

**INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICTS: TRENDS, CAUSES, EFFECTS AND  
INTERVENTIONS IN RUMURUTI DIVISION OF LAIKIPIA  
COUNTY, KENYA  
(1963 – 2010)**

**BY  
WARURII, FREDRICK KARIUKI  
C50/CE/15051/2008**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND  
SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS OF KENYATTA UNIVERSITY**

**OCTOBER, 2015**

## DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree or academic award in any other university or any other award.

Signature:..... Date:.....

**Fredrick Kariuki Warurii** (C50/CE/15051/2008)

Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies

## SUPERVISORS

This thesis has been submitted with our approval as university supervisors

Signature:..... Date:.....

**Dr. Stephen Njoka Nyaga**

Department of Environmental Studies and Community Development

Signature:..... Date:.....

**Dr. Felix Macharia Kiruthu**

Department of Public Policy and Administration

**DEDICATION**

To my late parents Joseph Njiru Warurii and Justa Wamvuria for educating me, my wife Karen Warurii, daughter Faith Nancy Wawira and son in law, Julius Kibe Gathumbi for their tenacious support. To my grandson, Jesse Gathumbi Kibe, we pledge to set the way.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The successful completion of this thesis is as a result of the corporate inputs of very many people, a few whom I acknowledge herein for navigating me in the writing of this thesis. To begin with, my special gratitude goes to my supervisors Dr. Stephen Nyaga and Dr. Felix Kiruthu for their commitment in academically guiding this thesis to its successful completion. I am also grateful to Kenyatta University staff for guiding me in the entire writing of this thesis. In particular, may I recognize staff members in the department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies for their appropriate advice and encouragement: Dr. Lazarus Ngari, Dr. Washington Ndiiri, Dr. Joseph Wasonga, Dr. Wekesa Wafula, Dr. Pius Kakai, Mr. Peter Lemoosa and Prof. Shadrack Nasong'o. Special mention also goes to Dr. Zacharia Samita for assisting in proof reading and editing of my draft thesis.

Mr. John Macharia of the District Information and Documentation Centre (DIDC) and head of Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) office in Laikipia County facilitated me with relevant materials for writing this thesis. I thank Mr. Joram Waweru and Jane Kagiri, my tour guides. I am also immensely grateful to my respondents for generously volunteering vital information.

Special acknowledgement is due to colleagues, friends and family members who inspired my commitment to write this thesis. In particular, I cherish the dedication of my wife Mrs. Karen Warurii in typing the thesis drafts, right from the concept paper, then to the proposal and finally this thesis.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### PRELIMINARY PAGES

DECLARATION .....	i
DEDICATION .....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	iv
LIST OF TABLES .....	ix
LIST OF FIGURES.....	x
LIST OF PLATES.....	xi
GLOSSARY.....	xii
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS .....	xi
ABSTRACT .....	xiv

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction .....	1
1.1 Background to the Study .....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem .....	8
1.3 Objectives of the Research .....	9
1.4 Research Questions .....	9
1.5 Research Premises.....	10
1.6. Justification and Significance of Study .....	10
1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study .....	12
1.8 Literature Review .....	14
1.8.1 Historical Trends Relevant to Inter-Ethnic Conflicts.....	15
1.8.2 Causes and Effects of Inter-ethnic Conflicts.....	18
1.8.3 Intervention Applied to Combat Inter-ethnic Conflicts .....	28
1.8 Theoretical Framework .....	32
1.9 Research Methodology.....	37

1.10.1 Research Design.....	37
1.10.2 Area of Study .....	37
1.10.3 Sample Population.....	40
1.11 Sampling Techniques .....	41
1.11.1 Community Members.....	45
1.11.2 Public Servants .....	46
1.11.3 Community Leaders, Religious Leaders, and Non-Governmental Organization Leaders .....	47
1.11.4 Internally Displaced Persons, Morans and Business Community.....	47
1.12 Research Instruments and Methods of Data Collection Techniques.....	49
1.13 Data Analysis .....	50
1.14 Data Presentation.....	50
1.15 Ethical Considerations.....	51
1.16 Synopsis of Chapters .....	51

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **HISTORICAL TRENDS ON THE INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN RUMURUTI DIVISION OF LAIKIPIA COUNTY**

2.0 Introduction .....	54
2.1 The Colonial Era (1895 – 1963).....	54
2.2 President Kenyatta Era (1963 – 1978) .....	60
2.3 President Moi Era (1978 – 2002) .....	65
2.4 President Kibaki Era (2002 – 2010).....	73
2.5 Summary and Conclusion .....	76

### CHAPTER THREE

#### THE ROOT CAUSES OF INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN RUMURUTI DIVISION OF LAIKIPIA COUNTY, (1963-2010)

3.0 Introduction .....	79
3.1 Root Causes of Inter-ethnic Conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County 1963 - 2010.....	79
3.1.1 Cattle Rustling and Banditry .....	82
3.1.2 Incitement by Politicians and Opinion Leaders .....	88
3.1.3 Competition for Socio-economic Resources .....	90
3.1.4 Youth Unemployment .....	91
3.1.5 Marginalization in Access to Infrastructure and Natural Resources .....	92
3.1.6 Ethnic Animosity.....	94
3.1.7 Presence of Illegal Small Arms .....	95
3.2 Summary and Conclusion .....	97

### CHAPTER FOUR

#### EFFECTS OF INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICTS ON FOOD SECURITY IN RUMURUTI DIVISION OF LAIKIPIA COUNTY

4.0 Introduction .....	99
4.1 Inter-ethnic Conflicts and Food Security .....	99
4.2 Socio-economic Decline .....	101
4.3 Arson and Destruction of Property.....	102
4.4. Death, Rape, Abduction and Displacement of Immigrant Communities.....	104
4.5 Commercial <i>Moranism</i> .....	105
4.6 Political Polarization .....	106
4.7 Animosity towards Bantu Communities .....	109
4.8 Summary and Conclusion .....	110

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **STAKEHOLDERS INTERVENTIONS IN MITIGATING INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN RUMURUTI DIVISION OF LAIKIPIA COUNTY**

5.0 Introduction .....	113
5.1 Stakeholders Contribution.....	113
5.2 Contribution of Council of Elders .....	115
5.3 Contribution of Churches .....	118
5.4 Contribution of Muslim Community.....	119
5.5 Contribution of the Government Agencies .....	122
5.6 Contribution of Civil Society Organizations.....	124
5.6.1 Development Arm of Catholic Archdiocese of Nyeri.....	125
5.6.2 African Medical Research Foundation.....	125
5.6.3 International Medical Corps.....	127
5.6.4 Community Based Organizations.....	128
5.7 Contribution of Politicians and Opinion Leaders.....	128
5.8 Contribution of Business Community.....	130
5.9 Methods of Inter-ethnic Conflicts Interventions .....	131
5.9.1 Use of Dialogue in Inter-ethnic Conflicts Resolution .....	132
5.9.2 Mediation and Arbitration.....	134
5.9.3 Humanitarian Assistance and Empowerment .....	136
5.10 Summary and Conclusion .....	137

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

6.0 Introduction .....	141
6.1 Summary of the Main Findings.....	141
6.2 Conclusions .....	146
6.3 Recommendations .....	149
6.4 Suggestions for Further Study.....	154



## REFERENCES

Books.....	155
Theses.....	158
Unpublished Works.....	159
Archival Sources .....	160
Government Official Reports .....	161
Articles in Journals and Other Texts .....	162
Newspapers and Electronic Sources .....	164

## ANNEXURES

A1: Research Permit and Authorization.....	166
A2: List of Respondents .....	168
A3: Map 1: Kenya: Location of Laikipia West Sub-County .....	173
A4: A Site Map Showing the Location of Rumuruti Division.....	174
A5: Questionnaires .....	175
<a href="#">A6: Interview Discussion Guide .....</a>	<a href="#">181</a>

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Administrative Details of Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County .....	38
Table 2: Distribution of Sample Population in Locations for Probability and Non-Probability Sampling Techniques in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County (2013) ....	44
Table 3: Gender Representation of Sample Population per Category of Sampling Technique in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County (2013) .....	45
Table 4: Probability Sampling. Sample Population Distribution per Category of Random Sampling Technique in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County (2013) .....	46
Table 5: Non-Probability Sampling. Sample Population Distribution per Category of Purposive Sampling Technique in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County (2013) .....	48
Table 6: Summary of all sampled informants in Rumuruti Division (2013) .....	48
Table 7: Sample Population Frequency on the Root Causes of Inter-ethnic Conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County by Percentages (2013) .....	81

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Expression of Incompatibility of Plural Society Theory and the Greed versus Grievance Theory .....	36
Figure 2: Effects of Inter-ethnic Conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County (2013) .....	100
Figure 3: Effects of Inter-ethnic Conflicts on Food and Depletion of Cattle in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County (2013) .....	101
Figure 4: Intervention Efforts to Eliminate Inter-ethnic Conflicts by Stakeholders in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County (2013) .....	115
Figure 5: Popularity Rating of the District Peace Committee Methods of Inter-ethnic Conflicts Intervention in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County Based on 100 respondents (2013) .....	132

## LIST OF PLATES

Plate 1: An interview session with morans from Rumuruti Township, Sosian and Mutara Locations with a few Manyatta members in Mutara Location (2013). Themorans are clockwise: John Ole Ntonkei, Nasiku Lesholo, Kiplimo Kibet and Lekuton Kut, Cheboi Kigen and Ndukwi Lasampai respectively .....	84
Plate 2: A Section of the Administrative Town of Rumuruti (2013) On the left is Pastor John Lorioi Ole Kimiri .....	87
Plate 3: Part of the Commercial Town of Rumuruti (2013).....	87
Plate 4: An Interview Session with a Samburu Community Leader, Plekan Leliu of Mutara Location (2013) Source: Field Survey (2013) .....	96
Plate 5: An Interview Session with the Imam Mohammed Ahmed Hassan of Rumuruti Town Mosque (2013) Lady Muna Ali to the Left .....	120
Plate 6: An Interview Session with Business–Lady Muna Ali of Rumuruti Township (2013) Imam Ahmed Hassan to the right .....	122
Plate 7: A Signboard Indicating Maundu Ni Meri Spring Constructed by African Medical Research Foundation for the Local Community in Maundu Ni Meri Sub-location of Sosian Location Source: Field Survey (2013).....	127
Plate 8: An Interview Session with a Member of the District Peace Committee and Maasai Community Leader Pastor John Lorioi Ole Kimiri (2013).....	134

## GLOSSARY

<i>Baraza</i>	Formal public meeting.
<i>Bodaboda</i>	Public transport mostly by motor cycle or bicycle.
<i>Coup d'état</i>	Armed overthrow of an existing government.
<i>Defacto</i>	In existence but without any legal justification.
<i>De jure</i>	Officially and Constitutionally
<i>Harambee</i>	A political cum socio-economic philosophy of collectively having tasks done.
<i>Imam</i>	A muslim leader who leads other Muslims in prayers in mosques teachings in Islam or a religious leader of Muslims who is a descendant of prophet Mohammed and is believed to be sinless and pure.
<i>Jimbo</i>	Regional administrative and political entity constructed on basis of ethnicity.
<i>Kazi Kwa Vijana</i>	Youth employment programme.
<i>Kipande</i>	African registration and identity card during the colonial period in Kenya.
<i>Laissez-faire</i>	Unwillingness by legal authorities to bring culprits to book.
<i>Madoadoo</i>	Immigrant ethnic communities who are not desired by indigenous people in a certain area.
<i>Mau Mau</i>	Armed resistance movement established by African communities mostly from the central Kenya region whose task was to fight for Kenya's independence.
<i>Morans</i>	Young male initiates tasked with the communities defense among the Maasai and Samburu.
<i>Mt. Kenya Mafia</i>	Ethnically and regionally cohesive associates from Mt Kenya geo-origins guarding control and distribution of powerful economic and political positions to the exclusion of perceived opponents.

<i>Mungiki</i>	Movement for the Agikuyu cultural renaissance which gradually acquired violent fundamentalism for economic gain.
<i>Ngoroko</i>	Armed communities' militia and political outfit initially loyal to the then government of the day tasked with fighting the <i>shifta</i> menace in Northern Frontier District.
<i>Nyayo philosophy</i>	A patriotic philosophy by president Moi to follow the footsteps of President Jomo Kenyatta socio-economic and political ideology through his philosophy of peace, love and unity.
<i>NyumbaKumi</i>	Community based security initiative organized on basis of ten households.
<i>Shifta</i>	Armed Somali bandit.
<i>SiasaMbayaMaishaMbaya</i>	A slogan to warn those who did not show loyalty to the KANU government that they would be socio-economically and politically sidelined.
<i>UhurunaKazi</i>	Slogan by president Jomo Kenyatta to show interface between political freedom and hard work.
<i>Uwezo Fund</i>	A government fund specially established on basis of the affirmative action and mostly targeting the youth for economic empowerment.

## **ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

AEMO	African Elected Members Organization
AFC	Agricultural Finance Corporation
AIDS	Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome
AMREF	African Medical Research Foundation
APFO	African Peace Forum
ASAL	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
AU	African Union
CAA	Chief's Authority Act
CARITAS	Development Arm of the Catholic Archdiocese of Nyeri
CBO	Community Based Organization
CDF	Constituency Development Fund
CHWs	Community Health Workers
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
DAO	District Agriculture Officer
DCs	District Commissioners
DDP	District Development Plan
DEC	District Emergency Committee
DFCK	Development Finance Company of Kenya
DIDC	District Information Documentation Centre
DLO	District Livestock Officer
DN	Daily Nation
DO	District Officer
DP	Democratic Party
DPC	District Peace Committee
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DSC	District Security Committee
DSO	District Security Officer
EAC	East African Community
ECOMOG	Economic Community Monitoring Group

ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ESP	Economic Stimulus Programme
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FPE	Free Primary Education
GCAG	Grand Coalition Accord Government
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEMA	Gikuyu, Embu and Meru Association
GoK	Government of Kenya
GSU	General Service Unit
HAPS	History, Archaeology and Political Studies
ICDC	Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IGPs	Income Generating Projects
IMC	International Medical Corps
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPPG	Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group
IRF	Inter-Religious Forum
JICA	Japan International Co-operation Agency
KAF	Kenya Air Force
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KAU	Kenya African Union
KDF	Kenya Defence Forces
KMC	Kenya Meat Commission
KNA	Kenya National Archives
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
KPR	Kenya Police Reservists
KPS	Kenya Police Service
KRB	Kenya Roads Board
KTT	Kenya Thabiti Taskforce



KWS	Kenya Wildlife Services
LegCo	Legislative Council
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MGRs	Merry Go Rounds
MP	Member of Parliament
NARA	National Accord and Reconciliation Agreement
NARC	National Alliance Rainbow Coalition
NCP	National Congress Party
NDP	National Development Plan
NDRT	National Dialogue Reconciliation Team
NFD	Northern Frontier District
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NLC	National Land Commission
NRC	National Republican Convention
NSC	National Steering Committee on Peace Building and Conflict Management
NYS	National Youth Service
OCS	Officer Commanding Station
OCPD	Officer Commanding Police Division
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
OI	Oral Interview
PAG	Pentecostal Assemblies of God
PEV	Post-Election Violence
PNU	Party of National Unity
RoK	Republic of Kenya
RRI	Rapid Result Initiative
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SAS	Small Arms Survey

SASR	Small Arms Survey Report
SCPC	Sub-County Peace Committee
SDP	Social Democratic Party
SFT	Settlement Fund Trustee
SHG	Self Help Group
SMS	Short Message Services
SN	Sunday Nation
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
SPLM	Sudan People's Liberation Movement
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Science Research
TLG	Tent of the Living God
UF	<i>Uwezo</i> Fund
UN AMISOM	United Nations Armed Mission to Somalia
UNO	United Nations Organization
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
VOK	Voice of Kenya Television
YEF	Youth Enterprise Fund
YK92	Youth for KANU 92

## ABSTRACT

The study focuses on the historical trends, causes, effects and interventions to inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County, Kenya between 1963 and 2010. The objectives of study included: tracing the historical trends, investigating the causes of inter-ethnic conflicts; examining their effects on food security as well as the intervention measures. The study is significant because inter-ethnic conflicts impact on the communities' livelihoods as well as national stability and development. The Incompatibility of Plural Society Theory by Furnivall and Smith (1997) and Greed versus Grievance Theory by Collier and Hoeffler (2004) were used to interpret the findings of the study. Literature was reviewed at international, regional, Kenya, Rift Valley and Rumuruti in Laikipia County and guided by the research objectives. Literature review focused on inter-ethnic conflicts as supported by the theoretical framework with key attention to relevance and research gaps. Data was gathered from both primary and secondary sources. The sample population was 100 respondents drawn from a research population of 78,930 (GoK, 2009) in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Primary data was gathered by administering questionnaires, interviews and by examining archival documents and government official reports. The respondents were selected using random and purposive sampling methods. Secondary data was sourced from articles in newspapers, journals, books from public and university libraries including theses. Online sources were also used. The study employed qualitative method of data collection and analysis. Data presentation was done using descriptive statistics such as frequency tables, pie charts and line graphs where applicable. The study found out that competing interest on land resource utilization has prevailed since the colonial period. Competition for socio-economic resources among and between communities ranked high as a main cause of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. This indicates that if the state policy of marginalization in the region could be effectively addressed, these inter-ethnic conflicts would be reduced. Inter-ethnic conflicts have an adverse effect on the communities' food security. However, if natural factors are not sufficiently addressed food insecurity will subsist. Integrated stakeholders approach is a robust method to mitigate inter-ethnic conflicts. However, legitimacy and effective legality to these approaches remain a big challenge.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

This chapter introduces the topic of the study by first providing the background on inter-ethnic conflicts and their effects all over the world, Africa, East Africa, Kenya and Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County in particular. It is followed by the statement of the problem, objectives of the research, research questions, research premises, justification and significance of the study, scope and limitations of the study, literature review, theoretical framework and research methodology.

#### **1.1 Background to the Study**

Conflict is considered ethnic when it involves organized political movements, mass unrest, separatists' action, and civil wars with opposing lines drawn along ethnic motives (Stavenhagen, 1991). Inter-ethnic conflicts involve distinct plural societies living in a certain geographical area while intra-ethnic conflicts involve internal feuds within a singular ethnic identity. Ethnic struggles of smaller communities for political autonomy and freedom from socio-economic exploitation by larger communities saw the break up of former Soviet Union in the 1990s, when ethnicnations seceded from Soviet Union. This trend was replicated in the rest of Eastern Europe (Goodhand, 2003).

Globally, such inter-ethnic conflicts have been fuelled by the presence of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW). Indeed, more of them are held by civilian populations than governments and the police. More than 640 million SALW and 16 billion rounds

of ammunitions are in circulation globally, with an addition of 8 million new weapons entering the market each year (Mkutu, 2008). Inter-ethnic conflicts and other regional conflicts are responsible for half a million deaths each year, including 300,000 in armed conflict, Small Arms Survey (SAS, 2005; Cukier and Sidel, 2006; Tropp, 2011; Correa, 2013).

Inter-ethnic conflicts have been witnessed across the African continent. While some of these conflicts are fuelled by socio-economic and political competition, others have arisen due to deep rooted ethnicity along the “divide and rule” policy of the colonial administration (Mamdani, 2009). Ethnic interests set the pace of conflict between the Nuer and Dinka communities of South Sudan. This decimated ethnic cohesion and political patriotism (Akiwumi, 1999). A case in point is that between the majority Hutu rising against the designated politically and economically powerful minority Tutsi in Rwanda (Mamdani, 2009). Monopoly of economic resources and control of political power by one ethnic group to the exclusion of the other could explain the origin of these conflicts (Nnoli, 1978).

Ethnicity has played a big role in the mass exodus of Somali from their country to Kenya since 1991 (Mkutu, 2008). Such conflicts have led to a crisis in state power and governance in countries such as Ethiopia, Djibouti, Nigeria, Sierra-Leone, Liberia, Sudan and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The highest rate of war related deaths, 32 per 100,000 people globally are found in Africa (Mkutu, 2008). From the 1990s, inter-ethnic related conflicts took a regional character, especially in the Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa areas (Cukier and Sidel, 2006:39; Shah, 2014). Inter-

ethnic conflicts in the East African region have also been provoked by predatory exploitation of economic resources between herders and farmers, fanned by the easy accessibility and acquisition of guns through porous borders (Mohamud and Rutu, 2005).

Kenya has had her share of conflicts involving various ethnic groups or clans. The prevailing understanding of inter-ethnic conflicts in Kenya is that these conflicts stream from incompatibility between the conflicting parties inspired by ethno-nationalism (Okoth and Ogot, 2000). Ethno-nationalism is a concept that refers to particular communities expressing themselves socio-economically and politically to the disadvantage of others who compete for similar opportunities (Okoth and Ogot, 2000).

Some of the ethnically motivated conflicts involved the Sabaot and the Babukusu in Bungoma over land and cattle, more intensely from 1970s (Kakai, 2000). In Gucha and Migori Districts inter-ethnic conflicts have involved the Luo and Abagusii. The Mijikenda conflict with upcountry communities at the Coast has led to tragic results just before and during General Elections since 1992 (Kiliku, 1992; Akiwumi, 1999). Devastating inter-ethnic conflicts were witnessed between the Orma and Pokomo in the Tana River Delta (Tana River County) over grazing farm and water between 2012 and 2013 (Mkutu, 2008).

Similarly, tragic inter-ethnic conflicts erupted in the Rift Valley region in 1992 between the Agikuyu and the Kalenjin over land ownership, with Molo being the epicenter of the clashes (Akiwumi, 1999). Over 5000 people were killed and about 75,000 were displaced during the clashes (Mkutu, 2008). The year 2012 witnessed inter-ethnic

clashes among the communities in Samburu County, leading to the death of over 40 people, including police officers sent to quell the violence (Mkutu, 2008). Conflicts between Pastoralist and agricultural communities still exist in Laikipia County (Akiwumi, 1999).

These conflicts have been directly responsible for increased deaths, destruction of property, poverty, hunger, starvation, disease, fear, suspicion, mistrust, insecurity and general hopelessness within the warring communities. They have been detrimental to public peace, national tranquility, law and order, human rights and rule of law which are pillars to economic and social development (Akiwumi, 1999; Mkutu, 2007; Mkutu, 2008).

Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County, the focus of the study, is located in former Rift Valley Province. Rumuruti town is the headquarters of Laikipia West Sub-County. It has been proposed as the County Headquarters though Nanyuki is currently the designated headquarters of Laikipia County. The division is multi-ethnic and comprises pastoralist communities such as the Maasai, Samburu and Kalenjin who were the earliest inhabitants of the area. The Kalenjin communities include the Pokot, Tugen, Nandi and Ogiek/Dorobo. The area was later occupied by the Somali and the Turkana (Mkutu, 2008).

Other communities acquired land through land buying companies such as Laikipia West Co. Ltd, Mutukanio Land Buying Co Ltd., Mathira Land Buying Co. and Kieni Land Buying Co., from former Central Province after independence. The new immigrants included the Agikuyu, Ameru, Abagusii, and Abaluyia who are mainly agriculturalists

(Akiwumi, 1999: 38-139). According to oral sources, the Maasai, Samburu, Somali, Kalenjin and Turkana were herders and workers of the White settlers. They got assimilated and lured into the land buying companies established by the Agikuyu after independence. This was because the area served their pastoral socio-economic interests. This information has been corroborated by Waweru (2006).

Although the Maasai and the Ogiek were the earliest inhabitants of Rumuruti Division, just like all the other communities they have kins elsewhere. Most of their relatives are in Baringo and Samburu Sub-Counties (Mkutu, 2008). The Samburu settled in Rumuruti Division in large numbers from Samburu District from 1978 due to conflicts emanating from scarce water and pasture for their livestock with the Somali in the 1960<sup>s</sup> and 1970s. The Somali settled in Rumuruti Division for similar reasons and time although many of them are also involved in businesses. Apart from the Ogiek, the rest of the Kalenjin groups settled in Rumuruti in large numbers from 1979, attracted by idle land left behind by land buying companies.

A large number of the Turkana moved to Rumuruti Division in 1980 to escape from the *Ngoroko* whose initial aim was to weed out the *Shifita* menace. Like many political elite security groups, the *Ngoroko* later became a security concern for the state. The Turkana were employed by Agikuyu to cut forests and create more land for agriculture. The Turkana used the trees to burn charcoal which they sold as their economic mainstay. Out of their savings, they later bought land for themselves. The Turkana are second in population to the Agikuyu in Rumuruti Division (Mkutu, 2008).



Agikuyu did not immediately settle on the land that they had bought and this attracted the pastoralists (Mkutu, 2007; Akiwumi, 1999). The land was not 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 Rumuruti Division in order to do business. Their population in the area greatly increased during the regimes of Presidents Moi and Kibaki.

From 1963 to 1978, land ownership in Rumuruti Division was through block allotment company titles (Akiwumi, 1999). The shareholders acquired title deeds from 1978 to 2001. However, there are some residents without the title deeds to date (Akiwumi, 1999). Evidence gathered from oral sources attributed this desperate situation to acrimonious environment and lack of political focus associated with the Grand Coalition Accord Government (GCAG).

There are also ranches owned by both Kenyans and foreigners. Examples include William Horticulture and Mwanzi Farm which grows French beans on irrigation in Mutamayu Sub-location of Rumuruti Township Location. The ranches are foreign owned. Other crops grown include maize, beans, peas and tomatoes. Some Kenyans grow these crops on irrigation basis. The presences of different ethnic nationalities in the area that pursue different economic ways of life drift the communities' apart as they compete over limited socio-economic resources.

Inter-ethnic conflicts have persisted in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County since the colonial period due to ethno-nationalism. However, their frequency and scope have increased since 1998 due to heightened ethno-politics during the general elections

defying government efforts including security operations. The multi-ethnic communities experienced smoldering and sporadic inter-ethnic conflicts before 1998, although they were not extensively affected by the Rift Valley political euphoria to a level of clashes in the first multi-party General Elections of 1992.

The communities traded peacefully, engaged in their economic activities amicably, sent their children to the same schools and inter-married (Akiwumi, 1999). Murder, rape, arson, theft of money, property, farm produce and livestock are some of the incidents experienced in the inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Campaign periods before and after general elections have been volatile in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County, particularly after 1998 due to ethnically polarized politics (Mkutu, 2007; Mkutu, 2008; IRF/ KTT, 2009).

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) became a reality in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County, further worsening the food security situation. Food shortage has also been contributed by low levels of rainfall, poor terrain and other climatic and environmental factors (Markakis, 1999). The impacts of such inter-ethnic conflicts are costly both to the individual and the Government of Kenya (GoK). Sustainable peace cannot be realized without a proper understanding of the root causes of the inter-ethnic conflicts, since one can only deal effectively with a conflict when the root causes are known.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Recurrent inter-ethnic conflicts have been a feature of Laikipia County since 1963 (KNA/PC/NKU/2/15/13, quarterly returns of African court cases 1961 – 1963). From the 1990s, their frequency has intensified (Akiwumi, 1999). The participants have been the pastoralist communities on one hand and the agriculturalists on the other. Recurrent inter-ethnic conflicts in post-colonial era particularly during the parliamentary and presidential elections occurred in 1997, 2002 and 2007 (IRF, 2009). The Post-Election Violence (PEV) of 2007 running to 2008 was the most widespread and severe (Akiwumi, 1999; Mkutu, 2008; IRF, 2009). This pattern of unbroken historical trends of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County needs to be investigated. Subsequently, determining the root causes of these inter-ethnic conflicts is requisite to pursuing the elusive peaceful co-existence among the resident communities.

Though ecological and environmental factors and annual rainfall at between 100mm and 500mm have their toll, these inter-ethnic conflicts have also worsened efforts to increase food production. This peculiar atmosphere will in the long run lower the quality of life of the resident communities. The effects of inter-ethnic conflicts which tend to reduce food security require to be investigated. There is need to integrate resident communities to partner with the government and other stakeholders in order to reverse the status quo to the benefit of the resident communities. In view of the foregoing, the following emerging issues required investigation: how have historical trends influenced community relations in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County? Why do inter-ethnic conflicts keep recurring in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County? How do inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County impact on the local

community's effort to increase food production? Apart from the government agencies, what is the rationale of using an expanded stakeholder's mitigation through local communities, religious denominations and civil society Organisations in reducing inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County? Peaceful coexistence must thus be engendered by all means. Subsequently, the study investigated the trends, causes, effects and interventions to inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County, Kenya (1963 – 2010).

### **1.3 Objectives of the Research**

The objectives of the study were to:

1. Examine the historical trends of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.
2. Investigate the root causes of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County, (1963 – 2010).
3. Investigate the effects of inter-ethnic conflicts on food security in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.
4. Analyze the intervention measures used by the local communities, government agencies, religious denominations and civil society organizations to mitigate inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

1. What are the historical trends of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County?

2. What is the root causes of the recurring inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County?
3. What are the effects of inter-ethnic conflicts on food security in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County?
4. What have been some of the interventions by the local communities, government agencies, religious denominations and civil society organizations in mitigating inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County since independence?

### **1.5 Research Premises**

1. Historical trends have influenced inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.
2. Competition for socio-economic resources can account for inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.
3. Inter-ethnic conflicts undermine food security in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.
4. Interventions by local communities and government agencies have failed to adequately address the inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

### **1.6. Justification and Significance of Study**

Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County has a multi-ethnic residence that exists in perpetual conflicts. The ethnic belligerents are divided into pastoralist and agricultural

communities. Wanton death is usually an effect of these inter-ethnic conflicts. In the long run, the quality of the resident communities' livelihood declines. Peaceful co-existence will bring about increased opportunities for investment, leading to high income per capita and effective demand. Opportunities for employment will be realized leading to high life expectancy. This is the very opposite of the realities of IDPs, food insecurity, and poor health and low levels of education which are triggered by inter-ethnic conflicts.

There exist scanty information on participation and multi-sectoral integration in mediating inter-ethnic conflicts with intent to effectively ameliorate their undesirable effects in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The realization of peaceful coexistence between the multi-ethnic residents in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County will activate beneficial development programmes. This is in conformity with Millennium Development Goal (MDG) No. 1 of 2000 for eradicating extreme poverty and hunger. Sustainable peace will involve an integrated participation approach which conforms to MDG No. 8 of developing a global partnership for development. Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) regional blue print is to eradicate hunger and political instability.

The economic pillar of Kenya's Vision 2030 envisaged a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth of 10% per annum in 2012. This was possibly not attained because communities did not enhance peaceful co-existence particularly between 2007 and 2008. Security, peace building and conflict management are political pillar, flagship No. 6 of Kenya's Vision 2030 (GoK, 2007: 18). Land resource use and its value to

communities may presumably give rise to ownership legitimacy issues (Mkutu, 2007). Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County is a relevant area of study in this regard. This is because it is one of the areas settled by wider ethnic populations from other traditional areas in Kenya, antagonistic to one another. Knowledge of the factors underlying the inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County could help resolve similar issues in other parts of Kenya including the Tana River Delta, Mombasa, Molo, Naivasha, Samburu, Mandera, Lamu (Mpeketoni), Isiolo, Kapendo and Nandome. Efforts of stakeholders towards conflicts resolution are likely to complement the National Land Commission (NLC) and legitimately arbitrate conflicts of land resource use (GoK, 2010: 47-48) as per the new constitution of Kenya.

The fiscal budget of 2010 – 2011 was anchored on eradication of poverty, hunger and unemployment. The local communities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County could be the immediate and direct beneficiaries of this research in post Laikipia County Development Plan of 2008 – 2012 whose emphasis was the need for peaceful co-existence and development. The research could lead to financially empowering projects through community and government peace initiative partnership by creating an investment atmosphere. A progressive economic lifeline and peaceful co-existence for the resident communities is therefore envisioned.

### **1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

The study focused on the trends, causes, effects and interventions to inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County, Kenya between 1963 and 2010. The year 1963 is crucial in this study since it is the year Kenya attained independence from

Britain. At that time, legal and legitimate power and authority was placed in the hands of the Africans. Deconstruction of the colonial state and establishment of a progressive socio-economic status created an exuberant feeling for Kenyans of all walks of life in 1963. Agricultural communities settled in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County in 1963 on account of the great attachment of land as an economic resource (Akiwumi, 1999).

Wide scale and tragic inter-ethnic clashes were first witnessed in Laikipia County in 1998 (Akiwumi, 1999; IRF, 2009). Rumuruti Division is a representation of such in Ng'arua and Ol Moran in places such as Dol-Dol and Mokogondo in Laikipia West and Laikipia North Sub-counties respectively. This made it necessary to undertake the study since the conflicts still persist. The year 2008 was characterized by the worst ethnic atrocities in Kenya (Waki, 2010; IRF/KTT, 2009). By limiting the study to 2010, the researcher was able to assess the effectiveness and efficiency of the peace initiatives by various interested parties in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County especially after 2008 PEV. Although there are other regions which present salient inter-ethnic conflicts, Rumuruti Division is unique in this regard. This is because the socio-economic way of life is distinctly defined by pastoralists and agriculturists among the resident communities.

The illegal gun ownership culture is also greatly embraced in the area (Mkutu, 2007:2008). The retreating divisions of Ng'arua and Ol Moran are very poorly served with security facilities and infrastructure (Mkutu, 2007). The distinctive ethnic divide and the neighbouring counties of Nyandarua and Samburu respectively encourage this



pattern of behaviour from ethnic criminals. Government agents are often unable to quickly dispatch contingency and logistical assistance in times of such inter-ethnic conflicts (Mkutu, 2008). The use of easily accessible m-pesa facilities overcame most of my financial problems. The use of Short Message Services (SMS) made it possible to make contacts with my informants. This solved the problem of network failures. It was possible to gather data from interviews because a big number of my informants were multi-lingual as far as the local languages were concerned. I feel that this was a security measure taken by most residents due to the upsurge of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

### **1.8 Literature Review**

Enormous literature has focused on issues of inter-ethnic conflicts world wide. The setting, motives, causes and diverse effects of inter-ethnic conflicts are of interest to stakeholders. The present literature review focuses on historical trends and causes of conflicts in a multi-ethnic set up. The reviewed literature also addresses effects and interventions with a view to resolving inter-ethnic conflicts in different parts of the world, including Africa, East Africa, Kenya and Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The urgency in terms of putting an end to this inter-ethnic conflicts and creating lasting peaceful solutions cannot be overemphasized.

### **1.8.1 Historical Trends Relevant to Inter-Ethnic Conflicts**

Leffler (2007) asserts that the cold war dynamics were based on patriotisms that reduced the federations of United States of America (USA) and Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) to nationhood politics. The intention to outhedge the antagonists and her satellites by the protagonists was based on economic dominance and political mentoring through capitalist or communist ideologies and vice versa. Military superiority intended to disadvantage those in the Eastern bloc and vice versa became a common phase in the 1970s and 1980s. The weapons imported during and after the end of cold war in the 1990s explain the occurrence of conflicts in many parts of the world. Leffler argues that global terrorism was influenced by this competition in arms technology in the backdrop of globalization. This author's view relate to Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County because competition for monopoly of economic resources and transformed use of modern weaponry is adopted by the combatant ethnic communities. However, it is not indicated who is more culpable in exporting arms between USA and USSR.

Martin (1982) argues that the phase of colonialism was anchored on economic and political domination in Africa. The colonial administrative policies of the French in Africa which were based on assimilation were racial in character since the French and their culture were viewed as better than the Africans and their culture. The indirect rule system was not better in its categorization of Africans as either collaborators or those who resisted. Neo-colonialism adopted the same phase with new political leaders in Africa advancing the divide and rule system leading to economic marginalization of some communities. The multi-party system thus got its impetus from such political

malpractices and further divided the African communities. Martin's study is relevant to Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County because inter-ethnic conflicts are likely to be triggered by sentiments of economic and political domination of one community over the other in a backdrop of limited socio-economic resources. Such inter-ethnic conflicts also thrive in stereotype language register, which is likely to provoke one group against the other. The author has not tackled the issue of how African political leaders should consolidate power without marginalizing some ethnic nations within the state.

Harrison (2009) contends that corruption by the political elites in managing state affairs and resources has been responsible for inter-ethnic related conflicts in the East African region. Incidents of poor governance and corruption have created untenable political and economic hardship which has forced communities to fight one another as the feeling of privileged and underprivileged communities come into existence. Porous borders pressurize on limited socio-economic resources and increase illegal gun ownership. The prolonged collapse of the East African Community (EAC) between 1977 and 2000 denied the East Africa people the much needed unity and portrayed the East African political elites as greedy and unfocussed. The leadership in East Africa has not enforced firm legislative and judicial regulations on cattle rustlers and bandits from Somalia, Ethiopia, South Sudan and Uganda who frequently commit such crimes in Kenya even after the resumption of the EAC since 2001. This study is relevant to Rumuruti Division and most of Laikipia County because simmering grievances of lack of economic and political leverage keep on surfacing from time to time.

Nasong'o and Murunga (2007) argue that skewed allocation of resources added to ethnicized public service led to hatred among communities which in turn promoted inter-ethnic conflicts. The public service survey released in 2015 indicates that the Agikuyu form 22% of the total government workforce and are slightly overestablished vis-à-vis the population census aggregate. However, other factors like skills and job competences of the labour market demand need to be factored. Their opinions point to the fact that the Mt. Kenya communities took more advantage over others in allocating themselves resources such as land and influential political positions since 1963. In those other communities, only the kingpins who served the system benefitted. The history of Kenya has therefore been characterized by the struggle of the Mt. Kenya communities against the others since 1963.

Moi's attempt to use the same strategy and put the Kalenjin at the helm, led to the struggles between the Agikuyu and the Kalenjin more so in areas such as Molo, Naivasha and Nakuru. The problem then spread to Narok, Kajiado and Laikipia counties where other dispossessed communities rose against the Agikuyu. The PEV in 2007/2008 was motivated by ethnicized political monopoly and jostling across the ethnic divide. The Mungiki factor was strong in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County and so did the inter-ethnic conflicts become intensified. However, it is logical to argue that the Agikuyu lost prime land to the colonial economy and the post colonial regimes should have factored that injustice. Similarly, the enterprising nature of the Agikuyu in showing greater consciousness to legally own land should not attract adversity from other ethnic nations.

### **1.8.2 Causes and Effects of Inter-ethnic Conflicts**

Kreuzer (2002: 35) asserts that ethnically motivated conflicts feature prominently in Indonesia. Large scale and deadly violence has been a common feature of modern Indonesian history. It has permeated all spheres of politics leaving retrogressive marks on all processes of social interaction. Mutually hostile narratives patented by community stereotypes against each other are common in Indonesia. Inter-ethnic conflicts occur in a specific cultural setting. They are representatives of, filled with, understood through and explained by specific cultural symbolism. They are “constituted largely by the taken for granted, common sense understanding that people have about their world, including themselves and other people who inhabit it”.

Cultural views on inter-ethnic conflicts tend to accentuate the perspective, which is the belief about social and political conflicts held by the members of the violence inflicted society. Village elders tell endearing narratives which endorse the tradition of fighting villages with gusto. Such conflicts are solved through enhanced group representation and a significant strengthening of the state at all levels of politics. Establishment of regional parties to ameliorate tension of a particular ethnic group within a framework of a federation and a parliamentary system of government is a tenable inter-ethnic conflicts intervention option. The opinion is shared by (Sheikh, 2014).

Kreuzer’s view is relevant to Rumuruti Division, Laikipia County because bandits and cattle rustlers swing into an orgy of violence against their victims without apprehension by the authority most likely due to strong social networking informants and guides stashed within the region of targeted residents. Like in Indonesia, the Study established

that the attackers' message in Rumuruti Division, Laikipia County is meant for the agriculturalist "strangers" to exit and go back to their initial places of origin (Mkutu, 2008; Waweru, 2006). That is why such inter-ethnic conflicts in this region increase around the General Elections period (Akiwumi, 1999). However, it is worth noting that only the Maasai and the Ogiek should reservedly use the term "stranger" since all the other ten ethnic nations came to Laikipia County during the colonial period.

Goodhand (2003) explains inter-ethnic conflicts in terms of motive: rebellions occur when grievances are sufficiently acute that people want to engage in violent protests. Ethnicity in itself is a self-seeking validation to inter-ethnic conflicts. He argues that the true culprit is economic decline and poverty as well as competition over scarce economic resources. Poverty, economic inequality and stagnation as well as ethnic composition, political decay and resource base are necessary ingredients for inter-ethnic conflicts internationally. During the inter-ethnic conflicts, the poor and economically marginalized form a pool of recruits for rebel movements as it happened in Cambodia and Sri Lanka. Many current inter-ethnic conflicts originate from and are fought out in regions whose communities have limited voice and experience persistent poverty (Goodhand, 2003: 637). This could be true of the pastoralists and agriculturalist communities' conflicts of Rumuruti Division in Laikipia County.

In the African context, Mamdani (2009) stipulates that plural communities are incompatible because of mistakes made by the state in order to create an environment for economic exploitation. Darfur and Abyei are therefore a case of economic greed shrouded in dishonest grievances. The oil resource in the two places is a cause of

conflicts between the government of Sudan and that of South Sudan. Among the humanitarian crisis of Abyei region is the acute shortage of food affecting the civilian population. The devastating raids in the arid and sparsely populated Jonglei region of South Sudan are ethnically oriented raids instigated by the government of Sudan whose result includes kidnapping scores of children for conscription in tribal militias and ferreting thousands of herds of cattle. It is clear that economic greed is the underlying motive for such raids. Unlike in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County, the conflict in Sudan is for economic and political autonomy of South Sudan with the combatants of inter-ethnic conflicts being used as proxies of either North or South Sudan government.

The National Congress Party (NCP) government of Sudan approved the marginalization of South Sudan. However, the United Nations Organization (UNO) approach to peace keeping has been adopted by the African Union (A.U). Regional organizations such as the IGAD and Economic Community of West-African States (ECOWAS) through the latter's military wing of Economic Community Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) has made tremendous contribution toward conflict interventions in the African continent. These include strategies to deal with the complexities of globalization in order to manage conflicts. The conflicts in South Sudan has led to the death of more than 1.5 million people and driven millions of largely Christian South Sudan into refugee camps in Kenya and other neighbouring countries (Rincon, 2014).

The civil war between NCP of Sudan and Sudan Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA) of South Sudan broke in 1983. The belligerents gave an opportunity to dialogue which was enacted in Machakos and culminated to the Naivasha Accord and the

Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005. This led to the shaky coalition government between NCP of Al-Bashir and Sudan Peoples Liberation Movement (SPLM) of Salva Kiir. Economic and political marginalization of SPLM by the North led to a referendum vote running from 9/1/2011 to 15/1/2011 out of which the Republic of South Sudan was born. Full blown war has been avoided between the two countries between 2005 and 2010. The study is relevant to Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County because pockets of proxy identity to inter-ethnic conflicts working to advance certain opinions of influential political elites are likely to exist in the area (Mkutu, 2007). However, political autonomy and secession from the Republic of Kenya is not the aim of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

In their socio-economic study of inter-ethnic conflicts in Nigeria, Nafziger and Auvinen (2002) contend that economic inequality is an important cause of inter-ethnic conflicts. They argue that high income concentration by a few increases the perception of relative deprivation by affected segments of society, thereby increasing the risk of political disintegration. Policies that lead to inequality for example land distribution, taxation, public expenditure can exacerbate ethnic and regional competition and inter-ethnic conflicts (Nafziger and Auvinen, 2002:156). This was found relevant to ethnic related conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County because the pastoralist communities and the agriculturalist communities differ in terms of economic and political might and skewed allocation of economic resources such as land.



Their work departs from this study because the majority Bantu communities do not come from one ethnic group and they have never made political and economic autonomy as a reason to secede from the rest of Kenya. On the contrary, the study showed that they would want to economically assert themselves and improve their livelihoods, particularly on food security. The methods which they would use to improve their food security are not indicated.

Ross (2004) postulates that there is ample evidence of ethnic combatants' extortion of natural resources. However this does not prove that they are exclusively motivated by greed or that inter-ethnic conflicts are purely governed by greed. Ethnic combatants who are motivated by grievance also need to finance their operations and might do so through extortion. In such situations, the extortion is a consequence rather than a cause of the inter-ethnic conflicts. This is relevant to Rumuruti Division, Laikipia County because evidence from the field respondents established that bandits' extortions targeted mostly the Bantu communities and that cattle rustling was both a cause and consequence of the inter-ethnic conflicts. In a qualitative study of the inter-ethnic wars that occurred in the 1990s in the gemstone producing countries of Angola, DRC, Liberia and Sierra Leone (Ross, 2004) finds out that in most cases, the trade in stones was casually unrelated to the limitation of conflict and only became salient long after the war had begun. The conflict helps to make the rebels dependent on gemstone sale for revenue. Two exceptions where rebels may have been motivated by the love of gemstone wealth were Sierra Leone and DRC. The multinational companies are happy with the state of insecurity so that they continue to exploit the country's resources (Brown, 2009). This is a contrast to the oral information in this study which revealed

that economic sabotage on the Bantu communities by the pastoralists grazing their livestock on their farms is calculated to drive them out of Rumuruti Division and the larger Laikipia County. Extortions allow bandits in this region to get money to buy illegal weapons in order to perfect their banditry mission. The issue of foreign influence therefore is not evident in this study.

Nnoli (1978) and Otite (2000) in their sociological approach to inter-ethnic conflicts in Africa observe that conflicts occur when the majority who control access to power and resources of the state advance social discrimination based on ethnic parameters. This could be true but in the case of Rwanda, it was the majority Hutu against the minority Tutsi who possessed the state privileges. Although the Hutus were farmers and Tutsi pastoralists, here the minority pastoralists were more socio-politically powerful than the majority agriculturalists leading to the genocide of 1994. Agriculture and food security drastically declined subjecting the people of Rwanda to humanitarian aid. This argument departs from Laikipia County because the explicit relationship between the minority pastoralists and the majority agriculturalists is one of contested legitimacy and legality of land ownership respectively. Moreover, while the Rwanda case has two communities, Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County has a multi-ethnic residence on either side of the economic divide. But Nnoli's observations on the role of politicization of ethnicity as a possible cause of inter-ethnic conflicts are relevant to this study since political autonomy and control is a desire of every community. The role of the Twi community in Rwanda is also assumed in this inter-ethnic conflict.

Mohamud and Rutu (2005) posit that conflicts in the East African region particularly Kenya and Uganda revolve around the predatory exploitation of economic resources. Inter-ethnic conflicts abound between herders and farmers. The competition for resources account for the largest percentage of conflicts in the East African region and is further fuelled by the illegal ownership of guns. This is due to the porous borders within the region. Outcomes such as insecurity, removal from public buildings and outright violence are the main reasons of exodus of the Somali nationals to refugee camps in Kenya. The situation is relevant to Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County where pastoralists and agriculturalists engage in conflicts. The research established that competition for grazing and farm land between the pastorarists and the agricultural communities remains a pertinent cause of the inter-ethnic conflicts. The authors argue that traditional pastoralist communities raid for livestock, mainly to replenish their herds depleted by severe droughts, diseases, raiding or other calamities.

Raids in Rumuruti Division and other parts of Laikipia County were aimed at expanding grazing land, raise bride wealth and demonstrating heroism among warriors. Elders sanctioned such raids, blessing the raiders before they set off (Lemoosa, 1998; Waweru, 2006). Nowadays, cattle's rustling is more frequent and severe, degenerating into armed activities. The raiders are driven by a criminal motivation for profit, disguised as a kind of traditional cattle raiding (Mohamud and Rutu, 2005). The cattle raids are carried out both within and beyond the community including across borders. This is relevant to the cattle rustling in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County; it qualifies the Greed versus Grievance Theory, since the rustlers are likely to be governed by a profit motive. However, rustling in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County is not

among pastoralist communities; it is them who raid the Bantu farming communities. The cattle's rustling does not involve cross border cattle raids. The perpetrators of cattle rustling are not sufficiently subjected to stiff penal code deterrents. The relevance of the study is in the effects such as displacement, rape, abduction, arson, and interruption to school calendars, ethnic animosity, and political marginalization (Mkutu, 2008).

In the context of Kenya, Okoth and Ogot (2000) consider inter-ethnic belligerence as a product of skewed allocation of economic resources, political under-representation, religious ganging and failed governance respectively as causes to such conflicts. These inter-ethnic conflicts are fanned by the fact that Africa comprises nation states which are highly ethnocentric in character. Corruption by those in power is highly dependent on nepotism consideration and is used as the springboard to a lucrative life. African communities inevitably start jostling for such privileges which evoke open dissatisfaction and conflict. The work by Okoth and Ogot is relevant to Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County because the pastoralist communities feel marginalized by the agriculturalist communities who look down upon the pastoralists. This inevitably generates inter-ethnic conflicts. However, the study does not precisely explain how ethnicity has led to the pastoralist communities' socio-economic and political marginalization.

Kakai (2000) examined the intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic conflicts involving the communities living around the Bungoma and Trans-Nzoia County since 1875. Prime land and its resources was the bone of contention between the Kalenjin and Abaluyia

communities. With the establishment of community associated “*Jimbo*”, meaning ethnic nation, at independence, the Sabaot who had settled in Bungoma were supposed to leave Bungoma and settle in Trans-Nzoia to join their larger Kalenjin groups. But the word, “*Elgon*” is linguistically related to the Kony sub-group of the Kalenjin tending to make Babukusu appear like “strangers” in that region. This is true of Maa related names such as Laikipia, Rumuruti and Ol Moran. Kakai’s work is relevant to this study since it deals with intra-ethnic conflicts as well as inter-ethnic conflicts. Just like it is in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County inter-ethnic conflicts, land and its resources are the source of conflicts in Trans-Nzoia (Mkutu, 2008; Waweru, 2006). Although Kakai’s study touched on the early years of post-independence in Kenya, the efforts made by post-independent government regimes to avoid the mistakes of using administrative entities with an ethnic tag inherited from the colonial regime, has not been given adequate attention.

Akiwumi (1999) posits that inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division can be understood from the angle of pastoralist communities who had settled in that area before the Bantu farmers in 1963. The pastoralist communities would wish to see the status quo before this period restored. But the Bantu communities legally and legitimately bought the pieces of land after independence. The need for pastoralists to expand their pasture and water grounds for their cattle and the desire of the Bantu communities to expand agricultural land has often led to conflicts between the two groups.

As human and animal populations increase, competition for scarce resources on the land becomes imminent. The pastoralists would want to see the Bantu communities forcefully moved to their “places of origin”, but the latter are also out to defend their investments. The situation worsens due to inflammatory statements from the politicians on either side. Some selfish public servants working in the area also get locked into the inter-ethnic conflicts and often take side. The existence of IDPs in Rumuruti Division and other parts of Laikipia County shows the magnitude of such conflicts. Peace initiatives remain hard. However, the IDPs in Rumuruti are scattered all over the division and live with well-wishers on whom they depend for casual labour as a source of their livelihood. With the passage of time, greed will force some people to declare themselves IDPs and thus trigger genuine grievances from true IDPs. The return and reintegration of the IDPs into society is necessary in bringing about peace (Mkutu, 2008; Waweru, 2006; IRF/KTT, 2009).

Waki (2010) asserts that the epicenter of ethnically oriented post-election violence was in former Rift Valley Province and Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County was not spared. The culprits within the public domain are certainly not the only perpetrators of conflicts. Developing effective mechanisms to bring about collective accountability in such periods of skirmishes remains beneficial to the communities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Majority of the perpetrators of the PEV have never been netted and subjected to the force of the law.

### **1.8.3 Intervention Applied to Combat Inter-ethnic Conflicts**

Morgenthau (2007) observes that the preservation of peace has become the concern of all nations worldwide, with the UNO embracing the avoidance of war as an ultimate objective. The General Assembly of the UNO is used as an “open conscience of the world” and that such public opinion is the most potent of all forces of peace (Morgenthau, 2007:279). World public opinion transcends national boundaries and unites members of different nationalities with consensus to certain international issues. However, no rules of international law are binding upon the national state but those it has created for itself through its consent. The application of international law is also crippled by other synonyms of sovereignty such as independence, equality and unanimity (Morgenthau, 2007).

Apart from using diplomatic initiatives to manage conflicts, the UNO dispatches the peace keeping missions and supervisors to affected parts of the world. Such initiatives have helped to reduce poverty, hunger, starvation, diseases and general helplessness in global communities (Morgenthau, 2007). However, the United Nations Armed Mission to Somalia (UN AMISOM) force suffered a retaliation setback from Al-Shabaab when 76 viewers of World Cup Soccer finals were killed in a Kampala Hotel on July 11<sup>th</sup> 2010. The UNO presence is also not felt equally and democratically in all the member countries. Selective participation in places of conflict by the UNO is not sufficiently explained.

The author argues that the common interests of the belligerents must be pursued. Consensus building is a crucial principle of democracy (Morgenthau, 2007). The author's perspective is relevant to Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County since oral information collected in the field established that inter-ethnic conflicts resolution regimes were more inclined to legality but lacking in legitimacy. The UNO system of conflict resolution involves negotiations, gentlemen deals, arbitration and judicial settlement, among others (Morgenthau, 2007:603-605).

Fortna and Howard (2008) assert that conflict interventions significantly increase the likelihood of sustainable peace. Nevertheless, they would be more effective if they focused more on the state building and grassroots conflict resolution. Peace processes usually focus on the national and international levels and overlook the bottom up causes of conflicts. Attention needs to be given to grassroots tensions when designing peace agreements, devote significant funding to local conflicts resolution programmes and provide diplomatic and UNO staff members with bottom up training. Peace building initiatives should specifically address the ethnic, political, religious, economic and social divisions present at the micro-level.

The above argument is relevant to Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County since the study established that the internal administrative economic infrastructures are not well developed. This sparked genuine grievances over economic marginalization from the local residents and was pointed out by even external observers. The view is relevant in that the state has been found to take sides, sometimes acting as an agent of aggression thus jeopardizing peace (Sheikh, 2014).



However, the NGO's presence is greater in peace forums than that of the state when it should be the state patronizing the operations of the NGOs. Potterbaun (2005) affirms that only the state has the most effective economic and political might to restore security, regulate economic activities and establish development priorities and strategies that harmonize local, regional and national interests. Donors and aid agencies encourage the government to tackle difficult political challenges such as corruption, weak regulatory regimes or exclusive policies. But donor strategies for peace must be tailored to local environments and avoid exacerbating community divisions or legitimizing corrupt and violent power structures. However, if the aid agencies substitute the state and or are often compromised by the local political leadership, automatically this makes them deviate from the official mandate.

The state instruments of legal and legitimate authority and power must never be wanting, because this might give a leeway to those whose intention is to infringe the penal code to do it with impunity (Tropp, 2011; Correa, 2013). This research study established that the state control status is lacking in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. This led to a proliferation of moribund paper policies which would otherwise be dynamic and effective if their legality and funding could be prioritized (Akiwumi, 1999; Mkutu, 2008). The role of the media in bringing about effective conflict intervention has not been given due consideration.

Autesserre (2008) and Mkutu (2008) argue that although civil society organizations play an acceptable facilitative role and stimulate the formation of peace committee at various levels in most of the conflict prone areas in East-Africa, their presence is

heavier than that of government. This observation is relevant to Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County because the presence of public benefit organizations or NGOs balance the region's economic marginalization from the state through Income Generating Projects (IGP) for the community (Mkutu, 2007). However, the government of the day will require giving consent to international peace crusaders to operate in a region of Kenya.

The state machinery focuses more on the macro as opposed to micro-initiatives to conflicts resolution's leadership thus alienating the citizens concerned in terms of grass root attention (Mkutu, 2008). A dilemma also confronts the government in that although most policy researchers on conflicts agree that additional resources are needed to address conflicts, it remains unclear how to generate these additional resources. Sometimes, some selfish elements within the government have been accused of worsening the situation by selectively arming a favoured ethnic combatant (Mkutu, 2008; Waweru, 2006). Apart from benefits accruing from tax regimes, the government is mostly unwilling to mentor the aid agencies to implement local policy development at the expense of foreign policy development strategies. This is a gap in the study.

From the foregoing it is evident that the right of residence of any Kenyan in any part of the country is an inalienable right. Inter-ethnic conflicts centre on socio-economic means of people's livelihoods, heightened by politicized ethnic indifference and stereotypes. Literature abounds on causes of inter-ethnic conflicts and resultant impacts. But there is very little research on effective initiatives to peace developments. There is hardly any literature on the integrated approaches to addressing inter-ethnic

conflicts in order to improve people's livelihoods. The present research attempted the latter in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

The GoK did not have the capacity to control global historical events such as the cold war and its adverse effects on her neighbouring countries. She was therefore more of a recipient than a participant. At the domestic level, competitive politics, free judiciary and media freedoms are yet to be deeply entrenched in Kenya. Though inter-ethnic conflicts lead to food insecurity, ecological and other environmental factors have not been thoroughly researched. The specific effects of inter-ethnic conflicts on gender have not been adequately researched. Moreover, traditional institutions of mitigations to inter-ethnic conflicts need to be fully entrenched into the governments' judicial systems.

### **1.9 Theoretical Framework**

A theory is a reasoned statement meant to clarify, guide and interpret the findings of research (Oliver, 2009). The research was guided by two conflict theories: the Incompatibility of Plural Society by Furnivall and Smith (1997) and the Greed versus Grievance Theory by Collier and Hoeffler (2004). The former asserts that in an ethnically plural society inter-ethnic conflicts are necessitated by the exclusive allegiance to the interests of one's ethnic nationality and cannot be eradicated. The theory was used to explain ethnic nationalism in Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Indonesia from the 1990s. The latter theory argues that differences in ethnicity is only an excuse to start inter-ethnic conflicts and diverse communities would always coexist peacefully if economic greed is eliminated through rational and equitable distribution of available economic resources and the political avenue to access the same. The theory was used to

explain the ethnic crisis in Nigeria and DRC from the 1960s, Kenya from the 1980s, and Sudan from the 1970s. Federalism and proportional representation has been used in such places to come up with an inclusive form of government.

Furnivall and Smith (1997) postulate that ethnic nationalism develops as opposed to civic nationalism or common loyalty because ethnicity takes the center stage of all aspects of socio-cultural, economic and political spheres of life in one ethnic group in direct competition against another ethnic community. These economic and cultural camps also define their political orientation and inclination during general elections. The escalation of inter-ethnic conflicts at such times lead to killing, cattle rustling/banditry, destruction of property, creation of IDPs, poverty and high level of insecurity. This situation jeopardizes the economic means of livelihood in the affected area.

The multi-ethnically oriented groups are held together by external factors such as the central government in such ways as uniform incorporation of the state into the political life through equality of all so that none feels discriminated, equivalent incorporation into the political and other organs of government leadership and proportional representation in the national political system and organs.

The Greed versus Grievance Theory has Collier and Hoeffler (2004) as its proponents. The theory posits that perceived grievances and the greed for power are found more or less equally in all societies. The key to explaining the incidence of conflicts lies in identifying the opportunities that make rebellion feasible and profitable. Rebel groups need a positive image internationally and need to motivate their recruits, hence they

tend to manufacture a false sense of grievance. Scarcity or relative scarcity of resources trigger violence both at the individual as well as collective level, although it has now become possible to have conflicts provoked by resource appropriation in situations of abundance.

Groups engaged in violent conflict are thus not primarily motivated by grievance such as ethnic discrimination, inequality or historical animosity but essentially by illegitimate and selfish economic agendas and hence greed. Issues of identity and self-determination are dismissed in favour of a focus on the role that resources, by and of themselves, play as the main objectives of groups engaged in war.

Conflicts thrive in low income countries, their risks arising when the society is polarized into two groups. Though greed seems more prominent than grievance, genuine grievances emanate from such circumstances as rapid economic decline, inequality, political repression, and political transition and finally ethnic and religious fractionalization takes root. The illegal ownership of guns in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County exemplifies both theories because communities would like to be armed at the detriment of their opponents yet use the power of the gun to accumulate economic profits.

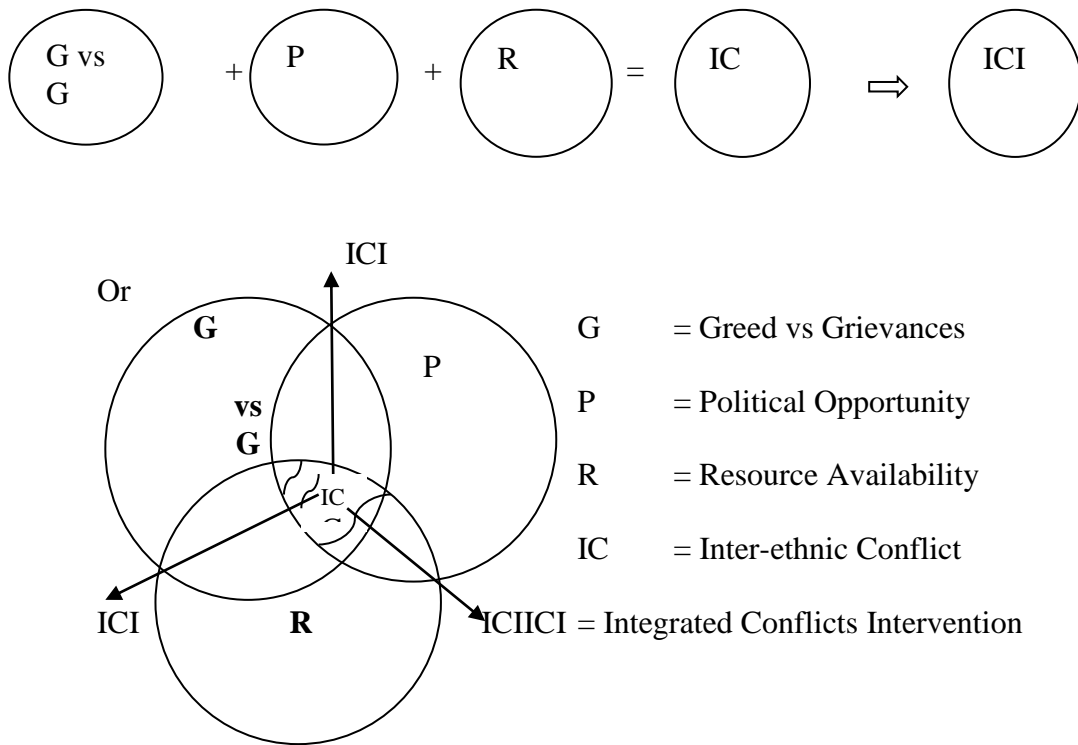
This study sought to find out if inter-ethnic conflict in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County is not purely motivated by socio-cultural factors but by socio-economic factors and thus greed, particularly when the rustlers/bandits are presumed to be employees of prominent capitalist poised to make profit on cattle sales with Kenya Meat Commission (KMC). More often than not, cereals from the farming communities are stolen but not

out rightly destroyed. The intention of arsonists and other vandals is to make a statement to those immigrant communities to leave the area. They are therefore motivated by greed and not genuine grievances.

Ethnic politicization compounds the situation. Retaliatory strikes emanate from genuine grievances to defend one's economic resources hence the killing, destruction of property, resultant reality of IDPs, poverty, food insecurity and other associated humanitarian and ecological catastrophes that presumably gain currency in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County (Mkutu, 2008; Waweru, 2006).

The theories complement each other on issues of ethnic diversity and socio-economic resource competition which gave the researcher the notion to use purposeful sampling in the field for non- probability sampling. It was possible to co-relate this method with probability sampling for data analysis, presentation and discussions. The dynamics of these two theories are presented in Figure 1.

**Figure 1: Expression of Incompatibility of Plural Society Theory and the Greed versus Grievance Theory**



**Source: Researcher's innovation (2013)**

The above figure summarizes the reasons for Incompatibility of Plural Societies Theory and the Greed versus Grievance Theory used for the theoretical framework in order to express inter-ethnic conflicts. Greed versus Grievance (Gvs G) represent deep felt greed shrouded in grievances often in plural societies, some of which may be genuine grievances. Greed and grievances combine with P which is political opportunity as a result of weak state institutions. Together with R, which is resource availability both internal and external funding and mentoring, communities get hyped up into IC, which is inter-ethnic conflict wars engagement. In the light of the above, the study will seek to

analyze different forms of integrated conflict interventions, ICI applied to mitigate the recurrent inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

### **1.10 Research Methodology**

This section describes the research design, area of study, sample population, sampling techniques, research instruments and methods of data collection, data analysis, data presentation and ethical considerations.

#### **1.10.1 Research Design**

This study used the descriptive survey design which entailed fact findings and solutions through field research (Kombo and Tromp, 2006). The design provided a deeper insight of the various dimensions of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County in relation to trends, root causes, effects on food security and interventions by the various stakeholders. The design helped to generate data from the field with the help of interviews and questionnaires. The research design was clear, real, simple, and applicable for generalization of research findings and it helped to access qualitative data related to the research questions and objectives.

#### **1.10.2 Area of Study**

This research was carried out in Rumuruti Division, Laikipia County, Kenya. Rumuruti Division has an area of 2786 km<sup>2</sup>. It has a population density of 40 people per square kilometer (GoK, 2009). Some pastoralists have settled in the area. Nga'arua, the adjacent division to the East is 757 km<sup>2</sup> and has about 125 people per square kilometer. The Bantu farmers are the majority (Mkutu, 2008). OlMoran Division to the West is



1227 km<sup>2</sup> with a pastoralist population density of 13 people per square kilometer. Like Rumuruti Division inter-ethnic conflicts abound in the two divisions (Mkutu, 2008). Rumuruti Division, Laikipia County also borders Nyandarua, Nyeri, Samburu and Meru Counties. Most of Laikipia County is semi-arid (79.5%) and mainly non-agricultural land (GoK, 2008: iii – 31).

Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County was made up of 03 locations and 6 sub-locations with a population of 78,930 people up to early 2012 (GoK, 2009). Table 1 indicates the administrative details of Rumuruti Division in Laikipia County. The approximate population of Rumuruti Township, Mutara and Sosian locations (according to the 2009 population census and an estimate of the total households) is also indicated. The sample population of 100 respondents was calculated from this total population census as supported by annexure 2 on the list of respondents and annexure 4 on the location of Rumuruti Division.

***Table 1: Administrative Details of Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County***

<b>Location</b>		<b>Sub-Locations</b>		<b>Population</b>	<b>Household</b>
1.	Rumuruti Township	1.	Rumuruti Town	39,465 (Est.)	8,870 (Est.)
		2.	Mutamayu		
2.	Mutara	1.	Mutara		
		2.	Kiamariga		
3.	Sosian	1.	Sosian		
		2.	Maundu ni Meri		

***Source: KNBS (2009)***

Other locations established at the end of 2012 are Lorian which has Simotwa and Kapkures Sub-locations, Thome which has Thome and Mathira Sub-locations and Ndurumo which has Ndurumo and Kagaa Sub-locations. Rumuruti Division of 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. The farming communities are Agikuyu, Ameru, Abagusii and Abaluyia (Akiwumi, 1999).

Cattle rustling and banditry is prevalent in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County not due to its cosmopolitan nature of residence but due to ethnic incitation based on economic marginalization by target groups. The researcher purposively chose Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County because it provides a good example of cosmopolitan region representation; here inter-ethnic conflicts abound just like in other divisions of Laikipia County such as Ng'arua and Ol Moran, in Dol-Dol and Mokogondo. Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County is surrounded by rustlers/bandits from the neighboring counties of Nyandarua and Samburu as well as divisions such as Ng'arua and Ol Moran during the inter-ethnic conflicts. The division is also served by a large commercial livestock market in Rumuruti town that attracts traders as far as Samburu County. Nyahururu town is also about 50km from Rumuruti town and provides a large market for other merchandise stolen by cattle rustlers and bandits during the inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division and other parts of Laikipia County. The Bantu communities grow their traditional crops including maize, beans and vegetables mostly on irrigation. Because of the arid nature of the area, communities are more inclined to

pastoralism than agriculture. Rumuruti Town is both the headquarters and the largest commercial hub of Laikipia West Sub-County (Akiwumi, 1999).

### **1.10.3 Sample Population**

The sample population totaled to 100 respondents derived from a research population of 39,465 persons. The researcher used 2 research assistants, Joram Waweru and Jane Kagiri. I chose them because they were also articulate in other languages like Maasai, Samburu and Kalenjin although English, Kikuyu and Kiswahili were mostly used as languages of communication. Respondents comprised public servants such as members of the county administration who represent the national government sampled as follows: 1 District Security Officer (DSO), 1 District Officer(DO), 3 chiefs and 3 assistant chiefs. Other public servants included 1 head of the District Information and Documentation Centre (DIDC), 2 Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock and a similar number of officials from ASAL based in Nanyuki but covered Rumuruti Division in their work operation. Similarly, 10 community leaders, 6 religious leaders and 3 NGOs, for example, African Medical Research Foundation (AMREF), International Medical Corps (IMC) and Development Arm of the Catholic Archdiocese of Nyeri (CARITAS) were interviewed.

I sampled 8 IDPs, 6 *morans*, meaning young male initiates charged with the communities' defence among the Maasai and Samburu, 4 business community and 50 local residents drawn from teachers, *boda boda* youths, young girls, male herders and house wives (see Table 4 and Table 5 for summary of the sample population). The

respondents were chosen because of their familiarization with inter-ethnic conflicts. Non-discrimination of the disadvantaged in society was observed by handling all respondents equally and with dignity. Gender balance was considered when identifying the population of study. Nevertheless, access to respondents in such an expansive division was overcome through the use of mobile phone and boda boda to reach specific respondents' identified by my research assistants. Public servants were identified through their job card and office door titles/designations and by visiting their offices. Some homes were visited to identify some members of the public. The sample population of 100 respondents was representative of the research population since it was calculated at 0.2% of the research population that totaled to 39,465.

### **1.11 Sampling Techniques**

Both probability and non-probability sampling techniques were used to identify the sample population. Probability sampling included simple random sampling, systematic random sampling and cluster random sampling targeting local residents and community leaders. The respondents who fell under simple random sampling were sampled using the N, C and B codes to represent Nilotes, Cushites and Bantu housewives. In total 10 housewives were sampled using simple random samplings. Rumuruti Township location represented 5, Sosian location 3 and Mutara location 2. The 4 male herders were identified using the same codes with 3 sampled in Sosian location and 1 in Mutara location. Systematic random sampling entailed using the sampling interval. In Rumuruti Township location the respondent was sampled from a young girl who was chewing. In Sosian location the young girl was identified using the same method while

in Mutara location the 2 girls were sampled from the 1<sup>st</sup> 10 girls who wore shorts and then the next 20 girls who wore the same. However, just like in simple random sampling the response bias in the entire sample may be experienced. Cluster random sampling was used because the research population was dispersed across a wide geographical region. The provisional boundaries were used and the codes of N, C, B to represent Nilotes, Cushites, Bantus and M and F to represent male and female gender were used to sample 29 teachers from various schools. Their distribution was 12 from Rumuruti Township location, 9 from Sosian location and 8 from Mutara location. The 3 *boda boda* operators were sampled from those who wore a helmet and reflector jacket. A total of 32 respondents were sampled using the cluster random sampling technique.

The justification for use of these sampling technique was that the sample population would yield research data that could be generalized to a large population and allow the researcher to use inferential conclusions or logical conclusion. All the respondents for the probability sampling technique had an equal and independent chance of being selected in the sample. This sampling technique was relevant to the research study of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County in view of the ethnic composition and geographical expanse of the area. The sampling technique also reduced travel costs and saved time. Probability sampling technique was used to sample 50 local community respondents in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

The researcher also used a number of non-probability sampling technique. Purposive sampling was the main technique which the researcher used in the present study. In particular such specific type of purposive sampling technique included extreme sampling, homogeneous sampling and typical sampling. Extreme sampling technique involved sampling respondents who were rich in information related to the research topic because they were unusual or special in some way. The 8 IDPs, 6 *morans* and 4 business community respondents were sampled under this sampling technique category. Homogenous sampling technique made use of the particular sample population with similar characteristics to describe some subgroup in depth. Under this sampling technique 10 community leaders, 6 religious leaders and 3 NGO leaders were sampled. Typical sampling technique made use of particular individuals rich in expertise information that stems from their day to day's work and made them more knowledgeable in providing an informed local profile about the subject of investigation.

Under this sampling techniques were public servants who included the DSO of Laikipia West Sub-County, the DO Rumuruti Division, 3 Chiefs from Rumuruti Township, Sosian and Mutara locations, 3 Assistant Chiefs from Rumuruti Town, Sosian and Mutara sub-locations, the DIDC, the DAO, the DLO and 2 ASAL officers. This was because the specifically chosen respondents had a wealth of information emanating from their official duties, enabling them to provide in-depth insights related to the topic of research under investigation. Table 2 indicates the location aggregates of respondents used for probability and non-probability sampling technique to form a sample population of 100 respondents and their respective percentages. This was done to give a balanced representation of Rumuruti Division and to justify a case of

generalization of research findings. Table 3 shows the gender representation for both probability and non-probability sampling technique covering the sample population of 100 respondents and corresponding percentages in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. It was important to have these statistics done from the data collected in order to factor the issue of gender balance, equity and inclusivity in giving a gender representation to the research objectives, questions, premises and theoretical framework so as to bring forth gender balanced findings.

***Table 2: Distribution of Sample Population in Locations for Probability and Non-Probability Sampling Techniques in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County (2013)***

<b>Category of sampling Technique</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Sample population</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Probability	Rumuruti Township	21	42%
	Sosian	16	32%
	Mutara	13	26%
<b>Sub – total</b>		<b>50</b>	<b>100%</b>
Non – probability	Rumuruti Township	23	46%
	Sosian	13	26%
	Mutara	14	28%
<b>Sub - total</b>		<b>50</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Grand Total</b>		<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

***Source: Field Survey (2013)***

**Table 3: Gender Representation of Sample Population per Category of Sampling Technique in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County (2013)**

Sampling Technique	Gender		Percentage	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Probability Sampling (n=50)	20	30	40%	60%
Non- probability sampling (n=50)	40	10	80%	20%
<b>Total (n=100)</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>60%</b>	<b>40%</b>

*Source: Field Survey (2013)*

### 1.11.1 Community Members

Cluster random sampling was used to sample 32 respondents. This translated to 13 male teachers, 16 female teachers' and 3 operators of *boda boda*, which refers to public transport by either motor cycles or bicycles. Four young girls were sampled using the systematic random sampling. A similar number of male herders and 10 house wives who were also peasant farmers were captured using the simple random sampling technique. The researcher carried out an oral casual appraisal on the girls and women to establish whether they were well versed with the issue of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The random sampling respondents are presented on table 4. The researcher ensured that the respondents were either locals or had worked in the area for some time in order to handle the subject matter. Table 4 summarises the probability sampling in terms of sample population distribution in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.



**Table 4: Probability Sampling. Sample Population Distribution per Category of Random Sampling Technique in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County (2013)**

Category of Respondents	Sampling technique	Sample population
Teachers <i>Boda Boda</i> youth operators	Cluster random	29 03
Young girls	Systematic random	04
Male herders House wives	Simple random	04 10
<b>Total</b>		<b>50</b>

**Source: Field Survey (2013)**

#### **1.11.2 Public Servants**

Thirteen public servants were identified for this research using the typical purposive sampling. This category of respondents consisted of the DO, chiefs, assistant chiefs, the DSO, who was working with both the police force and the District Peace Committee (DPC), the DIDC, officers working with the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock and ASAL office. Public servants were considered to be important in this research because they implement government policies, maintain security records and details. In addition, they interact with members of the communities at the grass roots levels. Most of the public servants have legal authority and enormous patronizing influence necessary to effectively respond to inter-ethnic conflicts and mediation efforts. Most of the intervention measures to conflicts including integration strategies through the DPC came from them.

### **1.11.3 Community Leaders, Religious Leaders, and Non-Governmental Organization Leaders**

These 19 leaders fell under the homogenous category of purposive sampling. It was necessary to interview them because they interact with individuals and communities at grassroots levels. Most of them enjoy goodwill and closer ties as community welfare agents. They work with security agents in the public sectors to whip up communities against inter-ethnic conflicts and positively influence them towards peaceful co-existence. The group had useful information on the effects and intervention measures to inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division. The NGOs who provided research information included AMREF, IMC and CARITAS. Catholics, Protestants and Muslim religious leaders were interviewed.

### **1.11.4 Internally Displaced Persons, *Morans* and Business Community**

The 18 specific respondents were picked through extreme purposive sampling. To a large extent, the researcher established that IDPs, *morans* and the business community in both rural and urban centres are victims of the inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County although the *morans* were also likely perpetrators. These groups gave important information on the causes and effects of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. They gave recommendations to the government on interventions meant to address inter-ethnic conflicts in the division.

Table 5 summarizes our discussion on non-probability sampling in regard to sample population per category of purposive sampling technique in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

**Table 5: Non-Probability Sampling. Sample Population Distribution per Category of Purposive Sampling Technique in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County (2013)**

<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Sampling Technique</b>	<b>Sample Population</b>
Public Servants	Typical purposive	13
Ethnic, Religious and (NGO) Leaders	Homogeneous purposive	19
(IDPs)	Extreme purposive	08
<i>Morans</i>		06
Business Community		04
<b>Total</b>		<b>50</b>

*Source: Field Survey (2013)*

In the overall 100 respondents were used for the study. They were distributed into 32 Agikuyu, 20 Samburu, 10 Ameru, 5 Maasai, 5 Turkana, 5 Abagusii, 5 Abaluyia, 5 Nandi, 5 Pokot, 5 Tugen, 2 Somali and 1 Mijikenda.

**Table 6: Summary of all sampled informants in Rumuruti Division (2013)**

<b>Category of Respondents</b>	<b>Sampling technique</b>	<b>Sample population</b>
Teachers	Cluster random	29
<i>Boda Boda</i> youth operators		03
Young girls	Systematic random	04
Male herders	Simple random	04
House wives		10
Public Servants	Typical purposive	13
Ethnic, Religious and (NGO) Leaders	Homogeneous purposive	19
(IDPs)	Extreme purposive	08
<i>Morans</i>		06
Business Community		04
<b>Total</b>		<b>100</b>

*Source: Field Survey (2013)*

### **1.12 Research Instruments and Methods of Data Collection Techniques.**

Through field research, the study generated primary data using oral and written interviews. Archival information (Annual Reports, Handing over Reports and Administrative Reports) were accessed from the Kenya National Museums. Some of the official government reports were accessed from Government Printers. Questionnaires were administered to various categories of respondents. The use of questionnaires method of data collection was appropriate for the geographically expansive area of Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Oral interviews of purposively identified respondents saved on time. These instruments were valid in that they tested what they were intended to test as guided by the research objectives, questions, premises and the theoretical framework. The instruments were reliable in that they would elicit similar findings when repeatedly applied with different sample population in the same area of study.

Secondary data was gathered from relevant books, theses, written articles in journals, newspapers, published and unpublished literary works including electronic sources. Such was sourced from Kenyatta University Post Modern Library, Kenya National Library Services - Embu and internet sources. This saved time and helped to meet the expectations and demands of the objectives of the research study. However, the poor state of roads caused delays in accessing some of the respondents. Contacts through telephone conversations were further interrupted by poor network, leading to unanswered calls. But use of SMS to and by some of the respondents addressed the challenge.

### **1.13 Data Analysis**

The data collected was cleaned, coded and analyzed under the broad categorization guided by the research objectives and questions. Data from close ended questions were analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Science Research (SPSS) software. Innovative and logical pictures to summarize data were used. The data from the field was first analyzed by categorizing the instruments into their homogenous groups, coded and then synthesized to come up with thematic data. The primary data as well as secondary data were categorized and synthesized to come up with integrated thematic issues discussed in different chapters in relation to the study's research objectives. The justification of using these methods of data analysis was due to the fact that some respondents gave similar answers to particular questions. Research objectives were thematically based. Such data analysis methods met the expectations of the research design which is a qualitative research. To harmonize conflicting field data/information corroboration with published works was done.

### **1.14 Data Presentation**

Some field data was analyzed and translated into diagrams, tables, figures, pie charts and a line graph, along the study's objectives. The identity to such was accurately done. The efficacy of local residents' peace initiative and that of the state and the residents' perception of the states culpability in promoting violence in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County was a matter of grave concern.

Information from key informants, (non-probability sampling) interviews was presented using qualitative methods including descriptive discussions and narratives which supplemented pertinent information on values, attitudes and cultural believes of distinct communities in handling and resolving inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

### **1.15 Ethical Considerations**

This research was validly covered by a research permit and authorization as indicated in annexure 1. The researcher observed acceptable etiquette when interacting with all the research respondents. The purpose of this study was clarified to the participants. Likewise, the role of the tour guides (Joram Waweru and Jane Kagiri) was clearly defined. The respondents were assured that the information they provided would be handled confidentially and would only be used for academic purposes. Permission was sought from respondents to use their photographs and verbatim captions in this thesis.

### **1.16 Synopsis of Chapters**

This study is divided into six chapters. Chapter one is the general introduction. It focuses on the nature of the study: background to the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions and research premises, justification of the study and scope and limitations of the study. The chapter further reviews related literature on inter-ethnic conflicts under four main themes namely: historical trends influence on inter-ethnic conflicts, root causes of inter-ethnic conflicts, effects of inter-ethnic

conflicts and intervention measures to combat inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The chapter also gives the theoretical framework guiding the study. The chapter demonstrates the research methodology under some specific aspects. These include the research design, area of study, sample population, sampling technique, research instruments and methods of data collection, data analysis and presentation. The chapter finally highlights ethical considerations during research.

Chapter Two examines the historical trends perspectives of conflicts from the colonial period and critically assesses their influence to inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County between 1963 and 2010. The chapter also gives an account of the inter-ethnic relations in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County in both colonial and post colonial period with greater focus to 1963 – 2010.

Chapter Three investigates the root causes of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Some of the causes are dominant, frequent and leave behind a trail of tragic experience to the victims.

Chapter Four discusses the factors which sustain inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. It further investigates the effects of inter-ethnic conflicts on food security as an aspect of the community's livelihoods in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

Chapter Five analyzes the intervention measures used to mitigate inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The specific interventions employed by the local community, government agents; religious denominations and civil society

organizations to mitigate inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County are discussed. The efficacy of collective dynamism to inter-ethnic conflicts in Laikipia County is equally assessed. Formal and informal consensus and integrative approaches used to address inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County are examined.

Finally, the Sixth chapter constitutes the summary of the main research findings, conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further study.



## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **HISTORICAL TRENDS ON THE INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN RUMURUTI DIVISION OF LAIKIPIA COUNTY**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

This chapter focuses on the national historical perspectives to explain inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County during the colonial and post-colonial period. The historical perspectives are guided by the influences on the Africans in Kenya during the colonial phase as a British Protectorate (1895-1919) as well as a colony from (1920-1963) through the era of Presidents Jomo Kenyatta, Daniel Arap Moi and Mwai Kibaki. The year 2010 is indicated for purposes of this study otherwise the Kibaki Era ended in 2013. All these hegemonic phases affected the various resident communities of Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County differently in the context of inter-ethnic conflicts. The theoretical framework of Incompatibility of Plural Society Theory by Furnivall and Smith (1997) and that of Greed versus Grievance Theory by Collier and Hoeffler (2004) exemplify the communities' relations over the above period.

#### **2.1 The Colonial Era (1895 – 1963)**

The early inhabitants of Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County were the Ogiek/Dorobo, Pokot, Tugen, Nandi, Samburu and Maasai (Hezekiah Biril, O.I., 11-4-2013, Rumuruti Township). This has been corroborated by Waweru (2006) and Lemoosa (1998). The

British protectorate government in Kenya began the construction of the Uganda Railway in Mombasa in 1896 that was intended to connect Uganda with the coast. The railway was going to facilitate effective exploitation of the economic resources in the interior of both Kenya and Uganda (Were and Wilson, 1987). With the completion of the Uganda Railway in 1901, the railway would repay the construction cost by starting White settler agriculture in Kenya. Both crop and animal husbandry (ranching and dairy farming) were encouraged by the colonial government (Waweru, 2006). This mode of colonial economy necessitated deliberate land alienation from African communities through colonial land policies (Ochieng, 1985). Some of the colonial land policies included the Land Regulation Act of 1897 which gave settlers certificates of occupancy for 99 years (Were and Wilson, 1987).

The East African Lands Order in Council of 1901 defined crown land as public land including private land occupied by African villages (Were and Wilson, 1987). The Crown Land Ordinance of 1902 made it easier for White settlers to occupy African land through cheap purchases or renting. By this ordinance, any undeveloped land was to be forfeited to the colonial government for settler farming (Ochieng, 1985). In 1904 the Agikuyu lost land in this manner in Kiambu.

The first African reserves of Ngong and Laikipia were created among the Maasai in 1904 through the First Maasai Agreement of 1904 between Lenana and the British colonial government. During the Second Maasai Agreement of 1911, all the Maasai were relocated from Laikipia to the bigger Ngong reserve in the South. By the Crown Land Ordinance of 1915 all land occupied and reserved for Africans was declared

crown land (Were and Wilson, 1987). The indigenous communities in Laikipia County were adversely affected. They lost prime land.

With the creation of African reserves, forced labour was also directly introduced. Village headmen and the chiefs were consequently used by the British Colonial Government to recruit African labour for the colonial economy (Ochieng, 1985). The *kipande*, African registration system, was used by the colonial government to limit free movement and migration of the Africans more so to the urban centres (Were and Wilson, 1987). Women were denied this registration so that they could remain in the rural areas to sustain the African subsistence economy (Ochieng, 1985).

Introduction of hut and poll taxes were a further oppressive colonial legislation to subject Africans to the colonial service and subjugation. The colonial government declared Kenya a colony in 1920. This gave rise to African grievances which manifested into the formation of political parties and associations up to 1940, basically to agitate for return of their land (Were and Wilson, 1987; Lemoosa, 1998; Waweru, 2006). The Incompatibility of Plural Society Theory (1997) and the Greed Versus Grievance Theory (2004) apply in this situation.

The momentum to reclaim African land was geared by the ex-Second World war servicemen who engendered their agenda not only for land but also political representation in the Legislative Council (LegCo) after the formation of Kenya African Union (KAU) in 1946 (Ochieng and Ogot, 1995). At about 1920s, a few Agikuyu, Abaluyia, Ameru, Abagusii, Somali and Turkana joined the Maasai, Nandi, Pokot, Tugen and the Samburu as labourers of the White settlers and administrators in

Laikipia County (Pastor John Lorioi Kimiri, O.I., 10-4-2013, Mutara). Most of the Somali and Turkana occupied Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County in the 1950s (KNA/DC/LKA/1/7/ Annual Report, 1957). The 1950s marked the dying moment of the colonial hegemony in Kenya. The features of conflicts gravitated around the Emergency and the Mau-Mau war of independence in Kenya. The final phase of African conflicts with the British colonial masters was progressive constitutional changes.

During this period, the Maasai in Laikipia County whose history of settling in the area goes back to 1904 during the First Maasai Agreement were employed as herdsmen, watchmen, drivers and home guards. Abaluyia, Ameru, Abagusii, and Agikuyu were employed as domestic workers and mechanics (Pastor John Lorioi Kimiri, O.I., 10-4-2013, Mutara; Mkutu, 2005). Other Africans lived in African reserves. The colonial land policies had made Africans landless. The Relative Deprivation Theory by (Clifford, 1976) illustrates the situation that obtained during the colonial period.

As the Mau-Mau wave affected the neighbouring Nyandarua and Nyeri counties, the relationship between the Africans and the Europeans in Laikipia County worsened (KNA/DC/LKA/1/5, Annual Report, 1954). Inter-ethnic conflicts interventions in this period were restricted to the colonial chiefs, sub-chiefs, community elders, the District Emergency Committee (DEC) and the District Security Committee (DSC) from 1957 to maintain local security (KNA/DC/LKA/2/2 – Handing Over Report, Mr. G. G. Hunt to Mr. G. Keller, 1950 -1958).

Although Mau-Mau war of independence was more concentrated in Central Kenya, other regions and communities were also involved (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007). The Mau-Mau struggle intensified animosity between the British colonial administrators and the Africans after the declaration of the state of Emergency on 20<sup>th</sup> October, 1952 by Sir Evelyn Baring (Ochieng and Ogot, 1995).

Detention without trial, screening Africans, corporal punishments, arbitrary arrests, rape, murder, arsons and empowering the home guard police was adopted by the colonial administrators against the Kenya African population (KNA/DC/LKA/1/4 – Annual Report, 1953). All these repressive measures were taken because the Africans demanded ownership of land.

On their part, the Kenyan nationalists destroyed the colonial infrastructure through arson. It also entailed cutting down and burning the crops of the European settlers, stealing, rape of European women, killing of European administrators, Christian missionaries and African collaborators (Thomas Bomet, O.1., 11-4-2013, Rumuruti Township). The colonial ambience of confrontation between the Europeans and Africans in Kenya is partly captured by authors such as Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1966) among other authors.

The Swynnerton Plan of 1954 boosted these endeavours when Africans were allowed to own land and grow cash crops. The African Elected Members Organization (AEMO) directed the articulation of the interest of Kenya's nationalists against the British colonial administrators to constitutional changes geared towards political independence and self-determination (Were and Wilson, 1987). These constitutional changes

included the Lyttleton Constitutional change in 1954, the Lennox-Boyd Constitutional change in 1958, the First Lancaster House Constitutional change in 1960, the Second Lancaster House Constitutional change in 1962 and the London Conference which ushered Kenya to independence in 1963 (Ochieng and Ogot, 1995). Like in the rest of Kenya, the local African population in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County gave full grassroots support to the initiatives of the African elite in this regard (Thomas Bomet, O.I., 11-4-2013, Rumuruti Township).

The nationalists and colonial government conflicts in Kenya in the 1950s and early 1960s was marked by the 3<sup>rd</sup> phase of Marxist and Neo-Marxist thought which entered the stage of self-awareness and agitation of rights as opposed to the first phase of control and compliance (Okoth and Ogot, 2000). The European settlers, investors, legislators and administrators were gripped by panic due to the extensive destruction of their infrastructure and economic resources by African nationalists. The eventualities of transfer of ownership of such resources to Kenyans in the event of total independence were not a welcome reality. The conscious transformation of thought in realizing that they were greatly exploited was taking the grip of ethnic nationalities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

In the years towards independence, Agikuyu had greater economic prosperity and displayed solid ethnic self-consciousness which had been a creation of the British colonial government. The Agikuyu were more politically conscious than the pastoral communities, Akiwumi (1999) and Waweru (2006). Because of the suspicion they aroused from resident communities and land pressure on reserves, they decided to settle

in large numbers in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County through land buying companies. Such companies included the Laikipia West Company Limited, the Mathira Land Buying Company, Kieni Land Buying Company and Mutukanio Land Buying Company Limited, which were co-ordinated by Dixon Kihika Kimani who later became Member of Parliament (MP) for Laikipia West Constituency (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007). The land was bought from the Settlement Fund Trustee (SFT) which took over land in Laikipia West Sub-County at independence (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007).

Although a few Bantu farming communities such as the Abagusii, Abaluyia, and Ameru bought the land, the Agikuyu were the majority shareholders in all the land buying companies (Akiwumi, 1999). The sale of former European farms to other communities has over the years been a source of disquietude among the pastoralists who feel that they were improperly deprived of their ancestral land and that the presence of those other communities constitutes an interference with their grazing rights in the area. The pastoral communities have often provoked tragic confrontation by grazing their livestock on crops of the Bantu communities (Akiwumi, 1999). Those who could not afford to buy land then became squatters.

## **2.2 President Kenyatta Era (1963 – 1978)**

During the Kenyatta presidency (1963 – 1978), Kenyans welcomed the reality of independence with absolute exuberance propelled by the promises of political, social and economic ownership and advancement by the ruling political elite. The phase of nationalization and Africanization had entered the pragmatic stage. The immediate skewed allocation of resources; land included, and other opportunities divided the

Kenyan communities into the dichotomy of inclusive and exclusive political domains (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007). These state of affairs fits into the Rising Expectations = Rising Frustrations Theory by Samuel Huntington and Daniel Learner (1993). Failed promises therefore made communities to seek self-validation in ethnicity for political legitimization and domination (Okoth and Ogot, 2000). The MP for Laikipia West Constituency during this time was G.G. Kariuki, a Kikuyu. However, illiteracy, landlessness, poor infrastructure and regional political balancing were delicate issues for the new nation's executive.

Kenyatta became an all-powerful president, giving in to the temptations of authoritarianism (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007). The president was above the law, controlled the executive and the legislative arms of the government. Patron-client politics therefore prevailed (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007). Politics became highly ethnicized with ethnic kingpins serving as conduits between their communities and the state for acquisition of state resources and favours (Ochieng, 1995).

The late Mbiyu Koinange and Geoffrey Kariithi had the president's ear in this regard. Late Njenga Karume marshalled the Agikuyu, Aembu and Ameru together with others such as Kihika Kimani in Nakuru and Laikipia West Constituency and late Jackson Angaine in Meru region. Others were Njoroge Mungai and James Gichuru (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007). An ethnic oligarchy used political influence to form the Gikuyu, Embu, and Meru Association (GEMA) whose prime interest was to appropriate enormous economic resources in many parts of Kenya. Africanization of the public service was therefore configured in favour of the Agikuyu ethnic nation state.



Ethnic balkanization against GEMA and Agikuyu and stronger political solidarity of the Agikuyu through oathing against other ethnic groups sympathetic to the Luos was witnessed after Tom Mboya's assassination in 1969 in Laikipia County (Pastor John Lorioi Kimiri, O.I., 10-4-2013, Mutara). Kenya was a *defacto*, in reality but not constitutionally a *de jure* one party state up to 1982. Kenyatta relegated the majority of the youth into the political periphery where the Constitutional Amendment of 1968 set the presidential vying age to 35 years. The youth were viewed as leaders in waiting only being used to actualize the agenda of others or fit for the National Youth Service (NYS). This observation was made by (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007).

The government policy made the youth antagonistic. The youth resorted to anxiety and violence. However, Tom Mboya, J. M. Kariuki and Kenneth Matiba occupied plum state jobs yet they were youth by this definition and were from different ethnic nations. I also partly differ with the author's view because even though the recommended age to occupy the president's office was 35 years, Plato routs for 50 years as the right age of the philosopher king. But it is correct to conclude that the female gender was ignored in this regard in practice but not constitutionally. This was compounded by the fact that they did not have national identity cards until 1979.

J. M. Kariuki's death in March, 1975 greatly affected the Nyandarua – Laikipia West Sub-County and triggered a rift between the Agikuyu and the Kalenjin because Daniel Arap Moi, the then Vice President kept on assuring parliament that J. M. Kariuki was in Zambia (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007). The Kikuyu population in Rumuruti Division

of Laikipia County identified with university demonstrations to remember J. M.'s Day. This fact demonstrates that dissenting political opinions were unwelcome by the political establishment irrespective of one's ethnic tag. Bildad Kagia thus suffered that hostile fate of being purged out of political limelight.

Topon the political and socio-economic agenda of many Kenyan communities immediately after independence was the issue of fair and equitable distribution of land. President Jomo Kenyatta invented the popular slogan of *uhuru na kazi*, whose meaning was freedom and hard work. Economic and social wellbeing for all Kenyans is implied in the *harambee* philosophy, teaming together to harness resources for socio-economic development, and African Socialism (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007). A political oligarchy within the Kenya African National Union (KANU) consolidated into the GEMA powerbase. The move ethnicized political relations between Agikuyu and other ethnic groups in Kenya, (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007).

Jomo Kenyatta also used the *Ngoroko*, armed communities' militia and political outfit loyal to the government, to scuttle the *shifita* menace in the Northern Frontier District (NFD). The *shifita* were people of Somali descent who used armed struggle against the GoK to achieve the annexation of former North Eastern Province to Somalia. In the 1970's, the government used these political outfits as a source of coercive force to secure the Agikuyu land resources by making alliances with them against the Kalenjin in the former Rift Valley Province. In reality, this legitimized cattle rustling and banditry activities in Laikipia County (Pastor John Lorioi Kimiri, O.I., 10-4-2013, Mutara; Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007).

Consolidation of power attained a landmark achievement in 1964 when KANU became the only powerful political party in Kenya. The GEMA political elites were able to access loans for agricultural development from Land Bank, the Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC) the Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation (ICDC), the Development Finance Company of Kenya (DFCK) and several other marketing boards of the Republic of Kenya (RoK, 1965). They used this money to buy prime land in former Central and Rift Valley provinces from former European settlers and consigned initial African owners of these lands to squatters.

Detention, assassinations and self-exiles of opposition and progressive politicians and technocrats became common in this period of history and the media was also state controlled. Voice of Kenya (VoK) television was the only one in Kenya. General Elections were controlled and executed by the powerful provincial administration (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007). However, I feel that political agenda is a personal choice whereas personal political loyalty and compatibility is the gist of inner houses appointments the worldwide. Ethnicity alone was not the only consideration for state appointments.

The Agikuyu dominance manifested itself through the establishment of financially stable land buying companies whose aim was to buy land formerly owned by the White settler farming and ranching community. After they bought land in Laikipia County, many of them became absentee landlords (Akiwumi, 1999). They secured allotment letters/certificates but did not have any title deeds. The pastoralists grazed their herds at will on these lands. By 1970 a great number of Bantu speaking communities settled in

Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. They lived harmoniously with the pastoralist communities in terms of sharing neighbourhoods, collaborating in self-help projects and inter-marriages. Their children schooled together in the same schools. Both the Bantu speaking farming communities and the Nilotic and Cushitic pastoralist communities embraced KANU party and relations were cordial particularly after 1966 when Daniel Arap Moi became the Vice President (Pastor John Lorioi Kimiri, O.I.,10-4-2013, Mutara; Mkutu,2005).

By the time President Jomo Kenyatta died on 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 1978 most of the crucial public policy makers were from the former Central Province region. The unchecked powers of an imperial presidency had already set grounds for inter-ethnic conflicts (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007). The Bantu speaking farming communities and the pastoralist communities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County were not an exception. This situation is explained through the Incompatibility of Plural Society Theory by (Furnivall and Smith, 1997). Just as in other parts of Kenya, inter-ethnic conflicts were solved through the powerful Chiefs Authority Act (CAA) and repressive police and military personnel (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007).

### **2.3 President Moi Era (1978 – 2002)**

President Daniel Arap Moi took over the leadership of Kenya from 1978 when the country was faced by serious political and economic crisis. The economic crisis was witnessed by high inflation levels due to the oil crisis and high unemployment rates. Amid economic decline, the political leadership sent mixed signals regarding their commitment to stabilize the economy through measures to ensure growth and to

guarantee democracy and basic rights to citizens. President Moi vowed to follow the footsteps of Kenyatta through his *Nyayo Philosophy* of peace, love and unity. The *Harambee* spirit was greatly institutionalized to the extent that influential public offices greatly abused it (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007).

Like his predecessor, Moi navigated the ethnic route by gradually dismantling GEMA political elite and systematically replaced GEMA senior personnel in corporations and government with individuals drawn largely from his Kalenjin ethnic group. But Moi approved the ethnic grouping of Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana and Samburu (KAMATUSA) because they supported KANU. He used ethnic kingpins such as James Njiru, Kariuki Chotara, Joseph Kamotho, Jeremiah Nyaga, Godfrey Gitahi Kariuki (Laikipia), Simeon Nyachae, Katana Ngala, Shariff Nassir, Odongo Omamo, Grace Ogot, Moses Mudavadi, Nicholas Biwott and Joshua Kulei.

State patronage becomes overtly ethnically based with opposition areas completely neglected in economic and infrastructural development. Moi asserted *siasa mbaya maisha mbaya*. This meant that citizens and Kenya regions which did not show loyalty to him and the KANU government risked being consigned to economic and political oblivion (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007). The subsisting political atmosphere then could be explained through the Relative Deprivation Theory by Clifford Geertz (1976) and the Incompatibility of Plural Society Theory of Furnivall and Smith (1997).

By 1981, the institution of the president had transformed from an imperial presidency to a personal state. Moi developed a personality cult where socio-economic prosperity at individual and societal levels of Kenyans greatly depended on personal political loyalty to him and he became No. 1 in almost any profession Kenyans could think of (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007).

The country was confronted by an uncertain and deteriorating political atmosphere. President Moi began to consolidate his political power by making KANU the only political party in 1981 and entrenching the party into every aspect of running government. It was during that period that the Kenya Air Force (KAF) organized a *coup d'etat* against his government on 1<sup>st</sup> August, 1982. The Greed versus Grievance Theory by Collier and Hoeffler (2004) qualifies the justification of *coup d'etat*.

The provincial administration became ever powerful. New districts, divisions and locations were increased during this period in order to take charge of happenings throughout the county (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007). The euphoria of better economic and political progress waned and opposition of KANU and the government was met with purge from the KANU party in form of torture chambers, detention without trial, political murders, unpopular jail terms on trumped up charges and other forms of intimidation and suppression (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007).

Electoral institutions lost their independence because the District Commissioners (DCs) became the returning officers in General Elections. This promoted rigging in General Elections, particularly on the queuing voting system of 1988 (Okoth, 2000). Electoral violence centered on competing ethnic personalities and groups was common in several

African states just as it was in the Moi era. This situation was not unique to Kenya and similar incidents obtained in other African countries. In events similar to those in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County, Zimbabwe has witnessed electoral violence between the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) of Morgan Tsvangirai and Zimbabwe African National Union, (ZANU) of Robert Mugabe since 2000.

The electoral violence has pitted the Shona in support of MDC and ZANU while the leaders use their personality differences to bring out grievances which edge out each other and greedily alienate the Ndebele ethnic nation from competitively securing the position of chief executive (Okoth, 2000).

Similarly, in the June, 12<sup>th</sup> 1993 General Elections in Nigeria, General Ibrahim Babangida from the Hausa Fulani community annulled the presidential elections and refused to acknowledge the victory of Chief Moshud Abiola, a Yoruba Muslim tycoon. The Social Democratic Party (SDP) supported Chief Abiola because he was Yoruba while the Hausa supported his opponent, Toffa of National Republican Convention (NRC). The interim government of Shonikan, set up after Abiola's denied victory was ostensibly to appease the Yoruba (Young, 2003).

During the 1980s the KANU youth wingers were established ostensibly to maintain peace in locations but the truth was that they became dreaded forces targeting anti-establishment in all manner of intimidation and harassment. The Youth for KANU 1992 (YK92) was an elitist organ of KANU to fight the opposition politics after 1991 when Section 2(A) of the constitution was repealed to allow multi-partism in Kenya. With the excuse that multi-partism was going to jeopardize national unity in Kenya,

communities were pitied against one another in negative solidarity and the ugly concept of PEV was born (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007). The situation aggravated the squatter problem to include the IDPs in Kenya. The problem of IDPs became pronounced in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County in 1997. In the 1990s, the NGOs and bilateral donor agencies drifted from purely economic development agenda to the political agenda through calls of transparency and accountability on the GoK (Okoth and Ogot, 2000).

The magnitude of state repression against pro-democracy groups during the Moi era was an eye opener to idle, educated and unemployed youth who saw an opportunity to accumulate economic resources through violence. This has been the psyche behind vigilante groups metamorphosing into armed ethnic criminal gangs not only in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County but also in other parts of the country. The death, displacement and terror among ethnic groups have subsequently even defied the security apparatus (Mkutu, 2008).

This legitimized *mungiki* in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. *Mungiki* was formed by Maina Njenga to respond to negative economic sabotage meted on the Agikuyu by the KANU regime and to register political indignation at the negative political targeting on the community (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007).

The movement was initially disguised in Agikuyu cultural renaissance and fundamentalism which was closely related to the Tent of the Living God (TLG) of Ngonywa wa Gakonya (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007). This cultural revival and fundamentalism with its associated indulgences including spates of violence cascaded to



Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Oathing is often done in order to galvanize and insulate members of a particular ethnic group against violence from other belligerent communities (David Mundia, O.I.,6-4-2013, Sosian). *Mungiki's* national chairman, Maina Njenga contested the Laikipia West parliamentary seat in 2002 General Elections (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007). However, the *mungiki* menace was greatly felt in Laikipia County after 1997.

The Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG) of 1997 served to ameliorate the political tensions and inter-ethnic conflicts by removing the draconian CAA, ostensibly depleting some of the powers of the provincial administration to control political rallies, and increase democratic space. The political rallies and associations permit were to be issued by the Officer Commanding Station (OCS). Nevertheless, because of immense ethnicization of politics in Kenya, 1997 still witnessed PEV in the former Rift Valley Province and other parts of Kenya (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007).

The Agikuyu and other major communities sought for greater democratic space through the church, civil society organizations, higher education academic institutions, the media, the Kenyans in the Diaspora and the bilateral donor countries at the decline of cold war. Foreign aid to Kenya was frozen and with high population levels of over 4% per annum, the economy got choked by mega corruption and high poverty levels (Okoth, 2000). This desperate economic and political atmosphere provided fertile ground for the *Mungiki* sympathizers in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

Just like other regions in Kenya, Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County was substantially affected by the negative globalization trends of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) such as the golden handshake or retrenchments carried out in the public sector through recommendations of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). The development saw an influx of frustrated former public servants into rural Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County who held government secrets which they used to incite their own ethnic communities against others (Samuel Tumu, O.I., 5-4-2013, Rumuruti Township; Mkutu, 2005).

The KANU youth wing concept, the use of *mungiki* forces of terror, PEV in 2002, coupled with the presence of armed Kenya Police Reservists (KPR) in pastoral areas strengthened the *moran* rustling and banditry activities in Laikipia County. The ethnic clashes were targeted at Agikuyu and other Bantu speakers in the Rift Valley in order to make it impossible for Mwai Kibaki or Kenneth Matiba to attain the 25% threshold in the former Rift Valley Province (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007). Commercial rustling gained ground in the area. The political differences between the Bantu speaking farming communities and the Nilotic/Cushitic speaking pastoralist communities increased with the latter aligned to KANU party while the former embraced opposition politics.

The Bantu communities embraced the Democratic Party (DP) and National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (NARC) over this period. Thus in 1992, Dixon Kihika Kimani, a Kikuyu won the Laikipia West Parliamentary seat on a DP ticket defeating G. G. Kariuki of KANU who had held the seat. During the 1997 General Elections, Chege

Mbitiru, also a Kikuyu won the Laikipia West Parliamentary seat on a DP ticket defeating a Samburu KANU candidate (Akiwumi, 1999). The Bantus support for the opposition and the pastoral communities support for KANU caused a lot of disharmony between them in Laikipia County (Akiwumi, 1999). Other Kikuyu MPs during the Moi era included Mathenge and Ndumia. Inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County became intense due to the competing political differences, perceived and real inequalities in resource allocation and soft state and weak political institutionalization which meant communities committed offences with impunity (David Mundia, O.I.,6-4-2013, Sosian; Mkutu,2005; Okoth and Ogot,2000).

The prevailing situation then could be explained using the Incompatibility of Plural Society Theory by Furnivall and Smith (1997) and the Greed versus Grievance Theory by Collier and Hoeffler (2004). Pejorative reference to pastoralists and poor infrastructure conform to the relative deprivation and resource mobilization theories. The ruling regimes inability to provide economic and political good is a source of relative deprivation within a given population (Okoth and Ogot, 2000).

The instruments of inter-ethnic conflicts intervention during the Moi regime in Laikipia County involved the provincial administration working through the KANU youth wing which operated as a *defacto* police and administered instant justice, the KPR, the church, the community leaders and the Penal Code (Pastor Kilea Lemachimpi, O.I.,13-4-2013, Mutara; Mkutu, 2005; Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007). Moi also made an effort to dish land title deeds to solve the problem of squatters and IDPs in Laikipia County.

After serving for constitutional two terms of office of five years each, President Daniel Arap Moi exited from power in 2002, having ruled Kenya for twenty four years.

#### **2.4 President Kibaki Era (2002 – 2010)**

The beginning of the Kibaki era in 2003 was characterized by immense euphoria. It marked the period of new political re-alignment after KANU lost the General Elections for the first time since independence to NARC. The 2002 – 2007 phase of NARC steered the country to high economic heights. The Free Primary Education (FPE) was started in 2003 and learner's enrolment in primary schools was at an all-time high (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007). At international parlance, Kenya earned credibility for fighting graft up to 2004. Soon after, the Kibaki government was accused of mega corruption and the KANU mode of politics and governance (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007).

The economy grew at over 6% per annum by 2007. By 2010, the most elaborate infrastructural development in Kenya had been realized. In 2008, Kenya's Vision 2030 development blue print was launched to make Kenya a middle level industrialized nation by the year 2030. Part of this initiative led to the start of the free day secondary education by 2008. The resultant multi-ethnic background of learning toned down inter-ethnic animosities within the youth. The Kikuyu MPs who served in Laikipia West constituency during the Kibaki era were G. G. Kariuki and Nderitu Muriithi.

The concept of community policing was started in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County in 2004. The DPC which work with the local communities and NGOs was started in Laikipia West Sub-County in 2009. The chiefs, assistant chiefs, the police, legal systems and churches still remain formidable groups in inter-ethnic conflicts intervention in Rumuruti Division (Gitau, B.K., O.I., 19-4-2013, Rumuruti Township). However, the Kibaki regime strived to address the problem of IDPs which divided Kenyans of various ethnic backgrounds by giving out more title deeds and money for them to settle down, but the problem was still insurmountable by the time of his exit from power in 2013.

On the other hand there was the 'No' and 'Yes', Orange and Banana Referendum on the proposed constitution of 2005, which divided Kenyans. The NARC government supported the Wako draft, while a pressure group named the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) was formed by opponents in NARC and campaigned for the rejection of the proposed constitution. In the end, the NARC government was defeated by ODM on the referendum vote (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007).

The ministerial purge on the ODM members adopted by the Kibaki regime continued to divide Kenyans more so on ethnic grounds (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007). Consequently, ODM became an opposition political party after the referendum. Kibaki's administration just like Moi and Kenyatta's swiftly acquired an ethno regional bias. From the President's political stronghold, we had individuals of enormous political persuasions such as Amb. Francis Muthaura, Daudi Mwiraria, Kiraitu Murungi, John Michuki and Chris Murungaru. Other communities referred to them as

the *Mt. Kenya Mafia*. Other ethnic regional kingpins were Moody Awori, Kipkalia Kones, John Koech and William Ole Ntimama. Such patron–client style of politics is in support of the Incompatibility of Plural Society Theory of Furnivall and Smith (1997) as well as the Greed versus Grievance Theory by Collier and Hoeffler (2004).

It would appear that in order to survive politically, the Kibaki regime was accused of adopting the path of political outfits that had gained ground during the Moi era. As an individual, his technocrat politics dissuaded him from supporting such and indeed the order of shoot to kill *mungiki* was given during his tenure of office. Other politicians within government embraced this ethnicized machineries to deal with their opponents. In particular, the *mungiki* terror and intimidation political outfit with the support of some political elites was strongest during Kibaki's regime since they had developed an elaborate tax regime system to economically sustain themselves (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007).

The *mungiki* was owned by powerful political elites but not the state. Such national events legitimized inter-ethnic conflicts in Laikipia County (George Makatai, O.I., 6-4-2013, Sosian). Ethnic communities could therefore use violence and coercion in order to establish an economic base. The inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County were heightened by the PEV of January to March, 2008, prompted by the contested results of the December, 2007 General Elections between the Party of National Unity (PNU) and ODM since the Pastoralist communities and the Bantu were divided politically too. This was because most of the Bantu speakers voted for PNU while a majority of the Nilotic/Cushitic speakers voted for ODM (Jemima Sipanto, O.I.,

28-4-2013, Sosian; Waki, 2010). However, a temporary calm was realized after the formation of a coalition government in 2008 and the promulgation of the 2010 Constitution of Kenya on 27<sup>th</sup> August, 2010 since inclusiveness was factored. Kenyans overwhelmingly voted for the new constitution on account of the devolution of power aspect because communities would use the counties through their politicians, population census and the development index to bring financial resources directly in the control of the grass roots citizen. Through public participation in the budget process ethnic nations have a means to prioritise economic development in their respective counties.

## **2.5 Summary and Conclusion**

Chapter Two has examined the historical trends to inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Effective colonial occupation by the British in Kenya under the protectorate colonial state began with the completion of the Uganda Railway in 1901. Land alienation from African communities to create room for the settler economy was started. Unpopular and repressive colonial policies such as creating African reserves, the *kipande* system, poll and hut tax regimes and forced labour were entrenched. Africans began to agitate for a return to their alienated land through political organizations and associations from 1920. Political representation agenda by Africans gained momentum from 1946 – 1962.

The chapter focused on the post independent era critically discerning the challenges of independence and how this changed the relationships between ethnic communities in Kenya during the Jomo Kenyatta presidential era. Inter-ethnic conflicts mostly limited to cattle rustling were well managed during this period.

During the Moi presidential era great efforts were made to shift political influence from the Agikuyu to the Kalenjin communities through state appointments. The transition was from an imperial presidency to Kenya becoming a personal state. The consolidation of power after the 1982 attempted *coup d'état* by the KAF made Kenya legally the one party state of KANU. Both internal and external pressure for greater democratic space adversely divided Kenya on ethnic lines. Laikipia became a KANU zone under G.G. Kariuki as the kingpin.

The clamour for multi-party politics in the 1990s and the review of section 2(A) of the constitution to allow multi-party politics in 1991 further divided Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County on ethnic inclinations and political loyalties. Kenyans were categorized into government and opposition zones. Ethnically based post-election clashes took root in Kenya from 1992. Rag tag tribal armies to protect certain politicians and their interest also gained roots during the Moi presidential era. The sophisticated weapon culture in inter-ethnic conflicts gained root during the Moi era.

Popular and overwhelming vote for NARC ushered into power President Mwai Kibaki in 2003. He started with a bang anchoring the FPE during his first presidential era in 2003 and Free Day Secondary Education during his second term in 2008. Infrastructural development in roads and subsidized electricity installation rate were at the peak. The economy registered the highest growth of nearly 7% by 2007. However, his close association and positioning of the Mt. Kenya people endeared opposition



politics among the pastoralist communities and also entrenched inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

The 2008 PEV dampened the national spirit. However, he weathered the challenges of a coalition between PNU and ODM, which expanded his horizon of Kenyan and international admirers. The colonial economy architecture, the deconstruction of the colonial state and the consolidation of power in the post independence era all exemplify the Incompatibility of Plural Society Theory by Furnivall and Smith (1997) and the Greed versus Grievance Theory by Collier and Hoeffler (2004).

The ownership of land and its control has influenced relations between people and communities since the colonial period. The inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County were highest during the Moi era. Local political elites need to preach about communities' cohesion all the time. The next chapter investigates the root causes of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County between the years 1963 and 2010.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **THE ROOT CAUSES OF INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN RUMURUTI DIVISION OF LAIKIPIA COUNTY, (1963-2010)**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

Inter-ethnic conflicts keep recurring in Laikipia County particularly in Rumuruti, Ng'arua and Ol Moran divisions. Though initially some of them had socio-cultural orientations, almost all of them have acquired socio-economic dimensions, amidst changing political trends. The theoretical framework of Incompatibility of Plural Society Theory by Furnivall and Smith (1997) and the Greed versus Grievance Theory by Collier and Hoeffler (2004) have been applied to give justification to root causes of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Chapter three explores the root causes of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County, from the most prominent to the least prominent according to the information collected. Finally, the chapter provides a summary and conclusion.

#### **3.1 Root Causes of Inter-ethnic Conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County 1963 - 2010**

As earlier indicated, the main reason why resident communities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County migrated from their initial places of domicile was vested in economic endowment and increased empowerment. Kenya's independence in 1963 was awash with the socio-political cum economic slogan of *uhuru na kazi* meaning political independence and hard work. Land buying companies emerged particularly in Central

province. Their motive was to legitimize agriculture as the backbone of Kenya's economy. Pressure for land was already rife about 1904 in Central Province. But it was not until 1950s that huge number of immigrants settled in Rumuruti and Laikipia West Sub-County (Akiwumi, 1999).

Like in many other parts of Kenya where communities acquired land and settled through land buying companies, such communities imported ethnic names to identify emerging administrative areas corresponding to where majority of them may have come from. In Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County, for instance, the name 'Kiamariga' used for a sub-location in Mutara Location is from Karatina in Mathira Constituency as well as 'Thome'. In like manner, 'Maundu ni meri' Sub-location in Sosian Location is a replica name originally from Nyandarua County and so is 'Ndurumo' (Akiwumi, 1999). 'Kagaa' is a name from Githunguri in Kiambu County. This norm of importing names is not peculiar because it has even been used by developed powers of USA in such names as New England, New Jersey, New Hampshire including New York. Australia and New Zealand also imported names from their original countries.

Ethnic coalescence on either side of the community's economic divide has been used to propagate names of ethnic areas of residence. Such use of distinct names from places of origin helps to whip solidarity and a sense of cohesion and belonging on the particular ethnic groups who use them. On the other hand, the names accelerate the feeling of being dispossessed of pastoral land by the Bantu communities during the inter-ethnic conflicts (Hezekiah Biril, O.I., 11-4-2013, Rumuruti Township).

Table 7 summarizes the sample population frequency on the root causes of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. For each of the eight root causes of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County, the maximum frequency of each of the items was 100, to correspond with the sample population. The aggregate sample population frequency on all the root causes of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County was 420. The aggregate percentage for all the root causes was 100%.

***Table 7: Sample Population Frequency on the Root Causes of Inter-ethnic Conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County by Percentages (2013)***

<b>Causes</b>	<b>Sample Population Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Cattle rustling	80	19%
Banditry	60	14.2%
Politicians/Elite incitation	55	13.1%
Competition for socio-economic resources	50	12%
Unemployment	50	12%
Marginalization in access to infrastructure and natural resources	45	10.7%
Ethnic animosity	40	9.5%
Presence of illegal small arms	40	9.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>420</b>	<b>100%</b>

***Source: Field Survey (2013)***

### 3.1.1 Cattle Rustling and Banditry

Cattle rustling and banditry feature prominently as causes of inter-ethnic conflicts in Laikipia County. From a grievance standpoint, it was regarded as a means of expanding grazing land, replenish lost herds following harsh climatic conditions and to obtain bride wealth which is quite high in recent years and the belief among the Maasai that all cattle owned by any community must have originated from the Maasai as a community among other reasons. The belief points out to the cultural justification of embracing cattle rustling. This was the view gradually adopted by all pastoralist communities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. This observation concurs with studies done by (Hendrickson et al, 1996; Mkutu, 2008).

However, interviews with administrators who have served in Laikipia County suggest that prior to 1979, cattle raids were relatively few and the cattle that were stolen were often recovered. Since 1979, however, there has been a dramatic increase in both the number of cattle stolen and the proportion unrecovered. This scenario exists because police posts do not exist in some places, while many raids take place in remote and difficult terrain and do not get known by the police. The police do little even with the stock theft report hence people rarely report to them. Since rustling is not a full time job, the arms skilled *morans* switch into banditry. Intra-ethnic raiding became prevalent from the 1990s (Mkutu, 2008).

On the greed viewpoint, the inter-ethnic conflicts stem from competition for scarce socio-economic resources between the farming and herding communities over land, pasture and water. This results into wars of subordination and hegemony as one

community tries to undo the other in order to control prime resources. Cattle rustling and banditry is at this level motivated by economic greed and accumulation of economic wealth (Mohamud and Rutu, 2005).

The main reason as to why the use of modern weaponry as opposed to traditional ones is popular in carrying out cattle rustling and banditry exemplifies the profit making motive underlying it. Security agents do not arrest these criminals for fear of reprisals; the criminals sell their loot in open field markets, with impunity. The reluctance to break a profit chain is indeed the real reason for this *laissez-faire* (Mohamud and Rutu, 2005; Markakis, 1999 and Mburu, 1999). This means that cattle's rustling is today an economic activity where some security agents are likely to be collaborators.

Cattle rustlers and bandits are always well organized under the cover of darkness. The *morans* execute the raids. These attackers smear their faces with clay during the day to conceal their identity (Akiwumi, 1999). The cattle rustlers deplete the socio-economic livelihoods of the Bantu communities, dispossessing them of their herds of cattle. Worse still, the rustlers steal the food stuff first, and then burn the food stores/houses (Akiwumi, 1999).



***Plate 1: An interview session with morans from Rumuruti Township, Sosian and Mutara Locations with a few Manyatta members in Mutara Location (2013). The morans are clockwise: John Ole Ntonkei, Nasiku Lesholo, Kiplimo Kibet and Lekuton Kut, Cheboi Kigen and Ndukwi Lasampai respectively***  
**Source: Field Survey (2013)**

A Tugen respondent, *mzee* (Hezekiah Biril, O.I., 11-4-2013, Rumuruti Township Location), explained the commercial intricacies of cattle rustling in Rumuruti Division using an exciting soccer match analogy:

Cattle rustling is sustained by the Kikuyu, Samburu, Tugen, Pokot and Turkana in a manner likened to players in a football match. The Kikuyu is the goal keeper waiting for the ball to get to his goal and give a firm grip. The Samburu, Tugen and Pokot are fearless forwards doing the real job of acquisition of the ball to kick it to the goal keeper. The Turkana is a wing eager to kick the ball to the others and more so to the goal keeper.

The goal keeper is the liquidator of livestock to commercial buyers for profit. The ball symbolizes the cattle. The forwards work for the goal keeper and aggressively carry out the cattle rustling (stealing). The wing player is a broker and middleman in the business (the Turkana). However, the Bantu communities are equal victims of theft from cattle rustlers from pastoralist communities. This oral interview information is corroborated by Mkutu (2007) and Waweru, (2006).

A case study of Laikipia North Sub-County in Dol-Dol and Mokogondo by Mkutu (2008) better expounds the prevalence of rustling in Laikipia County:

In January, 1998 armed Pokots stole 15 goats in an attack on the home of Esther Njeri Mburu. The assailants were followed by a group of Kikuyu who, unable to catch them attacked 54 animals belonging to other Pokots. This increased tension in the area and the District Officer of Ng'arua Division, Mr. Soi, organized a peace meeting between the Kikuyu and Pokot communities. Shortly after the meeting ended, raiders who had come from the Pokot and Samburu communities, supported by the Turkana, killed four people, burnt and looted houses in Ol Moran area. Following a series of attacks in the area, nearly 2000 people fled their homes. On 17<sup>th</sup> January, over 100 Kikuyu men armed with pangas (machetes) and rungus (sticks) confronted the raiders at Rum-Rum Valley in Mutamaiyu. Many of them were killed by the pastoralists' gunshots.

The cultural orientation of some pastoral communities is such that both men and women embrace cattle raiding. Among the Turkana and Samburu for instance, women who are not satisfied with their husbands raiding prowess can often be heard singing songs to allude that they are widows (Ibrahim and Jenner, 1996). Since the traditional African man is supposed to provide for his family, the complaint from the women views cattle raiding and banditry as heroic and profitable businesses through which the man is obligated to place food on the table (Lemoosa, 1998 and Waweru, 2006).



The cultural interpretation on the mode of killing livestock thieves causes great animosity between communities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. (Pastor John Lorioi Ole Kimiri, O.I., 10-4-2013, Mutara Location, Rumuruti Division) gave the following account of confrontation between the Kikuyu and the Turkana:

In 2008 a Turkana young man stole goats from a Kikuyu family in Gatundia area of Rumuruti Township Location. He was caught red handed and was burnt. The Turkana family struck the Kikuyu homestead on a revenge mission after 2 weeks. Burning as a mode of killing is not acceptable among the Turkana, Maasai, Samburu and Kalenjin. Sixty people mostly young Kikuyu men died in this hostile encounter. If the Turkana young man had been killed through beating, it would have been okay with the Turkana.

In a similar incident of hostility between the Samburu and the Pokot, (Pastor John Lorioi Ole Kimiri, O.I., 10-4-2013, Mutara Location) had this to say:

In 2009 the Pokot killed a Samburu *moran* at Ol Mutonyi/Damu Nyekundu in Rumuruti Division. The Pokot then went ahead to slaughter the head of the Samburu *moran*. Though theft of livestock is acceptable among the Samburu, the mode of killing the Samburu *moran* is culturally not acceptable. The Samburu avenged by dismembering a Pokot young man.



***Plate 2: A Section of the Administrative Town of Rumuruti (2013) On the left is Pastor John Lorioi Ole Kimiri***  
***Source: Field Survey (2013)***



***Plate 3: Part of the Commercial Town of Rumuruti (2013)***  
***Source: Field Survey (2013)***

Revenge attacks over such bizzare killings within communities in Laikipia County became spiral, Akiwumi (1999) and Mkutu (2007). Cattle rustling and banditry stirred inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County and was confirmed by 19% and 14.2% respondents respectively.

### **3.1.2 Incitement by Politicians and Opinion Leaders**

Politicians and opinion leaders mostly suffered indictment from members of the public as genuine peace crusaders. This is because inter-ethnic conflicts are synonymous with socio-economic inequality for which politicians and elites consistently vow to liberate their individual communities. This dream is achieved by outwitting the others who compete for similar socio-economic resources. This is justified by wanting state effectiveness, accountability and transparency in handling the demands of diversity within the backdrop of contestable resource distribution and wobbling democratic ideals. The cronies of politicians and opinion leaders often receive huge material benefits when they marshal the public in premeditated direction.

The most supreme organ of the government, the legislature, has been dominated by the Kikuyu ethnic group representation in Laikipia West Constituency since independence (Hezekiah Biril, O.I., 11-4-2013, Rumuruti Township; Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007). Political marginalization has been a source of simmering outrage and formidable interest articulation from pastoralist communities particularly during the General Elections (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007). Politics of insecurity and identity provided the government with a strong argument against political pluralism. The politicians have occasionally incited their communities against others (GoK, 1992; Amisi, 1997). A

total of 13.1% of the respondents asserted that incitement by politicians and other opinion leaders ultimately stirred their communities to inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. This was still higher compared to other indicated frequency of respondents who mentioned the subsequent causes of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division.

The interface between power and material gain to preserve their ethnic communities at the helm of resources control triggers the politicians and opinion leaders to hedonistically utter incitive, inflammatory and disparaging remarks referring to sections of some communities they do not like as *madoadoa*. This is a Kiswahili word meaning spotted, carrying with it ethnic undertones. They were viewed as ‘strangers who must lie low like an envelope’ (Swalleh Koome, O.I., 27-4-2013, Sosian). This culture of ethnic animosity against the Bantu communities by the Cushitic/Nilotic communities is disturbing (Mkutu, 2005). Some respondents observed that at times, politicians and opinion leaders incited their own communities to attack targeted members of other communities, thus brewing inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County and other parts of Kenya.

The research done by Nnoli (1978), Otite (2000) and Ojie (2004) in Nigeria confirm these basic assertions of inter-ethnic conflicts. Though the murder of J. M. Kariuki the then fiery politician holding communist and social welfare ideas during Kenyatta’s era was himself a binding cult to all communities, the detention of Seroney by Kenyatta because of routing for greater democratic space, was viewed with mistrust by the Kalenjin communities. During Moi’s era, the delicate relations between him and Kihika

Kimani antagonized the Agikuyu while it strengthened the pastoralists' tendency to eject Agikuyu and other Bantu communities in many parts of Laikipia County. However, allegations of public resource transfer in the Kikuyu controlled CDF connecting the political elites with sections of their communities beyond the area of study incensed even members of the same ethnic communities' resident in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Ibrahim and Jenner (1996) and Lynch (2006) corroborate most of these observations in their research in Mandera East Sub-County. Often, incitement mutates into violence, which in turn becomes self-perpetuating, geared by revenge attacks on the perceived ethnic community enemies (Mkutu, 2008).

### **3.1.3 Competition for Socio-economic Resources**

Some respondents cited competition for socio-economic resources as responsible for inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The government's acquisition of legitimacy is quarantined by taking the challenge to restructure the economy in a way that increases participation and productivity of the poor and marginalized through improved capacity to deliver quality services in education and health to remote areas where marginalized communities reside. Economic deprivation, inadequate policing and state security arrangements and competition over limited natural resources have boosted inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

During Jomo Kenyatta's era, the pressure of livestock on socio-economic resources such as water and pasture was not acute among the communities. In any case, absentee land buyers from the Bantu communities allowed the pastoral communities to graze their livestock there. The scenario changed during the Moi era because many of the immigrants across the resident communities set up permanent settlements (Akiwumi, 1999). The socio-economic resources continued becoming even scarcer during the Kibaki era. Competition for such scarce resources manifested itself in inter-ethnic conflicts in Laikipia County (Mkutu, 2005, 2008). Thus about 12% of the respondents felt that socio-economic resource competition triggered inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County, which is also corroborated by (Mkutu, 2008). The respondents' frequency was constant for those who indicated youth unemployment as a root cause of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

#### **3.1.4 Youth Unemployment**

About 12% of the respondents acknowledged that unemployment particularly among the youth was critical in promoting inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Vigilante groups formed out of insecurity easily transformed into criminal groups/rag-tag armies due to adverse economic hardships and unemployment among the youth. Such groups resorted to surviving through extortion. Poverty and idleness among the youth made them vulnerable to employment as commercial *morans*, earning stipends, and other criminal gang activities thus promoting insecurity in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Such groups developed in the 1980s (Mkutu, 2008).

This worrying trend justifies to be arrested by the government through establishment of legal frameworks for operating vigilante groups and keeping them in acceptable gainful employment to stop their vulnerability to commercial *moranism* and banditry.

KANU Youth Wingers and the numerous personal and ethnic securities of political elites during the Moi era was a precursor to groups such as *mungiki*. The cultural patent claimed by the *mungiki* is deceitful because most of the members are youths who are not experts and custodians of the Agikuyu culture. All the vigilante and rag-tag armies which mushroomed during the Moi era did so primarily because of unemployment among the youth. The situation has remained persistent. The presence of the *mungiki* in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County would thus not be easily dealt with. From the foregoing, cultural *moranism* qualifies the Incompatibility of Plural Society Theory while commercial *moranism* and high rate of youth unemployment qualify the Greed versus Grievance Theory. These theories are further complemented by the Youth Bulge Theory (Beehner, 2007) because Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County is also served by insufficient numbers of government security personnel, thus tempting the unemployed youth to engage in inter-ethnic conflicts.

### **3.1.5 Marginalization in Access to Infrastructure and Natural Resources**

Marginalization in access to basic infrastructure and natural resources was cited by 10.7% of the respondents as a cause of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The state was indicted by several stakeholders in that the security personnel in this division is sparsely distributed; road network is poorly developed; the justice dispensing institutions such as courts were placed far apart; schools and health

facilities were few and the youth were out of school and unemployed. Rumuruti court serves not only Laikipia West Sub-County but also some parts of Samburu County. The livestock market in Rumuruti Town on Thursdays also serves Samburu County, a distance of over 100 kilometers. Sentiments of the state's culpability touched on feelings of historical marginalization (Akiwumi, 1999 and Mkutu, 2005).

Inadequate financial and material resources have rendered state security agents and the communities' peace organs overwhelmed by the numerous incidents of inter-ethnic conflicts in the division. A research by Weiss (2004) concurs that economic marginalization leads to inter-ethnic conflicts. This is because with developed infrastructure, market outlets would put the communities in gainful employment and more youths would be enrolled in schools. Most of Laikipia County is dry and low. A large area of the land is, therefore, used for pasture. Ewaso Narok Swamp in Rumuruti which has potential for eco-tourism if properly protected and managed is currently under pressure for settlement and agricultural production.

Water catchment areas are adversely affected by encroachment on Marmanet Forest by farmers. Rainfall in the county is generally unreliable across the year particularly in Dol-Dol and Mokogondo area. The wildlife includes the lion, zebra, elephant, buffalo and rhino found in the ranches. They are a source of conflict with the farming communities (Laikipia West Development Plan, 2008-2012). These environmental factors heighten competition for resources between the farming and ranching cum pastoral communities and triggers inter-ethnic conflicts.



### **3.1.6 Ethnic Animosity**

Ethnic animosity was cited by 9.5% of the respondents as a prime factor in igniting inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. This scenario is provoked by inter-ethnic mistrust and hatred which sustain stereotype remarks that legitimize violence by some communities against others. Ethnic nationalism quickly translates into undesired ethnocentrism where the warring parties are broadly defined and mobilized in terms of their ethnic groups. This trend of behaviour fits in the views of Furnivall and Smith (1997) on the Incompatibility of Plural Society Theory. The existing situation in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County is prompted by disparities in access to economic resources, which result to ethnic agitations in order to mobilize for quality and articulate their interests (Marshall and Gurr, 2003).

However, Marshall and Gurr (2003) do not make specific indications underlying ethnic animosity. Ethnicity by itself may not cause ethnic animosity until those circumstances that provoke the animosity arise. This is because no ethnic group is better or superior to another. It is not a mistake to belong to a particular ethnic group. Ethnic animosity is therefore circumstantial and hyped to a level of conviction. Media sensationalizational reporting particularly in local languages has kept inter-ethnic conflicts tensions alive, forcing communities to arm themselves and conceal information thought to be of assistance to their real or phantom enemies (Mkutu, 2008). With inadequate and conflicting information, the formal security apparatus become immobilized as inter-ethnic conflicts go unabated in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County or elsewhere in Kenya (Pastor John Lorioi ole Kimiri, O.I., 10-4-2013, Mutara).

### **3.1.7 Presence of Illegal Small Arms**

Respondents who accounted to 9.5% attributed the occurrence of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County to the presence of illegally owned arms. Residents of Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County acquired arms only recently (Akiwumi, 1999). This was due to conflicts related to water and pasture by well-armed pastoralists who occupy all the land bordering Laikipia County. The KPR creates cartels of renting guns to perpetuate crime and inter-ethnic conflicts (Mkutu, 2008). They legitimize use of both legal and illegal arms by colluding with ethnic vigilante police to heighten inter-ethnic conflicts (Mkutu, 2008). The Greed versus Grievance Theory by Collier and Hoeffler (2004) was qualified since one hires a gun because of greed for money and possesses the same gun as a genuine grievance of self security.

This study revealed that bandits just like cattle rustlers use sophisticated automatic weapons which overpower the rudimentary ones used by the government security agents. The government's compromised monopoly of the instruments of power and force has opened opportunities to perpetuate illegalities. More often than not, the political elite within government have used a legal process such as mopping out guns from Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County in order to politically empower certain communities. The Pokot have often failed to surrender guns when the Samburu and Turkana do so (Mkutu, 2008). The discriminated community automatically loses confidence in the state apparatus to ease tension and takes the law in their hands (Plekan Leliu, O.I., 10.4.2013, Mutara; Mkutu, 2007).

Some of the modern weapons used by the bandits cattle rustlers include the German made rifle called G3, Russian sniper rifles, Kalashnikov, AK-47, short guns and the American sniper rifle. All have high reliability, precision and shooting range of hundreds of metres.



***Plate 4: An Interview Session with a Samburu Community Leader, Plekan Leliu of Mutara Location (2013) Source: Field Survey (2013)***

In the 2008 Small Arms Survey Report (SASR), Kenya was reported to have had a considerable stockpile of weapons, 500,000 to 1,000,000 (GoK, 2008). At the same time, Kenya has a domestic capacity to produce small arms and ammunitions. The Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) is culprit in lending these guns (Small Arms Survey Report 2008). Studies done by Belshaw (1999) attributed increased cases of insecurity to easy access of illegal arms. Small arms and light weapons have continued to

proliferate because of the fear for insecurity and the need to be well prepared during such moments. The last two causes of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County posted the lowest indicators because people jealously guard their ethnicity just as they guard their possession of illegally owned weapons.

### **3.2 Summary and Conclusion**

Cattle rustling and banditry are carried out by young people with the blessing of elders on account of both cultural and economic interests. Because of the symbiotic relationship between ethnicity and politics and the goodwill contemplated by community elites, the same have been indicted in inciting their communities and associates into inter-ethnic conflicts.

Competition for socio-economic resources and exclusive monopoly of the same particularly during and after the Moi era has been reason for igniting inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Unemployment among the youth easily lures them as recruits to criminal activities within and against other communities in order to meet their cultural obligations and selfish economic gains.

Poor or limited infrastructural and environmental marginalization make it difficult for security agents to respond to contingency services. This inspires confidence to inter-ethnic conflicts to go on unabated. Environmental factors put pressure on limited socio-economic resources thus triggering inter-ethnic conflicts. Stereotype attitudes and media hyping engender ethnic animosity which ultimately provoke inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Although the presence of sophisticated guns

is a factor which causes inter-ethnic conflicts, it is principally activated by all the other factors which have already been discussed. Historical and psychological factors within the geographical setting in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County catalyze the guns to be used. This is why most of these guns are illegally owned.

It is noted that cattle rustling has transformed from a socio-cultural practice to an economic activity. Community elders, political elites and other influential opinion holder have a role of incitement of their community members when inter-ethnic conflicts keep on recurring. Peaceful co-existence is vital even with lean socio-economic resources if personal property is respected. Unemployment makes the youth vulnerable to engaging in criminal activities. Negative ethnicity and selfish use of illegally owned guns influence the occurrence of inter-ethnic conflicts in Laikipia County. Under the stipulated circumstances both the theoretical framework of Incompatibility of Plural Society Theory by Furnivall and Smith (1997) and the Greed versus Grievance Theory by Collier and Hoeffler (2004) have been used to give an insight into the root causes of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The next chapter investigates the effects of inter-ethnic conflicts on food security.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **EFFECTS OF INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICTS ON FOOD SECURITY IN RUMURUTI DIVISION OF LAIKIPIA COUNTY**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

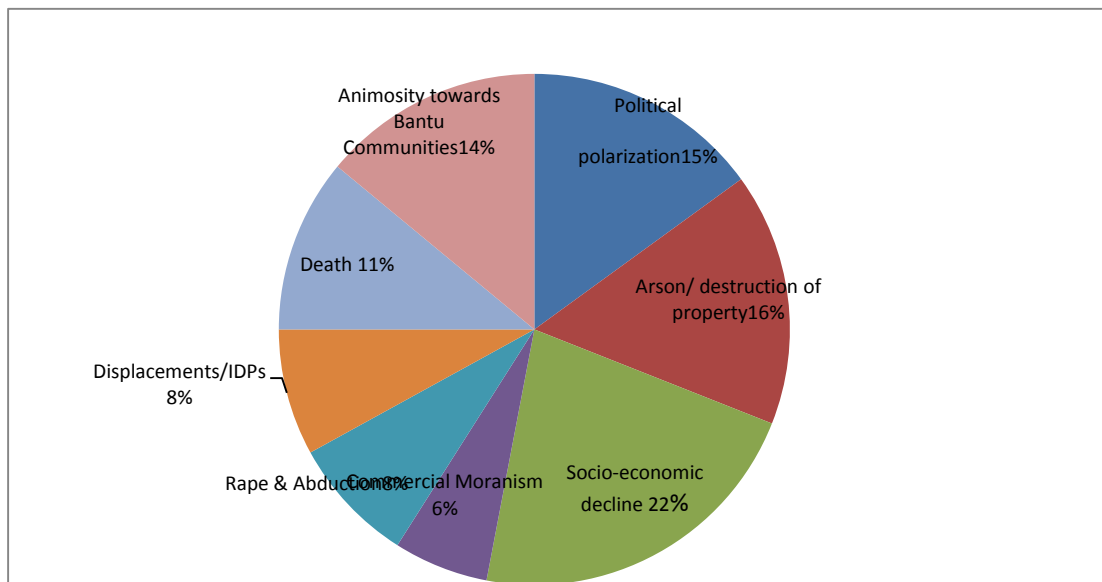
This chapter focuses on effects of inter-ethnic conflicts and their contributions to food insecurity in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Both the perpetrators of inter-ethnic conflicts and the victims suffer in many ways, including animosity and alienation. The cycle of inter-ethnic conflicts must be stopped because it has an adverse effect on the livelihood of resident communities and more so, in depleting the communities' food security reserves. The theoretical framework of Incompatibility of Plural Society Theory by Furnivall and Smith (1997) and the Greed versus Grievance Theory by Collier and Hoeffler (2004) are used to establish the underlying meaning of the effects of Inter-ethnic Conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Finally, a summary and conclusion is provided.

#### **4.1 Inter-ethnic Conflicts and Food Security**

Inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County account for severe and unbearable impacts on the livelihoods of resident communities. The degeneration of communities' 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. Figure 2 below shows the effects of inter-ethnic conflicts while Figure 3 shows the influence of such inter-ethnic conflicts on food security and depletion of livestock in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The

facts were brought out through the research instruments applied on the sample population in the field and corroborated by secondary data. All the effects of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County reduced food security in the division.

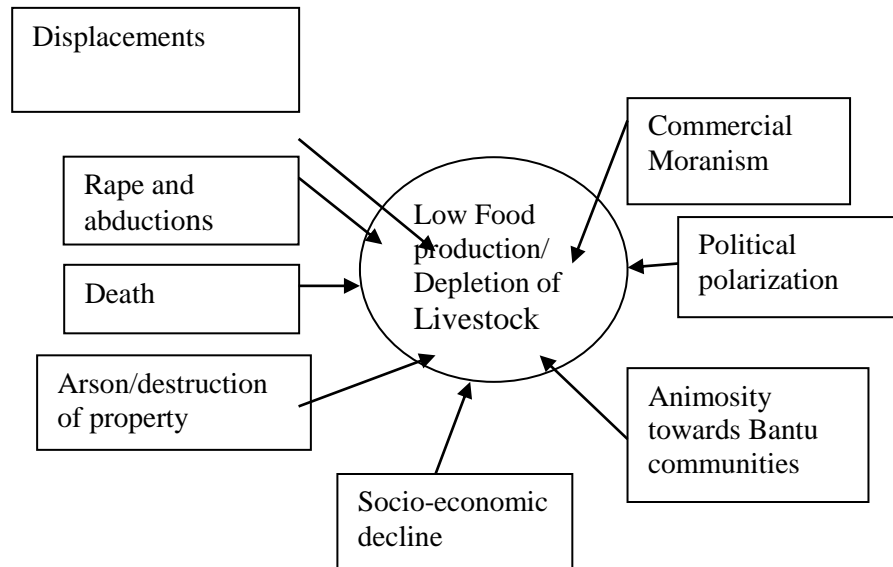
**Figure 2: Effects of Inter-ethnic Conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County (2013)**



**Source : Field Survey (2013)**

**Figure 3: Effects of Inter-ethnic Conflicts on Food and Depletion of Cattle in**

**Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County (2013)**



**Source : Field Survey (2013)**

#### **4.2 Socio-economic Decline**

Some of the respondents in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County indicated that inter-ethnic conflicts in the area leads to low food production through neglect of farms and depletion of livestock for the dispossessed communities. Studies carried out by Omosa (2005) in 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 inter-ethnic conflicts means that communities are not engaged in productive economic work. This leads to reduced food production and depletion of cattle during raids. Some respondents, 22% supported this fact. This problem was most prevalent during the



Kenyatta and Moi eras due to limited facilities and poor access roads to cities and major towns. This limited the existence of schools, hospitals and other public utilities.

Inter-ethnic conflicts repeatedly create insecurity on roads, hampering relief food programmes as well (Mkutu, 2008). The situation is worsened due to the residents' reluctance to diversify their economy. An oral interview carried out by Mkutu (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:

Our people move from place to place looking for pasture. People only depend on cattle but now cattle are diminishing due to drought. If there was good soil for cultivation, people could cultivate. But it only rains once a year, or after two years. Therefore this causes drought and people move where there is water. This affects families since they have to move in search of pasture (John Mutunge, O.I., 3-9-2002, Dol-Dol).

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 pasture for their animals.

### **4.3 Arson and Destruction of Property**

About 16% of the respondents asserted that inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County led to arson and destruction of property. The researcher nevertheless established that 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 (Peter Wahome, O.I., 14-4-2013, Mutara). Cattle rustlers and raiders 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 (Peter Wahome, O.I., 14-4-2013, Mutara). This fits into the present study's theoretical framework of Incompatibility of Plural Society and Greed versus Grievance Theory.

Inter-ethnic conflicts by the pastoral communities are meant to drive out the targeted Bantu communities, to cripple them economically. Many of such victims are forced to camp in schools, church compounds and shopping centres. This forces them to live in makeshift structures of polythene sheets, cardboards and similar materials. Lack of food and sanitation in such places are often a big challenge (Akiwumi, 1999). An extract below from the 1999 Akiwumi Report underline the ugly incidents of arson and destruction of property during inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division and other divisions of Laikipia County.

On the 14<sup>th</sup> January, 1998, the Pokot together with the Samburu raided several Kikuyu homes in the Magadi area, killing two people and looted and burnt several houses. The non-pastoral tribes fled their homes and sought refuge in Ol Moran Catholic Church and other churches in Ol Moran, Sipili and Kinamba. The arson and murder continued on 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> January, 1998.

The citation indicates that the targeted communities are ethnically selected for reprisals of arson and destruction of property. This justifies the theoretical framework of Incompatibility of Plural Society Theory and the Greed versus Grievance Theory.

#### **4.4. Death, Rape, Abduction and Displacement of Immigrant Communities**

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'. They leave behind old and other vulnerable groups who cannot cope with the communities' demand for increased food production (Susan Leunya, O.I., 21-4-2013, Rumuruti Township). The number of respondents who indicated these effects was 11% higher than those who proposed arson and destruction of property.

However, the raids often lead to death or incapacitation of the bread winner through injuries. The elderly members of the society play the role of custodians of economic resources, organize labour and direct the use of resource rations at homestead levels. Their death, injuries and other prolonged emotional distresses during the inter-ethnic conflicts ultimately lead to reduced food endowments for the affected households. 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 conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County occasionally result in rape and abduction. The prevailing circumstances of the victim results in reduced levels of livelihood due to low or inadequate food and depletion of cattle (Charity Kathambi, O.I., 22-4-2013, Rumuruti Township). Displacements and the status of IDPs transform a person from an economically able and endowed person to an economically vulnerable dependent individual. They are found in Rumuruti Township and Dol-Dol.

Before IDPs ultimately go to IDPs camps, they initially take refuge around schools, churches, public parks, mosques and nearby shopping centres. This leads to reduced commerce and trading activities. Basic commodities generally become unavailable and scarce hence exorbitantly priced. A general reduction of livelihoods of the local populations through depletion of cattle and reduced food levels occurs. The adverse effects of cattle rustling and banditry, for instance, in Mandera and Laikipia have received scholarly attention (Weiss, 2004:2; Waweru, 2006; Mkutu, 2008).

#### **4.5 Commercial *Moranism***

Some of the respondents confirmed that the phenomenon of school drop outs was promoted by inter-ethnic conflicts, particularly amongst 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 diviners 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 drop out 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 (Korir Kiptoo, O.I., 23-4-2013, Rumuruti Township).

*Morans* had more sophisticated weapon in the Kibaki era than those used during Kenyatta's and Moi's eras; such weapons could easily be accessed on the market largely through porous borders and the shift from cultural to commercial *moranism* (Mkutu, 2008). Only about 6% of the respondents shared these sentiments, because of presumed cultural assault on the *moran* institution.

#### **4.6 Political Polarization**

Political polarization in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County has been marked by shifting alliances since 1963. Local politics play an important role in skewed resource allocation and appropriation. The political party KANU maintained its political euphoria and monopoly of the Bantu speaking agricultural communities up to 1978. This was because there were deliberate state facilitated initiatives which promoted the Bantu farming activities between 1963 and 1978 as earlier noted. The GEMA communities of the Agikuyu and Ameru and other Bantu speakers such as the Abaluyia and Abagusii established a thriving agricultural economy and the matatu transport business system which the Moi regime completely destroyed in an effort to sabotage the Agikuyu in particular (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007). State politics favoured the

Nilotic and Cushitic speaking pastoral communities between 1979 and 1987 (Pastor Joel Kosgei, O.I., 12-4-2013, Sosian). By 1988, political dispensation categorized the Bantu speaking agricultural communities as belonging to the “opposition” while the Nilotic and Cushitic speaking pastoralist communities were generally viewed as pro-government. However, G. G. Kariuki was in Moi’s good books until 1992. During the first multi-party general elections, the local politicians vied on DP party ticket and the political tension between the Bantu farmers and Nilotic/Cushitic KANU supporting pastoralists could no longer be ameliorated (Akiwumi, 1999).

Because of his affinity for opposition in Nakuru and Molo area in the early 1990s, Moi described Kihika Kimani as “a man who needed to be cleansed in a cattle dip in order to fit in Moi’s political mainstream”. Kihika Kimani became Moi’s friend in the dying years of Daniel Arap Moi’s presidency. Earlier on, Kihika’s quest for the change the constitution to bar Moi from ascending to the presidency after Jomo Kenyatta’s death had led to frosty relations between them.

A few pastoralist communities started buying land from the agriculturalists. In this way; they brought pastoralist communities nearer to the farming communities. Meanwhile, the Bantu agriculturalists’ support for the opposition in 1997 was obvious. It paved the way for tragic inter-ethnic conflicts and premeditated PEV in Laikipia County since 1998. The conflicts took an ethnic dimension since the warring parties are broadly defined and mobilized in terms of their ethnic associated economic groupings. Local politicians such as Dixon Kihika Kimani used this ethnic tag to propagate interest articulations that favoured their ethnic nationalities at the expense of other

ethnic protagonists. Some 15% of the respondents felt that political polarization sparked inter-ethnic conflicts which in turn reduced the level of food endowment.

Parliamentary democracy was at its best between 2002 and 2013 after the end of Moi's presidency and KANU mode of governance. This was due to managing an opposition within NARC government from 2005 and equally managing a coalition government between PNU and ODM between 2008 and 2013. The new constitution was realized in 2010. However, politicians wielding greater political power by virtue of being in the inner circles of the president's "kitchen cabinet" have practiced skewed allocation of resources in an effort to consolidate political power and support as was exposed in the numerous reports of CDF parliamentary funds abuse by the chairman, CDF committee then, Hon Muriuki Karue.

Ethnic jingoists and political cronies have openly rewarded members of their ethnic groups through economic empowerment (Edward Mwenda, O.I., 7-4-2013, Rumuruti Township). The ethnic solidarity has left other communities jostling for such plum political platforms motivated by the urge to open economic and political avenues for members of their communities.

Such perceptions also act as recipes for unending inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County (Edward Mwenda, O.I., 7-4-2013, Rumuruti Township). Private land adjudication and registration procedures are incomplete in some parts of Rumuruti Division. This demotivates those who would want to engage in commercial food and cattle production. The government agents charged with relief food

distribution steal it for commercial and personal interest or favour their own communities in its distribution (John Macharia, O.I., 7-4-2013, Rumuruti Township).

The obvious result in the foregoing atmosphere is reduced food production and depletion of cattle in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County as a result of inter-ethnic conflicts in the division (John Macharia, O.I., 7-4-2013, Rumuruti Township). The respondent confirmed that even when certain commercial spots were identified in Nyahururu Town in this regard, the police were unwilling to take it up for fear of reprisals.

#### **4.7 Animosity towards Bantu Communities**

During the Moi presidential years of 1991/92/1993 and 1997/1998, tragic inter-ethnic tensions meted by the pastoralist communities against the Bantu were at their peak. Ethnic slobbishness breeds the undesirable ethnocentrism that engenders exile of Bantu speaking communities from Laikipia County and indeed Rumuruti Division. Some 14% of the respondents confirmed that issues related to ethnic exile on the Bantu to their initial places of origin were real in Rumuruti Division. For solidarity purpose, majority of residents in Mutamayu, Kiamariga and Maundu Ni Meri sub-locations were Agikuyu and a few other Bantu communities. Fear, insecurity and monumental tension provoked by political polarization and exile of Bantu communities in Rumuruti Division and other parts of Laikipia County discouraged communities from meaningful work of food production. It also threatened inter-ethnic marriage institutions (Pastor John Lorioi Ole Kimiri, O.I., 10-4-2013, Mutara; Akiwumi, 1999; Waweru, 2006; Mkutu, 2008).



But the challenge of food insecurity in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County was not only limited to inter-ethnic conflicts. The researcher established that 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 (Hezron Gikunda, O.I., 15-4-2013, Sosian). 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 (Daily Nation. March 31<sup>st</sup>, 2010:20; GoK, 2010).

#### **4.8 Summary and Conclusion**

The foregoing chapter has examined the effects of inter-ethnic conflict on food security in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The inter-ethnic conflicts adversely affect farming activities and lead to dispossession of livestock in divisions such as Ng'arua and Ol Moran, (Dol-Dol and Mokogondo). Communities prioritize security, paradoxically by acquiring more sophisticated weapons at the expense of their basic economic undertakings, thus leading to low food production and depletion of livestock. Those dispossessed of livestock suffer since they sell the same in order to supplement their food requirements. Arson of homesteads as well as food stores and other property which include crops in the farms during the inter-ethnic conflicts lead to low food endowments.

Death, rape, abductions and displacement cause loss of essential workforce to generate adequate food production by the various communities. Commercial *Moranism* linked to inter-ethnic conflicts generate residue feelings of bitterness and revenge among residents; they are then easily lured into quick criminal means of getting money such as banditry instead of long periods and high cost required for adequate food production. Political polarization legitimizes grievances of ethnocentrism and jingoism which ultimately militarize the nation states in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County against each other for monopoly of socio-economic and political opportunities.

The animosity towards Bantu communities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County is legitimized by the pastoralists on account of historical factors and the theoretical framework of Incompatibility of Plural Society and Greed versus Grievance theories used in this study. Socio-economic resource monopoly, however, motivates this type of animosity. Propaganda and stereotype references such as “strangers” in the area once popularized became inimical to desired levels of food production. However, this chapter focused most on human activities though. Factors such as deforestation, pollution of environment, poverty, poor methods of crop and animal farming and disease control as well as poor pricing of agricultural and animal products and poor infrastructure can also lead to low food production and depletion of livestock.

Low food security and depletion of livestock which was directly related to inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County worsened during the Moi and Kibaki eras as presidents. The use of sophisticated weapons as a result of the collapse of the Cold War, instability in the Horn of Africa, external pressure from donor community

and poor management of national policies which entrenched ethnicity made inter-ethnic conflicts numerous and more severe. The adverse effects of inter-ethnic conflicts on the livelihoods of the communities and food justify the need for intervention to these conflicts. This forms the basis for the next chapter which analyzes the interventions of different stakeholders in mitigating inter-ethnic conflicts.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **STAKEHOLDERS INTERVENTIONS IN MITIGATING INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN RUMURUTI DIVISION OF LAIKIPIA COUNTY**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

This chapter examines the need for peaceful co-existence among communities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. It begins by identifying the stakeholders, their history and their specific roles in addressing inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The chapter then examines the means used by the various stakeholders in reducing incidents of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The limitations of the interventions used by the various stakeholders are also captured. The means and interventions to reduce inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County are guided by the positive attributes of the theoretical framework. They seek to make the plural societies compatible by reducing greed and cosmetic grievances. The chapter ends with the summary and conclusion section.

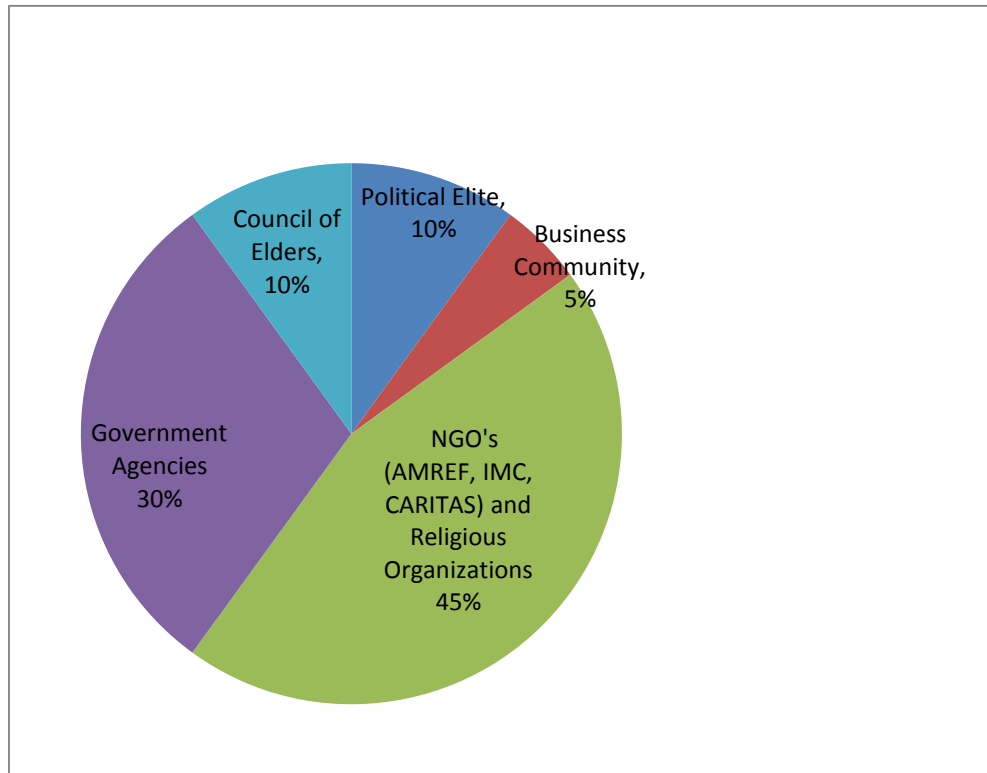
#### **5.1 Stakeholders Contribution**

Collective and integrated approaches to inter-ethnic conflicts intervention legitimizes the process of peace building between communities since the interests of various stakeholders are factored. The resultant degree of ownership and consensus give an impetus to the parties in conflict to display commitment in the implementation of the recommendations so reached. The stakeholders' background, occupational and career

training diversities enrich their broaden experience in regard to inter-ethnic conflicts reduction strategies. The interactions by some of the stakeholders with atmospheres of various forms of conflicts help them to make robust solutions to inter-ethnic conflicts. This is likely to forestall both vertical and horizontal escalation of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

Figure 4 identifies the stakeholders and their contribution in addressing inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The 5 broad stakeholders who intervened into inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County were identified through primary data collection instruments such as questionnaires, interviews in the field and reading government official reports. Secondary data such as books, articles in journals, books and newspapers were used to corroborate the findings in the field. The NGOs and religious organizations ranked the highest percentage while the business community posted the lowest percentage in regard to mitigating inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

**Figure 4: Intervention Efforts to Eliminate Inter-ethnic Conflicts by Stakeholders in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County (2013)**



**Source: Field Survey (2013)**

## **5.2 Contribution of Council of Elders**

In the traditional African setting, the council of elders brought parties to a conflict on a round table sitting in order to deal with their disputes. The endowment of some of these elders with religious office or supernatural powers as prophets and diviners enhanced their authority to summon parties, arbitrate conflicts and oversee solutions enforcement. Apart from having power to curse, the elders also predicted the timing and success of cattle rustling with precision. The premise was that control of certain resources was needed to provide access to pasture and water at different times of the year and particularly during droughts (Ocan, 1992).

Each party in such a forum is given a chance to elaborate its case, and with elders acting as counsels, validate the facts, based on which a consensus is arrived at. Such consensus is then often sealed by an oath, cursing anyone who breached it (Mohamud and Rutu, 2005). Such traditional dynamics of inter-ethnic conflict intervention have been used in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County in both colonial and post colonial period (Hezekiah Biril, O.I., 11-4-2013, Rumuruti Township).

A good example of a peace accord backed by an oath is the November, 2003, “burying of the hatchet” peace pact ceremony between the Turkana and Matheniko of Uganda which was brokered at Likiriama. Before the Pokot, Tepeth, Dodoth, Toposa and Nyi’angaton witnesses; the Turkana and Matheniko elders buried weapons (bows, arrows, spears and shields) with a magic potion made up of medicinal herbs, livestock intestines, milk and honey. The elders placed a curse on whoever breached the covenant. Though the gun sub-culture is now popular, the pact seems to have secured peace and reciprocal grazing resource sharing between the two communities. Both the Turkana and the Pokot in Laikipia County have a point of traditional reference that occasionally works to tone down incidents of inter-ethnic conflicts in the area (Edward Otokum, O.I., 11-4-2013, Rumuruti Township). The input of community elders in mediating inter-ethnic conflicts has been acknowledged by Lemoosa (1998), Waweru (2006) and Mkutu (2008).

In other situations, when relations between communities are quite bad as to make it unlikely for them to reach a consensus, they may invite a third community that is neutral to a conflict to arbitrate. The Nyi’angaton mediated a long standing conflict

between the Turkana and the Merille after the two failed to resolve the conflicts themselves (Mohamud and Rutu, 2005). Women are crucial in formal mediation systems. This is because they marry out of their clans. Sometimes, their communities open new friendship and alliances across rival communities.

This relates to Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County because inter-community marriages have been in practice for decades. However, most of the traditional community approaches to resolving inter-ethnic conflicts did not accord serious consideration to the sentiments of women and the youth. This is because they have not sufficiently integrated women and the youth in the peace processes.

Peace committees through the DPC started in 2009 and are patterned after the traditional African council of elders. They value traditional authority structures formed and are working although local community peace initiatives have not been fully accommodated in the national and regional peace initiative. The DPC is run by the county and sub-county commissioner who took them up from the former DCs. Conflict diaries and accounts have not been designed and distributed to such groups at the grassroots level and documentations made so that accurate inter-ethnic conflicts data is transmitted to government confidential information data bank (Mohamud and Rutu, 2005).

Community elders play a crucial role in mitigating inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. This is because livelihoods of the communities are adversely affected by such inter-ethnic conflicts. However, the said conflicts are difficult to eradicate because the same community leaders often incite their people



against members of other communities. The elders in the DPC in Laikipia West Sub-County are recruited by the public from every location by their own ethnic communities. The method is compromised because those who guard the communities' interests are the ones elected, sometimes making it impossible for security gains to be made (Pastor John Lorioi Ole Kimiri, O.I., 10-4-2013, Mutara).

Intra-ethnic leadership and authority systems rolled out campaigns aimed at influencing the reduction of hostilities against other resident communities. Community vigilante groups have been complementing government efforts to bring about peace in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County since the early 1980s. This was spearheaded by the then MP for Laikipia West constituency G. G. Kariuki in collaboration with the former provincial administration and other local community leaders. Inter-community peace building activities such as sports and dance festivals, academic and professional leaders' forums further solidify understanding among the communities. Capacities of various rural communities, their indigenous organizations and other non state actors continue to lobby and demand that the government provide a guarantee of the people's security as enshrined in the Kenya Constitution (James Eleman, O.I., 6-4-2013, Mutara). About 10% of the respondents indicated that the council of elders intervened into inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

### **5.3 Contribution of Churches**

Both the Catholic and Protestant Christian churches prepare inter-ethnic conflicts deterrent sermons and bind the various communities to the universal message of God's love for humanity. The churches distribute relief food and provisions, including

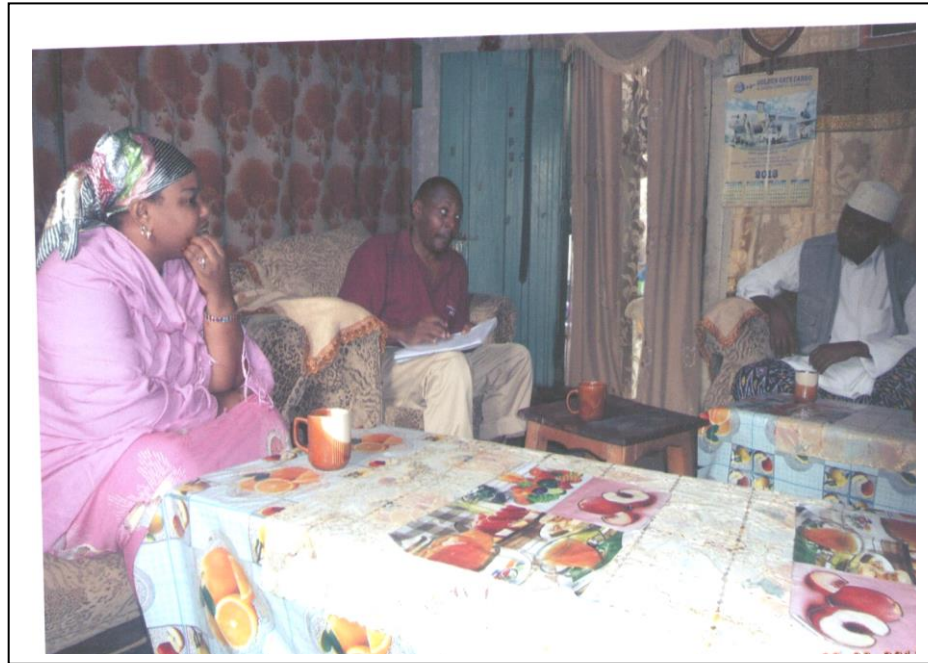
offering temporary shelter to those evicted from their homes as a result of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Psycho-social counseling is also done by the churches during such periods. Churches are, therefore, free of ethnic tags. The popular public psyche is that the churches are refuge centres during inter-ethnic conflicts crisis (Ibrahim Lesian, O.I., 26-4-2013, Sosian; Akiwumi, 1999; Waweru, 2006; Mamdani, 2009; Mkutu, 2008). During the era of President Daniel Arap Moi the churches overwhelmingly responded to the distress circumstances of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The following report recorded in the Akiwumi Report (1999,141-142:cf.Fr.James Nduati, O.I., 12-4-2013, Mutara) on ethnic clashes in Kenya for the Laikipia North and Laikipia West sub-counties respectively effectively sums up the role of the churches during the inter-ethnic conflicts:

On the night of 14<sup>th</sup> January, 1998, the Pokot together with the Samburu raided several Kikuyu homes in the Magadi area, killed two people and looted and burnt several houses. The incident caused fear and panic among the Kikuyu and other non-pastoral tribes who then fled their homes and sought refuge in Ol Moran Catholic Church and other churches in Ol Moran, Sipili and Kinamba. The arson and murder continued on 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> January, 1998. The Catholic Church moved some of them to places which were considered safer because of the threatened attack on them by the pastoral tribes.

#### **5.4 Contribution of Muslim Community**

The Muslim community came to Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County in the late 1950s and increased in great numbers from 1978. The Muslim community in Rumuruti Division is about 1000 (Imam Mohammed A. Hassan, O.I., 12-4-2013, Rumuruti Township). The role of mosques and Muslims in entrenching peaceful co-existence is confirmed by studies done by Doi (1998: 44-45) and Shad (2005:21) in Mandera East

District. Islam condemns theft and violence. The mosque is not only a fountain of education, leadership and worship; it also enforces socio-economic and political responsibilities. The Muslim community attends to communities' issues such as counseling of inter-ethnic conflict victims. It also facilitates fundraising for the vulnerable in society, donating clothing to the poor, teaching good morals in society, taking care of widows, paying school fees for destitute children, looking for sponsors who can pay school fees for the destitute children and offering temporary shelter to victims of inter-ethnic conflicts (Ibrahim Lesian, O.I., 26-6-2013, Sosian; Akiwumi, 1999). The Muslims also petition other stakeholders to assist victims of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.



***Plate 5: An Interview Session with the Imam Mohammed Ahmed Hassan of Rumuruti Town Mosque (2013) Lady Muna Ali to the Left Source: Field Survey (2013)***

The Mosque at Rumuruti is also used to initiate self help projects which accept membership from other faiths and communities. A business lady (Muna Ali, O.I., 18-4-2013, Rumuruti Township) gave an account of how the Muslim leaders of Rumuruti Town Mosque urged Muslim ladies to form a Self Help Group (SHG) in 2010 after which the *imam*, which means a Muslim preacher in-charge of a mosque, helped them to secure a sponsor from Japan.

Muslim ladies were assisted by Muslim leaders to start planting aloe. The project was registered as Rumuruti Aloe Women Group with the Laikipia Welfare Programme. We got experts from the Laikipia Welfare Programme who showed us how we could process eight products out of the aloe. The members chose soap, cream and lotion products. The group got a donation from Japan International Co-operation Agency (JICA) of 1.5 million and was allocated two acres of land by the town council of Rumuruti. The non-Muslim newcomers from the other communities mismanaged the project and its accounts are now frozen. The women from educated communities look down upon us on account of our low levels of education.

Ethnic overtones and inclinations are clearly discerned from the concluding remarks of this respondent.



***Plate6: An Interview Session with Business–LadyMuna Ali of Rumuruti Township (2013) Imam Ahmed Hassan to the right Source: Field Survey (2013)***

### **5.5 Contribution of the Government Agencies**

Some of the respondents affirmed the role of the government in mitigating inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The government engaged in enthusiastic though sporadic deployment of security reinforcements to troubled areas in order to flush out criminals, restore law, order and seize illegal arms. However, this was challenged: it was reactionary rather than preventative approach due to numerous acts of violence meted out by security personnel on the civilian, though it apparently subdue large scale armed inter-ethnic conflicts. Vetting police reservists, having their firearms registered and their command structures strengthened is a tenable intervention to inter-ethnic conflicts. The police may also leak information to criminals' in order to

corruptly get money from them through extortion. This needs to stop (Pastor John Lorioi Kimiri, O.I., 10-4-2013, Mutara).

The state security apparatus in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County includes the General Service Unit (GSU), the Kenya Police Service (KPS) and KPR or home guards. The KPR is a body of unpaid civilian volunteers, established in 1948, operated under the 1988 Act but now operating under the Kenya Police Service Act (2013). They assist in the regular protection of life and property, prevention and detection of crime, apprehension of offenders and enforcement of all laws and regulations. With the apparent prevalence of corruption in the police sector, people of questionable behaviour and even criminals have been recruited by the Officer Commanding Police Division (OCPD) as reservists for commercial interests (Mkutu, 2008). The provincial administration during president Moi's era appeared to be compromised in handling inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County in the 1990s. On 14<sup>th</sup> January, 1998 the following incident was recorded in the Akiwumi Report (1999:142-143).

Neither Jonathan Soi D. OOI Moran nor the officer commanding Ng'arua Police Station, the late Chief Inspector Jeremiah Ndahi, made any arrangement for the security of the refugees or for the provision of food and other essential requirements for them. The behaviour of the provincial administration and the police force no doubt was reminiscent of people who, directly or otherwise condoned the clashes. It was, therefore, not surprising that Lorna Odero, D.O.1 Laikipia District, was on 16<sup>th</sup> January, 1998, shouted down by the irate displaced persons who were camped at the Ol Moran Catholic Church, when she tried to tell them that steps were being taken by the government to reinforce security; and likewise the Kikuyu in Sipili, on the same day resorted into self help measures of recruiting their youth to deal with their security problems.

The government continued with the demarcation and creation of new administrative structures through popular agitations of taking services closer to the people and management of their own destinies through the devolved system. This has brought in limited mobility and high competition of resources which militates against peaceful co-existence between communities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Branding and controlling livestock movement is an appropriate measure towards peaceful co-existence of communities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The government/state should rationally have the monopoly of the instruments of force and power. When the government mops out illegal guns from the communities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County, the same communities must have confidence that the state possesses the ability and goodwill to effectively provide security to them. This has not been the case in both Mandera and Laikipia County. The facts are confirmed by Buchanan and Lind (2005) done in Mandera East District Sub-County. However, the government must collaborate with local NGOs and local communities in order to increase efficiency in this regard. Proliferation of SALW keep on resurfacing even after the GoK confiscated small arms in March, 2007 (GoK, 2008). About 30% of the respondents though felt that the government was a key stakeholder working towards the reduction of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

## **5.6 Contribution of Civil Society Organizations**

The victims of inter-ethnic conflicts and other vulnerable groups are occasionally economically empowered by NGOs which donate plastic water tanks for rain water harvesting and hygiene practices, drilling communal water boreholes and aiding

individuals to start income generating tree and fruit nurseries. A large number of respondents commended NGO's role in rehabilitating the hopelessness of the resident communities who had been victims of inter-ethnic conflicts. The major NGOs operating in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County are a Catholic Church sponsored organization called CARITAS, AMREF and IMC. About 45% of the respondents felt that the NGO's role contributed to peaceful co-existence of communities hence brings down inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

#### **5.6.1 Development Arm of Catholic Archdiocese of Nyeri**

This Catholic Church organization called CARITAS began operations in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County during Kenyatta's era in the late 1960s (Caroline Chido, 8-4-2013, Rumuruti Township). It focuses on improving the quality of life of the poor and vulnerable in society. It donates food, clothing and offers temporary shelter to the hungry, that is, IDPs and other vulnerable groups. This is with a view to helping the victims of inter-ethnic conflicts and other forms of violence with psycho-social counseling in order to overcome the emotional trauma facing them. Visiting the vulnerable in society for emotional reassurance is a cardinal duty of this Catholic Church based NGO.

#### **5.6.2 African Medical Research Foundation**

The AMREF group got involved in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County in 2003 (Steve Biko, 8-4-2013, Rumuruti Township). This was because during the Kibaki era, inter-ethnic conflicts attracted the attention of many local and international



stakeholders. They positively responded due to the confidence they had in the GoK. In particular, AMREF digs toilets for communities and institutions, teach members of the community on general health standards and good hygiene. Apart from diagnosing and handling eye problems within the community (trachoma), AMREF also donates eye lenses to members of the community to make them improve their eyesight.

It donates mosquito nets to the members of the community and institutions. The NGO focuses on good nutritional issues of the communities by distributing food to IDPs and other vulnerable groups of inter-ethnic conflicts. The IDPs are found in Rumuruti Town, Ng'arua and Ol Moran in Dol-Dol and Mokogondo. Its activities also extend to constructing physical facilities for institutions and communities, particularly those related to water. Relief food and water is distributed without an ethnic tag. This goes a long way in bringing about peaceful co-existence within the communities. The contribution of AMREF in empowering communities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County through access to water is shown in plate 7 below. The Community donated land on which the water borehole was built.



***Plate 7: A Signboard Indicating Maundu Ni Meri Spring Constructed by African Medical Research Foundation for the Local Community in Maundu Ni Meri Sub-location of Sosian Location Source: Field Survey (2013)***

### **5.6.3 International Medical Corps**

The IMC started to operate in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County in 2009 (Jeremiah Omondi, O.I., .8-4-2013, Rumuruti Township). This was good timing since it was after the 2008 PEV. The NGO deals with pre-natal and post-natal care of mothers and children of up to 5 years. It gives energy food supplements in order to improve the diet and health of the children. Community Health Workers (CHWs) collaborate with IMC in order to identify nutritionally vulnerable children who usually get factored for energy food supplements in recognized health facilities. It donates beddings to children who are under 5 years. The staff under IMC deals with the menace of jiggers by removing them hence improves the general hygiene in the families. The NGO donates bicycles to the members of the community so that they can be able to run short errands. Mothers

and children are worst hit victims of inter-ethnic conflicts, more so after the 2008 PEV. The NGO, therefore, saves lives and inspires confidence and understandings among communities for the services it offers are impartially given.

#### **5.6.4 Community Based Organizations**

The CBOs such as Mwangaza, Muungano Tree Nursery, Nyuki and Mwireri focus on peace initiatives among the diverse communities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The CBOs advise the communities' to guard against retrogressive cultures such as early marriages, Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and livestock theft. The CBOs promote self help projects in areas such as tree planting, construction of water dams for irrigation and livestock use, honey harvesting, Merry Go Rounds (MGRs), energy saving jikos for economical small household cooking and projects of buying goats. The CBOs ensure that the resident communities supplement their means of livelihood and stay in gainful employment. They do not have an ethnic tag for their membership. This brings about cohesion of the various ethnic groups and limits inter-ethnic conflicts.

#### **5.7 Contribution of Politicians and Opinion Leaders**

Some of the respondents affirmed that politicians and other opinion leaders intervened in inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County with a genuine interest to reinstate peace. During the Jomo Kenyatta presidential era, (1963-1978), the MP for Laikipia West Constituency was G. G. Kariuki. He served in Moi's era (1978 – 2002) and played the role of emphasizing peaceful co-existence among communities with

other former MPs of Laikipia West Constituency such as Kihika Kimani and Chege Mbitiru. However, it was during the Moi era that inter-ethnic conflicts got engineered by other external forces targeting the regions' inclination to opposition politics vis-à-vis making the Rift Valley a KANU zone. During Kibaki's presidential era (2003 – 2010), G. G. Kariuki played such a role with Nderitu Muriithi and a popular philanthropist Joshua Irungu who is the current governor of Laikipia County.

The politicians and other opinion leaders control enormous financial and material resources which they use to bring about peace within communities. The politicians and other elites marshal positions of state influence which they occasionally use to intervene in inter-ethnic conflicts. They do it through meet the people *barazas* or focused public meetings and workshops. They also have forums for ASAL, MP and opinion leaders' forums and writing peace messages in the local media.

Politicians and opinion leaders in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County also prolong development projects in order to defray socio-economic resource competition among communities. People minded politicians put pressure for inter-community key positions appointment rationalization so that certain communities do not feel marginalized. This criteria was being used since the chief for Rumuruti Township Location was a Nandi, that of Mutara a Turkana and Sosian a Kikuyu Chief (Gichiha Kihara, O.I., 17-4-2013, Mutara).

The politicians and local opinion leaders occasionally give philanthropic assistance to destitute IDPs and other vulnerable groups in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. However, those charged with distribution of such provisions often use the name of

politicians and the local opinion leaders to steal the same with impunity. A respondent gave an account of how relief fat and sugar never got to them, even after giving tips to the police of where such stolen items were being sold in Nyahururu Town. The maize and beans ration were often not impartially distributed (Teresia Nekesa, O.I., 23-4-2013, Rumuruti Township).

The politicians and other opinion leaders will only be effective in bringing about peaceful coexistence among communities if it were not them and their cronies inciting the inter-ethnic conflicts by proxy. Economic and social assistance whips the emotions of the vulnerable and restores confidence in the general public (Teresia Nekesa, O.I., 23-4-2013, Rumuruti Township). Approximately 10% of the respondents supported the idea that politicians play a crucial role in mitigating inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

## **5.8 Contribution of Business Community**

The business communities in Rumuruti, Ng'arua and Ol Moran (Dol-Dol and Mokogondo) divisions were retail traders, hoteliers, livestock sellers, butchers and bar owners. The traders are keen about marginal profit and will not use their resources to intervene on inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County to the extent where their businesses would be sacrificed. Most of the proprietors of businesses which had good returns were closely linked to local political elites and administrators. Such people protected their businesses from being looted or even torched at times of inter-ethnic conflicts. They used their wealth to influence local decisions which promoted their business interests (Mwangi Ruheni, O.I., 18-4-2013, Rumuruti Township). The

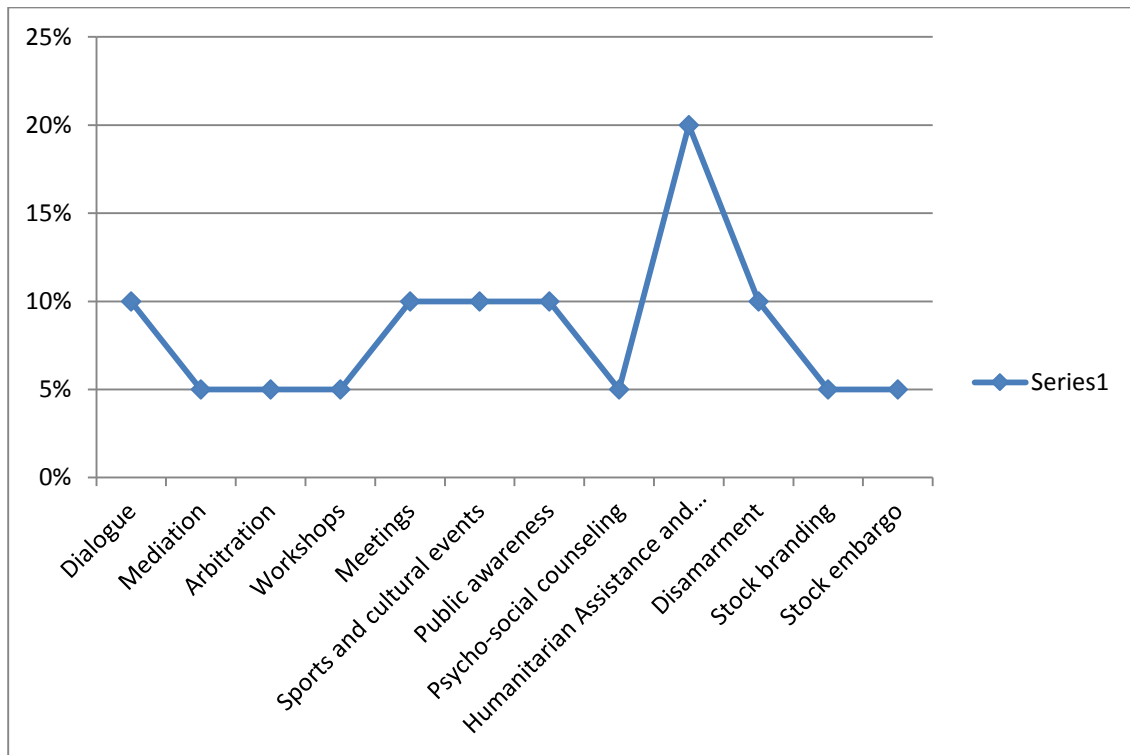
enthusiasm for charitable mission was premeditated analysis. The business community assisted the vulnerable groups materially in order to tone down violence against one another. This was because most of the factors that caused inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County were socio-economic in nature.

However, one should be sufficiently concerned if some local business communities were livestock and land brokerage traders. Some influential business people would sponsor inter-ethnic conflicts, rustling, or banditry with an intention to undercut a business competitor (Pastor Kilea Lemachimpi, O.I., 13-4-2013, Mutara). This is because they are likely to be the instigators of inter-ethnic conflicts for economic gains. Approximately 5% of the respondents indicated that the business community stopped inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

## **5.9 Methods of Inter-ethnic Conflicts Interventions**

Different conflict methodologies are only effective with good timing and interfacing. Both formal and informal approaches have been used to settle inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Such approaches are not wholly independent but are also overlapping. Figure 5 shows the various methods used by the DPC to address the inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Research instruments used on the sample population through questionnaires and interviews brought out the data which was also corroborated by secondary sources.

**Figure 5: Popularity Rating of the District Peace Committee Methods of Inter-ethnic Conflicts Intervention in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County Based on 100 respondents (2013)**



*Source: Field Survey (2013)*

### **5.9.1 Use of Dialogue in Inter-ethnic Conflicts Resolution**

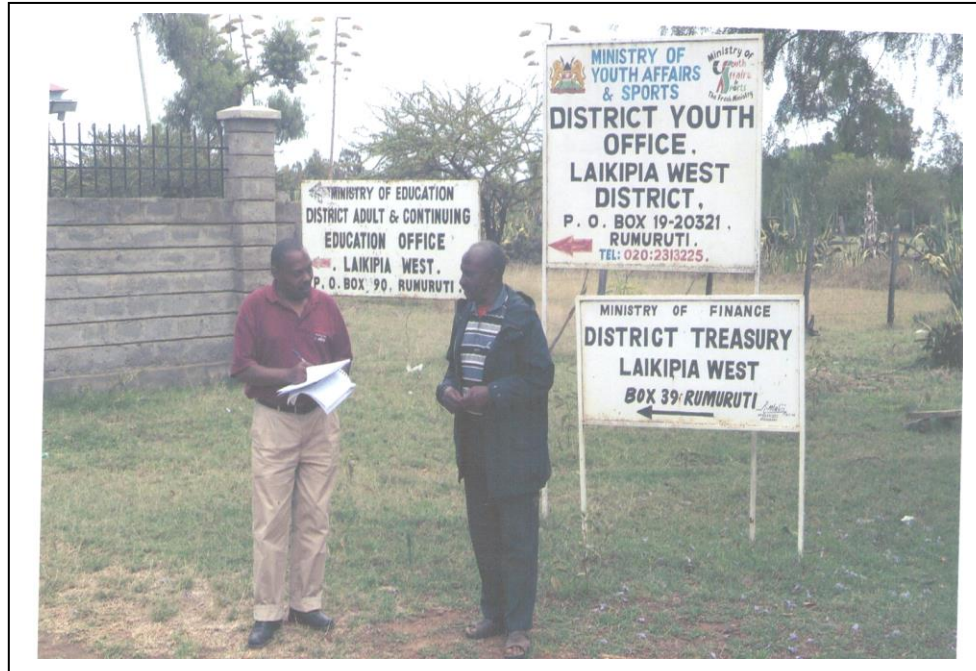
The respondents accorded the use of dialogue in *barazas*, inter-ethnic sports and cultural events, public awareness and disarmament peace initiative forums about 10% rating. Getting opposing groups to the dialogue table is a recognized approach of solving inter-ethnic conflicts both locally and internationally. The Samburu and the Pokot blockered a peace deals through dialogue in 2003 at Mutamayu (Pastor John Lorioi Ole Kimiri, O.I., 10-4-2013, Mutara).

The DPC structural organ has spearheaded religious organisations such as churches and mosques in creating public awareness on inter-ethnic conflicts resolution in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The local leadership did this in Rumuruti Township, Matara and Sosian locations through public *barazas* more so during the Kibaki era, 2003 – 2010 (Pastor John Lorioi Ole Kimiri, O.I., 10-4-2013, Mutara).

The Stakeholders who included village elders, clergy, students, *morans*, public servants, politicians, NGOs executives and academics were also peace brokers through dialogue and inter-ethnic sports and cultural events. Such locally initiated solutions to inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County appear to be more effective than managed approaches that used force and legalized power to disarm communities during inter-ethnic conflicts.

Integrating the local communities and accommodating their own informal methods of ensuring surrender of the illegally held weapons (Morgenthau, 2007; Kreuzer, 2002; Okoth, 2000; Mohamud, 2005) were likely to yield lasting and effective results. There was need for the DPC to appreciate good rapport between the communities and the state officers and organs in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.





***Plate 8: An Interview Session with a Member of the District Peace Committee and Maasai Community Leader Pastor John Lorioi Ole Kimiri (2013)***  
***Source: Field Survey (2013)***

### **5.9.2 Mediation and Arbitration**

Respondents gave mediation and arbitration through workshops, psycho-social counseling, stock branding and stock embargo approaches to peace a 5% rating in effectiveness in terms of bringing about peaceful coexistence between the inter-ethnic communities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Voluntary and confidential methods of mediation and arbitration involve neutral parties deflecting incidents of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The research established that such neutral mediators or arbiters to inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County have been the state officers who sometimes enlist the

collaboration of NGOs, community leaders and religious organization leaders to bring about peaceful coexistence among conflicting communities. This is because the community leaders are not always neutral. Often they are bent towards eliminating guilt and culpability judgments from their own communities. Though their role has been very crucial, the DPC documentation of their activities towards peace has been very scanty (Mohammed Loten, O.I., 18-4-2013, Sosian,).

It is hoped that when the infrastructure of DPCs becomes fully entrenched, it will be possible to start publication that can be adequately circulated to inform the public. State officers working with NGOs such as CARITAS, AMREF, IMC and religious groups under the Catholic Church, Protestant Church and Muslims have been able to develop workshops and administer psycho-social counseling in such forums. The NGOs in particular are able to carry out psycho-social counseling on account of the philanthropic gestures that they give to the vulnerable groups after the devastating effects of the inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

Stock branding and stock embargo involves the process of marking and limiting flow of livestock in order to bring down theft and control the spread of diseases respectively. The approaches when carried out by communities and state officers will bring about enhanced inter community understanding as a result of reduced cattle thefts and widespread cattle diseases respectively. The strategy was pronounced by the GoK in the 1990s in order to realize centralized government control when rustling acquired commercial proportions. State officers' duties strengthen the legal systems strategy in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County in order to engender justice intended to protect

the community's valuable assets (Mkutu, 2005). Such initiatives would lead to increased community's wealth creation and possibilities of reduction of tragic inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The end result was improved livelihoods for resident communities.

### **5.9.3 Humanitarian Assistance and Empowerment**

The highest statistics of respondents, 20%, indicated that humanitarian assistance and empowerment from state and NGOs was the most popular approach responsible for reduction of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The NGOs affect the very basis of residents' livelihood by being able to develop socio-economic empowerment in terms of increasing resources such as water, medical facilities, schools and faster income generating projects in order to limit inter-ethnic competition and conflicts for such resources.

The NGOs serve the communities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County without any ethnic discrimination (Rachael Chebet, O.I., 7-4-2013, Rumuruti Township). The service projects have been developed in the locations of Rumuruti Township, Mutara and Sosian particularly during the Kibaki era (2003 – 2010). This was because of donor confidence as a result of the defeat of KANU party and the actualization of NARC campaign promise of introducing FPE in 2003 (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007).

The public facilities in the area are handled by state, NGOs and community leadership. This legalized and also legitimized the ownership and utilization of such resources with an overall result of reducing incidents of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of

Laikipia County. However, the presence of NGOs in the area is greater than that of the state. Local politics is such that the resources distribution is done on skewed allocation basis which may not completely mollify inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Earlier research done by Collier (2000), Muhamud (2005) and Autesserre (2008) including Agenda 4 on the Kriegler Report confirm the ideas articulated in this section in scaling down inter-ethnic conflicts.

The overall effect of some of the methods used to bring about peace among communities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County is to give less resonance to the Incompatibility of Plural Society Theory by Furnivall and Smith (1997) and the Greed versus Grievance Theory by Collier and Hoeffler (2004). Subsequently, this would realize a reduction of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. However, the DPC came into existence during the Kibaki era. During the preceding Kenyatta and Moi eras, the provincial administration was at the helm of security with the DCs heading the DSC and the police and the administration police structure under their command. The chiefs had enormous powers even to arrest using the CAA. After 1997 the act was done away with and the DCs lost the authority to give permits for public meetings to the OCS.

## **5.10 Summary and Conclusion**

Chapter five has examined the role of various stakeholders in mitigating inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The council of elders has played a crucial role in the appropriation of household and community resource utilization since the pre-colonial period because of weak state organs and presence related to

enforcement of law and order. The elders' power to curse and predict timing and success of livestock rustling with precision still make them very relevant agents of peace propagators within the communities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. However, the youth do not value their authorities due to their greed for quick economic endowments and lavish lifestyles, thus jeopardizing the desired community's peace through rustling and banditry activities.

Religious institutions of Islam and Christianity offer temporary shelter to victims of inter-ethnic conflicts and other violence victims during and after the inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Mosques and churches are better placed to play such roles because they do not have an ethnic tag in their orientation. Government alone cannot manage the challenges of inter-ethnic conflicts because of limited human personnel, poor infrastructure and inferior weaponry technology to outweigh their opponents.

Most of the humanitarian response during the inter-ethnic conflicts is made by the NGOs. They also develop livelihoods, promoting services such as diffusing inter-ethnic tensions and conflicts, providing and distributing water and relief food and enhancing modern hygiene practices to communities. The NGOs do not only complement state efforts but they also substituted government efforts in Rumuruti Division and other parts of Laikipia County. This is when such NGOs provide health care and undertake to ensure the victims of inter-ethnic conflicts are safe in their institution's compounds.

Politicians and other community opinion leaders whip their communities' emotions to embrace peace with their neighbours. They were responsible for bringing, developing and instilling the best management practices for the resources which attract inter-ethnic conflicts to their communities. In that way they helped to reduce inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. More often than not, they also partnered with the business community in order to achieve this objective.

Though the community elders played a crucial role in bringing about peace, the DSC and other law enforcement agents played a crucial role in initiating peace during the Kenyatta and Moi eras. Dialogue, *barazas* and public awareness initiatives led to consensus within and among communities, thus inspiring other desirable outcomes to inter-ethnic conflicts. Cases in point included inter-ethnic sports and cultural events for example, disarmament. Mediation, arbitration, workshops, psycho-social counseling, stock branding and quarantines have been cited as robust integrated inter-ethnic conflicts resolution mechanisms used by various stakeholders in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

Humanitarian assistance and empowerment integrated methodology was viewed to have the capacity of toning down inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. This is because economic empowerment and access to economic resources would make the communities gainfully engaged, thus making inter-ethnic conflicts unpopular. The theoretical framework of Incompatibility of Plural Society Theory by Furnivall and Smith (1997) and the Greed versus Grievance Theory of Collier and Hoeffler (2004) which are responsible for igniting inter-ethnic conflicts justify the

urgency of exploring means of peaceful co-existence among communities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The last chapter is the summary of main findings, the conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further study.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.0 Introduction**

This study examines inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County with special focus on the historical trends, root causes and effects which have a direct influence on food security and the stakeholders' roles in combating the inter-ethnic conflicts between 1963 and 2010. The persistence of inter-ethnic conflicts is tied to the theoretical framework of Incompatibility of Plural Society by Furnivall and Smith and the Greed Versus Grievance Theory of Collier and Hoeffler which is also linked to the objectives of this research. The field study in Rumuruti Division revealed some issues which generally cut across the wider Laikipia County and concurred with the literature review. The study established that some of the approaches used to combat inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County were also used during the colonial period. This final chapter, therefore, covers the summary of the main findings, conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further study.

#### **6.1 Summary of the Main Findings**

The study found out that land and its resources attracted African concerns with the building of the Uganda Railway and establishment of the settler economy by the British colonial government. The colonial land policies led to alienation of land from the Africans while colonial labour policies led to introduction of African reserves, hut and poll taxes. The pressure from reserves and employment necessitated mobility of African communities.



African mobilization and agitation of land in particular began earnestly in the 1920s with the formation of African political organizations and associations. Legislative agitations by the Africans developed after World War II, leading to the *mau-mau* war of independence and real clamour for constitutional changes. Kenyans were therefore attuned to grievance- based mobilization by 1963.

Equitable distribution of resources and Africanization of the public sector influenced ethnic community relations with some feeling that they were given a raw deal in enjoying the benefits of independence during the Kenyatta era. During the Moi era, political and economic influence was geared to shift from the Agikuyu to the Kalenjin. There was relative peace in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County after 1982 but this changed in 1992 during the first multi-party elections, when the Agikuyu and most of the other Bantu communities identified with opposition politics. The PEV started in the former Rift Valley Province. During the Kibaki era, power base started to shift once more to favour the Mt. Kenya regions. The Bantu farming communities and the pastoral groups in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County drifted apart. Ethnicity was greatly politicized during the PEV of 2007/2008.

The study established that the root causes of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County included cattle rustling, banditry, politicians/elite incitement, competition and control of use of socio-economic resources such as water and pasture for livestock, amid contested new administrative boundaries, youth unemployment/commercial *moranism*, marginalization in access to infrastructure and

natural resources, though embezzlement of the funds with impunity is replete, ethnic animosity and presence of illegal arms. During the period 1963 – 2010, community elders, religious organizations, NGOs, the provincial administration, the police, the KPR system and the penal code were used to mediate the inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. At the same time, ethnically based politics and proliferation of sophisticated weapons during the Moi and Kibaki presidential eras greatly contributed to increased incidents of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. However, the economy appeared to improve during the Kibaki presidential era.

The effects of inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County are enormously adverse. They include arson and destruction of property, whose greatest toll was reduced food reserves, political polarization that results into ethnocentrism, hatred and bias targeting certain communities for attack. There was outright forceful or self exile of the Bantu communities by the Cushitic and Nilotic communities. Both were divided by economic orientations of farming, business and pastoralism respectively. Death occurred of strong and productive members of the communities. Rape, displacement and family disintegration through physical abductions became a common phenomenon. Further, there was increased school drop out rate among the youth thus endearing commercial *moranism*. The inter-ethnic conflicts lead to a general decline of the socio-economic status of the communities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. These collective effects have a direct or indirect adverse impact on food security, lowering the quality of livelihood in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. However, it is important to note that low food security would be compounded

further by rogue elephants and stray buffaloes from the game reserves, which fed on the farmers' crops. Lions and the leopards also kill and eat the herders' livestock thus lowering their source of livelihood. More often than not, the farmers' or herders' are never compensated by the KWS after sustaining losses. In retaliation, they often kill the animals. This impoverishes them even further and may be a cause of inter-ethnic conflicts.

During the Kenyatta and Moi eras between 1963 and 2002, community elders and local chiefs held *barazas* to intervene in security threatening matters. The DCs were the chairmen of the DSC which included other security agents such as the OCS. The penal code and curfews were also used to control criminal activities in Rumuruti Division and many other parts of Laikipia County where the KPR system was also used to mediate conflict. Vigilante groups and the KANU youth wing were also used for security purposes during the Moi era. However, in 1997 the CAA was outlawed and the DCs lost authority to issue political rallies permits to the OCS under the IPPG initiative. The development was good in my view because a level playing ground was accorded to all political parties. The state control was also reduced since the DC was a direct agent of the chief executive.

Community disputes are handled through alternative dispute resolution mechanisms that are easy to access, affordable, flexible and less time consuming. Integrated peace committees have been more dynamic after the PEV of 2007/2008. This was a response to Agenda 2 of the National Dialogue Reconciliation Team (NDRT) whose urgent mandate was to address "immediate measures to address the humanitarian crisis,

promote reconciliation, healing and restoration”. The DPC system has operated in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County since 2009.

The DPC integrate peace and security efforts from stakeholders such as traditional dispute resolution mechanisms involving traditional elders, women and religious leaders on one hand and formal mechanism for conflict resolution that included government administrative and security agencies funded by NGOs. The DPC eradicate duplication of activities and conflict of interests in the pursuit of peace and development. They conform to the Rapid Result Initiative (RRI) policy of the government and the national policy on peace building and conflict management political flagship of Kenya’s Vision 2030. The DPC use the consultation approach with security and intelligence committees and other stakeholders to oversee the implementation of peace agreements and other social contracts. This is with a view to promote the mainstreaming of conflict sensitive approaches to development in Rumuruti Division and other administrative units of Laikipia County.

The DPC facilitates training, community dialogue, sensitization and awareness raising. Apart from providing leadership, the DPC prepares and mobilizes communities in the prevention and management of conflict. It also restores and transforms relations among communities as part of post-conflict interventions and serves as a vehicle of ethnic relations for peaceful co-existence. The DPC enhances conflict early warning response added to ensuring prudent administration and accounting of resources allocated to them. The DPC working operations through documentation, record maintenance of peace

processes and interventions as well as its systems intended to monitor, evaluate and report peace and nation building programmes call for greater efficiency.

The DPC uses popular and conventional methods of inter-ethnic conflicts intervention. Such methods include negotiation, mediation, arbitration, and problem solving workshops, facilitation of community dialogues, peace and reconciliation meetings. Similarly inter community sporting and cultural events, training and public awareness raising, psycho-social counseling, disarmament, provision of humanitarian assistance, stock branding and stock embargo are also used.

## **6.2 Conclusions**

The Kenya Uganda Railway set the pace of land resource related conflicts between the Africans and the colonial government. Issues of governance, consolidation and preservation of power and authority by the political elites have influenced ethnic community relations since independence. All the PEV incidences in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County greatly indict the political and opinion leaders' for incitement of their ethnic nations. The Moi era witnessed the most predictable post-election and inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The Kibaki era witnessed the most concerted and severe ethnically based PEV. Adequate financial support, financial prudence and goodwill exercised by communities and other stakeholders are essential requirements to reduce inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

If the highly resonated socio-economic and political marginalization of the region realizes sustainable economic development, the resultant empowerment is crucial to reduce inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

When communities realize positive appreciation of their economic and social endowments, they would be each other's keepers who refrain from using the guns to harm one another. Community leaders and elites are pivotal crusaders of messages and ideas which harness the communities' potential in order to enhance unity and understanding.

Stereotype sentiments entertain relative deprivations and ultimate incompatibility between resident communities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Positive attitudes about one another essentially reduce the incidents of inter-ethnic conflicts. Greed cannot be confined to specific communities. Rather, it mutates into crimes of rustling and banditry, incitement and other forms of violence. The state has the duty to protect the rights, lives and property of the resident communities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Guns alone cannot lead to inter-ethnic conflicts because they can be used responsibly. The factors which allow the communities to greedily use them form the focus of the state and other stakeholders to effectively reduce inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

The devolved systems of government accords the county government of Laikipia the responsibility to set its development priorities on the improvement of food security initiatives for the communities through access to reliable water and embrace equitable socio-economic development. Robust projects that target the best practices of livestock

management increases productivity and food security. Diversification of the economy for both pastoralists and agriculturalist groups require to be tried. Insecurity response approaches in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County have undergone progressive transformation since independence. This has boosted food security. Collective responsibility, paradoxically using the African traditional concept was used by the colonial administration to punish an entire community when one of their own stole livestock. The DSC under the DCs working with other agents of law enforcement for instance the police, the chief, KPR, elders and other public servants discharged security duties during the Kenyatta and Moi presidential eras. Unlike Kenyatta, Moi used the KANU youth wingers and other vigilante groups to deal with security matters. The repressive CAA was outlawed in 1997 while the DCs lost power and authority to issue political rallies to the OCS. Earlier, the DCs had lost the position of being the returning officer during the General Elections. The Kibaki presidential regime developed more community friendly methods to address inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

The state security presence through increased security personnel and infrastructure eliminates the scenario of weak state system in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. The efficient and effective application of the penal code secures every Kenyan citizen's property and personal security. The DPC calls for recognition and empowerment in several ways, in order for them to play an effective role within their communities. The DPC enforcement system provides the panacea to inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

### **6.3 Recommendations**

Some of the suggested recommendations to bring about a reduction to inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County include:

Alienation and dispossession of land has attracted emotive reactions from ethnic communities since independence. Equitable distribution of such land to the deserving devoid of ethnic tag should be enforced.

Issues of governance associated with an imperial president during Kenyatta's era, personal state during Moi's era or coalition during the last term of Kibaki's presidency must be avoided at all costs by upholding the current constitution which supports a presidential system of government. Ethnic tensions and suspicions will be diffused through fair democratic election of the chief executive.

There is need to address the proliferation of illicit weapons by strengthening the SALW agenda with intention to limit their flow and ownership among communities in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County. Unfortunately, disarmament of communities was not a component of the National Accord and Reconciliation Agreement (NARA). Mopping out illegal weapons impartially and sustainably as well as opening a registration inventory for the existing ones by the government will reduce banditry and cattle rustling. A command structure of the KPR system should be established. The KPR who serve as the security scouts should be paid a salary.

More police stations with adequate personnel and insecurity deterrent facilities should be established by the government and CBOs in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.



Vehicles plying Nyahururu – Rumuruti – Ol Moran route should be monitored by security personnel.

Opinion leaders and political elites should influence their communities positively since they determine and influence the escalation or de-escalation of violence or inter-ethnic conflicts. This will give a boost to efforts of various stake holders towards inter-community co-existence. Profitable livestock trade would reduce the tendency to maintain large herds which place excessive pressure on pasture and water through construction of boreholes and dams by government and NGOs. However, they must be evenly distributed.

Provision of quality infrastructure would generate employment through access to market by small scale holders and entrepreneurs. The Kenya Roads Board (KRB), the local authority and *kazi kwa vijana*, meaning youth employment programme, should therefore extend the all weather road from Rumuruti Town to Samburu County. The communities' security would then be greatly improved. However, embezzlement of such designated funds is the greatest impediment.

Livestock off take programme needs to be streamlined by the government in order to compensate herders for any imminent loss of livestock. However, crop losses should also be compensated by the government for the farming communities through the Economic Stimulus Programme (ESP). Diversification of the communities' means of livelihood is also recommended through tree planting, honey production, butterfly farming and fish farming. Relief food should rationally be distributed to deserving persons and communities.

The government should not watch issues touching on insecurity to make people hungry. Packed/powdered milk should be availed in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County during drought by government, NGOs and religious organizations to supplement the feeding of less than 5 years and support the secondary school with bursaries to cushion malnutrition and hunger within communities.

The government needs to institute a national early warning and food distribution system to maintain a national strategic food reserve and encourage the Private sector to get involved in the internal grain trade through more predictable policy and tariff regimes. Policies to lower the cost of crop and livestock production should be instituted. Environmental management through securing water catchment and riparian lands, for example in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County will reduce severe degradation and desertification. With the county governments establishing high financial proceeds on national resources in the area, I recommend eco-tourism in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

Inter-community leadership and authority systems should roll out campaigns aimed at influencing the reduction of hostility against neighbours. There is need to strengthen local vigilante groups through legal infrastructure and civil education regulations for conflict resolution both within and between communities to reduce cattle rustling and banditry. *Morans* should be jailed using the Penal Code when arrested for stealing, damaging property and abduction and rape during the cattle rustling and banditry activities. Curfew regulations should be enforced by the government to limit movements at certain times of the day and monitored cattle dens should be introduced.

These methods were used between 1963 and 2002 but with good monitoring, they could still be effective.

The DPC should be granted legal and legislative recognition. As they exist, they are vulnerable to sabotage and interference by individual groups or organizations not keen to supporting their cause. Sometimes, they are accused of overstepping their mandate and meddling in security issues. Terms of reference should be established for the DPC.

The DPC should not only document but disseminate peace processes to the wider public. It should not be populated with the members of the county commissioner's office or public servants but should 'open a window of opportunity' to other members of the local communities. However, the local elders to the peace committees should be appointed by impartial entities after thorough investigation on those earmarked for appointment.

Peace committees have no budgetary provision and their operations depend on donor funding. This is not sustainable thus compromising their effectiveness and independence. The DPC does not have compliance enforcement mechanism. As such, some of the resolutions remain unenforceable. The DPC should therefore be incorporated into legal infrastructure. The members should be facilitated with good transport and effective communications gadgets like walk talkies. When a DPC finds itself embroiled in politics with positive or negative effects, it affects sections of the society.

The DPC requires a secretariat since the members only meet when need arises. Internal and external exchange programmes should be set in place in order to share similar experiences. Members of DPC should be recognized through identification cards, tags or clothing, letters of recognition, invitation to and recognition during national day's celebrations. Similarly, courtesy calls by visiting dignitaries would raise the work morale of the DPC members. To conform to the Kenya constitution (2010), the name DPC should change to Sub-County Peace Committee (SCPC).

A County Peace Force to solve intra and inter Sub-County conflicts modelled on the state police framework of USA should be established. The social and economic needs of the youth should be addressed through greater expansion of the NYS, Youth Enterprise Fund (YEF) and *Uwezo* Fund (UF) including allocating 30% of tenders to the youth since they are targeted for recruitment in orchestrating violence. However, the greatest impediment to all these initiatives is corruption by those charged with the responsibility of disbursing the funds to the youth. Peace initiatives should be gender inclusive in order to target women in peace building and conflicts management. Conflicts early warning and response is a critical component of inter-ethnic conflicts but is lacking in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County.

Community policing initiative and the recently established *nyumba kumi*, a community based security initiative organized on basis of ten households, could be integrated into the county peace force structure.

#### **6.4 Suggestions for Further Study**

Further research should be carried out to cover other aspects which could not be addressed by this study. The researcher found out in the course of this study that there is need to explore other issues pertinent to development of Laikipia County and which lay out of the scope of the specific objectives in this study.

1. Scholars could attempt a study on the prospects of enhancement of eco-tourism in Laikipia County as an economic development strategy.
2. Research also needs to be carried out on the effects of natural and ecological factors on gender relations in Laikipia County.
3. There is need to carry out a detailed study on the prospects of the county government in bringing about robust strategies of governance that increase economic empowerment for the different communities in Laikipia County.

## REFERENCES

### Books

- Beehner, L. (2007). Youth Bulge Theory. Washington: Population action international.
- Doi, A.I. (1998). The Cardinal Principles of Islam. Pretoria: Dar-Al-Salamic Research Centre.
- Correa, M.J. (2013). Outsiders no More? Models of Immigrant Political Incorporation. Oxford: Russel Sage.
- Cukier, W. & Sidel, V.W. (2006). The Global Gun Epidemics from Saturday night special to AK-47s. West Port C.T and London: Praeges Security International.
- Fortna, V. & Howard, L. (2008). UN peace keeping in civil wars. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Harrison, S. (2009). Corruption in Sub-Saharan Africa. Cambridge: Shaker Publishers Cop.
- IRF. (2009). The Root Causes and Implications of the 2007-2008 Post-Election Violence. Nairobi: IRF/KTT.
- Kombo, D.K. & Delno, L.A.Tromp. (2006). Proposal and Thesis Writing. Nairobi: Pauline Publications Africa.
- Kreuzer, P. (2002). Applying Theories of Ethno-Cultural Conflict and Conflict Resolution to Collective Violence in Indonesia. Frankfurt: Peace Research Institute Frankfurt.
- Leffler, M. P. (2007). For the Soul of Mankind: The United States, the Soviet Union and the Cold War. New York: Hills and Wang.

- Mamdani, M. (2009). Saviours and Survivors. New York: Pantheon Books and Colophon.
- Mkutu, K. A. (2008). Guns and Governance in the Rift Valley: Pastoralist Conflicts and Small Arms. Nairobi: East Africa Educational Publishers.
- 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.
- Morgenthau, A.J. (2007). Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace. New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers.
- Mugenda, A. & Mugenda, O. (2002). Research Methods: Qualitative and Qualitative Approaches. Nairobi: African Centre for Technology Studies Press.
- Nasong'o, S.W. & Murunga, G.P. Ed. (2007). Kenya: The struggle for Democracy. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Ngugi waThiong'o. (1966). A Grain of Wheat. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd.
- Nnoli, O. (1978). Ethnic Politics in Nigeria. Enugu: Fourth Dimension.
- Ochieng, W. R (1985). A modern History of Kenya. Nairobi: MacMillan Educational Publishers.
- Odeg, A. (1990). Life in the Balance: Ecological Sociology of Turkana Nomads. Nairobi: African Centre for Technology Studies Press.
- Ocan, C. (1992). Pastoral Crisis in North Eastern Uganda: The Changing Significance of Cattle Raids. Kampala: Centre for Basic Research.

- Ogot, B.A & Ochieng', W.R. Ed. (1995). Decolonization and independence in Kenya, 1940 -1993. London: Jamey Currey.
- Okoth, G. P. ed. (2000). Africa at the Beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Nairobi: University Press.
- Okoth, P.G. Ogot, B.A. Ed.(2000). Conflicts in Contemporary Africa. Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation.
- Oliver, P. (2009). Writing Your Thesis. New Delhi: Sage Publications, India Pvt Ltd, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition.
- Orodho, J. A. (2004). Techniques of Writing Research Proposals and Reports in Education and Social Science. Nairobi: Reata Printers.
- Otite, O. (2000). Ethnic Pluralism. Ethnicity and Ethnic conflicts in Nigeria. Ibadan: Sheneson C. I. Ltd.
- Potterbaun, D. (2005). Conflict, Poverty, Inequality, and Economic Growth. New York: USAID.
- Shad, A. R. (2005).The Duties of Islam. New Delhi: Idara Isha'at – E-Diniyat (P) Ltd.
- Were, G.S. & Wilson, D.A. (1987). East Africa Through A Thousand Years. Nairobi: Evans Brother (Kenya) Limited.
- Young, T. (2003). Readings in African Politics. Oxford: Indiana University Press.



### Theses

Kakai, P. W. (2000). *Inter and Intra-ethnic Conflicts in Mt. Elgon and Trans-Nzoia District Since 1875*". PhD Thesis, Nairobi: Kenyatta University.

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

Kihara, R. (2013). *"Challenges and Prospects of Muslim Organizations and Institutions in Mitigating Food Insecurity in Isiolo County, Kenya"*. M.A Thesis, Nairobi: Kenyatta University.

Martin, G. (1982). *The Political Economy of African European Relations from Younde I to Lome II 1963 - 1980: Case Study in Neo-Colonialism and Dependency*. PhD Thesis, Indiana: Indiana University.

Mogire, E. (2003). *"Refugees in East Africa: Implications for Host State Security"*. PhD Thesis, Bradford: University of Bradford.

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

### **Unpublished Works**

Amisi, B. K. (1997). “Conflict in the Rift Valley and Western Kenya: Towards an Early Warning Indicator Identification”. A Paper Prepared for the USAID Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Great Horn of Africa, June 1997.

Ibrahim, D. & Jenner, J. (1996). “Wajir Community Based Conflict Management”. USAID Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Great Horn of Africa, June 1996.

Kariuki, S. (2010). “National Response, Initiative, Peace Building, Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation among Mathare Post Election Violence Victims”. Unpublished M.A Thesis, African Nazarene University.

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

### **Archival Sources**

1. KNA – A Short History of the Maasai Reserves: Laikipia Annual Report, 1910 – 1911.
2. KNA/PC/NKU/2/15/48 – Collective Punishment Police Levies, 1934 – 1951.
3. KNA/DC/LKA/1/4 – Annual Report 1953.
4. KNA/DC/LKA/1/5 – Annual Report, 1954.
5. KNA/DC/LKA/1/7 – Annual Report, 1957.
6. KNA/DC/LKA/2/2 – Handing over Report, Mr. G. G. Hunt to Mr. G. Keller, 1950 – 1958.
7. KNA/PC/NKU/2/15/9 - Information About Stock Thefts and Minutes of Meetings Held with Chief Secretary, Attorney General, 1948 – 1963.
8. KNA/PC/NKU.2/15/13 – Quarterly Return of African Court Cases 1961 – 1963.

### **Government Official Reports**

- Akiwumi, A. M. (1999). Report of the Judicial Commission Appointed to Inquire into Tribal Clashes in Kenya. Nairobi: Government Printers.
- GoK. (2010). The Proposed Constitution of Kenya. Nairobi: Government Printers.
- GoK. (2009). Laikipia West District Development Plan (2008-2012). Nairobi: Government Printers.
- GoK. (2009). Report on Rapid Assessment of the Status and Needs of District Peace Committees in Select Districts of Rift Valley, Western and Nyanza Provinces. Nairobi: Dalyn Enterprises Ltd.
- GoK.(2008). Economic Survey, 2008. Nairobi: Government Printers.
- GoK.(2008). *Small Arms Survey Report*. Nairobi: Government Printers.
- GoK. (2008). Laikipia District Development Plan (2002 – 2008). Nairobi: Government Printers.
- GoK.(2007). Kenya Vision 2030. Nairobi: Government Printers.
- GoK.(2005). Poverty Eradication Strategy Paper. Nairobi: Government Printers.
- GoK. (2002).National Development Plan 2002-2008.Nairobi: Government Printers.
- GoK.(2010). Laikipia District Livelihood Zones. Arid Lands Resource Management Projects.
- GoK.(2005). Poverty Eradication Strategy Paper. Nairobi: Government Printers.
- Kiliku, K. (1992). Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee to Investigate Ethnic Clashes in Western and Other Parts of Kenya. Nairobi: Government Printers.
- RoK.(1965). African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya. Nairobi: Government Printers.
- Waki, P. (2010). Commission on Post Election Violence in Kenya. Nairobi: Government Printers.

### Articles in Journals and Other Texts

- Autesserre, S. (2008). Peace time violence: Post conflict violence and peace building strategies. New York: *Ralph Buche Institute for International Studies*, 1 – 6.
- Collier, P. & Hoeffler, A. (2004). Greed and grievance in civil war. *Oxford economics papers*, 56(4): 563 – 595.
- Elbadawi, I. & Nicholas, S. (2002). How much war will we see: Explaining the prevalence of civil war. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 46(3): 307 -334.
- Furnivall, J.S. & Smith, M.G. (1997). Incompatibility of plural society theory. Hawaii: *University of Hawaii Press*, 1-10.
- Goodhand, J. (2003). Enduring disorder and persistent poverty: A review of the linkages between war and chronic poverty. *World Development*, 31(3): 629 – 646.
- Hendrickson, D. et al. (1996). Livestock raiding among the pastoral Turkana of Kenya: Redistribution, predation and the links to famine. *IDPs Bulletin*, 27(3): 17-30.
- Lincon, J.M. (2014). Militarized politics in the north in troubled South Sudan. Copenhagen: *Danish Institute of International Studies*, 25-50.
- Lynch, G. (2006). Negotiating ethnicity: Identity politics in contemporary Kenya. *Review of African Political Economy*, Routledge, Vol. 33, No. 107: 49-65.
- Markakis, J. (1999). Pastoralists and politicians in Kenya: Review of African political economy. 3.
- Mburu, N. (1999). Contemporary banditry in the Horn of Africa: Causes, history and political implications. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 8(2):89-107.
- Mkutu, K. (2007). Small arms and light weapons among pastoral groups in the Kenya-Uganda border areas. *African Affairs*, Volume 106, No. 422: 47 – 70.

- Monty, G. M. & Gurr, T. (2003). Peace and conflict 2003: A global survey of armed conflict, self determination movements and democracy. University of Maryland: *Centre for International Development and Conflict Management*, 15-40.
- Muhika, S. T. (2002). Civilians under firearms: The rise of uncivil society in Uganda 1804 – 2000 in improving security through the control and management of small arms, Nairobi: *APFO*, 10-90.
- Nafziger, E.W. & Juha, A. (2002). Economic development, inequality, war and state violence. *World Development*, 30(2): 153-163.
- Ojie, A.E. (2004). The problem of ethnicity and religious fanaticism in Negeria. *South – South journal of Culture and Development*, 6(2): 145 – 174.
- Omosa, K.E. (2005). Impacts of water conflict on pastoral livelihoods: The case of Wajir District in Kenya. Manitoba: *International Institute for Sustainable Development*, 5-20.
- Otite, O. (2001). The challenges of ethnicity. *Vanguard*, February 5 and 6, 33-34.
- Ross, M. L. (2004). How does natural resource wealth influence civil war? Evidence from 13 cases. *International Organization*, 58(1): 35-67.
- Sheikh, S.R. (2014). Paradoxes of peace development in Africa. *African column*, 15-40.
- Stavenhagen, R. (1991). The Ethnic question: Some theoretical issues. Dubrovnik: June 3-6, 1991.
- Tropp, L.R. (2011). When groups meet: The dynamics of inter-group contact. Oxford: *Psychology Press*, 10-65.
- Wallesteen, P. & Sollenberg, M. (1997). Armed conflicts termination and peace agreement, 1989 – 1996. *Journal of Peace Research*, 3: 339 – 358.

### **Newspapers and Electronic Sources**

Anup Shah. (2014). "Conflicts in Africa."

<http://www.globalissues.org/article.84/Conflicts-in-africa-introduction>.

Brown et al. (2009). "Politicization is Very Much Linked to the Root Causes of Conflict in Liberia". [www.oecd.org/countries/Liberia/SADE](http://www.oecd.org/countries/Liberia/SADE)

Daily Nation (January 13<sup>th</sup>, 2006). Nairobi: Nation Media Group Ltd. 32.

Daily Nation (March 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007). Nairobi: Nation Media Group Ltd. 22

Daily Nation (March 14<sup>th</sup>, 2007). Nairobi: Nation Media Group Ltd.

Daily Nation (March 31<sup>st</sup>, 2010). "Hunger still a Killer in Africa, Forum told". Nairobi: Nation Media Group Ltd. 20

Daily Nation (May 8<sup>th</sup> 2007). "Fighting Poverty". Nairobi: Nation Media Group Ltd. 25-28.

Daily Nation (October 30<sup>th</sup>, 2007). "Why Somalis dread the month of September", Nairobi: Nation Media Group Ltd. 16, 18.

Daily Nation (April 2<sup>nd</sup> 2010). Nairobi: Nation Media Group Ltd. . 28.

Daily Nation (July 20<sup>th</sup>, 2010). Nairobi: Nation Media Group Ltd. . 18 – 19.

Daily Nation (July 28<sup>th</sup>, 2010). Nairobi: Nation Media Group Ltd. 18.

Daily Nation (September 15<sup>th</sup>, 2010). Nairobi: Nation Media Group Ltd. . 13.

Daily Nation (October 30<sup>th</sup>, 2010). "ICC letter force bloc to take talks to Addis". Nairobi: Nation Media Group Ltd. 8.

Kratlis and Jeremy Swift (2000). "Understanding and Managing Pastoral Conflict in Kenya: A Literature Review". <http://www.eldis.org/fulltext/pastconf.pdf>

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), (2000).2-30.

National Poverty Eradication Plan. Welfare Monitoring Surveys (WMS) Shaka Zulu, (“Straight Talk Africa”. Aljazeera: STV Media briefs. 8<sup>th</sup> July 2010 at 7.30 p.m).

Salman Rafi Sheikh (2014).Paradoxes of “Peace Development” in Africa Journal-neo.org/2014/01/31/Paradoxe.

Sunday Nation (March 18<sup>th</sup>, 2007). “40,000 flee Mogadishu Violence”. Nairobi: Nation Media Group Ltd. . 33.

Sunday Nation (March 27<sup>th</sup>, 2010). Nairobi: Nation Media Group Ltd. 8.

Sunday Nation (November 14<sup>th</sup>, 2009).“Kenya among Food Crisis Nations, UN”, Nairobi: Nation Media Group Ltd. 25.

Sunday Standard (November 16<sup>th</sup>, 2008). “In Focus: The Great Lakes Crisis”. Nairobi: Standard Ltd. . 29 – 36.

The Standard (August 10<sup>th</sup>, 2009). “Drought hit areas to face humanitarian crisis”. Nairobi: Standard Ltd. . 8.

The Conversation.com/militarized-Pol/South Sudan-crisis Weiss T (2004).“Guns in the Borderlands Reducing the Demand for Small Arms”. Monograph No.95 Institute for Security, Studies South Africa.

[www.iss.co.za/pubs/monographs/no95/contents.html](http://www.iss.co.za/pubs/monographs/no95/contents.html).



## ANNEXURES

A1 *Research Permit and Authorization*

**KENYATTA UNIVERSITY  
GRADUATE SCHOOL**

E-mail: [dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke](mailto:dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke)

Website: [www.ku.ac.ke](http://www.ku.ac.ke)

P.O. Box 43844, 00100  
NAIROBI, KENYA  
Tel. 8710901 Ext. 57530

Our Ref: C50/CE/15051/2008

DATE: 6<sup>th</sup> April, 2013

The Permanent Secretary,  
Ministry of Higher Education, Science & Technology,  
P.O. Box 30040,  
**NAIROBI**

Dear Sir/Madam,

**RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION FREDRICK KARIUKI WARURII – REG. NO. C50/CE/15051/2008**

I write to introduce Mr. Fredrick Kariuki Warurii who is a Postgraduate Student of this University. He is registered for M.A degree programme in the **Department History, Archaeology and Political Studies**.

Mr. Warurii intends to conduct research for a M.A proposal entitled, “**Inter-Ethnic Conflicts: Causes, Impacts and Interventions in Rumuruti Division, Laikipia County, Kenya (1963-2010).**”

Any assistance given will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

**MRS. LUCY N. MBAABU  
FOR: DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL**



JMO/rwm



**KENYATTA UNIVERSITY  
GRADUATE SCHOOL**

E-mail: [dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke](mailto:dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke)

Website: [www.ku.ac.ke](http://www.ku.ac.ke)

P.O. Box 43844, 00100

NAIROBI, KENYA

Tel. 810901 Ext. 57530

**Internal Memo**

**FROM:** Dean, Graduate School      **DATE:** 6<sup>th</sup> April, 2013

**TO:** Warurii Fredrick Kariuki      **REF:** C50/CE/15051/2008  
C/o History, Archaeology & Political  
Studies

**SUBJECT: APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL**

=====

This is to inform you that Graduate School Board, at its meeting of 20<sup>th</sup> March, 2013, approved your Research Proposal for the M.A Degree Entitled, "Inter-Ethnic Conflicts: Causes, Impacts and Interventions in Rumuruti Division, Laikipia County, Kenya (1963-2010)."

Thank you.

**JOHN ODONGI**  
**FOR: DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL**

c.c. Chairman, Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies

Supervisors:

1. Dr. Felix Kiruthu  
C/o Department of History, Archaeology and Political  
Studies.  
Kenyatta University
2. Dr. Stephen Nyaga  
C/o Department of Environmental Studies and  
Community Development.  
Kenyatta University

**A2 List of Respondents**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Approx. Age</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Date of Interview</b>
<b>Public Servants</b>				
Wilfred Kinyua	DSO	56	Rumuruti Township	5/4/2013
Henry Katana	DO	45	Rumuruti Township	5/4/2013
Samuel Tum	Chief	48	Rumuruti Township	5/4/2013
Joseph Lolei	Asst. Chief	44	Rumuruti Township	5/4/2013
James Eleman	Chief	46	Mutara	6/4/2013
Ann W. Kimani	Asst. Chief	41	Mutara	6/4/2013
David Mundia	Chief	47	Sosian	6/4/2013
George Makatai	Asst. Chief	43	Sosian	6/4/2013
John Macharia	DIDC	57	Rumuruti Township	7/4/2013
Racheal Chebet	DAO	46	Rumuruti Township	7/4/2013
Edward Mwenda	DLO	58	Rumuruti Township	7/4/2013
Jean Naspai	ASAL	37	Rumuruti Township	7/4/2013
Rechael Nyawira	ASAL	34	Rumuruti Township	7/4/2013
<b>N.G.O.s</b>				
Steve Mbiko	AMREF	40	Rumuruti Township	8/4/2013
Jeremiah Omondi	IMC	45	Rumuruti Township	8/4/2013
Caroline Chido	CARITAS	44	Rumuruti Township	8/4/2013
<b>Ethnic Community Leaders</b>				
Hosea Waweru	Kikuyu	80	Mutara	9/4/2013
Abraham Makhani	Luhya	77	Sosian	9/4/2013
Solomon Magwagwa	Kisii	75	Sosian	9/4/2013
Jethro Mutuma	Meru	77	Mutara	10/4/2013
Plekan Leliu	Samburu	84	Mutara	10/4/2013
Pastor John	Maasai	74	Mutara	10/4/2013

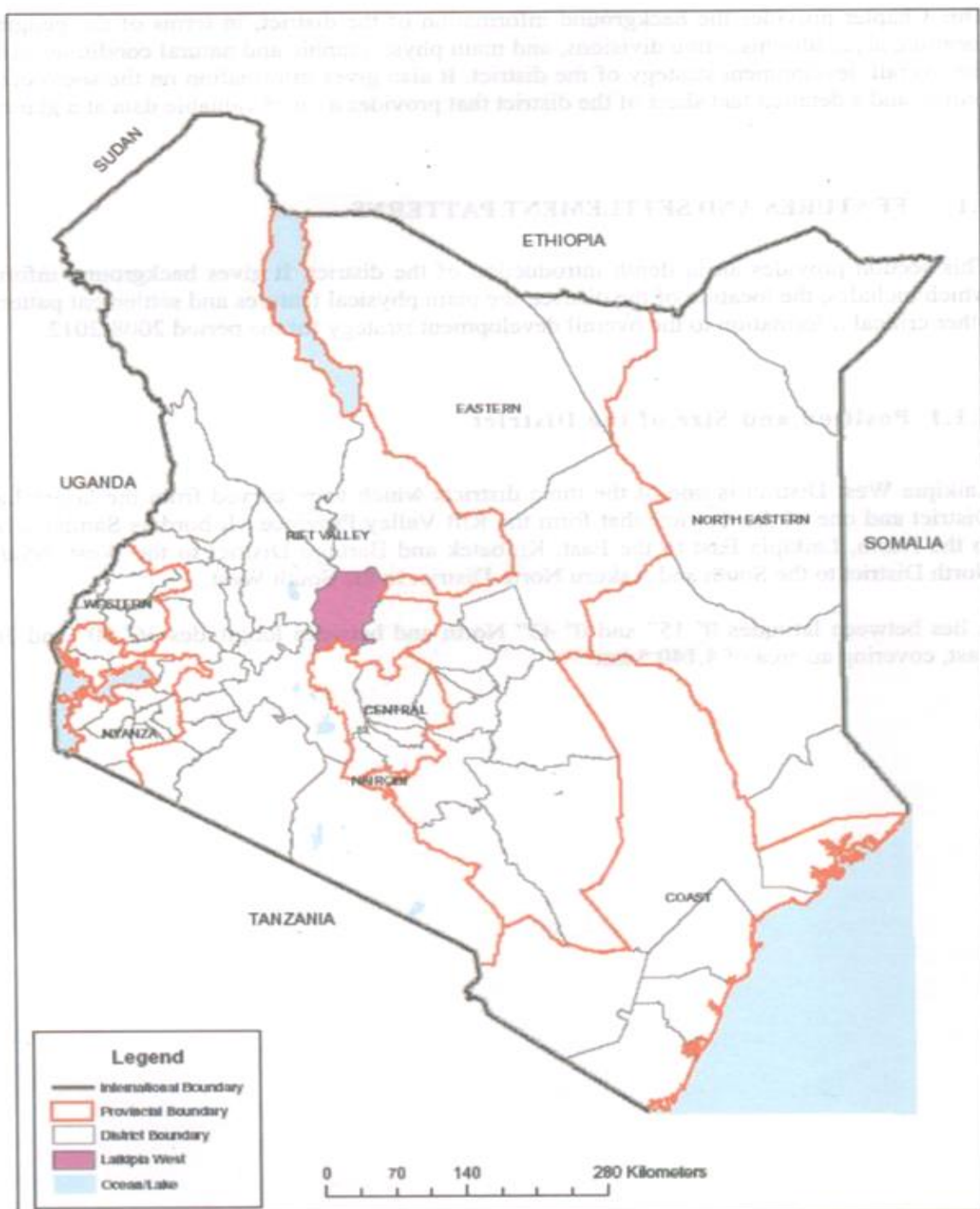
Lorioi Kimiri				
Edward Otokum	Turkana	74	Rumuruti Township	11/4/2013
Isaac Mengich	Nandi	75	Rumuruti Township	11/4/2013
Thomas Bomet	Pokot	76	Rumuruti Township	11/4/2013
Hezekiah Biril	Tugen	73	Rumuruti Township	11/4/2013
<b>Religious Leaders</b>				
Father James Nduati	Catholic	48	Mutara	12/4/2013
Pastor Joel Kosgei	P.A.G	46	Sosian	12/4/2013
Imam Mohammed A. Hassan	Islam	45	Rumuruti Township	12/4/2013
Pastor Kilea Lemachimpi	P.A.G	46	Mutara	13/4/2013
Pastor Ben Lekolol	P.A.G	42	Sosian	13/4/2013
Pastor George Papai	Full Gospel	40	Sosian	13/4/2013
<b>IDPs</b>				
Judy Lelesmoi	Samburu	37	Mutara	14/4/2013
Ken Wafula	Luhya	29	Mutara	14/4/2013
Peter Wahome	Kikuyu	28	Mutara	14/4/2013
Albert Mogaka	Kisii	37	Sosian	14/4/2013
Hezron Gikunda	Meru	36	Sosian	15/4/2013
Joyce Wambui	Kikuyu	24	Sosian	15/4/2013
Geoffrey Lelemai	Samburu	37	Rumuruti Township	15/4/2013
Lilian Lengasha	Samburu	38	Rumuruti Township	15/4/2013

<b>Morans</b>				
John Ole Ntonkei	Maasai	19	Rumuruti Township	16/4/2013
Nasiku Lesholo	Samburu	18	Rumuruti Township	16/4/2013
Kiplimo Kibet	Pokot	19	Sosian	16/4/2013
Lekuton Kut	Turkana	20	Sosian	16/4/2013
Cheboi Kigen	Tugen	20	Mutara	17/4/2013
Ndukwi Lasampai	Samburu	19	Mutara	17/4/2013
<b>Business Community</b>				
Gichiha Kihara	Kikuyu	39	Mutara	17/4/2013
Muna Ali	Muslim	34	Rumuruti Township	18/4/2013
Mwangi Ruheni	Kikuyu	44	Rumuruti Township	18/4/2013
Mohammed Loten	Muslim	45	Sosian	18/4/2013
Jane Wambui	Housewife	44	Rumuruti Township	19/4/2013
James K. Kamau	Teacher	43	Rumuruti Township	19/4/2013
Ng'ang'a Samson	Teacher	51	Rumuruti Township	19/4/2013
Gitau B. K.	Teacher	53	Rumuruti Township	19/4/2013
Regina Gathoni	Teacher	26	Rumuruti Township	19/4/2013
Regina Mwai Irimu	Teacher	43	Rumuruti Township	20/4/2013
John Ndegwa	Teacher	24	Rumuruti Township	20/4/2013
Sam Gikonyo	Teacher	35	Rumuruti Township	20/4/2013
Lucy Lengaitei	Young girl	16	Rumuruti Township	20/4/2013
Mercy Lengenai	Housewife	26	Rumuruti Township	21/4/2013
Susan Leunya	Housewife	33	Rumuruti Township	21/4/2013
Eunice Nteiyee	Housewife	25	Rumuruti Township	21/4/2013
Dennis Mwenda	Teacher	33	Rumuruti Township	21/4/2013
Caroline Kaburu	Teacher	27	Rumuruti Township	22/4/2013
Antony Kibaara	Teacher	40	Rumuruti Township	22/4/2013
Charity	Teacher	27	Rumuruti	22/4/2013

Kathambi			Township	
Juliana Naliaka	Housewife	31	Rumuruti Township	22/4/2013
Dickson Misiko	Boda Boda	36	Rumuruti Township	23/4/2013
Teresa Nekesa	Teacher	35	Rumuruti Township	23/4/2013
Edwin Nyakundi	Boda Boda	45	Rumuruti Township	23/4/2013
Korir Kiptoo	Boda Boda	26	Rumuruti Township	23/4/2013
George Mwangi Kimani	Teacher	33	Sosian	24/4/2013
Philip Thimba	Teacher	50	Sosian	24/4/2013
Jeniffer Wahito	Teacher	40	Sosian	24/4/2013
John Mwangi	Teacher	29	Sosian	25/4/2013
Edita Kairu	Teacher	41	Sosian	25/4/2013
Judy Gathigia	Young girl	15	Sosian	25/4/2013
Monica Wairimu	Teacher	37	Sosian	25/4/2013
Edward Lelesmoi	Teacher	33	Sosian	26/4/2013
John Lemayan	Herder	47	Sosian	26/4/2013
Ibrahim Lesian	Herder	41	Sosian	26/4/2013
Peter Leguuta	Herder	26	Sosian	26/4/2013
Swalleh Koome	Teacher	41	Sosian	27/4/2013
Miriam Nyaboke	Teacher	26	Sosian	27/4/2013
Alice Segut	Housewife	29	Sosian	27/4/2013
Evelyne Chepkosgei	Housewife	35	Sosian	27/4/2013

Jemima Sipanto	Housewife	34	Sosian	28/4/2013
Josephine Njeri	Teacher	33	Mutara	28/4/2013
Regina Ng'ang'a	Teacher	43	Mutara	28/4/2013
Ken Mwaura	Teacher	25	Mutara	28/4/2013
Joyce Wambui	Teacher	27	Mutara	28/4/2013
Rachael Kirigo	Teacher	31	Mutara	29/4/2013
Lydia King'ori	Teacher	46	Mutara	29/4/2013
Philip Lekulo	Herder	32	Mutara	29/4/2013
Ann Lengoitei	Young girl	16	Mutara	29/4/2013
Pauline Lemasulani	Housewife	35	Mutara	29/4/2013
Millicent Kinya	Housewife	16	Mutara	30/4/2013
Diana Bosibori	Teacher	35	Mutara	30/4/2013
Jane Langat	Young girl	15	Mutara	30/4/2013
Edith Koskei	Teacher	34	Mutara	30/4/2013

**A3 Map 1: Kenya: Location of Laikipia West Sub-County**

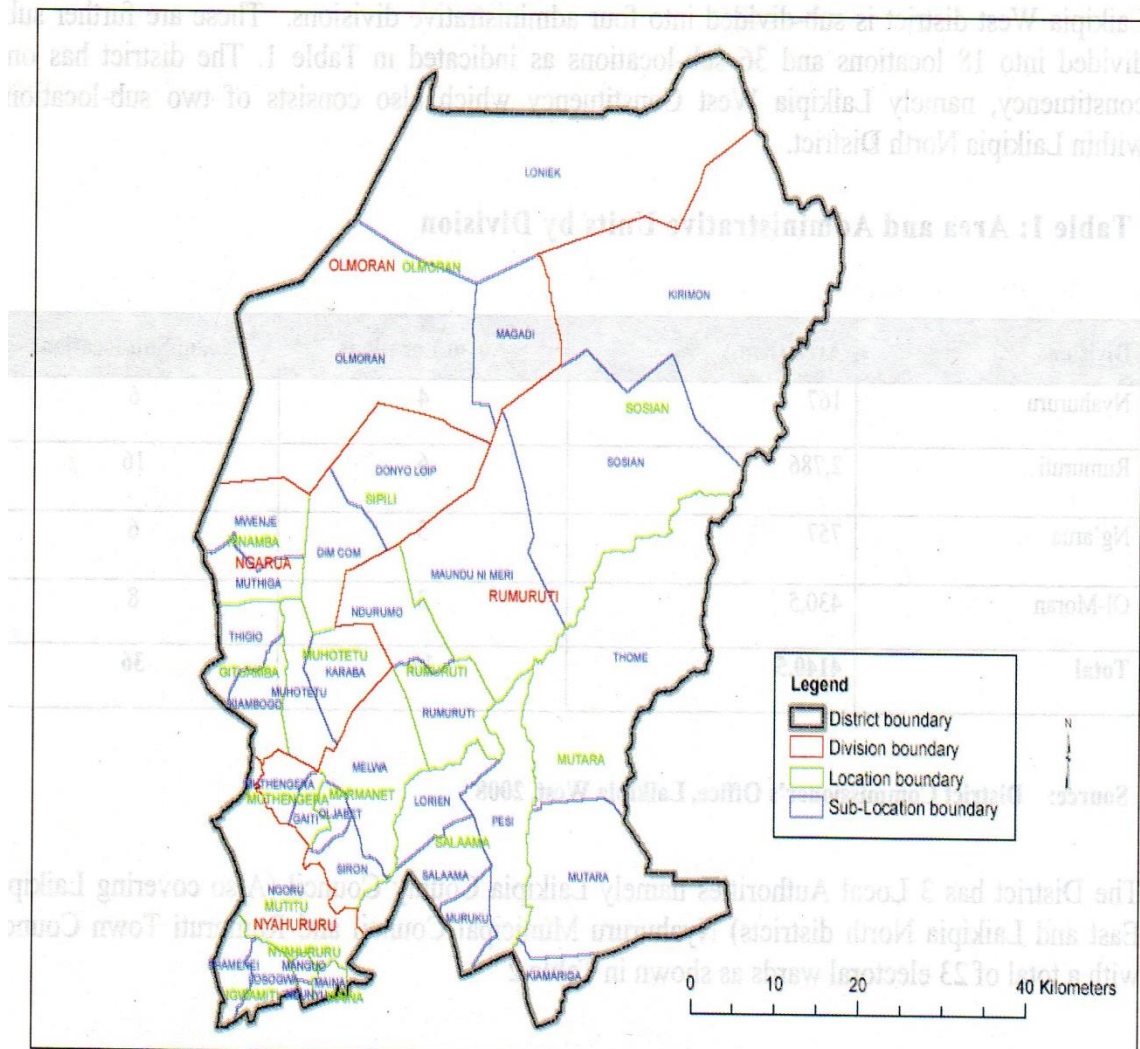


Source: KNBS (2009)



#### A4 A Site Map Showing the Location of Rumuruti Division

**Map 2: Laikipia West Administrative Boundaries**



**Source: KNBS (2009)**

**A5 Questionnaires**

Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies,  
School of Humanities and Social Sciences,  
Kenyatta University,  
P.O. Box 43844 – 00100,  
Nairobi

Cell phone - 0721429789

Dear respondents,

I am conducting research entitled: “Inter-ethnic Conflicts: Trends, Causes, Impacts and Interventions in Laikipia County, Kenya (1963 – 2010)”. The research aims at receiving voluntary and sincere responses on the causes of, impacts on livelihoods and intervention measures towards reducing inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division and the wider Laikipia County.

I assure you that the information sought is solely for the purpose of the academic research and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you in advance for your contribution.

Yours Sincerely,

Fredrick Kariuki Warurii  
Reg. No. C50-CE-15051-2008  
Email: [fredwarurii61@yahoo.com](mailto:fredwarurii61@yahoo.com)

### Respondent's Particulars

Name .....

Gender .....

Education level .....

Marital Status .....

Religious Affiliation .....

Year of birth .....

Ethnicity .....

Occupation/Position.....

Name of Organization .....

1. When did you settle in Rumuruti Division?  
.....
2. Which part of Kenya did the family come from before settling in Rumuruti Division.....
3. How did you acquire your current piece of land?  
.....  
.....  
.....
4. (a) What are your security threats?  
.....  
.....  
(b) Among the following what do you consider a security threat?  
Food Tribal clashes  
Theft Police brutality  
Banditry Hunger
5. What benefits do you get from the church or mosque in your locality?  
.....  
.....

6. Which categories/types of insecurity exist in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County?  
.....  
.....
7. How effective is the government's security deterrent measures in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County?  
.....  
.....
8. What effort has the government made to bring about peace and security in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County?  
.....  
.....
9. Which economic empowerment programmes would you advice the government to start in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County?  
.....  
.....  
.....
10. What avenues of government – citizen conflicts resolution consultations exist in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County?  
.....  
.....  
.....
11. What is the state of ethnic political representation in Laikipia West Constituency since 1963?  
.....  
.....  
.....
12. Which are some of the unpopular political decisions promoted by the government in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County?  
.....

- .....
- .....
13. Who benefits from insecurity in Rumuruti Division? Why do you think so?
- .....
- .....
14. Which are some of the specific resident community peace building initiative methods put in place in Rumuruti Division?
- .....
- .....
- .....
15. Which specific resident community peace building initiative would you want the government to adopt in Rumuruti Division?
- .....
- .....
- .....
16. What factors facilitate the occurrence of insecurity in Rumuruti Division?
- .....
- .....
17. Which are the challenges to Community security in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County?
- .....
- .....
18. What measures has the government put in place to offset the challenges of security in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County?
- .....
- .....
- .....
19. What efforts has the local community made to counter the security challenges in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County?

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

20. What effort has the government made to bring about food security in Rumuruti Division?

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

21. How has the local community contributed towards attainment of food security in Rumuruti Division?

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

22. How has the local community contributed to food insecurity in Rumuruti Division?

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

23. Which relief food distribution agents do you favour for Rumuruti Division among the following?

- International Organizations
- Non-governmental organizations
- Civil servants

Why?

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

24. What measures have the non-governmental organizations taken to help the community in offsetting the challenges of food security in Rumuruti Division?

.....

- .....
- .....
25. How has the government attempted to offset the challenges of attaining the community's' economic empowerment in Rumuruti Division?

.....

.....

.....

26. How has the existence of insecurity contributed to positive attributes in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County?

.....

.....

.....

27. How has economic and political marginalization led to unforeseen positive contribution in Rumuruti Division?

.....

.....

.....

28. What improvements should be made on the community based peace initiatives and leadership in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County?

.....

.....

.....

29. Which adverse impacts of inter-ethnic conflicts have prompted the communities and government to initiate peace efforts in Rumuruti Division?

.....

.....

.....

## A6: Interview Discussion Guide

### PartA      General Information

1. What is your age bracket?

- a. 18 – 25
- b. 26 - 35
- c. 36 - 45
- d. 46 – 55
- e. 55 and above

☐☐☐☐☐

2. What is your gender?

- a. Male
- b. Female

☐☐

3. What is your marital status?

- a. Married
- b. Not married
- c. Widow/Widower
- d. No response

☐☐☐ / ☐☐

4. What is your highest educational level?

- a. None
- b. Primary
- c. Secondary
- d. College
- e. University

☐☐☐☐☐

5. What is your ethnicity?

.....

.....

6. What is your religious affiliation?

.....



.....  
7. Present occupation .....

8. Position/designation: .....

9. How many years have you served in this position?

a. Less than 3 years

b. Between 3 – 6 years

c. Over 7 years

10. How long have you been a resident of Rumuruti Division?

a. 1 – 10 years

b. 11 – 25 years

c. 26 – 40 years

d. 41 and above years

**Part B****Interview for Public Servants**

1. Your position in the public service
 

District Security Officer	<input type="checkbox"/>	
D I D C officer	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Ministry of Agriculture & Livestock officials	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ASAL officials	<input type="checkbox"/>	
District Officer	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Chief	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Assistant Chief	<input type="checkbox"/>	
2. Name of your station .....
3. What are the security threats in Rumuruti Division? .....
4. What causes some of these security threats? .....
5. What are some of the impacts of these security threats? .....
6. What measures have been put in place in the past to eradicate the security threats? .....

7. What measures have you put in place to end the current security threats?

.....

.....

.....

8. What impedes the security measures currently put in place? .....

.....

.....

9. How can the government stop the impediments to security in Rumuruti Division.....

.....

10. Is food vulnerability a serious threat in Rumuruti Division?

Yes

☐

No

☐

11. What can be done to alleviate food related vulnerability in Rumuruti Division?

.....

.....

12. Why do you think members of the Provincial Administration should be involved in peace efforts within the communities living in Rumuruti Division?

.....

.....

.....

### Part C

#### Interview for Ethnic Community Leaders, Religious Leaders and Non-Governmental Organizations Leaders.

1. Your position in the community

Ethnic leader ☐

Religious leader ☐

NGO leader ☐

2. Area of leadership:

Which Ethnic group?

.....

Which religious group?

.....

Which NGO?

.....

3. What challenges does your leadership position portend within the communities in Rumuruti Division?

.....

.....

4. What causes the security threats in Rumuruti Division?

.....

.....

5. In what ways have the communities that you serve suffered due to insecurity threats in the area?

.....

.....

.....

6. In what ways have the threats due to insecurity affected food supply in Rumuruti Division?

.....

.....

7. How have you used your position to bring about peace within the communities in Rumuruti Division?

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

8. What should the government do in order to promote your efficiency in this regard?

.....  
 .....

9. What community initiatives have you put in place to partner with government in order to bring about peaceful co-existence of communities in Rumuruti Division?

.....  
 .....

10. What unique environmental problems heighten insecurity in Rumuruti Division?

.....  
 .....

11. Why do you think community leaders, religious leaders and N.G.O.s should be involved in peace initiatives in Rumuruti Division? .....

.....  
 .....

## Part D

### Interviews for IDPs

1. What year did IDPs develop in Rumuruti Division? .....  
.....
2. When did you become an IDP? .....  
.....
3. What circumstances led you to become an IDP? .....  
.....
4. What hardships do you undergo as an IDP? .....  
.....  
.....
5. Who gives the quickest response in improving your life as an IDP? .....  
.....
6. How would you want the government to solve your current predicament?  
.....  
.....
7. How can the existence of IDPs be eradicated for good in Rumuruti Division?  
.....  
.....  
.....
8. Which ethnic groups comprise the highest number of IDPs in Rumuruti  
Division? .....  
.....
9. What role should community leaders and the Provincial Administration play to  
eradicate the IDP problem? .....  
.....
10. Why do you think IDPs should be involved in peace initiatives in Rumuruti  
Division? .....  
.....

## Part E

### Interview for *Morans*

1. How did you become a *moran*? .....  
.....
2. Who is your source of authority and command as a *moran*? .....  
.....
3. What are your main roles as a *moran* in the community? .....  
.....
4. How does a *moran* acquire personal wealth and that of the community? .....  
.....
5. Should the government pay you a stipend for maintaining security within your communities? .....  
.....
6. How else would you want the government to promote you in your efforts to maintain peace in your community? .....  
.....
7. Should the government mop out weapons from you?  

Yes
☐

No
☐
8. If yes say why .....  

If no say why .....  
.....
9. What efforts should the government make to bring about economic empowerment to the *morans*? .....  
.....
10. Why do you think the *morans* should be involved in peace initiatives in Rumuruti Division? .....  
.....

## Part F

### Interview for Business Community

1. What kind of business enterprise do you operate? .....  
.....
2. How long have you been in this business in Rumuruti Division? .....  
.....
3. Who forms the majority of your customers? .....  
.....
4. Who are your suppliers? .....  
.....
5. Why did you decide on the current business? .....  
.....
6. What environmental related risks do you face in your current business? ...  
.....
7. What do you think the government and community leaders need to do to  
develop a progressive business environment in Rumuruti Division? .....  
.....
8. How quickly do the government agents respond to distress call around this  
market?  
.....
9. How should insecurity threats be solved in Rumuruti Division? .....  
.....
10. What prospects do food related businesses have in Rumuruti Division?  
.....
11. Why do you think businessmen should be involved in peace efforts in Rumuruti  
Division? .....  
.....