

**THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**  
**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**ANALYSIS OF THE RESOURCE BASED CONFLICT BETWEEN THE  
PASTORALIST AND AGRARIAN COMMUNITIES IN EAST AFRICAN**

**REGION:**

**A CASE STUDY OF NAIVASHA SUB-COUNTY IN KENYA.**

**FRANCIS MUNGAI MUCHIRI**

**REGISTRATION NUMBER R50/70612/2007**

**SUPERVISOR Dr. MARTIN OUMA**

**Presented in partial fulfillment of the masters degree in international studies  
at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies.**

**June 2015**

**DECLARATION**

This project is my original work, and has not been presented for award of masters degree in any other university.

Signed..... Date.....

Francis Mungai Muchiri

REG. No. R50/70612/2007

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as university supervisor,

Dr. Martin Ouma.

Signed..... Date.....

Supervisor

## **DEDICATION**

To the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies at the University of Nairobi, which inspired my knowledge and interest in international affairs.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I would like to extend my very sincere gratitude to the almighty God and all the lecturers who lectured me through out this course without whom it would have been imposible to get this far.

I would like to acknowledge the advice and guidance of my supervisor, Dr. Martin Ouma. Your kindness and willingness to lead me has been profound. May God bless your future endeavours in leading and guiding many more.

I would also like to thank my wife Mary, children Pauline, Chris, Cynthia and Derrick for their unrelenting support and encouragement. I sincerely appreciate you for being so understanding and allowing me time off from some of those key family engagements.

To my parents I sincerely appreciate your sacrifice and commitment to see me through my education upto undergraduate level. I thank God for giving me such wonderful parents. Certainly without you I would not be what I am today. May God bless you and all that is yours.

Finally I am truly humbled by the support I got from the government of Kenya which paid all my fees, and my fellow students who gave me the moral support.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

DO	District Officer
DP	Democratic Party of Kenya
FORD	Forum for Restoration of Democracy
ICE	Institute of Culture and Ecology
IDMC	Internal displacement monitoring center (IDMC)
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
ILCA	International Livestock Centre for Africa
KAMATUSA	Kalenjin ,Maasa,i Turkana and Samburu Association
KANU	Kenya African National Union
LUTATCO	Luo Thrift and Trading Corporation
NCKK	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
NSIS	National Security Intelligence Service
UNDP	United Nation Development Program
USDS	United States Department of State

## ABSTRACT

Many African countries are dependent basically on agriculture (crop and livestock farming) as their main economic activity. Since Kenya gained independence in 1963 they have been increasing tension between the crop farmers and herders. Such tensions at times generated into violent conflicts resulting in loss of lives and properties. In Naivasha region, the Maasai and Kikuyu communities use land in the region for crop production as well as dry season grazing for herders. This has created conflict in the region between the two communities. The study therefore sought to analyze resource based conflict between the pastoralist and agrarian communities in East Africa Region with a case study of Naivasha Region in Kenya. Specific objectives were to: determine the dynamics of conflict between pastoralists and crop farmers in Naivasha Sub-County; assess the effects of the conflict between crop farmers and pastoralists in Naivasha Sub-County; and establish ways through which ethnic conflict between pastoralists and crop farmers in Naivasha Sub-County can be addressed. The study adopted descriptive research design method. The target population was 1,603,325 residents with a sample size of 150 residents. The study adopted purposive sampling technique to sample the respondents. Both qualitative and quantitative data was collected from the respondents. Data was analyzed using descriptive statistics and findings were presented in graphs, tables, frequencies and percentages. The study found that victims of ethnic violence in the Naivasha have been subjected to psychological and emotional trauma. Although ethnic violence has led to an increase in social distance between ethnic groups, inter-ethnic marriages have persistent. The study found that some politicians, provincial administrators such as District Officers and chiefs acquired some of the land designated for the resettlement of the displaced. It found that conflict affected the Maasai both positively and negatively. When they attacked, they gained land and property while when they were attacked they lost land and property. It found that land is the major factor in the conflicts happening in Naivasha and in the process of the fight for these lands a lot of lives are lost. The study lastly found that local authority/government can stop the conflicts by taking action through condemning the conflicts and apprehending the culprits. It found that the police also can help in stopping the conflict but it was noted that the police did little if anything, during the conflicts in Naivasha.

## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.0 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

#### 1.1 Introduction

For decades, life in arid and semi-arid parts of Africa has been characterized by destruction and extraordinary human suffering “from long increasing violent conflict between livestock keepers (herders) and crop farmers (agrarians)”<sup>1</sup>. Indeed there exist tension, competition and violent conflict over natural resources in the relationship between these two groups. This makes it appear like the relationship between these groups would be characterized by such conflicts forever.

“Arid and semi-arid African represent up to sixty percent of Africa’s total land mass”<sup>2</sup>. This land mass is prime ground for finding new pastures as well as land for expanding crop cultivation. Indeed many semi arid regions of Africa have experienced a consistent expansion of cultivated land over the past two decades which is an important characteristic of semi-arid region which affects the livelihood strategies of both herders and farmers

The reasonably fast growth rate of both livestock kept by herders and human populations coupled with unfavorable natural factors such as poor rainfall pattern and soil characteristics and topography as well as manmade factors like deforestation, bushfire and faulty agricultural practices have contributed to the

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<sup>1</sup>Nowrojee, B., Takirambudde, P. & Human Rights Watch/Africa. Failing the Internally Displaced: The UNDP displaced persons program in Kenya, (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1997), p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Guliver P.H, The family herds. p. 95

worsening of the relationship between these two groups. “The above problems arise as a result of the individuals wanting to exploit the environmental resources without due concern for others”<sup>3</sup>.

Due to porous and expansive borders, weak governments, and ineffectual national security systems, sometimes it becomes very difficult to control the conflict between the herders and the agrarians in this region because the herders move within the region from one part to the other and even from one country to the other in search of pasture. For example, “among cross-border pastoralist communities arms are acquired overtly for security purposes but become facilitating instruments in traditional practices of livestock raiding”<sup>4</sup>. In most cases such weapons are used by the pastoralists in raiding animals kept by the agrarians to supplement their income from crop farming.

## **1.2 Back ground**

Many African countries, according to Iliffe (2007), are dependent basically on agriculture (crop and livestock farming) as their main economic activity. Most African countries have a large area of land being arid or semi arid. This interprets to the fact that given agriculture depends on soil fertility and rainfall, therefore, most land being arid means that a lot of useful land is underutilized for purposes of agriculture<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> Sandford S. Management of Pastoral Development in Third World, p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Sandford S. Management of Pastoral Development in Third World p. 81

<sup>5</sup> Iliffe, J. Africans: The history of a continent, New ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 13.

The available small piece of land is therefore used by both farmers who need to get agricultural produce from the farms and herders who need pasture and water for their animals. Population on the other hand is highly increasing in this continent to an extent that the pressure put on the small land resource is very large. This coupled with the fact that development in most of the African countries, which are third world, is slow, “means that the rate at which African states are putting the arid land to use through irrigation and ranching is very low. The pressure on land resource is therefore very high based on these facts”<sup>6</sup>.

According to John Vidal cattle herders occupy the largest part of African arid lands. This is based on the fact that arid lands are expansive enough to accommodate the large numbers of cattle synonymous with the herders and are also free from consistent interruptions from agrarians since they are sparsely occupied and experience minimal rainfall that may not be suitable for consistent farming. Agrarians on the other hand are known to be occupying areas with more rainfall per annum which is conducive for farming. This creates virtual territorial boundaries for the two groups (Agrarians and herders) of which when one group crosses to the other’s territory, and enjoys the services of ‘their’ land; a countering measure is likely to be put in action by the offended group leading to a conflict<sup>7</sup>.

Kenya is one of the African states that solely depend on agriculture. Most of the citizens in this country practice crop and or livestock farming including herding as their main economic activity. The need to provide food for the growing human

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<sup>6</sup> Kigomo, B. Forests and woodlands degradation in dry land Africa: A case for urgent global attention. (Nairobi: Kenya Forestry Research Institute, 2004).p.1

<sup>7</sup> Vidal, J. Sands shifting for Africa's nomadic herders. (Guardian News and Media Ltd, 2010), p. 1.

population coupled with the above mentioned factors necessitates opening up of lands hitherto uncultivated including marginal lands. “This has led to lands originally considered as communal land for livestock herders in Kenya being taken away for farming purposes during seasons when the herders are on the move”<sup>8</sup>.

When herders go out in search of better pasture, they go for relatively long time and without an administrator to oversee the land during that period; this land is easily available for grabbing. Since communal land has no individual owner or title deed, when it has been taken over reclaiming it with success is hard leading to force being resorted to by the affected group in order to regain their property or to administer justice. In such a case, the farmers fight to prevent themselves losing land or in a bid to gain more land for farming purposes while the herders fight in a bid to regain or acquire new lands for pasture.

Notwithstanding the problems of the arid and semi arid areas, “the number of Kenyans living in such areas is increasing tremendously, posing a big challenge to the limited available natural resources such as land and water”<sup>9</sup>. Many agrarians as a result are migrating to dry lands due to unavailability of land in the humid areas. This has also added up to the problem between the farmers and herders since it has contributed to less availability of land for the pastoralists to graze.

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<sup>8</sup> Kategile, J., Mubi, S. & International Livestock Centre for Africa (ILCA). Future of livestock industries in East and southern Africa: proceedings of a workshop, July 1992. (Addis Ababa: International Livestock Centre for Africa, 1993), p. 187.

<sup>9</sup> Kamungi, P., M. The current situation of internally displaced persons in Kenya. Jesuit refugee service, (march, 2001), p. 13

In event of conflict, people tend to go along ethnic divides. A quarrel between two opposing people turns to be a tribal thing in that they fall back to their tribesmen for support and protection; the other side does the same and the result is the conflict between the two tribes. Such conflicts have arisen from farm encroachment on cattle routes and sometimes watering points as well as from herders' animals destroying the farmers' crops with intention. Other conflict sources include grazing of harvested crops and destruction of perimeter fence by cattle herders.

Different theories have been put forth to explain the causes of conflict in Naivasha according to Oucho. Unwise distribution of land where some of the "to-be-beneficiaries" feel left out from what was to be their right, farmer-herder conflicts, incitements from politicians and ethnicity are some of the possible causes put forward in these theories. As much as the causes of conflicts are identified in these theories, it is also important to note that the conflicts are always occurring at a given frequency means that the problem may be wider than thought of. He writes that "The ad hoc efforts to forestall further conflict have been fatally handicapped by donors' reluctance to address the actual source of the violence. Instead, they implicitly (and erroneously) treat the root cause as 'localized hatreds'<sup>10</sup>." This explains that the real causes of the violence are yet to be found or are not addressed.

Farmers and herders are both important assets to the government, not to mention to the economy of any country. Both crop farming and livestock keeping

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<sup>10</sup> Oucho, J. O. Undercurrents of ethnic conflict in Kenya, (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2002), p. 14.

contribute greatly to our living: This means that both groups should be taken care of so that they do not fight against each other. However, that is not the case since government officials have been found to support violence in this area to an extent that they incite their people to do it. An example of this is when Ole Ntimama incited the Maasais to fight against Kikuyus in Enospukia “claiming that Kikuyus had taken away their land on top of polluting their environment. To him the war was justified because the Maasais were fighting for their rights”<sup>11</sup>.

The church and some opposition leaders also questioned the commitment of the government in solving the causes of the conflict, the commitment for resettling the displaced and the concern to provide the displaced with food and other basic things. While government officials claimed to have taken a complete statistics of the true and total Internally Displaced Persons (IDPS) in the camp at Maela, these leaders claimed that the figures were not official but inflated and not all true IDPs were involved but rather imposters. “On the 24<sup>th</sup> December 1994, police raided the Maela camp in Naivasha leading to the displacement of 2000 Kikuyus from the camp in the middle of the night”<sup>12</sup>. The three also say that United Nation Development Program (UNDP) was pressurizing the government to punish those responsible for the displacement of people in Maela to no avail show some non-commitment, the government was not committed at all to help those affected by the violence. These show that government tools were not being used in the right way, that is, if this argument is anything to go by. There seems to be a gap between what is expected from the government and the reality on the ground as

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<sup>11</sup> Oucho, J. O. Undercurrents of ethnic conflict in Kenya, (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2002),p.12

<sup>12</sup> Nowrojee, B., Takirambudde, P. & Human Rights Watch/Africa, p. 10.

well as what causes the conflict. This thus calls for a research into the conflict so as to come up with the right facts.

Though this problem is as serious as seen above, it is expected that the government intervenes so as to protect the innocent from being affected. However questions raised by the affected are hard for the government to solve. This can be attributed from the fact that the same government happens to be the implicated in the land problems in this nation. It is very hard for the people who took the lands illegally to solve the land problem since they are not ready to lose them. Oyugi is surprised that ‘those who grabbed the lands are still in power up to now protecting them using state tools’<sup>13</sup>. This means that the conflict is there to stay, until the causes are eliminated.

### **1.3 Problem Statement**

It is generally acceptable that where there is competing use for resources some amount of conflict is likely to emerge. This is even more so when the resources in question is land which can be put in different productive uses. The importance and utility of regions land for both crops and animal farmers necessitates some amount of competition. Such competition is aggravated by growing human and animal population.

In Kenya, a survey by KCSSP showed that civil conflicts between different ethnic groups have been very common at a given definite frequency-after every election. According to the report by the United States Department of State (USDS) on

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<sup>13</sup> Oyugi. O. Politicized ethnic conflict in Kenya. A periodic phenomenon, (Addis Ababa, 2000),P. 8

Kenya Human Rights Practices, “in 1993, ethnic violence had by December of that year, claimed 1,000 lives and displaced between 150,000 to 250,000 people”<sup>14</sup>. Oyugi notes that since the early eighties, issues on the allocation of resources have been a core problem in the Kenya’s system of leadership. “Land is one such big resource whose allocation is very vital to an extent that any faulty interests involved are likely to lead to a crisis”<sup>15</sup>. Yamano and Deininger note that “land is the increasingly main source of conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa; Kenya being one of the countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa seems to fall in the same group realistically”<sup>16</sup>.

In Naivasha Sub-County “The land in Maela and Mai mahiu locations of Naivasha region has traditionally been used for crop production as well as dry season grazing for herders”<sup>17</sup>. Crop farming in the region is reported to be on the increase of late. This expansion has affected land hitherto uncultivated. Most land that was originally uncultivated is therefore being converted into cultivated land thus putting pressure on the land previously used by herders from the region. Such land, which has been used as dry season grazing resources by herdsmen, is what generates the serious conflict experienced in region.

Apart from the scramble for land for the various economic activities by the various communities (Maasai and Kikuyu), there are other causes of conflicts

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<sup>14</sup> Amisi, K., B. Conflict in the Rift Valley and Western Kenya. Towards an Early Warning Indicator Identification, p.1.

<sup>15</sup> Oyugi. O. Politicized ethnic conflict in Kenya. A periodic phenomenon, (Addis Ababa, 2000), P.6.

<sup>16</sup> Yamano, T. & Deininger, K. Land Conflicts and Soil Management: Evidence from Kenya, (Washington DC: Resource for the future, 2009) p. 254.

<sup>17</sup> Kamungi, P., M. The current situation of internally displaced persons in Kenya. Jesuit refugee service, (march, 2001),, p. 13

witnessed in this areas. When the historical ownership is taken into place, the owners of the area in question were not the current occupants. The land in that area was illegally taken from the Maasai, who take it to be their ancestral land, by the colonial settlers. After their exit, the same land was not returned to the previous owners but rather taken away, also illegally by the government of the day and given to government loyalists or tribal colleagues. “This unjust way of distribution of resources is what has led to a continued conflict where the affected want to retaliate by unconventional means given that the conventional means is unlikely to bare fruits”<sup>18</sup>.

#### **1.4 Research Objectives:**

The general objective of the study was to analyze resource based conflict between the pastoralist and agrarian communities in Naivasha Sub-County of Nakuru County in Kenya.

The specific objectives of the study were to;

1. Determine the dynamics of conflict between pastoralists and crop farmers in Naivasha Sub-County.
2. Assess the effects of the conflict between crop farmers and pastoralists in Naivasha Sub-County.
3. Establish ways through which ethnic conflict between pastoralists and crop farmers in Naivasha Sub-County can be addressed.

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<sup>18</sup> Oyugi, W. O. Politicized ethnic conflict in Kenya. A periodic phenomenon, (Addis Ababa, 2000), p.6.

### **1.5 Justification of the Study**

In Kenya, conflicts have been known to be very rampant among different tribes since the early 90's, with the climax being witnessed in the 2007-2008 post-election violence where Kenyans turned against fellow Kenyans who are not from their tribe. The contradicting views on the causes of these conflicts require an investigation into the facts. This study therefore aimed to find out what the facts are and basically narrows on the conflict between pastoralist and farmers arising from resources utilization and the principal actors involved.

The study also looked at the actions of the government towards the conflict. The conflict in Naivasha took a long time to be put to a halt. The frequency at which the conflict used to happen was also high and separated by shorter timeframes. All this time, a legal government was in place and capable of putting the conflicts to a halt whenever they started; but that was not the case. The National Security Intelligence Service (NSIS) was also operational and able to do its services but didn't put their services to use to prevent the conflict from happening. This is why the government's actions towards the conflict are important.

This study therefore can be very helpful to the government, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's) concerned with peaceful coexistence of people/communities, scholars of conflict resolution measures and the whole Kenyan fraternity by either equipping them with the knowledge on how to avoid conflicts due to its effects or on the actions to be taken to prevent conflicts and ensure peace.

The study can be of benefit to policy development. Insights from the study will provide information on the dynamics of conflict that policy makers can use to develop policies on conflict management. Policy makers can also understand the effects ethnic conflict has on pastoralists and agrarians and develop policies that will help address the issue of ethnic conflict between communities.

The academicians, scholars and researchers can find the results of this study useful for further research on the resource based conflict between the pastoralist and agrarian communities. This can help in compilation of data that can enhance development of literature review and identify research gaps.

The general public can understand the extent to which ethnic conflict can affect their communities by knowing the adverse effects of ethnic conflict. This can help them not to involve in such ethnic conflicts for better development and good relations with neighbouring communities for trade.

## **1.6 Literature Review**

This section reviewed literature related to the conflicts in Naivasha Sub-County. The section looks at the causes of the conflicts between the Maasai and the Kikuyus, the effects of these conflicts, the actions taken by the government towards ending this conflict and finally the things or action that can be taken to contain the violence in Naivasha region.

### **1.6.1 General Overview of Conflict**

A conflict is defined by team building website as; "a struggle to resist or overcome; contest of opposing forces or powers; strife; battle. A state or condition of opposition; antagonism; discord. A painful tension set up by a clash between opposed and contradictory impulses"<sup>19</sup>. This means that as long as you have opposing views with another party, one is likely to end up in a conflict with the party. In case one among the two parties carry on with the opposing views, the conflict is likely to be brought up anytime the opposition arises. In this case even the slightest provocation by the opposing side is likely to lead to a dangerous clash between the two sides.

### **1.6.2 Causes of conflict between pastoralists and crop farmers**

#### **1.6.2.1 Land and water points**

Institute of Culture and Ecology (ICE) asserts in one of their case studies that land and water points are the most important resources on which pressure was applied to an extent that in case one of the communities living there missed the services of the resources, then they would resort to forceful intervention-conflict<sup>20</sup>. The Kikuyus wanted land and water for farming all the year round irrespective of the dry weather while the Maasais needed land to provide pasture and water for their animals. ICE asserts that the need to control these resources is what led to the execution of 17 Kikuyus in Enoosopukia in 1993. Since all the affected were Kikuyus while those who committed the killings were Maasais, a revenge mission

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<sup>19</sup> Team building group. Motivation/Relationship Problems. What is Conflict? (Team Building Inc., 2010), p.1.

<sup>20</sup> Institute for Culture and Ecology (ICE) Case Studies. Ethnic Cleansing and the Environment in Kenya. Case number: 46; Case Mnemonic: Kikuyu.(2000), pg1.

was planned that instead led to the Kikuyus being overpowered leading to their displacement and loose of properties of unknown value.

KCSSP seems to concur with this cause of conflict by adding that the Maasais who are believed to be the original owners of the land in Naivasha blame the Kikuyus and other tribes for grabbing their land illegally. The conflict between the two tribes is caused by competition for grazing lands as well as water spots which the Maasais claim have been taken by the Kikuyu farmers as well as the flower companies. A cross over by the Maasais to graze their animals in these farming areas leads to them being sued for trespass, an act that irritates the Maasais to an extent of causing a conflict. Since the flower firms are normally protected, the likely weak point has always been the farming Kikuyu community<sup>21</sup>. IDMC also notes that the Akiwumi report stated that the cause of persistent tribal clashes in Kenya was the unaddressed land injustices committed during the colonial government and the other previous governments<sup>22</sup>. Kamungi also adds that corruption that has been attached to the allocation of land resource in Kenya is another thing that causes violence<sup>23</sup>. Kamungi also identifies the harsh natural environment as the other cause of violence. He writes that the harsh conditions lead to loss of livestock and crops due to drought leading to the herders and the farmers being frustrated. This makes them resort to violence against those who they feel are the causes of their problems<sup>24</sup>. The Maasai for instance think that the

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<sup>21</sup> KCSSP. Peace building and conflict management in South Rift region. (KCSSP & USAID Kenya. September, 2009) ,p.2.

<sup>22</sup> IDMC. A profile of the internal displacement situation. Speedy reform needed to deal with past injustices and prevent future displacement, (10th June 2010), p.13.

<sup>23</sup> Kamungi.P. M. The current situation of internally displaced persons in Kenya. Jesuit refugee service, (march, 2001) , p.13

<sup>24</sup> Kamungi .P. M. The current situation of internally displaced persons in Kenya. Jesuit refugee service, (march, 2001) p.15

Kikuyus are the causers and therefore attack them. The attacked community revenges and ethnic conflict ensue.

#### **1.6.2.2 Political influence and ethnicity**

Political influence and ethnicity are also another cause that KCSSP mentions to be leading to the conflict in Naivasha. The political elite are said to be inciting the Maasais not to allow the other tribes to stay within the area since they are taking over their land and therefore compromising their political potential. In this the Maasais claim that after the immigrating communities dominate the region's population, they vie and win political thrones, for instance by becoming the members of parliament of the region. KCSSP writes that "The Maasai also feel politically encroached, with "migrant" communities now taking over Maasai's political seats (Constituencies)"<sup>25</sup>. Kamungi adds that the violence witnessed in most parts of Kenya was politically instigated during the Kenya African National Union (KANU) regime so as to continue exercising political power and influence over the regions in question. She mentions 'the inaction of the government to support the victims of the violence and the absence of police protection during the violence as some of the evidences that support this view'<sup>26</sup>. Amisi concurs by asserting that the lack of political will in national matters is one of the causes of violence in rift valley<sup>27</sup>. He notes that in dealing with national matters, it is important that politicians show some will to foresee the citizens' wishes and not to politically use the platforms to perpetuate their needs. Nowrojee et al. also

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<sup>25</sup> KCSSP, .Peace building and conflict management in South Rift region. (KCSSP & USAID Kenya.September, 2009) p.2

<sup>26</sup> Kamungi .P. M. The current situation of internally displaced persons in Kenya. Jesuit refugee service, (march, 2001) P.6

<sup>27</sup> Amisi K.. B. Conflict in the Rift Valley and Western Kenya. Towards an Early Warning Indicator Identification p.1

supports this argument by asserting that the government through its hopefuls used the Maela conflict to perpetuate its political ambitions. Political leaders publicly incited the residents of the area with the government silent about the whole actions<sup>28</sup>. Brown et al on the other hand notes that the introduction of multi-partism led to the increased conflicts. They claim that the opposition which was dominated by Kikuyus became stronger leading to increased polarization and incitements that led to recurring conflicts. Politicians also increased ethnic differences by elaborating them to citizens as well as delinking their communities from the neighboring ones<sup>29</sup>.

OCHA also points out that some of the cause of the violence between the two major communities in Maela is hatred cultivated by ethnicity. The organization points out a situation where a Maasai killed a fellow Maasai on a drinking outing and yet the Maasais claimed that the killing was done by the Kikuyu. This led to a revenge mission by the Maasais thus widening the conflict<sup>30</sup>. Kamungi concurs with this argument by claiming that ethnicity is one of the worst causes of violence and is mostly identified and shaped by politicians. Describing oneself based on a given ethnic group to an extent of segregating or isolating yourself from those who do not share the same sentiments with you is very risky as he notes<sup>31</sup>. The IDCM on the other hand notes that the cause of violence in the region is the tradition of the pastoralist community which considers cattle rustling a virtue that shows dominance over other tribes. This makes the pastoralist

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<sup>28</sup> Nowrojee, Takirambudde & Human Rights Watch.p. 5.

<sup>29</sup> Brown, C Farhad Karim, Human Rights Watch (Organization). Playing the "communal card": communal violence and human rights, p.105

<sup>30</sup> OCHA. Weekly Operational Report on Humanitarian Services. Partnership for Humanity: Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Nakuru Sub-Office, 8th-12<sup>th</sup> September 2008. p.1

<sup>31</sup> Kamungi P. M. The current situation of internally displaced persons in Kenya. Jesuit refugee service, (march, 2001) P. 10.

community engaging in fights that creates conflicts in the name of wanting to satisfy their ego<sup>32</sup>.

### **1.6.2.3 Low education level**

Other scholars, on the causes of conflict in Naivasha Sub-County, argue that low education level is a main cause that is very important to be noted and addressed. It is claimed that in the Maela and Elongrooni region, the majority of the Kikuyu are educated while majority of the Maasais are not. This is attributed to the different economic activities each group engages in- pastoralists and nomads does not allow most Maasai time for attending school. The less educated community has a lot of youth idle who, due to their lack of other gainful activities and critical thinking knowledge only resort to social evils like cattle rustling. This makes them very easily indulgent in any conflict-like actions, even if the cause is minor. Peace to them is not a possible and available option<sup>33</sup>.

## **1.6.3 Government's action towards conflict**

### **1.6.3.1 Responsibility of the government to protect**

The Kenya government has many functions that Kenyan's elect it to do. Among these functions, the government is bestowed with the responsibility to protect its territory as well as its citizens<sup>34</sup>. The right to protect individuals was also incorporated in the former constitution of Kenya revised in 2008; there is a chapter that talks about the rights of individuals and the government's

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<sup>32</sup> IDMC. A profile of the internal displacement situation. Speedy reform needed to deal with past injustices and prevent future displacement, (10th June 2010), p.8.

<sup>33</sup> Mwaniki, T., W., Leleruk, M., Mbuchi, P.,M., & Mwei, F. Peace Building & Conflict Management in Kenya: Joint Case Study on North Rift region of Kenya. (Nairobi: Pauline's Publications Africa, 2007), p. 46.

<sup>34</sup> Maina, E., Oboka, W., & Makong'o, J. History and Government 3. (Nairobi: East African Education Publishers, 2004) p. 213.

responsibility to protect<sup>35</sup>. Amisi also adds that “The government is ultimately responsible for the security of its citizens”<sup>36</sup>. These show that the government should always provide peaceful and secure environment either before a conflict arises as well as to stop a conflict. In doing this, the rights of humans, as enshrined in the national constitution should be observed.

### **1.6.3.2 Government’s inaction towards those affected by conflicts**

Though the government had the responsibility to protect the citizens, the actions it engaged in were wanting to both the human rights watch organizations and to the international organization. Brown et al. say that government authorities terrorized victims of the ethnic conflicts in Maela, destroyed the makeshift clinic and school at the camp and deported the victims without concern or mercy for them since they had been displaced by ethnic conflicts perpetrated by Maasais<sup>37</sup>. A UNDP report also concurs with these government actions by stating that a District Officer (DO) D. Lotai forcibly evicted 179 families out of the Eldoret National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) IDP center, an incident that left the evictees by the road side<sup>38</sup>. Though this was in Eldoret, it shows how the government was inactive and unwilling to support the victims of the clashes. The same case was to other victims in other parts of the country as the report asserts. This shows that the government was not shaken at all by the violence; some scholars say that the government’s lack of mercy and concern to the displaced people showed that the government didn’t have any positive concern towards the violence and the

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<sup>35</sup> Laws of Kenya. The Constitution of Kenya. Revised ed. 2008 (2001). (Government of Kenya), Chapter V.

<sup>36</sup> Amisi K.. B. Conflict in the Rift Valley and Western Kenya. Towards an Early Warning Indicator Identification p.1

<sup>37</sup> Brown et al., p.105

<sup>38</sup> Nowrojee, B., Takirambudde, P. & Human Rights Watch/Africa, p. 69

victims. Brown et al also write that an NCKK report published in 1992 linked prominent government officials like ministers to the violence in Maela and other areas in Kenya yet the government never took any action against those who were mentioned. The only logical conclusion that one can make out of this is that those who instigated the violence had the blessing of the government.

Jennifer A. Widner writes that after the colonial government exited Kenya, the heads of government that took over used several crude ways to maintain their dominance and support in the country. They used political intimidation, detention laws and violence to be able to terrorize those against them thus forcing the opposers to join the Nyayo government-lest they face the wrath<sup>39</sup>. Widner says this continued up to the introduction of multi-party politics in Kenya. She adds that it was the method used by Moi to intimidate the strong opposition that was forming against him. This shows that the states involvement in the clashes was instigated and conducted by the government at the interest of the same government.

### **1.6.3.3 Government forced to act**

After the conflict, it is written that mounted pressure by the opposition and NGOs is what led to the former president authorizing official investigation into the clashes<sup>40</sup>. It is also purported by members of the public that security personnel refused to take action against those involved in the conflict. It was also claimed that police were present during the attacks but did nothing to prevent them. In supporting the analogy of the government's inaction, Kamungi writes that the

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<sup>39</sup> Widner, J., A. The rise of a party-state in Kenya: From "Harambee" to "Nyayo!" (London: University of California Pree Ltd., 1992), p.33.

<sup>40</sup> Brown et al. p. 106

UNDP humanitarian program was stopped from offering any humanitarian support to the victims of the violence because there was lack of political good will and commitment by the government to seriously address the issues surrounding displacement<sup>41</sup>. OCHA supports this by arguing that though the government showed some support toward the victims of the clashes, some gaps in the government's actions were evident<sup>42</sup>.

#### **1.6.3.4 Unjust division and allocation of land**

Kamungi notes that the large cause of ethnicity in the rift valley was the unjust division of land. This was started by the colonial government and continued by the Kenya government after independence. The lack of will to return the grabbed land to the original owners and the continued illegal award of land after independence by the government caused the heat to go up amongst the deprived communities. Since then up to now the government has never solved the land issue among the key parties- this is what continuously causes anger among the communities and thus violence<sup>43</sup>. This statement leads to a fact that the government lacks the much needed will to solve the land menace hence the continued cause of conflict.

#### **1.6.4 Government Plays Politics**

In what seems as a contradiction with the government's role in the conflicts, Kamunga also notes that before multi-partism, President Moi and the government were able to manage the conflict through the political-administrative leadership.

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<sup>41</sup> Kamungi. P. M. The current situation of internally displaced persons in Kenya. Jesuit refugee service, (march, 2001) p.3

<sup>42</sup> OCHA. Weekly Operational Report on Humanitarian Services. Partnership for Humanity: Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Nakuru Sub-Office, 8<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> September 2008. p.1

<sup>43</sup> Kamungi. P. M. The current situation of internally displaced persons in Kenya. Jesuit refugee service, (march, 2001) p.6

This contained the conflict up to until the introduction of multi-partism<sup>44</sup>. To contradict this management, a UNDP report on the nature of those displaced says that no government official was charged in a court of law with any incitements or funding offences committed towards the conflict. In fact the report mentions that local government officials made sure that the press, NGOs, the church and other humanitarian organizations do not access the conflict areas so that they do not report on the issues relating to the conflict<sup>45</sup>. Another report aimed at explaining state sponsored violence in Africa mentions that the violence was politically instigated because the warriors and arsonist seemed to be well trained on what to do, well armed, uniformed and enjoyed security from police and other security organs. The report states that this was evident in the fact that the government apprehended the suspects to the crimes but punished them sparingly with the Kikuyus facing the punishment while the other enjoyed bail and were later acquitted<sup>46</sup>.

During the Jomo Kenyatta era, Moi was closely working with the Kikuyus in social, cultural and political activities. After getting the presidency, the president started turning against them leading the Kikuyus to a strategy to revenge mission in the late 80s. This led to the Kikuyus in support with other tribes who were not happy with the Moi government to form an opposition which pushed for introduction of the multi –party political system. After succeeding in this they formed strong opposition parties, in return the government formed a group called the Kalenjin Maasai Turkana and Samburu Association (KAMATUSA)<sup>\*</sup> which

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<sup>44</sup> Kamungi .P.M. The current situation of internally displaced persons in Kenya. Jesuit refugee service, (march, 2001) p.7

<sup>45</sup> Nowrojee, B., Takirambudde, P. & Human Rights Watch/Africa, p. 65.

<sup>46</sup> Deadly marionettes: State sponsored violence in Africa. Article 19. October, 1997.p.13

had the responsibility of ensuring that most Kikuyu dominated areas in the Rift valley are denied voting so that the 25% vote requirement as contained in the constitution is not attained by the opposition. This was a confirmation that the government was involved in causing the conflict in the Rift valley Province<sup>47</sup>. Senior government officials and cabinet ministers were found to be inciting and providing funding to “their people” to attack the immigrants with the target of making them flee to their ancestral lands. However, no action was taken against these officials; they even asserted that they were fighting to protect the government.

#### **1.6.4.1 Commitment by the Government**

The above arguments do not mean that the government only engaged in perpetrating the violence, they also did some acts that showed commitment to stopping the violence. President Moi in 1993 declared some of the worst affected areas to be full security operational zones<sup>48</sup>. This seemed to bare some fruits by then through the reduction of violence in the spotted violence prone areas. The act also cleansed the government of their inaction on the violence. Other government considerations taken towards the violence were; the posting of additional D.O and security personnel to oversee resettlement of the displaced, organizing reconciliation meetings of elders from the affected ethnic groups and ensuring security at the local levels. In most cases these initiatives were carried out

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\*Acronym coined by the press to refer to Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana and Samburu.

<sup>47</sup> Kamungi. P.M. The current situation of internally displaced persons in Kenya. Jesuit refugee service, (march, 2001) p.8

<sup>48</sup> Deadly marionettes: State sponsored violence in Africa. Article 19. October, 1997.p.14

following a Presidential directive. No plans were made whatsoever to compensate families of victims for damage done by the aggressors<sup>49</sup>.

### **1.6.5 Effects of the violence**

#### **1.6.5.1 Social effects**

In the Naivasha region conflict between the Kikuyu and the Maasai, anytime they occur the effects are large and vary depending on the target of the attackers. The most observed effect is the displacement of people and the killings of others. A UNDP report on the violence estimates the number of those displaced due to the conflicts in Kenya by 1993 to be 300,000 while those killed to be 1500. Out of the displaced, the report puts the number of children at 75% of the displaced<sup>50</sup>.

Mr. Nyakuri also adds that ethnic conflicts strengthen and give a reason for the formation of ethnic conglomerations. The effects of these conglomerations are both positive as well as negative. Since mostly they are formed for the wrong reasons, the conglomeration only aims at defending the given tribe from attacks- these results into tribal militias. An example of the effect of such conglomeration is the formation of the Luo Thrift and Trading Corporation (LUTATCO) by Oginga Odinga and other Luo traders which was aimed at challenging the Asian monopoly retail and wholesale trade in Nyanza<sup>51</sup>. Kamungi calls the conglomeration a “militarization of the society”, which he mentions is a very bad thing since it allows communities to take law and order in their own hands;

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<sup>49</sup> Amisi .K. B. Conflict in the Rift Valley and Western Kenya. Towards an Early Warning Indicator Identification .p1

<sup>50</sup> Nowrojee, B., Takirambudde, P. & Human Rights Watch/Africa, p.5

<sup>51</sup> Barasa.K.. N. The Impact of Past and Potential Ethnic Conflicts on Kenyan's Stability and Development. (University of Nairobi: Dept. Of History and Government, 1997), p.1

disregarding the security personnel like the police<sup>52</sup>. In the Naivasha case the associations formed are majorly by the Kikuyus and are aimed at repelling the Maasais whenever they attack. Ethnicity also increases as a result of these conflicts since the attacks are held on tribal basis. Knowing where one belonged was thus a fundamental thing in life. IDMC notes that some of the IDPs were deported to their ancestral lands in central Kenya, where they matched their ethnic groups<sup>53</sup>.

On displacements, the victims went to camps like the Maela camp together with their animals. The tents were upharzadly built, according to Nyakuri, sanitation facilities were inadequate, water problems adverse and generally poor hygiene was evident. These posed a major challenge in terms of disease outbreaks which are difficult to contain given that hospitals and hospital attendants are also destroyed/displaced and therefore access to medical facilities was difficult. Schools were also affected in the conflicts. It is reported that more than 55 schools were closed and 16500 pupils denied a chance to go to school due to insecurity issues<sup>54</sup>.

Generally after the conflicts, security in the Maela and Enosupukia areas reduced to an extent that the basic rights of human beings were not guaranteed. IDMC notes that the IDPs feared going back to their homes due to insecurity concerns and because the leadership at the time of the conflict were still in power and thus

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<sup>52</sup> Kamungi. P. M. The current situation of internally displaced persons in Kenya. Jesuit refugee service, (march, 2001) p.14

<sup>53</sup> IDMC. A profile of the internal displacement situation. Speedy reform needed to deal with past injustices and prevent future displacement, (10th June 2010) p.13.

<sup>54</sup> Barasa. K.. N. The Impact of Past and Potential Ethnic Conflicts on Kenyan's Stability and Development. (University of Nairobi: Dept. Of History and Government, 1997), p.1

were likely to perpetrate the vice (ethnic conflicts) since they did nothing to prevent them<sup>55</sup>. This increased crime in the area as Kamungi puts it<sup>56</sup>. It is also claimed that there has been a conflict in terms of identity of the off springs. The parents who have intermarried found it difficult to give their children either their mother's identity or their father's identity. Apart from that Nyukuri notes that most children brought up in these harsh environments grow up knowing that violence is the way of solving disputes. This creates a violent generation in the end. Some of the children are however reported to grow up fearful and very negative of violence based on the trauma the violence took them through<sup>57</sup>.

#### **1.6.5.2 Economic effects**

Barasa identifies one of the impacts of conflict as creating a culture that is mostly incompatible to human resource capacity<sup>58</sup>. In this he means that when people are engaged in conflicts, the social life set up they acquire is difficult and cannot make the people very useful when human resource is considered. Simply put, violence denies people the right to work-the males need to fight or revenge a fight while the women and children need to run away for safety. The effect of this is thus an inactive economy since economic activities are paralyzed.

When most of these ethnic based conflicts happen, crops on land and other property are normally destroyed and houses together with food stores burnt. This

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<sup>55</sup> IDMC. A profile of the internal displacement situation. Speedy reform needed to deal with past injustices and prevent future displacement, (10th June 2010) p.12.

<sup>56</sup> Kamungi. . P. M. The current situation of internally displaced persons in Kenya. Jesuit refugee service, (march, 2001) p.16

<sup>57</sup> Barasa. K.. N. The Impact of Past and Potential Ethnic Conflicts on Kenyan's Stability and Development. (University of Nairobi: Dept. Of History and Government, 1997) p.1

<sup>58</sup> Barasa. K.. N. The Impact of Past and Potential Ethnic Conflicts on Kenyan's Stability and Development. (University of Nairobi: Dept. Of History and Government, 1997) p.1

takes the economy back a great leap. It also creates an inefficient human resource who cannot deliver due to inefficient food and basic need provision<sup>59</sup>. Displaced people also do not have their own sources of livelihood and therefore depend on donations to survive. This stretches the pockets of the giving donors and as such limits the amount of aid that would have been beneficial to other charitable organizations<sup>60</sup>. Poverty is also increased based on the explained factors<sup>61</sup>. Kimungi on the other hand writes that all these factors coupled together lead to underdevelopment. The conclusion according to him is that the conflict leads to underdevelopment<sup>62</sup>.

Brown et al. notes that ethnic violence in Naivasha area and the Great Rift Valley Province are aimed at driving away the perceived immigrants so that their land can be taken away by the warring communities. Brown et al. (1995) note that those who try to return back to their lands after the violence are intimidated and threatened so that they fail to reclaim their land forever<sup>63</sup>. IDMC concurs with these sentiments by stating that some IDPs were forced to sell their land at a cost much lower than the market price. Those with share holding certificates in land buying companies were thrown out so that they could not claim their land or shares back<sup>64</sup>.

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<sup>59</sup> Amisi. K.. B. Conflict in the Rift Valley and Western Kenya. Towards an Early Warning Indicator Identification p.1

<sup>60</sup> Nowrojee, B., Takirambudde, P. & Human Rights Watch/Africa, p.11

<sup>61</sup> Kamungi. P. M. The current situation of internally displaced persons in Kenya. Jesuit refugee service, (march, 2001) P.16

<sup>62</sup> Kimungi. P. M. The current situation of internally displaced persons in Kenya. Jesuit refugee service, (march, 2001) P. 17

<sup>63</sup> Brown et al. 104

<sup>64</sup> IDMC. A profile of the internal displacement situation. Speedy reform needed to deal with past injustices and prevent future displacement, (10th June 2010). p.12.

ICE mentions that the recurring conflicts in Enoosopukia and other areas in Naivasha has seen a direct government involvement through the conservation and control of the water catchment areas so as to conserve the waters of the area and in doing so, reduce the rate at which conflicts related to water resources may arise<sup>65</sup>.

### **1.6.5.3 Political Effects**

Since the violence was perceived to be condoned by the government, the affected communities had everything to blame the government for whatever they were going through. This led to most of the affected communities like the Kikuyu joining the opposition in a bid to vote in someone that would protect their interests too. Brown et al notes that the formation of Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD) and Democratic Party of Kenya (DP) was as a result of the need to have representatives who would protect their people from KANU's inhumanity to them. He also notes that FORD Asili and DP became more of the kikuyu people's parties because majority of the Kikuyu leadership were represented in them<sup>66</sup>. The perception of government involvement also saw other groups who provided humanitarian support like the NCKK support the opposition after their reports showed that government officials were involved in the violence<sup>67</sup>.

The call for multi-party political system also led KANU leaders to call for the Majimbo (regional devolution) where every ethnic group would be forced to go to their ancestral land. This was aimed at preventing the Kikuyus from dominating in

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<sup>65</sup> Institute for Culture and Ecology (ICE) Case Studies. Ethnic Cleansing and the Environment in Kenya. Case number: 46; Case Mnemonic: Kikuyu.(2000),, p.1

<sup>66</sup> Brown et al. p. 104

<sup>67</sup> Brown et al. p. 105

the Rift Valley- a place not considered their ancestral land<sup>68</sup>. The conflicts also saw most politicians in the parliament polarized and taking sides on national issues. ICE case study notes that opposition leader; Mr. Oginga Odinga condemned the government for planning and funding the attacks. KANU parliamentarians on the other hand defended the government for anything that might have happened claiming that the people were protecting their rights<sup>69</sup>.

According to Amisi, the effect of the conflicts was that it marked the beginning of the people's loss of confidence in the ability of state institutions to protect their lives and property and also ensure security<sup>70</sup>. This led to people who managed to return to their lands organizing militia groups that would provide them with the required security when a conflict starts.

### **1.6.6 How to stop the violence.**

#### **1.6.6.1 Peace and reconciliation**

On how to prevent the violence from happening, Amisi notes that Churches and some humanitarian organizations considered peace and reconciliation to be the key things to settling the violence. She writes that "...several statements made by church leaders, politicians in the opposition and human rights activists repeatedly condemned the ethnic violence throughout its duration, and called on the government to initiate peace and reconciliation"<sup>71</sup>. Kimungi supports this

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<sup>68</sup> IDMC. A profile of the internal displacement situation. Speedy reform needed to deal with past injustices and prevent future displacement, (10th June 2010). p.12.

<sup>69</sup> Institute for Culture and Ecology (ICE) Case Studies. Ethnic Cleansing and the Environment in Kenya. Case number: 46; Case Mnemonic: Kikuyu.(2000) p.1

<sup>70</sup> Amisi. . K.. B. Conflict in the Rift Valley and Western Kenya. Towards an Early Warning Indicator Identification p1

<sup>71</sup> Amisi.K..B. Conflict in the Rift Valley and Western Kenya. Towards an Early Warning Indicator Identification p.1

argument by asserting that peace and reconciliation are the biggest assets towards ensuring a conflict free environment to such an area<sup>72</sup>. He mentions that they build a peaceful and harmonious coexistence between originally warring parties. Here, the named stakeholders consider the conflicts solution to be resting in peace and reconciliation between the warring communities.

### **1.6.6.2 Enhanced security and reduced land disputes**

Kimungi on the other hand notes that most of the displaced when interviewed to determine why they were not able to go back to their lands, they claimed that insecurity and land disputes cannot allow them to go back<sup>73</sup>. Kamungi thus notes that amongst the best ways of ensuring that the violence does not re-occur is by restoring security to the conflict prone areas so that any case leading or likely to lead to a conflict is dealt with before its growth. Land disputes should be solved so that the people within the area can stay without animosity over each other on the basis of poor land allocations or distributions. ICE report seems to be commending the government for taking control of the water catchment areas so as to reduce the conflict<sup>74</sup>.

### **1.6.6.3 Identifying conflicts early warnings**

Amisi also adds that identifying a conflict's early warning is also very important in identifying potential conflict areas and issues and then ironing them out so as to prevent the conflict from happening. She writes that "conflict early warning" is

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<sup>72</sup> Kamungi P. M. The current situation of internally displaced persons in Kenya. Jesuit refugee service, (march, 2001) p. 29

<sup>73</sup> Kimungi. P. M. The current situation of internally displaced persons in Kenya. Jesuit refugee service, (march, 2001) P.20

<sup>74</sup> Institute for Culture and Ecology (ICE) Case Studies. Ethnic Cleansing and the Environment in Kenya. Case number: 46; Case Mnemonic: Kikuyu.(2000) p.1

the early identification of conflict potential in individual societies, with the aim of preventing an outbreak of violent conflict through various third party interventions. It involves the identification of certain actions of parties to the conflict that indicate a potential for violent conflict in a particular society<sup>75</sup>. The adoption of this method of conflict resolution by the government, she says, will prevent much violence from occurring or happening.

#### **1.6.6.4 Avoiding inflammatory speeches/utterances**

Amisi also criticizes the lack of political will in national matters as one of the causes of violence. She notes that the only best way through which the violence can be stopped is by having a political will, where politicians will not use ethnicity to continue their dominance but to bring people together. She condemned the majimbo rallies and incitements from politicians held majorly in the Rift Valley region for the increased conflicts. She concludes that in case these conflicts are to be avoided, then unnecessary political utterances will have to come in strongly<sup>76</sup>. Kimungi on the same issues demands that inflammatory speeches by politicians should be shunned at all costs if peace is to be enhanced. He is against the use of words like ‘aliens’, ‘foreigners’ and ‘outsiders’ and claims that the groups referred to by the said names are meant for eviction. He adds that the government should not support the formation and success of militia groups. This is because the agendas behind the formation of these groups are ill and mostly aimed at punishing the “outsides”.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Amisi .K..B. Conflict in the Rift Valley and Western Kenya. Towards an Early Warning Indicator Identification p.1

<sup>76</sup> Amisi, K..B. Conflict in the Rift Valley and Western Kenya. Towards an Early Warning Indicator Identification p.1

<sup>77</sup> Kimungi P. M. The current situation of internally displaced persons in Kenya. Jesuit refugee service, (march, 2001) P.30.

#### **1.6.6.5 Encouraging brotherhood attitude and lifestyle**

Other writers like Oyugi note that the way of ensuring that the conflicts experienced in most of the Rift Valley province and elsewhere are ended is through building an attitude of mind that sees Kenya as a common house where every member of a family has a right to live and stay regardless of the other characteristics they may possess as individuals<sup>78</sup>. IDMC on the other hand notes that the Akiwumi report found out that the cause of tribal conflicts was unjust land allocations that had never been addressed. The report therefore recommended the addressing of this injustices and the resettling of the displaced<sup>79</sup>. Kamungi in his argument writes that human rights must be protected always. He mentions that the government should ensure that human rights are protected by providing conducive environment impossible for human right violations<sup>80</sup>. Amongst the environment is the provision of security which will ensure that no violence against fellow humans takes place. Kimungi also notes that politicians and other Kenyans have blamed the print and electronic media on several occasions for misreporting, biased reporting or not reporting at all. He writes that all media outlets must practice responsible reporting when reporting issues that are likely to polarize people<sup>81</sup>. The media was also divided with a section of it being accused of supporting ethnic conflicts through its reports.

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<sup>78</sup> Oyugi. O. Politicized ethnic conflict in Kenya. A periodic phenomenon, (Addis Ababa, 2000), P.10

<sup>79</sup> IDMC. A profile of the internal displacement situation. Speedy reform needed to deal with past injustices and prevent future displacement, (10th June 2010). P.13

<sup>80</sup> Kimungi P. M. The current situation of internally displaced persons in Kenya. Jesuit refugee service, (march, 2001) P.30.

<sup>81</sup> Kimungi P. M. The current situation of internally displaced persons in Kenya. Jesuit refugee service, (march, 2001). P.32

## **1.7 Hypothesis**

The hypotheses of the study were:-

1. The government creates the environment for ethnic conflicts, perpetrates the conflicts and condones them.
2. The government takes no care about the effects of ethnic conflicts.

## **1.8 Methodology of the Research**

This section was concerned with how the study was going to be effected. The section start by determining the design structure that was used to come up with the findings of the research. The population, the target, the sample and the sampling method were all justified in this part. The section also identified the tools used to collect data, the procedure of collection and the analysis method to be used.

### **1.8.1 Study Area**

Naivasha area was originally inhabited by two communities-the Maasai and the Kikuyu. The population of the area has been increasing tremendously since 1963- from a total population of 6920 according to the 1969 census, to a total population of 32,222 people in 1999<sup>82</sup>. Before the 90's it is asserted that the Maasais comprised the majority of the population in that area but as time progressed the Kikuyus were the majority of the total population<sup>83</sup>. This shift in population distribution was as a result of the migration of the Maasais in search for pasture as well as the high birth rate and immigration of the Kikuyus to the area. In deed the population of the area is increasing tremendously and there is no doubt that there is an increasing pressure on the available resources like land on which the

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<sup>82</sup>City population. [www.citypopulation.de/kenya.html](http://www.citypopulation.de/kenya.html), (Last published in 2004).

<sup>83</sup>Institute for Culture and Ecology (ICE). ICE Case Studies. Ethnic Cleansing and the Environment in Kenya. Case number: 46; Case Mnemonic: Kikuyu.(2000), p.1

inhabitants of the area depend on for their day-to day activities- farming and herding.

### **1.8.2 Research design**

This study adopted descriptive research design method. Descriptive designs involve collection of both qualitative and quantitative data. According to Heppner, Wampold and Kivlighan, qualitative design involves collection of a variety of empirical materials. For instance, qualitative design collects historical information of a given people, can involve a case study, personal experience, introspection, life story and others. ‘They add that qualitative design is aimed at capturing an individual’s point of view through interviews and observation. That qualitative design answers the question how and why’<sup>84</sup>. Since this study establishes facts about the ethnic conflicts in Naivasha Sub-County; a case between the Maasais and the Kikuyus and actually tries to find out the government’s role in that conflict, qualitative design will be helpful in answering the hypothesis.

### **1.8.3 Target Population**

The study established facts about the conflict between the Maasais and the Kikuyus in Naivasha area. The two tribes comprise the population of the study. This population was chosen because it is in an area that has been characteristic of tribal conflicts since the early 90’s up to date. Since the problem statement of the study is about finding out the role played by the government in this conflict, this population is the one that seemed to possess the adequate scope of the answers that can justify the problem. The population of Naivasha Sub-County was about

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<sup>84</sup> P. Paul Heppner, Bruce E. Wampold, Dennis M. Kivlighan. p.258

1,603,325 according to the 2009 Kenya-Census<sup>85</sup>. The study therefore targeted 1,603,325 residents of Naivasha region.

#### **1.8.4 Sampling Technique and Sample size**

Strydom and Venter describe sampling as ‘the process of taking a portion of a population as a representative of that population’<sup>86</sup>. The process of sampling is necessary due to large size of a population and the consequent impracticality and prohibitive cost of testing each member of any population<sup>87</sup>. The study adopted purposive sampling technique. Purposive sampling is when a researcher selects a sample on the basis of his/her knowledge of the population, its elements and the nature of the research aims, based on the judgment and the purpose of the study. Purposive sampling procedures draws a representative sample, from whose findings generalizations to the bigger population can be made and that people who do not fit the requirements are eliminated and it is less expensive as it involves lesser search costs<sup>88</sup>.

According to Kish, “30 to 200 elements are sufficient when the attribute is present 20 to 80 percent of the time (i.e., the distribution approaches normality)”<sup>89</sup>. Based on this, the study sample size was therefore 150 residents of Naivasha region.

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<sup>85</sup> <http://www.scribd.com/doc/36672705/Kenya-Census-2009>

<sup>86</sup> Strydom, H. (2002). *The pilot study. Research at Grass Roots For the Social Sciences and Human Service Professions*. 2nd ed. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

<sup>87</sup> Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (2000). ‘Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research’, in N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*, 1-29. Second Edition. California: Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.

<sup>88</sup> Gillham, (2000). *Case Study Research Methods*. Bloomsbury Academic; 1 edition.

<sup>89</sup> Kish, L. (2005). *Survey sampling*. New York: Wiley.

### **1.8.5 Data collection instruments**

The instrument that was used to collect data was the questionnaire. This was chosen because it meets the cost requirements and also collects a large amount of data within a short period and with limited costs attached to it<sup>90</sup>. Since the researcher is targeting to collect data from 150 people, questionnaires were the most appropriate data collection tool.

### **1.8.6 Data collection procedure**

The researcher first sought to visit the target area to book a license from the responsible authorities for doing a research in that area. This visit was aimed at making the authority aware of the study and also to establish whether the study was in line with the legalities or any requirements if any. The visit also gave the researcher a chance to know the residents of the area of study as well as inform them of the upcoming research and what will be required from them. This made them prepared to be able to give the right information.

The researcher also made a second visit to the study area where he identified the strata and from the strata identified the sample that participated in the research. Each of the sampled individuals was given a number from 1 to 75. And the stand-by group from 76 to 115. The same was done in the other strata. The people identified to participate in the research were then informed of the day of the research and allowed to prepare. The questionnaires were delivered on the date of the research and the respondents given a two-week time period for answering them. The researcher gave the respondents the date the questionnaires were to be

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<sup>90</sup> Dörnyei, Z. & Taguchi, T. Questionnaires in Second Language Research: Construction, Administration and Processing. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. (New York: Routledge, 2010), p.6

collected. Those who had completed filling the questionnaires were allowed to send them to the researcher. Arrangements were made with Postal Corporation of Kenya (PCK) so that the costs of posting the questionnaires were paid on delivery. After the lapse of the two weeks, on the set date, the researcher visited the area and collected the answered questionnaires.

### **1.8.7 Data processing and analysis**

After collecting all the questionnaires, the researcher tabulated the collected data, analyzed it using charts, graphs, and columns and then made the necessary conclusions and recommendations. The analysis used tables, charts and graphs to present the data.

### **1.9 Chapter Outline**

Chapter one was an introduction to the study. This chapter provided a description of the historical context that precedes the focus of the study. It contains the background of the study, the objectives of the research, problem statement and justification of the study. The chapter reviews literature related to the conflicts in Naivasha Sub-County, causes of ethnic conflicts between the Maasais and Kikuyus, the effects of these ethnic conflicts, the actions taken by the government towards ending these conflict and finally actions that can be taken to contain the violence in the region under study. It also presented the research methodology that was used to finish the study.

Chapter two discussed about literature on the dynamics of conflict between pastoralists and agrarian communities. It discussed economic, social and political dynamics of conflict between pastoralists and agrarian communities.

Chapter three discussed about the effects of the ethnic conflict between pastoralists and agrarian communities. The study looked at the duration of the study, intention of the Conflict, Effects of conflicts in Naivasha to the Attackers, Effects of conflicts to the attacked and the effects on politics from both attacking and attacked community.

Chapter four discussed about the ways through which the ethnic conflict between pastoralists and agrarian communities can be addressed. It looked at the role played by local government towards ending the violence, action taken by the police and government, use of dialogue to iron the ethnic difference, full time provision of security, just distribution of resources and condemnation and prohibition of political incitements.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **2.0 THE DYNAMICS OF CONFLICT BETWEEN PASTORALISTS AND AGRARIAN COMMUNITIES.**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter discussed economic, social and political dynamics of conflict between pastoralists and agrarian communities in Naivasha Sub-County. As a nation, the public, politicians and administrators view land as a sovereign entity whose boundaries reflect a social, economic and political identity. To development agencies land provides goods and services required for people's welfare and prosperity. Pastoral systems are complex and dynamic as pastoralists seek to adapt to evolving social, political and economic conditions at local, national and regional levels. It is clear that pastoralists depend on livestock as a source of livelihood at all times.

#### **2.2 Economical Dynamics of Conflict**

Ethnic conflicts are often the expression of underlying social, economic and political grievances between classes, population segments, or interest groups within the wider society. Ethnic identity in Kenya is a powerful and resilient form of expression of human solidarity and social integration. There are a number of theories that have been advanced to explain occurrence of ethnic conflicts and they are explained below.

### **2.2.1 Disruption of Agricultural Activities**

Naivasha Sub-County has fertile soils and therefore suitable for agriculture. The various ethnic communities who settled here were driven by the desire to earn a living through farming. The Sub-County is also known for dairy farming<sup>91</sup>. One of the long term economic repercussions of the violence was that land that was previously used for farming and dairy keeping was abandoned by the owners because of insecurity. In the process of data collection, we observed that there was too much land lying fallow. Most of the owners then relocated to other places such as Nakuru, Nyandarua, Keringet, Kuresoi and Uasin Gishu. The Akiwumi Commission had also noted that too many farms in Molo were lying idle because of the conflict<sup>92</sup>. In time, some of the abandoned farms were used as grazing pastures. Disruption of agricultural activities led to poor yields and consequently low income to a majority of farmers. Due to insecurity, many residents got to their farms at around 9am and left at around 3 pm and would then go back to spend the night in nearby towns and shopping centers where they had rented houses.

### **2.2.2 Competition for Land Resources**

The tussle for ownership focuses on a 15,000 acre area to which the Maasai claim ancestral ownership. The Kikuyu also claim ownership resulting from an allocation by the first post-independence president Jomo Kenyatta, who happens to be the father of the current president of Kenya. The bone of contention is that the land is rich with geothermal power, government functionaries want to make a killing by displacing the Maasai. Narasha village sits on top of lucrative geothermal power potential. A combination of senior government officials,

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<sup>91</sup> Akiwumi, A., (1999). Report of the Judicial Commission Appointed To Inquire into Tribal Clashes in Kenya. Nairobi: Government Printer.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid

businessmen and the energy giant KenGen are all involved in making sure the Maasai people are moved away from the area. Conflict over land rights is often seen as being at the center of ethnic conflict in Kenya. In fact, violence was directed at members of minority ethnic groups in specific regions of the country with the intent of expelling them from those areas. The primary result of these conflicts has been the displacement of people who had settled in parts of the country other than their ancestral land. There is a consensus that Kenya's land question is the primary source of the ethnic clashes. Kanyanga observes that "violence resulted from the elite's appropriation of the land issue to fight those opposed to them by reactivating demands for territorial land claims in the Rift Valley and on the Coast"<sup>93</sup>. In pre-colonial times, land was communally owned and traditional rights and obligations ensured direct access to all. Colonialism disrupted these relationships.

"Colonial authorities assumed that all land to which private ownership could not be established by documentary evidence was ownerless"<sup>94</sup>. The colonial government parceled out more than 7 million acres of land, including some of the most fertile land in Kenya and earmarked them for cultivation by Europeans. These areas came to be known as the white highlands. Indigenous ethnic communities who had occupied these areas were relegated to marginal reserves and all land not in their occupation was declared crown land. This resulted in overpopulation in the reserves and as a result, significant numbers of Luo, Kisii, Luhya and Kikuyu migrated to the Rift Valley province as squatters and to

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<sup>93</sup> Kanyanga, K., (2000). Re-distribution from above. The politics of land rights and squatting in coastal Kenya. Nordiska Afrika institutet Research Report No. 115. Motala.

<sup>94</sup> Okoth-Ogendo, & Tumushabe, G., (1999). Governing the Environment, ACTS Press.

provide labour on settler farms<sup>95</sup>. The colonial powers while creating white highlands limited access to land rights, but indirectly increased access to land. The outcome was to promote migration to the white highlands, radically expanding the range of Kikuyu settlement. Thus the Kikuyu settled outside the Central province. White settlers restricted the possibility of establishing land rights. So, when independence was won, and power was seized by a conservative fraction of Kenya's rural society, the first order of business was to settle issues of investment and private property, including land rights. Sharp disagreements arose as to who would get reversionary interest in the highlands. Some of the land being fought for is Namuncha and Narasha ranches.

### **Namuncha Maasai community**

The Namuncha land is situated in Naivasha, Nakuru County. It covers the land reference numbers 378/2, which according to the official search measures approximately 4875 acres. This parcel land reference emanates from the subdivision of the original parcel of land known as 378 that measured about 5129 acres granted to and registered in the name of one Mr Cyril Herbert Mayers on or about 1962. The parcel of land is situated in the Southern part of Kijabe Township in Naivasha Sub-County. On the western side of the land is found the Kedong River with the boundary of land passing in the center of the river. On the extreme north-eastern are what has come to be referred to as the Kikuyu escarpment forest reserve. In the Eastern side is the Kikuyu land unit and while the southern part of the land within a radius of 20 feet from the center of trig beacons reserved to the government. The land was then measured five thousand one hundred and twenty

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid

nine (5129) acres or thereabouts that is to say land reference number 378 which piece of land with dimensions abuttals and boundaries thereof were delineated on the plan on the land survey plan No. 78211 deposited in the survey records office in Nairobi. It was to be held as joint tenants upon trusts contained in an indenture registered in volume No. 25 Folio 63/10 for a term of nine hundred and forty three (943) years from the 1<sup>st</sup> day of October One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty One. Mr John Mayer is the first-born son of the late Cyril Herbert Mayer. The Mayer family has lived on the land from 1947.

In reference to the official records, the parcel of land originally reference number 378 measuring about 5129 acres is indicated as having belonged to Mr Humprey Slade who is the former Speaker to the National Assembly of Kenya and one Mr Fredrick Hume Hamilton. According to Mr Mayer (Junior), the two gentlemen were the lawyers engaged by Mr Cyril Mayer from the present renowned law firm of present Hamilton Harrison and Mathews and company advocates. It is reported that sometimes in the early 1960s, there were hashed strategy to intimidate the Mayers flee the farm. At the stated time, one Councilor led a team of thugs and police to the farm of the Mayers and physically threw them out of the land. They roughly bundled the old Lady Mayer into a van and took her away. It is held that from these incidents of harassment, psychological pressure and coercion, the Mayers were forced to sell the parcels of land to other interested parties.

It has not really been clear where the pressure was emanating from, but certainly all along, the members of the Kikuyu community had been interested in assuming ownership to the land in question. Hence in 1962, the parcel of land reference

number 378 was sub divided into three parcels namely L.R 378/1, 378/2 and 380. The LR 378/1 measuring 260 acres was retained by the Mayer family which is the 378/2 is the current Namuncha farm while 380 was acquired by the Rarre Cooperative group – a land buying group belonging to the Kikuyu community. The Mayers are currently the owners of land reference 378/1 which measures approximately 244 acres. The prime land is situated at the source of river Kedong with abundant vegetation and greenery. The conservation and protection of the natural environment is of high standard. Due to this surrounding, the Mayers are coveted by many people. On several occasions, many disgruntled persons wish to forcefully evict them from the land but in vain.

The Namuncha land is camouflaged with intricate issues surrounding ownership, title and interest on the said land. As a result, simmering tension and animosity has been brewing and the eventual consequences may not be impossible to predict. So far, the differences have led to several legal actions being instituted in the High Court with the hope to attain a legal remedy. Supposedly, the groups involved in the tussle are those from the Maasai and the Kikuyu communities respectively. The two groups inadvertently have made specific claims over the land. Generally, the Maasai community claim to have been in continuous possession, use and occupation of the Namuncha land from time immemorial without any form of interruption. On the other hand, the Kikuyu community allegedly insists that they are not only the legal owners but bestow the rights and interest as they hold the legal title deed to the land. As far as the Kikuyu community is concerned, whether, they have been in occupation and use is extremely not in issue. In fact, the Kikuyu community contends that they were

forcefully evicted from the land during the 1992/94 ethnic clashes by armed Maasai warriors. All these are issues that will certainly require one to establish beyond any spec of doubt being intricate matters of evidence. This case together with others by the Maasai community against Utheri Wa Lari Land buying Company, Nyakinyua Land buying company and Kedong are in courts awaiting hearings, rulings or judgments.

### **Narasha Maasai Community**

Narasha is located between Mt Longonot, Hells Gate Park and Lake Naivasha with the Maasai community sandwiched between. The community has been subjected to untold suffering through. One case was ruled against the Maasai community at Olmara verses Ngati farm another land buying company despite the Maasai community having lived there far back as 1913. The community has now sought redress by appealing to the High Court. Where despite previous court rulings favouring the Maasai as the legitimate owners of the land which is a recent high court ruling went against previous rulings and deprived the Maasai the right to own the land. This has created animosity among the warring communities and has been the cause of bloody skirmishes between the Maasai and the Kikuyu in Naivasha. Rampant Land Grabbing by elite individuals and encroachment of Lake Naivasha by horticulture farms are dispossessing pastoralists of their ancestral territories and denying them access to the lake by blockading access routes to water<sup>96</sup>.

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<sup>96</sup> Kakai, P. (2000). History of Inter-Ethnic Relations in Bungoma, Mt.Elgon and TransNzoia Districts, 1875-1997. Ph.D, Kenyatta University.

This consequently compromises their inherent right to livelihoods as well raises fundamental environmental concerns. Pastoralists' religious and cultural attachment to the lake resource has also not been considered in the establishment of private land for conservation, tourism and horticulture farms. The incorporation of indigenous systems of ecological management in land use systems is equally missing. There is also a demand-driven plea made by pastoralists to the floriculture businesses for increased attention and resources to corporate responsibility, human rights and the conditions of the barracks where some Maasai are now forced to work in order to sustain them. Pastoralists have been systematically and often forcefully extracted from their traditional grazing lands to pave way for a KenGen Geothermal Power Generation plant and establishment of Hell's Gate National Park in the area<sup>97</sup>. This has occurred without requisite compensation and without the integration of Maasai women and men into decision-making processes. In addition, some Maasai families are confined within the park perimeter and are subjected to curfew-like regulations in their own homelands. There are no mechanisms in place for compensation for wild animal attacks on humans and livestock.

There is also glaring lack of policy recognition of communal land tenure and access to natural resources as well as pastoralism and the social, cultural, economic and religious aspects. Pastoralism is perceived as non-productive and a threat to the ecology, even though it has been a sustainable way of life for centuries. Lack of equitable distribution of resources and benefit sharing as well as the somewhat weak capacity by pastoralists to articulate their rights due to

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid

prevalent fear of government disenfranchisement and marginalization arising from century long experiences of brutality and suppression by state security machinery.

Privatization and subdivision or segmentation of land is threatening transhumance pastoralism practiced by the Maasai thus undermining and endangering livestock production, ecological sustainability and communal property rights to land and natural resources in addition to culture and identity. One of the specific challenges also faced by pastoralist communities is to find a way to empower, strengthen the capacity and access to resources of the Maasai women to find locally and gender sensitive solutions. It was noted by both the men elders and the small group of Maasai women that women seem to disproportionately bear processes of marginalization.

### **2.2.3 Increase in Crime**

The violence also led to an increase in crime levels in towns, as many people who took refuge in towns were deprived of honest means of earning income. This has particularly been so in the Naivasha, Maai Mahiu and Longonot townships where a majority of those displaced live. Violent robberies have been on the increase. Klopp and Sheekh confirmed that incidents of both petty and violent crimes increased after the 2007-2008 Post Election Violence. “These incidents can be attributed to the fact that a substantial number of Internally Displaced Persons who had been hosted in schools and churches did not go back to their farms in spite of the government’s initiative dubbed Operation Rudi Nyumbani”<sup>98</sup>. Unsure of their security in the areas they had come from, they remained in towns and

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<sup>98</sup> Klopp, J & Sheekh, N., (2011). Kenya’s post-election violence victims are still leading a wretched existence, 28th December 2011 p.13.

turned to crime for survival<sup>99</sup>. This by itself has discouraged potential investors from investing in the region and even forcing investors in this region to relocate to other places considered to be safe.

#### **2.2.4 Increase in Cases of Livestock Theft**

Dynamics of conflict has led to an increase in livestock theft. Many farmers in many areas of Naivasha Sub-County have abandoned dairy farming as keeping cows attracted cattle thieves. Cases of livestock theft were both inter and intra-ethnic. The proliferation of livestock theft can also be understood within the context of the collapse of inter-ethnic and intra ethnic trade that was common in the pre-1992 period during which the locals sold surplus produce and bought whatever goods they needed. This observation buttresses Collins' argument that "individual interest, the goal of personal aggrandizement lie at the heart of conflicts"<sup>100</sup>. As a result, milk yields declined in the period 1992-2008. Prior to 1992, "many families delivered milk to a variety of milk processing companies such as the Kenya Cooperative Creameries (KCC) and the Spin-Knit Limited. This kind of forced destocking led to a decline in milk production"<sup>101</sup>.

#### **2.2.5 Loss of Income from Rental Houses**

"A number of residents had constructed rental houses and such houses were getting destroyed during ethnic clashes resulting to loss of a vital source of income"<sup>102</sup>. Even in situations where the rental houses were not destroyed, "there were no people to rent them as potential customers had fled the area due to the

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<sup>99</sup> Galaty, J.G., (1992). The land is yours: social and economic factors in the privatization, subdivision and sale of Maasai ranches. *Nomadic peoples*, 30, 26-40.

<sup>100</sup> Collins, R. (1975). *Conflict Sociology*. New York: Academic Press

<sup>101</sup> Mutahi, P., (2005). *Political Violence in the Elections*, Nairobi, Transafrica Press.pp. 69-95.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid

violence”<sup>103</sup>. Many young men also lost the means of earning an income. Previously, they would engage in logging and splitting building materials such as timber and timber off cuts which they would later sell in the villages. With the destruction of forests, they had to go too far into the forests to find such materials, which exposed them to attacks by rival ethnic gangs or ordinary criminals. There were several incidents of such attacks which at times led to death. In some cases, the tools they used, such as machetes and power saws were confiscated. Without any income, some turned to criminal behaviour such as stealing of cattle<sup>104</sup>.

### **2.3 Social Dynamics of Conflicts**

Some of the social dynamics of conflicts include death, impact on education and social distance.

#### **2.3.1 Death**

Whenever a conflict occur communities and individuals are affected in various ways. Their social consequences of the violence cannot be quantified<sup>105</sup>. Conflicts have the potential to increase the social distance between contending groups<sup>106</sup>. The most obvious outcome of ethnic conflicts in this area has been deaths directly resulting from injuries sustained during attacks. Many family members have lost a nuclear family member in the conflict especially in 1992 and 2008. Many people from these communities recall the scenes very vividly. The impact of such

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid

<sup>104</sup> Kanyanga, K., (2000). Re-distribution from above. The politics of land rights and squatting in coastal Kenya. Nordiska Afrika institutet Research Report No. 115. Motala.

<sup>105</sup> Barasa, N. (1992). The Impact of Past and Potential Ethnic Conflicts in Kenya. A Paper Presented For The USAID Conference on Conflict Resolution in The Greater Horn Of Africa, June 1997.

<sup>106</sup> Abraham, F., (1981). An Introduction to Modern Sociology. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

experiences was evident in the tone of their voice and some of them break down in tears when they relive the scenes of the murder. Most of the deaths were as a result of ordinary citizens attacking others on the basis of their ethnic background. Other deaths were caused by security forces. Njoroge confirmed that on average, “the hospital mortuary received 15 corpses on a daily basis in January 2008”<sup>107</sup>.

### **2.3.2 Impact on Education**

The dropping out of school among many children has been another consequence of ethnic violence. They sought refuge at Naivasha towns as Internally IDPs. “In such circumstances, and at a time when Free Primary Education (FPE) had not been introduced by the government, it was hard for pupils to transfer to new schools”<sup>108</sup>. Many school going children also dropped from school because some schools such as Kipkonyo and Hareri and Maela were burned or looted in the course of the violence. Others such as Ngondi primary and Maai Mahiu secondary schools were converted into refugee camps during the Post-Election Violence in 2008. Under such conditions, many schools in the area did not re-open for the first term. Children dropped out of school because it became difficult for the parents to discipline their children, for that is best done in the privacy of the home. The violence had destroyed such privacy. Consequently, parents lost hold of their children and most of them became truants. This was especially common in situations where families sought refuge in Naivasha Township. Alternatively, it has been noted by studies done elsewhere that among spontaneously settled refugees in urban areas, the sheer necessity and desperation to survive may radically modify parental attitudes to children; “petty theft by kids becomes a

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<sup>107</sup> Njoroge, K., (2011). Survivors say State absconded its duty. p.22

<sup>108</sup> Akerlund, A., (2005). Transforming Conflicts and Building Peace. Stockholm: Swedish International Development Authority

means of augmenting family resources and is, therefore, rewarded rather than admonished”<sup>109</sup>. Most of young girls who dropped from school also indulged in prostitution to supplement the family income.

### **2.3.3 Increase in Social Distance**

Social distance is used here to refer to the willingness of members from different ethnic groups to live together as neighbors, to work in the same offices as colleagues and generally to be concerned about the welfare of an individual who is from a different ethnic group. At the family level, the violence has created discord especially in situations where victims are forced to stay with relatives. This results to humiliation and contempt in the hands of relatives. Those who flee the place empty handed without sufficient clothing, food items and utensils are forced to depend on their hosts for their survival. “What starts as a sympathetic welcome by the host families’ turn into desperation as their resources were beyond their limits”<sup>110</sup>.

### **2.3.4 Disruption of Inter-Ethnic Social Activities**

Periodic displacements of victims, both young and old, disoriented their patterns of friendships. Social relations such as communion in churches have been fractured as places of worship have been burnt or attacked in the course of the violence. Churches and schools are important agents of socialization. They create trust among individuals and communities and play a big role in defining an individual’s identity and sense of self-worth. The burning of churches and schools has led to sudden separation of faithful’s from different ethnic groups. At the same

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<sup>109</sup> Allen, T., & Morsink, H., (1994). *When Refugees Go Home*. London: James Currey.

<sup>110</sup> Gebrewold, B. (2009). *Understanding the Systems of Conflict and Violence in Africa*, Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

time, it created feelings of betrayal among worshippers from different ethnic backgrounds. For those who moved into refugee camps set up in towns, they experienced a breakdown of traditional family life and values common in the rural settings. For those who had inter-married they were forced to separate as none of the warring communities would dare stay with a person from the other community. This resulted to family breakdown and even some children failing to achieve their life time dream after separation with the sole breadwinner.

#### **2.4 Political Dynamics of Conflicts**

Conflicts in the Naivasha area have appeared since the first multi-party elections of 1992. There were clashes between the Kikuyus and Maasai in 1991, 1992 and 1995. The conflict revolved around cattle raiding, land and grazing rights. The Maasai pastoralists accused the Kikuyu farmers of restricting their access to water points and grazing fields. In turn, the Kikuyu blamed the pastoralists of grazing on their farms and destroying their crops. The pastoralists were also against the government-supported land adjudication process. Land that had been taken away from the communities during the colonial times became government land. Some of this land has been alienated by political elites from other regions. This hampers community access to alternative grazing areas during the dry season. However, the 2012 violence was blamed on politicians who sought to drive away parts of the population who they believed would have voted for their rivals in the general election of March 4, 2013. An influx of small arms and light weapons in past years

has upped the stakes. “Raiders armed with guns, machetes and arrows made several tit-for-tat attacks with devastating effects on the local communities”<sup>111</sup>.

“Kenya’s political elites and their supporters have in the past unleashed violence and intimidated voters with the objective of spreading fear to dissuade opponents from voting”<sup>112</sup>. The clashes in the Naivasha area involving the Kikuyu and Maasai communities claimed more than a hundred lives in August and September 2012. While the communities have clashed over resources in the past, of interest was the scale and style of this most recent violence. A local politician was charged with incitement but acquitted after a local court found him innocent. The same region was in the last few months engulfed in violence with a separatist group, the Mungiki, demanding secession on the grounds of land and other historical injustices, political marginalization, exploitation and underdevelopment by the rest of the nation.

#### **2.4.1 Fear of Domination and Insecurity**

Ethnic groups are said to engage in violence when they feel uncertain about their wellbeing or security following the loss of a power base during a general election. Ethnic entrepreneurs are said to hack on this trauma to reinforce community solidarity thereby escalating mistrust and polarization.

#### **2.4.2 Bad Governance**

Some scholars maintain that ethnic conflicts are caused by failure of national institutions to recognize and accommodate ethnic differences and interests. Most

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<sup>111</sup> Klopp Jacqueline et al, (2010). Internal Displacement and Local Peace Building in Kenya, pp. 4-5

<sup>112</sup> Ibid

African states lack national integration and have failed to implement constitutional frameworks that accommodate and mediate the interests and identities of its diverse population. National institutions and norms lack a foundation in the socio-cultural values and historical traditions of its diverse people, and also fail to serve as a suitable framework for achieving a just and democratic society<sup>113</sup>. This calls for constitutional engineering that devolves power closer to the people and gives legislative guarantees for equal distribution of resources. Poor governance leads to human rights abuse and impunity. When groups engage in conflict and perpetrators are not held to account or victims compensated, ethnic conflict is bound to recur. The post election violence of 2007/8 in Kenya was largely informed by the impunity of perpetrators especially in the Rift Valley from 1991/2 to 1997.

### **2.4.3 Impunity**

Given that most perpetrators of inter-communal conflicts were never prosecuted, it makes it easier for politicians to incite and organize inter-communal violence. Violence seems to have been legitimized as a factor in Kenya's politics. Most of the perpetrators of the current conflict in the Tana Delta have also not faced justice as the suspects are released for lack of sufficient evidence<sup>114</sup>.

## **2.5 Chapter Summary**

It has been demonstrated that ethnic identity in Kenya is a powerful and resilient form of expression of human solidarity and social integration. The various ethnic communities who settled in Naivasha Sub County were driven by the desire to

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<sup>113</sup> Gebrewold, B. (2009). *Understanding the Systems of Conflict and Violence in Africa*, Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

<sup>114</sup> Human Rights Watch, 13th, September, 2012

earn a living through farming since the area has fertile soils and therefore suitable for agriculture. This chapter demonstrated that victims of ethnic violence in the Sub-County have been subjected to psychological and emotional trauma. On a positive note, it has been pointed out that although ethnic violence has led to an increase in social distance between ethnic groups, inter-ethnic marriages have persisted.

## CHAPTER THREE

### 3.0 EFFECTS OF THE ETHNIC CONFLICT BETWEEN PASTORALISTS AND AGRARIAN COMMUNITIES

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter sought to find out the effects of the ethnic conflict between pastoralists and agrarian communities. It describes the duration of conflict,

#### 3.2 Duration of the conflict

To establish the effects of the conflicts in Naivasha and actually to show the adverse effects of these conflicts, the study began by establishing the duration of this conflict.

This is because in case the conflict lasts longer, the effects it leaves behind are likely to be more adverse than a short-lived conflict. In case the conflict starts, the research found out that the duration of the conflicts in case it starts to be as tabulated in table 3.1.

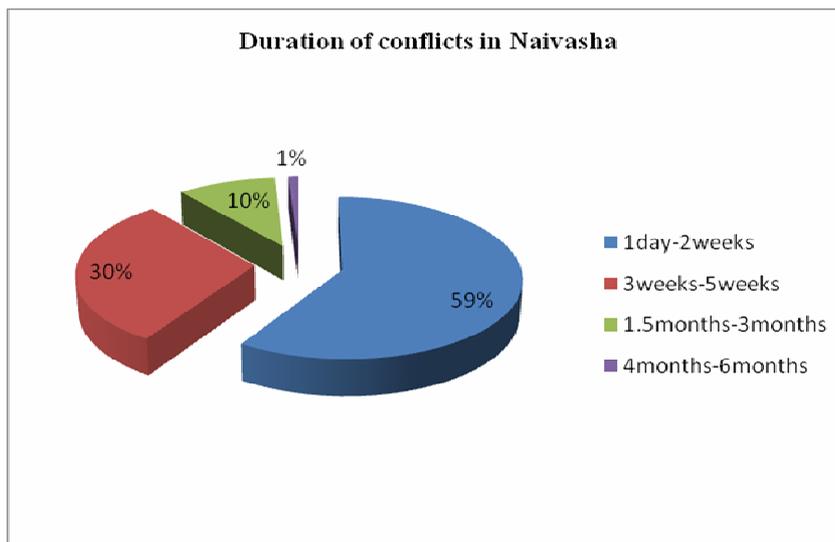
**Table 3.1: Duration of conflicts**

	<b>Maasai</b>		<b>Kikuyu</b>		<b>Summary (Total)</b>	
Item	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1day-2weeks	25	56	29	62	<b>54</b>	<b>59</b>
3weeks-5weeks	16	36	12	25	<b>28</b>	<b>30</b>
1.5mont hs-3months	3	7	6	13	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>
4months-6months	1	2	–	–	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Field Data (2010)

According to table 3.1, the study revealed that 56% of the Maasais note that the conflict took duration of at most two weeks before stopping. Only 2% thought that the conflict is long term. Among the Kikuyus, 62% agreed to what majority of the Maasais had noted-the conflicts take between a day and two weeks. The summary from the two communities show that the conflict lasts for not more than 2weeks at least according to the majority's rule-59%. Only one percent of the people reported that the conflict lasts for 4 to 6 months.

The summary is also represented in the chart (Fig. 3.1) below for ease of interpretation.



**Figure 3.1: Duration of conflicts in Naivasha**

**Source: Field Data (2010)**

### **3.3 Intention of the Conflict**

The intention of the violence also would lead us to the effects of the conflict. The table 3.2 shows the tabulated results on what the respondents thought the intention of the conflicts are.

**Table 3.2: Reasons of conflicts in Naivasha**

Intention of the conflict	Maasai		Kikuyu		Summary (total)	
	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Aimed at killing only	7	15	4	8	11	<b>12</b>
Displacing	14	31	12	26	26	<b>28</b>
Snatching property	16	36	5	11	21	<b>23</b>
All of the above	8	18	26	55	34	<b>37</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field Data (2010)**

Research observed that most Maasais (36%) were of the view that the conflicts are aimed at snatching their property. In what seems to be a disagreement with the property snatching, 31% of the Maasai said that the conflicts are aimed at displacing them. Only 15 % said that the intention of the conflict is killing. Kikuyus on the other hand noted that the intention of the conflicts to them is killing, snatching property and displacing them-55% supported this view. Only 8% said the intention is killing.

Generally most of the respondents (37%) agreed that conflicts that happen in Naivasha Sub-County are aimed at killing, displacing, and snatching property. 28% of the results however showed that the conflicts are aimed at displacing some

people, a fact that concurs with what Amisi found out in her literature that the conflicts in Rift Valley are a reason of land tussles between the two communities; and that land acquisition is the main intention of the wars. Very few respondents- 12% said that the conflict in Naivasha region is aimed at killing. This view is reflected in table 4.10 where very few respondents gave the loss of lives as the effects of the violence. The general summary based on this study is that the effects of the conflict generally will range from the intention of the conflict, that is deaths, loss of property and displacements.

### 3.4 Effects of conflicts in Naivasha to the Attackers

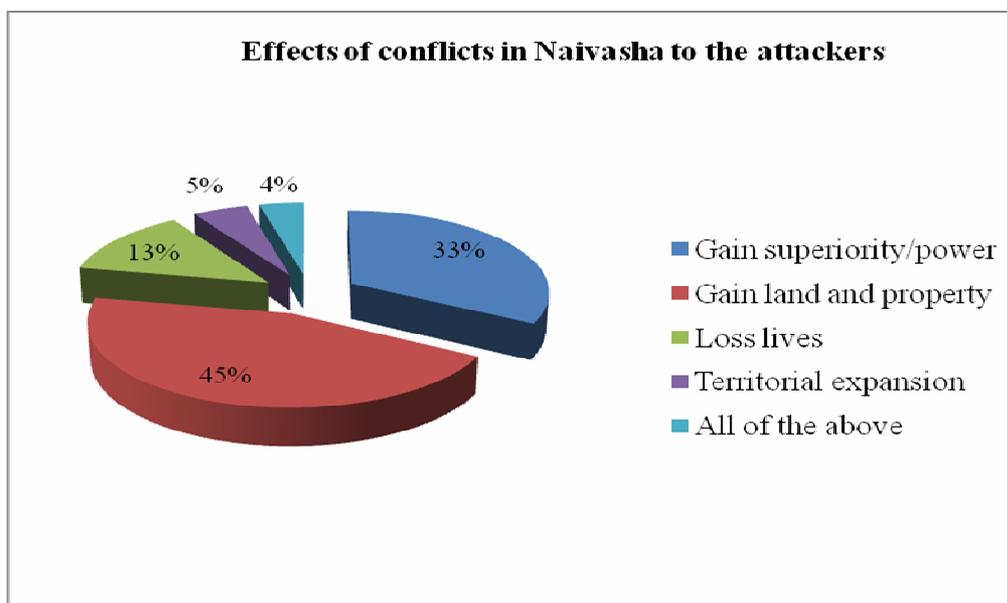
The research sought to establish the effects of conflicts to attacks. Table 3.3 shows the tabulated results on the effects of conflicts in Naivasha to the Attackers.

**Table 3.3: Effects of conflicts in Naivasha to the attackers**

Effect	Maasai		Kikuyu		Summary	
	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Gain superiority/power	14	32	16	33	30	<b>33</b>
Gain land and property	20	44	21	45	41	<b>45</b>
Loss lives	6	13	6	13	12	<b>13</b>
Territorial expansion	5	11	–	–	5	<b>5</b>
All of the above	–	–	4	9	4	<b>4</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Field Data (2010)

It was established that to the Maasais, the greatest effect of the conflict is the gain of land and property with a 44% support. This means that when the Maasais attack, their main aim is the gain of land. It can also mean that when they are attacked, they associate the attack with their loss of land and property to the attackers. 32% of the Maasais also thought that the second most effect of the conflict is gain of superiority by the attackers. With this in mind and given that the Maasais consider themselves warriors; they are likely to provide a strong revenge in case they are attacked so as to maintain their superiority, this can only mean that they are likely to engage in a war extensively despite the results as long as they win. Among the Kikuyu community the main effect-gaining of land and property, was supported by 45%. 33% said the conflicts give the attackers a gain of power to the attacked community. Figure 3.2 below shows the Summary Effects of conflicts in Naivasha area to the attackers.



**Figure 3.2 Summary Effects of conflicts in Naivasha to the attackers**

**Source: Field Data (2010)**

Majority of the respondents (45%) were in agreement that the effects of the conflicts are gain of land by the attacking community. This reflects that land is the main cause of conflict in this area as noted by Brown et al (1995) and Nowrojee, et al. (1997). This shows that residents in the area fight so as to acquire more land or to defend the loss of their land. 33% of the respondents also agree that the second most effect of the conflict is the acquisition of power/superiority over the other community. This finding puts truth in Kamungi's (2001) argument that the warriors (Maasais) start and enhance the conflict to show their superiority. A small percentage-13% see the effect as loss of lives; a finding that may be taken to mean that the aim of the conflict is not killing the attacked but gain of property and power. Deaths only occur in the struggle of acquisition of the property or in defending the acquisition of the same.

### 3.5 Effects of conflicts to the attacked

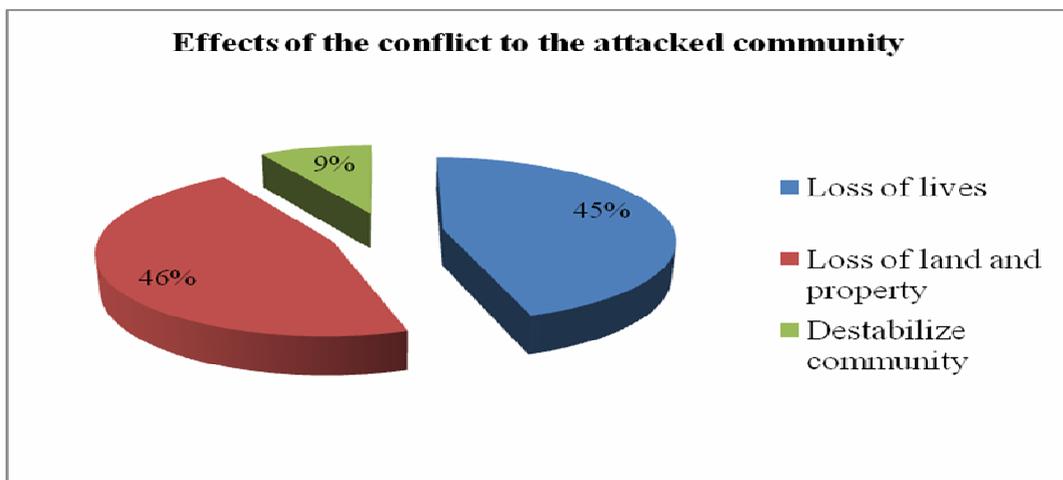
The research also sought to establish the effects of conflicts to the attacked. Table 3.4 shows the tabulated results on the effects of conflicts in Naivasha to the attacked.

**Table 3.4: Effects of conflicts in Naivasha on the attacked community**

Effect	Maasai		Kikuyu		Summary	
	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Loss of lives	18	40	23	49	41	<b>45</b>
Loss of land and property	21	47	21	45	42	<b>46</b>
Destabilize community	6	13	3	6	9	<b>9</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Field Data (2010)

It was established that most of the Maasais (47%) confirmed that when attacked; they lose land and property while only 40 % said they lose lives when attacked. The study also showed that majority (49%) of the Kikuyu are highly affected with loss of lives whenever attacked. 45% lose land and property while only 6% agree to the effects of the conflict being destabilizing their community. Figure 3.3 below presents the summary of the effects of the conflict to the attached community.



**Figure 3.3: Summary of effects of conflicts in Naivasha to the attacked community**

**Source: Field Data (2010)**

The study found out that land is the major factor in the conflicts happening in Naivasha Sub-County and in the process of the fight for this land a lot of lives are lost. This concurs with KSSP's (2009) and ICE's (2000) argument that the conflict was as a result to control natural resources (land and water) and in the process of the tussle, lives are lost.

### 3.6 Relationship between politics and the conflict in Naivasha

The study sought information about the relationship between politics and the conflict in Naivasha Sub-County. Findings are discussed below.

#### 3.6.1 Reactions of politicians of the attacked community

Respondents were requested to state the reaction of politicians of the attacked community. Table 3.5 presents the findings.

**Table 3.5: Reaction of politicians of the attacked community after a conflict**

Action taken by politicians	Maasai		Kikuyu		Summary	
	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Condemn	27	60	23	49	50	<b>54</b>
Organize revenge	3	7	6	13	9	<b>10</b>
Force government to act	7	16	12	26	19	<b>21</b>
Form cocoons to enhance security to their community	8	18	6	13	14	<b>15</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field Data (2010)**

Majority of the respondents (60%) were in agreement that when the Maasais were attacked, politicians from that community dwelt on condemning the conflict while 18% formed cocoons that enhanced security to their members. The study found that 16% of the politicians force government to act while the remainder thinks of revenge. On the side of the Kikuyus, Most of the respondents (50%) agreed that their politicians condemn the violence, 19% force the government to act while 14

% form cocoons that enhance security to their community-to counter future attacks. The findings indicate that most of the politicians of the attacked community play a bigger role in condemning the violence and forcing the government to take action.

### 3.6.2 Reaction of politicians from the attacking community after an attack.

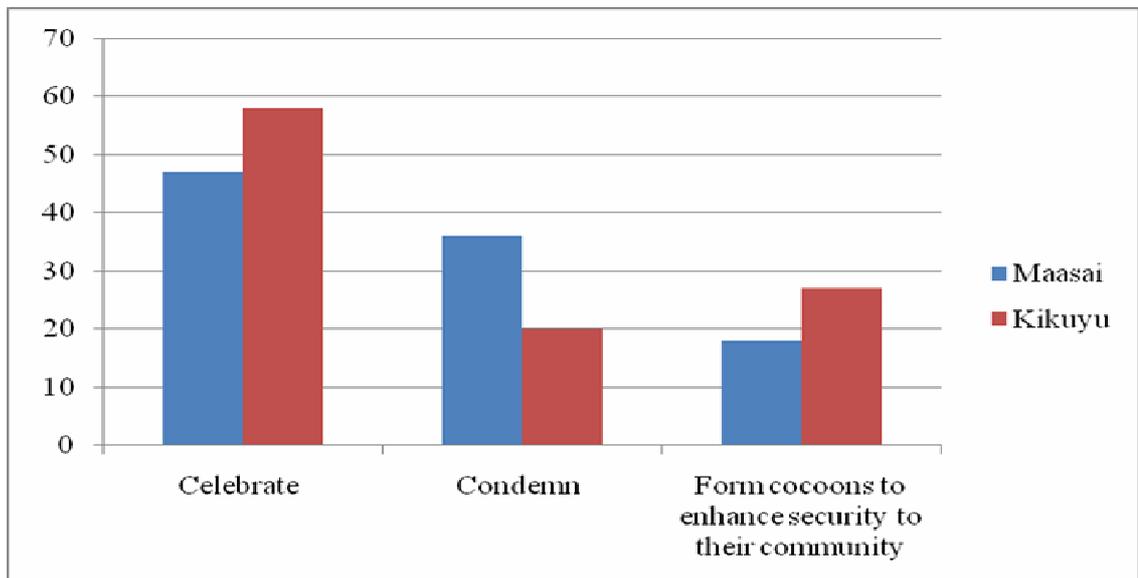
An enquiry on the reaction of politicians of the attacking community was sought and the results were tabulated as shown in table 3.6

**Table 3.6: Reactions of politicians from the attacking community after an attack**

Action taken by politicians	Maasai		Kikuyu		Summary	
	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Celebrate	21	47	26	58	47	<b>51</b>
Condemn	16	36	9	20	25	<b>27</b>
Form cocoons to enhance security to their community	8	18	12	27	20	<b>22</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Field Data (2010)

From the tabulated results, the following bar charts were developed for ease of comparison between the two communities.



**Figure 3.4: Actions taken by politicians from the attacking community after an attack**

**Source: Field Data (2010)**

It was established that politicians from the attacking community after the conflicts behave in a manner not common. If the Maasais are attacking, after the attack 47% of their politicians celebrate the attack while only 36% condemn the incident. When Kikuyus are attacking, a massive 58% also celebrate the result of the attack and 27% form cocoons to protect their community.

In Comparison this research observed that most Maasai politicians condemn the conflicts as compared to Kikuyu politicians and more Kikuyu politicians form security cocoons as opposed to the Maasais. An interpretation that most Kikuyu politicians are content with the conflict and even go ahead to form cocoons that offer security while the Maasais are less concerned with revenge thus do not

bother too much being involved with security cocoons. It can as well mean that the Maasais are well secured and do not need much cocoon as do the Kikuyus.

These interpretations mean that politicians condone the attacking of another community to an extent that they are impressed if the attack happens. Some of them then fall back to still form cocoons that will enhance security, a group that can also offer counter-revenge from the attacked community. This argument concurs with what Brown et al (1995) and Nowrojee, et al. (1997) presented in their literatures that most politicians incite the conflicts and are at liberty if it is their community attacking. This means the conflicts in Naivasha are largely perpetuated by politicians as Brown et al. (1995) noted that as a result of conflicts in Maela, a report implicated senior government officials who are also politicians. The politicians' enhancement of the formation of security cocoons means that they are preparing for another ethnic conflict-discrediting peace initiatives. Also based on Kamungi's (2001) statement that conglomeration is a "militarization of the society", that can lead to communities taking the law in their own hands; disregarding the security personnel like the police, it may be argued that the formation of security cocoons is the cause for the increase in conflicts in the area since the role of the police is disregarded.

### **3.7 Chapter Summary**

The chapter found that the conflict took duration of at most two weeks before stopping. When either the Kikuyu or the Maasai attacked, they gained land and property while when attacked, they lost land and property. The displacement of farmers and business people worsened the prospects for local economic recovery. Violence disrupted the local economy, which depended on inter-ethnic

cooperation for market access, labour and transportation services. It was observed that some politicians and Sub-County administrators acquired some of the land designated for the resettlement of the displaced while some community individuals profited from the violence by acquiring land left by fleeing victims. Strangers moved in to occupy and harvest food crops and aggrandize the livestock of victims who fled as a result of violence. However, some Maasais felt that the second most effect of the conflict was gain of superiority by the attackers. The study also showed that Kikuyus were highly affected with loss of lives whenever attacked.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4.0 WAYS THROUGH WHICH THE ETHNIC CONFLICT BETWEEN PASTORALISTS AND AGRARIAN COMMUNITIES CAN BE ADDRESSED

#### 4.1 Introduction

The study aimed at finding out ways through which conflicts have been solved in Naivasha Sub-County in the past. Different questions were asked as whether the government and other stake holders used the following actions to solve the conflicts and the results were presented in the subsections below.

#### 4.2 Role played by local Government towards ending the violence

The study sought information about the role played by local government towards ending the violence. Table 4.1 presents the findings.

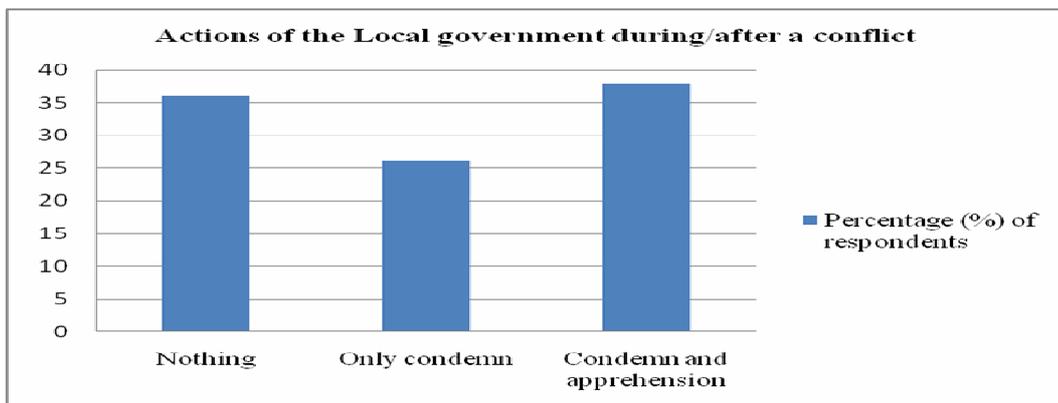
**Table 4.1: Role played by local administrators (Ass. Chiefs, chiefs and D.O's)**

Action	Maasai		Kikuyu		Summary	
	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Nothing	9	20	24	51	33	<b>36</b>
Only condemn	13	29	11	23	24	<b>26</b>
Condemn and apprehension	23	51	12	26	35	<b>38</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Field Data (2010)

Majority of the respondents from the Maasai community (51%) reported that the local government condemns a conflict whenever it happens and apprehends the culprits 29% said that the local government only condemns while the remaining group said the local authority does nothing when the conflict happens. Kikuyus on the other hand noted that the local authority does nothing having 51% of the respondents who stated so, 26% concurred there is condemnation and apprehension of the culprits while 23% noted that there is only condemnation.

Generally as recorded in figure 4.1, it was established that majority of the residents in Naivasha region (38%) admit to the local authority taking action through condemning conflicts and apprehending the culprits. A large percentage of the respondents also supported the view that the government does nothing to the victims and culprits of the violence. Though these findings shows by majority that the local authority in this area did something towards apprehending the culprits, the large support (36%) towards the inaction of the local authority puts flesh in Brown et al (1995) and Nowrojee, et al. (1997) words that the government did nothing to prevent the conflicts but instead perpetuated it.



**Figure 4.1: Actions taken by the local government during a conflict**

**Source: Field Data (2010)**

### 4.3 Action taken by the police

The study aimed at establishing the role the police normally plays in this conflict and the results found out were as shown in table 4.2.

**Table 4.2: Role Taken By Police in the Conflicts**

Action	Maasai		Kikuyu		Summary	
	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Arrest and restore peace and order	14	31	4	9	18	20
Only restore peace and order	11	24	12	26	23	25
Nothing	20	44	31	66	51	55
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>100</b>

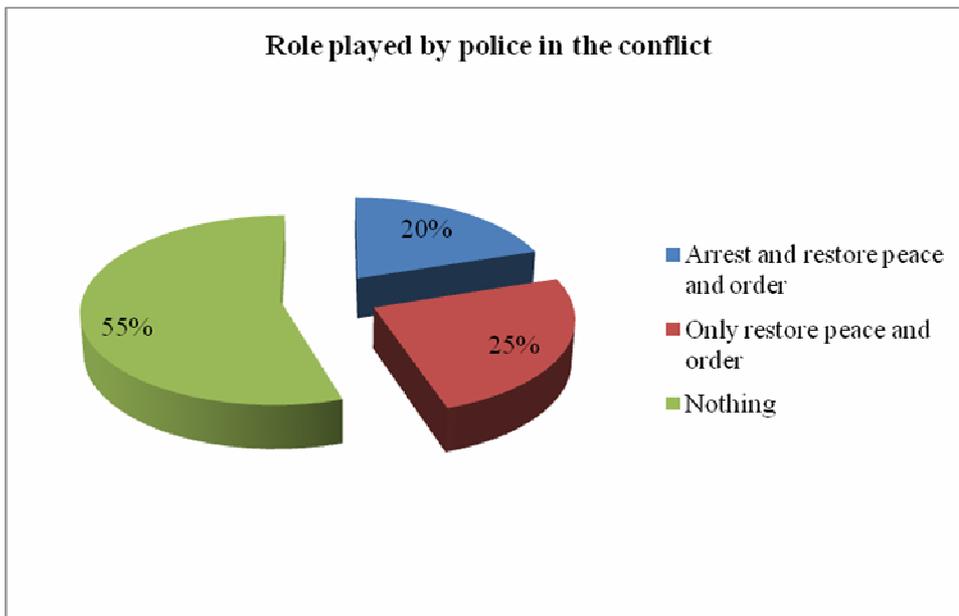
**Source: Field Data (2010)**

Majority of the respondents from the Maasais (44%) said that police do nothing during the conflicts, 31% of them said that the police arrested the culprits and restored peace and order while the remaining 24% said that the police only restored peace and order but never bothered to arrest the culprits of the violence. Most of the respondents from the Kikuyus (66%) noted that the police did

nothing, 26% said they only restored order while the rest said they restored as well as arrested.

This information reflects that the Kikuyus feels that the police do not do much to rescue them when they are attacked; neither do they think that the local authority does something tangible towards the same.

When combined together the results of the actions of the police are presented in figure 4.2.



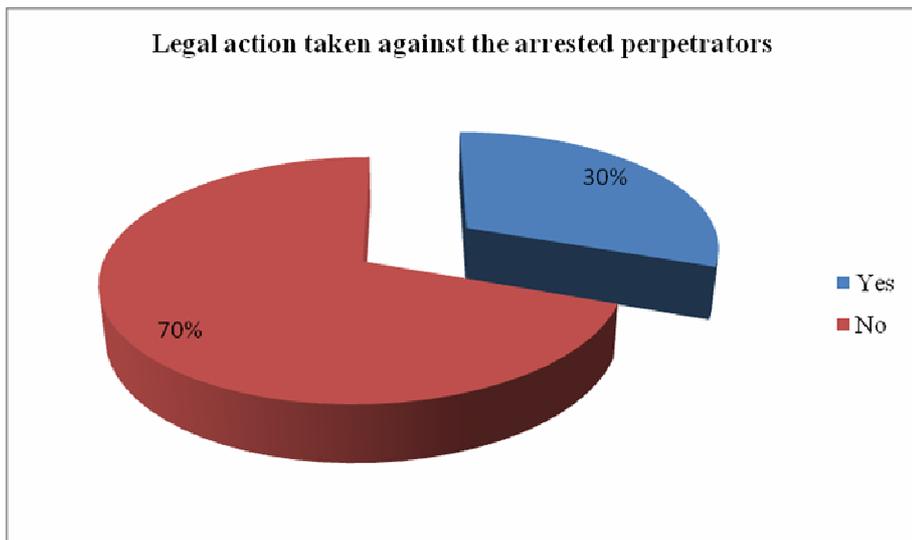
**Figure 4.2: Summary of role played by the police in the conflict**

**Source: Field Data (2010)**

From these results, majority of the respondents (55%) reported that the police did nothing to rescue them or apprehend the suspects when the conflict erupted. only 20% noted that the police arrested culprits and restored peace and order with 25 % acknowledging restoration of peace and order only.

This results show that as much as the police do something towards apprehending the culprits and improving the security situation of the area after a conflict, whatever is done is below expectation of majority of the residents in this area. This does not differ much with Nowrojee, et al. (1997) words that the actions of the police were not to stop or reduce the violence but to promote it. In Kamungi's (2001) words that the police did nothing during the conflicts to either apprehend or restore peace, these findings give the reason to believe Kamungi's findings.

When the details of the arrested were sought as to whether legal action is taken against them, the results in figure 4.3 were revealed.



**Figure 4.3: Results as to whether legal action is taken against perpetrators of the violence**

**Source: Field Data (2010)**

It was established that only 30 % of the respondents agreed to legal action being taken against the perpetrators of the conflicts. Majority of the respondents (70%)

said that no legal action was taken against the perpetrators. This is a course to prove the government's in action towards ending the conflict since the responsibility to arrest and take legal action to those involved rests on its back. Deadly Marionettes's (1997) report on state sponsored violence in Africa notes that in Kenya those involved were arrested and then after a few weeks are also seen walking scot free without going through any justice measure. This concurs with the findings in this report which also show that no legal action is taken against those arrested for perpetuating the conflict.

#### **4.4 Action taken by the government**

Action taken by the government towards those affected by the conflict was also sought by the study and the results the research found were as tabulated in table 4.3

**Table 4.3: Action taken by government towards those affected by the conflict**

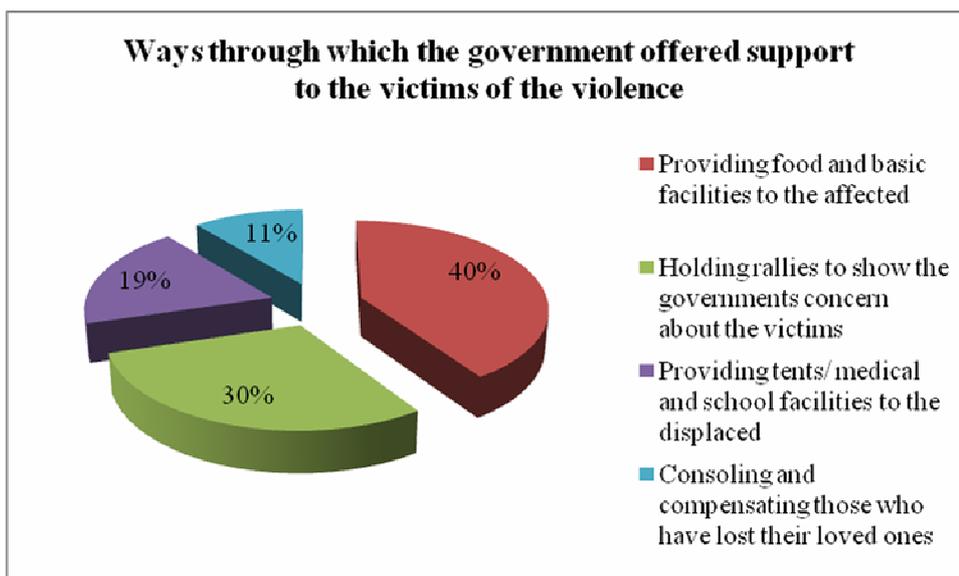
	<b>Maasai</b>		<b>Kikuyu</b>	
	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Has the government shown any support to victims of the violence?				
Yes	18	40	19	40
No	27	60	28	60
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field Data (2010)**

Majority of the respondents (60%) stated that the government never took any action to help those affected by the conflicts. This provided the study with a clue

to believe that the government's inaction through the police and local government may not have been a coincidence but a planned action. As Kamungi (2001) writes that humanitarian program by UNDP was stopped towards the victims of the violence because there was lack of political good will and commitment by the government to seriously address the issues surrounding displacement, the conclusion found by this research illustrates that the government was indeed not willing to help the affected at all. OCHA's (2008) concurrence to this statement through arguing that as much as the government showed some support toward the victims of the clashes, some gaps in the government's actions were evident.

Amongst the 40% who agreed to the fact that the government had offered some support to the victims of the study, they gave the following results in figure 8 as the support the government offered. However, 40% said that the government offered support through the provision of food and basic facilities to the affected. 30% said that the government held rallies that showed support to those affected; only 11% said the government showed its support through consoling and compensating those who lost their loved ones.



**Figure 4.4: Ways through which the government offered support to the victims of the violence**

**Source: Field Data (2010)**

#### **4.5 Use of dialogue to iron the ethnic difference.**

The study enquired from the respondents how the use of dialogue is used to iron the ethnic difference. Findings are presented in table 4.4.

**Table 4.4: Use of dialogue to iron ethnic differences**

Need for dialogue	Maasai		Kikuyu	
	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	20	44	21	45
No	25	56	26	55
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field Data (2010)**

Majority of the respondents from the Maasai community (56%) differed with statement that dialogue is a way to stop ethnic violence while 44% concurred with the statement. While 55% of the kikuyu's respondents also turned against dialogue to iron out the ethnic difference as a factor to stop violence although 45% agreed with the statement.

#### 4.6 Full Time Provision Of Security

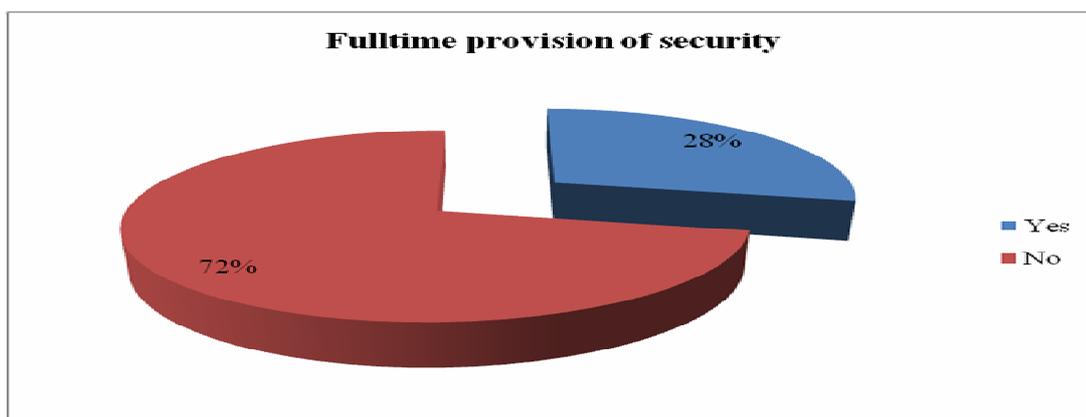
When asked whether there has been fulltime provision of security to prevent the conflicts from happening, residents in Naivasha gave the following response.

Findings are presented in Table 4.5

**Table 4.5: Fulltime provision of security in Naivasha area**

Whether security is provided	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	26	28%
No	66	72%
<b>Total</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Field Data (2010)



**Figure 4.5: Status of provision of security in Naivasha to curb conflicts**

Source: Field Data (2010)

Majority of the respondents (72%) confirmed that full time security is not provided in that area by the government. Though the right to protect individuals was incorporated in the former constitution of Kenya as noted in the literature reviewed. Amisi (not dated) also supported this by noting that “The government is ultimately responsible for the security of its citizens”. These show that the government should always provide peaceful and secure environment either before a conflict arises as well as to stop a conflict, the study found out the contrary. This might be the reason for the formation of cocoons by politicians to provide security to their people who they feel needs protection.

#### **4.7 Just distribution of resources.**

The study sought information about the distribution of resources in Naivasha Sub-County. Table 4.6 presents the findings.

**Table 4.6: Findings as to whether there is a just distribution of resources**

	<b>Maasai</b>		<b>Kikuyu</b>	
	Frequency	Percentage(%)	Frequency	Percentage(%)
Just distribution of resources				
Yes	10	21%	18	38%
No	35	78%	29	61%
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Source: Field Data (2010)**

Most of the respondents (78%) from the Maasai community disagreed with the fact that just distribution of resources has been used to stop violence while 21%

stamped the facts by supporting it. Most respondents from Kikuyus, 61% also felt that there was no just distribution of resources. Amisi notes that most of the ethnic conflicts in Rift Valley were caused by unjust distribution of land. The Akiwumi report according to Kamunga (2001) suggested that there should be a just distribution of resource, as well as those who are displaced to be provided with land. The findings show that ethnic conflicts are prone in this area because there has been no just distribution of resources. The lack of will to return the grabbed land to the original owners and the continued illegal award of land after independence by the government caused the heat up amongst the deprived communities.

#### **4.8 Condemnation and prohibition of political incitements**

The study sought information about the condemnation and prohibition of political incitements in Naivasha Sub-County. Table 4.7 presents the findings.

**Table 4.7: Condemnation and prohibition of political incitements**

Are incitements condemned	Maasai		Kikuyu	
	Frequency	Percentage(%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
No	14	31	34	72
Yes	31	69	13	28
Total	45	100	47	100

**Source: Field Data (2010)**

It was established that 69% of Maasai respondents agreed with the fact that there has been condemnation and prohibition of political incitement, 31% disagreed with the statement while in Kikuyu respondents, 72% highly disagreed with the statement that violence had been controlled through condemnation and prohibition of political incitement. 28% of Kikuyu respondents agreed with the statement. Amisi noted that in dealing with national matters, it is important that politicians show some will to foresee the citizens' wishes and not to politically use the platforms to perpetuate their needs. Nowrojee et al. (1997) also supports this argument by asserting that the government through its hopefuls used the Maela conflict to perpetuate its political ambitions/goals.

#### 4.9 Clear definition of land boundaries

The study sought information about clear definition of land boundaries in Naivasha Sub-County. Table 4.8 presents the findings.

**Table 4.8: Whether there is clear definition of land boundaries**

Item	Maasai		Kikuyu	
	Frequency	Percentage(%)	Frequency	Percentage(%)
Yes	4	9	21	45
No	41	91	26	55
Total	45	100	47	100

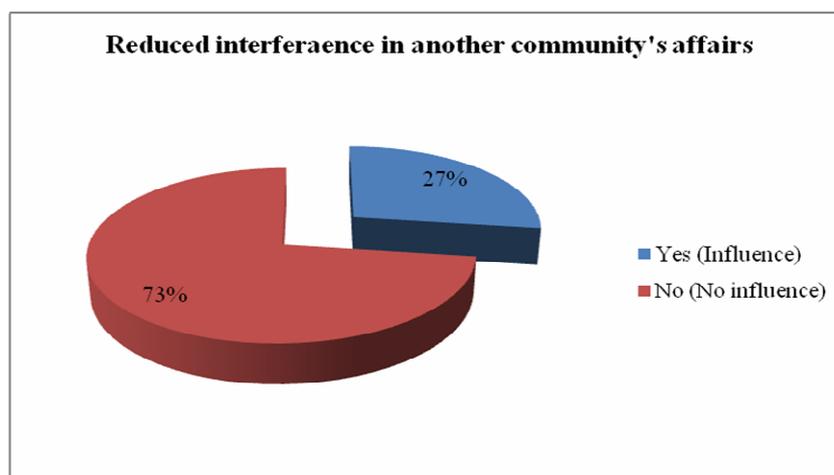
**Source: Field Data (2010)**

It was established that 91% of Maasai respondents completely did not concur with the fact that clear definition of land boundaries has been used to stop violence

while 9% supported the option. The researcher also found that 55% of Kikuyu respondents totally disagreed but 45% agreed that clear definition of land boundaries has been addressed to stop violence. This findings show that conflicts in the Sub-County have been more rampant because there has been no clear definition of boundaries. This may be the cause of the rampant conflicts based on land resources.

#### **4.10 Interference in another community's cultural and economic activity**

The results on whether there has been a non influence in another community's activities to reduce or eliminate conflicts were as demonstrated in figure 10. 73% of the findings showed that there has been no insistance on one community not to interfere in the other community's activities. This shows that one community is allowed to interupt the other thus a likely cause of the conflict. Figure 4.6 presents the findings.



**Figure 4.6: Interference in another community's cultural and economic activity**

**Source: Field Data (2010)**

#### 4.9.7 Clear guarding of water spots by a neutral agency or the government

The study sought information about clear guarding of water spots by a neutral agency or the government in Naivasha Sub-County. Table 4.9 presents the findings.

**Table 4.9: Clear guarding of water spots by a neutral agency or the government**

Clear guarding of water spots	Maasai		Kikuyu	
	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Kikuyu	Percentage (%)
Yes	–	–	5	11
No	45	100	42	89
Total	45	100	47	100

**Source: Field Data (2010)**

It was established that 100% of Maasai respondents totally disagreed with the statement that clear guarding of water spots by a neutral agency or the government will stop the ethnic violence, while 89% of the Kikuyu's disagreed but also thin range of 11% agreed. The Kikuyus wanted land and water for farming all the year round irrespective of the dry weather while the Maasai's needed land to provide pasture and water for their animals mostly during the dry seasons. ICE (2000) asserts that the need to control these resources is what led to the execution of 17 Kikuyu's in Enosopukia in 1993. Since all the affected were Kikuyu's while those who committed the killings were Maasai's, a revenge mission was planned that instead led to the Kikuyu's being overpowered leading to their displacement.

KCSSP (2009) seems to concur with this cause of conflict by adding that the Maasai's who are believed to be the original owners of the land in Naivasha region blame the Kikuyus and other communities for taking their land illegally. The conflict between the two tribes is caused by competition for grazing lands as well as water points which the Maasais claim have been taken by the Kikuyu farmers as well as the flower companies.

#### 4.9.8 Other ways to be used in order to stop violence

The study enquired on other ways that can be used in order to stop violence. The researcher targeted both communities to give clear ways to be used in order to stop violence. Table 4.10 presents the findings.

**Table 4.10: Ways through which the violence can also be stopped**

<b>Action used to stop the violence</b>	<b>Maasai</b>		<b>Kikuyu</b>	
	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Punishing the culprits	11	24	17	36
Relocating the attacked	12	27	10	21
Relocating the attacking community	8	18	8	17
Advocating for brotherhood	14	31	12	26

**Source: Field Data (2010)**

From the Maasai community, majority of the respondents (91%) supported advocating for brotherhood, 27% on relocating the attacked community, 24% punishing the culprits, 18% supported relocating the attacking community. The study revealed that among the Kikuyu respondents, 36% majority supported the idea of punishing the culprit, 26% on advocating for brotherhood, 21% on relocating the attacked and lastly 17% on relocating the attacking community. On how to prevent the violence from happening, Amisi notes that Churches and some humanitarian organizations considered peace and reconciliation to be the key things to settling the violence. She writes that "...several statements made by church leaders, politicians in the opposition and human rights activists repeatedly condemned the ethnic violence throughout its duration, and called on the government to initiate peace and reconciliation".

Kimungi supports this argument by asserting that peace and reconciliation are the biggest assets towards ensuring a conflict free environment to such an area. He mentions that they build a peaceful and harmonious coexistence between originally warring parties. Here, the named stakeholders consider the conflicts solution to be resting in peace and reconciliation between the warring communities.

#### **4.11 Alternative Peace Resolutions**

Alternative Dispute Resolution ("ADR") refers to any means of settling disputes outside the courtroom. ADR typically includes early neutral evaluation, negotiation, conciliation, mediation, and arbitration. As burgeoning court queues, rising costs of litigation, and time delays continue to plague litigants, more states

have begun experimenting with ADR programs. Some of these programs are voluntary; others are mandatory<sup>115</sup>.

The study asserted that mediation, negotiations and use of dialogue were the ADR's that were used to solve dispute in Naivasha Sub-County. Mediation and negotiations are one of the most common forms of ADR used by many countries. Negotiation is almost always attempted first to resolve a dispute. It is the pre-eminent mode of dispute resolution. Negotiation allows the parties to meet in order to settle a dispute. The main advantage of this form of dispute settlement is that it allows the parties themselves to control the process and the solution<sup>116</sup>.

Mediation is also an informal alternative to litigation. Mediators are individuals trained in negotiations, who bring opposing parties together and attempt to work out a settlement or agreement that both parties accept or reject. Mediation is used for a wide gamut of case-types ranging from juvenile felonies to federal government negotiations with Native American Indian tribes. Mediation has also become a significant method for resolving disputes between investors and their stock brokers<sup>117</sup>.

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<sup>115</sup> National Alternative Dispute Resolution Advisory Council, "Dispute Resolution Terms: The Use of Terms in (Alternative) Dispute Resolution", September, 2003 at p. 4.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid

<sup>117</sup> Securities Dispute Resolution

#### **4.12 Chapter Summary**

Research observed that local authority/government can stop the conflicts by taking action through condemning conflicts and apprehending the culprits. The police also can help in stopping the conflict but it was noted that the police did nothing during the conflicts in Naivasha. Very few police officers took part in arresting the culprits and restoring peace and order. The study found that the Maasai's respondents differed with statement that dialogue is a way to stop ethnic violence. Full time security is not provided in that area by the government. Though the right to protect individuals was incorporated in the former constitution of Kenya, the government should implement policies necessary to stop the conflicts.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION**

### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter provides the summary and conclusions of the study that was done about resource based conflict between the pastoralist and agrarian communities in Naivasha Sub-County. The study also provides recommendations to the study and suggests areas for further study.

### **5.2 Summary**

Based on objective one of the study which was to determine the dynamics of conflict between pastoralists and agrarian communities, the study established that conflicts affected Naivasha Sub-County economically, socially and politically. It found that there was too much land lying fallow as a result of conflict. Owners relocated to other communities where they could feel secure or cannot be affected by ethnic conflict. Disruption of agricultural activities led to poor yields and consequently low income to a majority of farmers. It established that the dropping out of school among many children has been another consequence of ethnic violence. Some schools were burned or looted in the course of ethnic conflicts which affected the social life of most students in the area. At the family level, ethnic conflict created discord especially in situations where victims were forced to stay with relatives. This resulted to humiliation and contempt in the hands of relatives.

Based on objective two of the study which was to assess the effects of the conflict between crop farmers and pastoralists in Naivasha Sub-County, the study found

that effects of ethnic conflicts are adverse and affect almost everyone in the affected area. Conflicts hindered normal farming, schooling and other activities from going on as expected. It found that effects of the conflicts were loss of land and other properties to the attacked community or gain of the same by the attacking community.

According to the third objective of the study which was to establish ways through which ethnic conflict between pastoralists and crop farmers in Naivasha Sub-County can be addressed, the study established that most residents in Naivasha region were not satisfied with the government's actions towards ending the conflicts. They claimed that the government did nothing or very little towards ending the conflict as well as helping those affected by the conflict. The study revealed that some measures like dialogue, full time provision of security, just distribution of resources, condemning and prohibiting political incitements, clear definition of land boundaries, non-interference in another community's cultural and economic activities and clear guarding of water spots by a neutral agency or the government can be used to prevent the conflicts from arising.

### **5.3 Conclusions**

In determining the dynamics of conflict between pastoralists and agrarian communities, the study concludes that Naivasha Sub-County has fertile soils and therefore suitable for agriculture. It concludes that one of the long term economic repercussions of the violence was that land that was previously used for farming and dairy keeping was abandoned by the owners because of insecurity. The study concludes that disruption of agricultural activities led to poor yields and

consequently low income to a majority of farmers. The study concludes that Kikuyu also claim ownership resulting from an allocation by the first post-independence president Jomo Kenyatta. The bone of contention is that the land is rich with geothermal power, government functionaries want to make a killing by displacing the Maasai. The study concludes that ethnic conflicts in the region have the potential to increase the social distance between contending groups. Respondents confirmed that the most obvious outcome of ethnic conflicts in this area has been deaths directly resulting from injuries sustained during attacks.

In order to achieve the second objective which was to assess the effects of the conflict between crop farmers and pastoralists in Naivasha Sub-County, the study concludes that the displacement of farmers and business people worsened the prospects for local economic recovery. Violence disrupted the local economy, which depended on inter-ethnic cooperation for market access, labour and transportation services. It concludes that when the Maasais were attacked, politicians from that community dwelt on condemning the conflict which was the case with the Kikuyu community. The study concludes that the effects of the conflicts included hindrance to growth/progress of economic activities like farming, slowed down school attendance, destructed attendance to medical facilities, and ensured that the attacking community gained superiority over the other. Security is also hindered in these ethnic conflicts based on the fact that politicians from the communities form cocoons that will offer security.

Based on the third objective of the study which was to establish ways through which ethnic conflict between pastoralists and crop farmers in Naivasha Sub-

County can be addressed, the study concludes that the actions of the government towards protecting citizens from attacks during these conflicts were minimal. The government was also reported to doing very little to ensure that the victims of the violence are provided with the basic needs and care they deserved after being displaced or affected by a conflict. It is therefore within the right morality that the government takes action towards protecting its citizens from harm and attack by providing the right security. It also concludes that ethnic conflicts can be addressed through dialogue, non-interference in another communities affairs, respect for boundaries and just allocation of resources. It concludes that local authority/government can stop the conflicts by taking action through condemning conflicts and apprehending the culprits. The police also can help in stopping the conflict.

#### **5.4 Recommendations**

The study recommended that awareness campains be conducted about the effect ethnic communities have economically, socially and politically. They should be made aware that ethnic conflict affects their farming activities when they flee for refuge, affect the schooling of their childrens and even lose some of their family members, relatives and friends in those conflicts. This can help reduce or avoid the ethnic conflicts from arising in future.

Prevention of the conflicts is very important so that the effects are avoided. The communities should be addressed on the importance of staying in harmony and the need to keep peace so that they live without conflicts.

The government should be involvement through its apparatus like the police, local authorities, courts and others to prevent the conflicts in Naivasha region from reoccurring. The government should also provide help to those affected by the conflicts so that they (the affected) are able to run their lives well. Politicians should also be demanded to keep peace by uniting the warring communities and not inciting them. The government should take legal action agaist any politician who incites the public to indulge in conflict.

### **5.5 Suggestion for further Study**

Since most politicians have been seen to interfere in the peace structure of the area, a study needs to be done to assess the interest that motivates politicians to engage in inciting the conflicts and formation of cocoons.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX I: COVER LETTER**

**To Whom It May Concern**

**Dear Sir/Madam,**

I am a Masters' student at the University of Nairobi studying in the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies. I have designed a questionnaire to gather information on "Conflicts between herders and agrarians in Rift Valley. A case study on the Naivasha Sub-County conflict between Kikuyus and Maasais"

Please help me by answering the questionnaire with the highest accuracy possible.

Please note that any information you give will be extremely confidential and at no instance will it be used for any other purpose other than for this project. Your name will also not be used in this research but rather the research number given to you by the researcher. Your assistance will be highly appreciated. I look forward to your prompt response. Thank you.

Yours Faithfully,

Francis, M. Muchiri

Reg.No. R50/70612/2007

## APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE

### Causes of conflict

1. Which tribe do you come from?

Maasai  Kikuyu

2. Is this area prone to conflicts

Yes  No

3. How many times do the conflicts happen in a year

1  4

2  5

3  6

Others (specify).

.....

4. What causes this conflicts

Ethnicity/tribalism

Politicians and politics

Land disputes

Water point disputes

Hatred against each other/Animosity

Others (specify)

.....

5. Which community starts the violence (which community attacks)

Kikuyu  Maasai

6. When the conflict begins, does the attacked community flee or revenges

Flees/runs away  Revenges

**Effects of the conflict**

7. How long does the violence take to end?

Between 1 day-2 weeks

3 weeks-5 weeks

1½ months-3 months

4 months-6 months

7 months-12 months

Over a year (specify) .....

8. What is the intention of the conflict/violence when it happens?

Aimed at killing only

Aimed at displacing only

Aimed at snatching opponents' property

Aimed at all the above

Others (specify)

.....

.....

.....

9. What are the effects of the conflict to the

a). Attackers

Gain of superiority/power

Gain of land and other property

Loss of lives

Others (specify)

.....

.....

b). Attacked

Loss of lives  Loss of land and other property

Destabilized community

Others (specify)

.....  
.....

10. How do politicians of the attacked community react after the conflict

Condemn the violence

Organize revenge

Force the government to act

Form political cocoons to enhance security to their community

11. How do politicians of the attacking community react after the conflict

Celebrate for victory

Condemn the violence

Form political cocoons to ensure war dominance in future

Others (specify)

.....  
.....

12. When the conflict starts,

i. Do businesses go on as usual?

Yes  No

ii. Do crop production (farming) and sales go on as usual?

Yes  No

iii. Are children interrupted from attending school?

Yes  No

iv. Are the medical facilities interrupted from doing their operations as usual?

Yes  No

v. Does herding continue as usual?

Yes  No

**Role played by the government towards ending the violence**

13. During the conflict, what do the chiefs/sub-chiefs and D.O's in the area do about the conflicts?

Nothing  Only condemns the act   
Condemns the acts as well as ensure apprehension of the causers of the conflict

14. What does the police do during the conflicts

Arrest the causers of the conflict and restores peace and order   
Only restores peace and order   
Nothing

15. When the perpetrators of the violence are arrested, is legal action taken against them?

Yes  No

16. Has the government shown any support towards helping those affected by the violence?

Yes  No

17. If yes in No. 16 above, in which way has the government shown this support? (tick appropriately)

Providing food and basic facilities to the affected

- Holding rallies to show the governments concern about the victims
- Providing tents/ medical and school facilities to the displaced
- Consoling and compensating those who have lost their loved ones
- Others (specify)
- .....
- .....

**Ways through which the conflict in Naivasha can be stopped**

18. What are some of the ways through which an end to this crisis has been sort? Has the following measures been used to stop the violence?

- i) Dialogue to iron the ethnic differences  
 Yes  No
- ii) Full time provision of security  
 Yes  No
- iii) Just distribution of resources  
 Yes  No
- iv) Condemnation and prohibition of political incitements  
 Yes  No
- v) Clear definition of land boundaries  
 Yes  No
- vi) Non interference in another community's cultural and economic activities  
 Yes  No
- vii) Clear guarding of water spots by a neutral agency or the government  
 Yes  No

19. What other ways do you think can be used to stop the violence (tick appropriately, you can tick more than one box)

Punishing the culprits severely so that others learn from them

Relocating the attacked community to other regions

Relocating the attacking community to other areas

Advocating for brotherhood between the warring communities

Others (specify)

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY**

### APPENDIX III: BUDGET

Cost (items)	Cost (Kenya Shillings)
<b>Proposal development-</b> Printing and stationery	2,500/=
<b>Data collection</b> 1)Research assistant fees	20,000/=
2) Stationery and printing	5,300/=
3) Transport expenses	7000/=
<b>Data analysis and report</b> 1)Printing and stationery	7,600
2) Transport	2100
<b>Miscellaneous</b>	2300
<b>TOTAL BUDGET</b>	<b>51,500/=</b>