

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**DEPARTMENT OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**DEVOLVED GOVERNANCE AND INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN  
COSMOPOLITAN PASTORAL COUNTIES: CASE OF LAIKIPIA COUNTY, KENYA**

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**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE  
REQUIREMENT OF A POSTGRADUATE DIPLOMA IN STRATEGIC STUDIES**

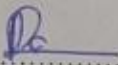
**SEPTEMBER 2022**

**DECLARATION**

I, the undersigned, declare that this is my first research project, and it has never been submitted for a degree at another university.

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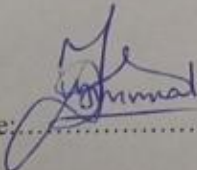
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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this project to my dear family and colleagues for their moral support during the entire study and research project development.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

My sincere acknowledgment goes to my supervisor, Dr. Martin Ouma, for guiding me during the research project writing. Also, I would like to thank the Chief of the Defence Forces (CDF) and the Commander Kenya Army (KA) for having nominated me for the Grade 2 Staff Course, Karen. In addition, I would like to thank the Director, Department of Diplomacy and International Relations (IDIS) for considering my application for the Post Graduate Diploma. I would like to extend my appreciation to the Commandant Defence Staff College (DSC), the University of Nairobi lecturers, DSC members of the directing and Support Staff for the support throughout the enrolment and course work. Finally, I would like to extend my gratitude to my colleagues, of course, No. 37 of 2021/2022 and my family for moral their support.

## **ABSTRACT**

Laikipia County is one of the cosmopolitan Counties of Kenya. This study examined the dynamics of conflict in the face of devolution within this county. This was done by establishing how devolution had influenced the pastoral conflicts, analyzing inter-ethnic conflicts, trends, and identifying conflict management mechanisms established by the Laikipia County government. The study employed a descriptive research design. Primary data was collected from a sample size of 128 through questionnaires, interviews, archived documents, and government reports. The secondary data was collected from journals, books, published and unpublished theses. The study analyzed data using descriptive analysis. The data was presented using frequencies, pie charts, graphs, and tables. The study found out that devolution of power was often considered as means of achieving peace through sharing executive positions, political nomination, and election of members of county assembly as part of a wider mosaic of peace-building in Laikipia. It was reported that violence rocked Laikipia in the months of January-March and September-October where pastoralist communities clashed with farming communities. The study found out that the direct result of the inter-ethnic conflict was a loss of human life and livestock. Although police operations had been carried out in Laikipia County, a long-lasting solution for inter-ethnic conflict could not be obtained since violent conflict continued to occur. After disarmament as one of the solutions, other means were suggested including demobilization, reinsertion, rehabilitation, reintegration, and empowerment and education were exploited to deter disarmed warriors from relapsing to banditry. Devolution through its mitigation measures has significantly reduced the inter-ethnic conflict. The study was of great importance to policy makers at county and national government as it would be used to design inter-ethnic conflict resolution mechanisms.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>ACC</b>	Assistant County Commissioner
<b>ADR</b>	Alternative Dispute Resolution
<b>CC</b>	County Commissioner
<b>CDF</b>	Chief of Defense Forces
<b>CECM</b>	County Executive Committee Member
<b>DCC</b>	Deputy County Commissioner
<b>DSC</b>	Defense Staff College
<b>ECD</b>	Early Childhood Education
<b>IDIS</b>	DEPARTMENT of International Studies
<b>KA</b>	Kenya Army
<b>KNBS</b>	Kenya Bureau of Statistics
<b>NGOs</b>	Non-Governmental Organization
<b>NSAC</b>	National Security Advisory Council
<b>SD</b>	Standard Deviation
<b>SPSS</b>	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nation Development Program

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

#### 1.1 Introduction

Inter-ethnic conflicts in socio-cultural settings constitute meaning, values, and classes in society<sup>1</sup> strengthening the identity of a common group of people who come together to fight a common course thus reaping the benefit of resources, wealth, or power<sup>2</sup>. The reasons for the internal struggles of smaller groups of community members are political, social, and economic reasons within a cosmopolitan society.

Game Chris argues that devolution was about the distribution of power and resource by the central government to decentralized units or regions<sup>3</sup>. The devolved territories were given powers to make legislation relevant to their jurisdiction thus granting them a higher level of autonomy. He goes on to say that devolution differs from federalism in that devolved powers of subnational authorities may be transitory or reversible, and that the central government retains ultimate control. As a result, the central government can repeal or change the Act that established devolved assemblies in order to reduce or eliminate their authority.

This study examines the impact of the devolved governance on inter-ethnic conflicts among cosmopolitan counties of Kenya with a case study of Laikipia County. This chapter covers the background to the study, statement of the problem to the study, research questions, and research objectives. Others include literature review, the study hypothesis, justification, theoretical framework, methodology, and finally the chapter outline.

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<sup>1</sup> Howard, Lisa Morje. The Ethnocracy Trap. *Journal of Democracy*, 2012, 23(4): 155-169.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

<sup>3</sup> Game, Chris. *Look to French in Great Devolution Battle*. Birminghampost, 2019.

## 1.2 Background of the Study

Globally, conflicts continue to occur with social, political, and economic issues taking center stage<sup>4</sup> thus creating a persistent ethnicity and failed social development of the traditional society. Both Socialists and Capitalists concur that inter-ethnic conflicts reflect traditional society set up, where people lived in small communities of varying groups' shared values<sup>5</sup>. In the recent past, scholars have challenged the existence of traditional society and roots for its replacement in terms of global socialism or capitalism<sup>6</sup>. Many expected that modernization in form of urbanization, and the introduction of education would reduce inter-ethnic conflicts ending ethnic tension in traditional society. The period immediately after the cold war had a great percentage of intra-state conflicts linked to mostly within the former communist states, separatist movements are taking place in areas such as Yugoslavia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and China<sup>7</sup>. In addition, other conflicts involving ethnic-separatist in Sri Lanka, Myanmar, West Papua, East Timor, Catalonia, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Afghanistan were witnessed<sup>8</sup>.

According to the United National Development Programme (UNDP), an inter-ethnic conflict was a global challenge where elites were considered rational actors in modern conflicts. As result, the global society recorded increased violence perpetrated by irrational territorial fights with little or no intrinsic worthwhile major states' inter-ethnic conflicts were linked to skewed accessibility to state resources. Griffith argues that the existence of a global patronage network between law

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<sup>4</sup>DalleMulle, Emmanuel. Belgium and Brussels Question: *The Role of Non-Territorial Autonomy in Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe, Ethno Politics*, 2016.

<sup>5</sup>Guss, Jason, Siroky, and David S. *Living with Heterogeneity: Bridging the Ethnic Divide in Bosnia*. Comparative Sociology, 2012.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid

<sup>7</sup>Lyon A. *Decentralization and the Management of Ethnic Conflict: A Case Study of the Republic of Macedonia*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Bradford, 2012.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid

makers and local groups makes it effective to instigate inter-tribal violence for political gains<sup>9</sup>. Because ethnic groups rely on their co-ethnic politicians for state resources, they are more likely to respond violently to calls for violence against other ethnic groups<sup>10</sup>.

Ethnicity in Africa, according to Etefa<sup>11</sup>, is a social construct shaped by Africans and European colonialism. It claims that in exchange for allegiance and work rights, some Africans were provided security and money. These communities established a power hierarchy based on laws and traditions that set them apart. The European powers took advantage of this by identifying collaborators as administrators and portraying those who opposed them as rebels.

Etefa's observations show that each ethnic group on the African continent has its own culture, customs, beliefs, and political system. Given its diversity, it's no surprise that Africa has seen several inter-ethnic conflicts. Civil wars and genocides have erupted as a result of these conflicts, which have been waged along ethnic lines. In Nigeria for instance the Northern region was secluded from the Southern and Eastern regions by the colonial and post-independence regimes<sup>12</sup>. This was followed by the skewed distribution of wealth and physical infrastructure in favor of the Southeast region. The Northerners waged war against Igbo ethnic group leading to more than 1,000,000 deaths. Rwanda's 1994 genocide displayed the most horrific inter-ethnic

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<sup>9</sup> Griffith, Leuan. The Scramble for Africa: Inherited Political Boundaries. *Geographical Journal*, 152, 1986 (2): 204-16.

<sup>10</sup>Etefa, T. *Ethnicity as Tool: The Root Causes of Ethnic Conflict in Africa*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2019.

<sup>11</sup>Etefa, T. *Ethnicity as Tool: The Root Causes of Ethnic Conflict in Africa*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2019.

<sup>12</sup>Anglin Douglas G. Review of the International Politics of Nigerian Civil War 1967-1970 in John J. Stremlau. *International Journal*, 34.2 (1979), 332-33.

violence, where the war was fought along ethnic lines with attempted killing of Tutsi by Hutu people leading to over 800,000 deaths majority being Tutsi and liberal Hutus<sup>13</sup>.

The root cause of inter-ethnic conflicts in Africa was explained differently by different researchers. According to Cordell, the most available source addresses the conflict in Africa from ethnic diversity, colonial segregation, and competition for natural resources, drought, and food shortage. Other researchers argued that non-inclusive political systems, ethnic manipulation, marginalization and neglect, monopolization of state resources, and a lack of democratic processes to redress issues were the root causes of conflict<sup>14</sup>.

Boone and Catherine<sup>15</sup> opined a frequent inter-ethnic conflict in Kenya since the inception of the multi-party oriented politics in the country in 1991, pitting various political groupings, particularly in the former Rift Valley. The conflicts have extended from the political actors to include the cosmopolitan pastoral dominated counties of Baringo, Isiolo, Marsabit, Mandera, Garissa, Tana River, Narok, and Laikipia with rampant cattle rustling.

Laikipia County is located in the semi-arid area in Kenya receiving little overall rainfall. Cheserek, Grace, Paul, Omondi, and Victor Odenyo's assertion in their study on nature and causes of cattle rustling found out that different ethnic groups struggle for access to limited watering points and pasture for their cattle<sup>16</sup>. While it was reported that the architecture of conflicts due to pastoralism changes with time, however, the violence witnessed recently in

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<sup>13</sup>Cordell, Karl and Steff Wolff. *Ethnic Conflict: Causes-Consequences Responses*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Boone, Catherine. Land Conflicts and Distributive Politics in Kenya. *African Studies Review*, 55(1)pp75-103.

<sup>16</sup>Cheserek, Grace, J., Paul, Omondi and Victor, A.O. Odenyo. Nature and Causes of Cattle Rustling among Some Pastoral Communities in Kenya. *Journal of Emerging Trends in Economic Management Science JETEMS*; 3, 2012 (2), 173-179.



Kenya suggests that there are new undisclosed dynamics. It seems that the trend of pastoral conflict had changed with the new dispensation of devolved governance where resources that had been stated as a major cause of conflicts meant taking them closer to the people have had an impact on the inter-ethnic conflict among pastoral communities in Kenya.

A struggle in the United Kingdom (UK) to decentralize resources through parliament elucidated major political parties' confrontations. McCall Chris asserts that devolution was seen as the only way to ensure the decision-making process was closer to people at lower levels<sup>17</sup>. A devolved system of governance in the United Kingdom was asymmetric, with different forms of devolution and varying degrees of power in different parts of the country. Watson and Jeremy pointed out that although Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland have both executive and legislative devolution, Metro Mayors in some parts of England only have executive powers<sup>18</sup>.

According to Wolffe James, Countries in Asia such as India, Malaysia, and Indonesia have adopted devolved governance to correct colonial centralized system of governance<sup>19</sup>. Although countries such as Thailand and Nepal were not under colonial rule, they had histories of a central of governance not different from colonizers. During the struggle for independence in the 1950s, Smith David observed that Asian Countries which had centralized systems experienced strong waves of decentralization<sup>20</sup>. Since much was not achieved, the post-colonial period of the 1960s-1970s saw countries such as Bangladesh, Sri Lanka centralized system the Philippines renew conflict with the central feature being the need for more devolution of power and resources.

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<sup>17</sup> McCall, Chris. *Scottish Independence Referendum*, Daily Record, 23, October, 2020.

<sup>18</sup> Watson, Jeremy. *Independence Vote will be Key Part of SNP Manifesto*, 23, October, 2020.

<sup>19</sup> Wolffe, W James. *Devolution and Statute Book*. Statute Law Review. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021

<sup>20</sup> Smith, David M; Wistrich, Enid, *Devolution and Localism*, England, 2014

Audretch, David, Bonser, and Charles argue that devolution was introduced in South Africa as a means of checking Apartheid that had discriminated against African majority participation in governance and development<sup>21</sup>. Apartheid was highly centralized, thus denying Africans in rural areas access to essential services. Therefore, they concluded that devolution was introduced to minimize conflicts between the white minority and the black majority. Consequently, service provision and economic development became the responsibilities of devolved units<sup>22</sup>. Mahmood Hussein<sup>23</sup>, devolution in Kenya, goes hand in hand with improvement development; secure lives and livelihoods, and peace and thus it was expected that with devolution, the dominant factors driving pastoral conflicts have been identified, however, many studies have offered varying views.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

Most of the inter-ethnic conflicts in Kenya have been linked to political, cultural, religious, and marginalization particularly in the semi-arid areas dominated by pastoral communities. Njoroge and Kirori, posit that centralized systems of governance have been blamed for planting the seeds of mistrust, tension, and incidence of inter-ethnic conflicts<sup>24</sup>. To alleviate this challenge, Kenyans passed the Constitution of Kenya (2010) containing 47 semi-autonomous resourced Counties. In his observation, Joram Kareithi, highlighted those inter-ethnic conflicts among

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<sup>21</sup>Audretch David B; Bonser, Charles F., *Globalization and Regionalization: Challenges of Public Policy*. Kulwer Academic Publishers 2002 pp 25-28

<sup>22</sup> Ibid

<sup>23</sup> Mahmood Hussein A. Conflicts and Constrains to Peace among Pastoralist in Northern Kenya. In Baregu, Mwesiga ed. *Understanding Obstacles to Peace: Actors Interests and Strategies in Africa's Great Lakes Region*. International Development Research Centre. Kampala Fountain Publishers, 2011, 146-168.

<sup>24</sup>Margaret Njoroge, Gabriel Kirori. Ethnocentric: Significance and Effect of Kenya Society. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relation*, 8, 2014 (9); 356-367.

pastoral counties are widespread; resulting in deaths, displacement, and loss of livestock<sup>25</sup> against the expectation that the new governance structures would have meant ending perennial pastoral conflicts.

Studies conducted on devolved governance, have concentrated on devolution and societal development. Mwaniki, in his study on politics and conflict resolutions, found out that the nature of pastoral conflicts seems to change its course due to contemporary dynamics<sup>26</sup>. Kaprom found out that the dominant root cause for conflict in pastoral communities for a long time has been on traditional factors,<sup>27</sup> such as offensive conflicts on the account of scarcity on one hand, and conflict on the counter defense of availability of pasture and water.

With continued losses of lives and destructions of property and mass displacements, the researcher was interested in understanding how devolution impacted inter-ethnic conflicts in cosmopolitan counties in Kenya with a case study of Laikipia County; which had frequently experienced violent inter-ethnic conflicts.

#### **1.4 Research Questions**

- i. To what degree has devolution influenced the pastoral conflicts in Laikipia County?
- ii. What are the dynamics of inter-ethnic conflicts in Laikipia County from 2010 to 2021?
- iii. What are the conflict management mechanisms used by the Laikipia County government?

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<sup>25</sup>JoramKareithi, N. The Multi-factor Conflicted in North Rift Frontier Border Lands, Kenya: Implications on Pastoral Welfare and Livelihood. *Journal of Anthropology and Archaeology*, 3, 2015, (1) pp 37-57.

<sup>26</sup>Mwaniki, P. *Mediation and Peace Building through Regional Arms Control and Diplomacy*; Monograph, 173, 2010.

<sup>27</sup>Kaprom Titus. *Effect of Cattle Rustling on Economic Development: A Case of Masol Location, West Pokot County*. Unpublished Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2015.

## **1.5 Research Objectives**

### **1.5.1 Main Objective**

To examine the dynamics of inter-ethnic conflicts in pastoral cosmopolitan counties in Kenya in the face of devolution.

### **1.5.2 Specific Objectives**

- i. To establish how devolution has influenced the inter-ethnic conflicts in Laikipia County.
- ii. To analyze inter-ethnic conflicts trends in Laikipia County from 2010 to 2021.
- iii. To identify conflict management mechanisms established by the Laikipia County government.

## **1.6 Literature Review**

### **1.6.1 Theoretical framework**

Instrumentality theory suggests that inter-ethnic conflict was used as means of achieving political ends<sup>28</sup>. According to this theory, inter-ethnic grouping is for certain gains rather than blood ties. The theory asserts that instrumental inter-ethnic group was formed based on common challenges, thus different groups are formed in pursuit of common political motives. Leaders to instrumental theory use certain symbols; language, culture, common agenda, etc. to easily mobilize members<sup>29</sup>.

Proponents of the theory such as Chandra argue that individuals keep affiliating themselves with distinct groups, professionals, organizations, and interest groups to achieve particular goals<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>28</sup>Esteban, Esteban, Joan, Laura Mayoral and Debraj Ray. *Ethnic Conflict: An Empirical Study America Review*, 102 No4 (2012); 1310-1342.

<sup>29</sup> Chandra, Kanchan. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid, 2004.

The theory links inter-ethnic conflicts to competition for the same goals, power, and access to resources or territory. It appears that to instrumentalists, conflicts qualify to become inter-ethnic when the elite class engages in drawing together their ethnic groups to participate in politically instigated conflicts.

Posen differs in his view, and suggests other factors other than ethnic identity as a cause of inter-ethnic conflicts; these factors include security concerns, competition, inequality, and greed<sup>31</sup>. In a cosmopolitan society, multi-ethnic groups are brought together by other factors such as government and human right organization agitating for equal rights and participation in political, economic, and social development, for all irrespective of gender, ethnic, orientation, or religious affiliation. The elite's socio-economic needs define Laikipia County's political manipulation during the electioneering period; these contribute to the cycle of tension, ethnic inclination, and consequently killings, cattle rustling, destruction of property, insecurity, resulting in internally displaced persons.

According to Gauthier David, social constructivism focuses on the nature of ethnic identities<sup>32</sup>. The theory states that social and economic factors strengthen ethnic identities. The proponent of this thought such as Vallentyne Peter view factors such as language, religion, and physical characteristics to be important in creating ethnic identities<sup>33</sup>. Therefore, people choose their ethnic identities based on social, political, economic, and biological conditions. Drawing from McKinley's concept of the imagined community<sup>34</sup>, constructivism theory has been used to

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<sup>31</sup> Posen, Barry. *The security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflicts Survival*, 35 No 1(1993); 27-47.

<sup>32</sup> Gauthier, David. *Morals Dealing: Constructs, Ethnic and Reason*, Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1990.

<sup>33</sup> Vallentyne, Peter. *Constructionist and Rational Choice*. New York Cambridge University Press, 1991

<sup>34</sup> McKinley J. Critical Argument and Writer Identity: Social Constructivism as Theoretical Framework. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 12, (3), 2015, pp 184-2017

account for the Tutsi and Hutu conflict in Rwanda. Belgian colonial power codified the distinction based on cattle ownership, physical measurements, and records with identities assigned based on such criteria, which later played a crucial part in the 1994 massacre.

In Kenya, there exist different ethnic groups depending on their social constructivism resulting from interaction and migration with social constructs such as language and ethnicity being traditional causes of conflicts. However, the frequent Laikipia conflicts are associated with pastoralists and farmers' constructs.

### **1.6.2 Devolution and Conflict**

Devolution and decentralization of power are often considered as means of achieving peace. Drawing from the experiences of Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines, Boone suggests that devolution be carried out with sincerity to achieve objectives of peace<sup>35</sup>. Devolution presents different systems on which distribution of power and resources are based. However, it had something in common such as perceived or real struggles for state resources rooted in political, social, and economic marginalization.

Although devolution has been recognized as inevitable, it had been implemented in varying degrees across Africa. Enshrined in the constitution of South Africa are the principles of decentralization where service provision and economic development have been devolved<sup>36</sup>. Water, sanitation, energy, and housing are municipal responsibilities, while education health and transport are responsibilities of devolved provinces. However, financial distress had made municipalities unable to render services.

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<sup>35</sup>Boone C. Decentralization as Political Strategy in West Africa, *Comparative Political Studies*, 36 2003: 355-80.

<sup>36</sup>Thierry Giordano, *South Africa: When Devolved governance Fails*, Pretoria South Africa, 2013

In Kenya, at independence (1963), devolution *Majimbo* was first proposed as the best system by establishing eight (provinces) regions, however, it was disbanded on grounds that it would bring disunity and spread tribalism. The regions remained in existence with the primary role of enhancing security across the country with no focus on devolution of resources. There have been several unsuccessful attempts to change Kenya's Constitutions until it is eventually passed the Constitution of Kenya (2010) establishing 47 County governments with devolved power and resources aimed at addressing the central system of governance's inadequacies.

Cheeseman, Lynch, and Willis suggest that conflict resolution was more difficult in a society where there is a cultural difference between communities, devolution poses a new challenge since power was concentrated in the hands of elites, coupled with the absence of a credible civil society that can mediate conflicts<sup>37</sup>. Devolution requires new thinking to incorporate minority rights, including sharing of power and economic resource, acknowledging culture, and other symbols of political representation. Literature suggests that devolution can tackle the issues of underdevelopment and inter-ethnic conflicts. In agreement with these sentiments, Chome, argues that devolution goes beyond the economic development agenda to include checks in abuse of central power<sup>38</sup>. This was possible by the establishment of semi-autonomous sub-national governments that exercise and execute power independently from the central government. However, devolution may have a different meaning to elites; it meant ethnic mobilization for political gains.

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<sup>37</sup>Cheeseman, N., G. Lynch & Willis. Democracy and Its Discontents: Understanding Kenya's Election. *Journal of East Africa Studies*, 8, 2014 (1); 2-24.

<sup>38</sup>Chome, N. Devolution is only for Development. Decentralization and Elite Vulnerability on the Kenya Coast. *Critical African Studies*, 7, 2015(3); 299-316.

Dyzenhaus posits that effective grassroots development requires viable economic units, as such, it becomes easy for community participation and accountability of resources<sup>39</sup>. Likewise, effective inter-ethnic conflict resolution requires small but homogeneous units with power and resources. Since conflicts are inevitable in cosmopolitan societies, varying conflict resolution mechanisms are required to accommodate varied views. According to the views of Zanker who supports the concept of devolution, inter-ethnic conflicts could be addressed by ensuring that people's participation is expressed through local politics regardless of ethnic identity<sup>40</sup>. However, a dilemma was raised as to whether the current devolved system in Kenya can accommodate different ways of life of local people; protecting human life, restoring justice, and enhancing peaceful coexistence had become a challenge with the devolution of resources and political power.

By the observation of Akech, Kenya received its "full share" of ethno-electoral violence in 1992, 1997, 2002, and 2007, these conflicts occurred due to centralized political power<sup>41</sup>. However, this was not the case in the aftermath of the 2010 constitution, whereby there was a peaceful election and transfer of power. Further, Akech lamented that devolution had tried to address inter-ethnic conflicts by establishing national values and principles of good governance, but the current inter-tribal wars occurred due to perceived community marginalization and exclusion. A study carried out by Cheeseman portrays warning due to threats that had come along with devolution; he termed it as devolution of patronage-based politics and corruption, and the tendency for creating winners and losers at the local level, worsening the local social cleavages

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<sup>39</sup>Dyzenhaus, A. *Local government and Minority Representation: the experience of decentralization in Kenya*, Unpublished MPhil Dissertation, University of Oxford, 2015.

<sup>40</sup>Zanker, F., Simon C. & Mehler. Power Peace and Space in Africa: Revisiting Territorial Power Sharing, *African Affairs*, 114, 2015 (445), 72-91.

<sup>41</sup>Akech. *Institutional Reforms in the New Constitution of Kenya*. Nairobi: International Centre for Transitional Justice, 2010.



and creating new fault lines of inter-ethnic conflicts<sup>42</sup>. From the above review, it was evident that studies have been done on devolution, but with less focus on devolved governance influence on inter-ethnics among cosmopolitan counties.

### **1.6.3 The Trends of Inter-ethnic Conflicts**

Viets Peter asserts that recurring violence in Thailand had been exacerbating to the greatest extent due to centralized government and border communities' relations. The study revealed that the communities have been peacefully co-existing until the government was unable to contain political and administrative institutions. Likewise, Indonesia's deadly violence had been associated with a retrogressive political, social, and economic setup. HaldunCanci and Opeyemi Adedoyin Odukoya observed that in Nigeria, Christian's anxieties about Muslim domination in national politics had sparked deadly conflicts<sup>43</sup> with the Christians accusing the Muslims national resources mismanagement which have denied opportunities and impoverished the majority of Nigerians<sup>44</sup>. The competition over resources, cattle, land, and governmental offices has resulted in endless warfare between Muslim tribes, primarily Hausa and Fulani, and Christian populations.

Carrier Neil and Hassan Kochore established that livestock rearing among pastoralists' communities in Kenya has been reduced due to climate change occasioned by drought and reduction of water and pasture,<sup>45</sup> coupled with the high demand for beef in urban centers, a large number of youth resort to the outdated culture of cattle rustling for survival. Large raids have

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<sup>42</sup>NicCheeseman. Decentralization in Kenya: The Governance of Governors. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 54 2016 (1); pp 1-35.

<sup>43</sup>HaldunCanci and OpeyemiAdedoy in Odukoya.Ethnic and Religious Crises in Nigeria.*European Journal of Science Research*, 23 (3) 2016 pp279-292

<sup>44</sup> Ibid

<sup>45</sup>Carrier, Neil and Hassan Kochore.Navigating Ethnicity and Electoral Politics in Northern Kenya. The Case of 2013 Election, *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 8/1, 2014, 135-52.

been influenced by ethnic inclination where youths within the same ethnic group gather themselves in numbers to execute the vice<sup>46</sup>. This ethnic arrangement had succeeded due to low-security beef-ups in conflict-prone areas. Moreover, political patronage fuels this further and makes it a lucrative venture. Mutuku and James Curry assert that manipulation of youth by political leaders during the electioneering period in Kenya enables them to unleash violence without any condemnation<sup>47</sup>.

Ethnicity in Kenya had for many years been used as a bargaining tool for economic and political competition. This had further been worsened by devolution amongst pastoralist communities which view the other as the cause of their underdevelopment thus creating mistrust and escalating inter-ethnic conflicts<sup>48</sup>. Makau Ruth Mbugua argues that some politicians perceive that non-pastoral societies have benefited from state resources the disadvantage of the pastoral communities<sup>49</sup>. Accordingly, devolution had brought hope for pastoralists to correct past regimes' marginalization; however, the economic condition of the country had made this difficult to be achieved. This had further increased discontent among pastoral societies leading to conflict over the scarcity of resources. Sharamo, observed the direct result of inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo to be the loss of livestock and human life<sup>50</sup>.

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<sup>46</sup>Wekesa, S. M. *County Government and Rights of Marginalized Ethnic Minorities in Kenya: Evaluating the Potential Challenges and Benefits of Devolution*, Unpublished LLM Thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2012.

<sup>47</sup>Mutuku, K., James Curry. Complexities of Cattle Raiding in Karamoja. *Nomadic People Journal*, 14, 2010 (20), 87-105.

<sup>48</sup>ManjiAmbreena. The Politics of Land Reforms in Kenya, *African Studies Review*, 57/1, 2014, 115-130.

<sup>49</sup>Makau Ruth Mbugua. *Role of Devolution in Resolving Inter-Communal Conflicts in Kenya, the Case of MeruBorana Conflict in Isiolo County*. Unpolished Thesis University of Nairobi, 2018.

<sup>50</sup>Sharamo, R. *The Politics of Pastoral Violence: A case of Study of Isiolo County*, Northern Kenya, June 2014.

Warurii, Fredrick Kariuki focused on historical trends, causes, effects, and interventions to inter-ethnic conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County, Kenya between 1963 and 2010<sup>51</sup>. Competition for socio-economic resources among and between communities was the main cause of inter-ethnic conflicts. However, his study did not carry out analysis on the conflict's trends, particularly in the face of devolution thus presenting a research gap for this study. Peter Nguki Kamau analyzed local perceptions of drought and conflicts in Laikipia West Sub County between 2007 and 2018<sup>52</sup>. The analysis of narrative from 174 respondents showed the perception of drought and conflicts to be influenced by ethnicity and livelihood conditions with severe drought occurring in January to March corresponding with the communities' conflicting periods.

This study relied on qualitative research only; the current study filled this gap by using both qualitative and quantitative research. In August and September 2021, there have been reported cases of inter-ethnic conflicts in OI Moran in Laikipia West Sub County as villagers flee their homes following attacks that saw bandits' torch 50houses in Kisii Ndogo village<sup>53</sup> that forced the security agencies to mount security operations including curfew declaration by the National Security Advisory Council (NSAC).

#### **1.6.4 Ethnic Conflict Resolution Mechanism**

Myers and Shinn, recommend that the need for peaceful coexistence among communities had attracted concern from international actors, national and county governments as well as non-

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<sup>51</sup>Warurii, Fredrick Kariuki, *Inter-Ethnic Conflicts Trends, Causes, Effects and Interventions to Inter-ethnic Conflicts in Rumuruti Division of Laikipia County, Kenya*, 2010.

<sup>52</sup>Peter NgukiKamau. *Local Perceptions of Drought and Conflicts in Laikipia West Sub County, Kenya*, 2018.

<sup>53</sup>Kenya. *Authorities Launch Security Operations in Laikipia County*, September 7 2021.

governmental organizations (NGOs)<sup>54</sup>. They recommend that governments should follow the international community objective of using all means to avoid wars of all sorts of nature and use diplomacy to achieve world peace. According to Meyers and Shinn, Sri Lanka's prolonged conflict ended in 2009 after a political approach was taken to resolve the existing problems<sup>55</sup>. Specifically, Wayne D Brazil, suggests that the resolution to end the conflict relied on two points: first was building a pluralistic, human rights, freedom, and equal opportunity for all were guaranteed in a democratic state, while the second was devolution of resources and power, as well as negotiation<sup>56</sup>.

Kekarias Kenneaa argues that conflict resolution mechanisms among African societies encompass a series of alternative dispute resolution (ADR) normally outside formal courts litigation was ideal because most the conflicts in African societies are traditional. Stephen Goldberg, Frank Sander, and Nancy Rogers identified mediation, reconciliation, negotiation, arbitration, and adjudication to be common ADRs that have yielded positive results in Ghana, Ethiopia, and Nigeria<sup>57</sup>, while cases requiring constitutional interpretation and which ADR cannot handle are referred to the courts.

The common objective of peaceful coexistence penetrates boundaries and draws together members of different backgrounds aiming to achieve peace. However, Theresa, observed that

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<sup>54</sup>Meyers L J and Shinn D H. *Appreciating Traditional Forms of Healing Conflicts in Africa and the World*, 2010.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid.

<sup>56</sup>Wayne D. Brazil, Court ADR 25 Years after Pound: Have we found a better Way? *Ohio State Journal on Dispute Resolution*, 18 no 1 2002.

<sup>57</sup> Stephen Goldberg, Frank Sander, and Nancy Rogers, *Dispute Resolution*, 2d e. Boston: Little, Brown, 1992.

international laws are only binding to those nations and communities who subscribe to them,<sup>58</sup> making states sovereignty a paralysis to the application of international law.

Negotiations, arbitrations, and judicial settlement are important principles of conflict resolution,<sup>59</sup> which may be useful for Laikipia County conflicts settlement. Dungu and Wepundi established that the state had an upper hand in restoring security, negotiating peace, and developing an agenda<sup>60</sup>. However, lack of political goodwill and corruption has become impediments. While donor peace initiatives through peace caravans have become the alternative, they are, however, not designed to tackle inter-ethnic conflict in isolation without the government's support and locals' integration. Ajayi and Buhari highlighted that despite the peace mechanism such as intensified police operations and disarmament against illegal arms among pastoral communities, there has been strong resistance from the affected communities backed by the political leaders which make the exercise unsuccessful,<sup>61</sup> leaving thousands of arms in untrained civilians.

### **1.6.5 Research Gaps**

The study reviewed relevant literature related to the objectives of the study and found out that studies have been carried out with a major focus on national government mechanisms on conflict resolution, ignoring the role of the county government. Therefore, this study seeks to address this gap by examining the dynamic of inter-ethnic conflict in the cosmopolitan County of Laikipia in Kenya in the face of devolution.

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<sup>58</sup> Theresa, A. A. Methods of Conflict Resolution in African Traditional Society, *Indexed African Journal Online*, 8, 2014 (33), 138-157.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid

<sup>60</sup> Dungu J. N and Wepundi, J. *Transition and Reform: People's Peacemaking Perspectives on Kenya's Post 2008 political Crisis and Lessons for the Future*, Safeworld, 2012.

<sup>61</sup> Ajayi and Buhari. Methods of Conflict Resolution in African Traditional Society, an *International Multidisciplinary Journal Ethiopia*, 8, 2014 (2) pp 138-157.

## **1.7 Justification**

Laikipia County and other cosmopolitan counties in Kenya have continued to experienced inter-ethnic conflicts despite the devolutions of power and resources.

The peaceful coexistence of different communities in Laikipia County contributed to the prosperity of the entire country. This was in line with principles of devolution and good governance. While many researchers have linked the cause of conflict in Laikipia County to the cultural differences among communities, the recent trend of conflicts needed to be investigated to understand how devolution had impacted the conflicts. It was expected that study would be useful among policymakers at county and national government as it would help in designing peace strategies that ensured mitigation of inter-ethnic conflicts amongst cosmopolitan counties. It would also add to the existing knowledge on the inter-ethnic conflict which researchers can use for future study. Although this study was carried out in Laikipia County, the findings would be relevant not only to other pastoral counties experiencing inter-ethnic conflict in Kenya but also to other African countries where the devolved system of governance had been implemented but experiencing inter-ethnic conflicts.

## **1.8 Theoretical Framework**

Inter-ethnic conflicts can be explained using primordial theory<sup>62</sup>. Primordialist put ethnic conflict as a natural phenomenon that happens as a result of cultural differences.

Primordialist theory explains ethnic conflict to occur through natural phenomena, which frequently occur as a result of biological attributes and historical cultural differenceThe

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<sup>62</sup> Williams, Dodeye. How useful are the Main Existing Theories of Conflicts? *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, 4 2015 (1) 147-152. s<sup>62</sup>.

proponents of this theory believed conflicts to arise due to migrations, formation of different tribes, languages, and cultures. Thus, cultural differences, hatred, and inter-ethnic conflicts were passed from one generation to generation. Horowitz believed that inter-ethnic conflicts intensify as new differences arise, to this theory, ethnicity was described as relational, resulting in inward and outward groupings<sup>63</sup>. Therefore, it becomes natural for two different ethnic groups to fight with one another to protect their cultural beliefs. Primordialism, explains conflicts to be inevitable because of past atrocities committed by one ethnic group against the other.

In Laikipia County, some ethnic groups have been identified with strong cultural roots than others; the association of dominance in culture to prosperity was likely to fuel inter-ethnic violence in the pastoral communities. According to Smith, inter-ethnic conflicts are fueled by bad memories, and the experiences of one ethnic group, while good memories and experiences contribute to relatively peaceful coexistence among ethnic groups. Inter-Ethnic conflicts in Laikipia County appears to be not only caused by ethnic blood ties and cultural difference but also can be explained by elite manipulation to make ends meet in the political, social, and economic spheres of life.

## **1.9 Hypothesis**

**H0<sub>1</sub>**: Devolution has not significantly influenced the pastoral conflicts in Laikipia County.

**H0<sub>2</sub>**: Conflicts trends in Laikipia County have continued to increase despite the introduction of devolved governance.

**H0<sub>3</sub>**: Management mechanisms established by the Laikipia County government have not mitigated inter-ethnic conflicts.

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<sup>63</sup> Horowitz, Donald. *Ethnic Groups in Conflicts*, California: University Press, 1985.

## **1.10 Methodology**

The research design, study area, population, sampling strategies, data collection methods, data analysis, data presentation, and ethical considerations are all covered in this part.

### **1.10.1 Research Design**

This study adopted a descriptive research design. According to Zikmund, the descriptive design consists of fact findings through extensive field research<sup>64</sup>. This design facilitated the collection, analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data. A quantitative approach was used to design specific, narrow, and quantifiable questions that were used to collect data from the sample population. Also, quantitative approaches facilitate data to be collected from the Likert scale instrument<sup>65</sup>. Sekaran observed that a qualitative approach would be used to interview respondents, specifically, was used to ask general questions in an interview<sup>66</sup>. The design provided insight into different dimensions of inter-ethnic conflicts in Laikipia County in relation to devolution, trends, and conflict resolution mechanism. The design was appropriate as it facilitated a detailed description of devolved governance and inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia County; therefore, it would be useful for the generalization of findings.

### **1.10.2 Study Area**

Laikipia County has 5 Sub Counties: Laikipia Central, Laikipia West, Laikipia North, Laikipia East and Nyahururu sub-Counties. It is one of the 47 counties of Kenya, located in the South Rift Valley region. The county has got two major urban centers; Nanyuki to the South-East and

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<sup>64</sup>Zikmund W. G. *Business Research methods*, London: Thompson South Western Publication, 2010.

<sup>65</sup> Yin, R. K. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, Applied Social Research Methods, Vol. 5, 2002.

<sup>66</sup>Sekaran, U. *Research Methods for Business. A skill Building Approach*. New York: John Weley and Sons, 2008.



Nyahururu to the South-West. It borders Samburu County to the North, Isiolo County to the North East, Meru County to the East, Nyeri County to the South East, Nyandarua County to the South, Nakuru County to the South West and Baringo County to the West<sup>67</sup>.

The sub-county has four (4) Divisions, 14 Locations, 28 sub-Locations, and six (6) Wards (Olmora, Rumuruti, Githiga, Marmanet, Igwamiti, and Salama) covering an area of 3,372Sq Km. It was a cosmopolitan sub-county with the major inhabitants being the Kikuyu, Maasai, Somali, Rendile, Meru, Kalenjin, Turkana, Samburu, and Pokot communities with farming, pastoralism, and business being the major economic activities. Cattle rustling and banditry were prevalent due to economic marginalization political manipulation and incitation of ethnic groups<sup>68</sup>. The researcher chose Laikipia West Sub County purposively because of the unique nature of inter-ethnic conflicts in the sub-county.

### **1.10.3 Study Population**

The term "population" refers to the entire collection of all aspects of interest for whom the researcher seeks to generalize the study's findings. Laikipia West Sub County has a population of 129, 260 people, according to the Kenya 2019 Census (65,158 males, 64,102 females).

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<sup>67</sup>Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, *Kenya Population and House Census*, Vol, 1 2019.

<sup>68</sup>Laikipia County Government. *Living in Laikipia County*; Retrieved September, 2021.

**Table 1.1 Study Population**

	<b>Population</b>	Household
Male	65,158	
Female	64,102	33,025
Total	<b>129,260</b>	

**Source: KNBS, 2019**

#### **1.10.4 Target Population**

A target population is a subset of the general population with similar characteristics from which a sample was chosen to represent the complete population. This study comprised; County Commissioner (CC), Deputy County Commissioner (DCC), Sub County Police Commander (SCPC), Assistant County commissioners (ACC), Chiefs, Assistant Chiefs, Ward Administrators, the business community, opinion leaders, and community members. This group was targeted since it made a good representative of the entire population that the results of the study were generalized.

#### **1.10.5 Study sample size and Sampling Procedure**

Louis, Lawrence, and Keith define sampling as the means of identifying and picking a specific percentage of subjects from the population. Yamane provides a specific formula for calculating sample

$$\text{thus; } n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where n = Sample size, N = Population size and e = Level of precision (0.05)

$$n = \frac{187}{1 + 187(0.05)^2}$$

$$n = 128$$

Yamane describes the scientific formula as techniques to be used to select the sample from a known population<sup>69</sup>. This formula was used to calculate sample size for Community Members, National government Administration, County Government officers, and Opinion Leaders. Yamane sampling technique was important as it provides sample population that was used to generalize the findings to the wider population and it enabled the researcher to make inferences. This sampling technique was important as it provided a scientific way of obtaining sample size on the research study of inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia County about the ethnic composition. Although the researcher targeted 128 respondents, only 112 (87.5%) responded as shown in table 2.1.

#### **1.10.5 .1 Community Members**

The members of the community were represented by two (2) elders selected from each of the 7 Wards totaling 14 elders in number.

#### **1.10.5.2 National Government Administration**

The total population for government officials from the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of the National government in the sub-county was 48 in number. The researcher included the County Commissioner thus bringing the number targeted at 49 officials. They comprised CC (1), DCC (1), ACC (4), Sub County Police Commander (1) Chiefs (14), and Assistant Chiefs (28).

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<sup>69</sup>Moutinho L., and Hustcheson, G. Statistical Modelling for Business and Management. *Computing*, 78, 2000 (2): 117-135.

### 1.10.5.3 County Government Officers

The County government was represented by the County Executive Committee Member (CECM) in charge of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries (1) and Ward Administrators (7) totaling Nine (9) County officers.

### 1.10.5.4 Selected Sample

The selected sample was 128 determined and distributed in table 1.2 below:

**Table 1.2 Sample Size**

<b>Population</b>	<b>Sample Size</b>	<b>Sample Procedure</b>
CC	1	Purposive
DCC	1	Purposive
Sub County Police Commander	1	Purposive
ACC	3	Simple random
Chiefs	10	Simple random
Assistant Chiefs	20	Simple random
CECM	1	Purposive
Director	1	Purposive
Ward Administrators	5	Simple random
Religious Leaders	75	Simple random
Elders (two per Ward)	10	Simple random
<b>Total</b>	<b>128</b>	

**Source: Researcher, 2021**

### **1.10.6 Data Collection Methods**

Mugenda and Mugenda observed that data can be collected using primary and secondary methods<sup>70</sup>. Primary data for the study was collected through questionnaires, and interviews (oral and written). Questionnaires were issued to various groups of respondents. A total of 112 respondents responded to structured questions, while 20 respondents were interviewed. Also, this data was being collected through archived government information (Quarterly and annual reports). The instrument was designed and guided by objectives, research questions, hypotheses, and conceptual framework. Secondary data was collected from books, articles, journals, theses, published and unpublished papers<sup>71</sup>. These contain work on inter-ethnic conflict globally, regionally, and nationally. From these sources, data was obtained and analyzed and gaps were identified.

### **1.10.7 Data Analysis**

The raw data gathered was first analyzed by grouping the instrument into homogenous groups, coded, and sorted to come up with thematic areas. Shenoy and Madan, suggest quantitative data be analysed using descriptive analysis, while qualitative can be analysed during content analysis<sup>72</sup>, to enrich the study with meaningful information. The quantitative data were analysed using descriptive analysis: frequencies, percentages, pie charts, graphs mean and standard deviation using Social Sciences (SPSS).The hypothesis was tested using mean and standard deviation. A higher deviation from the mean led to the rejection of the null hypothesis.

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<sup>70</sup>Mugenda, A. G. *Social Science Research: Theory and Principles*. Nairobi: Applied Research and Training Services.

<sup>71</sup>Orodho, A. J. *Techniques of Data Analysis Using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) Computer Package*. Maseno, Kenya Kanezja Publishers, 2009.

<sup>72</sup>Shenoy, M. and Madan, P. *Statistical Methods in Business and Social and Post Graduate Students*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000.

### **1.10.8 Data Presentation**

The data was presented through diagrams, tables, figures, pie charts, and line graphs following the study objectives. Information from interviews both written and oral was presented using qualitative methods in the form of narratives based on the objectives of the study.

### **1.10.9 Ethical Consideration**

The research was covered by research permit and authorization. The research was guided by a code of conduct while interacting with respondents with the purpose of the study being clarified to the respondents. Similarly, the role of research assistant was highlighted and the respondents were assured of the data obtained as it was handled with confidentiality and was used for academic purposes. Consent of the respondent was sorted before taking and using their photographs.

### **1.11 Chapter Outline**

The chapter introduced the study with the background; it introduced the topic at global, regional, and national levels. It further stated the statement of the problem and outlined research questions and research objectives. The chapter reviewed related literature on three thematic areas; devolution and conflicts, inter-ethnic conflicts trends, and conflicts resolution mechanisms, identified research gaps, and justified the study. The chapter also demonstrated theories underpinning the study through the theoretical framework and hypothesized the study. The chapter further explained research methodology guided by specific sub-topics; research design, study area, the population of the study, sampling techniques, data collection methods, data analysis, data presentation, and finally ethical consideration.

## CHAPTER TWO

### HOW DEVOLUTION HAS INFLUENCED THE INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICT IN LAIKIPIA COUNTY

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter reports the outcomes of the research on the respondents' background information and the study's initial goal. The information was gathered using a Likert scale questionnaire and thereafter analyzed using descriptive statistical analysis. The researcher was able to generate frequencies, percentages, means, and standard deviations, which were then presented in tables and graphs.

#### 2.2 Response Rate

The respondents were given the same amount of questionnaires as the sample size for the study, which was 128. Data cleaning was done after data collection, and several questionnaires were eliminated because they were incomplete. A total of 112 questionnaires were found to be appropriate for analysis, resulting in an 87.5 percent response rate, which was adequate for the study's analysis and discussion. This was in consonance with confirmed by Mugenda and Mugenda, who noted that a response rate of 70% or above was appropriate for research analysis. Table 2.1 below summarizes the findings.

**Table 2.1 Response Rate**

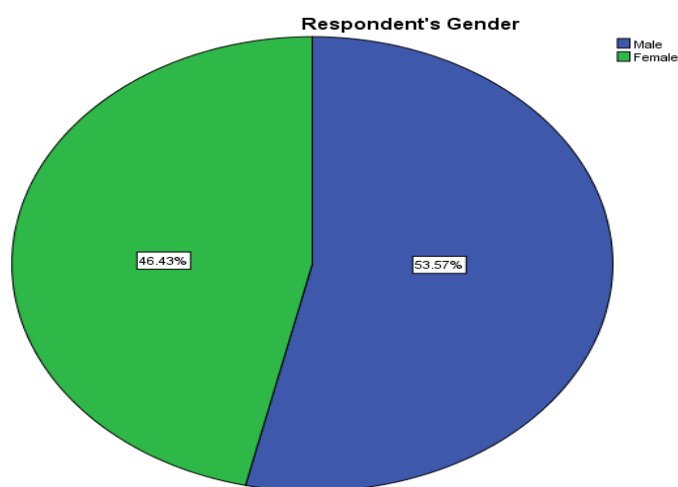
<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Responded	112	87.5
Not responded	16	12.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field Work, 2021**

### 2.3 The respondents' gender

The study determined the gender of the respondents who participated in the study. This was suitable to determine the dynamics of devolved governance and inter-ethnic conflicts in pastoral cosmopolitan counties in Kenya. It is presented in figure 2.1 below. The results revealed that the gender representation of males were noticeably more than half of those polled at (53.6%) while that of female gender representation was slightly below half of the respondents (46.4%). This showed that there is no gender disparity among the participants who participated in the study

**Figure 2.1 Gender of the respondents**



**Source: Fieldwork, 2021**

Lack of gender balance was an expression of disparity between women in the decision-making process was a barrier to implement a wider perspective in the administration of inter-tribal conflict. Although women are effective in managing conflict at the household level, due to societal traditions that regard women differently than men, they are frequently overlooked in formal peace negotiations. Women's concerns are overlooked in this aspect, allowing inter-ethnic conflict to resurface.

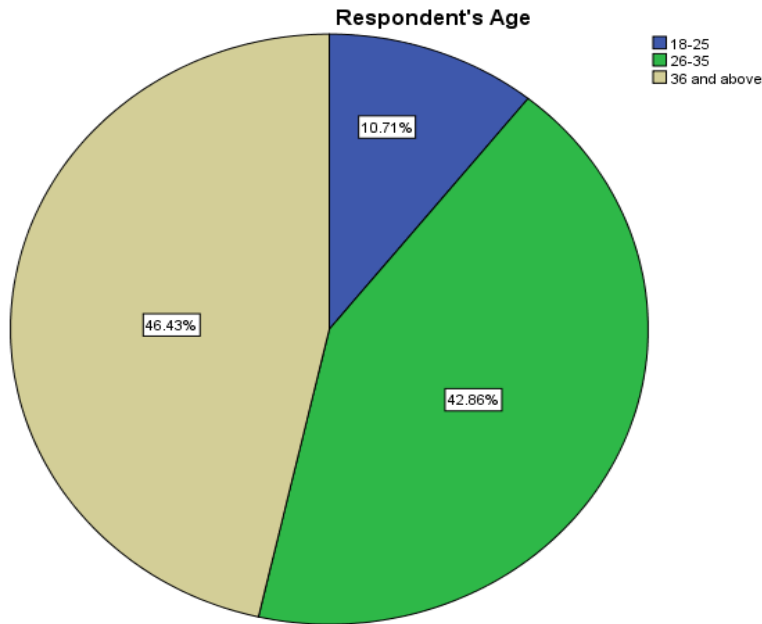


## **2.4 Age of the Respondents**

Figure 2.1 shows that 12 (10.7%) of the respondents aged between 18-25 this was the age when youth involve in active in inter-ethnic conflict yet are expected to be in school. Further 48(42.9%) were found in the age bracket of 26-35 it was at this age that the youth turn to adulthood and they begin to start families. While 52(46.4%) of those polled fell within the ages of 36 years old and above, at this age they become elder and begin to think about solutions to the inter-ethnic conflict. From the study, it was found that majority of the respondents were age 36 years old and above.

Adults in Laikipia County may be able to resolve the current issue, according to the research. Adults are less prone to participate in destructive conflict responses and more likely to use non-confrontational conflict resolution techniques, according to socio-emotional literature. It was also expected that the elder and younger generations would work together to resolve the problem in a constructive manner.

**Figure 2.2 Age of the respondents**

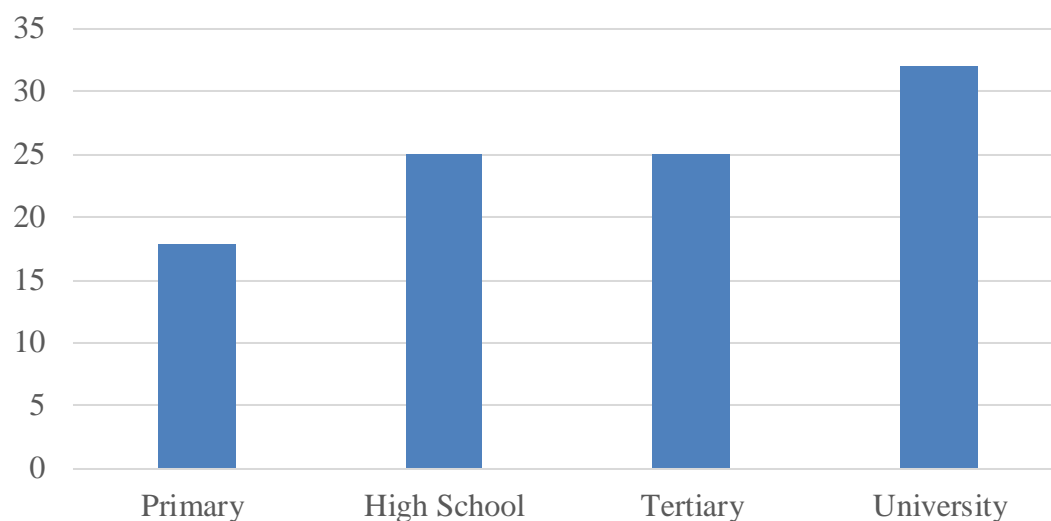


**Source: Fieldwork, 2021**

### **2.5 Educational Levels**

The educational levels of the respondents affect the conflict in the cosmopolitan county. It was expected that in Laikipia County more education attained the lesser the bloody conflicts, and the better the mediation. The study determined the educational levels of the respondents and the findings are presented in figure 2.2 above. From the study 20 (17.9) of the respondents had primary education, 28(25%) had attained high school education, similarly to those who had attained tertiary education levels while 36(32.1%) had attained university education. In a society where there were more people educated, there was likelihood that conflict could easily be resolved.

**Figure 2.3 Education levels**



**Source: Fieldwork, 2021**

To conflict experts like Stacia George, education was viewed as a lengthy endeavor, very slow to deliver instant value<sup>73</sup>. However, education is a solution that peacemakers should consider to alter human conduct. Contrary to expectations, education is not a one-size-fits-all solution. Education brought immediate benefits in Laikipia's conflicting areas through connecting people, assisting them in addressing the complex issues, and providing a path ahead.

Education had direct implication on the community lives and their capacity to find work, which is a component that might affect human life. Low education achievement renders them exposed to conflict. Young people with a reduced education level get impacted quickly to participate in thebe involved in the politically charged inter-ethnic conflict due to handouts.

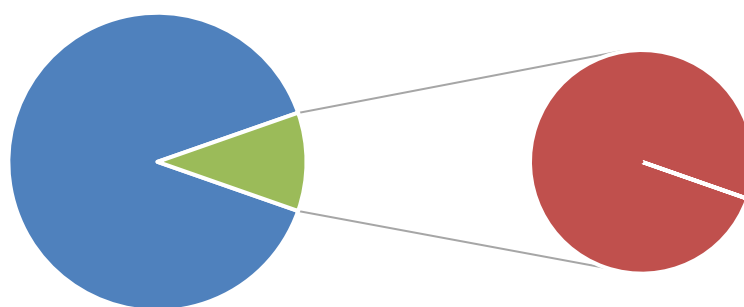
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<sup>73</sup>Stacia George. Opinion: Education as Key to Solving Conflict. Global Views. 2018.

## 2.6 Marital Status

The respondents were categorized as either married or single. From the results, the most 60(89.3%) of those polled were married while 52(10.2%) were single. The married respondents presented the view of parents while the singles presented the views of youth devolved governance and inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia County.

**Figure 2.4 Marital Status**



**Source: Fieldwork, 2021**

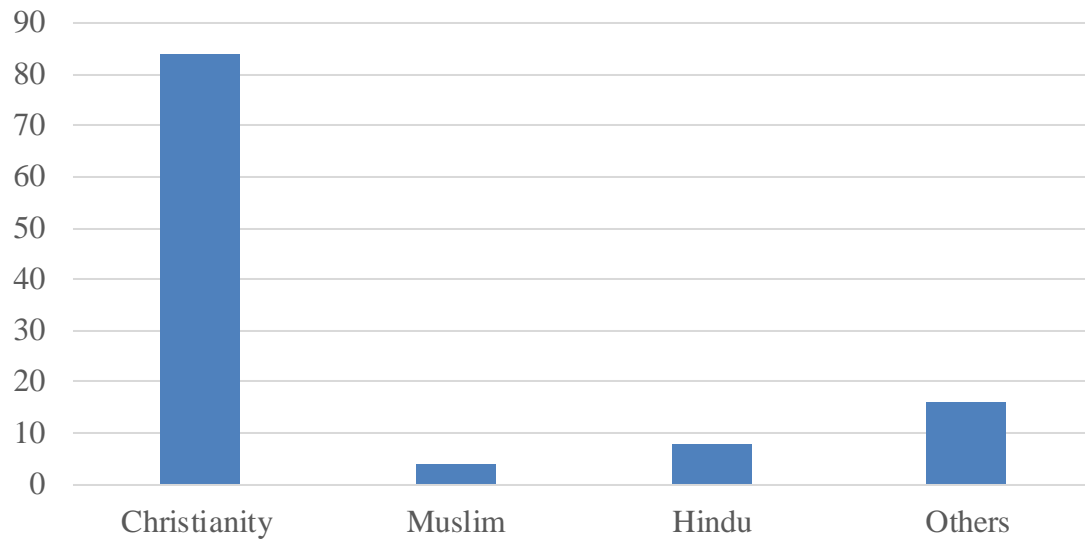
Since the most of the respondents are married, it indicated that they were mature and responsible persons in their communities. They were affected by the conflict and as such, they were aware of the socioeconomic and political factors surrounding the conflict in Laikipia County. This has had a direct bearing on their lives as people who have families. Parents are therefore responsible for what their children do, they should advise their children to avoid violence.

## 2.7 Religious Affiliation

The religious affiliation of the respondents showed the faith and beliefs of the society in Laikipia County with the majority 84(75%) being Christians, 4(3.6%), Muslims, 8(7.1%), and Hindus

while other faiths comprised 16(14.3%). Therefore, the conflict in Laikipia County is delinked from religion.

**Figure 2.5 Religious Affiliation**



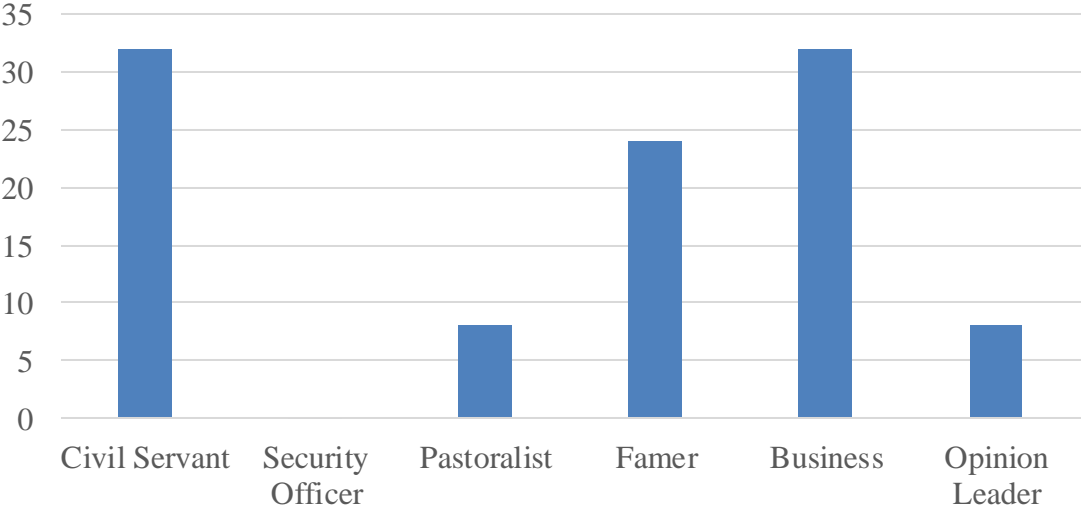
**Source: Field Work, 2021**

Religion was a major part in ethnic disputes in Laikipia County, since religious leaders were frequently perceived as playing a key role in keeping communities tranquil. Religion appeals to people in different ways, therefore it is possible to use religion to promote peace. Religious teachings instill moral values such as peace, love, and harmonious coexistence. The evidence from faith-based organizations participating in peacebuilding within the research region bolstered the significance of religion in avoiding conflict. The Catholic Justice and Peace Commission, the Lutheran Church, the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and the Anglican Church were among those involved.

**2.8 Occupation**

From figure 2.6 below, 32(28.6%) of the respondents were civil servants and the Business community while 8(7.1%) of the respondents were security officers, pastoralists, and opinion leaders. The remaining 24(21.4%) were farmers.

**Figure 2.6 Occupation**



**Source: Field Work, 2021**

The occupation was one of the determinants of the conflict in Laikipia County. People who are engaged in benefiting occupations like civil servants, security officers, and business community were less likely to be involved in the inter-ethnic conflict and they were more likely to be engaged in resolving the conflict. Pastoralists and farmers were more likely to be involved in the conflict as a result of land use. Conflict arises when the pastoralists freely graze their animals including private farms, particularly during the dry seasons. Opinion leaders were at the forefront in persuading their communities to shun violence and encouraged inter-ethnic integration in Laikipia County.

## **2.9 Devolution and Inter-Ethnic Conflict**

The study's primary goal was to determine how devolution affects inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia County. A Likert scale questionnaire was given to the participants, with the options of strongly disagree (SD), disagree (D), neutral (N), agree (A), and strongly agree (S) (SA). Strongly disagree and disagree were classed as disagree, strongly agree, and agree were totaled together and displayed as agree while evaluating the data. Neutral stayed the same. The data was evaluated using descriptive analysis and presented using frequencies (F), percentages (%), mean (M), and standard deviation (SD) as indicators (SD).

The study's general guideline was that the bigger the proportion, the better the answer, and vice versa. When it comes to mean and standard deviation, the response that deviate the most from its mean is rejected, and vice versa. The findings of the mean and standard deviation were also utilized to decide if the study's hypothesis should be accepted or rejected. Therefore, with more deviation of average SD from its average mean, the null hypothesis would be accepted and vice versa.

**Table 2.2 Devolution and inter-ethnic conflict**

Statement	N	D		N		A		M	SD
		F	%	F	%	F	%		
Devolution of power is often considered as means of achieving peace.	112	40	35.7	0	0	72	64.3	3.29	.976
In Kenya devolution was not easily achieved	112	36	32.1	0	0	76	67.9	3.68	1.249
Conflict resolution is more difficult in the devolved units where there are cultural differences among communities	112	40	35.8	36	32.1	36	32.1	2.93	1.676
Devolution poses a new challenge since power is concentrated in the hands of a few elites	112	0	0	36	32.1	76	67.9	4.36	.951
Devolution requires new thinking to incorporate minority rights	112	0	0	76	67.9	36	32.1	3.64	.951
Devolution can tackle the issue of underdevelopment	112	0	0	0	0	112	100	4.00	.000
Devolution goes beyond the economic development agenda to include checks in abuse of central power	112	36	32.1	0	0	76	67.9	3.04	1.427
Devolved governance exercises and executes power independently from central government.	112	0	0	0	0	112	100	4.00	.000



Conflicts in devolved units occur as a result of perceived marginalization and exclusion.	112	0	0	0	0	112	100	4.32	.476
Devolution has a tendency for creating winners and losers at the local level	112	0	0	0	0	112	100	4.32	.476
<b>Average (M and SD)</b>								<b>3.76</b>	<b>0.82</b>

**Source: Field data, 2021**

The first hypothesis  $H_{01}$  of the study was that devolution has not significantly influenced the pastoral conflict in Laikipia County. The result showed that the average standard deviation,  $SD=0.82$ , did not surpass its average mean  $M=3.76$ , hence the null hypothesis was rejected and an alternative hypothesis was adopted. It was concluded that devolution had significantly influenced the pastoral conflict in Laikipia County.

### **2.9.1 Devolution and Achievement of Peace**

The majority of the respondents 71(64.3%) agreed that devolution of power was often considered as means of achieving peace, on the other hand, 40(35.7%) disagreed. However, the findings of average mean,  $M=3.29$  and average standard deviation  $SD 0.976$ , showed that  $SD$  did not exceed its  $M$ . Therefore, the agreed response was accepted. These findings concurred with the suggestions of Wayne and Brazil, who suggested that the resolution to end conflicts rely on two points: first was building a pluralistic, democratic state where human rights, freedom, and equal opportunity for all was guaranteed while the second was devolution of resources and power, and negotiation.

Devolution and the associated mechanism of governance, power-sharing; executive and political nomination, the election of members of the county assembly, public participation, and civic

engagement were reported as part of the wider mosaic of peace-building in Laikipia County. Opinion leaders observed that their implementation was an attempt to institutionalize stability and copper fasten a political settlement. By decentralizing power to ward levels each with democratically elected MCAs, Opinion leaders pointed out that devolution has led to more inclusive and accountable institutions, able to deliver better services for all and in turn reduce the tension and division that cause conflict in Laikipia County.

Through the interview, it was revealed that relative peace has been achieved as a result of an undeniably positive result of devolution in Laikipia County. There was more financial investment and employment, better roads, health, and early childhood development (ECD) facilities and people felt they were closer to democratic processes that directly affected their lives. However, ethno-politics characterized politics in Laikipia County was reported to derail peace. Tribal identity rather than the policy was Laikipia's primary political concern, with gubernatorial elections taking the form of negotiated democracy whereby leaders from major ethnic groups form voting blocs to gain power and divide up county department upon taking office.

### **2.9.2 Devolution and Early Struggles**

Whereas 36(32.1%) of the respondents disagreed that devolution was not easily achieved, 76(67.9) of the respondents agreed. The finding of  $M=3.6$  and  $SD 1.249$  supported the agreed response. It was deduced that devolution was not easily achieved in Kenya. The respondent was able to point out that devolution in Kenya today, is a result of different struggles that was early realized.

During independence *majimboa* form of devolution existed, however, it lacked political goodwill; consequently, the established semi-autonomous regions were not welcomed by the Jomo Kenyatta regime and were disbanded completely. In 2005 there was an attempt to introduce a devolved system of governance by the Kibaki regime through constitution amendment, however, due to political misunderstanding; it was thwarted through a failed referendum. It was not until 2010 that a referendum was successfully passed which established semi-autonomous 47 counties.

### **2.9.3 Conflict Resolution, Devolved Units, and Cultural Difference**

There was mixed reaction on statement whether conflict resolution was more difficult in the devolved unit where there was a cultural difference among communities. Whereas 40 (35.8) disagreed, a similar proportion of 36(32.1%) agreed and were neutral. The finding of  $M=2.9$  and  $SD= 1.676$  validated the findings of disagreed responses. It was concluded that conflict resolution was not more difficult in devolved units where there was a cultural difference among communities. These findings were contrary to the suggestion of Cheeseman, Lynch, and Willis they had suggested that conflict resolution was more difficult in a society where there were different cultures.

It was reported that the expanded peace building and conflict resolution process of civic and stakeholders' dialogue at ward level has been envisaged to take place at least once a year among warring communities in Laikipia County. The dialogue was aimed at community interaction on social, economic, political, and other issues, while at the same time it allowed communities and stakeholders to make their views known to the government on matters of peace and other interests.

It was envisaged that annual cultural events can be held in Laikipia County, working on Sub County rotational basis. These events include music concerts, sporting, exhibitions, and peace modeling. This initiative acted as an important cornerstone of building cohesion in a multi-cultural context. While, the regular transmission of peace messages through electronic, print, and broadcast media have been identified, coupled with varying creative approaches that have been used in Laikipia County ensured these messages retained their impact.

The respondents felt that conflict resolution in Laikipia County would be achieved when capacity development for; administrative officers; sub-county administrators, ward administrators, chiefs, police, county security committee, county peace committee, opinion leader, the business community, religious, political leaders, and opinion leaders would be emphasized regularly.

#### **2.9.4 Devolution and Challenges**

A statement on whether devolution poses new challenges as a result of power concentration in the hands of few elites was agreed to by 76(67.9%) of the respondents while 36(32.1%) neither agreed nor disagreed. The findings of  $M=4.36$  and  $SD=0.951$  showed that the standard deviation was below the mean.

It was recorded that, although devolution has come with a positive impact, several challenges have also been recorded. The county government of Laikipia has faced challenges of insecurity, unemployment, and corruption. Other development efforts in Laikipia County have been compromised due to employees' salaries and wages account being apportioned a significant budget. It was reported that National Treasury still has a lot of control and power over the fiscal

policy even though the budgeting process is overseen by county and national legislature. A major role was played by ethnicity in securing representation and votes in Laikipia County. Consequently, social, economic, and political development leaves out minority communities.

Leadership inefficiencies and unending power struggle among few elites were reported to have hampered service delivery in Laikipia County. The desire to control county budgets is the major source of power struggles; especially funds set aside for development. County assemblies are envisaged as custodians and watchdogs of public funds by the constitution; however, MCAs have always forced their way into the development implementation process. As a result, elites have hijacked budget making and vetting of key appointees and other crucial processes as they regularly coerce the executives through financial capacities. Laikipia county assembly has been involved in intra-assembly wrangles which have brought the operations of the County government to a standstill.

### **2.9.5 Devolution, New Thinking, and Minority Rights**

About 76(67.9%) of the respondents disagreed that devolution required new thinking to incorporate the rights of the minority in Laikipia County. This sentiment was validated since the findings of standard deviation (SD=0.951) did not exceed its mean (M=3.64). Therefore, the sentiment of the minority 36(32.1%) who agreed was rejected.

Existing laws and policies are agitating the rights of minority<sup>2/3</sup> gender rule, youth, and affirmative action. However, in Laikipia, the county government was reluctant to implement it. The study found out that during the onset of the devolution, the county government did not recognize the rights of the minorities, since it did not improve the prospects of minorities in

Laikipia County. County officials pointed out that the creation of county seats both elective and appointive opened up the political exclusion of the minority.

Unemployment, exclusion, and marginalization of minority groups have become an obstacle in undermining the rights of women, and youth in Laikipia County. Insecurity perpetuated by banditry and cattle rustling has driven minority groups into economic hardships and unemployment. The youth have become vulnerable to employment as professional *morans* due to poverty compounded with idleness, thus promoting insecurity in Laikipia County.

Although this presents worrying trends, the county government has not arrested the situation since there are no legal frameworks for handling vigilante groups and are not ready to keep them in acceptable gainful employment to stop the vulnerability that draws them into banditry in Laikipia County.

### **2.9.6 Devolution and Underdevelopment**

A majority of respondents, 112 (100%), agreed that devolution would be the answer to tackling the issue of underdevelopment in Laikipia County. This statement was validated by the findings of standard deviation ( $SD=0.0$ ) which did not exceed its mean ( $M=4.0$ ). The county government of Laikipia was indicated by several stake holders to have brought about development agenda nearer to the people: road networks, water, ECDs and health facilities, etc. have tremendously increased since the introduction of devolved government. Youth and women have had access to jobs; thus, increasing their numbers in informal employment.

Adequate financial resources have enabled the increase of business enterprise in Laikipia County. It was established that economically empowered communities had the tendency of reduced inter-ethnic conflicts. Developed infrastructure such as markets for goods and services has put communities in Laikipia into gainful development.

However, the quest to tackle under-development has had its shortcomings, since most of Laikipia was dry land; large parcels of land were used for pasture, therefore putting more pressure on few water sources and swampy places for settlement and agricultural production. Water catchments such as the Marmanet forest have been mentioned to have been adversely affected by farmers' encroachment. Although the presence of wildlife such as lions, Zebra, elephants, Buffalo, Cheater, and Rhino commonly found within conservancies and Ranches was good for tourism attraction. However, they have become the source of conflict between herders and wildlife on one hand and farmers and wildlife on the other that frequently undermines the gains of devolution in Laikipia County.

### **2.9.7 Devolution, Development, and Checks of Power**

Most of the respondents 76(67.9%), on the other hand, 36(32.1%) stated that devolution goes beyond the economic development agenda to include checks in abuse of central power. The response of most of the respondents was validated by the mean ( $M=3.04$ ) and standard deviation ( $SD=1.427$ ) since SD did surpass the M. It was established that since 2010 Kenya has carried out an ambitious and comprehensive devolution. Institutional, legal and political reforms have been introduced including holding local elections. Moreover, service contracts to improve accountability for civil servants have been introduced. The local population has been involved in

local planning and management of the wards' funds hence offering citizens access to services in their communities.

Laikipia County has adopted various mechanisms such as provision of good governance, accountability, enabling local participation, efficiency, and holding political class responsible for their actions in order to check abuse of power.

Among the legal frameworks identified to check for abuse of power at National and County governments were: County Government Act, Leadership and Integrity Act, Public Finance Management Act, and Public Officer Ethics Act. At local levels, county decentralized units were established to check on abuse of power (in addition to county assembly) and to offer oversight over the county executive and county treasury. It was reported that devolved units were established to check and eliminate corruption and impunity among others.

### **2.9.8 Devolution, and Independence from Central Government**

On the statement that devolved governance exercise and executes power independently from central government, 112(100%) of the respondents agreed. This was supported by the findings of  $SD=0.00$  which did not exceed its mean=4.00. The Constitution of Kenya has established semi-autonomous county governments that exercise and execute power independently from the central government. Laikipia County has a governor and MCAs who are directly elected and which form the highest elected official in the county.

The findings of the study revealed that Laikipia County performs its powers without interference from any other arm of the National government. Laikipia County imposes various taxes, has the power to legislate bylaws and policies that control the exploitation and management of resources.



The role of the county executive committee is to prepare proposed legislation and reports on matters relating to the county and submit them to the county assembly for consideration.

### **2.9.9 Devolution, Conflict, Marginalization, and Exclusion**

Conflict in devolved units occurs as a result of perceived marginalization and exclusion, this sentiment was mentioned and supported by the majority 112(100%) of the respondents. This sentiment was validated by  $SD=0.0$  which did not surpass  $M=4.0$ . This was caused by inter-ethnic mistrust and hatred which was perpetrated by the stereotypes that enabled others to be excluded from the benefits accrued as a result of devolution. Tribalism easily translated into undesired exclusion that led to ethnic exclusion in the development progress of the county.

It was discovered that the existing marginalization in Laikipia County was triggered by disparities in access to economic resources, which result in the superiority of large ethnicities at the expense of minority ethnic. The Bantu, who practiced mainly crop farming were reported to have the upper hand in county development. Development proceeds such as roads, schools, health facilities, financial resources were at their disposal, unlike the Nilotic who were mainly pastoralists were had been left out on the development agenda of the Count.

On contrary, respondents felt that there was no specific cause of marginalization. Ethnicity by itself does not cause marginalization not until those situations such as political power that provoke exclusion arise.

### **2.9.10 Devolution, Winners and Losers**

Winners and losers at the local level are viewed as an outcome of devolution as cited by majority 112(100%) of the respondents. This statement was validated by the findings of standard

deviation (SD=0.476) which did not exceed the mean (M=4.32). It was revealed that the new constitution of 2010 established devolved governance which was semi-autonomous from the central government. In Laikipia County, some elites had greater political power by being in the inner circles of the ruling government's kitchen cabinet. They practiced skewed allocation of resources as a result of consolidated political power. This was exposed in numerous reports of county ward funds abuse by chairmen, and ward fund committees that rewarded their cronies by being on the side of the regime that won the last election.

Ethnic jingoists and political cronies have openly rewarded their members for winning ethnic groups through economic empowerment. The ethnic solidarity has left other minority communities jostling for plum political platforms, motivated by the urge to open economic and political avenues for their communities. Such perceptions of winners and losers act as a recipe for unending inter-ethnic conflicts, in Laikipia County.

## **2.10 Summary of the Findings**

The initial objective of the study was to establish how devolution has influenced the inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia County. The study found out that power-sharing as a result of devolution and the associated mechanism of governance, was the pillar of peace-building in Laikipia County. Devolution had decentralized power to the grassroots level and has reduced political tension. Relative peace was achieved as a result of positive results of devolution; better roads, health services, education, employment. People felt that devolution brought services closer to them. Impediment to the peacebuilding process in Laikipia County was ethnic politics.

## CHAPTER THREE

### INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICT TRENDS IN LAIKIPIA COUNTY 2010-2021

#### 3.1 Introduction

The second objective of the present research was to analyze inter-ethnic conflict trends in Laikipia County 2010-2021. The recorded was presented in a Likert scale tool where they rated as strongly disagree (SD), disagree (D), neutral (N), agree (A), and strongly agree (SA). In the data analysis, SD and D were summed up as disagree, SA and A were presented as Agree while N response remained neutral. The data were analyzed using descriptive analysis and presented using frequencies (F), percentages (%), mean (M), and standard deviation (SD).

The study's pillar was that an increased percentage of the respondents registered better results. rule of the thumb for the study was that the higher the percentage the better the results and vice versa. Concerning M and SD, larger discrepancy of SD from the M led the response to be rejected. The findings of mean and standard deviation were also used to assess the acceptance or rejection of the hypothesis of the research. Therefore, with more deviation of average SD from its average mean, the null hypothesis would be accepted and vice versa.

**Table 3.1: Inter-Ethnic conflict Trends**

Statement	D			N		A		M	SD
	N	F	%	F	%	F	%		
A large number of youths frequently resort to the outdated culture of cattle rustling for survival.	112	0	0	36	32.1	76	67.9	4.32	.476
Occasional manipulation of youth by political leaders enables the youths to	112	36	32.1	40	35.8	36	32.1	4.04	.838

unleash violence									
Inter-ethnic conflicts trends are witnessed during election periods	112	0	0	0	0	112	100	3.00	.816
Inter-ethnic conflict trends happen during the rainy season	112	0	0	0	0	112	100	4.00	.000
Violence during dry seasons has been used as a political way of settling disputes	112	0	0	0	0	112	100	4.68	.476
Conflicts between pastoralists and farmers normally occur every month	112	0	0	72	64.3	40	35.7	4.36	.488
Conflicts over grassing fields normally occur weekly	112	0	0	0	0	112	100.0	4.68	.476
Ethnicity in Laikipia County has been used as a bargaining tool for economic and political gains	112	36	32.1	36	32.1	40	35.8	3.71	.976
The pastoral community sees the non-pastoral community as the cause of their underdevelopment	112	36	32.1	0	0	76	67.9	3.04	.838
Non-pastoral societies have benefited from state resources than a pastoralist	112	76	67.9	0	0	36	32.1	3.71	1.272
The direct result of inter-ethnic conflicts is the loss of human life and livestock	112	36	32.1	36	32.1	40	35.8	2.64	.951
Inter-ethnic conflicts result in the internal displacement of people	112	0	0	40	35.8	72	64.2	3.04	.838
<b>Average M and SD</b>								<b>3.77</b>	<b>0.703</b>

Source: Field data (2021)

### **3.2 Inter-Ethnic Conflict Trends in Laikipia County 2010-2021**

The second hypothesis  $H_{02}$  of the study was that inter-ethnic conflicts trends in Laikipia County continued to increase despite the introduction of devolution. The result showed that the average standard deviation ( $SD=0.703$ ) did not exceed its average mean ( $M=3.77$ ), hence the researcher rejected the null hypothesis and used the alternative hypothesis. It was concluded that inter-ethnic conflict trends in Laikipia County had significantly reduced with the introduction of devolved governance.

#### **3.2.1 Youth and Culture of Cattle rustling**

On the question of whether a large number of youths frequently resort to the outdated culture of cattle rustling for survival, 76(67.9%) agreed while 36(32.1%) were on the neutral side. In Laikipia, cattle's rustling was considered as a job by many youths among the pastoralist communities of Samburu, Turkana, Tugen, and Pokot. Cattle's rustling has been used as a process in which young men exhibited bravery in defending community livestock and territory. Cattle raids were also important as it was the means through which livestock was acquired for payment of bride price.

It was established that Livestock was a symbol of wealth; thus cattle rustling elevated the status of the youth since they acquired wealth. Small arms smuggled into the country from neighboring countries have recently been used in Laikipia during cattle raids. These escapades have increased with gangs of youth owning guns raiding villages at night shooting inhabitants on sight and killing some before driving away livestock, leaving the entire community devastated.

### **3.2.2 Youth, Violence and Political Manipulation**

On the statement on whether there is occasional manipulation of youth by political leaders to unleash violence, there was an almost equal proportion of respondents with 40(35.8%) taking a neutral position while an equal proportion of 36(32.1%) agreed and disagreed. The value of  $M=4.04$  and standard deviation  $SD=0.838$  the neutral response was accepted and it was concluded that it was not only occasional manipulation of political leaders enabled the youth to unleash violence in Laikipia County but other factors also contribute to violence against one another.

Criminals take advantage of drought and political incitements which are primary conflict triggers in Laikipia to attack small-scale farmers and steal livestock from them. These criminals most of who are youth, hail from as far and wide as Baringo County. There are often raids between the Pokot, the Maasai, and the Samburu while in their quest for better grazing land, the Turkana are used by either of the communities. Another source of conflicts in Laikipia are livestock thefts. Whenever a raid occurs, counter raids are undertaken by victims to restock their herd or to recover the stolen livestock.

### **3.2.3 Inter-Ethnic Conflict Trend and Election**

Wholesomely, 112(100%) of the respondents agreed that inter-ethnic conflicts trends are witnessed during the election period. This was supported by the findings of  $M=3.0$  and  $SD=0.816$  since  $SD$  did not exceed its mean. Since the introduction of pluralist democratic politics, Laikipia, which was once a beacon of peace in the country, experienced electoral-related violence during the 2013 and 2017 general elections, which led to internal displacement of persons and the loss of lives. While the triggers of these conflicts are reported to be

multidimensional and include cultural factors, ethnic-identity problems and historical factors among others. This was as a result of pluralist democratic politics being ethnically aligned and anchored on political party structures. To secure ethnic backing and patronage, Political leaders camouflage ethnic alignments that propel them to power.

In the course of electoral campaigns, hate has been perpetuated through vernacular radio stations. Pre-election campaigns have also been filled with fear instigated among communities by militants' groups. These were youth in Laikipia who had graduated to militias through political support. During the 2013 and 2017 election violence, for instance, warriors were aided with finances and weapons.

The pattern of electoral conflict in Laikipia mirrored the contestations about the rightful owners of the land. During the Kenyatta and Moi regimes large parcels of land were allocated to a few elites by the ruling elites, turning the original owners into squatters in their own land. Conflicts that largely manifested during elections were occasioned by the squatters' attempt to repossess their parcels of land. Economic marginalization heightened electoral conflicts in parts of Laikipia County. Marginalization of less productive land owned by pastoralists has disenfranchised the people. Moreover, skewed infrastructural development in heightened economic inequality also triggered conflicts during the election period.

### **3.2.4 Inter-Ethnic Conflict Trend and Rainy season**

112(100%) of the respondents agreed with the statement that intern-ethnic conflict trends happen during the rainy season. Since the SD=0.00 did not exceed M=4.0 the agreed response was validated. In Laikipia, agricultural and pastoral groups coexist characterized by the seasonal

movement of pastoralists. During the rainy season, agriculturalists farm on productive land while pastoralists exploit more marginal lands for their livestock.

After the final harvest, pastoralists migrate along well-established corridors to arrive at the agricultural farmlands for the dry season, where they benefit from the year-round availability of pasture and water. During the rainy season, there seems to be more pasture in farms than in marginalized areas. Since rain in Laikipia was not consistent, pasture and water are also scarce for pastoralists. This sparks conflict over limited water for farming on one hand and the search for green pasture on farms on the other hand.

### **3.2.5 Inter-Ethnic Conflict Trend and Dry Season**

112(100%) of the respondents agreed with the statement that violence occurs during the dry seasons in Laikipia County. This was strongly supported by the findings of  $SD=0.476$  which did not exceed its mean value of  $M=4.68$ . Long dry spells and uncertain rains have pressurized pastoralists to migrate with their livestock to Olmoran Ward in search of pasture and water. This movement upstream has led to clashes between herders and farmers whenever animals graze on farmland. Many parts of Laikipia County have experienced this pattern of behaviour.

The findings revealed that most of the pastoralists until recently communally owned land in Laikipia which was administered by former county councils. Approximately half of the land was occupied by small-scale farmers while in 2012 the government sold the rest to ranchers. The pastoralist felt deprived of land to graze their herds and could only graze in these areas during the dry season after negotiations with landowners.



### **3.2.6. Conflict, Pastoralist, Famers' and Monthly Trend**

On the statement that conflict between pastoralists and farmers normally occurs on monthly basis, 72(64.3) of the respondents were undecided while 40(35.7%) agreed. The findings of  $SD=0.488$  revealed that it did not exceed  $M=4.36$ . It was concluded, that not all months of the year that conflict occur and the inter-ethnic conflict trends in Laikipia County were not predictable.

In March 2021, unrest erupted in Laikipia West as two communities, the Tugen and Turkana, battled with the Kikuyu farming community. An incident in which a supposed Turkana rustler was slain is said to have ignited the violence. Leaders at the Laikipia West peacebuilding forum in Nyahururu town in March 2021 noted that the recent violence in the Laikipia West Sub County was as previous wars in that two pastoralist communities had teamed up to attack the farming community.

Three security officers were killed while maintaining security in Laikipia County between September and October 2021, according to reports. Even with a militarized police squad tasked with maintaining order and apprehending offenders, this occurred. Security was removed from Laikipia West in September 2021, resulting in the loss of 15,000 livestock in the Laikipia Nature Conservancy.

It was determined that pastoralists in Laikipia have made it self-evident to take pasture, water, and grassland for their livestock whenever they can. Pastoralism is based on cattle, thus herders will go to great lengths to protect their flocks. This illustrates why they frequently attack landowners between January and April, causing conflict every moment this happens. During

these months, Laikipia was regularly invaded by Pokots and the Tugen from Baringo County on one hand, and on the other hand, the Turkana from Isiolo and Samburu from Samburu Counties.

### **3.2.7. Conflict, Grassing fields, and Weekly trend**

The study established that conflict over grassing fields normally occurs weekly as indicated by 112(100%) of the respondents. These results were strengthened by the mean and standard deviation since deviation (SD=0.476) was not higher than the mean value (M=4.68). Reports indicated that conflict over grassing fields frequently occurred among pastoral communities sharing common grassing fields such as the Pokot and the Turkana or the Turkana and the Samburu. The conflict between the pastoralist and cultivators frequently occurred as a result of fights over land formerly presumed to be grassing fields but currently owned by farmers for crop cultivation.

### **3.2.8 Ethnicity, Economic and Political Gains**

On the statement that ethnicity has been used as a bargaining tool for economic and political gains, an equal proportion of 36(32.1%) disagreed and were undecided while 40(35.8%) of the respondents agreed. By the finding of SD=0.976 which did not exceed its M=3.71 the agreed response was accepted. Existing economic activity are centered in major towns like Nanyuki and Nyahururu, where livestock, leather, and food processing businesses thrive. Bakeries, milling facilities, milk cooling units, and small woodworking businesses are among the other minor businesses. Welding, fabrication, and carpentry are just a few of the jua kali crafts people's specialties. Despite the fact that inter-ethnic strife is common in Laikipia, the government has made a concerted effort to help local investors scale up their discoveries to production. The Pastoral and farmers conflict has not deterred the county government's effort on economic

growth on maize, wheat, beans, pineapples, sunflower, French beans, and citrus fruits are among the agricultural products processed and added value.

Processing and value addition of livestock products, namely milk, hides, skins, and meat, as well as processing and commercialization of therapeutic plants like Aloe and African wild potato, have improved. Honey and wax production and processing are available in the Rumuruti, Lariak, and Marmanet Mukogodo woods, as well as fishing. However, the ethnic conflict experienced in Laikipia has the worst hit the tourism industry. The level of ethnic conflict in Laikipia has escalated a fragile sense of business confidence. Investors have reconsidered relocating their investments due to persistent conflict.

Politics have been used to marshal efforts for employment, wages, income, and wealth in the county government of Laikipia. By interpreting broad political trends through the lenses of ethnicity, the Laikipia county government was criticized for not promoting political agenda that bring about the solutions on inequitable and broadly shared prosperity and opportunity in Laikipia County.

### **3.2.9 Pastoralist, Non-Pastoralist, and Underdevelopment**

The majority of the respondents 76(67.9%) agreed while 36(32.1%) disagreed that the pastoral community sees the non-pastoral community as the cause of their underdevelopment. This sentiment was validated by the findings of  $SD=0.838$  which did not surpass its mean value  $M=3.04$ . Laikipia County's apathy towards the pastoral economy meant that the government has failed to nurture, and develop the lucrative pastoral economy. The exploitation of the current land tenure system by commercial enterprises and foreign investors resulted in a dramatic loss of productive land for pastoralist has generated violent conflict.

Laikipia county government has not taken it seriously and has not supported pastoral-driven innovation and sustainable development. Pastoral innovation by itself has not changed the negative attitude of the Laikipia County government towards the pastoral economy, while non-pastoralist irrigated agriculture has been prioritized. Although pastoralism in Laikipia County like a non-pastoralist economy has needs, however, the former has been marginalized. Although devolution offers great opportunity, the Laikipia County government was not more responsive to the needs of pastoralists compared to the needs of non-pastoralist.

Pastoral farming was popular in Laikipia County. However, experts informed that there was no future because it lacked support from the County government. Diseases, drought, overgrazing, and lack of insurance have discouraged elites to participate in modern livestock rearing. Government policies that favored established agriculture and discouraged nomadic pastoralism as unproductive and harmful to the environment worsened the dispute. Livestock theft and disagreements over grazing rights usually cause conflict between pastoralist tribes. This was especially true when multiple nomadic groups attempted to visit the same location at the same time.

Pastoralist areas in Laikipia County remained underdeveloped, characterized by poor public services such as health services, education, and roads. Because of a lack of efficient security measures and a general lack of government involvement, residents have turned to guns for protection. In pastoralist communities, traditional institutions of resource management and conflict reduction have gradually disintegrated in the face of overlapping and ineffectual legal regulation. This led to pastoralist areas' sensitivity to change and their proclivity for violent conflict.

### **3.2.10 Non-Pastoralist and State Benefits**

Most of the respondents 76(67.9%) disagreed while 36(32.1%) of the respondents agreed that non-pastoral communities have benefited from state resources more than pastoralists. The response was supported by findings of  $SD=1.272$  which did not surpass its mean value  $M=3.71$ . Residents of Laikipia County work hard to raise maize, carrots, peas, potatoes, and wheat on their own. Big ranches like Solio, Borana, and Oljogi provided substantial sources of beef for both locals and export in Laikipia County. Farmers and pastoralists frequently clash over pasture and water supplies in regions where they intersect. The damage of crop fields by cattle is typically the source of conflict.

It was perceived that unlike pastoralism Laikipia County government has supported the farming community through subsidized farm inputs. However, it was reported that the county government has not improved the competitiveness and diversity of the agricultural market system and livelihoods. There were limited county government initiatives to improve crop farming such as horticulture. However, farmers were linked to markets and modern farming practices, improved quality and supply of agricultural inputs, increased access to financing, and promotion of private-sector solutions.

Pastoralists' mobility, and hence their capacity to cope with adverse climatic conditions in Laikipia County, was dependent on having access to water. Farmers, on the other hand, have gradually expanded onto pastoral land as a result of agricultural modernisation and favorable land reforms. Farmers and herders use the same land, which can lead to conflict, especially when herders encroach on cultivated areas, causing crop damage.

### **3.2.11 Inter-Ethnic Conflict, Loss of Live and Livestock**

The statement that the direct result of the inter-ethnic conflict was the loss of human life and livestock received almost equal responses across the Likert scale. An equal proportion of 36(32.1%) of the respondents agreed and disagreed, while 40(35.8%) agreed. This response was supported by the findings of  $SD=0.951$  which did not surpass the mean value  $M=2.64$ . Violent conflict compounded with disease, drought and political marginalization has posed a huge threat to not only human lives and property but also to pastoral livelihoods. Additionally, it has resulted in ineffective resource utilization as well as closure of schools and markets among others.

The conflict experienced in Laikipia had a huge negative effect on natural resources as such wildlife, rangelands, and livestock led to huge losses to the investors and the community. In addition, ethnic conflict had direct effects far beyond their epicenters. It resulted in internal displacement, and instability. Although the law does not allow the shooting of animals, in the effort to repulse herders who invaded private ranches in Laikipia, the pastoral community accused police of killing over 300 livestock.

### **3.2.12 Inter-Ethnic Conflict and Internal Displacement**

The statement that inter-ethnic conflicts resulted in the internal displacement of people, was agreed to by 72(64.2%) of the respondents while 40(35.8%) of the respondents were undecided.

The findings of  $SD=0.838$  which did not exceed its  $mean=3.04$  supported the agreed response. The displacement of people in Laikipia County thus occurred due to inter-ethnic conflicts.

Laikipia has experienced a clash between pastoralists and cultivators on one hand and different groups of pastoralist communities. The conflict over grazing land experienced in Laikipia East, Laikipia North, and Laikipia West by the end of 2021 contributed to approximately 19,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) as recorded by the County Commissioner's office. IDP status has mainly been a result of warring communities' scramble for better grazing fields.

### **3.3 Summary of the Findings**

The study's second objective was to analyze inter-ethnic conflict trends in Laikipia County 2010-2021. The study discovered that cattle's rusting is perpetuated by youths from pastoralist communities. The trends of inter-ethnic conflict were during the electioneering period, rainy season, and dry season. Violence was witnessed frequently during the months of January-March. Also, the trend of the conflict was frequently witnessed during September and October.

During the rainy season, farmers concentrate on crop production on fertile land on the other hand pastoralist exploited marginal land for their livestock. During the dry season, water shortage occasionally forced herders to move upstream, leading to clashes between crop farmers and herders.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CONFLICT RESOLUTION MECHANISM

#### 4.1 Introduction

The third objective of the study was identifying the conflict resolution mechanism established by the Laikipia County government. The response was recorded in a Likert scale questionnaire in which they rated as SD, D, N, A, and SA. While analyzing the SD and D were grouped as D. SA and A were summed up as A. N remained as N. the data were analyzed using descriptive analysis and presented using frequencies(F), percentages (%), mean(M), and Standard Deviation (SD).

The rule of thumb for the study was that the higher the percentage the better the response and vice versa. On findings of M and SD more deviation of SD from M such responses is rejected and vice versa. The findings of mean and standard deviation were also used to determine whether to reject or accept the hypothesis of the study. Therefore, with more deviation of average SD from its average mean, the null hypothesis would be accepted and vice versa.

**Table 4.1: Conflict Resolution Mechanism**

Statement	N	D		N		A		M	SD
		F	%	F	%	F	%		
Local mediation for inter-ethnic conflicts resolution has not been embraced	112	36	32.1	76	67.9	0	0	2.68	.476
Political participation, judicial system, and media in conflict resolution have not yet been	112	0	0	40	35.7	72	64.3	3.64	.488



utilized.									
Disarmament has received condemnation from political leaders and NGOs	112	0	0	76	67.9	36	32.1	3.64	.951
Intensified police operations and disarmament has not brought a lasting solution	112	36	32.1	0	0	76	67.9	3.68	.476
Laikipia County has established peace committees, boundary dispute committees, and peace policy	112	36	32.1	0	76	36	67.9	4.04	.838
Lack of political goodwill and corruption have become impediments to peaceful coexistence	112	0	0	0	0	112	100	4.32	.476
The state has the upper hand in restoring security, negotiating peace	112	0	0	0	0	112	100	4.68	.476
<b>Average (M and SD)</b>								<b>3.81</b>	<b>.597</b>

**Source: Field data, 2021**

## **4.2 Conflict Resolution Mechanism**

The third hypothesis (H0<sub>3</sub>) of the study was that the management mechanisms established by the Laikipia County government have not significantly mitigated inter-ethnic conflict. The result showed that the average standard deviation (SD=0.597) did not surpass its average mean (M=3.81) hence the rejection of null hypothesis and the adoption of an alternative hypothesis. It was concluded management mechanisms established by the Laikipia County government had significantly mitigated the inter-ethnic conflict.

### **4.2.1 Local Mediation for Inter-Ethnic Conflict Resolution**

The majority 76(67.9%) of the respondents were undecided while 36(32.1%) of the respondents disagreed with the statement that local mediation for inter-ethnic conflict resolution has not been embraced. The undecided response was maintained since SD=0.476 did not exceed its mean value M=2.68. Measurements such as peace meetings and dialogues had been taken by Laikipia County to bring peace between warring communities.

Though peace talks are time-consuming, it was revealed that opinion leaders have been identified in each community to talk to their people about the importance of maintaining peace; as a strategy of achieving lasting peace. County government combined efforts with the local community to reduce competition for water by restoring dams across Laikipia County. The plan helped in the conservation of water catchment and has regulated water usage both for pastoralists and farmers.

### **4.2.2 Political, Judicial, and Media in Conflict Resolution**

While minority 40(35.7%) of the respondent were undecided, majority 72(64.3%) agreed on the statement that political participation judicial system and media in conflict resolution have not yet

been utilized. The findings were validated by  $SD=0.488$  which did surpass the mean value  $M=3.64$ . Proportional sharing of power by different interest groups was not common in Laikipia County whereby senior positions such as ministers, chief officers, and other positions were not equally shared among different groups. This mechanism of conflict resolution was not utilized to reduce tension among warring communities in Laikipia County.

Laikipia County has rarely passed pastoral laws which define the right of pastoralists and had not provided a more coherent framework to organize the common use of rangelands by different farming and herding communities. Implementation of existing laws is still at its lowest, generally due to lack of funding. Therefore, they have not helped to curb the number of farmer-herder conflicts in some locations. Although the recurrent situations of insecurity were a major impediment to the peacebuilding and development of Laikipia County. A political solution was not better coordinated, this caused mistrust of the County government amongst rural communities in Laikipia County.

#### **4.2.3 Disarmament Conflict Resolution**

Disarmament has received condemnation from political leaders and NGOs where 76(67.9%) of the respondents were undecided and 36(32.1%) agreed. The neutral response of the majority was maintained, it was established that disarmament in Laikipia County has neither been nor condemned by political leaders and NGOs.

Insecurity, elusive peace, and stability in Laikipia County were a challenge. This was because of banditry enabled by the use of illegal guns and ammunition by the bandits in the communities. Following a high level of insecurity in Laikipia police in the region were regularly ordered to take all illegal firearms in the possession of civilians and deal firmly with those possessing them.

The announcement followed tension in Ngaremare, Mfugo, Karuau villages of Laikipia West as Samburu and Turkana clashed over pasture and cattle rustling.

The disarmament brought a sigh of relief to residents of Laikipia County which has been a battlefield as herders invade private farms and ranches in search of pasture and water. A disarmament exercise was carried and recovered some of the unlicensed firearms were in the hands of criminals and bandits. The government deployed enough security personnel facilitated with high armored vehicles. For years, the government has carried out disarmament; this has proven futile as bandits still possessed them and tormented communities. The reason why disarmament has not succeeded was on lack of a practical approach to disarmament, demobilization, reinsertion, rehabilitation, reintegration, empowerment, and education.

#### **4.2.4 Intensified Police Operation and Lasting Solution for Inter-Ethnic Conflict**

On the statement as to whether intensified police operations and disarmament have not brought a lasting solution, 76(67.9%) of respondents agreed while 36(32.1%) of them disagreed. These findings were supported by  $SD=0.476$  which did not exceed  $M=3.6$ . Although police operations have been carried out in Laikipia County, a long-lasting solution for inter-ethnic conflict could not be obtained because little had been tried on other means of obtaining long-lasting peace. Other means that were suggested to be exploited included demobilization, reinsertion, rehabilitation, reintegration, and empowerment and education.

County Executive Committee Members (CECC) suggested demobilization to control and discharge active bandits from armed groups. They suggested extension from the processing of individual bandits in centers for counseling. Often, police operations left disarmed bandits on their own forcing them to acquire other illegal guns and relapse to banditry leading to a vicious

cycle of insecurity and instability between communities. County Directors proposed reinsertion as a means of long-lasting resolution. Contextually, the reinsertion proposed consisted of demobilization of ex-bandits followed by rehabilitation process and finally, reintegration. Reinsertion informs of transitional assistance would help cover the basic needs of the ex-bandits and their families which included; food clothes, shelter, and Medicare for a certain period. This was an area that the government has not exploited for lasting conflict resolution

Ward Administrators highlighted rehabilitation which would reform the disarmed warriors to be useful members of the community away from banditry. The previous disarmament carried in Laikipia County has never been directed towards reforming warriors so that they are dissuaded from engaging in banditry. It would take the efforts of the county government and other stakeholders to come up with rehabilitation directed towards disarmed ex-bandits to enable them to be reformed in preparation for reintegration. Religious leaders presented reintegration through social and economic assistance to ex-bandits/ reformed warriors so that they are accepted fit into the community. This approach has never been applied in Laikipia leaving ex-bandits on their own to deal with their problems after disarmament. This posed a risk of ex-bandits relapsing into banditry. Reintegration presented an opportunity for a paradigm shift for ex-bandits to fit into the community and become positively useful and peaceful.

Elders brought on broad empowerment of ex-bandits by supporting them to take control of their own lives through self-reliance away from banditry. For the previous disarmament in Laikipia, there has never been any form of empowerment for the ex-bandits who voluntarily surrendered the illegal guns or otherwise. This was an opportunity for the government and all stakeholders to employ various forms of empowerment for ex-bandits for self-reliance, peace, and stability.

County Commissioner mentioned education as a paramount strategy of peace and security. Both short- and long-term education and training have been lacking for the ex-bandits after disbarment. Lack of education made reformed warriors remain in the previous state and banditry mindset. The government can introduce relevant forms of education to the ex-bandits depending on their risk and needs assessment intending to instill them with formal or informal education for knowledge, skills, and self-reliance.

#### **4.2.5 Laikipia Peace Committee and Peace Policy**

Laikipia County has established peace committees, boundary dispute committees, and peace policy. While 3(32.1%) disagreed, 76(67.9%) agreed with this kind of arrangement. The agreed response of the majority was validated by the finding of  $SD=0.838$  which did not surpass  $M=4.04$ . Peace committee and boundary committee was constituted in Laikipia County, this was conducted in a peace forum held in Nyahururu to cooperate and work as a team to arrest the runaway insecurity in Laikipia. The forum formed County Commissioner to coordinate operations to ensure the County was secure. This came in the wake of insecurity being experienced in several pockets of Laikipia County owing to the invasion of illegal immigrants from neighboring Counties.

The committees constituted a multi-sectorial coordination committee to ensure peace in the county before, during, and after the election. The twenty-member committee accommodated all sectors including the business community, bodaboda, politicians, NGOs, Matatu, and police among others ensured peaceful coexistence. Policy on training peace committee in Laikipia on conflict sensitivity and the do no harm principle was established. Peace policy has strengthened

institutions such as administration, and departments, to promote peace, this contributed to conflict prevention and transformation, this activity was done with support from stakeholders.

#### **4.2.6 Political Good Will, Corruption and Peaceful Coexistence**

The study established that lack of political goodwill and corruption has become impediments to peaceful coexistence. This was indicated by 112(100%) of the respondents who agreed. This statement revealed that the standard deviation (SD=0.476) was below its mean value (M=4.32).

The report notes that lack of political goodwill among elected leaders has killed the peaceful coexistence among communities living in volatile Laikipia County. Some leaders continued to incite their constituents to instigate violence against others. Corruption and misuse of county resources have left the pastoralist communities out of the development agenda. Corruption has diverted resources meant for development for personal gain. This makes communities marginalized. Hence due to their marginalization, they resort to the outdated culture of cattle rustling to make ends meet.

#### **4.2.7 Restoration of Security and Peace**

Unanimously, 112(100%) affirmed that the state has an upper hand in restoring security and negotiating peace. This statement revealed that the standard deviation (SD=0.476) was below its mean (M=4.68).The government deployed security reinforcement to troubled areas to flush out criminals, restore law and order, and seize illegal arms. However, this often has been criticized; more often act of violence was reported to have been meted by security personnel on civilians. However, it has subdued large-scale armed inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia County.

The presence of state security personnel in Laikipia County restored relative peace. The National Police Reservist (NPR) was a body of unpaid civilian volunteers who assisted in the enforcement

of all laws and regulations. Since county government partly participates in this critical function, people of questionable behavior and even criminals have been recruited by the Officer Commanding Police Divisions (OCPD) as reservists for commercial interests. During this error of devolved governance, security has been compromised in handling inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia County.

Although Laikipia County government administrative structures were designed to take services closer to the people and to manage their destinies, the devolved system, brought about the high competition of resources which militates against peaceful co-existence among ethnic groups in Laikipia County.

#### **4.3 Summary of the Findings**

The third objective of the study was identifying the conflict resolution mechanism established by the Laikipia County government. Laikipia County government had taken peace measures as peace meetings and dialogue among warring communities. The study revealed, although police operations have been frequently carried out, violent conflict continues to occur. After disarmament, other means such as demobilization, reinsertion, rehabilitation, reintegration, empowerment, and education were suggested to deter disarmed warriors from relapsing to banditry.

The study suggested that the state had an upper hand in restoring security and negotiating peace. The government had deployed security to troubled areas of Laikipia County to restore law and order by flushing out criminals and seizing illegal arms. Disarmament and police operation was because of violence meted on civilians and abuse of human rights.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Introduction

Devolved governance and inter-ethnic conflict trends in pastoral Cosmopolitan County in Kenya with special reference to Laikipia County have been examined in this study. The inter-ethnic conflict was explained through theoretical literature and theoretical framework. Theoretical literature was presented by instrumentality theory as explained by Esteban *et al.* Inter-ethnic conflict occurred because of political gains. The theoretical framework was explained by primordial's theory which suggested that inter-ethnic conflict occurred as a result of the existing cultural difference. The area of focus included; devolution and conflicts, Trends of inter-ethnic conflict, and inter-ethnic conflict resolution.

#### 5.2 Summary of Findings

A summary of the findings was presented following the objectives and hypotheses of the study.

##### 5.2.1 Devolution and Inter-Ethnic Conflict

The first objective of the study was to establish how devolution has influenced the inter-ethnic conflicts in Laikipia County.

The study found out that devolution of power was often considered as means of achieving peace. Devolution and the associated mechanism of governance, sharing executive positions, and political nomination and election of members of county assembly was part of a wider mosaic of peace-building in Laikipia County.

It was deduced that devolution was not easily achieved in Kenya. The respondent was able to point out that devolution in Kenya today is a result of different struggles that were early realized.

During independence *majimboa* form of devolution existed, however, it lacked political goodwill. In 2005 there was an attempt to introduce a devolved system of governance through the constitution amendment; however, due to political misunderstanding it was thwarted through a failed referendum. It was not until 2010 that a referendum was successfully passed which established semi-autonomous 47 counties.

The study discovered that conflict resolution was not difficult in the devolved units where there was a cultural difference among communities. It was reported that expanded peacebuilding and conflict resolution process involved civic and stakeholders' dialogue at ward level regularly carried out among warring communities in Laikipia County. It was recorded that, although devolution recorded positive impact, several challenges were also recorded; the county government of Laikipia faced challenges; insecurity, drought, corruption, and unemployment among youth.

It was also established that devolution required new thinking to incorporate the rights of the minorities in Laikipia County. Existing laws and policies are agitating the rights of minorities. However, in Laikipia County, the governments were reluctant to implement such laws.

Devolution was cited to have tackled underdevelopment in Laikipia County. The county government of Laikipia brought about development agenda nearer to the people including road network, water, ECDs and health facilities, etc. had tremendously increased since the introduction of the devolved government.

It is reported that devolution focused beyond the economic development agenda to include checks in abuse of power. It was established that numerous steps have been taken towards legal,

institutional, and political reforms including holding local elections and the introduction of service contracts for civil servants to improve accountability.

It was discovered that the constitution of Kenya established semi-autonomous county governments that exercised and execute power independently from the central government. Laikipia County had its governor who was directly elected and which formed the highest elected official in the county as well as MCAs elected as ward representatives.

It was established that conflict in the devolved units occurred as a result of perceived marginalization and exclusion. This was caused by inter-ethnic mistrust and hatred which was perpetuated by stereotypes that enabled others to be excluded from the benefits accrued as a result of devolution.

The study discovered that devolution tended to create winners and losers at the local level. In Laikipia County, some elites had greater political power by being in the inner circles of the ruling regime kitchen cabinet. Skewed allocation of resources in particular county ward funds was abused by ward fund committees as they rewarded their cronies.

The hypothesis of the study  $H_{01}$ : devolution has not significantly influenced the pastoral conflicts in Laikipia County. The hypothesis was tested using average mean and average standard deviation. The rule of thumb was that with more deviation of average SD from its average mean, the null hypothesis would be accepted, while less deviation of average SD from its average mean, the null hypothesis would be rejected and alternative hypothesis would be accepted.

The result showed that the average standard deviation, did not surpass its average mean, hence the null hypothesis was rejected and an alternative hypothesis was adopted. It was concluded that devolution had significantly influenced the pastoral conflict in Laikipia County.

### **5.2.2 Inter-Ethnic Conflict Trends**

The second objective of the study was to analyze inter-ethnic conflict trends in Laikipia County 2010-2021.

In Laikipia cattle rusting was seen as a job to many youths especially among the pastoralist communities such as Samburu, Turkana, Maasai, Tugen, and Pokot. It was opined that it was not only the occasional manipulation of political leaders that enabled the youth to unleash violence in Laikipia County but other factors also contribute to violence against one another.

Since the introduction of pluralist democratic politics, Laikipia once defined as the beacon of peace in Kenya repeatedly suffered electoral conflict. In Laikipia, agricultural and pastoral groups coexist characterized by the seasonal movement of pastoralists. During the rainy season, agriculturalists farm on productive land while pastoralists exploit more marginal lands for their livestock. Long dry seasons and uncertain rains had put pressure on pastoralists who normally migrate with their livestock in search of pasture and water. Water and pasture shortage forced the herders to invade private farms leading to clashes

It was established that not all months of the year that conflict occurs and the inter-ethnic conflict trends in Laikipia County were not predictable. It was reported that violence rocked Laikipia in months of January-March pastoralist communities clashed with the farming communities. It was reported that it is between September and October also that conflict frequently occurred.

It was established that pastoral communities saw non-pastoral communities as the cause of their underdevelopment. Laikipia County's apathy towards the pastoral economy meant that the government has failed to nurture and develop the lucrative pastoral economy. The exploitation of the current land tenure system by non-pastoral communities, commercial enterprises, and foreign

investors resulted in a dramatic loss of productive land for pastoralists who frequently resorted to violence.

There were dissenting voices that the non-pastoral communities have benefited from state resources than pastoralists. Non-Pastoral communities in Laikipia County strive on their own to obtain farmer inputs and grow different food. However, it was perceived that unlike pastoralism Laikipia County government had supported the farming communities through subsidized farm inputs.

The study found out that the direct result of the inter-ethnic conflict was the loss of human life and livestock. In Laikipia County, it was revealed that violent conflict posed a significant threat to pastoral livelihood which was already under pressure from recurrent drought, diseases, and political marginalization. The study showed that inter-ethnic conflicts resulted in the internal displacement of people. The clash between pastoralists and cultivators on one hand and different groups of pastoralist communities are experienced in Laikipia County. This recorded a significant number of people who were internally displaced (IDPs) in Laikipia East, Laikipia North, and Laikipia West Sub Counties.

The second hypothesis  $H_{02}$ : Inter-ethnic conflicts trends in Laikipia County continued to increase despite the introduction of devolution. The hypothesis was tested using average mean and average standard deviation. The rule of thumb was that with more deviation of average SD from its average mean, the null hypothesis would be accepted, while less deviation of average SD from its average means the null hypothesis would be rejected and the alternative hypothesis would be accepted.

The result showed that the average standard deviation, did not surpass its average mean, hence the null hypothesis was rejected and an alternative hypothesis was adopted. It was concluded inter-ethnic conflict trends in Laikipia County had significantly reduced with the introduction of devolved governance.

### **5.2.3 Conflict Resolution Mechanism**

The third objective of the study is to identify the conflict resolution mechanism established by the Laikipia County government.

There was no decision arrived at on the statement that local mediation for inter-ethnic conflict resolution has not been embraced. However, the Laikipia County government has taken measures to bring peace, including peace meetings and encouraging dialogue between warring communities.

It was discovered that political participation, judicial system, and media in conflict resolution have not yet been utilized to resolve conflicts in Laikipia County. Proportional sharing of power by different interest groups was not common in Laikipia County whereby senior positions such as ministers, chief officers, and other positions were not equally shared among different groups.

There was no conclusion arrived on whether disarmament had received condemnation from political leaders and NGOs. It was believed that disarmament was supported. Disarmament exercise had been carried out and recovered some of the unlicensed firearms were in the hands of criminals and bandits.

It was established that intensified police operations and disarmament have not brought lasting peace. Although police operation has been carried out in Laikipia County, a long-lasting solution

for inter-ethnic conflict could not be obtained since violent conflict continues to occur. After disarmament other means were suggested to be exploited to deter disarmed warriors from relapsing to banditry; demobilization, reinsertion, rehabilitation, reintegration, and empowerment and education.

The study revealed that Laikipia County has established peace committees, boundary dispute committees, and peace policy. The peace committee was able to arrest the runaway insecurity. The study affirmed that the state had the upper hand in restoring security and negotiating peace. The government deployed security reinforcement to troubled areas to flush out criminals, restore law and order, and seize illegal arms. However, this has been criticized; more often act of violence was reported to have been meted by security personnel on civilians.

The third hypothesis of the study was that the management mechanisms established by the Laikipia County government have not significantly mitigated inter-ethnic conflict. The hypothesis was tested using average mean and average standard deviation. The rule of thumb was that with more deviation of average SD from its average mean, the null hypothesis would be accepted, while less deviation of average SD from its average means the null hypothesis would be rejected and alternative hypothesis would be accepted.

The result showed that the average standard deviation did not surpass its average mean, hence the null hypothesis was rejected and an alternative hypothesis was adopted. It was concluded management mechanisms established by the Laikipia County government had significantly mitigated the inter-ethnic conflict.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

It was concluded that devolution had significantly influenced the pastoral conflict in Laikipia County.

It was clear that devolution of power was a means of achieving peace. Thus the study concluded that pillars of peace included power-sharing, appointments, political nominations, and local elections.

Political misunderstandings and lack of political goodwill killed the spirit of earlier decentralization. Devolution is seen today an outcome of early struggles. The 2010 devolution was passed through a successful referendum established semi-autonomous county governments. Common devolution challenges included; insecurity, drought, corruption, and unemployment. The County government was reluctant to implement laws and policies agitating minority rights. The development agenda in Laikipia County had significantly improved as a result of devolution, especially infrastructural development. Devolution had extended its agenda to include checks in abuse of power through holding leaders accountable. The county government operated independently from the central government. Laikipia County formed laws and regulated its activities. Governor was the highest elected official while MCAs formed oversight at the county level.

Perceived marginalization and exclusion caused inter-ethnic conflict in Laikipia County. Ethnic stereotypes excluded others from enjoying the benefits of devolution. There was no doubt that devolution had created winners and losers as a result of the skewed allocation of resources, this was perpetrated by winners at the expense of losers. Apart from the culture of cattle rustling, the youth were manipulated by political elites to unleash violence. However, other factors such as



marginalization, unemployment, drought, land grabbing caused deadly violence in Laikipia County. It was therefore concluded inter-ethnic conflict trends in Laikipia County had significantly reduced with the introduction of devolved governance.

Although the electioneering period and rainy season witnessed clashes, the dry season was frequently reported to have severely experienced inter-ethnic conflicts. This was because of the pastoralist movements in search of pasture and water among private farmers. January to March, and September to October were identified as months when inter-ethnic conflicts frequently occurred. While profitable economic activities were concentrated in urban centers, ethnicity in Laikipia County was used as a bargaining tool for better economic as well as political gains.

Violence rocked Laikipia County as a result of the land tenure system that disenfranchised pastoralists and favored farmers, foreign and local investors. Subsidized farm inputs were frequently received by farmers from the county government. The loss of livestock and human life is a result of clashes between farmers and pastoralists among various pastoral communities. These clashes have similarly led to internal displacement of persons in Laikipia County. It was concluded that management mechanisms established by the Laikipia County government had significantly mitigated the inter-ethnic conflict.

Laikipia County government has undertaken peacebuilding activities including, peace meetings and dialogue between warring communities. Discrimination in senior positions such as ministers, and chief officers derailed peaceful coexistence. Disbarment exercises that were carried out have not brought a long-lasting solution for inter-ethnic conflict since violent conflict continues to occur. Demobilization, reinsertion, rehabilitation, reintegration, empowerment, and education

was suggested to deter disarmed worries from relapsing to banditry. The dialogue was paramount to peacebuilding and conflict resolution.

The frequent ran-away insecurity was partly arrested by the established peace committee. Peace negotiation was used by the government to restore peace and security in Laikipia County. The operation used to flush out criminals had been criticized since it targeted innocent civilians.

#### **5.4 Recommendations**

Traditional leaders from different communities should take part in the peacebuilding and reconciliation process.

More police officers and operations from Anti Stock theft to be deployed to curb the menace of cattle rustling which was rampant in Laikipia County.

The county government of Laikipia ought to empower youth to adopt other means of income-generating activities other than pastoralism and livestock keeping.

Since serious inter-ethnic conflict occurs during the electioneering period security patrols need to be beefed up during and after the election.

During dry seasons when there is no pasture and water for livestock negotiation teams from pastoralist and cultivators' communities can be established to negotiate for peaceful coexistence.

Due to unpredictable and changing weather patterns, awareness needs to be carried out to cushioned pastoralists against overstocking.

There was a need to relook at the current land tenure system. The current tenure had caused ethnic conflict in Laikipia County. Equitable distribution of such land to the deserving communities should be enforced.

Alongside disarmament, there was a need to incorporate other means such as demobilization, reinsertion, rehabilitation, reintegration, empowerment, and education since it cushions disarmed warriors from relapsing to banditry.

A study on other cosmopolitan counties in Kenya that are faced with inter-ethnic conflicts needs to be carried out.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **Appendix I: Introduction letter**

#### **TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN**

Dear Sir/ Madam:

#### **REQUEST FOR COLLECTION OF DATA**

I am Pius Moler, a Post Graduate Diploma student at the DEPARTMENT of Diplomacy and International Studies, College of Humanities, and the Social Science University of Nairobi.

I am conducting a research study titled “*Devolved Governance and Inter-Ethnic Conflicts in Cosmopolitan Pastoral Counties: Case of Laikipia County, Kenya*”

You have been selected as a respondent to form part of the study.

Kindly assist by filling in the attached questionnaire. The information given will be treated with confidentiality and will be purely for academic purposes.

Your assistance and cooperation will be highly appreciated

**Yours Faithfully,**

**Pius Moler**

## Appendix II: Questionnaire

### A: Bio-data Information

Tick appropriately; [√]

1. Gender; Male [ ] Female [ ]

2. Age 18-25 [ ] 26-35 [ ] 36 and above [ ]

3. Education Level: Primary [ ] High School [ ] Tertiary College [ ] University [ ]

4. Marital Status: Married [ ] Single [ ]

5. Religious affiliation: Christianity [ ] Muslim [ ] Hindu [ ] others [ ]

6. Occupation: Civil servant [ ] Security officer [ ] Pastoralist [ ] Farmer [ ] Business [ ] Opinion leader [ ]

### Section B: Devolution and Conflict

The following are statements on devolution and conflict in Laikipia County please rate concerning your opinion. Key: 1 Strongly Disagree; 2 Disagree; 3 Not Decided; 4 Agree; 5 Strongly Agree.

Statements on devolution and conflict	1	2	3	4	5
Devolution of power is often considered as means of achieving peace.					
In Kenya devolution was not easily achieved					

Conflict resolution is more difficult in the devolved units where there are the cultural difference among communities					
Devolution pose a new challenge since power is concentrated in the hands of a few elites					
Devolution requires new thinking to incorporate minority rights					
Devolution can tackle the issue of underdevelopment					
Devolution goes beyond the economic development agenda to include checks in abuse of central power					
Devolved governance exercises and execute power independently from central government.					
Conflicts in devolved units occur as a result of perceived marginalization and exclusion.					
Devolution has tendency for creating winners and losers at the local level					

### Section C: Inter-ethnic Conflict Trends

The following are a statement on inter conflict trends in Laikipia County please rate concerning your opinion. Key: 1 Strongly Disagree; 2 Disagree; 3 Not Decided; 4 Agree; 5 Strongly Agree.

Statements on inter-ethnic conflict trends	1	2	3	4	5
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A large number of youth frequently resort to the outdated culture of cattle rustling for survival.					
Occasional manipulation of youth by political leaders enables the youths to unleash violence					
Inter-ethnic conflicts trends are witnessed during election periods					
Inter-ethnic conflict trends happen during the rainy season					
Violence during dry seasons has been used as a political way of settling disputes					
Conflicts between pastoralists and farmers normally occur every month					
Conflicts over grassing fields normally occur every week					
Ethnicity in Laikipia County has been used as a bargaining tool for economic and political gains					
The pastoral community sees the non-pastoral community as the cause of their underdevelopment					
Non-pastoral societies have benefited from state resources than pastoralist					
The direct result of inter-ethnic conflicts is the loss of human life and livestock					
Inter-ethnic conflicts					

resultintheninternaldisplacement of people					
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**Section D: Conflict Resolution Mechanism**

The following are statements on conflict resolution mechanisms in Laikipia County please rate concerning your opinion. Key: 1 Strongly Disagree; 2 Disagree; 3 Not Decided; 4 Agree; 5 Strongly Agree.

<b>Statements on the conflict resolution mechanism</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
Local mediation for inter-ethnic conflicts resolution has not been embraced					
Political participation, judicial system, and media in conflict resolution have not yet been utilized.					
Disarmament has received condemnation from political leaders and NGOs					
Intensified police operations and disarmament has not brought the lasting solution					
LaikipiaCountyhas established peace committees, boundary dispute committees, and peace policy					
Lack of political goodwill and corruption have become impediments to peaceful coexistence					
The state has the upper hand in restoring security, negotiating peace, and development agenda					





### Appendix III: Interview Schedule

#### Interviews for Opinion Leaders

##### a) Devolution and Conflict

- i. How do devolution and decentralization of power achieve inter-ethnic peaceful coexistence?

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- ii. Explain how the cultural difference in the devolved system fuels inter-ethnic conflicts in Laikipia West County?

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- iii. What are the measures taken by the unity government to incorporate the rights of minorities in governance?

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- iv. Explain how elites in the devolved systems manipulate their ethnic groups?

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- v. How have devolution addressed under-development in Laikipia West Sub County?

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vi. How does devolution check abuse of ethnic political power?

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vii. What are the ethnic marginalization and exclusion experienced in Laikipia West Sub County?

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viii. How have devolution addressed the politics of winners and losers in Laikipia West Sub County?

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**b) Inter-ethnic conflict trends**

i. Which type of inter-ethnic conflict exists in Laikipia County?

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ii. Identify the seasons that inter-ethnic conflict normally occurs in Laikipia West Sub County?

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iii. Highlight the months which inter-ethnic conflict frequently occur?.....

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iv. What factors facilitate the frequency of the occurrence of inter-ethnic conflict in LaikipiaWest Sub County?

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v. What are the adverse impacts of inter-ethnic conflicts in Laikipia County?

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vi. Explain how political manipulation contributes to inter-ethnic conflicts trends in LaikipiaWestCounty?

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vii. How often do the conflict between pastoral and non-pastoral ethnics in Laikipia West Sub County occur?

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**c) Conflict resolution mechanism**

i. What are the inter-ethnic threats in Laikipia West Sub County?

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ii. What are the causes of inter-ethnic conflicts threats?

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iii. What measure was put in place in the past to eradicate inter-ethnic conflict?

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iv. What measures have been put in place to end the current inter-ethnic conflicts?

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v. What impedes conflict resolution measures currently put in place?

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vi. How can both governments; county and national government stop the impediments to conflict resolution mechanism in LaikipiaWest Sub County?

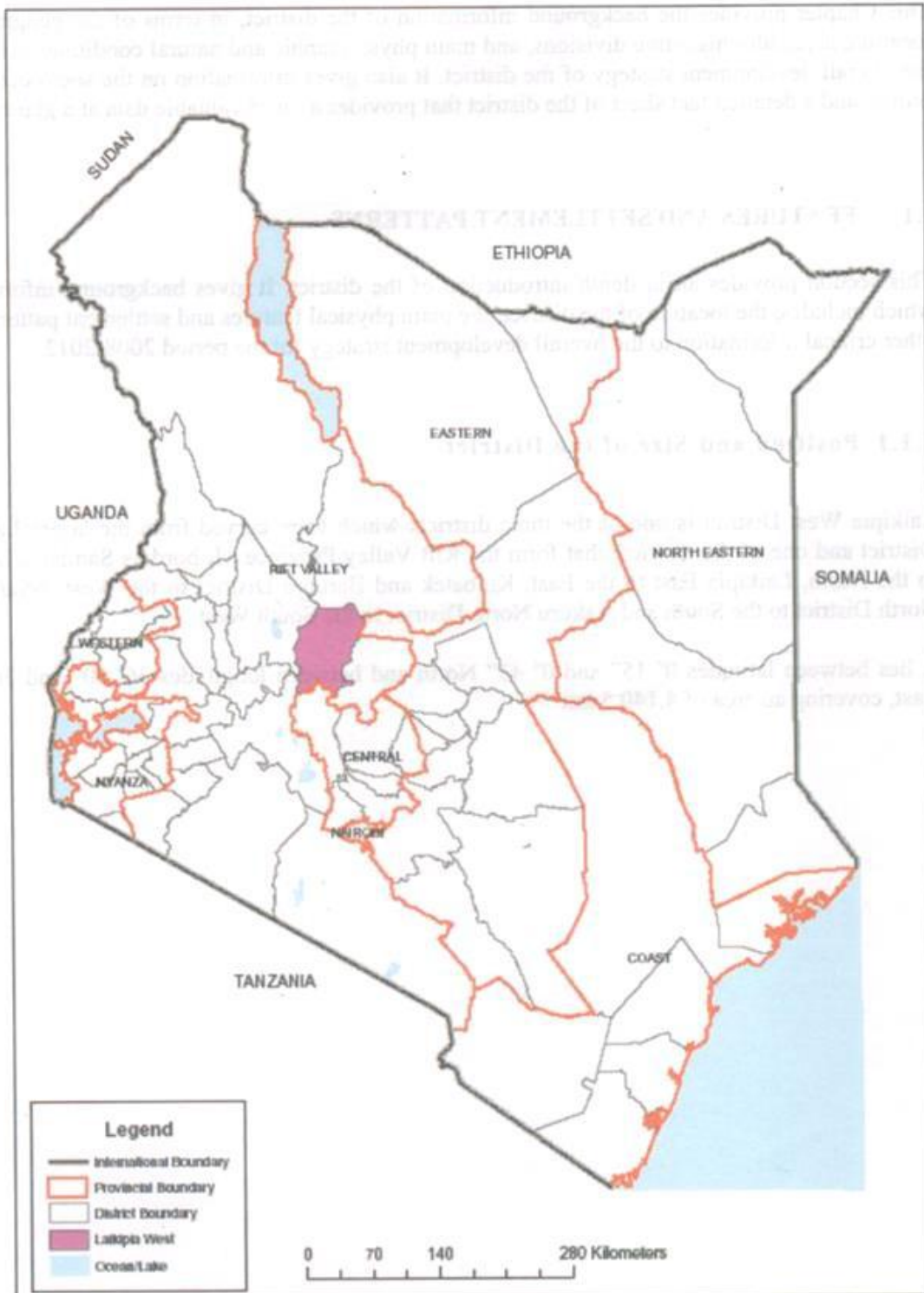
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vii. How do you think security officers should be involved in peace efforts within the communities living in LaikipiaWest Sub County?

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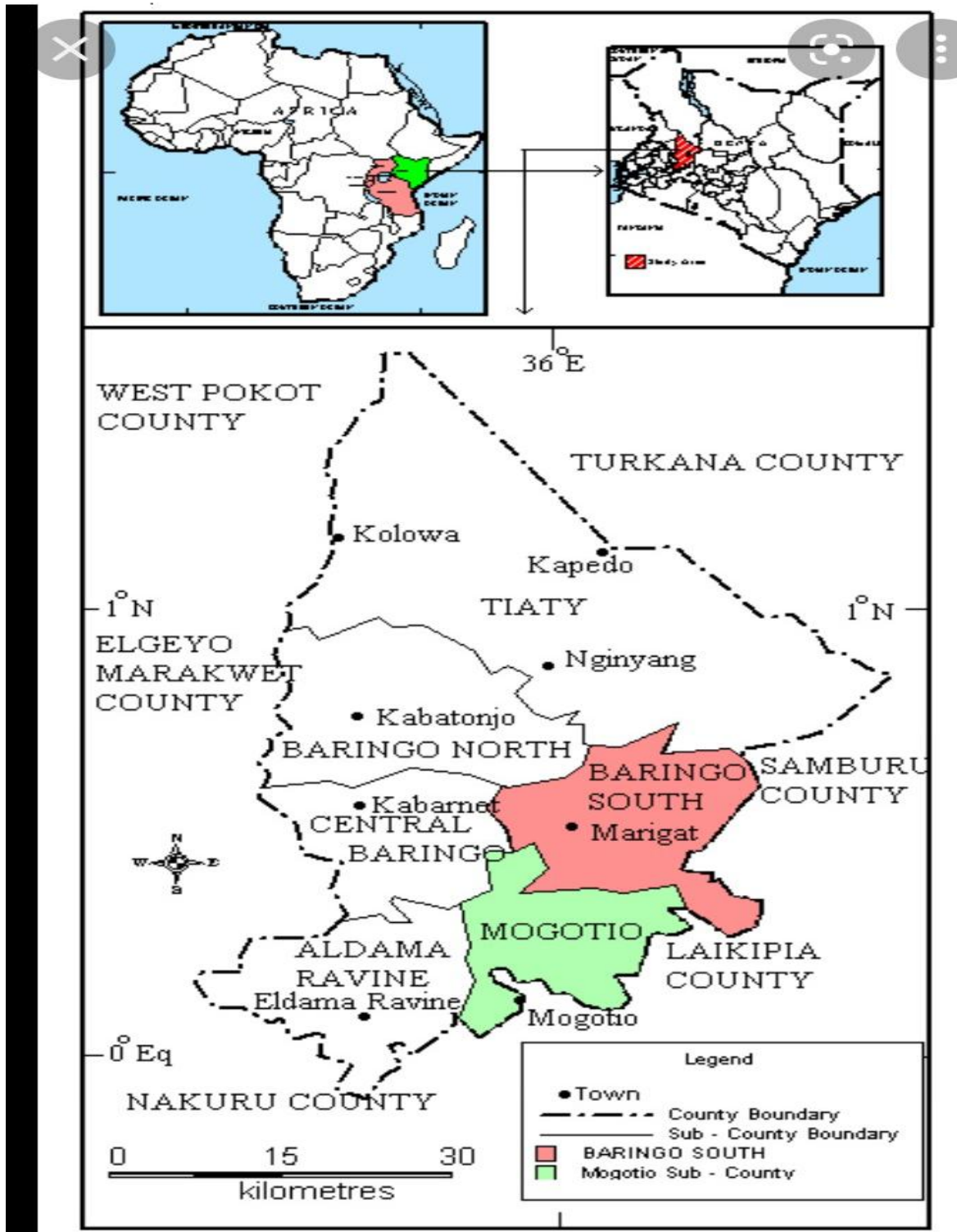
## Appendix IV: Map of Kenya



Source: KNBS, 2019

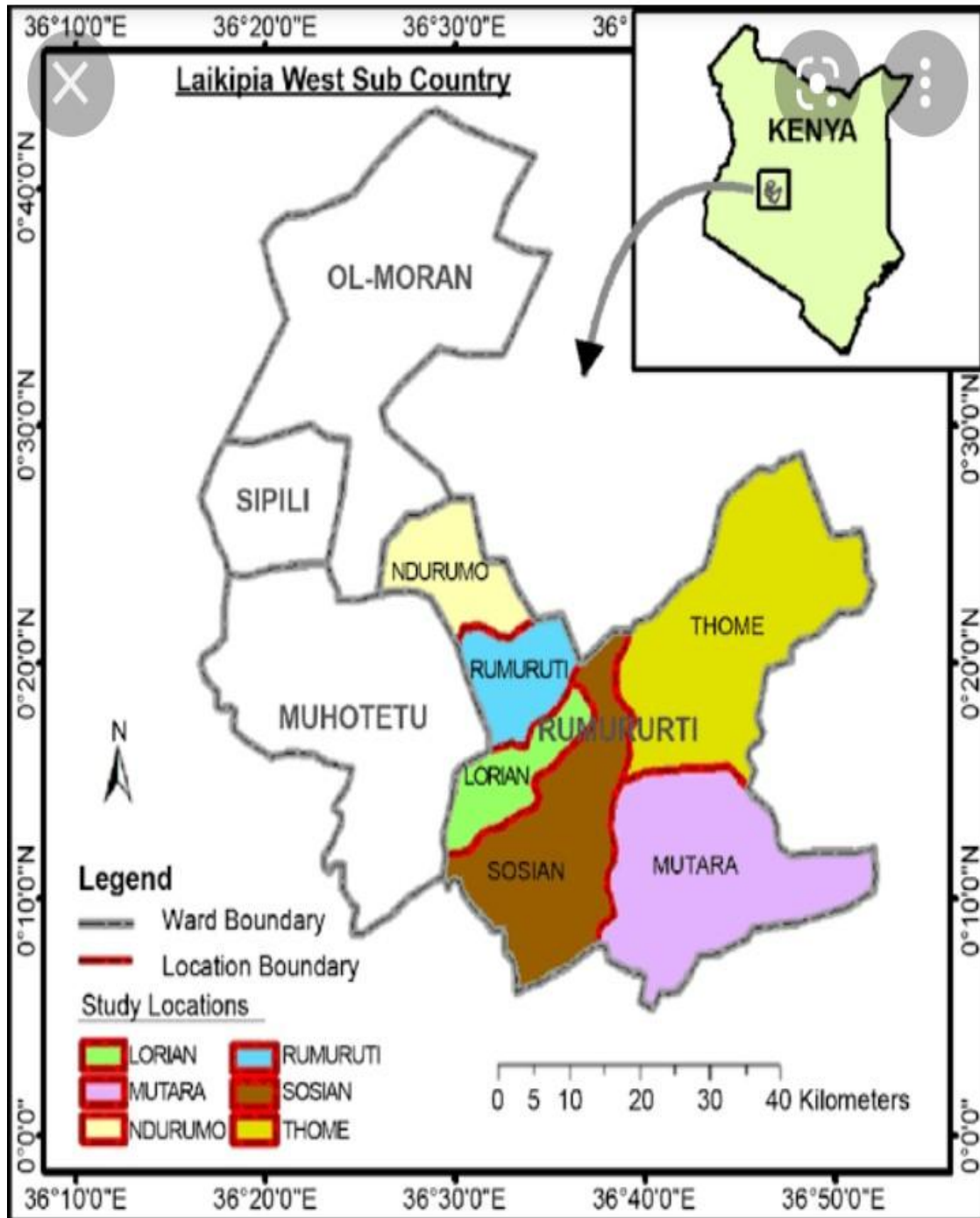


### Appendix V: Map of Laikipia County



Source: KNBS, 2019

Appendix VI: Map of Laikipia West Sub County



Source: KNBS, 2019

## Appendix VII: ANTI-PLAGIARISM REPORT

### DEVOLVED GOVERNANCE AND INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN COSMOPOLITAN PASTORAL COUNTIES: CASE OF LAIKIPIA COUNTY, KENYA

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Dr. Maluki

