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The Institutional Canopy of Conservation:

Governance and Environmentality in East Africa (I-CAN)

McGill University – African Conservation Center

Research Scoping Report #5:

Land Conflicts around Rumuruti, Laikipia County, Kenya

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Cover Picture: Turkana people fleeing their villages with their livestock following Samburu raids in Maundu ni Mairi (see Section 3.6.1).

Table of Content

Acknowledgements

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Summary

This study, conducted in Laikipia County in November 2016, investigates land use conflicts in several communities, mostly around Rumuruti in Laikipia West Constituency (in Laikipia County). Being a scoping trip aimed at collecting baseline information to inform future research, it provides only a snapshot of conflicts and hypotheses about the key drivers of these conflicts.

In Maundu ni Mairi, Kikuyu, Samburu, and Turkana people migrate in Maasai land in the search of economic opportunities, engaging in pastoralist and farming activities. They sometimes enter into conflict with one-another but manage to find peaceful arrangements and cohabitate, unless one group receives external support, like when the government favors Kikuyu farmers to obtain land titles, or when County politicians favor Samburu pastoralists to access pastoral land.

In Luoniek, where the Pokot, Turkana and Borana people cohabitate, conflicts occurred between Samburu and Pokot and were settled by elders and/or Peace Committees. But here also, the presence of powerful external actors increases tensions. A large ranch owned by a white settler and mostly dedicated to conservation and tourism reduces the land available for grazing, while a major infrastructure project triggers a wave of land speculation that may further marginalize the local people.

In Wangwaci, peace agreements have been achieved after deadly conflicts occurred between Kikuyu farmers and Pokot pastoralists. A neighbouring private ranch owned by well-known white settler Kuki Gallmann creates frustration among communities that may exacerbate the conflict, as it appears that the presence of the ranch favors cattle raiding by Pokot pastoralists who use it as a base where they retreat after their attacks.

In all study sites, we witnessed or were informed about conflicts between Samburu people migrating from neighbouring counties with the backing of local politicians on the one hand, and settler ranches defended by Turkana staff on the other. These conflicts resulted in at least six casualties among Samburu and Turkana, during the one week we stayed in the area.

The study reveals the complexity of interactions between ethnic groups and between local and external stakeholders. Alliances are created between local and external, powerless and powerful actors. Local communities find ways to solve land and resources conflicts by involving elders and local institutions like Peace Committees, but peace agreements are much harder to achieve when large settler ranches, politicians, or other powerful actors are involved.

The study suggests that exploitative forms of pastoralism may develop in this context. External stakeholders may instrumentalize local communities to achieve their own agenda. Pastoralists may bear the brunt of the conflict by loosing their life in a game that mainly opposes politicians, settlers, and investors, as in the case of the Samburu and Turkana people who died in the attack on settlers' ranches or in their aftermath. We suggest conducting a high resolution mapping of conflicts in Laikipia County in order to reveal the large scale structure and minute details of these conflicts, and facilitate the work of civil society and government organizations involved in their resolution. We further suggest that future research focus on the social and economic processes that sustain new, exploitative forms of pastoralism.

1. Introduction

McGill University and the Indigenous Movement for Peace Advancement and Conflict Transformation (IMPACT), have partnered on the research project Institutional Canopy of Conservation (I-CAN)[1], and conducted a research scoping study[2] in various localities around Rumuruti, Laikipia West Constituency, Laikipia County, Kenya, from November 7 to November 13, 2016. The team included Jacques Pollini, Research Associate on the I-CAN project at McGill University, Ramson Karmushu and Esther Kuraru, from IMPACT, and Franklin Mejooli, a field assistant recruited locally. The purpose was to provide baseline information to facilitate the selection of research sites for graduate students and other researchers working within I-CAN, and to provide information about ongoing conflicts linked to resources access. IMPACT and McGill (through PhD student Graham Fox) mostly worked in the eastern half of Laikipia County, which led to the decision to conduct this field work in its western half, around Rumuruti, to complement the data and insights which were already generated.

Contrary to other I-CAN research scoping studies, we did not focus on a single community or Group Ranch. The objective was to understand conflict related to resources in the area, which required visiting several sites for the purpose of comparison, and collecting stories of conflicts linked to resource access in each site. This report will thus not adopt the outline of other research scoping reports in which we presented the successive history of the area, the livelihood strategies, the governance system, and the challenges for the future. Instead, we will present each visited site, tell the story of the conflict that occurred in that site, and study how these conflicts relate to livelihood strategies. In the discussion section, we will discuss whether a general pattern can be derived from the comparison of these conflicts, before suggesting a few directions for future research.

Prior to this exercise, Jacques Pollini and IMPACT conducted a research scoping study in Girgir Group Ranch in Samburu County, which neighbours Isiolo and Laikipia to the North. Once combined, the results of these two studies will contribute to a better understanding of land uses, resource conflicts, and livelihood and conservation challenges in Laikipia and neighbouring counties.

2. Methodology

We used the same methodology as for other research scoping studies conducted by the I-CAN project under the supervision of Dr. Pollini. The approach is based on informal interviews. We do not use questionnaires and do not organize focus groups. We conduct informal interviews using an analytical grid that owes a lot to the school of comparative agriculture (Cochet 2015),[3] but is also influenced by the works of Scott (1976)[4] on the moral economy of peasants, Chayanov (1984 [1922])[5] on peasant

[1] http://www.accafrica.org/our_work/explore_programs/conserving-biodiversity-in-east-africa/i-can-institutional-canopy-of-conservation/ ; https://www.idrc.ca/en/project/institutional-canopy-conservation ; http://cicada.world/research/programs/i-can/

[2] The approach presents some similarities with rapid Rural Appraisals (RRA): it has a comprehensive scope, the purpose being to understand how a landscape works and what are the main social and environmental challenges faced by this landscape. But as we use an approach quite different from what is typically done in RRA exercises, we do not use that term and prefer to call our exercise a research scoping study.

[3] Cochet, H. 2015. *Comparative agriculture*. Versailles: Editions Quae.

[4] Scott, J. 1976. *The moral economy of the peasants: Rebellion and subsistence in Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

[5] Chayanov, A. 1986 (1922) *The theory of peasant economy*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

economics, Netting (1993)[6] on smallholder farming, Lhoste et al. (1993)[7] on pastoralism, and Ribot (2007)[8] on representation in government institutions. To study conflicts, we did not adopt a specific framework. We asked our informant to tell us the story of the conflicts they experienced as they unfolded chronologically, and then asked questions for clarification. Informants were recruited using a snowball sampling strategy. Typically, when visiting a community, we met local leaders to explain the purpose of our work and asked a first set of general questions about local livelihood strategies and challenges faced by the community. Generally, conflicts were quickly revealed in these conversations. We then asked additional details about the causes and consequences of these conflicts and identified additional informants that may have a different view or may know about key aspects of them.

Given the short duration of the exercise (8 days of field work) and the broad range of topics to cover, we do not claim a high level of certainty for every statement made in this report. We do not describe the situation of Rumuruti as it is. We describe the situation as we are told it is by a limited number of informants. We derive conclusions that should not be considered as definitive conclusions. They are, rather, hypothesis to be tested by future research. But by never asking the same question twice, we make it possible to ask a much broader range of questions and collect a larger number of stories than what is typically done in baseline surveys. Triangulation, rather than replication, can then be used as a strategy to increase the level of certainty of our statements and conclusions. This is why, in the end, we believe the story we tell is meaningful, even though we may make false statements about certain aspects of it.

All interview notes have been transcribed and are provided in Appendix 1. These are not exact transcriptions of the informants' speeches. They are transcription of our notes, taken as accurately as was technically feasible. Most interviews were conducted in the Maa language and translated, meaning we took notes of the translation, not of the original speech. The "citations" in the report, referenced I# where # is the number of the interview, or IMPACT when the informant is a team mate from IMPACT, are thus citations of notes, edited for clarity. They are not exact citations of informants' speeches. But they reflect these speeches better than if we were just using these notes to tell a story of our own. The list of interviews is given in Appendix 3.

There are only very few bibliographic references in this report. The purpose of the exercise was to collect firsthand, up to date information, to make this information available in the short term to people interested in the study area, and to provide an independent view of the situation in that area, in order to complement existing views available in the literature. Hence all information provided in the report comes from interviews conducted in localities around Rumuruti, except for information in boxes that was extracted from the literature.

[6] Netting, R. M. 1993. *Smallholders, householders: Farm families and the ecology of intensive, sustainable agriculture*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

[7] Lhoste P., Dollé V., Rousseau J., Soltner D., 1993. *Manuel de zootechnie des régions chaudes : Les systèmes d'élevage.* Paris : Ministère de la Coopération, coll. Manuels et précis d'élevage.

[8] Ribot, J. 2007. *Dans L'Attente de la Démocratie : La politique des choix dans la décentralisation de la gestion des ressources naturelles*. Washington, D.C.: World Resources Institute.

3. Results

3.1. Overview of the area

Rumuruti (Figures 1 and 2 in Appendix 2) is a small town located in Laikipia West, 2 km away from Laikipia North, and west of Laikipia East, which are the three constituencies (Sub-Counties or Districts in the old terminology) of Laikipia County. Laikipia is a mid-altitude plain with wetter conditions than counties bordering it in the North (I1). There is an important contrast between localities located east or west from the Ewaso Ng'iro River. On the east side, most land is occupied by Maa speaking communities or settlers to whom it was given during the colonial period. On the west side, these two groups exist but much of the land that was given to settlers was taken back by the government after independence and given to non-Maa speaker, which resulted in a more complex mosaic of a population belonging to various ethnic groups (I2).

Laikipia County is a hotspot for conservation. It hosts several private ranches and Group Ranches that developed conservation activities during the last decade. Several conservancies, including Ol Ari Nyiro Conservancy, Olpajeta, Solio, Oljogi, and Borana Conservancy, protect rhinos, with a budget of 7 million USD/year (I18).

Two major infrastructure projects in Kenya are impacting Laikipia. One is water: there are 7 dams of considerable size in the catchment area, including a mega dam on the border between Laikipia and Isiolo Counties. There is also a railway project, the LAPPSET[9] infrastructure project, which will carry oil from Sudan to Lamu (I18), and a dry port city infrastructure project in Luoniek, one of our study sites.

Today, the area is inhabited by pastoral communities, mainly Samburu, with also Turkana, Pokot, and Tugen people. There are also Kikuyu farmers. Aerial imagery shows a gradient of agricultural occupation from Rumuruti to the mountains located farther southwest, evoking a situation of agricultural frontier where the excess of population among farmer groups living in these mountains spreads over pastoral land on the Laikipia plateau.

Different ethnic groups generally live in different villages, in distinct hamlets, but not far from each other. There are exceptions though, like in Katutura, where Samburu and Turkana people coming from Sananguri and Kinamba live together, on a plot that was given to them by the government (I1).

Multiple conflicts exist between communities. As one informant puts it, “this year is a bad year but something small can cause a fight in Rumuruti. We cannot predict it. If you have a dog and I kick your dog, you will just kick me and the fight starts from there” (I1). Conflicts are generally caused by competition for grazing land, scarcity of key resources like water, drought, and food shortage. They also have political causes as “each community wants to be represented by its own leaders, by having a Member of Parliament (MP) or Members of County Assembly (MCA) issued from its group” (I1).

The presence of white settlers owning large ranches in the area contributes significantly to these conflicts. These settlers raise cattle, protect wildlife, and operate eco-touristic businesses. Land in their ranch is well endowed with grass even during the dry season because they have little livestock and focus on wildlife conservation (I1).

[9]See http://www.president.go.ke/projects/lappset-projects/

On the other hand, due to climate change, population growth, and increase in the number of livestock, the Turkana and Samburu rangelands north from Laikipia, located in drier areas at lower altitude, are highly degraded. Herders from Baringo, Isiolo and Samburu County migrate to Laikipia and encroach on the ranches and conservancies (I1). When the tension is high and their security is at stake, white settlers reduce the conflict by letting livestock enter their ranch, expecting that the trespassers will go back to their land after it rains. It is a "game of push and pull," an expression we heard several times. Settlers also try to set up peace agreements and to coordinate grazing through negotiations that involves the Laikipia Wildlife Forum,[10] a stakeholder platform that brings ranches and communities together to the same table and proposes technical solutions such as "holistic grazing" or "holistic management"[11] (I1).

Our study did not focus on ranch invasions because much investigation seems to be ongoing on that subject already. Instead, we studied the complex linkages between resource base conflicts occurring in the area, in order to produce a broader picture and explore connexions between the conflicts that relate to large ranches and those that occur between communities. We provide some information about one ranch invasion, though, in Section 3.6.

3.2. Maundu ni Mairi

3.2.1. Settlement waves and dwindling of resources

Maundu ni Mairi (Figures 2 to 6), a sub-region in the Sosian region (Laikipia North Constituency, in Laikipia County) is inhabited by a mix of Maasai, Samburu, Turkana and Kikuyu people (I1). It is divided into 4 segments or clusters of settlements: one segment is inhabited by Maasai people, one by Kikuyu, and the two others by a mix of Kikuyu and Turkana. All groups combine farming and herding activities in various ways, the Maasai also being involved in farming. The Chairman of the sub-region, a Maasai, and a few other informants told us the story of that place, or possibly of a broader area than just Maundu ni Mairi, explaining the settlements of successive groups belonging to different ethnies:

> The Maasai community was the first on this land (I2), which it used for dry season grazing, while Kikuyu people were the first to establish permanent settlements around the rivers and wetlands, where settlements are concentrated today (I4).
>
> Then white settlers came during the colonial period. The first waves were retired army people, like Captains, Majors, or Generals from the British army who fought here to colonize our land. They were given a token by the colonists when they retired. There were also soldiers from the first and second world wars. They were bad settlers because they were using the army power to control the Maasai community. That's how the Narok, Laikipia, and Samburu [all Maa speaking people] have been separated. The places [where these people were living] were connected but have been separated by the settlers. The leadership became difficult because the army separated us. The white settlers used the community as workers to cultivate the land. They tried to exhaust us to prevent us from seeing what they were doing. We were just focussed on ploughing the land and looking after animals and envisioned nothing else like development, so the settlers were able to take the land without anybody resisting. That's what happened to Laikipia (I2).
>
> These settlers are still here. The guys from the colonial army have been here up to now. It is unfair because when we are caught in the ranch, we are fined 100,000 KSh and some are being charged 5 million KSh, just for grazing. The fee for grazing and trespassing in Kenya is 500 KSh but

[10] See http://www.laikipia.org/

[11] http://laikipia.org/holistic-management-a-rangelands-solution-for-laikipia-or-a-hole-for-donor-money/

> the judicial people are asked by the settlers to give a very high fine, up to 1 million, so that the community will not graze anymore (I2).

After independence, most settlers left and their land was given to Kikuyu elites, such as "George Mwai, and Kega Kimani, who was given Suguroi Ranch. A Provincial Commissioner (PC) received the Mathenge farm" (I2). Some land was also given to the Kikuyu people, or appropriated by Turkana and other people who used to work for the ranch and stayed after the settlers left. These caused a great transformation~~,~~ from a mostly forested landscape used by Maasai pastoralists and ranchers to a mosaic of communities and land uses:

> Initially, Maundu ni Mairi was visited by Maasai herders during the dry season, because it offered good pastures for livestock around wetlands (I4). Then farming communities started to settle and the place started to change. The first communities who came were Kikuyu and Turkana. They were dependent on trees, on charcoal burning (I2). They were also the first communities to practice farming (I4).
>
> When I settled here in 1983, the area was not passable because it was still a big forest. All the small valleys had water and we could find all types of wild animals. The bridge and the swamp area were not passable because of water. There were 2 small rivers or valleys that were permanently flowing, close to here. These were big, permanent rivers (I2).
>
> The Kikuyu progressively took the land. They got the title deeds from the government and left the local communities without the land. There is a farm here. It was a ranch before. It is called Narok. When the settlers left, the Kikuyu divided the land, took it, and managed to obtain private titles. When the colonial period ended, the ruling community was the Kikuyu so the government was on their side. That is how they owned the land that was left by the settlers. The first president failed to give back the land to the Maasai community. He divided the plot to Kikuyu communities and distributed the land to them (I2).
>
> There are also Kikuyu people who come from the highlands in the Aberdare because they had nowhere to stay. We are willing to accommodate them because we feel pity for them as they have nowhere to go (I2).
>
> The Turkana community came here as workers for the settlers and stayed when the settlers left. There were conflicts also in Turkana land. They were fighting. So this became a peace zone for them. The Pokot community had just migrated here to search for grass and water, similar to the Tugen, just like any pastoralist community. The second president of Kenya was a Tugen so he favored them by giving them land here (I2).
>
> Regarding the Samburu, they are Maasai communities. They are just Samburu by name. The land belongs to Maasai and Samburu people. Both speak Maa (I2).
>
> The area changed not because of the Maasai, but because of the Kikuyu, Turkana, Tugen, and Pokot who cleared all the trees. The Maasai used to be scared of the place because it was a forest but then they were not scared anymore once this forest was cleared. The area changed because of this big number of people who came to stay here. The rain came almost all the time but there was no grass because the livestock population increased. These two things, population increase and livestock increase, brought problems to the community: no water, and no grass (I2).

Our informants then explain how increasing pressure on resources increased tensions and conflicts with white settlers:

> Then there was a drought and we had to depend on the ranchers. When we encroach upon the ranches, it starts a conflict. There are animals coming to these ranches from Isiolo and Samburu. They travel a long distance from the desert, and they come here as they depend on the same ranches, so it brings problems. The settlers try to defend their ranch but they fail because there are so many cows. The settlers accept local livestock in the ranch but herders coming from far away want to take the opportunity to get in and enter by force, so it brings conflict. All Maasai communities here know that this land belonged to them in the past. The names of all the places, like the rivers, are Maasai names. Nanyuki is a Maasai name [meaning "red"]. Naivasha is a Maasai name [meaning "lake"]. Nakuru too [it means "bare"]. From Nakuru and all around to Nairobi [which means "cold"], they are all Maasai names. It was Maasai land before. So this brings problems. Everyone who grew up in that community remembers it used to be Maasai land so these problems will never end. The solution, if the government comes to visit, is to give land to the Maasai communities. They will appreciate that land is given to them. Otherwise, the fight will never end. The settlers and ranchers will never be in peace (I2).

Today, refugees from various places, such as Samburu, Isiolo, Doldol, and Baringo, continue to settle in Maundu ni Mairi. They come to find a place to farm or raise livestock, because there is a high population and lack of pasture in their home land (I2 in I4), and because they flee conflicts (I5). They are Pokot, Turkana, Samburu and Kikuyus (I2 in I4). They are given small plots on government land that was classified as "veterinary land" (in fact, according to IMPACT, it was used as livestock holding ground after independence):

> They built little houses there, surviving by doing small business, being hired as casual workers on farms and by a Chinese company that builds the roads, until they move away or start to do farming or raise livestock for themselves. Many people come here just to be resident in this area but do not ask for land to cultivate. In order to farm, one needs to be prepared and have some capital so many do not even ask for land. If they asked, they would be given land as well. As a consequence, the land being cultivated increases every year (I5).

Migrants do not necessarily stay permanently. There seems to be an important turn over, with people coming, farming the land a few years, and then moving in search of better opportunities:

> The guy who was living here [where I farm] migrated. He said he had opened the land and ploughed it so the land was soft and I had to pay for that opening. He was a Kikuyu. … Some people just come and plough. Some buy land from someone who is leaving. When someone migrates away, the land is then taken [by the Peace Committee] and divided amongst the community. Some people are leaving not because of security, but because of flooding. Once we cultivated the entire land here but when there is a long rainy season, the water disturbs us so some people migrate. Both Maasai and Kikuyu migrate, but Maasai don't go far away while Kikuyu go very far away (I4).

Another informant approves of this description of the situation. He puts the emphasis on the scarcity of resources in a context of population growth and appropriation of large estates by settlers:

> It is the correct thing. Population increases and the land does not. When we were small boys, there was enough land to graze livestock. We even used to practice holistic grazing management, keeping one side for the dry spell, so that the cows had enough grass even during a drought. And then when the population increased, the land became smaller in such a way that we started to think about the land that the settlers had. As initial owners of the land, we became squatters. We had no place for our livestock. So the cows nowadays are taken to the settler ranches because there is no other way and that's the source of conflict. The only livestock we have at home are

> shoats. Cows are far away and when it rains, the grass does not grow because of the high population of shoats. And then there is not enough water for the livestock. The small river is pumped for the farms. Those living downstream don't get water. That brings another problem. Those are the very big problems we have (I2).

3.2.2. Governance and conflicts between communities

Today, these communities are often in conflict in spite of attempts to cohabitate harmoniously. Maasai people try to accommodate other groups. Each group has members occupying some leadership position. The Turkana have leadership in the Member of County Assembly (MCA); the Member of Parliament (MP) is a Maa-speaking person; the Chairman of the Council of Elders is a Maasai; and there are Turkana Chiefs, Maasai Chiefs, and Pokot Chiefs, at the regional level (I2). I4 describes the type of conflicts that occurred in the area and how they were addressed:

> The first conflict that occurred was between the Maa and the farmers, because the livestock were damaging the farms. Before the Maa people settled permanently, they made arrangements with the Kikuyu to graze on the corn left over after the harvest, paying with money. But conflict arose when farmers did not allow the Maasai to graze at all, even in open areas that were not cultivated. The Maasai community thought that to solve the conflict, there should be 2 communities, each electing its own leader. The communities also created a Peace Committee with both communities represented in it. They started to cooperate. Livestock could come to graze after the harvest, while farmers could more easily find land to farm (I4).

> The Maasai accommodate every ethnic group in the world. We can accommodate all the communities that come here, Turkana, Meru, Pokot, if they agree to stay with us and do not grab the land like the Kikuyu do. We can live in peace and intermarry. We do that with the Pokot and with the Turkana. But the people who poison the place are the Kikuyu because they say that the Maasai should move (I2).

The main conflicts seem to occur when Kikuyu migrants attempt to grab land rights through their connections with corrupted elites, and by playing tricks with ranchers to reduce political support to pastoralists:

> The Maasai community is not satisfied because the land is given to other communities so they try to fight back. There are people who come to claim the land. They have the right paper, the title deed, so they say it is their land. We do not trust these papers because they obtain them in a corrupted way. The people in the paper [title deed] office are their relatives and friends. So we are defending our land (I2).

> The Kikuyu tried to grab land by issuing a title and selling it to a white man. They obtained a title and showed the land to that white buyer. After he had bought the land, the white man was warned that he should not settle there. Then there was a conflict. The fence was cut down by the initial land owners and the government came and shot Maasai people. This land conflict then went to legal procedures. Whoever wins the court case will settle the land in the end. There are other cases like that. There are many. In between Ilpolei and Nanyuki, there is Segera ranch, and also Loisaba conservancy (I2).

Judicial staff are mostly Kikuyu people. Settlers are afraid of Kikuyu because they are political leaders. The settlers do everything that the Kikuyu tell them to do because they worry about the government. The Kikuyu incite Maasai herders to bring their livestock inside the ranch, and then make sure that they

are charged and fined, to justify that Maasai people should be removed from the land, making it possible for the Kikuyu to get the land (I2).12

The Maasai people are increasingly well prepared to resist land appropriation by Kikuyu because they now also have educated people in their community:

> Now the Maasai people also go to school and understand how the other communities obtain the land. They see it is through corruption so our land must be given back. We are not claiming the place where the migrants settled in the past. We claim the places where they have not settled yet. We are not giving up [he speaks with strength and conviction]. My grandfather was the father of these old men before the colonial government. When the colonial government came here, they appointed a man from the Gilisho family as the first Chief in this area because he was found living where there is now the GG secondary school, which is where his home was. The Gilisho is still a big family in the Maasai community so they believe the land is theirs (I2).

White settlers are not anymore welcome. They would not actually own the land but would have received a lease that is now expired:

> We do not want to leave more time to the white settlers on this land. Their time is over. They should go. They were given a lease of 99 years and it ended in 2004 (I2).

To reduce conflicts, the government and the community set up a Peace Committees which gathers members from all clusters of settlements within Maundu ni Mairi, and/or from all sub-regions within Sosian region, with representatives of all groups. It is not crystal clear at which scale the committee operates but there may be some flexibility, with different committee members being involved depending on the conflict being addressed. I4 describes the roles of the Peace Committee:

> If a person wants to farm, he/she visits the Peace Committee to obtain a piece of land. There is no fee to pay but one can only be given 1 or 2 acres, so that everyone can be given something. The Committee also manages grazing patterns, and talks to ranchers (Loisaba, Lecarleto, Colson, and Lepoise) to successfully obtain authorization to enter their ranch when there is a big drought. It controls the conversion of pastures into agricultural land, maintains corridors so that livestock can access the water, and prevents excessive conversion as the swamp that provides water to the community. The committee also investigates when there are clashes between individuals or communities, when livestock enters farms for instance. When the committee is unable to solve a conflict, the case can be brought to court, which happens occasionally during the dry spells (I4).

There is also a broader Peace Committee, also called Council of Elders, apparently at County level, which plays a variety of roles beyond maintaining peace:

> I am the Chairman of the Council of Elders for the whole of Laikipia County. We have 5 districts and select 25 officials for each district. District is the name given to Sub-Counties [Constituencies] in the old system. The elders sit down in that Council. They are 125 in total. We select the Chairman, the Secretary, and the Treasurer. I play a very big role when there is a conflict. I call the elders to sit down and discuss how to solve the issue. We also discuss about grazing and drug abuse among the youth. We have to guide the youth in the right direction when they want to marry. We are together with the County government and the national government. Now for instance, there is a conflict. We sit and call the national and County government so that they can

[12] The explanation of this mechanism was not totally clear and we need to investigate it more.

> come and help solve the problem. I am registered as a Councillor now, elected in this place (I2 in I4).

To reduce encroachment on their land, Maasai people also buy the land, build schools, hospitals, markets, and churches to show that they settle permanently, and do conservation. When asked if Maasai do farming to resist encroachment or because they like it, our informant answered:

> Yes we are cultivating the land. We do what the Kikuyu do to defend our land. We do it there, in Marura, where we pushed out the Kikuyu and started to farm ourselves. Yes, you can visit there. We are the leaders so no one will ask you questions. There is also another place up there, called Lorora. There are no Kikuyu in these places (I2).

But conflicts remain a permanent threat:

> Peace and security in this area are not guaranteed. Sometimes there is peace and you think there would be no clash again and suddenly there is a violent clash. We were in peace for months and what came tonight [see Section 3.6.1.] means there won't be peace for a while. There is not a single community that did not fight against another one (I4).

Moreover, Maasai people feel that they are marginalized by government policies, and that they lack recognition, even for obtaining basic civil rights such as right to vote, which may be detrimental to achieving peace:

> We appreciate that you write about us so that the whole world can see the problems that we have. There is not a single president that has seen the Laikipia people as people. We are the poorest people because we are not even seen. There is not even a secondary school. The classrooms are not even well constructed. This last election, we got one MP from the Maasai community and that was the first time we saw a classroom made with bricks. We have just seen a shining star fall into the community. Every little thing you can do, even just writing books about us, we will appreciate (I2).

> We are left behind in obtaining ID cards, which are required to obtain voter registration. There is a policy that puts a veto on us for obtaining an ID card. The Maasai are living in 2 countries and there are cases in which Tanzanian Maasai come to Kenya and get an ID card to vote in Kenya. The government complicates the process of obtaining ID cards to stop that (I2).

3.2.3. Livelihood strategies

3.2.3.1. Raising livestock

The area used to be a dry season pasture but today, some livestock remains here while other livestock moves to the Aberdare or Mount Kenya for dry season grazing. There are not enough grazing resources locally (I4), probably because of the development of farming. The risk of crop damage may also explain this change. During the wet season, livestock stays up on the surrounding hills, in proximity to the swamps and rivers where it can access water (I4).

Today, farming plays quite a significant role in the economy but Maasai people remain attached to pastoralism, combining the two activities:

> If I could have a big place to graze with a permanent supply of grass, I would make higher profits with livestock compared to farming. If the livestock had enough grass, it would reproduce all the time. We would not need any more money if we had enough livestock and enough grass. We would drink milk and would not need to buy food (I3).

> I have a preference for shoats, which can make me rich more easily than cows because they reproduce quickly. When a ram is 5 months old, it can be sold to get money (I3).

This informant (I3) combines faming and pastoralism because he does not have enough grazing resources to feed the number of animals required to sustain his family. We asked him what this number would be, although his answer turns to be the number of livestock he needs while doing farming:

> We are just 2 kids and the parents. If I had enough grazing, I would need 100 shoats and 20 cows. That would be 10 castrated rams, 10 castrated male goats, and all the rest would be female. Out of these 80 female shoats, 30 would reproduce and I would sell 20 and keep 10. Goats and sheep reproduce anytime, twice a year generally. Whenever there are visitors, I always do goat or sheep slaughtering. I also slaughter when someone in the family is sick, and use herbs to cure them. For the cows, I would have 1 bull and 3 oxen. The others would be female. They reproduce once a year and I could get 10 cows every year if there is grass. I would sell 3 of them. If I do both farming and livestock, I need 100 shoats, 20 cows, and 2 acres of farming land (I3).

3.2.3.2. Farming by Maasai people

As we have seen above, one of the strategies adopted by Maasai people to resist encroachment by Kikuyu farmers is to farm themselves, in order to assert property rights on land suitable for farming, but also because they eventually appreciate the benefits of farming. We met a Maasai farmer who explains how he developed farming:

> I was born, grew up, and married in Narok, just up there, but as there was no river, no water during some part of the year, I migrated here, because of drought and famine. There is water here. It is a good land for the animals. When I arrived here, I had livestock but there was a community of people farming. So I started buying the food from these people who were farming. I saw that they had enough food from farming so I copied them. These people from whom we bought food and who were farming were from the Maasai and Samburu communities (I3).
>
> I started with tomato farming, just like you can see there (similar to the tomatoes visible on Figure 6). I looked for capital and bought the material I needed: a pipe to bring water, drums for medicine, a generator to pump water all the way from the river, hoes, and the poles to support the tomatoes. It was a challenge to get the money because I wanted so many things at once. For 1 acre of land, you use 30 sacks of fertilizer. I sold 30 sheep or goats for 4,000 KSh on average and got 120,000 in total. I cultivated 1 acre of tomatoes and tried to calculate the difference between the money I spent and the money I got. The money I spent was more than what I earned. I tried a second time. I changed from tomatoes to maize. On one acre of maize, I spent 20,000 KSh to buy all the things I needed. Just 20,000! Then I harvested 20 sacks of maize, sold for 40,000 in total, so the benefit was 20,000 (I3).
>
> I have been doing that for 2 years. I am still transitioning and trying to see what is better between farming and raising livestock. The smallest thing that I have done is maize farming but it brings big profit. People say maize is a small thing compared to tomatoes but for me this is what gives the most profit. After getting the profit from the maize, I had remaining money from the 120,000 KSh so I cultivated more land, and planted tomatoes. I am now starting to sell the tomatoes I planted. When the price is good, you can be very successful with the tomatoes. They bring quick profit (I3).
>
> I learned about the benefits of farming by working on Kikuyu farms. After doing the weeding, I came back to my land to plow and farm for myself. But I don't do the work myself. I hire people to do the work. I am also a livestock keeper so I manage the farm. My wife is on the livestock

> keeping side. Right now I have 2 acres of planted tomatoes. It takes 3 months from planting to harvesting. You harvest the fourth month. For 2 acres, labour costs 25,000 KSh per month, and fertilizer and medicine 30,000 per month. Some people also grow cabbages, spinach, pepper, wheat, and watermelon. I don't grow these crops (I3).
>
> I hired Kikuyu or non-Kikuyu, as long as they are willing to do the work. We use tractors, but not ox-ploughs, to plough the land the first time. It costs 6,000/acre. The second time, when the land has been already ploughed, costs 3,000 (I3).
>
> The main problem is the fluctuation of price: I can have losses or get very little when the price is low. The second problem is diseases that can affect all your crops and you are left with a loss. Third, wild animals can come to your field and destroy the crops (I3).
>
> Even though Maasai people developed farming out of necessity, they seem to have a positive view of it today. I3 sees farming as a source of peace because it "eradicates the raiding of livestock." People are busy farming, which "brings the peace" (I3).

3.2.3.3. Farming by Kikuyu people

Kikuyu people focus on farming but face difficulties because of conflict between communities, even when they do not enter into the category of land grabbers. A Kikuyu farmer told us the story of his settlement in Maundu ni Mairi:

> I first went to farm in Oloitoktok but land was expensive there, so I came back. The land here is good to do business farming like I want to do. To obtain land, I visited the Chief. He introduced me to the Village Elders and they gave me a piece of land. I had to pass through the elder who is living around where I farm. It is easy to talk with the elders and be given land. No, we do not have to give gifts. Then I uprooted all the tree stumps, hired the tractor to plough and soften the land, and grew the crops. But the land is not mine. I have no right to sell it or rent or give it to my kids. I can cultivate it but if I stop or migrate to another place, another person can be given that land to cultivate. Yes, it works that way for all people who cultivate land here (I5).

According to these informants, conflicts between communities would not be a major issue in general, although the fear of escalation is there:

> There are some minor conflicts between agriculturalists and livestock keepers. It is minor but it is there. If animals come onto agricultural land, the best thing to do is to talk to the people to whom the animals belong. We talk without aggressiveness and between ourselves, without bringing the case to the government. I don't even need to call for the Peace Committee. We talk just between the two of us. True, some Kikuyu people have left. They were doing farming and they left. There were some clashes and they faced security issues. They felt the situation was not good and they migrated because they were residents in other places. The land is productive here but there is no security and they had other options. They went back to where they were before. I don't feel secure either. If they wanted to kill me, it would be very easy to do that. I am worried, but not to the point of running away (I5).

Statements are sometimes contradictory, probably reflecting a hesitation to reveal the whole truth:

> Whenever the pastoral community comes and sees green leaves, like tomatoes and spinach, they will bring the livestock here and there will be clashes. So if the government finds other places for livestock, that will solve the conflict (I5).

A Samburu farmer, who attended our interview, suggests the following rules to maintain a good relationship with the pastoralist community:

> First, we shouldn't do anything big. We should just do farming. If we had livestock here, we would be a target. We would attract people who raid. Second, we have to follow the rules of the community. We are not going to extend farming beyond where they told us because the rest of the land is for grazing. The wild animals coming at night worry us more than the community and the livestock. No compensation is being paid when wildlife creates troubles. This is an elephant corridor. Just a week ago, elephants came through here (I5).

> Intermarriage exists and may contribute to building trust between communities, but they are not a guarantee of peace. When there is a conflict, people "just fight and don't think about where they got married" (I5).

Water also requires negotiation between communities but no major conflict seems to exist at this level:

> There is a dialog in the community about how to use the water. There is water rationing. If you are here upstream, you have to water the plant at night, and in the day you allow the water to flow downstream to the rest of the community. There are other rules when there is a very bad drought. The government may come and ask the people to use less water, or no water at all, to allow people downstream to get water (I5).

Eventually, there is also perception that local conflicts between farmers and herders are linked to the conflicts that occur between settlers and communities:

> The communities are conflicting on small pieces of land when the livestock comes on the farm, while the government knows that the ranchers have very big pieces of land. If you could influence the government so that they talk to the settlers to allow the livestock to come on their land, that would avoid the conflicts (I5).

3.2.3.4. Human-wildlife interaction and conservancies

There are buffaloes and hippopotami in the swamps of Maundu ni Mairi. They graze together with cattle during the dry season. Sometimes the government comes and brings buffaloes to the park or elsewhere with a helicopter (I4). I4 describes the problems caused by wildlife, and evokes the absence of government compensation to losses:

> Wildlife come to graze at night on vegetable farms, which forces farmers to hire watchmen to drive them away. Lions kill livestock: 10 to 20 cows per year. There are leopards too and they kill a lot. I cannot count. And then the worst for the shoats are the hyenas. They can even get inside a home a kill 30 at once. When they find 50 goats in the bush, they can kill all of them, without even eating them. There are even human losses. Seven people have been killed by elephants in this area, during different years, just in Maundu ni Mairi. There is even a case where a hyena injured people. The hyena went to the house, causing a lot of injuries to children and their mother. Up to now they have not been compensated. That was 4 years ago. No compensation is paid for crop damage, even when the victim complains and writes a report. No one has received compensation from the government to date and one would be jailed by the Kenya Wildlife Service if he were to kill a wild animal. We are not satisfied with that. We do a lot to improve the economy of the community. We are selling livestock to the hotels. But no one is helping us back. No one tries to secure livestock from wild animals and get places to graze our livestock. We wrote records to KWS but nothing has happened (I4).

There are no community conservancies in the area. The reason would be conflicts. As our informant puts it, "we don't have conservancies here because we are still fighting on this land, so it is impossible" (I2). Community conservancies, like the Koija, Naibonga, Lentile and Sabuk conservancies, are located on the

other side of the Ewaso Ng'iro River, farther east. Our informant is not opposed to the creation of community conservancies but says this cannot be done unless conflicts over the land are solved:

> It would be good if we had our own conservancy but the problem is the conflict on the land. It would give employment opportunities, and if we had money from sponsors, we would use it to educate students and send them to school and college. Also, we want to keep wild animals so that they attract tourists (I2).

White settlers, on the other hand, created private conservancies. Our informant describes the shift from livestock raising to conservation in private ranches:

> When that idea came here, even animals that were outside the ranches were put inside the conservancies, and then they put up fences to keep these animals inside. There were grewii zebras in the community but now you don't see a single one. They were all driven inside. And then they shifted from doing ranching to doing conservation and built lodges for tourists. They started horticulture farming too, which they had not done before, and they have a research center (I2).

3.2.4. Conclusion

Maundu ni Mairi is an interesting example which shows how communities with different livelihood strategies influence each other, manage their differences, and eventually cohabitate. The place was mostly forested and water was abundant. It was initially used by Maasai pastoralists as a dry season grazing area. It was their territory, as attested by their long term presence and by the name given to places. But Maasai people did not occupy the land permanently. The first to establish permanent settlements were Kikuyu people, attracted by the possibility to cultivate in humid bottom lands. They cleared the land, which also made it more hospitable to Maasai pastoralists. At the beginning, the two communities cohabitated and made agreements to jointly use the resources. But then some Kikuyu people started to restrict access to land using their connection with government services and conflicts arose. Other communities came to the area, attracted by farming and dry season grazing opportunities, often fleeing dry spells or conflicts in their native areas. Refugees continue to arrive today. During our time there, we witnessed groups of Samburu refugees fleeing the raiding of their villages by Turkana people, following the conflict we describe in Section 3.6.1.

But even though communities may find ways to reach agreements and live in peace after ~~a~~ some frictions, things become more challenging when more powerful stakeholders enter the scene, like the state, which favors one group over others when distributing land titles, or white settlers, which create major inequalities by reducing the availability of grazing while under-exploiting the large pieces of land given to them.

3.3. Luoniek

3.3.1. Overview

Luoniek (Figures 2 and 7 to 8) is a community with a majority of Pokot people, mixed with Turkana, Somali and Borana. The Pokots, who seem to control access to resources, live in a specific place and depend mostly on livestock, although they also practice small scale farming. The Turkana and Somali, who both speak Swahili, tend to live together, combining various activities including petty business. Kikuyu people also own land but do not seem to live in Luoniek. The community neighbours a large private estate, the Mugie ranch, owned by a white settler. Many people, mostly from the Turkana and

Borana communities, were attracted to the area by jobs provided by this ranch and others that existed during the colonial period but were turned into government land after independence. Or they benefitted from land distribution when the colonial ranches were dismantled.

> The place is soon going to be subject to major changes because of large infrastructure projects. Beacons have already been put in place for the construction of a railway, a road, an oil pipeline and an electric line that will ship electricity from wind farms in Turkana County. There are expectations that this will bring great advantages such as jobs and better transportation (I6).

3.3.2. Brief history of settlement and land issues

The Assistant Chief of the region, who was born in that area, tells us the story of his community:

> Initially, this area belonged to the Laikipia Maasai, who migrated during the dry spell, and then moved back to other areas. The Pokot lived in the neighbouring County called Baringo but also migrated here during the dry season, going back to their place during the rainy season. So this place was a buffer zone, a grass bank. It went like this until the colonial government came here, between 1958 and 1961. They came to occupy a lot of land. They put up some barriers, asking people who came with their livestock to pay some money. It remained like that a long time until the settlers took the land. The Maasai were pushed to Laikipia and the Pokot to Baringo (I6).
>
> In 1973, the land where we are living, which used to belong to white settlers, was turned into a Livestock Marketing District (LMD). Then it became an Agriculture Development Cooperative (ADC). LMD and ADC are parastatal organizations. In 1981, the second president of Kenya, Moi, started giving this land to the Pokot because they had no place in the country and made a request to the government. The land was then called Luoniek. It took a long time until the demarcation of the land was done, in 1985. Then people came here but they were not given specific plots. It remained that way until 1997, when everyone was given a plot. There was an open registration where one just had to go to an office to register and settle. Some Turkana, Borana, and Kikuyu registered, in addition to the Pokot. The Turkana were workers of the white settlers and were left here when the settlers left. The authorities issued allotment letters and people had to pay a 10% fee. Many gave everything they had to pay that fee and received a title deed. The rich have settled their bill and have title deeds. The poor could not afford to pay so they have no title deeds yet. The title deed costs 65,000 to 200,000 KSh, depending on acreage, which ranges from 30 to 70. If you obtain flat land, you receive 30 acres maximum, but on mountain land with rock, you can get more. But some people are living here even without an allotment letter (I6).

Below are a few stories illustrating the various life trajectories of people who came to settle in Luoniek, taking opportunities from jobs provided by the Mugie ranch and from land distribution by the government:

> I came from Isiolo to this place to work for the white man. I was searching for a job. This is what brought me here. I was employed by the Muzungu and I stayed here. I was a security employee. We were a group of young guys and instead of going back to Isiolo we decided to stay here. We saw that the place was safe and we made money. We started to buy cows, sheep, and goats, and settled here because it is peaceful. I worked for the white man for about 10 years and then resigned. I decided to take care of my livestock. I decided to stay with the Pokot. The land was not divided and one could settle anywhere. Then the government came to allocate land and I was lucky. I got 30 acres. The Chief called people to get their name, to allocate them land. I met the requirement to got the land but I don't have the title deed yet. Now I am an elder of this place because I stayed for 20 years. I am recognized. I live here with my family (I7, a Somali man).

> I was born in Laikipia, in a place called Conteiner. I came to Luoniek in 2000. We came and settled here because my husband was working at Mugie ranch as a ranger. We met other communities living here: Pokot, Samburu, and Borana. The Pokot and the Samburu are livestock keepers. The Turkana and Borana are practicing farming and business. I have my own business of selling food to the whole community. I promote unity. I also depend on my family, from where I came from, because they are able to assist me in case of any problem (I10, a Turkana woman).

> We came to Laikipia in 1984 from Baringo County. I settled in a place called Magadi and then came to Luoniek as a business woman. In 1988, I was selling food stuff and maize, sugar and tea leaves. I came and found that the land was managed by the government as ADC. I found the Pokot here, as well as the Turkana and the Borana. The ADC program was finished. The government left the land to the Pokot, Turkana and Borana. The Pokot were keeping cattle and shoats. The Turkana were doing business and farming, growing maize and beans. The Borana were also doing their own businesses, selling food. They were living together with the Turkana. The Pokot were living at a distance from the town because they were only doing livestock. In 1995, the government decided to settle the residents who were living on ADC government land. They were given allotment letters which stated that everyone had to pay 10% to the government [to obtain a title deed]. Some do not have the land title up to date. But they have the allotment letter because it is free. Some have paid the 10% and have been given the title deed by the government (I11, a Turkana woman).

Regarding the Kikuyu community, it seems to be an important player but is not present in the area. Kikuyu people don't settle here. They just "buy land and go" (I6). They may be involved in land speculation. Today, there is indeed a lot of land speculation in Luoniek. This may be explained by the major infrastructure projects that are expected to occur. The Assistant Chief describes the situation:

> There are many rich guys coming here to buy land. If you have the title deed, they can buy your land. But they can also buy if you just have the allotment letter. The sellers are not buying other pieces of land. They are not doing anything very important with the money. I can see a challenge as they will claim the land back in the future. There are some complaints already. They sold the land very inexpensively and complained after that. But it is hard for them to claim the land because they have signed all the documents. It is done. There are also family conflicts in which parents sell the land and the kids are now claiming it back by taking their parents to the court, complaining that they sold the land without telling them. That may bring lots of problems in the future. Every community sells land. The buyers are from Nakuru, Nanyuki, and Nairobi. Or they come from west Pokot, Baringo, and from all over the country. They are all Kenyan. Maybe 30% of people have sold their land already. They sold all of it. Now we try to come to the community to tell people that they should not sell their land unless it is much needed. It would be good to receive your support for raising this awareness (I6).

Apparently, brokers scare people by telling them that their rights on the land are not secured, in order to buy their land for cheap:

> Some brokers came and told the residents who had been issued an allotment letter that the land still belonged to the government. Thus they could buy the land for very cheap, for 30,000, or 20,000 or 15,000, for 30, 40 or 70 acres, depending on the nature of the land (I11).

Land sale, however, does not result in out and in-migration, confirming the speculative character of the operation:

> Those who sell the land are still living here. They still do the same activities as they were doing before, because there is enough land. The buyers are not living here so the sellers can still use

> the land. They earned 30,000 KSh by selling the 30 acres at the beginning. Now they get about 600,000 for the whole 30 acres (I6).

3.3.3. Conflicts

The most represented group in the area is the Pokot, which has accepted other communities as "brothers and sisters." If there are issues, the Chiefs are called to solve the problem, and the communities live in peace. There is, however, sometimes some resentment towards the dominant group (the Pokot):

> The elders who are doing land registration are giving 100 acres to the Pokot and groups like ours are not given much. We have more or less 30 acres. The government now comes to the elders and asks to give the names of those who have been living here for a while. They are favored (I7).

Important conflicts occurred in the past, involving the Samburu, who today are no longer living in Luoniek, against the Pokot people:

> From 2006 to 2009, there was a conflict between the Samburu and the Pokot (I6). Before this conflict, Samburu people were living permanently in Luoniek, doing pastoralism. The cause of the conflict is that the Samburu "admire other people's livestock so they take it." They stole the livestock of an old man and killed him. Then the Pokot responded. That was about 10 years ago and the conflict lasted almost 3 years. The Kenyan army, the police, and representatives from the government came here to end the conflicts. The government elected elders from different communities to be peace makers. Since that time, we have been at peace. The Samburu are not allowed to stay here. They moved to Rumuruti but are coming back. They are maybe a few kilometers from here but some come during the dry season to look for pasture (I7). This conflict stopped development in the area and many people left (I10).

Apparently, elders were key to the resolution of the conflict:

> The government came here but failed to bring peace so the elders from both communities discussed and made a peace agreement. The agreement stipulates that if a Samburu steals livestock from the Pokot people, it will be the responsibility of both communities to recuperate the livestock, instead of just one community following the stolen livestock. Since then there has been no problem between the communities (I6).

The Peace Committee is similar to what was mentioned in Maundu ni Mairi (Section 3.2.). It operates at County level, although Sub-Committees may be set up locally for smaller conflicts:

> We [the Committee] are about 50 people. We have meeting in Lorokot. We elect peace makers. There are 25 members from Samburu County, and 25 from Laikipia North. We patrol the area, moving from one place to the other to preach peace. Since we started preaching, there has been peace. The government provides car and fuel. We have 5 cars. We are from all ethnic groups. Maybe 10 people will be sent to solve a conflict, from different groups (I7).

The conflict between Samburu and Turkana, or between private ranches and Samburu pastoralists, evoked in Section 3.6.1., seems to threat Luoniek too: "there is peace here but there is still some fear that the conflict in Rumuruti may reach this place" (I9).Turkana informants discussed the conflict, with some ambiguity about whether they were referring to the general situation in Rumuruti or the specific case of Luoniek. They outlined the political dimension of the conflict:

> Cattle rustling is very frequent here but is brought by a few people who are bandits.They are squatters who come here and enter into conflict with the natives. They come for different

purposes. For example, they come to bring cattle to the ranch. If they are rejected, they are disruptive. They come from far away and disrupt the peace. They come by using force. They have guns and they disrupt things. They are organized groups. Maybe they are financed by some politicians, and they destroy the private ranches. They do not care about property. The government intervenes by providing security and the elders come to settle the issue peacefully (I8).

We want to have peace and be able to live together. We need it for development but the government is reluctant to bring peace. Sometimes these clashes are provoked by political issues below. The major cause of the conflict is that politicians want to become MPs. When they intervene, they claim they are good people. But in fact they encourage clashes, so that they can win some support when they come to solve the problem. They will be seen as good people. The MP in Laikipia, who is a Samburu, does not want to accommodate other groups. He wants to bring Samburu people here to take ranches by force, so this creates conflicts. It is driven by politics. But now people have education and know their rights (I8).

The MP is pushing people to go away so that the land would be available for the Samburu. The lifestyle of Samburu people in Samburu County is free range and they want to bring that to Laikipia. They don't want to care for fences and property. They have guns and weapons and don't care. There is an instance where a guy was about to sell livestock, but the Samburu came and took the livestock. The Samburu do not respect anybody. Even your private property, they don't respect it. They just come and don't care about property (I8).

3.3.4. The Mugie ranch

The Mugie ranch is a large ranch owned by a white settler who managed to stay after independence, because he "paid the 10% fee" on his title deed (I6). Tensions exist with Samburu people who come seasonally but do not seem to exist with the neighbour communities. The ranch established a number of partnerships to reduce the risks of conflicts:

The Group Ranch managers sometimes assist because information circulates from one community to the other through Group Ranch staff, who belong to various ethnic groups (I6). Elders are also involved. There is a committee inside the ranch dealing with internal affairs of the ranch, like grazing. There is also a committee of elders for the people outside the ranch. The two committees work together (I6).

In terms of benefits provided by the ranch:

The ranch allows livestock from the community to enter during the dry season, by paying a fee: 250 KSh per cow per month. 1,800 cattle are allowed to enter the ranch, coming from the whole Luoniek region, Loonkewuan and Loogorate in Samburu County, and Kirimon Sub-Location in Laikipia County. Given the limited number of cows allowed, the most vulnerable or valuable animals, like lactating cows or bulls used for reproduction, are given priority to enter the ranch (I6). Each family is allowed to send 6 cows to the ranch, but some can send more, like 20, through corruption. Sheep and goats don't enter the ranch because they can survive with small grass (I7).The Pokot and Turkana bring cattle to the ranch but have to pay 200 KSh per cow. We can bring 200 animals to the ranch and bring the others to other places, or keep them around here (I8).

The ranch also provides employment. People from various groups work in it, including Kambas, Luos, Turkana, Kikuyu, and Pokot. The community collaborates with the managers so that the ranch employs people from all groups (I6). Our husbands are getting security jobs (I9).

> The ranch also sponsors children to go to school. It picks students that have the highest scores and gives them a scholarship to attend high school, but not to go to college. Last year three students were selected, and 20 in total currently have a scholarship. They are from the Luoniek School and from a school inside the ranch, attended by the children of the workers. It is a challenge for these students because they can lose the scholarship if their grades go down once in high school (I6).

> The ranch brings income through the development of tourism. Tourists are brought to the community to visit a cultural boma. The women sing and the tourists give some money and buy traditional attire, like traditional portable seats (I6).

This activity, though, seems to be marginal or has not even started yet:

> Sometimes the community calls for harambee (community fund raising) and the ranch can contribute something too, for help. This month, we called for a contribution and they said they would give something to women, to build a cultural bomas. The tourists don't visit the community. They only visit the ranch (I9).

These benefits do not mean that the ranch is beneficial for the people. The land that belongs to the ranch is a loss for the community in terms of access to pastoral resources. One can assume it could sustain more than 1,800 animals during the dry season if access was less restricted. The ranch also shelters wildlife that impacts community negatively, as we will see in the next section.

3.3.5. Livelihood strategies and challenges

The main economic activities are livestock rearing and farming. Petty business also provides income, as well as jobs in the ranch. Livestock rearing is mostly practiced by Pokot people but other groups do it too. Petty business is mostly practiced by Turkanas and Somalis. Farming seems to be practiced by members of all communities but on a small scale.

3.3.5.1. Livestock raising

People raise cattle, goats and sheep, but cattle seems to receive the most attention.

> During the rainy season, there is no division of grazing land between communities. All livestock graze together. There used to be a bank grass for the dry season, but nowadays there are no such rules. People can just go anywhere. It changed "because of ignorance" (I7).

When the grass is finished, some herders move to Rumuruti, to Maundu ni Mairi [where there are swamps, see Section 3.2.], or to the mountains, including Mount Kenya (I11). Other people bring their livestock to Samburu and Baringo counties, or to other ranches where they can find pastures (I8). But the increasing frequency of drought is said to increase conflict with ranches (I6). A small number of livestock, normally the most vulnerable animals, can enter the Mugie ranch: 6 cows per family, no shoats. I7, a Somali who seems to be quite integrated with the Pokot community, describes the migration to the mountain:

> I bring the rest of my livestock to the Amaya Mountain, far away to the west, and in Nasuru and Malasa. I come back when the rain falls. It takes 5 days to reach these places. Only the men and the young who look after the cows do the trip, and we don't go every year. The shoats don't go. The area is good, with green pasture and a river. The Pokot population is very high there so there is no conflict. There are many people living there permanently. Our elders go first, check that there is grass, and announce that we are coming. The place is different from here because there is always a river, and it is very hard for the place to become dry compared to here. We started to

> go there in 2009. We knew about that place because people living there are Pokot and the Pokot know each other. Before, when I was young, our place here was green and full of forests. Then the rainfall started to decrease and the place became dry. This is why we started to go to that place (I7).

3.3.5.2. Farming

People practice farming in Luoniek, mostly for subsistence (I7). They grow maize, beans, and some potatoes. Sometimes there is not enough rain and the harvest is lost (I6). A group of Pokot women describes how people farm the land and the difficulties they face:

> We do farming but we want to leave it because the animals destroy everything and there is not enough rain. We depend on the rainy season because there is not enough water to do irrigation. We started farming recently but we don't see the point of it. We started it about 10 years ago, after the government divided the land. We have learned from other communities. We have not been trained. We learned from the Kikuyu. No, the Kikuyu don't farm here. We were employed by them to do that work and that's how we learned. We plant maize and beans and potatoes. Not everyone does farming. Only the Pokot and the Turkana do it, but on a very small scale because we are concentrated on livestock keeping. We are Pokot. This is our Shamba (see Figure 8). We have a watchman all night because of wildlife. We prevent livestock from entering the plot with fences like this one [branches]. Women do the work. Men look after livestock. We harvest 7-8 bags of maize, and 2 sacks of beans, in grain, with 90 kg per bag, if the harvest is good. From 2013 to 2015, we had almost nothing. This year, in 2016, we have had something but a small amount. Even with a good harvest, it is not enough. We sell some crops to buy corn flour to do ugali, and salt. Some people migrate away from here to find better pastures for livestock. Those with a farm stay here. No, people don't sell their land in order to leave (I9).

In short, farming is practiced on a small scale but seems to be on the edge of being abandoned, because of climate change and other difficulties such as crop damage by livestock and wildlife, issues that were confirmed by other informants (I7, I11).

3.3.5.3. Access to water

Drought is the main constraint to the development of both pastoralism and farming. People observe climate change, with more frequent and severe droughts, like elsewhere in Kenya. In the past, there was rain throughout the year. Today, there is a short rainy season In March-April. Then there is no rain until November, followed by a bigger rainfall from November to December. The drought starts again in January and lasts until March (I7). Several informants argued that the main problem in the place is access to water:

> The government could do something about the water by creating many boreholes. During the rainy season, we have to walk. The boda boda does not pass. People walk 5 km to get water. This is the main problem in this place. We don't care about the road. The main problem is water (I7).

> As women, we have problems and challenges every day. We get water from very far places. The borehole here is the only one shared for livestock and people. This place is a dry place. We try to raise that complaint to the government to have more boreholes but we did not see any response. Sometimes we take water from far away, in rivers. It is dirty and we get diseases (I9).

> There is not enough water in the area and it also brings conflict because the Turkana and the Borana are the most affected. The Pokots will not allow them to fetch water until their livestock gets satisfied with enough water (I11).

3.3.5.4. Wildlife and conservation

Interaction with wildlife is also a major problem in the area because of the proximity of the Mugie ranch, which develops conservation and tourism:

> Wildlife damages crops. Elephants destroy everything and feed on the farm. There are other animals: wild pigs, warthogs, and porcupines. These animals have advantages and disadvantages. An advantage is that they attract tourists who come to enjoy game drives in the Mugie ranch (I6, Regional Chief).

> We have a problem of wild elephants. They pass through the fence from Mugie farm and the government does nothing. We raised the issue to the manager and he employed people to be sure that the fences were not destroyed. That's not a solution. That's the only thing they did: employing 3 people to check the fence (I7).

> The elephants destroy the crops. They come from the nearby ranch and nobody intervenes. Even the private rancher does not do anything (I8).

> We try to do farming to sustain the family but the wildlife comes from the ranch and destroys the farm. The wild animals, the elephants, come and destroy our farms. We defend ourselves by chasing the elephants but one person was killed by an elephant (I9).

> There are human/wildlife conflicts. The elephants feed on the crops at night and the lions kill the cattle. But there is no action taken by the government. Many people have made reports but nothing has happened. There is no compensation at all (I11).

3.3.5.5. Business and jobs

Petty business is practiced by some people, mostly Turkana and Borana who are getting commodities from Nyahururu Town, Rumuruti, and Olmoran, among other places. They sell these things to Pokot and Samburu pastoralists (I10). A Turkana woman describes her business:

> The Pokot and Samburu are promoting our business because they only depend on livestock and buy food stuff and medicine from us. In 2016, I started a business, selling food stuff in the hotel and I get 1,000 KSh per day. It is self-employment. It is a business being promoted by all community members, Turkana, Pokot, Samburu, Borana, among others. The business is growing day by day because I do not experience any problem. I also do charcoal which I sell 700 KSh for 50 kg. My husband works at Mugie ranch as a ranger. (I10).

Regarding jobs, the main employer is Mugie ranch. There is, however, the perception of a lack of employment opportunities because of difficulties to access education:

> The students went to school but finding employment is very hard due to marginalisation. Drought and famine also cause the students to drop out of school because their parents migrate: they move toward Mount Kenya looking for pasture and water together with the students, and there is no boarding school in the area (I11).

3.3.6. Conclusion

Luoniek shows the complexity of relationships between communities, with a multiplicity of factors creating or mitigating tensions. The legitimacy of claims over the land may be determined in part by who first settled in the area. At this level already, there is ambiguity about whether the land was first settled by Pokot or Laikipia Maasai people, as it was used as a buffer zone where the two communities could graze together during the dry season. At that time, resources may have been abundant enough to

render conflicts meaningless. Samburu people have also used the area for dry season grazing, but left following a conflict with the Pokot people. Today, the Pokot seem to control access to resources while the Laikipiak Maasai seem to be absent from the area.

The colonial administration allocated land to white settlers. One of them is still there, in the Mugie ranch. The other settlers left after independence and their land, after being managed under various government schemes, has been allocated to people of several ethnic groups, mostly Pokot people and Turkana who had migrated to work for the white settlers. Kikuyu people also entered the scene by buying land, although they did not settle. All these groups cohabitate today and found ways to solve their conflicts and maintain decent relationships with the Mugie ranch. Recently, however, the pressure on private ranches by the Samburu people, backed by political elites, creates new conflicts (see Section 3.6.) that may not have significantly impacted the Luoniek yet, but that represent a threat, as they may revive tensions between communities and be out of reach of local peace making institution. Land buying for speculation purpose in anticipation of the major infrastructure investments that will take place may also exacerbate conflicts in the future.

3.4. Wangwachi Location, Sipili Division, Laikipia West County.

Wangwachi (Figures 9 to 12) is a very fertile valley where irrigation is possible thanks to two dams which were constructed during the colonial period. The place is very attractive for settlement, given this endowment of resources, but also very dangerous because of conflict between communities attracted to these resources (I13). It is also subject to human/wildlife interactions, because of the proximity of a large conservancy (Ol ari Nyiro) owned by a Kenyan of Italian origin (Kuki Gallman). It is mostly inhabited by Kikuyu people but Pokot claim access to pastoral resources, which creates acute conflicts. Kikuyu people settled in around 1976. The land was bought by the current Senator of Laikipia County, G. G. Kariuki, who then divided it into small pieces that he re-sold to Kikuyu settlers.

3.4.1. History and conflicts

I13 tells the story of the place:

> I came here in 1976. It was like the dark African continent. Now things have changed. There was a lot of dense forest. The place was dark but people started to cultivate and built a primary school. Then people started to come. Around 1981, the area was densely populated, with Kikuyu and Kalenjin. They were the only people living here. The majority was Kikuyu. Many bought this land from the Laikipia West farmers Company, which bought the land from the settlers. [The company] was headed by the former Ministry of State. The whole land was bought and then sold piecemeal to the people here. Then the Pokot people started coming into this area around 1997 (I13).

I13, I14 and I15 describe the conflict between Pokot and Kikuyu communities:

> By 1996-97, there were a lot of clashes in this area and many people died. People have been chased from their homeland and are gone. The area was occupied by Kikuyu and when the Pokot came, they brought problems because they needed grazing land. The Pokot became the main problem in this area. We have been living with the Samburu but never experienced any kind of conflict with them. The Pokot came here with guns and we did not have any. They came to occupy Olmoran, Ratia, and Wangwachi where we are now. The population of this area started to decrease because of insecurity (I13).

> The Pokot complained that the farming communities did not take them into consideration. After harvesting, the Pokot thought that they had the right to graze, but the farmers told them that they wanted to use the land after the harvest. Another conflict was caused by water. During the dry season, everyone thinks that they have the right to use the water. When the water is low in the dam, the Pokot think they have the right to use it but the farmers say it is for irrigation. So they discussed and decided to use the water until it is depleted, even though they would all suffer. But they have never finished the water. When it is about to be finished, the rain comes (I15).

> In 2009, a Pokot guy was caught by the police and while he was taken to Sipili, the mob pulled him off of the motorbike and killed him. We migrated to Kinamba, in 2009, after the guy was killed by the mob. Even I migrated [and came back]. But that's not the source of conflict. There have been bad people since long ago (I14).

> The Pokot come from very far away. Their homeland is West Pokot. They do not consider the owner of the land. They are grazing anywhere. They think that all grazing land belongs to them and even to God. They also believe that the Kikuyu community should not have livestock and should only do farming. So when we have livestock they just take it. They come to graze during the day. To save our life, we just let them graze otherwise if we argued they would come at night and shoot us. They come through the forest where they can hide. They rape women who pick up firewood. They have guns and we don't, so they must have political support. These guys are inhuman. Many people have been killed and have left the place. Those who left have a title and some day they will come back. The latest killing was in 2014. An innocent woman was killed. That's when the government brought in the security unit (I13).

Elders intervened to try to solve the conflict. They found out that each community had strong prejudices against the other:

> The elders of both communities came together and held a meeting. They discussed and both [Kikuyu and Pokot] explained why there was a conflict. Each explained how they see the other side. They said they saw the other [group] primitive. Each side said the same thing [the Pokot see the Kikuyu as primitive and conversely]. So they had the same problem: seeing the other as primitive. That helped to understand the problem (I15).

Eventually, the government intervened by putting in a security post:

> Security is here now and the fence [around the conservancy] is put in place. But that's after 40 years. Now the Pokot have some fear. Before they came at any time and did whatever they liked. Now we can even work at night because we have security. We have a police post with about 6-7 people, and the anti-stock theft police with about 20 people. They respond quickly when there is a raid. Now the government has a policy of being close to the people (I13).

The Pokot and Kikuyu communities are not mixing much but they try to communicate to reduce conflicts, although we collected somewhat contradictory information on this matter. It is not clear whether some Pokots established themselves in the community or just in a neighbouring location:

> There are no Pokot living here in the community. They live on the other side. They have no permanent home. They send their kids to school. Some bought land that is adjacent to the community, not inside, and that's where they live. They are from another Sub-Location called Olmoran. They have a different Chief. The boundary is very nearby. The Pokot are temporarily living in that place where the majority of people are Kikuyu and Kalenjin (I14).

> We have Kikuyu, Nandi, and Pokot people here. Some of them have bought a piece of land here. The majority does not have land here. It might bring peace because they have settled and are educating their kids in school. Half the kids in school belong to the Pokot community and some are very bright students. As teachers, we educate the Pokot children to think about the future, live in a better place, and make peace with the community. The only good thing you can do with the Pokot is to become friends with them. Those who are here do not make problems. The problem is from those coming from far away. The Pokot cows [that we see while conducting the interview] are partly from Pokot people from here, and partly form those coming from far away. You can see a lot when there is a drought. Yes, there are negotiations between our community and the Pokot community. The negotiations are made through the Chiefs (I13).

> The Pokot are not coming in any way to mingle in the community. Nothing is done with them. Only the Kikuyu and Kalenjin and Turkana mix together. There is only one girl from our community that has been married into the Pokot community and no Pokot girl has been married into our community (I14).

The presence of the Pokots remains perceived as a threat. Kikuyu people do not dare to raise livestock or build solid houses:

> These cows (Figure 11) are from the Pokot. I cannot have a single cow. If I had one, they would steal it. At the dam, there are Kikuyu cows, but they come from a distance. I did not build a hard house because of the conflict (I13).

Conflicts also existed between Pokot and Samburu pastoralists:

> There has even been a conflict between the Samburu and the Pokot. It was about grazing. The Samburu would rather live in Rumuruti but we have very few Samburu people here. The Pokot are the majority among the pastoralists (I13).

3.4.2. Livelihood strategies

Kikuyu people practice subsistence and business farming. They grow tomatoes on irrigated land, pumping water from an artificial lake created by a dam that was built in 1930 and that has never been empty, except in 1984. Pumps are individual or shared between a few farmers (Figure 10). Some plan to put water tanks up the hills and to pump water using solar energy (I15). Tractors are rented to plow the land, at 2,500 KSh per acre (I14).

Tomato farming requires substantial investments, which are often provided by financial partners, but can bring a high profit. A young man explains how people proceed to start this activity and how they can become rich, becoming wealthy land owners and entrepreneurs:

> The first thing to do [to start business farming] is to look for people who live away from the farm and are rich but don't have the land, so they invest the money and then we share the profit. Most of them are people from outside the community. They live in Sipili or Nanyuki, and they like to do farming. We do farming in collaboration with them. They are Kikuyu. We can also ask for a loan from a bank and then pay later. But we don't like to take loans because it is risky. If we planted and the animals came and destroyed things, we would be at a loss. If we do the deal with a businessman, the person we collaborate with would see the destruction, so we wouldn't have to explain. The businessman would just lose his money (I14).

> If we plant tomatoes, we can even get a million per acre. After deducting expenses, we have 800,000. The 200,000 in expenses are for chemicals, fuel, labour, the ropes, and fertilizers. Pipes and machines cost 80,000. We cannot do 1 acre all by ourself. We need to hire 3 people to spray

> herbicides and to irrigate the land. The workers are from here. There are many people who do not have the capacity to invest in those crops because they live uphill and have no irrigation. So they come to the dam to see what they could do. They get jobs on the farms (I14).
>
> Yes, some people make a lot of money with the tomato business. Once they make that money, they put it all back into the farm. They don't invest in other activities. They can use the money to plant more tomatoes. They may rent more land to plant wheat and maize and beans elsewhere. They would do that, rather than just growing tomatoes, because tomatoes have seasons. Sometimes there is a lot in the market and price is low, so in that case we do something else. If the price is low we may sell tomatoes at a loss (I14).
>
> For maize, we have to pay 10,000 per acre, and we get up to 15 sacks of 90 kg, worth 23,000 per sack (I14).
>
> People who make money buy land and lease it to other people who do the business. It costs 20,000 per year per acre to rent the land, if it is close to the water. It can go up to 30,000 / acre if we do tomatoes and if it is the high season. If we buy land that can have water [through irrigation], it costs 500,000 KSh/ acre. Away from the river, we can have 5 acres for 800,000 (I14).

The main risk, besides security issues, is crop damage by wildlife, because of the proximity of a large conservancy (see next section):

> There is a human/wildlife conflict. It is a very big problem. The elephants destroy the crops so I cannot save money (I14).
>
> Elephants encroach upon the farm and destroy everything and there is no compensation. Last night they destroyed tomatoes here. Growing tomatoes is no joke. After all the work these guys have done… and there is no compensation. The elephants come from Laikipia Nature Conservancy [Ol'Ari Nyiro] (I13).
>
> Recently, the government put an electric fence to prevent cows and wild animals from exiting the conservancy (I15). But the elephants destroyed it and it was not repaired (I16).

The Pokot people do not practice farming:

> The Pokots cannot [farm] because they like raising livestock. They don't know how to do farming. They are not interested in doing it (I14).

Kikuyu farmers, on the other hand, do not practice pastoralism for fear of being raided by Pokot people, as we saw (I13, I14). For a few years, though, there has been peace and they plan to raise a few animals (I15).

Livestock can access water on the artificial lake. The animals may come from 7-8 km away during the dry season (I15). According to I15, access is free as long as livestock does not create damage on farms. But according to our field assistant, non-kikuyu pastoralists don't have access (I15).

3.4.3. Relationships with the neighbouring conservancy

The community neighbours the Ol'Ari Nyiro Laikipia Nature Conservancy (98,000 acres)[13], owned by Kuki Gallmann, which does not raise livestock and focuses exclusively on tourism (I16). This conservancy and its owner are not well perceived by the locals:

[13] According to https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kuki_Gallmann

> I cannot recall a single good thing that Kuki Gallmann did. There is harassment from the Kuki Gallmann rangers if you go there to collect firewood. They take the ropes used to carry firewood, beat us (women or anyone), and take our machetes. They are Samburu, Kikuyu, and Turkana, recruited through the application letters. But if you were to meet rangers from your own community, they would not harass you (I16).
>
> If you met her, she would tell you that she came from Italy, found the animals here, and that the animals belong to the government and that she does not need to care about wildlife conflict. She is arrogant. If there is someone that is too discriminating, that's her. She values animal life more than people's lives. She cried when an animal was killed instead of asking why the animal was killed and being concerned by the reason that led the people to kill it (I13).
>
> She purposely hit cows with her car because they were in her conservancy. These pictures are on WhatsApp. The pictures were taken by a Samburu, maybe the owner of the cows (IMPACT).

The conservancy is also negatively perceived because it shelters animals that damage crops:

> There was a time when she was calling the community to visit. She called the youth or the elders. Then the wildlife brought problems. The animals came and destroyed the crops. People thought these animals belonged to her so they started to blame her (I15).
>
> Kuki Gallmann is not interested in the people here. If she was, she would have set up an electric fence to prevent animals from damaging the crops. There was a time when she had set an electric fence but she removed the solar panels that fueled the fence so the elephants came back (I16).

Negative perception is also explained by the fact that Pokot people hide themselves in the conservancy with the animals they steal after a raid. They live on the other side of the conservancy and travel back home through it. The ranch would not collaborate with the community to track animals inside, although information is sometimes contradictory:

> Another problem is that the livestock is stolen here and brought to the ranch and the community is not allowed to enter the conservancy to search for its livestock. The raiders come during the day, steal livestock, and run to Kuki's ranch. If you enter the ranch you are given a route to follow and that's not where the livestock is. So we think she has a relationship with the thieves. There is a time when she was using a plane to trace and see people hiding in her farms, and then she reported to the police. But whenever there is a raid that takes place, she disconnects all communication and does not care about giving information (I15).
>
> People call her and she gives her contact information. We contact her to rescue the cows. She should tell the people that she would try to block the cows but she never takes action. There are so many people from our community who work in the conservancy. But they are not given the authorization to follow the routes where the livestock is. The ranch is in between 2 communities. On the other side is the Pokot community. She wants to be supportive on both sides to remain in peace, by not disturbing either community (I15).

An informant, in the staff of the conservancy, has a different opinion, though:

> The cows are not hidden inside the ranch. They are driven across to the other side where the Pokot live. Whenever she is contacted, the rangers try to trace where the cows are and when they found them and they bring them back to the community. They actually found many and brought them back. I am still working in the conservancy. I will go back on Wednesday (I16).

The conservancy allows grazing, though, but in a discriminatory way:

> If you negotiate well, she allows people in the conservancy, but only the Pokot. They are the only people doing grazing there. The Pokot may have 200 or 300 goats and above. The Kikuyu don't even have one (I13).

The conservancy also started to do some efforts to support neighbouring communities:

> In the past, she did not have any relationship with the community. Now she does. She has built a hospital in a ranch called Mwenje (Matuko Center), and a secondary school in Ndindika. She has built all the classrooms. She built a maternity at Olmoran. Before she didn't have a good relationship with her staff but now it's good. She was treating people badly and someone took the initiative to punish her by setting fire to her ranch. People from the community assisted her to stop the fire. The fire was burning the forest (I16).

The ranch did offer scholarships to students, in 2009-2010, but it is said to have stopped (I16). It also provides jobs:

> She employs people from various communities except for the Pokots. The Pokots do work in the ranch but not as security guards because they would communicate information to their friends. So they are not employed as rangers. Some Pokots are poachers. Kuki does only wildlife conservation. She has no livestock (I16).
>
> To get a job there, you have to write an application letter and bring it to Olmoran gate with your contact. They will take the letter to the office and communicate with you if they offer you the job (I16).
>
> I worked as lodge waiter and then as a ranger. I did not apply to this job but one man who was living on this side and worked for the ranch as a Community Liaison Officer (CLO) was in charge of finding 5 men and asked me (I16).
>
> The conservancy also hires casual workers who slash the grass along the boundary. They repair the fence, but there is no electricity. The salary is 300 KSh per day. You have to work the whole day without a lunch. It does not pay well. If it is for slashing. She employs Kikuyu, Kalenjin, or Turkana, but not Samburu or Pokot because they are not interested in this hard job (I16).

3.5. Cattle invasion in private ranches

During our visit, we witnessed conflicts between communities in relation to the invasion of ranches by Samburu cattle. One case unfolded while we were there, and several people were killed. Section 3.6.1. tells that story (already briefly evoked by some informants in Luoniek, see Section 3.3.3.), based on information collected during the week we stayed in Rumuruti. In Section 3.6.2., we tell the story of Loisaba, a private ranch invaded by 20,000 Samburu cattle since June 2016. In Section 3.6.3, we report the view of a leader of the Laikipia Wildlife Forum about these events.

3.5.1. Samburu/Turkana/communities/settlers/politicians in Rumuruti

Just after our arrival in Rumuruti, we were told about the intrusion of Samburu pastoralists in a private ranch defended by Turkana staff. This important affair mobilized government intervention units and resulted in several casualties and a lot of turmoil, including in Rumuruti town. Below is the story of this conflict, based on information collected in Rumuruti or by phone.

> On November 6, just before our arrival in Rumuruti, a Turkana security guard who works at one of the settler ranches nearby (Kirae) was killed defending the ranch. He tried to block Samburu people who brought cows to graze in the ranch. The Samburu grazed their livestock in the ranch

throughout the night and moved back to their community the following day. They lost 60 calves which were captured by the Turkana people who guard the ranch. The Turkana called the Samburu by phone and told them they had the cows and kept them. The Samburu informed the District Commissioner, District Officer, Location Chiefs, as well as the National Cohesion and Integration Commission.[14] They asked for the intervention of a Peace Committee, warning that if the negotiation failed by 4 pm, they would take revenge by themselves. The Peace Committee and government staff were sent to the Turkana community but failed to get the calves (I1).

On November 7, the Samburu raided 3 Turkana communities at night: in Kinamba sub-region, where they captured sheep, goats, and cows, and killed one person; in another locality where they also captured sheep and goats in 2 villages; and in Thome sub-region, where nobody was killed but children at school were disturbed by gun shots while taking their fourth grade exam. The Samburu people living there have migrated to Katutura and Sanangurii with their belongings and livestock because they fear a war. There is an empty zone there now (I1).

The next day, on November 8, Turkana people took revenge by attacking Samburu people who were bringing their cows to the Rumuruti market. This took place around mid-day and all livestock was taken away. The Samburu community went to rescue the cows at Collison Farm, which is a settler ranch where Turkana hide livestock. The stolen livestock was found by 4pm by the Samburu moran. There was a fight and 5 more Turkana were killed. All the cattle were recovered (I1).

The following morning, on November 9, some goats were raided from the Turkana community at a place called City Cotton, at around 7am. Apparently, they were found by the police in a small valley called Ayam where the Samburu moran hid the livestock. But it's not clear what eventually happened with the goats that were stolen. The police is said to fear that place (I1).

Later on November 9, at around 10 am, a peace meeting started in Rumuruti, at Laikipia Club. The National Cohesion and Integration Commission Chairman, who is a very important person at the national level, attended the meeting, together with the nominated Member of Parliament for Laikipia North, the Police Base Commander for Laikipia County, the County Commissioner, the District Commissioners (= Sub-County Commissioners) for Laikipia West, Laikipia North, Laikipia East, and Laikipia Central, as well as Sub-County administrators, Members of County Assemblies, District Officers, and Chiefs. According to the rumours, the conclusion was that an operation should be conducted in the area whereby Samburu cows would be given to Turkana people to compensate for their stolen livestock (I1).

The operation was conducted on November 10 in the morning. The police officers went to a small river called Morongo, not far away from Rumuruti town, and started to harass the Samburu community, beating them and capturing 500 to 600 cows without considering who owned them. The Samburu met the police close to the Rumuruti market. They asked them where they would carry the livestock. The police shot or fired into the air and the whole market was closed, with everybody fleeing. The police brought the cattle past the police station toward a place called Sananguri. Before they reached that place, the Samburu moran came to find the cows and blocked them at a place called Mathenge, where fighting started. The cows ran away and some people were arrested and beaten at the police station (I1).

On November 11, the police went to patrol Mowarak in Kinamba sub-region [we saw three police cars involved in that operation]. But they did not arrest anyone. They all went in vain. They were back at 4pm in Rumuruti and asked everybody to leave the town. By 6pm there was nobody in

[14] https://www.cohesion.or.ke/

> the town. On November 12, at 6am, 10 vehicles full of police officers with arms went to Matingari and Nganoi where they caught 800 heads of cattle and 2,500 shoats while they were still in their corral, before being brought to graze. When the residents saw the police officers, they all ran away. The police took the livestock to the Rumuruti police station and toward Sananguri, where the elected area MP, who is a Samburu [Laikipia North MP Mathew Lempurkel?], blocked the livestock with the help of the press and of Samburu communities. The police officers shot in the air and nobody was injured. The Samburu people kept the livestock one hour while the police was shooting, until the police left the livestock. The MP called the owners of the livestock and shoats and told them to recuperate theit animals. The Samburu people held a meeting where they suggested that that the MP should meet the Cabinet Secretary of Internal Security to ask to stop the operation. They also said that if the operation was not stopped, they would demonstrate against police harassment (I1).

3.5.2. Loisaba ranch

We met the "owner" of Loisaba (in fact he is a manager working for the trust that owns the land), a ranch which was recently invaded by Samburu livestock protected by armed moran. This ranch (Figures 13 to 15) hosts Grewy zebras (Figure 14). It combines conservation and livestock raising activities:

> I consider that I can have 1 cow per 15 acres. This allows wildlife to be there too. The main thing is balance. We have tourism business and livestock. I can have 1,200 heads from the community on my land. I also have cows from the Northland Rangeland Trust (NRT), and a breeding program of my own with 1,200 cattle. The total is 4,000 cattle (I17).
>
> We have health and education programs, provide access to water, improve land management, and propose alternative sources of income. This is an engine for development. When there is poor leadership, people graze the land and then pray for rain (I17).
>
> I can accommodate 480 cattle from one community and 400 from another one. They come daily. There is a grazing committee with a quota but there is corruption. The neighbours are Group Ranches (I17).
>
> The ranch is directly stricken by the conflict. 20,000 cattle have invaded since June. They are from Samburu. The first 10,000 came with moran to defend them and the others followed. They "overpowered the ranch" (I17).

We asked the owner to expose his vision of the conflict between pastoralists and ranchers. He agrees that the scarcity of resources is one of the determinants of conflicts, together with politics, which is consistent with what we heard from Turkana people interviewed in Luoniek (Section 3.3.):

> It is a push and pull. Politicians pull. The degradation is the push (I17).

The manager of the ranch rejects non-equilibrium ecology models according to which the carrying capacity is never reached, because of supposed decoupling between resources and consumers:

> This idea is absurd. There is an increase in human population, and people need more cattle. The livestock finishes the landscape completely, not only when there is a drought. Now it happens every year. Overgrazing is there (I17).

The manager emphasizes an alternative narrative where politics, rather than scarcity of resources, would be the main determinant of what is happening now:

> Baringo, Isiolo and Samburu County have degraded rangeland and their herds would need to access Laikipia. But then the rangeland would be degraded in Laikipia like in the other counties!

> Then what? This populist narrative says that the white people should go away; that violence can push the rangers away. Two days ago, they ([Samburu herders?] entered the Rhino sanctuary in Sera conservancy.[15] They cut the fences. They also entered the Samburu reserve. There is no long-term thinking. (I17).
>
> Politicians have a lot of cattle and need grazing resources. When you steal money, investing in cattle is the best thing to do with your money. That's the big challenge today. The Samburu politicians have already split land. For the last 3 months, it has been invaded by a lot of livestock. The usual narrative says that there is not enough grass. But when you look at it closely, it is more complicated than that. It is not just the people looking for grass. These guys have other areas where they can graze but this time they came here (I17).
>
> The guys who own big livestock work in the government, or are in the political class. This livestock has to graze somewhere. They build a lot of pressure and want to access the grass easily. The political class believes that it can overrun the ranches. A lot of people, including policemen, are paid off. The story of cattle depleting grass is a very backward idea. There is a political class that wants people to stay backward so that it can stay in power (I17).
>
> The special operation against the Samburu happened because the Cabinet and the President have heard about the problem. They say it is unacceptable, that it violates the constitution and property. The ministerial level has a party affiliated to local parties but the seal was broken when some other guys saw the situation (I17).

To defend its position in the conflict, the ranch engages in discussions with leaders and politicians:

> We have our forums. We work with the Chiefs on the ground, with the government administration, and with the Laikipia Wildlife Forums. Some politicians are more educated we talk with them (I17).

The ranch also collaborates with neighbouring communities and NGOs to improve the livestock systems:

> We have been working closely with neighbouring communities to provide education and help them to improve their livestock. We work with NRT to look at governance. We do holistic management. But that vision is not shared by the people who are rich in cattle. There is a need for education in Samburu land. Livestock is part of the landscape. There is no problem with having livestock and wildlife on the same land (I17).

The narrative proposed by the rancher is obviously an important piece of the puzzle to understand conflicts surrounding the use of resources in Laikipia. The greed of politicians owning a lot of livestock and searching for votes may contribute to the conflict as much as or even more than the scarcity of resources. The herds of these politicians may indeed contribute to the depletion of grazing resources in Samburu land, before they enter the ranch. They may cause the problem as much as "solving" it, by forcing access to the ranches. But the narrative also fits well with the agenda of the ranch, which is to secure its survival. Large private ranches are indeed highly contested since they were established during the colonial period. They need a narrative that is compatible with them remaining in place. Their presence in the long term is not guaranteed because they lease the land. They do not own it, as our field assistant from IMPACT explains:

> Initially, for all ranchers and settlers in Laikipia, the main business was rearing livestock and shoats. They have done that for quite a while since the 1904 agreement, which was a lease of 99 years. The lease ended in 2004. Not a single ranch has renewed the lease but they are now

[15] http://www.nrt-kenya.org/sera/

changing their activity from livestock to conservation. We have Loisaba, Borana conservancy, Lewa Wildlife Conservancy, Laikipia Nature Conservancy, and others (IMPACT).

An organization, OSILIGI, assisted the Maasai in getting their land back when the 99 years lease ended. The senior politicians started to educate people about what OSILIGI was doing. From there, in 2005, the white settlers in Laikipia have sat down and managed to create conservancies in the ranches, game reserves, and game drives. Many of them eradicated the rearing of livestock and shoats. Now they are turning the land into conservancies so that they can be secured by the constitution of Kenya, because when you keep a rhino you receive 7 million dollars and you get support from the government. But there is no official document extending their lease. When we passed Loisaba conservancy, there was a lot of grass but wild animals were very few. That's why the Samburu communities forcibly seize the grass, because nobody uses the resources. The grass becomes useless and that's why the rangers sometimes burn the grass so that the livestock doesn't come. Also, settlers do farming activities. They grow wheat and maize (IMPACT).

3.5.3. The view of Laikipia Wildlife Forum

Our informant from the Laikipia Wildlife Forum (LWF) first told us the story of his organization, then explained the issue of land invasion:

I work for a membership organization that is 25 years old. It's a strange organization. It started with wildlife as its focus. The ranchers wanted a scheme for grazing; they wanted a zebra scheme. We thought that profits should be shared with people who accept zebra on their land so we started a community project, essentially with Maasai people. After 10 years the scheme fell apart. Then we were committed to a landscape approach to conservation and thought about tourism. Five years later we were quite successful and received US and Dutch support to work on a number of issues (I18).

The donor funding has come to an end but we no longer want to be like an NGO. We want to be a forum where everybody comes to discuss and find a solution, so that voices can be heard and lifted up. We want to change from implementation to helping our members to have their voices heard. In practice, that means that we have 3 program areas: water, wildlife, and rangeland. Instead of doing things with the communities and people, we have moved to an approach that helps to build partnership (I18).

Water, for example, is probably the most significant issue in Laikipia. It is being used up and not given down to the people below. We put together the government and individual sub-catchment groups, research organizations, the private sector, horticulture businesses, water service corporations that deliver water in towns like Nanyuki, and bring them to a forum to discuss how to manage resources better and make decisions together (I18).

On the rangeland side, it is important to work with IMPACT, the Samburu Trust, and other people who are residents here, to help them form a pastoralist association and strengthen their voices when it comes to negotiating with the government and white ranchers. During the last 7 years, we have supported a program of rangeland management, called holistic management, which promotes ideas coming from Zimbabwe. We work with ranchers to improve management and we use livestock as a tool for management. From a Muzungu perspective, you consider [that the system has] a carrying capacity, whereas traditional livestock people do not see any sense in that notion because they move depending on the availability of pastures. The holistic management approach appreciates the fact that people are less and less mobile and thus have to manage better. After 7 years, the approach was a success but every success was broken by people who come from outside and steal the grass. If you listen to what these people say, there is no

> ownership of grass and water. In the West, we call it common pool resources and we say there is a tragedy of the common. But people recognize that for whatever reason, they have to share the resources. It is difficult to say no to those starving, and ranchers are good at saying no. So the perspective of the 2 sides are very different. You come from Loisaba, which has 61,000 hectares and is now hosting 30,000 to 40,000 cattle. The grass is finished. Last year we had 450,000 cattle that did not belong to the ranches where they grazed. There are 3 possible responses: armed response with your own police and rangers, but everybody in Laikipia is out-gunned by the visitors. [The inavders] are better armed and much better organized. The competition for the grass is now reflected in death and everybody expects that the situation will get worse (I18).

Regarding the cause of cattle invasion:

> What is the cause? Why do people suddenly come to Laikipia in numbers? One reason is exploitation of resources by the elite, as your informant was talking about in Loisaba. There are no costs associated with that. [The invaders] are not paying anybody. They are taking advantage of a loosely defined property system and they are serving themselves. Another cause is that people are coming from land that is 70% to 80% gone, degraded. There is no more food to feed the livestock and they are seeking out alternatives in Laikipia. This exchange of livestock on the landscape has taken place for at least 100 years. It was generally acceptable after a lot of talking and negotiations. But now the numbers that are coming are overwhelming the local system in Laikipia (I18).

> Laikipia could support 2 or 3 times more livestock if all that we did was livestock but we also have wildlife and it competes with livestock, so there is a trade-off. As you have seen in the literature, we have the highest population of wildlife of any place in Kenya except Maasai Mara during the migration. It is astounding when you see how much of a percentage of Kenya is in parks and national reserves. This demonstrates the success of wildlife conservation on private land. So it is fantastic if you are interested in wildlife management and land tenure. 70% of Laikipia is private land and it is a great success for wildlife. But because of our success with growing grass, people like to come from outside (I18).

> Another explanation is in the new area of devolution. People have been manipulated by their politicians. Some argue that the Samburu have been manipulated into coming in. It relates to that historical injustice. The new land act includes a provision enabling people who were displaced from their land to file a claim. But the movement of people here occurred through a treaty. There was a signed agreement stating that they were not displaced. Hence this provision cannot be used [by Maasai people] to reclaim that territory. On the other hand, there is a land lease system in Laikipia and the constitution has a provision that [leased] land should be given back to the government. Most of these leases will end in the next 10 to 20 years. This is an opportunity for not renewing the leases and for redistributing the land. This is a possibility. The new constitution can make leases for only 99 years. Some people have leases for 99 years and they will end in 2023.[16] Those are the first ones. The settlers feel insecure as the government is not clear about whether or not it will renew. There is also [discussion about] a minimum and maximum land parameter deciding how much land you can hold. That provision was dismissed because it would affect too many politicians in addition to the settlers. But it scares people because the maximum amount set for Laikipia was 50 hectares. This confusion and insecurity on land tenure is a great opportunity if you are a politician: you throw some pressure where the

[16] The Maasai signed their treaties with the colonial government in 1904 and 1911. But the 99 years leases with the white settlers were done in the 1920s, at different dates and that is the reason they will expire in different dates but mostly in the 2020s (IIMPACT).

> system is weakest. Some use their people to see where it is weak, as a probe. The challenges this year have occurred where the system is weak (I18).
>
> Loisaba was probed last year and this year because their [land tenure] system is in transition. The owner sold land to a conservation trust[17] so ownership is not clear. The manager, who has been here for 20 years, manage that land with his brother. The land used to belong to an Italian. He sold it to that trust. So who do I talk to when I talk to a trust? The chairman of the board? Who is there to negotiate with? That creates confusion so they are testing, probing. The manager says: I am not going to fight you! This is not worth dying for! The same thing happened in Segera, which is owned by a very wealthy German man who used to be the chief executive of Kluma athletic clothing. But he is not living there. He is not investing. He does not keep cattle himself so there is all this grass, which becomes useless. If I were a livestock keeper, I would see that there is grass and that it is not shared. So he was clearly attacked. Everyone who is weak is being challenged. And if you don't have deals with your neighbour, if you are not kind, that's another weakness (I18).
>
> It would be helpful to have some research led by a group of people like IMPACT with your help to look at reasons why people come; not just looking at access, but also looking at the use of guns (I18).

Our informant then comments on the work conducted by NRT in the area:

> There was resentment against a NRT destocking program. NRT is buying cows from communities to destock them. It brings the cows to an area of quarantine, and then to Laikipia that has plenty of grass (I18).
>
> NRT is almost a new government. They act like the government, providing services that the government should provide. They occupy the vacuum in between law and order in this new process of devolution. With this new structure, and using radios and rangers, they start to define new territories that used to be defined by clans, without solid limits. The NRT model has grown from the central core in Northern Laikipia to now going from Turkana to Lamu. It is growing because they have resources, uniforms, vehicles, and people don't say no to that. They are now so big that they don't have the ability to address problems locally so much. But their model has to be bought by County governments if it has a chance to survive (I18).

I18 ends with comments on the neglect of pastoralism by the government and an advocacy for the reconciliation of pastoralism with conservation:

> There is a general disregard [within the government] for any structure that existed to help people to raise livestock. The veterinary service is dead. Livestock is sick and you can sort it out if you have money but otherwise you can't. So there are incoming diseases. Laikipia has the reputation to have the best livestock in the country. Movement of livestock brings diseases to places where there didn't use to be so much (I18).
>
> Things are changing now because wildlife is part of the equation. If one does not get benefits from wildlife, and if there is no grass, then one does not care about wildlife. We could lose the ethics of managing livestock and wildlife together. Sera is part of the traditional pastoralist systems so if you fence it for the rhino, whose idea was this? It is a western view to impose that on the land. Now they have cut the fence (I18).

[17] See https://loisaba.com/loisaba/#whoweare for details.

4. Conclusion

Laikipia plateau is a complex mosaic of people and land uses, from white settlers owning large estates and adopting extensive practicees to landless farmers searching for land to practice intensive farming. Local communities interact in conflicting ways but find arrangements in spite of their differences, although not always. Whether they can develop peaceful relationships may depend on the influence and attitude of the most powerful actors. Private ranches that do not share pastoral resources perpetuate social injustices and economic inequalities inherited from colonialism. Government agencies which favour certain communities against others in land allocation processes make it impossible to repair these injustices. Local politicians who flatter their constituencies and serve their interests turn the devolution process into a catalyzer for ethnic confrontation. NGOs whose narrative flatters white settlers and whose management models favor wildlife over livestock are used as instruments to secure contested rights to land. Large infrastructure projects still complicate the situation by triggering land speculation.

In spite of all these pressures, Laikipia remains an attractive land for neighbouring communities searching for grazing resources in a context of growing population and increasing frequency and severity of droughts. All land is already in use and often privately owned, but is generally dedicated to extensive land use (conservation) that generates value for the global community (intrinsic and esthetic value of wildlife), significant benefits for a local elite (ranchers) and for the government (tourism revenues), but very few tangible benefits for the majority of the population. Only a fraction of the dividends yielded by conservation and tourism reaches local communities, in the form of jobs and development projects, while grass that could feed livestock during droughts remains unused. This creates a potentially explosive situation as we witnessed during our stay and which may escalate further.

This portrayal challenges the scarcity of resources narrative that is often evoked to explain resource-based conflicts. The Kikuyu and Maasai people in Maundu ni Mairi do experience a scarcity of resources but have eventually made arrangements to share these scarce resources. Conflicts have also been settled in Luoniek and Wangwachi, or are on the verge of being settled through discussions between elders. But peaceful outcomes can hardly be achieved when powerful stakeholders having little or no social and material ties with the communities involved. Moreover, the construction of a “modern” state in the context of capitalist expansion, with its mega-infrastructure projects and greedy politicians, may spread partisan politics and stimulate selfish behavior within the social fabric of pastoralist, agro-pastoralist, and peasant communities. It may encourage exploitative social relations of production or exacerbate the exploitative character of the relations already in place. One can wonder, for instance, to what extent do village elites collaborate with white settlers, politicians, investors, or speculators, and what are the social, economic and environmental impact of these collaborations. Are the grazing resources “finished” by hordes of traditional pastoralists following population growth, or by large herds owned by few powerful actors and their clientele in local communities? Partisan statements that over-emphasize either the “tragedy of commons” dimension of the problem, or the injustice inherited from the colonial period, to the exclusion of other dimensions, are bound to fail. There is indeed land and resource degradation in the neighbouring Samburu County (see Scoping Research Report #2) in a context of population growth and poor governance, and large ranches owned by wealthy settlers are an injustice. We hope that this report will help move beyond partisan statements and therefore contribute to the finding of a solution.

Appendix 1: Future research

a. Documenting and mapping conflicts

The conclusion we drafted above is a hypothesis that now needs to be tested through further investigations. We spent only one week on Laikipia plateau, collecting stories mostly at random. Some patterns emerged about the causes and outcomes of conflicts but they need to be verified by collecting more stories. For this purpose, we suggest elaborating a map of resources-based conflicts in Laikipia plateau and its surroundings.

Concretely, this would mean sending people to collect information systematically in all locations, doing the same type of work we did, but staying for a longer duration in each site, like 2 or 3 days per location. Stories of conflicts could then be reconstituted and a map could be created where these conflicts, and the year of their occurrence, would be displayed. A cursor could change the year of the map, visualizing different conflicts, so both geographical and spatial patterns could be revealed. Clicking on a conflict would open a pop out window where the conflict would be described. The approach is similar to that employed by the Environmental Justice Atlas (https://ejatlas.org/). Our project could in fact be inserted into that atlas, by creating a higher resolution conflict map for Laikipia County.

Investigators (collectors of information) will have to record in detail all the information they collect. They could be equipped with tablets and recorders. They would collect information informally but will use the checklist below to be sure that similar topics are addressed in each site, for comparative purposes.

Checklist for investigating resources base conflicts.

- When did the conflict start?
- Where did it start?
- Who was involved?
- What were the causes? Explain.
- Was the conflict expected or a surprise?
- Tell the story, from the beginning to today's situation.
- After you collect the whole story, allowing the informant to organize his ideas in his own way, verify that you have the following information:
- List of stakeholders involved, the role they play, and how they benefited or were impacted.
- Identification of coalitions of stakeholders, and explanation of these partnerships.
- List of all the resources involved.
- List of key events, chronologically, and explanation of why they are key events.
- Impact of the conflict on the economy and the social relations.
- Impact of the conflict on the environment.
- Role or influence of politics on the conflict.
- Role or influence of poverty or wealth on the conflict.
- Problems solved by the conflict.
- New issues provoked by the conflicts.
- Are similar conflicts documented elsewhere? What are the differences between these conflicts?
- Will such conflicts increase or decrease in the future? Why?

- Will that conflict spread to other areas? How? Why?
- What could have been done to lead to a different, more positive outcome?

b. Exploitative pastoralism

We hypothesized that in the context of increasing scarcity of resources, resource grabbing, and power imbalances, exploitative forms of pastoralism may appear, or be amplified if they already existed. By exploitative pastoralism, we mean social relations of production linked to pastoralism and that exemplify competitive behaviour, rather than collaborative ones. The most powerful actors would take advantage of their position to use more resources and control human labour, to the detriment of social and ecological sustainability.

To investigate whether this is the case, we need to conduct field studies. The checklist of questions below provides some guidance for these investigations:

- Who owns livestock?
- Who controls access to resources?
- Who controls labor?
- Who sets behavioral norms?
- How much livestock is owned by people living in the community, and how much is owned by absentee people?
- Among these absentees, how many are born in the community? How many are from elsewhere?
- What are the arrangements between absentee livestock owners and people in the community?
- Who looks after their livestock?
- How are these people selected?
- What is the deal? How are they made? How can they be broken? What are the consequences of breaking the deal?
- What are the advantages for those who look after this livestock, directly and indirectly, beyond the deal?
- What is the impact on people who are not in the deal?
- What is the opinion of these people about the deals?
- What is the opinion of elders about the deal? Of young people? Of women?
- How are the relationships between community leaders and absentee livestock owners?
- Do some non-absentee livestock owners also have large herds?
- What are their relationships with the absentees?
- Do they adopt similar livestock management approaches?
- Did local livestock management change as a consequence of the deals made with absentee livestock owners?
- Did social relation to production also change?
- What else changed because of that presence?
- Is the community better off?
- Did it open or close access to resources?
- Are there more inequalities?
- Are there more conflicts?
- Are people becoming more individualistic or selfish?

These questions could be asked in communities from where herds that invade Laikipia plateau originate, or randomly in any community in the area from which these herds originate. The surveys should be inserted within more broader surveys looking at livelihood challenges in general, to avoid suspicion about our intentions and to provide contextual elements that will make the interpretation of results easier.

c. Economic evaluation of holistic management

Holistic management of livestock is evoked by many stakeholders as a key for sustainable pastoralism in Laikipia and neighbouring counties. Yet nobody ever referred to studies or experiences that would prove its superiority over traditional land uses. With holistic management, grazing resources are preserved and livestock is well fed. We believe this is true. But this does not mean that holistic management has a higher carrying capacity. Intuitively, we can think that it has in the long term but not necessarily in the short term, which calls for policy solutions to address the transition period. Moreover, traditional systems may also have applied the principle of conserving grazing resources during the dry season, and this principle may have ceased to be applied for some reason. We suggest conducting a literature review about, and in situ evaluation and comparison of the economic and ecological performances of traditional and “modern” livestock systems. We suggest using an ecological economics approach where the economic and ecological systems are considered one single system.

Appendix 2: Figures

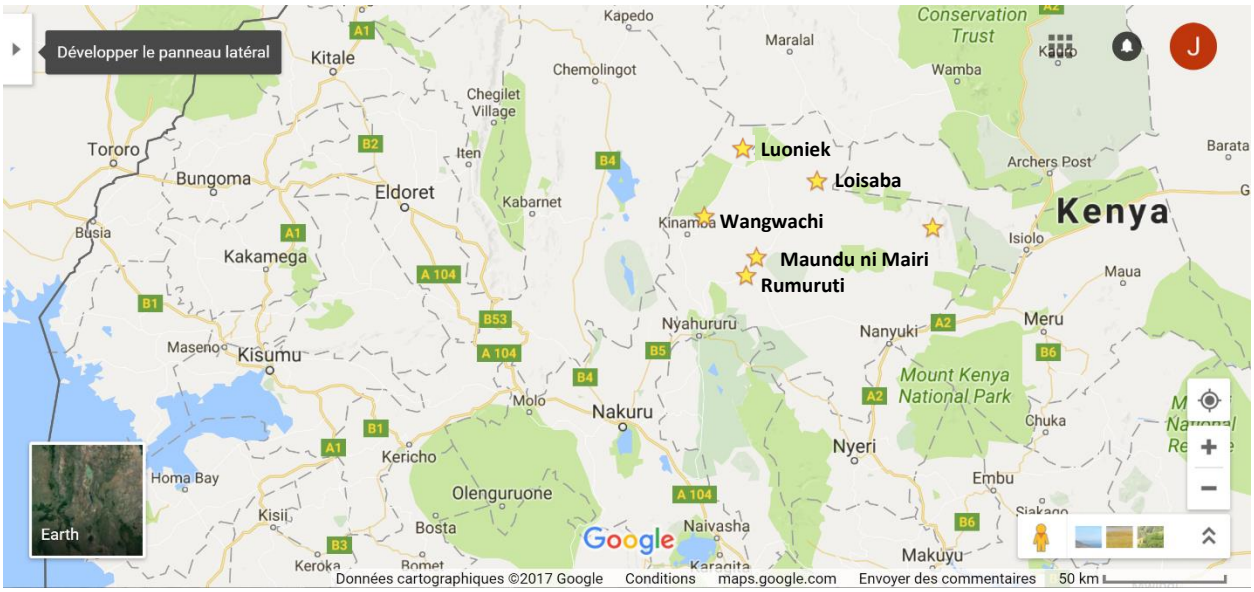

Figure 1: Localization of study sites.

Figure 2: Aerial view of study sites.

Figure 3: Aerial view of Maundu ni Mairi. We can distinguish pastoral land with settlements (not visited) and agricultural land around swampy areas.

Figure 4: Cows grazing on crop residue in Maundu ni Mairi. Further research is needed on whether agriculture reduces or increases pastoral resources in various situations. The hill in the background is pastoral land.

Figure 5: Small stream used for irrigation and to water cattle in Maundu ni Mairi. The land is suitable for irrigation but also prone to flooding, and provides critical resources for livestock during the dry season. The optimal use of the land will emerge more easily if power imbalances between groups are low; if there is flexibility in arrangements; and if the different groups have a communication platform. We can see farmland in the background.

Figure 6: Irrigated tomato cultivation in Maundu ni Mairi. This field belongs to a Samburu farmer. People from all tribes practice this type of agriculture. It can bring a high income but is also quite risky and requires significant investments.

Figure 7: Aerial view Luoniek. The Mugie conservancy, which combines livestock and conservation, is visible right of the straight line. Agriculture is practiced outside the land but is not visible given the small size of farms.

Figure 8: Subsistence field in Luoniek. Crop failure is frequent. This field reflects the importance given to agriculture by pastoralists today, rather than the benefits it generates, which are meager. Once a family owns less livestock than the minimum required to sustain livelihood (the level where the rate of livestock sale equals the rate of animal reproduction), then agriculture is often the only available strategy to avoid selling all animals until the last one (it reduces this threshold because food being produced is food that does not need to be bought by selling livestock). The litle shelter behind the field is used to post a vigil in charge of scaring wildlife at night.

Figure 9: Aerial view of Wangwachi. Most of the land is covered with a dense mosaic of small fields. The green area with no fields is the Ol Ari Nyiro conservancy. The lake closest to Wangwachi is the one in Figure 10.

Figure 10: Artificial lake used for irrigation and livestock watering in Wangwachi. We can see a few cultivated fields in the background, as well as the beginning of the Ol Ari Nyiro conservancy (covering the hill on the right), owned by a white settler. The pumps are owned by Kikuyu farmers.

Figure 11: Maize and tomato cultivated by Kikuyu people, livestock owned by Pokot people, and the Ol ari Nyiro conservancy (in the background), in Wangwachi. These are three key protagonists of most land conflicts occurring in Laikipia County. A fourth type of protagonist, not visible here, is politicians.

Figure 12: Tomato farming in Wangwachi. This type of farming requires significant investments to irrigate and rent a tractor to plow the land etc. It is practiced by a very small group of Kikuyu people having access to irrigated land. The Ol Ari Nyiro conservancy is visible in the background.

Figure 13: Aerial view of Loisaba conservancy around its headquarter.

Figure 14: Young Grewy zebras in Loisaba conservancy. They are characterized by narrower stripes, compared to the common zebra (see Figure 16).

Figure 15: Common zebra (Burchell's zebra?) in Loisaba conservancy.

Appendix 3: List of interviews

Information collected in Rumuruti and through various phone calls

I1: Synthesis by IMPACT team

Maundu ni Mairi (mixed community with mostly Maasai people)

I2: Local leader

I3: Middle aged man, Maasai, agro-pastoralist

I4: group of local leaders

I5: Kikuyu family

Luoniek (Mixed community with mostly Pokot people)

I6: Local leader, probably from the Pokot community

I7: Leader from the Somali community

I8: Group of young men

I9: Group of women

I10: Turkana woman

I11: Turkana woman

I12: Turkana elder

Wangwachi (Kikuyu community)

I13: Farmer and teacher

I14: Son of I13

I15: Local leader

I16: Young man

Others

I17: Loisaba ranch

I18: Laikipia Wildlife Forum