasture which has led to encroachment of forests by the local inhabitants seeking to set up land for farming and for grazing. This explains the conflicts in Laikipia County. Land distribution and ownership in Laikipia County has also been the cause of contention between pastoral communities, ranchers and small-scale farmers. The pastoral communities believe that the rancher took their land from them through deceit and taking advantage of the illiterate pastoral communities in signing agreements including the 1904 Anglo-Maasai treaty. The majority (93.3%) of the respondents also believe that the cattle raid is criminal and that it has taken on a commercial dimension. On the same note, the majority (73.3%) of the respondents stated that the cattle thieves were often not pastors

and that the shares were sometimes transferred by the truck to markets or butchers directly. During focus group discussions, respondents noted that some of the cattle thieves were not necessarily pastors, but other people, including ex-military youth. The respondents also indicated that a cattle stealing was more pronounced during campaigning. 93.4% of the respondents noted that cattle's rustling had become a business run by wealthy cartels. Proliferation of small arms was also cited as a major causative factor for conflicts. This is because cattle rustling has become an income-generating activity rather than a means to increase social status or fulfil cultural roles. Livestock is a valuable commercial asset in a cash economy and often never recovers after a theft. These conflicts were also attributed to water scarcity. This can be attributed to dry rivers including Ewaso Ngiro which has continued to experience complex ecological and socioeconomic dynamics.

These changes have put constant pressure on water resources, as the water needs of various user groups are becoming increasingly important as costly alternative sources (rainwater collection and groundwater) and the river's water sources decrease. As user flows increase in the flow of water, competition for resources and preconditions for scarcity-related conflicts worsens in the dry season. Sometimes these conflicts have led to fatal physical conflicts between the various user groups in the pool, especially between ascending and descending users.

5.2.2 Effectiveness of the Existing Policies for Conflict Management Mechanisms in Laikipia County

The study findings reveal that community elders still play a major role in solving conflicts occurring in the region besides members of peace committees, chiefs, County Officer and NGOs. 51.1% of the respondents stated that they were members of peace building groups, committees or associations, they participated in organizing peace meetings while 35.5% said they carried out arbitration and resolution of disputes. 13.3% said they were engaged in holding dialogues and peace discussions as strategy of dealing with resource based conflicts. The study established that the most preferred method for conflict resolution by communities in the region was arbitration by community elders and peace meetings as established by 31.1% of the respondent in both case. Survey

respondents expressed confidence in the strategies used for conflict resolution and peacebuilding in the study area. 93% acknowledged having confidence in the strategies used for the prevention and resolution of conflicts. Among the main complaints received regarding the strategies used for conflict resolution and peacebuilding by the communities in the study area, the inability of the community elders to recover stolen livestock from the communities was included. Cattle thieves after arbitrage was the main weakness of current strategies used to solve resource based conflicts. Other (22.2%) of the respondents said that they had heard complaints that the strategies did not solve conflicts completely while 55.6% indicated that the complaint they had heard of was that some members of peace committees and community elders had performed these roles for too long thereby affecting transparency.

It was also claimed that peace and security in the region had improved. 45% of respondents said that the number of conflict cases reported in the region had decreased. In the same sense, 57% of respondents stated that there were fewer conflicts over resources. Another 38% stated that ethnic tolerance between members of different ethnic communities in the region was realized in the community. The study found that the use of community-led strategies for conflict resolution and peacebuilding should be strengthened and exploited.

5.2.3 Proper Framework for Management of Recurring Resource-Based Conflicts in Laikipia County

The findings indicate that the current inequalities had contributed to conflicts underlining the need to re-adjudicate land and restructure the economy in a way that increases participation and productivity of the poor and marginalized communities. Economic deprivation, inadequate policing and state security arrangements and competition over limited natural resources have boosted inter-ethnic conflicts in Laikipia County. As such the recurrent clashes emerge due to lack of enough land, returnees asserting hereditary or unique land, nomads infringing on indigenous land and sharing of regular assets, and due to lack of water and pasture. Majority of the respondents (84.4%) asserted that there existed traditional structures in the community for resource based conflict mitigation and (93.3%) affirmed that traditional structures played a significant

role in conflict prevention. From the study findings 91.1% of the respondents indicated a strong agreement that traditional structures helped in mediation of disputes and that they played role in supporting the work of peace committees as indicated by 97.7% of the respondents. Traditional structures also played a role in promoting cohesion among communities in Laikipia County as shown by 95.6% response rate. The study findings further indicated that the traditional structures were effective in fostering sustainable peace in Laikipia County. With regards to community involvement and participation it was established that the level of community involvement and participation in conflicts prevention and resolution was wanting because a significant group of the population was not involved as indicated by majority 57% of the respondents. Most of the elders during the FGD noted that the traditional institutions and systems of solving conflicts were functioning with relative effectiveness and impunity.

Historically it was the elders that would negotiate peace agreement and grazing rights between communities. The elders in Laikipia County complained that religion, education, Peace Committees, the government, unscrupulous businessmen and politicians played a role in the collapse of the traditional systems of justice. The women interviewed also indicated that though they were the most hit by the pastoral conflicts yet they were left out in the conflict resolution processes. Therefore, they affirmed that it was necessary to have a public participation policy in the county to guide the participation and participation of the community in the mechanisms of conflict resolution, especially because women, youth and the elderly are staying each time more outside of the important decision-making processes. The community is a stakeholder in conflict mitigation. It was thus proposed that traditional conflict resolution systems and integrative approaches be supported in cognizant that conflict resolution should be integrative housing all stakeholders.

5.3 Conclusion

Laikipia County as the rest of the other 46 counties in the country is yet to pass all the requisite legislations for all its functions which means that resources are unlikely to be allocated efficiently and effectively for formulation of a policy and legislative framework. The subsequent absence of functional policies on functions such as natural

resource and environmental conservation, agriculture, land tenure management and coordination of communities' participation in governance issues policies at the local level, means that the counties are operating *ultra vires* to the constitution. This has greatly undermined the administration's ability to satisfactorily allocate, control and manage natural resources within the County to ensure equity of opportunities, fair processes, expeditious, proportionate, party satisfaction and effectiveness of existing conflict redress mechanisms.¹³⁴

The major concern of devolved units' lack of capacity at the moment to undertake effective natural resource management beyond revenue collection translates to potential collusion of populations and wildlife because of pressure as necessary legislations meant to support sustainable management of natural resources are yet to be implemented. These further fuels dissatisfaction of the pastoralists, farmers and ranch owners as they need for active engagement into the governance of natural resources through public participation in planning and policy formulation remains unmet. Though the nation has the necessary legislations to support sustainable management of natural resources, effective distribution frameworks and the strengthening of the relevant institutions responsible should be done to support their exploitation.

On the other hand, the utilization of alternative dispute resolution and traditional justice systems at the County has proven to bear promising results in relation to quelling arising conflicts while at the same time well received and supported by the local communities than the formal resolution mechanisms. The operationalization participatory and engaging communal strategies and initiatives by the County such as the Amaya Triangle Peace Initiative to reduce cross-border migration is a right step towards the achievement of sustainable natural resource management.

A majority of the respondents backed the use of ADR mechanisms and traditional justice systems in addressing the real deep-rooted issues in disputes and conflicts arising from access and control of natural resources due to their inclusive and participatory

¹³⁴ Maiese, Michelle. "Principles of Justice and Fairness." *Beyond Intractability*. Eds. Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess. Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder. Posted: July 2003 <<http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/principles-of-justice>>.

nature which generates consensual resolutions acceptable and respected by all involved parties. Thus, the use of locally initiated solutions to natural resource based conflicts in Laikipia County appear to be more effective than managed approaches that used force and legalized power to disarm communities during inter-ethnic conflicts.

It has been observed from the study that the breaking down and inherent gaps between societal mechanisms and institutional instruments for managing and resolving conflicts gives way to recurring conflicts eruptions as experienced in Laikipia County in the recent past. The absence of enabling instruments and the unwillingness of conflicts actors to engage in constructive dialogue processes can result into escalation of disputes to destructive relations. The adaptation of an integrated approach to the application of both formal and informal strategies to better resolve conflicts that arise from disagreements on distribution, management and protection of natural resources will be constructive in disrupting intractable cycles of violence and conflict in Laikipia County.

5.4 Recommendations

The study makes the following recommendation's including;

- Community based natural recourses management development creates a shared understanding of conflict and resource contexts that guides conflict analysis to be a participatory and inclusive process. The enactment of the county's proposed Community Lands Act that seeks to recognize, register and protect community rights and holding of unregistered communal land in trust by County governments¹³⁵ will aid efficient management of natural resources.
- Institutional cooperation in regards to management of natural resources in the County will play a critical role in ensuring balance of competing interests and claims over shared resources such as land, water, grazing pasture and wildlife thus enabling sustainable utilization and management of these resources.

¹³⁵For instance, the proposed Community Lands Act, 2013 seeks to give effect to Article 63 (5) of the Constitution; to provide for the recognition, protection, management and administration of community land; to establish and define the powers of community land Boards and management committees, to provide for the powers of county governments in relation to unregistered community land and for connected matters. Section 3

- The championing of cross-border cooperation initiative like the Amaya Triangle Initiative by Laikipia County in collaboration with the neighbouring counties should be strengthened and more innovative collaborative initiatives and strategies adapted due to their inclusive and participatory elements. Ethnic tribes and the primary users of natural resources in the region are divided by mere administrative colonial borders hence the need for the adoption of a regional approach in strategy formulation concerning water, wildlife and forest conservation.
- The government should also seek to educate the pastoral communities on the need for diversification including farming. This will in the long-term help stop pastoral conflicts mostly fuelled by scarcity of resources. The commercialization strategy by the County of farming enterprise should be encouraged further to encompass livestock husbandry. It should also be made mandatory for the pastoral communities to educate their children as the level of illiteracy is still high among the pastoralists.
- A domestication mode of the existing natural resources and environmental policies at the County level should be incorporated in their proposed policy framework. The development of a shared legislative and policy development framework to guide each counties' development of their own policy agenda and enable resource allocation for these undertakings is crucial as it will drive synergy with existing national policies and laws.
- The county government need to develop grazing planning which consists of subdividing the rangeland into blocks that are not demarcated by fences. An agreement should then be reached with all users to close and open them for periods of time to allow for the regeneration of pasture or to allow pasture to produce adequate grass for the dry seasons.
- There is need for the Kenyan government and the County administration to adopt interventional measures for sustainable development at the local level to aid pastoralist societies adjust to climate seasonality and other ecological variations such as water harvesting and storage, construction of mega reservoirs and dams, value addition for crops and livestock.

- Finally, for effective implementation of conflict sensitive adjustments in the County, this study recommends the use of all-natural resource stakeholders, the Council of Elders, local leaders and private investors as a potential source of knowledge in rural areas. In addition, this study recognizes that political will by those in power and influential positions in the national and county governments to tackle issues of inequitable sharing and discrimination of some groups in favour of others like the pastoralists over the conservancies will result in a ‘win-win’ situation for all involved parties to the conflict.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Letter of Introduction

I am **Vanessa Mueni**, a 2nd year master's student from University of Nairobi studying MSc. Conflict management. The title of my research work is, **“NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT FRAMEWORK AS A CONFLICT MANAGEMENT STRATEGY IN KENYA: A CASE STUDY OF LAIKIPIA COUNTY”**. This study aims to contribute to the framework for management of conflicts arising from the natural resources in the country. Increased cases of conflicts among stakeholders have been identified as major threats to the sustainable development in ASAL regions in Kenya.

I am currently collecting data on the subject and I would appreciate your assistance in providing me with information that could benefit you as a resource user and advance knowledge in this important area of study. The information gathered will be kept private and confidential. Thank you for your participation.

Appendix II: Questionnaire

SECTION A: GENERAL INFORMATION

Date

Household characteristics

Sub-County

County

SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION.

PART A IS BADLY ARRANGED

What is your gender?

Female () Male () i) In which age group do you belong?

17-19 years ()

20-30 years ()

31-40 years ()

41-50 years ()

51-60 years ()

More than 60 years old ()

Highest level of education

Primary () Secondary () Diploma () degree ()

LINK BETWEEN RESOURCE SCARCITY AND CONFLICT

Ownership	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
during droughts, pastoralist livelihoods become particularly precarious leading to increased aggression on white settlers' lands				
there is need for special arrangements made to ensure emergency access to pasture and water even to the conservancies				
there is economic insecurity and deprivation during droughts				
Resource consumption				
it is unfair to safeguard pasture and water at the conservancies for consumption by wildlife while livestock is dying				
there is need for a coordinated emergency				

access during emergencies				
county government need to demarcate areas for growing fodder for communities to access only during extreme drought				
There is need for concerted efforts to address protracted conflicts due to natural resources				
Governance, resource scarcity and conflict				
The governance structure weakens and undermines traditional governance systems				
Insecure access and scarcity of grazing pastures and water has led to constant confrontations between nomadic headers and ranch owners leading to violent conflicts				
Threats of conflicts are predominantly severe during droughts and similar crises				
Neglect and discrimination of the communal needs of pastoralists in the County by the colonial administration and successive regimes, has propagated a bias towards white land owners				
The few implemented secure land ownership and tenure system in the County that are beneficial have less regard to the pastoral communal laws and needs				
Nomadic groups have tended to rely more on communal grazing rights, which are not protected by legislative laws				
Governance shortcomings on the provision for water and grazing pasture needs to the pastoralists, has contributed to ranch and conservancies invasions and, wildlife conflicts				

RESOURCE SCARCITY AND CONFLICT

Water Scarcity	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Amount of rainfall and the accessibility of water has caused frequent conflicts				
Water as a scarce resource has attracted conflict from different communities				

Water is being extracted upstream to the detriment of downstream users				
Patterns of rainfall had changed over the last three to ten years				
Laikipia is a hotspot where pastoralists from other counties came to graze and claimed that this was a major factor of conflicts				
Elephant disturbance is generally a seasonal issue especially during dry seasons				
Livestock Theft				
cattle raiding is criminal				
cattle rustlers are often non- pastoralists				
Cattle rustling is to politics as it heightens during campaigns				
Cattle rustling has become a business run by wealthy cartels				
Agro-pastoral conflicts				
Conflict between ranchers and pastoralists is due to encroaching of farms				
Conflicts between ranchers and pastoralists can be solved by fencing of farms				
Possession of fire arms by pastoralists contributes to heightened conflicts				

EFFECTIVENESS OF THE EXISTING POLICIES FOR CONFLICT MANAGEMENT MECHANISMS IN LAIKIPIA COUNTY

What activities are undertaken to address resource conflicts in Laikipia County (tick where appropriate)

Organizing peace meetings	
Arbitration and resolution of disputes	
Community outreaches	
Other	

What Strategies are used to address conflicts tick as appropriate

- Arbitrations by community elders ()
- Peace meetings ()
- Disarmaments ()
- Courts of Law ()

What would be the best strategies for conflict resolution and peace building

Local knowledge

Community participation

Solves conflict and promotes peace

Shortens time for dispute resolution

What are some of the complaints reported by residents regarding conflict resolution

Strategies do not resolve conflicts completely

Community elders did not recover stolen livestock from cattle rustlers after arbitration

Members of peace committees and community elders had performed roles for too long

What are some of the benefits realized from use of community-led strategies

Community participation in peace building initiatives

Increased cohesion among communities

Reduction in conflict cases

PROPOSED POLICY CHANGES FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION

D) What do you propose as the best conflict management measures of these conflicts?

Types of conflict	Proposed management measures

Appendix III: FGD Guide

1. What Natural resources are there in this area e.g. water, land, minerals, livestock, building, forests etc?
2. How are the Natural resources listed above utilized in your village/location?
 - i. Communal Ownership (collective usage by the village at no costs either from Government or the private sector)
Explain.....
 - ii. Private Ownership (individual usage of water with the costs of consumption payable either to the Government or to Kenya.
Explain.....
 - iii. Both of the above
 - iv. Equitable rights in land (land vested in the community that has no proper title to the land)
 - v. Legal rights in land (land vested in which individual or community has proper title to the land.
3. Are there any environmental conflicts generated from the use of these resources?
Yes ()
No ()
4. If yes, are these resource based conflicts resolved?
Yes ()
No ()
5. What do you think are the sources of these resource based conflicts?
6. How far back do these conflicts date? (Stipulate in terms of approximated rounded off time e.g. “Four months” instead of “Three and a half months”)
7. How were these conflicts resolved back then? (Give your answer according to the time frame you have given as an answer in question 12 above.)
8. If your answer is Yes to question above what mechanism (s) did you use to resolve these conflicts? List it/ them down.
9. If your answer is No to question 10 above what mechanisms do you propose should be used in the resolution of these environmental conflicts?