

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**COMPLEXITIES OF NATURAL RESOURCES CONFLICT IN KENYA:
A CASE STUDY OF LAIKIPIA CONFLICT**

MICHENI IAN MWENDA

R52/87458/2016.

SUPERVISOR:

DR. WINNIE WAIRIMU

**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT
MANAGEMENT**

NOVEMBER 2018

DECLARATION

I, Micheni Ian Mwenda hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

Signed.....

Date.....

Micheni Ian Mwenda

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor;

Signed.....

Date.....

Dr. Winnie Wairimu

University Lecturer

DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to my family. My father, Mr Crispus Micheni, my Mother, Ms. Monica Tiira, and my brothers; George Murithi and Denis Ken Munene.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am truly thankful to the Gracious God for giving me the chance and strength through this tiresome undertaking of my studies. I honestly recognize the devoted academic guidance, management and educational support I received from my supervisor Dr. Winnie Wairimu during the whole study period, and drafting of this academic work. Special thanks go to my family for their motivation, encouragement and invaluable support- moral, financial and social they gave me throughout the study period.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	iv
ABBREVIATIONS.....	ix
ABSTRACT.....	x
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background of the Study.....	1
1.2 Problem Statement.....	2
1.3 Objectives of the Study.....	4
1.3.1 General Objective.....	4
1.3.2 Specific Objectives.....	4
1.4 Research Questions.....	4
1.5 Justification of the Research.....	4
1.5.1 Theoretical Relevance.....	5
1.5.2 Social Value.....	5
1.5.3 Policy Relevance.....	5
1.6 Hypotheses.....	6
1.7 Literature Review.....	6
1.7.1 Concept of Conflict.....	6
1.7.1.1 Different Claims and Causes of Conflicts.....	7
1.7.1.2 Effects of Conflicts of Livelihoods and Economy.....	10
1.7.2 Conflicts and Foreign Relations between States.....	12
1.7.3 Historical Conflicts in Laikipia.....	15
1.8 Theoretical Framework.....	18
1.8.1 Resource Scarcity Theory.....	18
1.8.2 Classical Conflict Theory.....	19
1.8.3 Framing Conflict Theory.....	20
1.9 Research Methodology.....	21
1.9.1 Target Population.....	22

1.9.2 Sampling Procedure.....	23
1.9.3 Data Collection.....	23
1.9.4 Data Analysis.....	23
1.9.5 Ethical Considerations.....	23
1.10 Thesis Outline.....	24
CHAPTER TWO: ACTORS, DISCOURSES AND CLAIMS BEHIND THE LAIKIPIA CONFLICT.....	26
2.1 Introduction.....	26
2.2 History and chronology of the current Laikipia conflict.....	27
2.2.1 Historical Background of the Conflict.....	28
2.2.2 Conflict Transformation.....	32
2.2.3 Emergence of Violent Attacks and Invasions.....	32
2.3 Actors behind the Laikipia Conflict.....	35
2.3.1 Local Communities.....	35
2.3.2 Ranchers.....	36
2.3.3 National and the County Governments of Laikipia.....	38
2.3.4 Political Leaders.....	39
2.4 Discourses and Claims behind the Laikipia Conflict.....	40
2.4.2 Conflict Perceptions of Large and Diverse Groups in Laikipia County.....	40
2.4.3 Land Distribution and Ownership in Laikipia County.....	41
2.4.4 Socio-Economic and Cultural Practices of the Local Communities.....	43
2.4.5 Influence of the Politics into the Conflict.....	45
2.5 Conclusion.....	47
CHAPTER THREE: EFFECTS OF CONFLICT IN RELATION TO THE COUNTY’S NATURAL RESOURCES, LIVELIHOODS OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND CONSERVANCIES.....	48
3.1 Introduction.....	48
3.2 Natural Resources in Laikipia.....	48

3.2.1 Effects of the Laikipia Conflict in Relation to the County’s Natural Resources.....	50
3.3 Communities in Laikipia and their Economic Activities	51
3.3.1 Effects of the Laikipia conflict in Relation to Livelihoods of Local Communities	56
3.4 Conservancies, Ranching and Tourism in Laikipia	60
3.4.1 Effects of the Laikipia conflict in Relation to Conservancies, Ranching and Tourism.	64
3.5 General Impacts of the Conflicts on the Economy	67
3.6 Conclusion.....	70

CHAPTER FOUR: THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE CONFLICT TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS BETWEEN BRITAIN AND KENYA..... 71

4.1 Introduction	71
4.2 Historical Foreign Relations between Britain and Kenya.....	71
4.3 Role of Kenyan Government in Laikipia Conflicts	75
4.4 Role of Britain in Laikipia Conflicts.....	80
4.5 Britain’s Reactions to the Conflict	82
4.6 Implications Laikipia Conflict to the Foreign Relations between Britain and Kenya	83
4.7 Conclusions	85

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS..... 87

5.1 Introduction	87
5.2 Answering the Research Questions.....	89
5.2.1 What Various Claims do Actors Lay to the Wildlife Conservancy Ranches by the Local Communities?.....	89
5.2.2 What Factors Play a Role in the Laikipia Conflict?	91
5.2.3 What are the Implications of the Recent Invasions on the Local Communities, Local Livelihoods and Economy, Conservancies and to the Laikipia County?	94

5.2.4 How have these Conflicts Affected the Relations between Kenya and Britain?	95
5.3 Research Hypothesis	95
5.3.1 Various Actors in the Conflict Frame their Claims in as Far as they Serve their Own Interests and Needs.	95
5.3.2 The Nature of Conflicts has Resulted into Major Impacts on livelihoods and the Economy of the Area and Occupants.	96
5.3.3 The Conflicts have a Wider Effect on Straining Inter-Country Relationships between Kenya and Britain.	96
5.4 Conclusions	97
5.5 Recommendations	98
BIBLIOGRAPHY	100
APPENDICES	110
Appendix I: Questionnaire	110

ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome
AP	Administration Police
ASALS	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
ASTU	Anti-Stock Theft Unit
BATUK	British Army Training Unit Kenya
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
GSU	General Service Unit
HIV	Human Immuno-Deficiency Virus
KDF	Kenya Defense Forces
KWS	Kenya Wildlife Services
NGOs	Non-governmental organizations
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
WFP	World Food Programme

ABSTRACT

Conflicts are extensively documented as a significant foundation of poverty and menace to pastoral communities and potential investors in the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALS) areas. Laikipia region is no different, as the recent spate of conflicts has led to many problems and challenges experienced in the region, and far beyond Kenyan borders. The complexities of these conflicts have made the situation delicate to handle. The main objective was to investigate the complexities of natural resource conflicts in Kenya with the key focus on the Laikipia conflict. The specific Objectives of the study were; to assess the various actors, discourses and claims behind the recent Laikipia conflict, to assess the effects of the Laikipia conflict in relation to the county's natural resources, livelihoods of local communities and conservancies, and to assess the implications of the conflict to the foreign relations between Britain and Kenya. This study is focused on facilitating to the speculative form of knowledge allied to the difficulty of the conflicts in Kenya that have gone on for many years. Although there has been focus on past conflicts, the findings of this research which is influenced by the recent web of violence will help build upon and support the outcomes of previous researchers on the Laikipia conflict and causes of violence in the region. The research was studied through the use of a descriptive and analytical research design. Target population for the study comprised of the members of local communities living in Laikipia region, county government, ranch owners, experts on conflict management, as well as other individuals working in the Laikipia County. The study used qualitative methods to gather primary and secondary data. The primary data was collected through interviews. The researcher concludes that politicians, inter-ethnic conflicts, drought situations, historical land injustices and human wildlife conflicts were major contributors to the violence experienced in Laikipia region. The study further concludes that the conflicts experienced in Laikipia has a huge negative effect on the county's natural resources, such as the wildlife, the rangelands, and livestock, and led to huge losses to the investors and the community. The conflicts experienced in Laikipia had far-reaching effects on the people of Laikipia, and Kenya at large. The conflicts stirred a diplomatic row between Kenya and Britain which led to travel advisories against Laikipia region of Kenya. The researcher recommends that; a restoration of the northern rangelands, a modification different from pastoralism with other methods of incomes. Administration of livestock-holding volume on the rangelands ought to be at the front of any such long-term exertions, in conjunction with revitalization of the veterinary levels and administrations that formerly were in post-Independence Kenya, and active actions to market livestock. This will require active buy-in and consensus from all concerned stakeholders: the state, the pastoralist communities, and other land users of all scales, acting as development partners, not competitors. The national government as well as the county government of Laikipia should device a method to give the local communities a percentage of the proceeds from the tourism activities. The funds should be used to reclaim the pieces of lands in Laikipia that are not under use, so that they can ease pressure on the pastoralists during the dry seasons and thus stop the violence experience. Land adjudication in the region should also be carried out. The community land should also be subdivided into individual portion, and this will create a sense of ownership and boundaries. Further, it will make the pastoralists to act individually rather than the current state where they act as a community.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The conflicts that occur in relation to natural resources are experiences that emerge from a range of non-violent fight of interest and into actual fierceness. Conflicts resulting from scramble for natural resources have been experienced in Laikipia County perennially. In the last two decades, Laikipia in central Kenya has been a region predominant of tension between farmers, ranchers and pastoralists. Both the pastoralists and the farmers who have occupied the western, eastern and the northern constituencies have coexisted in this region¹. The northern part of the Laikipia County is one characterized with most conflicts which often extend to the eastern and western parts².

A fresh wave of conflicts that occurred in the region in 2017 escalated the issue that resulted in violent attacks originating from invasion of ranches by the pastoralists. One of the critical incidents that emerged was the invasion of Sosian Ranch whereby armed bandits invaded the ranch and launched attack leading to killing of the white manager Tristan Voorspuy. Additionally, the attack resulted into destruction of property through burning down of private lodges. Such spate of recent incidents of violence has always been condemned by the leaders from the region.

Laikipia region is also known for livestock keeping, wildlife conservancies and practice of farming that are vital sectors that boost the economy of the Laikipia County.

¹ Bond, J., (2013). Communications and Conflicts: Cases of Laikipia County, Kenya

² Campbell, I., Dalrymple, S., Craig, R., Crawford, A., (2009). Climate Changes and Conflicts. Lesson from Community Conservancy in Northern Kenya. Preservation Development Centre, International Institute for Sustainable Development and Saferworld, p. 62.

Land use in Laikipia is divided into woodland reserve zones, government property, huge scale ranches, huge scale farms, pastoral areas (North) and metropolitan living areas that include the ranchers/conservationists. ³However, emergence of conflicts is bound to interfere with these sectors resulting into capital losses for the people, county government and the national government. This issue of protracted conflicts in the region is multifaceted as it heightens insecurity for the residents, livestock and wildlife⁴. For instance, cases of wild animals attacking people, their livestock or their farms are bound to be incurred whenever there are communities living near wildlife areas. On the other hand, there is possibility of the communities retaliating through killing these wild animals, invading their grazing lands in conservancies or interference with their habitat through settlement⁵. This then possess a big challenge for the local communities living in such regions to co-exist harmoniously with the wild animals living in conservancies⁶. This research proposal investigates the natural resource conflict in Laikipia. This study has been influenced by the desire to determine the recurring violent incidents that are associated with human-wildlife war, cattle swooshing and also agro-pastoral war.

1.2 Problem Statement

Laikipia County has been experiencing natural resource conflicts that have affected the lifestyle of the residents who are mainly pastoralists and heightened insecurity. In the

³Bond, J., (2013). Communication and Conflict: The Case of Laikipia County, Kenya

⁴ Jane, K.N., Mwangi, J.G, and Nkurumwa, A.O., (2013). Climate Change Challenges and Adaptation Strategies among the Pastoralists of Laikipia County Kenya, international Journal of Agricultural Extension, 1 no. 1(2013).

⁵Krätli S, Swift J (2001). 'Understanding and managing pastoral conflict in Kenya: How contemporary understandings and knowledge of pastoral conflict can guide practical work', Environment Team, IDS Sussex, UK.

⁶Letai, J., (2011). Land Deals in Kenya: The Genesis of Land Deals in Kenya and its Implication on Pastoral Livelihoods

surrounding counties of Samburu, Baringo and Isiolo, the pressure from the pastoralists searching for pasture and water for their large herds of livestock is high. In 2006 clashes between the Pokot and Samburu groups was extensive in Baringo, Samburu and Laikipia counties in Kenya. In Mukogodo, Rumuruti and Olmoran divisions adults, herd boys and female children became prey as armed outlaws invaded their villages and drove away large numbers of cattle, the outlaws suspected to be from Samburu and Baringo counties. The period between January and April 2007 in Laikipia was considered with the most typical raids in the region as herders forcefully drove their cattle into conservancies attacking the security guards.

These reported incidents are evident of the increased conflicts whose cause this study seeks to investigate. In the Northern regions of Laikipia-west incidences of clashes between large scale ranchers farmers and pastoralist and wildlife have reached intense levels. In comparison to human-wildlife rivalry and co-existence mainly hyenas as well as elephants through crop raiding leading to attacks on wildlife conservancies by herders who invade the region⁷. The 2017 incident that led to invasions hence resulting to the death of a British national, Tristan Voorspuy, have influenced a motion on how to deal with the issue of invasion. Effective Conflict resolution measures were introduced following the thrilling cases experienced in 2017 despite there been invasions throughout the past years.

⁷ Ulrich, A., IfejikaSperanza, C., Roden, P., Kiteme, B., Wiesmann, U., Nüsser, M., (2012). Small-scale farming in semi-arid areas

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

The primary aim of the study is to examine the various difficulties of natural resource conflicts in Kenya with the key focus on the Laikipia conflict.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

1. To assess the various actors, discourses and claims behind the recent Laikipia conflict.
2. To assess the effects of the Laikipia conflict in relation to the county's natural resources, livelihoods of local communities and conservancies.
3. To assess the implications of the conflict to the foreign relations between Britain and Kenya?

1.4 Research Questions

1. What various claims do actors lay to the invasion of the wildlife conservancy ranches by the local communities?
2. What factors play a role in the Laikipia conflict?
3. What are the implications of the recent invasions on the local communities, local livelihoods and economy, conservancies and to the Laikipia County?
4. How have these conflicts affected the relations between Kenya and Britain?

1.5 Justification of the Research

This research includes three key areas of relevance; theoretical relevance, social value and policy relevance.

1.5.1 Theoretical Relevance

This study is focused on leading factors to the theoretical structure of information associated with the broad complexity of the conflicts in Kenya that have gone on for many years. Although there has been focus on past conflicts, the findings of this research which is influenced by the recent web of violence will help build upon and support the outcomes of previous researchers on the Laikipia conflict and causes of violence in the region. This research being centered on a region prone to conflicts and has a history of recurring conflicts draws attention of the researcher into investigating the discourses and actors of these conflicts. Having an understanding of the factors behind the recent spate of violence will be a contribution to academic relevance.

1.5.2 Social Value

It is reported that whenever conflict occurs, the social and economic sectors of residents' lifestyles is affected negatively. This study will seek to understand the social-economic characteristics defined by the native societies that are distracted by the fights and how these actions impact their livelihoods. Recommendations will focus on how these conflict can be prevented thus saving local livelihoods.

1.5.3 Policy Relevance

Laikipia County is a region occupied by the pastoral communities, ranchers who own wildlife conservancies and farmers. Most of the ranch owners are foreigners from Britain, Kenya's colonial master. These three inhabitant groups (pastoral communities, ranchers and farmers) show that land utilization and ownership in Laikipia County is primarily for agriculture and tourism. Therefore, the policies formulated by the authorities of the Laikipia County are designed to safeguard the interests of these groups. The reported

issues on land invasions indicate complexity on the control, ownership and distribution of land resource. This study will seek to offer relevant recommendations on how frameworks and policies can be put in place to improve the situation.

1.6 Hypotheses

1. Various actors in the conflict frame their claims in as far as they serve their own interests and needs.
2. The nature of conflicts have resulted into major impacts on livelihoods and the economy of the area and occupants.
3. The conflicts have a wider effect on straining inter-country relationships between Kenya and Britain.

1.7 Literature Review

1.7.1 Concept of Conflict

Conflict is a term that refers to an active disagreement between two or more parties due to opposition of ideas, opinions and interests and the situation may be aggravated into violent clashes. Clashes have their own distinct and peculiar qualities characterized by tensions and hostilities. The clashes between opposing sides are because of the differences in opinion and interest.⁸ Conflict and a dispute are often confused or used interchangeably but both terms have varying meanings. Precisely, the clash of aspirations or interests whether perceived or actual is the conflict. Conversely, a dispute refers to an immediate action of the parties in a conflict and it is the manifestation of an underlying conflict. The

⁸ Mansfield, E. and B. Pollins, (2003). 'Inter-dependence and Conflict: An Introduction', in E. Mansfield and B. Pollins (eds.) *Economic Interdependence and International Conflict: New Perspectives on an Enduring Debate*, University of Michigan Press, Michigan.

protracted disagreement between the parties creates tension due to perceived differences and when the issues are escalated they break into wars. Some of the common issues that have been known to fuel conflicts between parties are competition for natural resources, angry arguments, ethnicity, religious differences or divergent political, economic or social ideologies. The state of incompatibility of values, interests, needs or wants between two people has been identified as the primary cause of conflict.

Fisher and Shapiro argued that the conflicts emerge from the human needs theory and that if they are to be resolved then the needs have to be addressed in some way. The basis of conflicts is ignoring the concerns that people have over particular issues and allowing the discontent to develop into a dispute. The two theorists (Fisher and Shapiro) claim that conflicts are invoked by an emotional reaction into a situation that they are dissatisfied with about their competitor. These emotions of fear, anger, hate, frustration and disappointment as they signal disagreement thereby it shows a need to turn attention to negotiations rather than ignoring the emotions. The negotiations enable the conflicting parties to make efforts in resolving the differences. Fisher and Shapiro identified the five core concerns that are important in every negotiation; role, status, autonomy, affiliation and appreciation which are addressed during the process of conflict resolution⁹.

1.7.1.1 Different Claims and Causes of Conflicts

The nature of conflicts in different societies varies with the issues facilitating the conflict, the scope of the conflict and parties involved. In world wars and cold war's international conflicts have had strong universal dimensions where two or more states have

⁹ Fischer, F., and Shapiro, P., (2003). *Reframing Public Policy: Discursive Politics and Deliberative Practices*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, U.K.S

been involved¹⁰. The old wars revolved around ideological differences or competition for resources between states which ultimately broke into violence whereby armed forces were deployed in wars. However, in the course of 80s (1980s) and 90s (1990s) there was a shift in tactics whereby the new wars emerged. These inter-state wars involved organized violence that sought to trigger economic turmoil and weaken national sovereignty through globalization¹¹. This type of modern conflicts slows down economic growth by breaking trading ties, diverting humanitarian aid and introducing sanctions. The conflicts at international scope have mainly affected economic growth since they are aimed at slowing down development of a country. The ethnic and cultural conflicts are other types of conflicts that are dominant in many societies¹². The ethnic conflicts result from disagreement between ethnic groups and may break into war if the tensions are not addressed. The Balkan war and the Rwanda Genocide are examples of ethnic conflicts that emerged from hatred between ethnic groups and got propagated by political leaders. The ethnic conflict is based on primordial social theory that asserts the ethnic conflict originate from ancient group hatred and memories of past atrocities that lead the oppressed group to act violently against their competitor¹³.

According to a research conducted by Robst, Polachek and Chang on the causes of conflicts in the modern society, they indicated that conflicts are closely related to the

¹⁰ Barbieri, K., (1996). 'Economics Interdependence: A path to peace or a source of conflict?' *Journal of Peace Research*, 33: 29–50.

¹¹ Bryant, R.L., (1998). *Power, knowledge and political ecology in the third world: a review*. Prog. Phys. Geogr. 22, 79e94.

¹² Brown, O., Hammill, A., McLeman, R., (2007). Climate change as the new security threat: implications for Africa. *Int. Aff.* 83, 1141e1154.

¹³ Tyler, S.R., (1999). Stakeholder analysis and conflict management. In: Buckles, D. (Ed.), *Cultivating Peace. Conflict and Collaboration in Natural Resource Management*. International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, pp. 263-280.

nation's political system and economic conditions. The research also provided statistical analysis from the economists working for the World Bank on how the conflicts have affected most economies over the last decade¹⁴. Most countries undergoing conflicts such as Democratic Republic of Congo have poor development records and the level of insecurity is high which lowers the overall productivity of the country. The research also indicated that the predominant types of conflicts over the last decade are ethnic and civil conflicts. The civil and ethnic conflicts that have been building up for years often break into civil wars especially when natural resource distribution and political leadership aspects are among issues of disagreement. The findings have been reported in international reports on security and development, including the 2011 World Development. Based on the report, the international organizations such as UN have played a critical role in influencing conflict resolution, providing a neutral ground for negotiations and restoring management strategies¹⁵.

The other actor that causes conflicts is political aggression whereby people in power impose ideologies that trigger violence in the conflict prone communities. Whenever people want to rebel they are easily manipulated by their leaders into engaging into political protests as a means of forcefully having their way. The political systems are centers of leveraging grievances since a few individuals act as the voice of the majority that gave

¹⁴Robst, J, S. Polachek and Y. Chang , (2006). 'Geographic Proximity, Trade and International Conflict/Cooperation', *IZA Discussion Papers* 1988, Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA).

¹⁵ Li, M., Tost, L.P., Wade-Benzoni, K., (2013). The dynamic interaction of context and negotiator effects e a review and commentary on current and emerging areas in negotiation. *Int. J. Confl. Manag.* 18, 222e259.

them the mandate and they have a strong influence on the people. The grievances may include inequality, ethnic or religious divisions, political repression and injustice¹⁶.

The intense political contests that may be aligned on ethnic, ideological or religious grounds are a basis upon which a conflict builds and may be fuelled into violence by the leaders in-charge. Post-election conflict and political insecurity are the outcomes of such grievances and it has been experienced in countries such as Somalia and Kenya. Notably, the contemporary conflicts are driven overwhelmingly by ‘greed’ rather than ‘grievance’ whereby the economic issues are primary causes of conflicts compared to grievances and hatreds. Greed for possession or accumulation of wealth is evident in the modern society whereby most systems are characterized by corruption, unequal distribution of resources, slow economic growth and high income margins have constantly resulted into conflicts¹⁷.

1.7.1.2 Effects of Conflicts of Livelihoods and Economy

Hostilities that develop from civil conflicts between the competing parties fuel violence and the ultimate outcomes leave retrogressive marks in the lives of people. According to Opiyo et al. the presence of tensions between two communities living in conflict increases insecurity and fear as small provocation may signal attack¹⁸. In the event of violent attacks, there is loss of lives as people attack their countrymen using lethal arms. Living in an insecure region affects the productivity of the people as there are risks of being attacked. Among the effects of war outbreak are stealing of resources and destruction of

¹⁶ Barbieri, K., (1996). ‘Economics Interdependence: A path to peace or a source of conflict?’, *Journal of Peace Research*, 33: 29–50.

¹⁷ Li, M., Tost, L.P., Wade-Benzoni, K., (2013). The dynamic interaction of context and negotiator effects e a review and commentary on current and emerging areas in negotiation. *Int. J. Confl. Manag.* 18, 222e259.

¹⁸Opiyo, F.E., Wasonga, O.V., Schilling, J., Mureithi, S.M., (2012). Resource-based conflicts in drought-prone Northwestern Kenya: the drivers and mitigation mechanisms. *Wudpecker J. Agric. Res.* 1, 442e453.

property. Armed thugs attack and destroy property of people in efforts to flee them¹⁹ from the region especially if the resource under contention is land. In the case of protracted war involving groups competing for primary natural resources such as oil or diamonds, the intensity of the conflict is high as the rebel groups fight with the governments to maintain the assets and trade. For example, the residents of DRC Congo have been a victim of such conflicts over their natural resource-rich country that has many interested groups fighting to take advantage of the resources and it has consequently left most residents vulnerable.

Amani stated that the occurrence of civil wars affects the socio-economic aspects and development of a country²⁰. For instance, in Democratic Republic of Congo, the conflict over competition of natural resources has affected education, healthcare, work environment and transportation sectors thereby laming economic progress of the society. The emergence of the violent conflicts led to shut down of healthcare facilities, transportation networks and institutions of learning. The residents were displaced from their homes in the event of the perennial attacks and most ended up in refugee camps. It is alleged that the conflict contributed negative impacts on the native societies as it aggravated levels of poverty and to a large extent creating the refugee problem. Proliferation of arms has been attributed to economic violence as the arms increases the risks of the conflicts whereby the armed groups form radical groups that attack other communities. The history of such conflict is significant, as the nations that have

¹⁹ King, G and W. Lowe, (2003). ‘An Automated Information Extraction Tool For International Conflict Data with Performance as Good as Human Coders: A Rare Events Evaluation Design’, *International Organization*, 57(3) (July): 617–642.

²⁰ Amani Labda, (2011). Joint evaluation of conflict prevention and peace building in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

experienced violent conflict in the last ten years have a very high chance of recurrence²¹. This instance may be because the same structural factors that initially predisposed conflict often continue and mobilizing people through group memories is more effective with a history of conflict.

1.7.2 Conflicts and Foreign Relations between States

The origin of the conflicts that are in most cases regional bound or inter-state has an implication on the foreign relations between countries. The emergence of conflicts becomes a concern between two or more nations whenever their citizens are directly or indirectly involved in a conflict. A direct involvement is whereby the foreigners are subjected to discrimination or unfair treatment by the hosting country and may pose risks to their lives or property. An indirect involvement may be an instance where foreigners visiting the countries as tourists are subjected to the extremities of ongoing violence and the state does not ensure their security²². Both of these incidents may strain the foreign relations between states and it may consequently affect the interaction and relationship between the two states since the interests of both parties are not honored as agreed in their memorandum of understanding or agreement pacts²³. The hosting country has to ensure the foreigners' rights are protected and that they are entitled to rights as other citizens to avoid being taken advantage of despite their nationality. In the event of conflicts that are associated with different ethnic nationalities in the area that pursue different economic

²¹Mohamud, M. &Rutu, P. (2005). *Closed to Progress: An Assessment of the Socio- economic Impact of Conflict on Pastoral Economies in Kenya and Uganda*. Nairobi: Practical Action.

²² Mansfield, E. and B. Pollins, (2003). 'Interdependence and Conflict: An Introduction', in E. Mansfield and B. Pollins (eds.) *Economic Interdependence and International Conflict: New Perspectives on an Enduring Debate*, University of Michigan Press, Michigan.

²³ King, G and W. Lowe, (2003). 'An Automated Information Extraction Tool For International Conflict Data with Performance as Good as Human Coders: A Rare Events Evaluation Design', *International Organization*, 57(3) (July): 617–642.

ways of life, the authorities should ensure justice is administered while quelling the conflicts.

The foreign relations between nations are beneficial to both countries since they are engaged in trade ties and cooperation in international economics. The occurrence of civil conflicts has an adverse result on global relations as the foreign policies of the two warring countries differ. Therefore, no mutual agreements between the two countries which mean their previous transactions and interactions are withheld until a resolution is achieved²⁴. The economy of each or either of the country may adversely be affected if they were trading partners since trade forms a foundation of good international relations. There is a high correspondence between interdependence and trade citing that a significant factor of interdependence is brought about by trade. Thus, it is consequently essential for different nations to consistently honor foreign rules meant to protect their international relations and bring into line quick measures to deal with any conflict when need be.

In Rwanda, conflicts over natural resources destabilized the country for years. One of the most brilliant examples is Rwanda where complexities linked with land scarcities have been connected to conflict on a genocidal scale. Natural and artificial considerations seem to have coalesced. A study on land scarcity in the country, Jean Bigagaza and others have generated statistics that have shown a big implication on the position of Rwanda, as it had managed to destabilize the whole country with unending civil wars and tribes

²⁴Gasiorowski, M. and S. Polachek, (1982). 'Conflict and interdependence: East West trade and linkages in the era of détente', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 26: 709–730.

exterminating others. This led to travel bans and advisories against Rwanda, and thus affecting the economy to a great extent.

On November 2017, the Tanzanian government ordered the sale (By auction) of cattle owned by Kenyan farmers that were grazing on Tanzanian lands. These cattle were being grazed by innocent unsuspecting farmers who had crossed the border in search of greener pastures. This action also stirred a diplomatic row between the Kenyan authorities and the Tanzanian authorities. The Tanzanian government was unapologetic for the actions, as the cattle were grazing on Tanzanians resources, while the Kenyan government expected a formal response or even an apology. This led to a conflict between the Kenyans living along the borderline, and the Tanzanians.

Another crisis as a result of resources is the Migingo Island, in the Lake Victoria, which has caused a diplomacy row between the Kenya and Uganda governments. African states adopted the colonial boundaries and agreed to respect them. The poorly marked boundaries have seen many countries go to war with rising cases being filed at the UN. Migingo Island is among such countries facing territorial disputes. The conflict has seen Kenyan and Ugandan fishermen clash over space on the Island. In addition, security forces for both countries have been in tussle over control of the island. Since both countries claimed ownership, there was need to use diplomacy and other conflict management mechanisms in solving the standoff. One of the intervention measures was survey of the island. However, this has taken long hence delaying the verdict on true ownership of Migingo Island. This in itself could be a serious cause of conflict.

1.7.3 Historical Conflicts in Laikipia

Located about 220 km along the Northern part of Nairobi along the slopes of Mt. Kenya in the semi-arid section of Rift Valley. It is a diversified region of dry pastoralism in the low lying arid zones that has a great farming capacity. The Laikipia conflicts have involved the Turkana communities of Isiolo and Samburu counties, the Samburu community and the Pokot and Tugen communities of the Baringo communities²⁵. According to Letai Kenyan political elections are a factor that plays in the emergence of conflicts in Laikipia whereby some politicians fuel the unresolved land-based grievances²⁶. Reportedly, most of the conflicts involving the invasion of ranches have been conducted during the dry months of the year, between January and April²⁷. These instances have led to some researchers concluding that the inadequate pasture among the pastoralists might be a factor pushing them to engage in land invasions.

After independence in most African states, the period of neocolonialism set in where a few African elites took charge or redistribution schemes that rewarded communities and individuals unfairly. In Kenyan context and particularly the Laikipia region, most of the Kenyans who were lucky were resettled to the west while others remained landless. The northern side of Laikipia was occupied by groups that collectively owned freehold land titles and often created group ranches. Most of the British settlers retained their private ranches in Kenya even after independence under a 99-year lease for

²⁵Mkutu, K.A., (2008). Guns and Governance in the Rift Valley: Pastoralist Conflict and Small Arms

²⁶ Ibid

²⁷Eriksen, S., Lind, J.,(2009). Adaptation as a political process: adjusting to drought and conflict in Kenya's drylands. *Environ. Manage.* 43, 817e835.

the foreigners²⁸. Some of the private ranches were originally conservations for the wildlife, while for others the community set up the conservancies²⁹. Consistently the Maasai community has aired their grievances and need for compensation or return of their land. New land policies provide a resolution process for these claims, as they are morally legitimate³⁰. Therefore, conflict development in Laikipia has been characterized by tensions because of some social activities like propagation of weapons, cattle raiding and also land tenure arrangements on historical injustices.

According to a study conducted by Hendrickson, Mearns and Armon, pastoralists claim that most of the land reserved for wildlife conservancies is their ancestral land that was taken by the British imperialists and never compensated even after independence³¹. Specifically, the Maasai Community were credibly evacuated out of the Rift Valley region as well as from Laikipia and pushed further to settle around the Tanzanian border in a place called Maasai Mara³². This relocation is a contentious issue to date, since the Maasai still practice livestock keeping and inadequate grazing land makes them believe their land dispute issue has never been resettled fairly³³. As initial inhabitants of the fertile Rift Valley region that was later taken as the “White Highlands” for the settlers, the Maasai were forced by the British into land tenure arrangements that took away their land without fair

²⁸ Bond, J.,(2013). Communication and Conflict: the Case of Laikipia County, Kenya. Retrieved from: <http://www.inter-disciplinary.net/critical-issues/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/jbondbilpaper.pdf>

²⁹Mkutu, KA. (2010). Complexities of livestock raiding in Karamoja. *Nomadic Peoples* 14(2): 87–105.

³⁰Opiyo, F.E., Wasonga, O.V., Schilling, J., Mureithi, S.M., (2012). Resource-based conflicts in drought-prone Northwestern Kenya: the drivers and mitigation mechanisms

³¹ Hendrickson, D., Mearns, R., Armon, J.,(1996). Livestock raiding among the pastoral Turkana of Kenya e redistribution, predation and the links to famine. *IDS Bull.- Inst. Dev. Stud.* 27, 17e30.

³² Brockington, D., (2001). Communal property and degradation narratives: debating the Sukuma immigration into Rukwa region, Tanzania. *Les. Cah.* 20, 1e22.

³³Nyaoro, J.R. (1999). Case study on Kenya river watershed management and arising conflicts.

compensation³⁴. In Laikipia County, 50% of the land is held by the ranch owners, some other parts has been bought by investors and resold to various stakeholders who are not initial residents, while the small-scale land holders who have settled outside the conservancies³⁵.

The residents of the Laikipia County are individuals owning sub-divided ranches of over 239,000 acres. The abandoned lands of over 85,000 titleholders of the absentee landowners mostly from the Central Province have owned the plots since 1980s upon purchasing them from the land holding companies³⁶. The Pokot, Maasai, Samburu and Turkana pastoralist groups occupy the lands which are unsuitable for cultivation. The semi-arid and arid climate has made the region unsuitable for farming despite the 85,000 land subdivisions. The nature of the climate in the region has discouraged settlement thereby leaving the open land for use by the pastoralists. Land as a resource has been in a poor state of management and economic development, thus leading to the under-development and recurring conflict and tension for pastoralist³⁷.

³⁴ Campbell, I., Dalrympole, S., Craig, R., Crawford, A. (2009). Climate Change and Conflict. Lessons from Community Conservancies in Northern Kenya.

³⁵ Krätli, S, and J Swift. (2003). Understanding and managing pastoral conflict in Kenya. Sussex: University of Sussex.

³⁶ Ulrich, A., Ifejika Speranza, C., Roden, P., Kiteme, B., Wiesmann, U., Nüsser, M., (2012). Small-scale farming in semi-arid areas: livelihood dynamics between 1997 and 2010 in Laikipia, Kenya

³⁷ Gadd, M.E., (2005). Conservation outside of parks: attitudes of local people in Laikipia, Kenya. *Environmental Conservation*, 32(1), pp.50-63

1.8 Theoretical Framework

1.8.1 Resource Scarcity Theory

In pastoral area, the theory of resource scarcity is evident, where conflict between societies has usually remained associated with rivalry over limited resources and invariably famine owing to its contribution on resource exhaustion. The resource scarce theory was developed by Thomas Homer-Dixon. According to Homer-Dixon when renewable resources reduce because of whatever causes, aggravation emerges and it subsequently forms complaints in contradiction of the state policies, it deteriorates the nation, public community gets a chance to instigate an uprising. Nevertheless, the belief that environmental change as well as subsequent resource shortage positively influence violent war has been contested by the belief that war truly correspond with times of resource profusion³⁸. This opposing opinions align with the non-deterministic connection between resource handiness and battles and, so, the intricacy of pastoral wars. Whereas concentrating on famine influenced wars over grazing possessions, this study seeks to determine the issues that prompt and spread violent wars in the Laikipia region. Competition for scarce resources, accounts for greater part of Kenya conflict.

The scarce resources in question include water and grazing land. Pastoralist way of life requires effective management of dry season grazing areas for the pastoral system to function effectively. The pastoralists' socio-economic activities and way of life has adversely been affected by the loss of access to key grazing areas because most open land has been alienated for other uses such as ranching. Pastoralist societies that commonly use

³⁸ Berger R. (2003). 'Conflict over Natural Resources among Pastoralists in Northern Kenya: a look at recent initiatives in Conflict Resolution'. *J. Int. Dev.*, 15(2): 245-257.

resources controlled by an exclusive and multifaceted occupancy characterizes an abundant capacity for determined violent wars in the deficiency of handy resource administration institutions³⁹. Other than the Turkana and Pokot societies, the zone provides habitual dry and wet periods feeding ground for different cultural communities like the Samburu.

1.8.2 Classical Conflict Theory

Classical conflict theory asserts that a conflict may arise where there is unequal distribution of a resource as a class of few individual's exploit resources at the expense of the majority. One of the major sources of class conflicts is due to exploitation of one group by the other. This type of battle develops out of a particular class defining itself greater and attempting to take over another for its identifiable interests. The kind of gains could be communal status, sacred aims, or political control or economic benefits. In regards to the Marxist model conflict between classes, are influenced by contrary resource gains⁴⁰. Two key levels can be defined in a capitalist culture. The process of manufacture like factories and land are controlled by a group of individuals where the middle class retains the wealth and quantifiable resources necessary for expansive production. The employees offer work in exchange stem from bigger manufacture. The employees give labour in exchange arise from the proprietorship of the methods of manufacture. The corporate groups control the waged group while waiting for the latter form to complaint misuse. This kind of misuse is the leading foundation of class of ranchers leaving the pastoral communities in struggle for grazing land can be attributed to cause of conflict.

³⁹ Ho-won Jeong.,(1999). Theories of Conflict, edi. by Lester Kurtz, Encyclopedia of Violence Peace and Conflict Vol. 3. , Academic Press, London, p.511

⁴⁰ Kenneth Boulding., (1963) *Conflict and Defense: A General Theory*. Harper and Row Publishers, New York pg. 4.

1.8.3 Framing Conflict Theory

Frames are cognitive shortcuts that help in presenting complex information on social phenomenon through filtering human perceptions in a coherent way that can be understood easily. The framing theory explains the social construction on way societies, groups or individuals perceive, communicate or organize a various sets of concepts⁴¹. The framing theory gives meaning to some aspects of a conflict through creating mutually incompatible interpretations of events. The frames differ in different ways since they are built upon underlying structures of experiences, values and beliefs. The framing theory emphasizes on the importance of conscious processing of information for decision making since it has an effect on the subsequent actions of an individual. The framing concept bears social theoretical perspective whereby the processes of thoughts or interpersonal communication draws mental interpretations and representations that influence people's perceptions⁴². For instance, framing theory is employed in political scene whereby the political leaders use the mass media to influence the perceptions of the larger community into embracing their ideologies. Government leaders edge matters through a mechanism that formulates a resolution supporting their individual political oriented to seem like the best applicable option of act for the present circumstance.

Framing concept relies on communication to help in conflict resolution since it advocates for interpersonal interactions and its potential impact in conflict. The edging theoretical perspective is developed through alignment with negotiated order theory,

⁴¹Druckman, J.N., (2001). The Implications of Framing Effects for Citizen Competence. *Political Behavior*. 23 (3):225-56.

⁴² Goffman, E., (1974). *Frame Analysis: An easy on the organization of experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

speech accommodation theory and speech act theory⁴³. Framing could be seen as either constructive or destructive which relies on kind of information being given and the audience. The framing takes two major forms; either emphasis frames or equivalence frames. Emphasis frames involves simplifying reality through concentrating on the subset of the related factors of a circumstance. Conversely, equivalence frames refer to portraying two or more frames that are logically equivalent alternatives. The correspondence frames create a reference-dependent perception since the information being passed on is founded on the similar evidences however, the structure within which it is offered variations. Framing theory is evident in the situations whereby people rely on understanding and their reactions are based on certain stereotypes in the society. The cultural influences and beliefs that may be contradicting inhibit the stereotypes that may be the cause of conflicts and the choices made by the members in handling the concerns are predisposed by their creation of a frame that may be positive or negative.

1.9 Research Methodology

The research was carried by the procedure of a descriptive and analytical research design. Furthermore, the investigation employed mixed methods whereby both quantitative and qualitative data was collected and analyzed. This section therefore provides a critical description of the procedures that was used by the investigator when carrying out the research. The main mechanisms for research methodology are documentation of the target group, research design and the sampling method.

⁴³ Ibid

A descriptive type of research involves critical investigation of the quantitative data upon collection. Then data is evaluated so as to define the exact sensation in its present tendencies, present actions and connections between diverse issues at the present time⁴⁴. Moreover, the investigator has to define the suitable data gathering approaches. Before carrying the study, the investigator has to obey to moral aspects. In sample of the data being gathered, they have to define the validity and reliability of data being gathered.

The analytical research design was deployed because of its ability provide a detailed breakdown of the quantitative data which is presented in tables and graphs for easy interpretation. The quantitative data includes inclusion of arithmetical statistics that are examined through statistical approaches. On the other hand, qualitative research involves photographs, observations or words instead of arithmetical data as it evaluates why and how occurrences emerged. The analytical method has been accredited because of the detail that it lets examination of the associations of variables being explored in the study.

1.9.1 Target Population

A target population refers to that population which a researcher wants to involve in collecting data for their study. Target population for the study included the members of local communities living in Laikipia region, county government, ranch owners, experts on conflict management, as well as other individuals working in the Laikipia County.

⁴⁴Hseih, H., Shannon, S.E., (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qual. Health Res.* 15, 1277e1288.

1.9.2 Sampling Procedure

This research used the following sampling procedures to select a sample from the target population: the researcher applied purposive sampling to sample the respondents for this study. From each of the location in Laikipia, the researcher purposively sampled one chief, one county officer, and one reservist. Then the researcher sampled two local residents from each of the locations in Laikipia.

1.9.3 Data Collection

The study used quantitative and also qualitative methods to gather primary and secondary data. The primary data was collected through administration of questionnaires which means the researcher employed either telephone or face to face approach. Additionally, the researcher conducted interviews that were directly administered to the respondents within the area of study. Secondary sources employed in the study included government publications, journals, books, articles, newspapers and online websites.

1.9.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis of the information gathered from the questionnaires was done. The technique that was used to analyze the qualitative approach is breaking down the information in the form of themes, generalize common themes and point out differing themes as well. The findings were analyzed and presented thematically with the themes developed from the research questions and research hypothesis.

1.9.5 Ethical Considerations

The study ensured that there is confidentiality and that the privacy of the respondents was highly maintained. This was made possible by ensuring no personal

information of the clients that was noted down. Confidentiality makes the respondents feel comfortable and free to provide the right and unbiased information since no follow ups on them that can be made based on their responses. The information obtained was exclusively be used for this research purpose only and would not be unveiled to any third party unless required to do so by the law.

1.10 Thesis Outline

Chapter one has looked at the basis of the study, statement of the problem, objectives and methods for data collection on the Laikipia Conflict. The researcher has identified the general objective of the study as an investigation on the complexities of natural resource conflicts in Kenya with the key focus being Laikipia conflict. This main objective has been broken down to three specific objectives which include: assessment of the various actors, discourses and claims behind the recent Laikipia conflict, the effects of the Laikipia conflict in relation to the county's natural resources, livelihoods of local communities and conservancies and the implications of the conflict to the foreign relations between Britain and Kenya. These three objectives will be discussed in detail upon collecting data. The research employed a descriptive and analytical research design. A mixed method that includes both qualitative and quantitative data was applied. The researcher collected primary data through administering questionnaires and conducting interviews from the participants. More so, the secondary sources such as government publications, journals and books were used in gathering data.

Chapter two critically focuses on the various actors, discourses and claims behind the recent Laikipia conflict. The section further investigates the factors that have triggered conflicts between the local communities, the ranchers and the farmers in the Laikipia

region. The study provides insights on how the competition for natural resource for grazing the pastoral livestock has contributed to the conflicts in the region. Furthermore, the research assesses how cultural practices of different local communities in the region and surrounding areas have contributed to the Laikipia conflict. Through this study the researcher gives an understanding on the nature, causes and underlying forces of the Laikipia conflict. The socio-cultural and economic issues that cause and trigger violence among the communities within the region will be assessed and discussed extensively within this chapter.

Chapter three investigates the effects of the Laikipia Conflict in relation to the country's natural resources, livelihoods of local communities and conservancies. The researcher also seeks to investigate the motive of property destruction and why they occur during the dry months. Notably, the section will also investigate the effects of the conflict in the tourism sector. Importantly, the human-wildlife conflict has resulted in destruction of livelihoods for the farmers within the areas proximity to wildlife corridors.

Chapter four determines the implications of the conflict to the foreign relations between Kenya and Britain. Through this section, the researcher focuses on the potentially strained relationship between the two nations and project measures to enhance better foreign relations with Britain. Chapter five gives the summary of the findings, conclusions of the study, and recommendations on areas for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

ACTORS, DISCOURSES AND CLAIMS BEHIND THE LAIKIPIA CONFLICT

2.1 Introduction

Laikipia being a home to wildlife provided a serene environment for establishing conservancies for the wild animals, hence several group ranches were set up leading to more land under ranching thus reducing grazing land. In this group ranching system, a group of individuals together owned ownership title to land. These ranches were established mainly in the north whereas some white settlers ranchers from the period of colonization preserved their land. These were either previous farms that moved into wildlife administration or were established by a society. This made Laikipia to have wealth of wildlife and these zones acted as a system of public-private Corporation with the Kenya Wildlife Service. To date, these private ranches have been mandated by the Kenya Wildlife Service to govern Kenya's wildlife and provide tourism chances which entices premium prices.

2.2 History and Chronology of the Current Laikipia Conflict



Figure 1: Map of Laikipia County

Laikipia County is located within the central part of the country and covers an area of 9,462 square kilometers which translates to 1.6% of the country: It is a significant example of the smallest counties in Kenya. The County borders Meru to the South, Samburu County to the North, Nyandarua and Nakuru Counties to the Southwest, Baringo County to the West and Isiolo to the Northeast. The topography of the county is dominated by gently undulating plateau buildup of extensive lava flow. The county in terms of its landscape can be characterized consisting of fertile arable land, dry and arid land with agriculture forming the dominant economic activity. This is partly because Laikipia forms the upper catchment

area of the Ewaso N'giro River. Apart from agriculture most of the residents are pastoralists and is well known because of the never ending conflicts with ranchers⁴⁵.

2.2.1 Historical Background of the Conflict

During the early 20th century, the inhabitants of the fertile Rift Valley region were displaced by the British from their ancestral pasture land towards what is now Maasai Mara region which is conjoined with the Serengeti plains of Tanzania⁴⁶. In 1911, the British identified the need for establishing wildlife conservancies within Laikipia region and from this urge they further pushed the Maasai community from Laikipia region to the southern parts of Kenya. In part of the agreements with the Maasai, the British colonialists resettled them into two reserves set up in Laikipia⁴⁷. In 1911, the fertile Laikipia plateau in the northern reserve was removed and the semi-arid Ngong in the southern reserve was expanded. Since 1913 Maasai were limited to 40,000 km² of the southern Loiet plains. The Rift Valley highlands were then reserved for the white settlers. The Maasai elders were promised that they would retain the reserves for their pastoral livelihoods a promise that was never honored. More to that, Laikipia which was also home to Samburu, Turkana, and the Pokot was also repatriated and protected as the white settlers parsed out the tracts of land for rearing the beef and dairy cattle and other for conservancies⁴⁸.

⁴⁵Munene, M.,(2015). *Historical Reflections on Kenya: Intellectual Adventurism, Politics and International Relations*. University of Nairobi Press.

⁴⁶Letai, J., (2011). Land Deals in Kenya: The Genesis of Land Deals in Kenya and its Implication on Pastoral Livelihoods_a Case Study of Laikipia District, 2011. Retrieved from: <http://landportal.info/>.

⁴⁷Anderson, D. and Lochery, E., (2008). Violence and exodus in Kenya's Rift Valley, 2008: predictable and preventable?. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 2(2), pp.328-343.

⁴⁸ Gadd, M.E., (2005). Conservation outside of parks: attitudes of local people in Laikipia, Kenya. *Environmental Conservation*, 32(1), pp.50-63.

The idea of wildlife conservancies was integrated by the white settlers upon realization that beef cattle had lower returns due to falling market prices. Therefore, the white settlers turned the ranches into wildlife conservancies and constructed luxurious accommodation facilities such as lodges for tourists. This diversification made Laikipia a major tourist destination whereby tourists from other parts of the world come to enjoy wildlife and the beautiful scenery⁴⁹. These conservancies were established because of combination of numerous society and privately owned ranches that are currently used as wildlife conservancies as well as for eco-tourism.

The fact that the land that was initially used as grazing land by the local communities was reduced and occupied by the ranches did not go well with the locals. Over the years, due to increased population growth and industrialization of the region, the vast land that they used to traverse easily with their animals to graze was reduced in size. This consequently resulted into scarcity of grazing land for their animals hence leading to invasion of private land and private ranches a clear indication of complex web of issues among the involved communities in and around Laikipia County⁵⁰.

This issue of pastoral invasion of the ranches has been associated with unequal re-distribution of resources an aspect that may be triggering the conflicts. The preservations have influenced war with certain nearby societies. First, the land redistribution schemes that were expected to ensure the individual land rights were reinstated after independence

⁴⁹Munene, M., (2015). *Historical Reflections on Kenya: Intellectual Adventurism, Politics and International Relations*. University of Nairobi Press.

⁵⁰ Bond, J., (2013). Communication and Conflict: the Case of Laikipia County, Kenya. Retrieved from: <http://www.inter-disciplinary.net/critical-issues/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/jbondbilpaper.pdf>

failed to meet the expectations of the local communities. The land in Laikipia has been under historical grievances due to the fact that the local communities that lost land to the colonialists were not compensated. Instead, most of the lands were set up for conservancies and ranches that are owned by foreigners and some influential political leaders⁵¹. The disgruntled communities that practice pastoralism have learned to express their discontent by invading the ranches which they believe exist at the expense of their livestock that are struggling to survive with the harsh climatic conditions. The issues of historical injustices such as land grabbing and displacement that dates back to colonial period have formed the bedrock of the conflict⁵². There is expansive disparity in Laikipia between those who gain the interests of wildlife and those who suffer the costs (losses). This aspect of inadequate land for pasture has led to the violent conflict which has been manifested in form of land invasions and attack of private conservancies, ranches and lodges. More to that, several other widely known constant factors have accelerated the conflict. These include reduced land for grazing, population increase and land tenure arrangements.

The failure to compensate the original land owners led to building up of tensions over the years resulting to violent conflict. Importantly, the presence of wildlife has posed another threat to the surrounding local communities. On many occasion wild animals such as leopards and lions have strayed into the grazing land. According to John Leornare a Maasai resident living in Laikipia County, 2 stray lions killed 40 of his sheep in his compound in the year 2016. The sentiments were echoed by Karaorel a Samburu resident

⁵¹Wakhungu, J., Huggins, C., &Nyukuri, E. (2008). Land tenure and violent conflict in Kenya. *African Centre for Technology Studies, Nairobi Kenya*.

⁵²Munene, M., (2015). *Historical Reflections on Kenya: Intellectual Adventurism, Politics and International Relations*. University of Nairobi Press.

who claimed that lions and leopards have always posed a danger to the people⁵³. These incidents have not gone well with the local residents who have been forced to retaliate through hunting and killing these wild animals. Moreover, on many occasions, animals such as elephants and zebras have destroyed crops cultivated by small-scale agriculturalists found around the wildlife conservancies. Such scenarios mean that the conflicts between the local communities and the ranchers may persist if not resolved amicably between the two parties.

The loss of ancestral land to British Imperialists in the 1920s in Laikipia and Rift Valley that was initially occupied by the Maasai community bred historical grievances over land in the region. It is alleged that the Maasai community were coerced into signing land agreement treaties between them and the British colonialists. This was with an aim of resettling the Maasai community. At the time, the Rift valley region was lowly populated and huge tracts of land was unoccupied. This provided room for the Maasai community to move freely with their large herds of cattle. After the independence in 1963, the white settlers surrendered most of the white highlands. However, the original inhabitants expected their ancestral land to be returned to them under the then tenure land system. Nevertheless, under the first African government in the land, the politicians served their self-interests by rewarding the fertile lands to their tribes. Still, this did not trigger conflicts from the pastoral communities since the Laikipia plans provided adequate pasture and water for their livestock as they practiced nomadic pastoralism.

⁵³The Standard. (2018). *Incidents of conflict between wildlife and human*. Retrieved at: <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000060823/lion-killed-kenyan-villagers-mauled>

2.2.2 Conflict Transformation

The emergence of current conflicts being experienced in Laikipia County did not emerge spontaneously but rather they are a result of aggravation of multiple factors. These factors range from historical grievances, unfair tenure arrangements, political incitements, to droughts. The progressive transformation of the conflict in Laikipia can be understood by tracing the origin of the conflict which begins by displacement of the original inhabitants by the British colonialists.

Notably, the conflicts take different dimensions. This involves human-wildlife conflict, ranchers-pastoralists conflicts and pastoralists-farmer's conflicts. Initially, the conflict was mainly in form of cattle raids and ethnic conflicts over grazing land. However, the recent conflict that has been characterized by land invasions on the ranches and conservancies shows how the conflict transformation to a new wave of conflict and violence. Since 2006 land invasions by the pastoralists, the conflict is affirming the complex situation that the British ranches are being targeted. On the other hand, local communities living around these ranches have been facing threats of wild animals attacking their crops and their cattle animals, and sometimes reiterating and killing some of these animals.

2.2.3 Emergence of Violent Attacks and Invasions

The recent spate of violence has seen the group ranch owners and the small land holders being victims at the hands of nomadic pastoralists during the dry months of between January and April. The heavily armed pastoralists from Samburu, Baringo and Isiolo counties have invaded their lands with thousands of livestock, chased them out of their homes, and made it impossible for them to return. Based on the nomadic behavior of

these pastoral communities that have been streaming into Laikipia County with their livestock, it is evident that harsh climatic conditions have been influencing such attacks. However, to some extent the use of violence that has led to destruction of property and loss of innocent lives shows there might be hidden motives behind the invasions. The attack was the newest in a succession of raids on private possessions in drought stricken Laikipia.

Previously (Over the last few months), livestock herders have attacked comfort cottages, farms, and conservancies in pursuit of fresh grass for their livestock. This includes the recent violent attacks where armed bandits attacked a luxurious Mukutan Lodge and put it on fire on March 31, 2017. The lodge was owned by an Italian Conservationist and it resulted to the death of the owner of the ranch (Kuki Gallmann) and his daughter⁵⁴. Ms Gallmann possesses approximately 360 sq km in Laikipia, which is home to keep wildlife, birds and trees. She as well has an organization which runs community, education, arts and sports projects. As underlined invasion of ranches and private property in Laikipia region has been more prevalent due to drought as pastoral communities' move in search of grazing land. Most of the pastoral communities are also armed with small arms which further complicate the situation leading to higher rates of insecurity in recent months especially among big landowners and smallholders. Recent police task that left 100 cattle dead in the conservancy may have evoked the retaliation of the pastoral communities with some herders accusing the police of attempting to move them from the land by gun firing their

⁵⁴The Times, (2018). Tribesmen burn down author's lodge. Retrieved from <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/tribesmen-burn-down-authors-lodge-s7csnt2db>

cattle. Police report that the cattle were murdered in clash with the herders, as they used the animals as defenses.

Another incident that emerged in March 2017 was the invasion of Sosian Ranch owned by a British Rancher. The headers invaded the ranch and launched attack leading to killing of the white manager Tristan Voorspuy. Additionally, the attack resulted into destruction of property through burning down of private lodges. Such spate of recent incidents of violence has always been condemned by the leaders from the region. British farm owners laid their accused Kenyan authorities' lukewarm reply to the battles for the constant increase that currently has triggered damage of belongings valued millions of shillings. The Laikipia Farmers' Association that embodies the large property-owners – alleged the attacks had resulted in termination of five tourism resorts and left one person dead.

In January 29, 2018, armed men drove cattle onto Suyian ranch, set buildings at the property's lodge alight on two consecutive nights, causing millions of shillings in damages and forcing the business to close indefinitely. Following that, the government deployed 320 officers from police service, 420 administration police (AP) alongside GSU and Anti Stock Theft Unit (ASTU) to secure private property. However, despite this, the damage had already occurred.

These attacks brought about the mass exodus of the European ranch owners, who left the country for fear of their lives. The British High Commission had failed to communicate with the ministry before issuing an update on the situation, which caused tourists to leave. It also led to travel advisories which in turn affected the rates of tourism

influx into Kenya, from these countries. Tourism was once Kenya's top foreign exchange recipient, but has been deteriorating over the years.

2.3 Actors behind the Laikipia Conflict

The main actors in the Laikipia conflict complex include:

2.3.1 Local Communities

Laikipia County is composed of communities who practice pastoralism and farmers who practice agriculture in small and large scale. The initial occupants of the land prior to expulsion by the British Imperialists were the Maasai who primarily practiced pastoralism. Also, the farmers of different tribes such as the Tugen, Nandi and Pokot that had initially occupied the Rift Valley region were also driven out to set out land for White Settlers.⁵⁵ Initially, the Maasai occupied central Kenya a zone of around 155,000km² in the central of Rift valley from Mt. Elgon and the Loryu Plateau in the North to Kibaya in Tanzania in the south.

The recent onset of conflicts also involved pastoralists attacking farmers besides the ranchers through driving their livestock into their farms. During the dry months, the pastoralists from the surrounding counties such as the Samburu from Baringo County and the Pokot of the West Pokot County drive their large herds of livestock into Laikipia County in search of pasture and water as they have been used to historically. For the smallholder farmers their crops are destroyed by the herds of livestock that are driven into the farms and also their crops are destroyed by the wild animals when they get out of the conservancies. Since 2012 herders have been driving thousands of animals into the ranches,

⁵⁵ Peter V (2010). Focus on Land in Africa. Brief: History of Land conflicts in Kenya

mostly owned by Kenyans of British nationality. Amidst the ongoing crisis, the varied arrangement of the contemporary land use in Laikipia County repeats a complex past of people's activity and settlement.

2.3.2 Ranchers

Private ranches (Mukutan, Sosian Ranch Suyian ranch, etc) occupy more than half of the land in Laikipia County with foreigners owning thousands of acres, which they use in wildlife conservation and livestock keeping. Following the occupation of the lands which original inhabitants were evacuated by the white settlers, ranching was introduced in the Laikipia plains as one of the major economic activity in the region. Ranches are an important source of beef for both local use and export. However, due to declining market prices for beef most of the ranches were converted into wildlife conservancies⁵⁶.

Commercial ranching began in Kenya about 70 years ago. These ranches are owned by individuals or groups of persons who have formed companies, partnerships or co-operatives, and are distinctly land-oriented, market dependent management system that is organized primarily to satisfy outside consumers living mainly in urban centres. They may have a freehold or leasehold land tenure. The ranchers indicated that most of the ranches in Laikipia had a leasehold of up to 999 years, starting from around 1919. These ranches were mainly concerned with fattening immature cows brought from North Eastern Province of Kenya for sale and subsequent slaughter.

⁵⁶ Fox, G.R., (2018). Maasai group ranches, minority land owners, and the political landscape of Laikipia County, Kenya. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 12(3), pp.473-493.

Laikipia's land tenure and land use property arrangements have undergone two fundamental transitions over the past 100 years. The contemporary land tenure mosaic is the result of these profound property transitions. The first involved transition from communally managed customary tenure to large-scale private property predicated on statutory tenure. Another involved a transition to small-scale subdivided plots created from some of these former large-scale ranches in the post-independence period. Opportunistic pastoral settlement and use of resources on properties held by absentee land owners has emerged as one of the most significant geographical issues in the rangelands of Laikipia. The term abandoned land gained prominence to refer to lands legally held by absentee owners where the legal owner is not present to prevent trespass onto the property or to secure and defend the natural resources of the property from use by others.

Open ranches such as Oljogi, Borana and Solio are widely known for rearing breeds of cattle for beef for both local consumption and export. The county also benefits from tourism due to the many wildlife conservancies and ranches. Because of its assorted wildlife, it's one of the top destinations for local and foreign tourists. Tourist attraction sites include; conservancy, Thomson falls, Laikipia Plateau reserve, ole Pejeta among others. Tourism has huge impacts on communities globally especially in emerging countries and is considered as a main instrument of growth and a method of enhancing the lifestyles⁵⁷. It is a main economic practice in certain societies yet, the effects of tourism to a society are not broadly understood, even where tourism is developing naturally and ought to be of the great attention or concern. Economically tourism makes capital and employment

⁵⁷Letai, J., (2011), April. Land deals in Kenya: The genesis of land deals in Kenya and its implication on pastoral livelihoods—A case study of Laikipia District, 2011. In *International Conference on Global Land Grabbing*, Brighton, UK (pp. 6-8).

opportunities but the capital disappears from the public and the opportunities are mostly low class. From the socio-cultural perspective, tourism engages people together from various families, cultures and civilizations, which promotes national peace.

2.3.3 National and the County Governments of Laikipia

Historically, the land grievances have been directed towards the national government that assumed power at independence as it failed to fairly compensate the local communities their ancestral land. Cattle keeping sector in Kenya has been neglected by the consequent governments in Kenya opting to promote money-making yields like coffee and tea that are great trade exchange earners. Behnke⁵⁸ confers since Kenya gained freedom private land owners were projected to claim their belongings and a redeployment systems to take place⁵⁹. Nevertheless, after independence and contrary to the earlier promise to resettle them, land was in its place given to a small number of political leaders and many natives were relocated to farms in the west even as some stayed landless. This evidently illuminates the low status of growth and higher rates of illiteracy between pastoral communities in Laikipia and much of northern Kenya.

Promulgation of the new constitution in August of 2010 gave the counties the power to manage their own resources. This includes the public land that was owned by the national government, which was transferred to the county government including public conservancies. Laikipia county government therefore assumed the role of resolving the pastoral conflicts. The county has the mandate of helping pastoralists by improving extension services; establish breeder farms and offering funding for research to help locals

⁵⁸ Behnke, R.H. and Muthami, D., (2011). The contribution of livestock to the Kenyan economy.

⁵⁹Ibid

to improve the quality of their cattle which in turn helps them to raise smaller, more productive cattle. Therefore the county government of Laikipia has been on the forefront in the effort of working with donors, faith based organizations and local grassroots organizations to rehabilitate rangelands devastated by drought and overgrazing in Samburu, Laikipia plains, Isiolo and Baringo⁶⁰. Land use is split into government land, large scale farms, large scale ranches, forest reserve areas, pastoral areas (North) and urban settlements in Laikipia⁶¹.

2.3.4 Political Leaders

Presently, with the introduction of new system of administration which is devolution hence County Government, the land resource concern has not yet been addressed. The county government is determined to ensure that every group in Laikipia County lives harmoniously and that they exploit their sources of income optimally. The claims of unequal distribution of resources in the region are particularly an in-depth issue that originates from historical injustice which the new system of administration has not focused on resolving⁶². Therefore, on the event of issues of insecurity and issues of pastoral innovation the national government is tasked with addressing such matters since security systems have not been devolved. The county government of Laikipia has been ingrained into raising revenues from the economic activities in the region such as agriculture,

⁶⁰Greiner, C., Alvarez, M. and Becker, M., (2013). From cattle to corn: attributes of emerging farming Systems of Former Pastoral Nomads in East Pokot, Kenya. *Society & Natural Resources*, 26(12), pp.1478-1490.

⁶¹ Redpath, S.M., Young, J., Evely, A., Adams, W.M., Sutherland, W.J., Whitehouse, A., Amar, A., Lambert, R.A., Linnell, J.D., Watt, A. and Gutierrez, R.J., (2013). Understanding and managing conservation conflicts. *Trends in ecology & evolution*, 28(2), pp.100-109.

⁶²Krätli S, Swift J (2001). 'Understanding and managing pastoral conflict in Kenya: How contemporary understandings and knowledge of pastoral conflict can guide practical work', Environment Team, IDS Sussex, UK.

livestock keeping and tourism sectors. Furthermore, the county government is focused on helping address the effect of climate change that is characterized by drought spells that have an effect on the pastoral communities that keep large herds of livestock animals⁶³.

2.4 Discourses and Claims behind the Laikipia Conflict

In Laikipia, Central Kenya armed pastoralist groups have over the past few months forcefully moved their cattle into conservancies. Property has been destroyed, wildlife killed and tourists have been caught up in the clashes. There is a naive assumption that this is due to an ongoing drought or that the cattle raids are part of out-of-dated pastoral conflict. Unequal distribution of resources and scarcity of grazing land for pasture and water escalated the situation forcing the pastoralists march on private land is in part for grazing and water. In the semi-arid region of Laikipia invasions have occurred periodically during previous droughts.

2.4.2 Conflict Perceptions of Large and Diverse Groups in Laikipia County

Establishment of ranches and conservancies has increased conflicts with the local communities in Laikipia County. The level of inequality is also high and especially between those who reap the benefits of wildlife, and the rest of the community residents who are located on the outskirts of the conservancies where there are wildlife corridors. There are a growing number of people in Laikipia with limited employment or livelihood options due to the high level of illiteracy and poverty. This has created the single greatest threat to wildlife species sought-after for their meat or to supply parts to the illegal

⁶³ Jane, K.N., Mwangi, J.G, and Nkurumwa, A.O., (2013). Climate Change Challenges and Adaptation Strategies among the Pastoralists of Laikipia County Kenya, international Journal of Agricultural Extension, 1 no. 1

international trade, particularly outside of the existing area that is under conservation compatible land use. This has been one of the major causes of conflict between the private ranchers, pastoralists, and the farmers causing loss of bio-diversity, livestock and crop destruction⁶⁴ .

2.4.3 Land Distribution and Ownership in Laikipia County

Land distribution and ownership in Laikipia County has been the cause of the protracted conflict between the pastoral communities and the ranchers who are majorly the white settlers. The pastoral communities believe that the rancher took their land from them through deceit and taking advantage of the illiterate pastoral communities in signing agreements including the 1904 Anglo-Maasai treaty. The agreement was a strategy of stealing land from the Maasai and ousting them from their inheritance. This agreement saw the Maasai people give their best land to the white settlers through the means of manipulation⁶⁵. Though these agreements were dubious and based on false promises to the locals by the British colonialists, the initial inhabitants were ultimately displaced and never had their demands met thereafter. Later attempts to regain their land through legal means have turned out futile evoking a lot of anger and bitterness from the Maasai who are pastoralist'. Every effort made by the Maasai people to regain their land since independence has turned futile and often their plea to the government fall into deaf ears. They have tried the legal means and combative means with little if any success at the end. Most of the time the government comes in to protect the white settlers at their expense

⁶⁴ Gadd, M.E., (2005). Conservation outside of parks: attitudes of local people in Laikipia, Kenya. *Environmental Conservation*, 32(1), pp.50-63

⁶⁵ Kinnaird, M.F. and O'brien, T.G., (2012). Effects of private-land use, livestock management, and human tolerance on diversity, distribution, and abundance of large African mammals. *Conservation Biology*, 26(6), pp.1026-1039.

including killing their livestock's and shooting them⁶⁶. Due to the force used by the government to counteract them the pastoralist in 2004 decided to retaliate. The aftermath affected the small-scale farmers as pastoralist destroyed their crops and violent clashes erupted between the farmers, herders and ranchers. At the start, the conflict was restricted to the northern part of the county, but frequent attacks from the pastoralist have spread the clashes to other parts of the county.

Part of the reasons behind the protracted conflicts in Laikipia County is the issue of land where large scale ranchers own over 50% of the land in Laikipia yet in terms of population they are less than 30%. The pastoralist and other inhabitants in Laikipia have often reacted to the inequalities on land adjudication with the pastoralist taking the matter into their hand by forcing themselves into the ranches. They pastoral communities consider the ranches part of their grazing land indicating that ranches which are idle be made accessible to their herds⁶⁷. This is part of the reason behind the never ending conflicts in Laikipia County.

The resource-based conflicts in the Laikipia region have been fueled by factors such as increased population yet the land resource remains the same. In corroboration the Kenya Bureau of Statistics survey in 2009 indicates that after Kenya gained independence there was subdivision land which attracted the pastoralist and small farmers from the north and south respectively to come and inhabit the land⁶⁸. However, the growth of the population

⁶⁶ Fox, G.R., (2018). Maasai group ranches, minority land owners, and the political landscape of Laikipia County, Kenya. *Journal of Eastern African a Studies*, 12(3), pp.473-493.

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

⁶⁸Behnke, R.H. and Muthami, D., (2011). The contribution of livestock to the Kenyan economy.

in Laikipia County is incomparable to the available resources and food security leading to competition of scarce resources and conflicts for more access into the ranches belonging to the white settlers. The increase in population means more demand for land which has led to encroachment of forests by the local inhabitants seeking to set up land for farming and for grazing.

The increased population has increased pressure on land for farming and grazing which has led to land degradation, pollution and soil erosion. This has immensely contributed to reduced productivity of land due to soil erosion, increased food insecurity, depletion of water sources and increased pollution. Compounding issues of frequent fluctuations in temperature, wind speeds, increased humidity and reduced surface are as a result of increased conflicts arising from competition of inadequate resources⁶⁹.

2.4.4 Socio-Economic and Cultural Practices of the Local Communities

The indigenous communities in Laikipia are nomadic pastoralists including the Maasai, Pokot and Samburu who are highly rooted in their culture. The culture is safeguarded and perpetuated by the elders. According to 2009 national census, Laikipia region has a population of 399,227 people and presently the county covers 9,462 km². Presently, the predominant tribes living in Laikipia County are the Maasai and the Kikuyu. The Maasai are pastoralists while the Kikuyu are farmers and traders. However, since of 50% of the Laikipia land is under ranches and wildlife conservancies the rest of the land is what the local communities rely on for their livelihood. The nomadic norm of life is moving with herds of animals into grazing areas and setting up temporary structures in Maasai

⁶⁹ Ibid

referred to as *Manyatta*. Once the pasture and water are exhausted the family migrates with their animals to another region. Additionally, the pastoralists from Baringo, Samburu and Isiolo move their animals in Laikipia County in search for pasture and water during the dry months of January and April. The entry of new comers means extra tension on the limited resources within the region and it has intensified the conflicts in Laikipia⁷⁰.

The pastoral communities neighboring Laikipia County including the Pokot, Tugen, Samburu and Turkana communities have contributed significantly to the conflict in Laikipia County. As noted earlier, during the dry months of January to April these communities drive their livestock into Laikipia County in search of graze lands. However, poor climatic conditions have led to limited pasture. This has forced these communities to invade the ranches which they presume are unutilized lands that have pasture that can save their livestock⁷¹.

The dominant economic activity in Laikipia County is agriculture. The majority of the residents are pastoralists while the rest are small-scale farmers of crops such as maize, wheat, potatoes, and peas alongside keeping livestock. The pastoral communities' way of life differs significantly to the way of life of the farmers. For instance, the way of life for the communities such as the Samburu and the Maasai revolves around keeping large herds of livestock and warfare such as cattle rustling. Therefore, most of the pastoral communities of this region are in constant movement with their animals in search of pasture and water across the plains. The nomadic pastoralists graze in the open lands and along the

⁷⁰Wakhungu, J., Huggins, C., &Nyukuri, E. (2008). Land tenure and violent conflict in Kenya. *African Centre for Technology Studies, Nairobi Kenya*.

⁷¹ Jane, K.N., Mwangi, J.G, and Nkurumwa, A.O., (2013). Climate Change Challenges and Adaptation Strategies among the Pastoralists of Laikipia County Kenya, *international Journal of Agricultural Extension*, 1 no. 1.

corridors and fenced regions for ranching and wildlife conservation. The culture of the pastoral communities such as the Samburu, Pokot and Turkana practised cattle rustling from the neighboring communities⁷². This engagement in raids amongst the pastoral communities has constantly been a cause of conflict that has led to proliferation of arms for practicing raiding and protecting their cattle.

2.4.5 Influence of the Politics into the Conflict

There has been a conspiracy that the invasions have been influenced by some local political leaders behind the scenes. These politicians use lack of pasture and limited resources amongst the pastoralist as an excuse to rule them into driving their animals into the ranches as a way of manipulating the voters, seeking favor and support in elective positions. This has been the method used by politicians in gaining attention from the government on the predicament of the pastoralists in the region. Furthermore, these local communities are armed with arms and therefore are a threat to the security personnel who guard the ranches⁷³.

The prevalent cases of castle rustling and banditry have made the region to become insecure since the well-trained bandits who understand the terrain make it difficult for the police officers to contain⁷⁴. This state of insecurity has escalated in the last ten years and most of the violent incidents have occurred during the election period such as 2017 where communities are controlled and manipulated by the politicians to create havoc and conflicts

⁷²Letai, J., (2011). Land Deals in Kenya: The Genesis of Land Deals in Kenya and its Implication on Pastoral Livelihoods a Case Study of Laikipia District.

⁷³ Fox, G.R., (2018). Maasai group ranches, minority land owners, and the political landscape of Laikipia County, Kenya. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 12(3), pp. 473-493.

⁷⁴Buhaug, H., Gleditsch, N.P., Theisen, O.M., (2010). Implications of climate change for armed conflict. In: Mearns, R., Norton, A. (Eds.), *Social Dimensions of Climate Change: Equity and Vulnerability in a Warming World*. The World Bank, Washington, pp. 75e101

thus reducing the number of votes casted in some region or a room for manipulate the electoral results. What has made politics a great impediment to peace and wellbeing of the communities is the fact that most of the communities in Laikipia County are marginalized. Such propaganda has been among the factors contributing to the violence in the Laikipia County.

Among the conflicts which have been triggered by the politicians includes the recent conflicts instigated by the politicians who claimed that the 99-year leases for the ranchers in Laikipia County were about to expire were about to expire. Since land is a very emotive issue in Laikipia County most conflicts are easily triggered by issues revolving around land ownership and redistribution. Politicians in the hope of occupying the ranches have moved to incite herders to invade and destroy them. As a result, on March 5, 2017⁷⁵ it lead to the death of Voorspuy who was the owner of Sosian conservancy as the majority shareholder⁷⁶. After the ranch invasions in 2017; the government retaliated by arresting politicians who incited the residents among them Laikipia North Member of Parliament, Lempurkel Mathew. He was later released after allegations came up that he was not behind the attacks on the Suyian and Sosian ranches. This incident was among the highly criticized incidents of pastoralist invasion of the ranches and marked the height of invasions that evidenced the depth of the conflict in the region.

⁷⁵ReliefWeb. (2018). *Violence, Land, and the Upcoming Vote in Kenya's Laikipia Region*. Retrieved from: <https://reliefweb.int/report/kenya/violence-land-and-upcoming-vote-kenya-s-laikipia-region>

⁷⁶ Bond, J., (2014). Conflict, development and security at the agro–pastoral–wildlife nexus: a case of Laikipia County, Kenya. *Journal of Development Studies*, 50(7), pp.991-1008.

2.5 Conclusion

Since 1963 when Kenya gained independence the Kenyans having been living in hope that their ancestral land currently in the hands of the white-settlers in Laikipia County would be redistributed. The expectation among the Maasai who were manipulated into signing an agreement that saw them give their land to the white settlers is what has engineered some of the conflicts experienced in Laikipia. The politicians have not been left behind in these disputes and conflicts as they have often times steered conflicts in the hope that part of the land whose 99 years' lease has come to an end would have new owners. Most of the locals in Laikipia County remain landless or in smallholdings in the west while the white settlers dwell in 70% of the land despite being the minority. However, the violence and conflicts orchestrated by the political elites have as their end goal their selfish interests: these political schemes are engineered to channel land to a few political elites. Laikipia County has unique species of animals and that is among the reasons the white settlers have been holding on to their ranches despite the never ending conflicts including the white rhino. Further to the conflicts with the ranchers; the pastoral communities have also been fighting with the small scale farmers who were shareholders of land buying companies that bought and distributed land to them. This has led to conflicts with the pastoral communities blocked from accessing pasture in the land holdings of the small scale farmers. Balancing the varying ecological needs of livestock and wildlife, as well as the sociocultural symbiosis between international conservationists, British expatriates, and myriad Kenyan ethnicities thus creates a distinctly complex conservation problem, in that while engaging with local landowners to create co-beneficial solutions is an oft lauded goal, the reality of implementing and sustaining such strategies is decidedly murkier.

CHAPTER THREE

EFFECTS OF CONFLICT IN RELATION TO THE COUNTY'S NATURAL RESOURCES, LIVELIHOODS OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND CONSERVANCIES

3.1 Introduction

This section will focus on the effects of conflict in relation to Laikipia county natural resources, livelihoods of local communities and conservancies'. Indeed, this county is endowed with rich resources explaining why the white settlers opted for this region besides the farmers and pastoralists. Wildlife conservancies in Laikipia County have economic value and catalytic effect on conflicts in Laikipia as the ranchers occupy 70% of the land leaving only 30% of the same to the pastoralists and small scale farmers. Therefore, the conflicts in Laikipia emanate from unequal distribution of resources, lack of pasture and water for pastoralists, political wrangling and human-wildlife conflict. The economic value of conservancies is thus inconsequential to the pastoralists who perceive the white settlers as land grabbers mainly because of their large chunks of land. This partly explains the genesis of the conflicts in Laikipia in relation to natural resources, livelihoods of local communities and conservancies.

3.2 Natural Resources in Laikipia

With the economic value of the conservancies, Laikipia County has demonstrated that dry lands can become economically viable and provide the means for sustainable land-use options through wildlife conservancies and ecotourism. The conservancies have played a critical role in protecting the wildlife populations in Laikipia County making the county

to be the second highest in the country in terms of wildlife population. Laikipia County has also been protective in housing rare species of animals including Gravy's zebras, Jackson's hartebeest, black rhino and has the second largest elephant population in Kenya. This is contrary to what is happening in other counties in Kenya often times recording decreasing trend of wildlife population throughout the country except Maasai Mara Game Reserve in Narok.

⁷⁷In corroboration, Omondi and Bitok survey in 2002 indicated that 59% (3,036) of the 5,189 elephants counted were recorded in Laikipia. What makes Laikipia special than other county is its terrain; high number of ranches and conservancies and wide range of wildlife animals including the rare to find species like the African wild dog and the Bongo. Laikipia is also rich in bio-diversity with over 95% species of mammals, 540 species of birds, over 700 species of plants and almost 1000 species of invertebrates.

Even though livestock husbandry in Laikipia was initially taken up by the pastoral communities it is likely that they may have grown out of it or rather transitioned from hunting and total reliance on pastoralism's due the incidences of livestock diseases such as Trypanosomiasis and Malignant Catarrhal Fever and deforestation.⁷⁸ This is evidenced by the archeological findings including rock art, stone cairns, stone circles, flaked obsidian, pottery and iron slag in Laikipia.⁷⁹ According to Taylor, in his book mid to late Holocene

⁷⁷ Omondi, Patrick, Elphas Bitok, and Joachim Kagiri (2004). "Managing human–elephant conflicts: the Kenya experience." *Pachyderm* 36: pg 80-86.

⁷⁸ Gifford-Gonzalez, Diane. (1998). "Early pastoralists in East Africa: Ecological and social dimensions." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 17, no. 2: 166-200

⁷⁹ Taylor, D., P. J. Lane, V. Muiruri, A. Ruttledge, R. Gaj McKeever, T. Nolan, P. Kenny, and R. Goodhue (2005). "Mid-to late-Holocene vegetation dynamics on the Laikipia Plateau, Kenya." *The Holocene* 15, no. 6. 837-846.

vegetation dynamics on the Laikipia plateau Kenya, the process of land use and associated vegetation change is highly likely to have shaped the present day mosaic of grassland, *Acacia* bushland and Afromontane forest evident in Laikipia.

Laikipia County also suffers from water shortages for domestic use, farming and livestock rearing due to the high incidences of droughts. The arid and semi-arid areas including Laikipia have unpredictable climate patterns which usually disrupt agricultural planning leading to reduced yields in farming and loss of livestock. The situation is further aggravated by lack of access to credit and financial services, increasing demands for food supply and low profits from farming activities⁸⁰.

3.2.1 Effects of the Laikipia Conflict in Relation to the County's Natural Resources

Increasing frequency of drought episodes with shorter recovery periods in Laikipia County has greatly contributed to tensions between nomads and farmers. Droughts are common in the ASALs and have increased in frequency due to climatic change resulting to food insecurity because of the dwindling natural resources. Often times the disputes between farmers and pastoralists occur due to their unwillingness to share the water sources and pasture for their animals during the dry season. At times the pastoralist grazes on farmers' lands or other livestock herders grazing lands including using their water points leading to conflicts. This calls for conflict mitigation often conducted by the elders or tribal leaders. However, the elders are yet to come to a consensus on how the limited resources will be shared peacefully explaining the protracted conflicts in the county over lost crops and access to water points. This partly calls for institutionalization of land, water rights and

⁸⁰ Bekure, Solomon, ed. *Maasai (1991). Herding: an analysis of the livestock production system of Maasai pastoralists in eastern Kajiado District, Kenya*. Vol. 4. ILRI (aka ILCA and ILRAD).

usage to widespread counteract seasonal tensions between pastoralists and farmers on the one hand and pastoralist themselves on each other.

These conflicts are worsened by drought periods and this includes the period between January and April when we have no rain or low level of rain forcing the pastoralists to move to other regions where they can get water and pasture for their livestock. Scholars argue that, these unending disputes have become the form of livelihood to the inhabitants of Likipia County. The disputes are also attributed to the unwillingness to share the available resources and unequal distribution of resources after independence resulting in protracted conflicts between the pastoralist, the farmers and the ranchers. As a result, pastoralists armed with guns and other weapons have in the past caused conflicts by herding their livestock in the ranches or small farmers' farms in Laikipia County using a lot of force resulting to retaliations which have been bloody in nature. The proliferation of small arms and accessibility of the same by the pastoralists has contributed to the escalation of violence. This is besides other factors including marginalization, and scarcity of resources that fuel the conflicts leading to protracted disputes.

3.3 Communities in Laikipia and their Economic Activities

Laikipia County has a multi-ethnic population comprising pastoralists and farmers. The numerous communities often get entangled in inter-ethnic conflicts. Pastoralists are the Samburu, Maasai, Pokot, Ogiek, Nandi, Tugen, Somali and Turkana. ⁸¹The farming communities are Agikuyu, Ameru, Abagusii and Abaluyia. Agikuyu did not immediately settle on the land that they had bought and this attracted the pastoralists. The land was not

⁸¹ 1998 Kenya Human Rights commission Akiwimu report

agriculturally productive. Those who tried agriculture were frustrated by pastoralists who grazed their livestock on their crops. Abaluyia, the Abagusii and the Ameru moved to Laikipia in order to do business.⁸² Their population in the area greatly increased during the regimes of Presidents Moi and Kibaki.

The Pokot, Turkana, Samburu and Mukogodo Maasai groups, previously restricted from grazing on the Laikipia plateau by the colonial administration, now occupy and graze their livestock on these abandoned smallholder land units. The pastoralists lost their ancestral land in Laikipia when the colonial administration ousted them out in the 20th century. The most affected community was the Masai community. Until today the immediate cause of the protracted conflicts in Laikipia region are due to land-based grievances which respective governments have continued to ignore and thus remain unresolved. How the settlers acquire the land from the locals in 1904 through the Anglo Maasai treaty is what continues to evoke disputes as the local demand for their land back. Since independence, the efforts made by the pastoral communities to regain their land have proved vain and futile.

A good case in point is 2004 when the Maasai community made a plea to the government to have their land returned back to them but their plea fell on deaf ears. As part of expressing their dissatisfaction and frustrations they decided to invade the ranches with their large herds; the government response to their action was both harsh and brutal. In retaliation, they destroyed farm produce of the small scale farmers near the conservancies leading to tripartite conflicts between the pastoralist, small scale farmers and white settlers.

⁸² Kennedy A. Mkutu (2007). Small Arms and Light Weapons among Pastoral Groups in Kenya-Uganda Border Area. *African Affairs*, Volume 106, issue 422 pg. 47-70

Though the conflict was initially restricted to the northern part of the county consequent attacks from the pastoralist have spread the conflict to other parts of the county. Large scale ranchers' form 30% of the population of the entire Laikipia County. However, the large scale ranchers own 50% of the land in Laikipia County. Most of the pastoral communities including the pastoralist in Baringo, Samburu, and Isiolo feel that the rancher belonging to the white settlers are idle and thus have a right to graze their livestock in them. This further exacerbates the already high intra-county tension.

Laikipia County has 43 ranches' which occupy over 50% of the total land area in the county of which 30 of them are owned and managed companies and individuals for wildlife conservancy and beef cattle rearing while 13 are owned by the community as group ranches mainly in the northern of the county. The ranches are registered by the government indicating that Laikipia County is predominantly a pasture land.

In pre-colonial periods, most of Laikipia made portion of the land of the Maasai pastoralists. Under foreign regulation, societies were required to abandon the zone on the lands of a doubtful contract between Maasai leaders and the foreign management in 1992. Laikipia turned part of the supposed 'Scheduled Areas' or 'White Highlands', a region constrained to European settlement where extended scale pastorism developed.⁸³ In colonial periods, three key groups of land use could be found in Laikipia: European owned huge scale farming holding for 80% of the District, forest reserves, and the zone of Mukogodo, whose populations are cattle farmers.

⁸³ Kohler, T. (1987). Lands Uses in Transition. Factors and issues of Small Scale ranching in a New Zone: The Example of Laikipian Districts, Kenyan. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University of Berne, Berne.

With the freedom of Kenya in 1963, the ‘Scheduled Areas’ remained opened to African migration and settling grounds⁸⁴ In Laikipia, the settlers came from heavily inhabited ‘Kikuyu land’ south-west of the District, where population burden had now stretched serious scopes before, or from crouching societies mostly composed by the employees from huge scale ranches. Small scale ranching was presented later in Laikipia. In the early 1980s, the design of land practice varied from that in foreign eras. An Africanization of owning land came about.⁸⁵ Large scale non-African property tenure comprised for 40.6 %, whereas small scale proprietorship increased to above 26 %.

Nevertheless, the multicultural and inferences on fairness of such a plan cannot and must not be overlooked crossways a scenery that is equally seductively appealing and well mixed. ⁸⁶And given the aforementioned lack of protected areas, the need for landowner communication and cooperation only reinforces such a call, in the interest of both effective and equitable socioecological relations. According to Kathleen ⁸⁷the subject matter of most of the studies have as their focus the diversification of livelihood among the pastoral communities and the change on land use in the ASALs of Eastern Africa including Laikipia. ⁸⁸There are factors inspiring the former assertion on diversification in Laikipia County including drought, food security and climatic changes. ⁸⁹This can be clearly underscored by the case of Turkana where the pastoralist due to the effects of famine,

⁸⁴ Solomon, and D. Layne Coppoc (2004). "Pastoralism under force: tracking activity transformation in southern Ethiopia." *Human Ecology* 32, no. 4: pg 465-486

⁸⁵ *ibid.*: 27

⁸⁶ Jillo, Aa., A. A. Aboud, and Ds. Layne Coppocks. (2006)"From Herds Diversifications to Livelihoods Diversifications as a Responses to Poverties. The Cases of the Wasos Borans of North Kenya."

⁸⁷ Campbell, I., Dalrympolse, S., Craigs, R., Crawfords, A., (2009). Environmental Changes and Conflicts. Lesson from Communities Conservancy in Northern Kenya

⁸⁸ Kathleen A. (2009) "Transition: pastoralist livings with changes." *Annual Reviews of Anthropolioiesy* 38: 185-198s

⁸⁹ Watson, David J., and J. van Binsbergen. (2008) *Livestocks markes acceses and opportunity in Turkana, Kenya*. ILRI.

growing anxiety and deprivation has influenced them to explore alternative livelihoods. This has led to sedentarisation of formerly clean ranching and semi-nomadic ranchers in Turkana characterizing vibrant migration to non-pastoral livings including visiting the attractions, trivial exchange, fishing, wage service and farming. Clearly the impact of climate change on pastoral livelihood cannot be reemphasized.⁹⁰ Nori and Davies indicate that pastoralists are susceptible to environmental change whereas others see them as the utmost proficient to adjust to weather change, since they dwell in hard to reach areas characterized by scarcity of water and natural resources.

Arable farming is also a major economic activity in Laikipia County, especially among the Agikuyu ethnic community. Horticulture is one of the four County's economic pillars. The others being Tourism, Cereals production and Livestock production about 30% of the small-scale farmers are engaged in the horticultural farming. Major horticultural crops include tomatoes, Potatoes, cabbages, watermelons, kales, spinach, georgettes, butter nuts, capsicum, onions, carrots, chillies, French beans and snow peas among others. There is developing tendency of amplified floriculture and horticulture manufacture both at extended and small range levels. This involves the production of cut flowers, tomatoes French beans, snow peas chillies and water melons. There are also pockets of pineapple, avocados, oranges and macadamia nuts farms in the County. The annual income from the Horticulture/Floriculture farming in the County is estimated to be in excess of Kshs. 1.3 billion. Perennial crops include fruits like mangoes, oranges, pineapples, lemon and avocados among others. Most of the horticultural crops are grown under irrigation using

⁹⁰ Jillo, A., A. A. Aboud, and D. Layne Coppock. (2006) "From Herd Diversification to Livelihood Diversification as a Response to Poverty. The Case of the Waso Boran of Northern Kenya."

the few rivers in the county and water harvested through water pans and dams whereas perennial crops are normally rain fed.

3.3.1 Effects of the Laikipia conflict in Relation to Livelihoods of Local Communities

Inter-ethnic conflicts in Laikipia County account for severe and unbearable impacts on the livelihoods of resident communities. The degeneration of community's inter-relationships, fear and suspicion are inimical to popular and progressive societal dynamics and desirable orientations like "unity in diversity" for socio-economic and political development. Interethnic conflicts in the area lead to low food production through neglect of farms and depletion of livestock for the dispossessed communities.⁹¹ In a Study conducted by Omosa, Wajir District support the fact that the effects of resource based inter-ethnic conflicts at household level is felt in terms of reduced access to food and forced migrations of families and livestock. The atmosphere of insecurity provoked by interethnic conflicts means that communities are not engaged in productive economic work. This leads to reduced food production and depletion of cattle during raids. This problem was most prevalent during the Low Food production/ Depletion of Livestock Displacements Rape and abductions Death Arson/destruction of property Commercial Moranism Political Polarization Animosity towards Bantu communities Socio-economic decline

According to Mkutu, Inter-ethnic conflicts repeatedly create insecurity on roads, hampering relief food programmes. ⁹²The situation is worsened due to the residents'

⁹¹ Omosa, E.K., (2005). The impact of water conflicts on pastoral livelihoods. *The case of Wajir district. IISD, Winnipeg.*

⁹² Mkutu, K.A., (2008). *Guns and Governance in the Rift Valley: Pastoralist Conflict and Small Arms.* James Curry, Oxford

reluctance to diversify their economy. An oral interview carried out by Mkutu in the year 2008 from John Mutunge on the Maasai of Dol-Dol area in Laikipia North Sub-County confirmed that natural factors similarly led to low food production and depletion of cattle as the pastoralists move from place to place looking for pasture. Most of the pastoralist only depends on cattle which have been diminishing overtime due to drought and diseases. Even though some of the pastoralists have a desire to do farming yet the type of soil in their region isn't good for cultivation, impeding cultivation. Moreover, lack of consistent rains also hinder farming as it only rains once in a year in most of the regions in Laikipia County and at times after two years. Therefore, this necessitates drought and pastoral movement in search of water and pasture ⁹³affecting families. The citation is replete with residents' frustrations due to harsh environmental conditions. Irrespective of their hard work, drought impedes diversification and also triggers inter-ethnic conflicts due to limited water and grass for their animals.

Food and sanitation disparity in such places are often a big challenge. ⁹⁴An extract below from the 1999 Akiwumi Report underline the ugly incidents of arson and destruction of property during inter-ethnic conflicts in Laikipia County.

Death, rape, abduction the effects of conflicts includes deaths, destruction of property and looting as in the case of Kikuyu homes being torched and looted by the Pokot and the Samburu community in the Magadi area. As a result of the attack two people were killed and several houses were burnt down. This incident happened on the 14th January,

⁹³ Warurii, Fredrick Kariuki (2008). Inter ethnic conflict; Tendencies, cause, effect and intervention in Rumuruti divisions of Laikipia counties Kenya 1963-2010

⁹⁴ Akiwumi (1999). Judiciaries commissions of inquiries into tribals clash in Kenya counties hall

1998. The non-pastoral tribes fled their homes and sought refuge in Churches including Ol Moran Catholic Church as the torching of houses and murder continued until 16th January, 1998. The citation indicates that the targeted communities are ethnically selected for reprisals of arson and destruction of property, and displacement of immigrant communities has led to a reduction of the amount of food reserves controlled by the communities.

This has jeopardized the resident communities' means of livelihoods. Those who die during inter-ethnic defense or revenge wars are mostly young and energetic members of the communities'. They leave behind old and other vulnerable groups who cannot cope with the communities' demand for increased food production⁹⁵. At the homestead levels, the ageing participants of the culture take the responsibility of guardians of economic incomes, establish work and control the usage of resource distribution. Their demise, wounds and other extended expressive sufferings throughout the inter-cultural wars eventually contribute to minimized food donations for the affected families.

Bantu farming communities suffer in terms of food security; the pastoralists also steal cattle from one another through rustling and at times proceed to the neighbouring counties. This happens among the Samburu, Turkana and Pokot. The aftermath of rape during banditry and political violence is quite tragic. It may involve long and unproductive periods of seeking medical attention, infection with a disease that leads to body waste and permanently eat into one's savings. Trauma may follow, demotivating a person to engage in income generating works with death being the worst and final result. Inter-ethnic

⁹⁵ Warurii, Fredrick Kariuki (2008). Inter-cultural wars; Trendencies, cause, effect and intervention in Rumuruti divisions of Laikipia county Kenya 1963-2010

conflicts in Laikipia County occasionally result in rape and abduction.⁹⁶ The prevailing circumstances of the victim results in reduced levels of livelihood due to low or inadequate food and depletion of cattle

The conflicts in Laikipia county has had a far-reaching impact on the state of education in Laikipia. With the increase in the rates of those dropping school was influenced by inter cultural wars, mainly among the youth who enlisted support for the Moran institution, more so especially among the Maasai and Samburu communities. The coercive forces of the state fight commercial moranism which manifests itself in cattle rustling and banditry and hence make it an unreliable source of income since it basically thrives on theft and other criminal activities which are against the penal code. However, the Moran institution thrives on account of its secretive doctrine, elders and diviner's blessings and use of more advanced weapons than the local state security agents. The majority of Morans are recruited from the youth who in turn drop out of school. More often than not, the school dropout youths engage in drug taking and trafficking, stealing, arson, rape and other criminal activities which do not complement food production. This scenario depletes the progressive levels of the community's source of livelihood.

⁹⁷Ethnic snobbishness breeds the undesirable ethnocentrism that engenders exile of Bantu speaking communities from Laikipia County. Fear, insecurity and monumental tension provoked by political polarization and exile of Bantu communities in Laikipia County discouraged communities from meaningful work of food production.⁹⁸ It also

⁹⁶ UN Women profiles (2017). Leadership with a various. In pursuit of progress and fulfillment.

⁹⁷ Ibid 97

⁹⁸ Mkutu, K.A,(2008). Gun and Governances in the Rift Valley: Pastoral War and Small weapons. James Curry, Oxford.

threatened inter-ethnic marriage institutions. However, the challenge of food insecurity in Laikipia County was not only limited to inter-ethnic conflicts. Rogue elephants and buffaloes in unprotected conservancy area also caused crop damage and reduced crop yields. The Kenya Wildlife Services (KWS) does not act urgently to address this challenge, with the excuse that tourism was a greater income earner than peasant farming. The local community's source of livelihood is further depleted. Good food is power. If well fed, even people whose health is adversely compromised even by "Human Immuno-Deficiency Virus" (HIV) and "Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome" (AIDS) can recover enough strength to resume normal life within two weeks

Death, rape, abduction and displacement of immigrant communities has led to a reduction of the amount of food reserves controlled by the communities. This has jeopardized the resident communities' means of livelihoods. Those who die during inter-ethnic defense or revenge wars are mostly young and energetic members of the communities'.⁹⁹They leave behind old and other vulnerable groups who cannot cope with the communities' demand for increased food production.

3.4 Conservancies, Ranching and Tourism in Laikipia

The use of the term conservancies denotes a broad portion of society and individual owned preservation programs especially in Kenya. In Maasai land this occurs mostly on society farm land and divided group farms, connecting a variety of multifaceted administration and possession measures. Consequently, many initiatives in Laikipia county are influenced by arrangements with tourism controllers, and include the allocation of land

⁹⁹ Ibid 97

for preservation in exchange tourism income and other profits including job and public expansion schemes.¹⁰⁰ Where social farms have been divided private owners reform their ranch to create a preservation zone, and landlords obtain direct expenditures through a land tenancy plan.¹⁰¹ Hence, payments are restricted upon approving to convinced land use limits for the covenanted conservancy land.

As Sundaresan and Riginos note: “Increasingly, private land around the world is being set aside for conservation,” and indeed for “most private ranches” of Laikipia “wildlife preservation and tourism have developed significant sources of income over the last two decades.”¹⁰² The desire for this source of revenue can be seen as a response to a slumping cattle market, in which “ranching has become less profitable as demand has fallen and export regulations have tightened” and “ranchers’ ability to control disease spread remains compromised.”¹⁰³ And Sundaresan and Riginos indeed note that it is in response to such pressures that “most European landholders have established tourism enterprises on their land, and many now actively promote wildlife populations.

The private cattle operations and conservancies currently nestled against Mount Kenya and throughout the larger Laikipia region are for the most part direct recipients and descendants of a colonial Kenyan economic policy from the early 20th century, which stipulated, “that definite farming lands in Kenya ought to be set aside for colonizers of

¹⁰⁰ Carter, Craig R., and Dale S. Rogers (2008) "A framework of sustainable supply chain management: moving towards new theory." *International journal of physical distribution & logistics management* 38, no.5 : 360-387.

¹⁰¹ Bedelian, Claire. (2012). "Conservation and Ecotourism on Privatised Land in the Mara Kenya: The Case of Conservancy Land Leases."

¹⁰² Sundstrom, Olle, and Carl Binding. (2012): "Flexible charging optimization for electric vehicles considering distribution grid constraints." *IEEE Transactions on Smart Grid* 3, no. 1, 26-37

¹⁰³ Sundaresan, Siva R., and Corinna Riginos. (2010) "Lessons learned from biodiversity conservation in the private lands of Laikipia, Kenya." *Great Plains Research*: 17-27.

European origin’’. With the swipe of a pen, and the subsequent emigration of thousands of British citizens throughout the early decades of the 1900s, a new narrative was born throughout central Kenya.

The primary purpose of such settlement, Morgan argues, laid “in the need to establish an economy which would be able to pay for the necessary expenses involved in developing and governing the new country,” generally seen as necessary “because of the lack of knowledge, capital and the desire for money on the part of Africans” already living there. The central actor in all of this was, as one ranch manager put it, “the soldier settler,” who upon returning from the First World War, found himself often socially and economically isolated back home in Britain. Relocating to the Kenyan steppe was seen as a chance to forge a new life, pursue the risky business of agriculture in a new land, and in time reinvents oneself as not merely “ex-soldiers” but trailblazers, civilizers, and settlers.

The rangelands of Laikipia, however, and the pastoralists that could have potentially benefited were not included in these arrangements, due to the judgment that those plateaus “were unsuitable for settlement and unlikely to produce more” if formally settled. Thus the previously mentioned ethno-bias left these local pastoralist peoples displaced and disenfranchised alongside the British-run ranching lands and plantations.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, Morgan notes, “The effect of the European settlement will have been to settle these areas with cultivating peoples who formerly would not have entered the area for fear of the Maasai or other pastoral tribes”. The social and economic terrain of Laikipia is changing is undeniable. Where once there were immense private cattle operations scattered

¹⁰⁴ Morgan, James N., and John A. Sonquist. (1963). "Problems in the analysis of survey data, a proposal." *Journals of the Americans statistical associations* 58, no. 302 (1963). 415-434.

amidst smaller Maasai ranches, now these same private cattle operations are seen to be expanding their economic repertoire, embracing such things as for-profit conservancies, over-night lodges, and chimpanzee rehabilitation centers in order to harness the power of ecotourism alongside livestock ranching, and in some cases forsake the ranching altogether. The growth of such activities is perhaps not surprising.

Indeed, that conservation in Laikipia is largely orchestrated and organized by private landowners and international donors, while supported by the national government, has been previously observed.¹⁰⁵ It has been offered, in fact, which not only is tourism is “the second largest source of foreign exchange revenue after agriculture” and a full “45 percent of the Kenyan gross domestic product,” but “the influence of international conservation groups rivals that of major corporations and international donors in government decisions”¹⁰⁶. However, the full picture of conservation’s transnational topographical reach is not merely about private ranches’ economic diversification or the building of resilient networks of wealthy donors. To explain the inter-community collaboration in which Laikipia’s landowners find themselves in today, one grounded in empowerment as well as dependency, a landscape of emergent relations and competing sustain abilities, one must look instead to Kenyan economic policy beginning three decades ago and the ways in which international intervention back then has sculpted and paved the way for international involvement today.

¹⁰⁵ Sortland, Thor Erik (2009) "Pastoralisms in Transformations. Conflicts and Displacements in North Kenyan. Master's thesis, Bergen University.

¹⁰⁶ Fratkin, Elliot, and Robin (2003) Mearns. "Sustainability and pastoral livelihoods: lessons from East African Maasai and Mongolia." *Human organization*: 112-122.

3.4.1 Effects of the Laikipia conflict in Relation to Conservancies, Ranching and Tourism.

Protracted conflicts in Laikipia over natural resources have compounding effects on tourism evidenced by the poor returns in this sector to the local level and little or no impact on livelihoods of the incumbents.¹⁰⁷ According to Emerton¹⁰⁸ landowners and communities devalue conservancies and wildlife as they have not benefitted much from them in that the bigger share of the returns are used in the service side of the industry indicating 95% of revenues. The less that does sieve down to the limited status is then taken by a limited part of immoral and inadvisable society participants holding community level institutions.¹⁰⁹

There are many challenges encompassing ranching in Laikipia County including water availability, increasing rate of climate variability and lack of pasture. This coupled with reduced access of grazing land by the traditional leaders who efficiently achieved series of incomes formerly because of transformations in tenancy schemes and other rules, in conjunction with the escalation in people's populace has increased conflicts in the county¹¹⁰. Due to the rate of droughts in the county there is high dependence on food assistance, and the commencement of extended growth tests which have contributed to the increased vulnerability of pastoral communities. Most of the straightforward issue is the clubbing increase in populace and upsurge in cattle and also the political temperature. Population is continuously placing the guilt on the colonizers, which 60 years late becomes a little

¹⁰⁷ Homewood, Katherine, Ernestina Coast, and Michael Thompson. (2004) "In-migrants and exclusion in East African rangelands: access, tenure and conflict." *Africa* 74, no. 4: 567-610

¹⁰⁸ Emerton, Lucy. (2001) "Community-based incentives for nature conservation."

¹⁰⁹ Homewood, Katherine, Ernestina Coast, and Michael Thompson. (2004) "In-migrants and exclusion in East African rangelands: access, tenure and conflict." *Africa* 74, no. 4: 567-610

¹¹⁰ Ibid 111

monotonous. Ranchers used to migrate everywhere as the need increased, nonetheless they failed to “own” the farm, they used it. Currently with globalization the planet has no ability to withstand the increase in both residents and cattle and this mode of livelihood and hence the wars in Laikipia are unavoidable.

Conservancy owners are warning of a severe dent on Kenya’s tourism. According to the Laikipia Farmers Association, five of the county’s 30 tourism enterprises have closed temporarily. ¹¹¹A Nation team that visited Mugie conservancy came face to face with the destruction. “We have lost 25 buffaloes, 30 zebras, 10 giraffes and other animals to mysterious killings,” said Mr Solomon Epokor, who is in charge of security. He knows too well that the elimination of the wildlife means his job is at risk. At the neighbouring 44,000-acre Suyian ranch, six thatched cottages for tourists were reduced to ashes last week and the ranch closed indefinitely. ¹¹²There has been speculation concerning the attacks, with some residents claiming the acts were politically motivated and others linking them to land ownership.

The conflicts in Laikipia have also triggered layoffs of workers in the ranches in Laikipia. The drawn-out conflict between big landowners and herders in Laikipia County has caused the closure of Sosian Ranch, causing fears of wider job losses in the fragile tourist circuit. Sosian Ranch is one of the premier tourist facilities located in the violence-prone Laikipia West. Among the other reasons cited by the directors of Sosian ranch for its closure for three months after herders killed its manager includes violence, invasions

¹¹¹ Agence France-Presse (2017). *Wildlife pays the price of Laikipia ranch crashes. Herder conservationist conflict decimated populations*. Published by the Daily newspaper. Retrieved on 20th September 2018.

¹¹² Rupi Mangat (2016). *Mugie magic*. Published by Daily Nation. Retrieved on 3rd Oct 2018

and destruction of property as herders continue to defy heavy deployment of security personnel. The closure caused a loss of 21 direct jobs and tens of local suppliers to the lodge were left without a market for their goods. The Directors of Sosian will revisit the re-opening of the lodge when and if it is safe to do so. However, they believe it will take several years to rebuild what was a productive and successful business. Landowners in Laikipia claim they pumped almost Sh4 billion into the local economy in 2016, ranking among the country's top employers and taxpayers. The Laikipia land invasions have caused tension between Kenya and the UK, with British Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson visiting the affected farmers. This has had an obvious impact on the economy of Laikipia county, and Kenya at large.

Pastoral communities in Laikipia armed with guns and other weaponry have forcefully moved their livestock onto ranches or conservancies in Laikipia. As a result of these invasions, properties have been destroyed, wildlife killed and tourists have been caught up in the clashes. Among the reasons cited for this invasion includes droughts or that the cattle raids are part of traditional pastoral conflict. The pastoralists' communities invade the private land for grazing and water to counteract the never ending drought. Thousands of cattle herders from the Samburu and Pokot tribes in Laikipia left their traditional grazing lands and invaded luxury lodges, farms, and conservation areas in Laikipia, apparently in search of pasture for their cattle. Some of the herders are responsible for shocking acts of violence. This pose a threat to the tourism sector in Laikipia as the attacks on the conservancies to travel advisories against the Laikipia part of Kenya, and thus affecting the region economically. Further, despite the fact that the problem has been

handle, the tourism is still reluctant to visit the region, and thus the tourism sector has never recovered fully.

As a result of the escalation of conflicts, closures of ranches and conservancies followed the aftermath. Five of Laikipia approximately 30 tourism enterprises closed temporarily, including Suyian. This was as a result of travel advisories against Kenya during the time of conflicts that was issued by the British government. With Laikipia as one of the major tourism destination, the obvious impact was on the investors. The closure also affected the economy of the county, and that of the country at large.

3.5 General Impacts of the Conflicts on the Economy

The conflicts that are preceded by climatic changes and limited natural resources have effect both in the urban and rural setting throughout the world as they are taking two forms including non-violent and violent conflicts.¹¹³In Laikipia County these conflicts are steered by tripartite groups including the agriculturalists, pastoralists and ranchers mostly due to inequalities in the distribution of resources and never ending land issues with the ranchers. Conventionally the perspective held by most of the scholars on security is within the range of the nation state. Therefore, not much has been done to uncover the effects of natural resource conflict as in the case of Laikipia and Northern Kenya region where the national government has failed to guarantee security, wellbeing and freedoms for citizens.

Inter-ethnic conflicts in Laikipia County led to arson and destruction of property. In most instances, only empty food stores and houses were burnt after food, cattle and other household valuables were stolen by raiders/rustlers and bandits. Cattle rustlers and raiders

¹¹³ Peacock, J. Atkinson, and P. Morand. (1987)"Factors contributing to resistance of exotic maize populations to maize weevil, *Sitophilus zeamais*." *Journal of chemical ecology* 13, no. 4 : 751-762.

focus on killings and stealing of livestock from target communities while bandits focus on killings and stealing of money and other valuables from unsuspecting members of the public. Likewise, the net effect of cattle rustling was reduced food from mostly the dispossessed Bantu communities. However, crops would also be burnt to frustrate the target group.

Inter-ethnic conflicts by the pastoral communities are meant to drive out the targeted Bantu communities, to cripple them economically. The result of these conflicts is that the affected end up sleeping out in church compounds, shopping centers and schools and makeshift structures of cardboards, polythene sheets and similar materials. In worse scenarios, the breadwinner may be incapacitated or killed. The result is recurring poverty and disadvantaged communities. This is further intensified by the death of their leaders who take the responsibility of financial incomes, arrange work and control the usage of resource proportions at farm stages. Their demise, wounds and other extended expressive sufferings throughout the inter-cultural wars eventually contributed to limited food donations for the affected families.

Bantu farming communities suffer in terms of food security; the pastoralists also steal cattle from one another through rustling and at times proceed to the neighboring counties. This happens among the Samburu, Turkana and Pokot. The aftermath of rape during banditry and political violence is quite tragic. It may involve long and unproductive periods of seeking medical attention, infection with a disease that leads to body waste and permanently eat into one's savings. Trauma may follow, demotivating a person to engage in income generating works with death being the worst and final result.

Conflicts have various intersecting factors, which can be perceived as either individual or community conflicts. This understanding aligns with the knowledge that development is derived from the rights-based approach, rather than the pure economic growth. In Laikipia County there are different natural reserve wars including agro pastoral battles, livestock attacking and human-wildlife wars. The underlying issues leading to prolonged conflicts in Laikipia County are not well understood as the fundamental subtleties are considered from the viewpoints of different actors.

In Kenya, the negative effects of conflicts have been widely felt especially among pastoralist societies. The socio-economic influences of war on rural thrifts in Kenya and Uganda are terrible because livestock rustling wars, which have contributed to higher rates of livestock loss. According to Adan and Pkaly. Between 1994-2004 it is estimated that 459,905 livestock valued at over 5 billion Kenya Shillings were stolen in the districts. The study found that 3,094 human deaths were reported as a direct consequence of conflict. In addition to human casualties, the assessment established that at least 206,830 people have been displaced by conflicts. Social service delivery has also taken a drop.

The socioeconomic effect of conflicts includes the effect on provision of medical services including dispensaries being closed and essential medicines running out. In addition, the education is also affected whereby the attendance in primary school and enrolment in secondary school are seen to be dropping. ¹¹⁴In corroboration, Adan and Pkaly established that insecurity in Tana River between 1994 and 2002 led to a decline in enrollment as only 36.6% of primary school age children were in school while 14.32%

¹¹⁴ Ibid

were in Secondary school. Positive link between HIV/AIDs and conflict as well as positive relationship between conflict and violations of women's right are evident.

3.6 Conclusion

Laikipia County experiences a myriad of socio-economic and environmental challenges that undermine household's livelihoods. The higher potential zone of the County is faced with the challenge of land sub-division into uneconomical units measuring an average size of between 2 acres to 5 acres with freehold titles (Republic of Kenya, 2001). On the other hand, there are hardships in the drier parts of the county characterized by poverty and food insecurity. Over 48 percent of the population is classified as poor while 59.3 percent depend on relief aid from the Government of Kenya and the World Food Programme (WFP) (Republic of Kenya, 2001). Through the government 's efforts to develop the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALS), a lot of resources, such as financial commitments, security deployments, infrastructural improvements and education to the locals, have been attempted by various regimes in Kenya. Conversely the outcomes of these commitments have not been promising and instead conflicts are seen to be on the rise.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE CONFLICT TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS
BETWEEN BRITAIN AND KENYA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter underlines the implications of the conflict to the foreign relations between Britain and Kenya. For large British owned farms, social farms and small-scale owners, there is a strong connection of benefit in the implementation of property tenancy and land privileges and for the pastoral societies, mainly the Pokot's and Samburu's land use have traditionally been conceptualized differently, in that the word boundary is a foreign term to them. In the pre-colonial era, possession of property by authorized tenancy lacked unlike currently where lawful property tenancy is only partly or particularly recognized. As a symbol of status, wealth and masculinity, the Samburu's and Pokot own large herds of cattle and not for subsistence activities.

The number of livestock among the pastoralist has reduced tremendously due to frequent droughts and inter-societal invading that turns as a natural de-stocking scheme. Nevertheless, fast growth of population and an escalation in financial resources, mainly between the pastoralist choice has established a foundation for a slow upsurge in livestock numbers in these rangelands and rapidly increased in recent years in periods with no severe drought.

4.2 Historical Foreign Relations between Britain and Kenya

In 1895, the British established a Protectorate over what is now Kenya. Before the arrival of the British, the Maasai had herded their cattle in the fertile grasslands of the Rift

Valley. The British wanted the land and persuaded (or forced) the Maasai to sign a treaty in 1904. Under the treaty, Maasai chiefs agreed to move out of the entire of the Rift Valley, leaving the land for the European Government carry out its settlement purposes. ¹¹⁵The Maasai were moved to two reserves, one of which was in Laikipia.

The highlight of the treaty includes the promise that as long as the Maasai as a race shall exist, the settlement for the Maasai shall be enduring and also stated that the European or other settlers shall not be allowed to take up land in these settlements. Seven years later, the Maasai signed a new “treaty” which ended in them being forced out of Laikipia and moving to Maasai Mara nearby the boundary of Tanzania. The Rift Valley was renamed to the “White Highlands” and Africans were limited in particular zones. ¹¹⁶ During independence, there was a movement to specific property privileges and rearrangement schemes¹¹⁷ where huge tracks of land were left in the ownership of specific political leaders at the expense of the general population and in Laikipia County, a lot of Kenyans were settled on farms in the west while a significant population remained landless. In the North part of the County, group ranches were set up where a group of people collectively owned land titles whereas roughly individual owned farms from the colonial era retained their land.

On 17 September 1988, the *Daily Nation* featured a short article titled ‘British tourist eaten by beasts’. The Kenyan newspaper quoted Kenyan police as saying they did

¹¹⁵ Coldham, Simon (1982). "Land Reforms in Kenya-Some Problems and Perspective." *Third World Legal Stud.* pg 82

¹¹⁶ Bond, J., (2013). Communications and Conflicts: The Cases of Laikipia Counties, Kenya. Retrieved from: <http://www.inter-disciplinary.net/critical-issues/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/jbondbilpaper.pdf>

¹¹⁷ Ibid

not know how the woman had died or which animals had eaten her, but that lions, hyenas, cheetahs and leopards were among the animals in the Maasai Mara Game Reserve where the remains had been found five days earlier. The woman in question was Julie Ann Ward, a 28-year-old British tourist. She had been reported missing on 6 September, before her remains were found on 13 September. As early as 1991, Ward describes the rumors and allegations about a powerful man behind his daughter's murder. In the consequent period of two-and-a-half-year period of investigation there were two other accusations that were brought up one of which concerned the son of a very highly placed government official who was released from custody after his arrest for rape. The police released him soon after they realized that he was the son of one of the most powerful elite. His association with the Masai Mara and Keekorok are constantly mentioned.

The one dimension of the Julie Ward death and the subsequent quest for truth that has remained under-scrutinized by media reports and the three books on the matter is the official British involvement in her family's search for the truth and justice. The Kenyan police's attempts to frame the death was accidental overwhelmingly focused both media and public attention on the Kenyan state actors and their attempt to conceal the truth. By implication, Britain was, for years, assumed to naturally support the quest for the truth in the matter. Britain's quiet and non-sensational involvement in the case reinforced this assumption.

¹¹⁸The Diplomatic relationship between Kenya and Britain has been a push-pull situation for a long time. For instance, in November, 2017, there was a looming crisis between the British army and the Kenya Defense Forces (KDF) over training ground - in private lands – which culminated into an ugly confrontation, said Crispinus Juma. The local daily had hinted that the British Government was contemplating a ‘yes or no’ response after it emerged that the KDF was opposed to the use of privately-owned land in Kenya for training of her soldiers. The KDF was pushing for a restrained training in Archers Post. It is understood that the British soldiers value training in the Laikipia owing to its variety in terrain, but with the recent turn of events, the KDF claims that the blatant encroachment into private lands in Laikipia violated the Defense Cooperation Agreement inked in 2015.

The stalemate was however set to hit hard Nanyuki residents owing to the recent Sh10 billion army base which has been instrumental for the locals. The major losers in the fall out would be Kenya Revenue Authority and Laikipia County government. The British Army Training Unit Kenya (BATUK) spends approximately Sh6.75 billion in Laikipia. Nearly Sh405 million of the pack goes to leases with ranches and rent to landlords. The agreement between KDF and the British army is set to end in 2021, but the new developments might push the aliens to consider the Oman offer which has already been presented on table for consideration. The fate of hundreds of jobs in Nanyuki hangs in the decision by the KDF. The British army has establishments in Nairobi’s Kifaru and Kahawa Barracks, Archer's Post Training Area in Losesia Area and Dol Dol in Laikipia County.

¹¹⁸ Business Daily Newspaper Feb 2017. Laikipia ranch invasion spark friction between Kenya and UK. <https://www.businessdailyafrica.com/news/Laikipia-ranch-invasions-spark-friction-between-Kenya--UK/539546-3797592-mj8cwmz/index.html>. Retrieved on 5th Oct 2018.

The Britain interest in Laikipia has still persisted, despite this crisis. On 30th September 2018, Prince William landed in Laikipia, where he visited the British Army Training Unit Kenya (Batuk) in Nanyuki. The Duke of Cambridge, who looked at ease clad in military fatigues, touched down at the military base and joined the troops in their training. He also visited the 1st Battalion Irish Guards Battlegroup, who are training under Batuk. He also serves as colonel of the regiment. This is the second time in three years that the 36-year-old British royal is visiting Kenya. He has been on a tour of Africa that also saw him visit Namibia. The second in line to the British throne was last in Kenya in 2016. He visited State House. About 10,000 British soldiers train in Olmaisior in Sossian and Ol Daiga every year as the arid countryside is said to be ideal for their exercises. Batuk pumps about Sh2 billion yearly into the Nanyuki economy through rates, rent and licenses. Other projects undertaken by the military installation in Laikipia include construction of roads, offering employment to locals and educating poor children through their education initiatives.

4.3 Role of Kenyan Government in Laikipia Conflicts

On 5 March 2017, Tristan Voorspuy, a British-Kenyan safari guide, was killed. Voorspuy was a major shareholder of Sosian conservancy. ¹¹⁹After Voorspuy's death, Max Hastings asked in his column in the Daily Mail Newspaper whether this means "the end of the white man in Africa?" Farms and game ranches have been "invaded and overrun by armed tribesmen brandishing automatic rifles, burning buildings and terrorizing owners as they claim grazing rights for their own cattle," Hastings wrote. Hastings seemed worried

¹¹⁹ Max hasting (2017). Is this the ends of the White men in Africa? The murders of a legendaries safari guides in Kenya is but the latest outrages as tribes arm with AK-47s grab white farmers land and politicians turn a blind eye. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4291586/End-white-man-Africa.html>

that he won't be able to travel on holiday to Laikipia's luxury safari lodges. He writes that Laikipia, just a few years back, "was paradise". He describes riding on horseback at sunrise with elephants, giraffe, buck, warthog, and leopards. And he marvels that, "such wild beauty still exists on earth". As if to prove Hastings correct, Raila Odinga, Kenya's opposition leader was reported in the Times newspaper that he promised to dismantle white-owned ranches in Laikipia if he won the general election in August 2017.

It's not just white-owned ranches but also Farms possessed by both whites and blacks that have been targeted and have been overrun¹²⁰ through the invasion of the ranches by armed raiders of the most powerful Kenyans among them the former chief of the army and a former speaker of the National Assembly. In an interview by the Guardian Newspaper, Joseph Shuel, a Human rights activist disclosed that the crisis being experienced in Laikipia were partly driven by the effects of the drought and historical grievances with politicians inciting and misleading herders that they can take land by force outside the bounds of the law.

The New York Times quotes Kuki Gallman, an Italian who owns the Ol Ari Nyiro conservancy in Laikipia. She arrived in Kenya in 1972 and bought a 40,000 hectare cattle ranch. Gallman's autobiography "I Dreamed of Africa" was made into a film starring Kim Basinger. Gallman told the New York Times, "I'm a curator of a living museum. Nature here is so majestic. The world will need places like this more and more in the future. They are impossible to reconstruct once they're gone. My dream for the future is just that this place will remain whole." In April 2017, Gallman sent a series of texts to Jeffrey

¹²⁰ Murithi Mutiga (2017). *As drought sweeps Kenya, herders invade farms and old wounds are reopened*. The guardian news. Retrieved on Oct 5th 2018.

Gettleman, a New York Times journalist: “Pokot militia openly carrying firearms. Not just herders. Group of armed men without livestock. 13 firearm spotted.” A lodge at was set on fire. ¹²¹Gallman was shot in the stomach while inspecting the damage.

The varied geography shapes not only economic activity but also conflict. There are conflicts between ranchers and smallholder farmers who perennially fume about their crops being trampled under by wildlife. There are also more deadly conflicts, between ranchers and pastoralists, especially the Samburu herders. In county politics, the ranchers have no natural allies. They blame the farmers for blocking the animals’ migratory corridors and so inviting the trampling. Their beef with the pastoralists is more complex and is embedded in historical controversies and sharp differences in conservation philosophy. The official explanation for the festering troubles is that severe drought has driven herders to invade private wildlife ranches and conservancies. That, though, is a lazy and dangerously naïve view. ¹²² There are deep historical grievances going back over a hundred years, to the 1904 and 1911 Maasai agreements. There are agitators pushing the anti-white, let-kick-settlers-out-of-Kenya line, hoping to ride a populist wave to influence and power. But there are also opportunists lurking in the shadows, waiting to free-ride on and profiteer from any chaos that “free sup” valuable Laikipia land.

The police force in Laikipia County, is internally divided with research findings from the secondary sources indicating that the police have confronted invaders fleetingly

¹²¹ Citizen Tv (2017). Laikipia Nature Conservancy owner Gallman Shot. Retrieved on 23rd September 2018. <https://citizentv.co.ke/news/laikipia-nature-conservancy-owner-kuki-gallman-shot-164245/>

¹²² Amos K. (2011). *How Lenana gave away Samburu land*. Standard Newspaper published on Oct 2nd 2011. Retrieved on 5th Oct 2018. <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000043951/how-lenana-gave-away-samburu-land>

in smallholder areas to a small extent and at times whatsoever while in the social farms their commitment has been short-term and partial. The unwillingness to deploy police officers, presence of heavily armed and well-organized pastoralist soldiers and guidelines from their more high-ranking officers could attribute to the inactions by the police to confront the invaders. Even though the police are deployed rarely do they confront the invaders as underlined by the recent invasions as from January to March 2017 which left the residents in Laikipia questioning Police motives as well whether they were in an agreement at the elite level. To encounter the deficit in police backing, a lot of societies have demanded National Police Reserve position.

The Kenyan government faces a greater challenge, in which it necessitates to frame a strategy that will support the pastoral societies fine-tune to altering circumstances, particularly environmental pressures that weaken the outdated semi-nomadic pastoralism that has been continuously practiced for a long period. Historically, the government of Kenyan has abandoned the livestock-keeping segment, rather than encouraging profitmaking crops like coffee and tea which are big trade exchange earners and this assists explanations on the causes why we have low heights of growth and higher rates of illiteracy among pastoral groups in Laikipia and much of northern Kenya.

The only thing that would recover the condition in Laikipia ought to be complete government contribution and commitment and improved safety processes as indicated by most of the interviewers in Laikipia small holding, group ranches and private ranchers. according to the respondents, government safety processes were organized effectively in Laikipia including the police deployment in the Kenya Wildlife Service in Ol Jogi and Ol Pejeta conservancies where no property had been invaded as at now and according to Peter

Mwangi the Jubilee (government) has allowed an Orange Democratic Movement leader (Lempurkel) achieved a lot of energy by having issued political statements that land invasions would not be tolerated and deployment of KDF in a small scale.¹²³ Some of the reasons behind the expediency and laxity of Jubilee Party is fear of radicalization of the pastoralists who politicians use for their selfish gains. They also fear pastoralist revolution termed as 'self-defense' and revolt against security operations thus loose the Jubilee party crucial pastoralist voting blocs.

When the Rift Valley land issues were politicized, the Kikuyus, Luos and the Kisiis pleaded property rights. It did not work. It is not likely to work when politicians decide to target ranchers. But this conflict also exposes a clash in conservation politics. The game park based conservation model, which rests on separating wildlife from people, is unknown to the Maasai, who have always lived cheek by jowl with wildlife. Maasai feel doubly denied by the conservation model Kenya has pursued ever since the first game-parks were established. Often they have lost their lands to the parks and always they have gained no income from those parks. When Amboseli National Park was established in the 1950s they were assured that they would get income from the park. As soon as the park was established, the Maasai were dismissed as irrational animal over-stockers whose lifestyles were incompatible with conservation. Ever since, park incomes go straight to the national government coffers.

¹²³ Peter Mwangi (2017). *Kaparo faults KDF operations in Laikipia*. Citizen TV. Retrieved on 3rd Oct 2018.

4.4 Role of Britain in Laikipia Conflicts

The government interventions and community involvement is vital is a lasting peace to the protracted conflicts in Laikipia and its environment would be achieved. Besides, there is need for deployment of enough security personnel to mitigate the conflicts without political elite's interference. The security force should further be empowered with enough machineries to counteract the armed pastoral militia who are usually heavily armed. The response should be similar to the government's proactive response Ol Jogi and Ol Pejeta conservancies which were not attacked during the writing.¹²⁴ Though a lawsuit was filed in 1913 by Ole Njogo & Others against Attorney General of the East African Protectorate the lawsuit was not in their favour allegedly due to legally dubious technicality including the 1904 and 1911 agreements between the Maasai Laibon and the King of England which court termed as treaties between two sovereigns over which local courts had no jurisdiction.¹²⁵ The Masaai have been feeling cheated as well as marginalized in that eve their efforts in 1932 didn't bear much fruits when they pressed their case at the Carter Commission of Inquiry into Land. At the constitutional talks at Lancaster House in the 1960s, they raised the issue yet again and they were ignored, yet again.

¹²⁶In 2004, on the anniversary of the 1904 agreement, the Laikipia Communities repeated the historical land demands to the Britain Government and mobilized civil society to protest and press for compensation and restitution. They were met with police violence and brutality. Thwarted time and again in their hundred-year quest for justice, the Maasai

¹²⁴ Ben Ole Loissaba (2015) Elusive Justice. *The Maasai contestation of land appropriation in Kenya. A Historical and Contemporary Perspective*

¹²⁵ Wachira Maina (2017). Trouble in paradise. Laikipia ranchers must join politics. The East African Newspaper. Retrieved on 24th September 2018

¹²⁶ Dr Lotte Hughes. Malice in Maasai land: The historical roots of current political struggles.

see the agreements as a potent symbol of official indifference, even hostility to their rights. The ranchers miss the point when they say these issues are now dead. Two additional factors have made this conflict even harder to resolve.

¹²⁷According to Murithi, the farmers and extensive farmers' properties have been overwhelmed by pastoralists including the great grandmother of Martin Evans who typifies what the above have been going through. The grandmother arrived in Nyeri town in Central province in 1902 from Britain as one of Kenya's innovator farmers of coffee. His father settled for Laikipia where he bought the Ol Maisor ranch in Laikipia, and started growing wheat and keeping livestock since 1968 and soon became fluent in Kiswahili and considering Laikipia home. In an interview with Crisis Group Evans, he disclosed that the newest hostility with herders was the nastiest he had memories for as he lost two of his worker to Pokot herders and tens of thousands of livestock. He asserted that the invasions were politically instigated. The herders remained on the farm in an anxious standstill with military groups transported in to guard the family and ranch employees. Evan believes that delegation has paved way for justice and control nearer to the public but increased animosity among cultural tribes by creating "ethnic mini-nations" whose leaders had a huge role in protracted wars in the region as they incited their supporters to govern property to improve their political benefits.

¹²⁷ Murithi Mutiga (2017). *Violence, Land and the upcoming vote in Kenya's Laikipia region*. International crisis group. Retrieved on 18th September 2018.

4.5 Britain's Reactions to the Conflict

¹²⁸According to Neville Otuki the Pastoralist attack to Laikipia farms and preservancies, retained by British residents, have remained to influence political resistance between the United Kingdom and Kenya. The British High Commission in Nairobi said that the invasions by pastoralists from bordering Turkana and Samburu societies, are supposed to be partially influenced by political figures driven conferred interests, setting at danger the region's Sh4 billion a year economy. ¹²⁹These followed with an apprise to its residents, specifying a decaying session of anxiety in the area. "We are deeply concerned by recent land invasions in the Laikipia area. We continue to monitor the situation closely, and raise the issue at the highest levels within the Kenyan government," spokesman Stephen Burns said.

The murder of Mr. Tristan Voorspuy (owner and founder of Offbeat Safaris) sparked a big row between the British High Commission and the Kenyan authorities. The high commission stated that he recurrently communicated to the authorities of Kenya the massive anxiety United Kingdom has with the situation in parts of Laikipia and advised the ruling classes in Kenya to employ all essential phases to immediately to reinstate rule and command and to guard life expectancy and land in the region. In reaction to this, the Kenyan government guaranteed global visitors visiting Laikipia that the preservancies and farms in the county are harmless for safari.

¹²⁸ Neville Otuki (2016). Laikipia ranch invasions spark friction between Kenya, UK. Business daily newspaper. Retrieved on 2nd October 2018.

¹²⁹ Valentine Obara (2017). UK issues travel warning for Laikipia over ranch invasions. Retrieved on 3rd October 2017.

The British High Commission in Kenya had issued a travel advisory against the game ranches, some of which are owned by UK nationals and host high-value tourists. For an industry that is still recovering from the shock of terrorism-related advisories, this is unwelcome news. It is in the country's interest that the government immediately stops the incursions in Laikipia and reassures the investors of their personal security and that of their property. In the long term, Kenya needs a land use policy to fix its perennial land ownership problems. ¹³⁰Speaking to his supporters after he was released on Wednesday evening, Mr. Lempurkel termed the message as special and directed it to the world and the UK government.

Laikipia is scattered consisting farms, resorts and wildlife reservations enticing thousands of tourists every year and withstands about 5,000 workers and about 10,000 British herds and also train every year in Nanyuki's punitive topography in Laikipia County under the Kenya-UK armed co-operation, driving more than Sh8 billion into the economy. The British farm proprietors accused the Kenyan powers' lukewarm reply to the battles for the sustained increase that instigated devastation of assets worth millions of shillings. The Laikipia Farmers' Association who stands the main property-owners said the attacks had emerged owing to the closure of five tourism resorts and left one person dead.

4.6 Implications Laikipia Conflict to the Foreign Relations between Britain and Kenya

The protracted conflicts in Laikipia as underlined by the interviewees cannot be categorized as tribal conflicts and black versus white or 'haves' versus 'have-nots' as the

¹³⁰ Mwangi Ndirangu (2018). Ex-MP Mathew Lempurkel released on police cash bail. Daily Nation Newspaper. Retrieved on 28th September 2018.

conflicts in Laikipia are multifaceted in nature contrary to the typical labels applied to African conflicts. They further indicated that the fault lines of this conflict in Laikipia County is between multiple groups including groups whose benefits are in steadiness and the decree of regulation, and groups who yield from its absenteeism. However, the study established that the previous association necessitates robust, established supremacy, mainly with regard to property tenancy implementation and the administration of supportable maintenances at the grassroots level and by the government. They further indicated that what happened in Laikipia impacted much of northern Kenya often serving as a receptacle on which strains could spread and bleed into the nearby regions or the country's center.

After the Laikipia crisis started, the British Government Issue travel advisories against Kenya, but failed to communicate with the ministry of internal security before issuing an update on the situation, which caused tourists to leave. The High Commission said it had released the update as a routine excise for UK citizens based on Kenya's security profile at any given time. Past advisories have been linked to concerns over terrorist activities that nearly crippled Kenya's tourism industry in the past three years. A series of terrorist attacks on Kenyan towns in 2014 saw Britain, the US and France issue movement cautions to their people, leading to a steep deterioration in visitor arrivals and the closure of more than 40 hotels at the Kenyan Coast due to low bed occupancy.

After the UK and the US lifted travel advisories on the coastal towns of Mombasa, Watamu and Malindi, the sector has recently been on a rebound. The advisories on Lamu,

Manda Garissa and Nairobi's Eastleigh district were retained.¹³¹ In 2016, the US overtook Britain for the first time as the top source market of foreign tourists visiting Kenya as US tourist arrivals grew 15.4 per cent to 97,883 in 2016, outpacing Britain, traditionally Kenya's leading market, whose visitors dropped 2.1 per cent to 96,404 tourists, according to data from Kenya Tourism Board. Overall, international tourist arrivals to Kenya increased 16.7 per cent to 877,602 the year 2015 from 752,073 in 2017. Tourism was once Kenya's highest foreign exchange earner, but has been declining over the years.

Low food production, through the neglect of farms and depletion of livestock for the dispossessed communities is one of the effects of Conflicts.¹³² In Wajir, according to Omosa, the district supports the fact that the effects of resource based battles at the domestic foundation is considered based on limited access to sustenance and forced relocations of households and cattle. Societies are not involved in creative financial labor because the atmosphere of anxiety provoked by conflicts.¹³³ This leads to reduced food production and depletion of cattle during raids.

4.7 Conclusions

In this case, ranchers/conservationist instead pastoralist fail to recognize the broad image and chances encompassed by cooperative socio-economic growth methods. In the Laikipia plateau the co-being of wildlife and cattle has been subjected to continuous push relative to pull spectacle through the ages since the Mukugodo (ancestral Maasai) stalkers

¹³¹ Kenya Tourist Board. Sustainable tourist report 2016

¹³² Omosa M (2005). The search for Food security: Images and Realities of Rural Kenya. IDS Policy Issue 4 No 1. Nairobi: Institute for Development Studies.

¹³³ Omosa, E.K., (2005). The impact of water conflicts on pastoral livelihoods. *The case of Wajir district. IISD, Winnipeg.*

and collectors controlled the region, up to the seasonal pastoralists of Laikipia. During the British foreign management that contributed to the relocation of pastoralists and re-shaping of large-scale properties. In Laikipia County the varied arrangement of the present property usage echoes a complicated historical of human achievement and settlement. Different from utmost all of other different Regions in Kenya, Laikipia's property usage is fragmented into forest conservation zones, government property, huge range ranches, huge range farms, pastoral regions (North) and city settlements. Considered as important tribunals in Laikipia might be twisted into enormous chances that can enhance the economy of the societies in these zones. Rather than "cursing" cattle and pastoralists, it is period plan maintainable commercial representations that assist wildlife upkeep and cattle to co-exist extensively for a comprehensive and hardy socio-economic growth.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This study sought to investigate the complexities of natural resource conflicts in Kenya with the key focus on the Laikipia conflict. The study sought to assess the various actors, discourses and claims behind the recent Laikipia conflict, the effects of the Laikipia conflict in relation to the county's natural resources, livelihoods of local communities and conservancies and to assess the implications of the conflict to the foreign relations between Britain and Kenya. The study applied a qualitative methodology to analyze data where the data was analyzed thematically with themes obtained from the research questions and research hypothesis. The findings have been discussed and presented on the subsections below.

Chapter one majored on the proposal of the research. This entailed giving a background of the study where a brief history of the study was given, objectives of the study, hypothesis, justification of the research that includes theoretical relevance, social relevance and policy relevance. Additionally, the chapter also looked at the statement of the problem, literature review, and research methodology that entailed methods that the researcher used during the period of study.

Chapter two focused on the various actors, discourses and claims behind the recent Laikipia conflict. The section further investigated the factors that have triggered conflicts between the local communities, the ranchers and the farmers in the Laikipia region. Additionally, the chapter discussed the historical background of the conflict, conflict transformation, actors behind the conflict and their role and claims behind the conflict. The

study provided insights on how the competition for natural resource for grazing the pastoral livestock has contributed to the conflicts in the region. Furthermore, the research assessed how cultural practices of different local communities in the region and surrounding areas have contributed to the Laikipia conflict. Through this study the researcher gave an understanding on the nature, causes and underlying forces of the Laikipia conflict. The socio-cultural and economic issues that cause and trigger violence among the communities within the region were assessed and discussed extensively.

Chapter three investigated the effects of the Laikipia Conflict in relation to the country's natural resources, livelihoods of local communities and conservancies. The researcher investigated the motive of property destruction and why they occur during the dry months. The section also investigated the effects of the conflict in the tourism sector. Importantly, the human-wildlife conflict has resulted in destruction of livelihoods for the farmers within the areas proximity to wildlife corridors.

Chapter four discussed the implications of the conflict to the foreign relations between Kenya and Britain. The chapter discussed on the historical foreign relations between Kenya and Britain and the role played by both governments in the conflict. The researcher focused on the potentially strained relationship between the two nations and projected measures to enhance better foreign relations with Britain.

Chapter five discussed on the summary of the main findings, answering of the research questions, conclusion and recommendation of the study.

5.2 Answering the Research Questions

5.2.1 What Various Claims do Actors Lay to the Wildlife Conservancy Ranches by the Local Communities?

Local communities

The study established that the majority of the residents at Laikipia claim and blame the white settlers for sitting on large tracks of land with idle pastures and water while their cattle are starving. They claimed that they do not see the significance of the conservancies if they hold grass that cannot be directly helpful to their cattle. Additionally, during the dry months, the pastoralist communities who are composed of the Samburu, Maasai, Pokot and the Turkana drive their large herds of cattle into these conservancies and ranches in search of water and pasture for their animals. Their claim is that they are in search of water and pasture for their animals which forces them to invade the conservancies and force in their cattle to the idle grass that was preserved for the wild animals. The locals further claimed that they did not see the benefits of the conservancies as they were not given the share of the proceeds obtained from the tourists visiting the conservancies.

Ranchers

The study further established that the owners of the ranches also contributed to the crisis at Laikipia. The ranchers claimed that they were operating under the 1919 lease agreement that stated that they would occupy the land for 999 years. They further claimed that beef farming was of economic benefit to the country and that Kenya was gaining a lot from beef export. Additionally, they further claimed that these open ranches had attracted tourists in the region hence being of economic benefit in the region. Tourism has a huge impact in Laikipia and its regarded as one of the major tool of economic development.

Their claim was that tourism brings people from different cultures and traditions together and this promotes peace in the region.

National and the County governments of Laikipia

The study revealed that the government security organs were slow in responding to the issues at Laikipia, due to their complexity. The national government claimed that it was their role in maintaining good diplomatic relations with Britain. They further claimed that the country is gaining a lot from the huge investments that the British government had invested in the region. Findings from this research established that the British regards Kenya as a close friend and its due to this reason that the national government doesn't want to jeopardize the friendship. On the other hand, the county government claimed that following the promulgation of the new constitution in August of 2010, the constitution gave the counties the power to manage their own resources. This includes the public land that was owned by the national government, which was transferred to the county government including public conservancies.

Laikipia county government therefore assumed the role of resolving the pastoral conflicts. The county further claimed that it was their role in advancing the interest of its residents who includes the pastoralists communities by improving extension services that entails establishing breeder farms and offering funding for research to help locals to improve the quality of their cattle which in turn helps them to raise smaller, more productive cattle. Additionally, they claimed that it was their role in ensuring that every community live peacefully and the communities should exploit the counties natural resources harmoniously.

Political Leaders

The political leaders claimed that it was their role in advancing their constituents interest both at the local and national government levels. They further claimed that their was unequal distribution of natural resources in the region hence there is need for equality during the sharing of resources. They further claimed that land occupied by the ranchers and conservancies belonged to the local communities and there was need for the land to be returned back to the original inhabitants.

5.2.2 What Factors Play a Role in the Laikipia Conflict?

Inter-ethnic conflicts in Laikipia were common cause of violence in the area. This was occasioned by cattle rustling within Laikipia, which led to communities waging war against the other communities. In Laikipia County, the agricultural communities have different cultures suitable to their farming way of life. For instance, the way of life for the communities such as the Samburu and the Maasai revolves around keeping large herds of livestock and warfare such as cattle rustling. Therefore, most of the pastoral communities of this region are in constant movement with their animals in search of pasture and water across the plains. The nomadic pastoralists graze in the open lands and along the corridors and fenced regions for ranching and wildlife conservation. The culture of the pastoral communities such as the Samburu, Pokot and Turkana practiced cattle rustling from the neighboring communities¹³⁴. This engagement in raids amongst the pastoral communities has constantly been a cause of conflict that has led to proliferation of arms for practicing raiding and protecting their cattle.

¹³⁴Letai, J., (2011). Land Deals in Kenya: The Genesis of Land Deals in Kenya and its Implication on Pastoral Livelihoods: Case Study of Laikipia District, 2011

Political incitements especially in the electioneering years were another cause of the violence in Laikipia. Politicians would come to Laikipia and in the process of vote hunting, they promised the residents that once elected, they will drive away all the white settlers and the local residents will have pieces of land in the ranches and conservancies. This obviously is not possible but it ignites the urge by local residents to drive away the white settlers from Laikipia, and thus causing the violence. An abundant agreement of the newest plump of forcefulness was activated by legislators equipped with evidence that the 99-year tenancies detained by farmers in Laikipia were approaching expiration ¹³⁵. They committed themselves in to provoke herders to attack and inhabit the affected farms with the eventual expectation of possessing these farms. This a lot contributed to the demolition of belongings, eradication of wildlife and also damage of tourism to an area that is an important terminus for thousands of visitors worldwide

Among the actors identified was **scarcity of pastures** due to ongoing droughts especially in dry months, which le the Pastoralists communities to graze their cattle inside the conservancies, as they claimed they could see good pastures for their cattle. This was despite the fact that the ranches and conservancies were private property. The logic was that they couldn't watch their cattle die of hunger, when they could see edible grass inside the conservancies. This then led to the security officers confronting the pastoralists and killing of some of the cattle. The pastoralists also formed and executed revenge attacks on the conservationists and ranchers and killed some of them. This then escalated into a crisis.

¹³⁵ Manyara, Geoffrey, and Eleri Jones. (2007). "Community-based tourism enterprises development in Kenya: An exploration of their potential as avenues of poverty reduction." *Journal of sustainable tourism* 15, 6, 628-644.

Historical grievances were also identified as one of the causes of violence in Laikipia. The study further established that the treaties signed between the leaders of the Maasai community and the White settlers were unfair and that those that signed were not aware of what they were signing. They further claimed that Kenya is a country of black people and they do not understand where white settlers came from and why exactly they are occupying their land. This was so because of high levels of illiteracy in Laikipia, as most of the pastoralists have little regards for education of their children.

Unequal redistribution of resources in Laikipia was also identified as one of the causes to the conflicts. The study expounded that the county had very wealthy people who were few in numbers and a majority of very poor people. The gap in the socioeconomic status is what triggered and sustained the violence. This was so because some of the people had nothing to lose and in some cases blamed the resources owned by the white settlers as what could have been rightfully theirs. This then led to confrontations and thus violence.

The study established that there were concerns that privately run conservancies allow concentration of large tracts of land and valuable wildlife-related economic activities in the hands of just a few individuals. The residents did not see any meaningful significance of the conservancies as they occupied lands they should be grazing, and thus their numerous herds of cattle had little land left to graze. The major concerns were that in the dry season, the grazing grass was depleted and the only place that had grass that the cattle could graze, was the conservancies, and thus the pastoralists had to drive their cattle into the conservancies. They claimed that they cannot watch their cattle die, when they see idle land with a lot of grass. The study further established that government has not fully addressed the issues that led to the violence, and thus future conflicts may happen again,

as the land issues have not been addressed, and the drought season is inevitable. This means that every dry period may end up causing the conflicts in Laikipia.

5.2.3 What are the Implications of the Recent Invasions on the Local Communities, Local Livelihoods and Economy, Conservancies and to the Laikipia County?

The study established that invasions of the conservancies had a negative economic impact on the Laikipia region as it led to massive death of their cattle that were killed by the rangers protecting the conservancies. The study further established that the invasions led to closure of some conservancies which led to job losses and low business. The study further established that the residents who operate curio shops and other tourism related industries also revealed that their businesses were affected greatly by the invasions as the tourists who were their main customers were not visiting Laikipia, and thus their sales decline drastically.

The residents who supplied foodstuffs and other materials to the ranches and the conservancies were also affected by these invasions as the conservancies as it led to the closure of the conservancies and thus no business. The study revealed that some of the residents incurred huge losses as they had already purchase the supplies before the conservancies were closed, and that some of their supplies were perishable.

The majority of the respondents further stated that the invasions in Laikipia also led to insecurity that affected the education as the children had difficulties in attending school with the spate of insecurity and the heavy police presence that followed thereafter. This led to decline in education status of the region.

5.2.4 How have these Conflicts Affected the Relations between Kenya and Britain?

After the Laikipia crisis started, the British Government Issue travel advisories against Kenya, but failed to communicate with the ministry of internal security before issuing an update on the situation, which caused tourists to leave. The High Commission said it had released the update as a routine exercise for UK citizens based on Kenya's security profile at any given time. Past advisories have been linked to concerns over terrorist activities that nearly crippled Kenya's tourism industry in the past three years. The travel advisory issued against tourist attraction sites in Laikipia, some of which are owned by UK nationals and host high-value tourists. For an industry that was still recovering from the shock of terrorism-related advisories, the move was hurting the industry further. In the long term, Kenya needs a land use policy to fix its perennial land ownership problems.

5.3 Research Hypothesis

5.3.1 Various Actors in the Conflict Frame their Claims in as Far as they Serve their Own Interests and Needs.

The conflicts in Laikipia are quite complex in its nature, and it's this complexity that makes it difficult to solve. For instance, the study established that the government could not side with the conservationists, especially when they killed large number of cattle that were grazing in the conservancies. On the other hand, they could not side with the pastoralists for attacking, burning and killings in the conservancies, and thus presented a complex case. Further, each of the actors fingers the other, as the perpetrator, and from their side of things, they all seem right in their own way. The conservationists view the wild animals to be more valuable and that the region benefits from taxes and charges obtained from the tourists visiting the area. The pastoralists on the other hand view the

conservancies as useless and as potential grazing grounds, for their precious cattle. The ranchers claim that they bought the land and thus are entitled to use the land the best way they deem fit, whereas the pastoralist claim that the land was theirs owned by their ancestors and that the white settlers shouldn't own anything in the region. In general, the

5.3.2 The Nature of Conflicts has Resulted into Major Impacts on Livelihoods and the Economy of the Area and Occupants.

The crisis in Laikipia region as it led to massive death of their cattle that were killed by the rangers protecting the conservancies. Further the resultant insecurity affected the transport, as people could not move freely, tourism as the western countries issued travel advisories against Laikipia, closure of businesses that relate too tourism, and job layoffs of the people working in the conservancies. This had a big negative effect on the economy and the livelihoods of Laikipia.

5.3.3 The Conflicts have a Wider Effect on Straining Inter-Country Relationships between Kenya and Britain.

The emergence of the conflicts in Laikipia has affected the relations between Kenya and Britain government. The two governments have had a long standing relationship that is mutually beneficial. Kenya benefits from the British government through trade (exports), tourism, international aid and donors and many other ways. The Britain has also been a close ally to Kenya where the British army trains in Kenya, in Laikipia. The emergence of these conflicts stirred a diplomatic row between these two countries. Worse was when the British government came to the understanding that some of the Kenyan politicians were involved in the aggravating the crisis. The British government felt that the Kenyan government should have done more in prevention of the said crisis, and blamed the Kenya

police for their slow response. As a result of this, the British issued travel bans against Laikipia and this led to a strain in the tourism and economy of the Laikipia region.

5.4 Conclusions

Based on the findings of the study, the researcher concludes that politicians, inter-ethnic conflicts, drought situations, historical land injustices and human wildlife conflicts were major contributors to the violence experienced in Laikipia region. These factors had varying intensity of their effects on the violence that was experienced, with the drought becoming a major contributor to these conflicts, and human wildlife conflicts contributing the least.

The study further concludes that the conflicts experienced in Laikipia has a huge negative effect on the county's natural resources, such as the wildlife, the rangelands, and livestock, and led to huge losses to the investors and the community. Tourism suffered too as a result of the conflicts experienced, especially when the United Kingdom government issued travel advisories against certain parts of Kenya (Laikipia to be specific), as a result of the experienced conflicts, and thus affecting the tourism, and the economy of the county at large. The livelihoods of the local communities were also experiencing losses as they suffered after their herds of cattle were killed by the soldiers protecting the conservancies. They also suffered losses as a result of human wildlife conflicts that was experienced in the area. The conservancies too suffered as some of them had their property burnt down; people lost their lives in the process. The grasslands that were also supposed to be preserved for the wild animals were also consumed by the cattle from the pastoralists communities. Generally, the conflicts brought losses to all the stakeholders within Laikipia.

The conflicts experienced in Laikipia had far-reaching effects on the people of Laikipia, and Kenya at large. The conflicts stirred a diplomatic row between Kenya and Britain which led to travel advisories against Laikipia region of Kenya. With tourism being a major foreign exchange earner, the travel advisory had an obvious negative effect on the economy of Kenya. Secondly, United Kingdom trains its military in Laikipia, and the said conflicts led to a standoff that almost led to the closure of the training camp in Laikipia. The United Kingdom government also advised other potential investors against Kenya as an investment hub and this too affected the economy of Laikipia and Kenya at large.

5.5 Recommendations

Diversification among the pastoral communities would help alleviate the causative factors of conflicts with ranchers and farmers. Processes to cure this could necessitate to robust government inventiveness to train and authorize pastoral societies with knowledge on farming and other related works that pastoral communities including the youths could engage in. Moreover, education will play a critical role both at the primary and secondary level, followed by truthful and accessible chances for jobs and incorporation into the financial budget, highlighting skills based or work-oriented training.

Second, a reintegration of the northern regions, a change away from pastoralism with other procedures as means of support. Administration of cattle handling potential on the range-lands must be at the front of any predictable long-term commitments, and also revitalization of the veterinary values and rules that previously in post-Independence Kenya, and operative actions to market cattle. This will require active buy-in and consensus from all concerned stakeholders: the state, the pastoralist communities, and other land users of all scales, acting as development partners, not competitors.

The national government as well as the county government of Laikipia should device a method to give the local communities a percentage of the proceeds from the tourism activities. The funds should be used to reclaim the pieces of lands in Laikipia that are not under use, so that they can ease pressure on the pastoralists during the dry seasons and thus stop the violence experience.

Land adjudication in the region should also be carried out. The community land should also be subdivided into individual portion, and this will create a sense of ownership and boundaries. Further, it will make the pastoralists to act individually rather than the current state where they act as a community. This will reduce the likelihood of forming morans that were also blame for the attacks.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agence France-Presse (2017). *Wildlife pays the price of Laikipia ranch crashes. Herder conservationist conflict decimated populations*. Published by the Daily newspaper. Retrieved on 20th September 2018.

Akiwumi (1999). *Judiciaries commissions of inquiries into tribals clash in Kenya counties hall*

Amani Labda, (2011). *Joint evaluation of conflict prevention and peace building in the Democratic Republic of Congo*.

Amos K. (2011). *How Lenana gave away Samburu land*. Standard Newspaper published on Oct 2nd 2011. Retrieved on 5th Oct 2018.
<https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000043951/how-lenana-gave-away-samburu-land>

Anderson, D. and Lochery, E., (2008). *Violence and exodus in Kenya's Rift Valley, 2008: predictable and preventable?*. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 2(2), pp.328-343.

Barbieri, K., (1996). *'Economics Interdependence: A path to peace or a source of conflict?'*, *Journal of Peace Research*, 33: 29–50.

Bedelian, Claire. (2012). "Conservation and Ecotourism on Privatised Land in the Mara Kenya: The Case of Conservancy Land Leases."

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

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

- Ben Ole Loissaba (2015) Elusive Justice. *The Maasai contestation of land appropriation in Kenya. A Historical and Contemporary Perspective*
- Berger R. (2003). 'Conflict over Natural Resources among Pastoralists in Northern Kenya: a look at recent initiatives in Conflict Resolution'. *J. Int. Dev.*, 15(2): 245-257.
- Bond, J., (2013). Communications and Conflicts: The Cases of Laikipia Counties, Kenya. Retrieved from: <http://www.inter-disciplinary.net/critical-issues/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/jbondbilpaper.pdf>
- Bond, J., (2014). Conflict, development and security at the agro–pastoral–wildlife nexus: a case of Laikipia County, Kenya. *Journal of Development Studies*, 50(7), pp.991-1008.
- Brockington, D., (2001). Communal property and degradation narratives: debating the Sukuma immigration into Rukwa region, Tanzania. *Les. Cah.* 20, 1e22.
- Brown, O., Hammill, A., McLeman, R., (2007). Climate change as the new security threat: implications for Africa. *Int. Aff.* 83, 1141e1154.
- Bryant, R.L., (1998). *Power, knowledge and political ecology in the third world: a review*. *Prog. Phys. Geogr.* 22, 79e94.
- Buhaug, H., Gleditsch, N.P., Theisen, O.M., (2010). Implications of climate change for armed conflict. In: Mearns, R., Norton, A. (Eds.), *Social Dimensions of Climate Change: Equity and Vulnerability in a Warming World*. The World Bank, Washington, pp. 75e101
- Business Daily Newspaper Feb 2017. Laikipia ranch invasion spark friction between Kenya and UK. <https://www.businessdailyafrica.com/news/Laikipia-ranch-invasions-spark-friction-between-Kenya--UK/539546-3797592-mj8cwmz/index.html>. Retrieved on 5th Oct 2018.

- Campbell, I., Dalrymple, S., Craig, R., Crawford, A., (2009). Climate Changes and Conflicts. Lesson from Community Conservancy in Northern Kenya. Preservation Development Centre, International Institute for Sustainable Development and Saferworld, p. 62.
- Carter, Craig R., and Dale S. Rogers (2008) "A framework of sustainable supply chain management: moving towards new theory." *International journal of physical distribution & logistics management* 38, no.5: 360-387.
- Citizen Tv (2017). Laikipia Nature Conservancy owner Gallman Shot. Retrieved on 23rd September 2018. <https://citizentv.co.ke/news/laikipia-nature-conservancy-owner-kuki-gallman-shot-164245/>
- Coldham, Simon (1982)."Land Reforms in Kenya-Some Problems and Perspective." *Third World Legal Stud.* pg 82
- Dr Lotte Hughes. Malice in Maasai land: The historical roots of current political struggles.
- Druckman, J.N., (2001). The Implications of Framing Effects for Citizen Competence. *Political Behavior.* 23 (3):225-56.
- Emerton, Lucy. (2001)"Community-based incentives for nature conservation.".
- Eriksen, S., Lind, J.,(2009). Adaptation as a political process: adjusting to drought and conflict in Kenya's drylands. *Environ. Manage.* 43, 817e835.
- Fischer, F., and Shapiro, P., (2003). *Reframing Public Policy: Discursive Politics and Deliberative Practices.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, U.K.S
- Fox, G.R., (2018). Maasai group ranches, minority land owners, and the political landscape of Laikipia County, Kenya. *Journal of Eastern African Studies,* 12(3), pp.473-493.

- Fratkin, Elliot, and Robin (2003) Mearns. "Sustainability and pastoral livelihoods: lessons from East African Maasai and Mongolia." *Human organization*: 112-122.
- Gadd, M.E., (2005). Conservation outside of parks: attitudes of local people in Laikipia, Kenya. *Environmental Conservation*, 32(1), pp.50-63
- Gasiorowski, M. and S. Polachek, (1982). 'Conflict and interdependence: East West trade and linkages in the era of détente', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 26: 709–730.
- Gifford-Gonzalez, Diane. (1998). "Early pastoralists in East Africa: Ecological and social dimensions." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 17, no. 2: 166-200
- Goffman, E., (1974). *Frame Analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Greiner, C., Alvarez, M. and Becker, M., (2013). From cattle to corn: attributes of emerging farming Systems of Former Pastoral Nomads in East Pokot, Kenya. *Society & Natural Resources*, 26(12), pp.1478-1490.
- Hendrickson, D., Mearns, R., Armon, J.,(1996). Livestock raiding among the pastoral Turkana of Kenya e redistribution, predation and the links to famine. *IDS Bull.- Inst. Dev. Stud.* 27, 17e30.
- Homewood, Katherine, Ernestina Coast, and Michael Thompson. (2004) "In-migrants and exclusion in East African rangelands: access, tenure and conflict." *Africa* 74, no. 4: 567-610
- Ho-won Jeong.,(1999). *Theories of Conflict*, edi. by Lester Kurtz, *Encyclopedia of Violence Peace and Conflict* Vol. 3. , Academic Press, London, p.511
- Hsieh, H., Shannon, S.E., (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qual. Health Res.* 15, 1277e1288.

- Jane, K.N., Mwangi, J.G, and Nkurumwa, A.O., (2013). Climate Change Challenges and Adaptation Strategies among the Pastoralists of Laikipia County Kenya, *international Journal of Agricultural Extension*, 1 no. 1.
- Jillo, A., A. A. Aboud, and D. Layne Coppock. (2006) "From Herd Diversification to Livelihood Diversification as a Response to Poverty. The Case of the Waso Boran of Northern Kenya."
- Kathleen A. (2009) "Transition: pastoralist livings with changes." *Annual Reviews of Anthropology* 38: 185-198s
- Kennedy A. Mkutu (2007). Small Arms and Light Weapons among Pastoral Groups in Kenya-Uganda Border Area. *African Affairs*, Volume 106, issue 422 pg. 47-70
- Kenneth Boulding., (1963) *Conflict and Defense: A General Theory*. Harper and Row Publishers, New York pg. 4.
- Kenya Human Rights commission (1998). Akiwimu report
- Kenya Tourist Board. Sustainable tourist report 2016
- King, G and W. Lowe, (2003). 'An Automated Information Extraction Tool For International Conflict Data with Performance as Good as Human Coders: A Rare Events Evaluation Design', *International Organization*, 57(3) (July): 617-642.
- Kinnaird, M.F. and O'brien, T.G., (2012). Effects of private-land use, livestock management, and human tolerance on diversity, distribution, and abundance of large African mammals. *Conservation Biology*, 26(6), pp.1026-1039.
- Kohler, T. (1987). Lands Uses in Transition. Factors and issues of Small Scale ranching in a New Zone: The Example of Laikipian Districts, Kenyan. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University of Berne, Berne.

- Krätli S, Swift J (2001). 'Understanding and managing pastoral conflict in Kenya: How contemporary understandings and knowledge of pastoral conflict can guide practical work', Environment Team, IDS Sussex, UK.
- Krätli, S, and J Swift. (2003). Understanding and managing pastoral conflict in Kenya. Sussex: University of Sussex.
- Letai, J., (2011), April. Land deals in Kenya: The genesis of land deals in Kenya and its implication on pastoral livelihoods—A case study of Laikipia District, 2011. In *International Conference on Global Land Grabbing, Brighton, UK* (pp. 6-8).
- Letai, J., (2011). Land Deals in Kenya: The Genesis of Land Deals in Kenya and its Implication on Pastoral Livelihoods_a Case Study of Laikipia District, 2011. Retrieved from: <http://landportal.info/>.
- Li, M., Tost, L.P., Wade-Benzoni, K., (2013). The dynamic interaction of context and negotiator effects e a review and commentary on current and emerging areas in negotiation. *Int. J. Confl. Manag.* 18, 222e259.
- Irich, A., IfejikaSperanza, C., Roden, P., Kiteme, B., Wiesmann, U., Nüsser, M., (2012). Small-scale farming in semi-arid areas
- Mansfield, E. and B. Pollins, (2003). 'Inter-dependence and Conflict: An Introduction', in E. Mansfield and B. Pollins (eds.) *Economic Interdependence and International Conflict: New Perspectives on an Enduring Debate*, University of Michigan Press, Michigan.
- Manyara, Geoffrey, and Eleri Jones. (2007). "Community-based tourism enterprises development in Kenya: An exploration of their potential as avenues of poverty reduction." *Journal of sustainable tourism* 15, 6, 628-644.
- Max hastig (2017). Is this the ends of the White men in Africa? The murders of a legendaries safari guides in Kenya is but the latest outrages as tribes arm with

AK-47s grab white farmers land and politicians turn a blind eye.

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4291586/End-white-man-Africa.html>

Mkutu, K.A.(2008). *Gun and Governances in the Rift Valley: Pastoral War and Small weapons*. James Curry, Oxford.

Mkutu, KA. (2010). Complexities of livestock raiding in Karamoja. *Nomadic Peoples* 14(2): 87–105.

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

Morgan, James N., and John A. Sonquist. (1963). "Problems in the analysis of survey data, a proposal." *Journals of the Americans statistical associations* 58, no. 302 (1963). 415-434.

Munene, M., (2015). *Historical Reflections on Kenya: Intellectual Adventurism, Politics and International Relations*. University of Nairobi Press.

Murithi Mutiga (2017). *As drought sweeps Kenya, herders invade farms and old wounds are reopened*. The guardian news. Retrieved on Oct 5th 2018.

Murithi Mutiga (2017). *Violence, Land and the upcoming vote in Kenya's Laikipia region*. International crisis group. Retrieved on 18th September 2018.

Mwangi Ndirangu (2018). Ex-MP Mathew Lempurkel released on police cash bail. Daily Nation Newspaper. Retrieved on 28th September 2018.

Neville Otuki (2016). Laikipia ranch invasions spark friction between Kenya, UK. Business daily newspaper. Retrieved on 2nd October 2018.

Nyaoro, J.R. (1999). Case study on Kenya river watershed management and arising conflicts.

- Omondi, Patrick, Elphas Bitok, and Joachim Kagiri (2004). "Managing human–elephant conflicts: the Kenya experience." *Pachyderm* 36: pg 80-86.
- Omosa M (2005). The search for Food security: Images and Realities of Rural Kenya. IDS Policy Issue 4 No 1. Nairobi: Institute for Development Studies.
- Omosa, E.K., (2005). The impact of water conflicts on pastoral livelihoods. *The case of Wajir district. IISD, Winnipeg.*
- Opiyo, F.E., Wasonga, O.V., Schilling, J., Mureithi, S.M., (2012). Resource-based conflicts in drought-prone Northwestern Kenya: the drivers and mitigation mechanisms. *Wudpecker J. Agric. Res.* 1, 442e453.
- Peacock, J. Atkinson, and P. Morand. (1987)"Factors contributing to resistance of exotic maize populations to maize weevil, *Sitophilus zeamais*." *Journal of chemical ecology* 13, no. 4 : 751-762.
- Peter Mwangi (2017). *Kaparo faults KDF operations in Laikipia*. Citizen TV. Retrieved on 3rd Oct 2018.
- Peter V (2010). Focus on Land in Africa. Brief: History of Land conflicts in Kenya
- Redpath, S.M., Young, J., Evely, A., Adams, W.M., Sutherland, W.J., Whitehouse, A., Amar, A., Lambert, R.A., Linnell, J.D., Watt, A. and Gutierrez, R.J., (2013). Understanding and managing conservation conflicts. *Trends in ecology & evolution*, 28(2), pp.100-109.
- ReliefWeb. (2018). *Violence, Land, and the Upcoming Vote in Kenya's Laikipia Region*. Retrieved from: <https://reliefweb.int/report/kenya/violence-land-and-upcoming-vote-kenya-s-laikipia-region>
- Robst, J, S. Polachek and Y. Chang , (2006). 'Geographic Proximity, Trade and International Conflict/Cooperation', *IZA Discussion Papers* 1988, Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA).

- Rupi Mangat (2016). Mugie magic. Published by Daily Nation. Retrieved on 3rd Oct 2018
- Solomon, and D. Layne Coppoc (2004). "Pastoralism under force: tracking activity transformation in southern Ethiopia." *Human Ecology* 32, no. 4: pg 465-486
- Sortland, Thor Erik (2009) "Pastoralisms in Transformations. Conflicts and Displacements in North Kenyan. Master's thesis, Bergen University.
- Sundaresan, Siva R., and Corinna Riginos. (2010) "Lessons learned from biodiversity conservation in the private lands of Laikipia, Kenya." *Great Plains Research*: 17-27.
- Sundstrom, Olle, and Carl Binding. (2012): "Flexible charging optimization for electric vehicles considering distribution grid constraints." *IEEE Transactions on Smart Grid* 3, no. 1, 26-37
- Taylor, D., P. J. Lane, V. Muiruri, A. Ruttledge, R. Gaj McKeever, T. Nolan, P. Kenny, and R. Goodhue (2005). "Mid-to late-Holocene vegetation dynamics on the Laikipia Plateau, Kenya." *The Holocene* 15, no. 6. 837-846.
- The Standard. (2018). *Incidents of conflict between wildlife and human*. Retrieved at: <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000060823/lion-killed-kenyan-villagers-mauled>
- The Times, (2018). Tribesmen burn down author's lodge. Retrieved from <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/tribesmen-burn-down-authors-lodge-s7csnt2db>
- Tyler, S.R., (1999). Stakeholder analysis and conflict management. In: Buckles, D. (Ed.), *Cultivating Peace. Conflict and Collaboration in Natural Resource Management*. International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, pp. 263-280.

Ulrich, A., Ifejika Speranza, C., Roden, P., Kiteme, B., Wiesmann, U., Nüsser, M.,
(2012). Small-scale farming in semi-arid areas: livelihood dynamics between
1997 and 2010 in Laikipia, Kenya

UN Women profiles (2017). Leaderships with a various. In pursuit of progress and
fulfillment.

Valentine Obara (2017). UK issues travel warning for Laikipia over ranch invasions.
Retrieved on 3rd October 2017.

Wachira Maina (2017). Trouble in paradise. Laikipia ranchers must join politics. The
East African Newspaper. Retrieved on 24th September 2018

Wakhungu, J., Huggins, C., & Nyukuri, E. (2008). Land tenure and violent conflict in
Kenya. *African Centre for Technology Studies, Nairobi Kenya.*

Warurii, Fredrick Kariuki (2008). Inter ethnic conflict; Tendencies, cause, effect and
intervention in Rumuruti divisions of Laikipia counties Kenya 1963-2010

Watson, David J., and J. van Binsbergen. (2008) *Livestocks market accesses and
opportunity in Turkana, Kenya.* ILRI.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Questionnaire

1. What are the factors attributable to the recent incidents of violence in the Laikipia County particularly with the private land invasions?

To what extent do you agree that the following are the causes of violence attacks in Laikipia County (Tick \checkmark one that applies to your opinion per row)					
Causes of Laikipia Conflicts	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neutral (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)
Scarcity of pastures due to ongoing droughts especially in dry months					
historical grievances					
unequal redistribution of resources					
ethnic conflicts					
political incitements					

2. What types of conflicts that persist in the region?

A). Pastoralists vs. Ranchers conflicts []

B). Human-wildlife conflicts []

C). Ethnic clashes []

D). Land conflicts []

3. What is the historical background of these conflicts?

4. Are there some reasons behind the scenes that these conflicts are sparked during the election period?

5. What is on your opinion on the occupation of half of the land by wildlife conservancies in a land that was ancestral from the pastoral communities?
6. Is there a reason to believe that most of these conflicts especially on invasion of ranches by the pastoralists particularly during dry months are addressed appropriately by the authorities, ranchers and local communities?
7. Are there ways that the establishment of wildlife conservancies benefitted the local communities given that they were historically displaced from their land without any significant compensation?
8. How do the national and county governments work to resolve the conflicts in the region? Do you think the measures such as disarmament are effective?
9. How has some cultural practices such as cattle rustling contributed to these conflicts?
10. Do you think integrating farming by the pastoralists and other effective means of livestock keeping reduce the tensions over the reduced resources?
11. What are socio-economic and cultural activities of the local communities in Laikipia County and how they impact or are affected by the conflicts?